

School Excursions and Militarism: Continuities in Touristic *Shūgaku Ryokō* from the Meiji Period to the Postwar¹

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Shūgaku ryokō were originally established by Tokyo Normal School, a national teacher training school, in the mid-Meiji period. At the beginning, these excursions were educational trips involving overnight stays, and combined military-style marching, called *kōgun*, with naturalistic observation. Subsequently, normal schools and middle schools nationwide adopted this type of school trip. Later, marching was replaced with train travel, and military training was separated from school excursions, resulting in a touristic form of *shūgaku ryokō*, which was then maintained by schools around Japan over the Taishō and Shōwa periods. Although a boom in *shūgaku ryokō* in Manchuria and Korea occurred after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and a form of *shūgaku ryokō* ostensibly aimed at the veneration of deities and ancestors emerged under the wartime regime, touristic practices and motivations continued to underlie it. This paper argues that the touristic *shūgaku ryokō* were maintained from the mid-Meiji period to the 1970s because they were continuously supported by students, parents, teachers, and contemporary society. Two major factors were behind such widespread support: first, *shūgaku ryokō* provided a wide range of people with opportunities to experience tourism; and second, teachers and students continued to value the recreation and friendship that they enjoyed through such excursions.

Keywords: *shūgaku ryokō*, normal schools, *kōgun*, naturalistic observation, tourism, railway, Manchuria and Korea, wartime, recreation, friendship

Introduction

Shūgaku ryokō 修学旅行 (school excursions) are educational trips involving overnight stays, organized by elementary and secondary educational institutions in Japan to take students on study and similar tours. They are a type of school event distinctive to Japan. Today, almost all schools in Japan offer *shūgaku ryokō* to students in their final or penultimate year.

¹ This work was supported in part by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 17H02253.

Although in some cases a family's family situation may prevent it, in principle, all students are expected to participate. As a result, the majority of children in Japan take three or more overnight trips organized by their schools during the twelve-year period between elementary and senior high school. Thus, *shūgaku ryokō* allow students to gain an experience of leisure travel, and for many Japanese people, this type of school excursion would have been their first extended trip before family vacations became common. Family trips began to be popularized as the urban middle class grew between the two world wars, and spread more widely through the leisure boom of the 1960s, which was triggered by economic growth and the nuclearization of families, and the 1970 Osaka World Expo.

Shūgaku ryokō were originally established in the 1880s by teacher training schools known as normal schools (*shihan gakkō* 師範学校). The early *shūgaku ryokō* included military training as an important element, in addition to naturalistic observation and school tours. This type of school excursion was first designed as an effective out-of-school activity for conducting *kōgun* 行軍, marching for military training, and therefore military affairs played an important role in their origin. Soon after the introduction of *shūgaku ryokō* into normal schools, however, military training was separated from these excursions, which changed into educational tours of sites connected with the legacies of Japanese modernization and cultural heritage in metropolitan areas, such as Tokyo and Kansai. This new type of excursion later became the standard form of *shūgaku ryokō* for around a hundred years, covering the period before and after the Asia-Pacific War. From the 1990s, the contents of *shūgaku ryokō* have diversified, with importance placed increasingly on interactive learning and cross-cultural interactions overseas. However, the purpose and position of *shūgaku ryokō* in Japanese school education have not changed significantly.

Discussing the formation of school events in the Meiji period in relation to imperial ideology, Yamamoto Nobuyoshi 山本信良 and Konno Toshihiko 今野敏彦 argued that *shūgaku ryokō*, as its focus shifted to recreation in the Meiji period, helped foster among students a family-like identification with their school. In the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, this made *shūgaku ryokō* an effective instrument to mobilize students for nationalistic endeavors.² Suzuki Ken'ichi 鈴木健一 further expanded Yamamoto and Konno's discussion of the Taishō and Shōwa periods, including the postwar. He classified *shūgaku ryokō* from before the Asia-Pacific War into categories of foundational and developmental excursions, and showed how nationalism and militarism had a significant impact on these early forms. Suzuki also investigated the revival and diversification of *shūgaku ryokō* in the postwar period.³

These two previous works serve as the basis for historical understanding of the formation and development of *shūgaku ryokō*, and this paper makes use of their findings. This paper also owes much to a series of studies on *shūgaku ryokō* by Hamano Ken'ichi 浜野兼一, as well as Shin'ya Yasuaki's 新谷恭明 research about long-distance hiking trips organized by schools.⁴ In addition, this study draws on school documents on prewar *shūgaku ryokō* and early articles in education journals.

2 Yamamoto and Konno 1973.

3 Suzuki 1983.

4 Hamano 2002; Hamano 2003; Hamano 2004a; Hamano 2007; Shin'ya 2001.

While Suzuki emphasizes the militaristic tendencies of *shūgaku ryokō* in the Taishō and Shōwa periods prior to the establishment of the fully-fledged wartime regime, he underestimates the significance of the continuing movements toward recreation and tourism underlying *shūgaku ryokō*. I argue here that tourism is a key attribute of *shūgaku ryokō* from its origins to today, and that tourism provides one important explanation for the survival of *shūgaku ryokō* over this one-hundred-year stretch. Tourism provided *shūgaku ryokō* with a distinctive, universal value that helped it gain widespread recognition and acceptance across all sections of society, while allowing it to remain largely independent of political and social shifts.

Suzuki also investigates the perpetuation of *shūgaku ryokō* using examples from both wartime and postwar, and explains it in terms of teachers' desires to offer students an experience of recreation and friendship. Furthermore, Shirahata Yōzaburō 白幡洋三郎 states that this longing for *shūgaku ryokō* can be explained only through the concept of "travel desires."⁵ It is the desire to travel that underpins *shūgaku ryokō*'s universality, and arguably leads to the emergence and development of a tourism-oriented practice.

The term "tourism" should be defined here. In English, the word is ordinarily used to denote travel in general, including trips for business and journeys home. Tourism is often viewed as a particularly modern phenomena, because of the technologies and systems that enable it, such as transportation, accommodation, agents, communication technologies, publication activities, tourism legislation, and tourism administration. However, the meaning of "tourism" used in this paper is closer to the Japanese term *kankō* 観光. In Japan today, *kankō* is used to mean "travel for pleasure." Accordingly, "tourism" in this paper refers to travels and trips for the purpose of pleasure. The pleasures brought by tourism arise from experiences of appreciating places and objects. This is also the case for modes of *shūgaku ryokō* from the mid-Meiji period onward, thus the framework of tourism helps in its examination.

At the same time, however, although military training was separated from *shūgaku ryokō* at an early point, other military elements nevertheless remained. It is important to underline that, from the Meiji period to the Asia-Pacific War, the military was not opposed on the basis of a dichotomy between war and peace, as in present-day Japan. Rather, as a result of *fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵 ("rich country, strong army") and similar visions of an economically and militarily powerful nation, there was widespread support for the military, whose facilities were seen as symbols of national prosperity and modernization. Together with government offices, higher educational institutions, commercial facilities, and factories, military schools, troop camps, and naval ports were commonly selected as tour destinations intended to encourage students to appreciate the legacies of Japanese modernization. Furthermore, after the first Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, there was increased public attention given to Korea and Manchuria, leading to a boom in *shūgaku ryokō* that focused on battlefield tourism there. This was partly because of a widespread feeling of exaltation as a victorious nation, and, further, under the wartime regime, *shūgaku ryokō* were used as a means to enhance national prestige.

Initially, *shūgaku ryokō* were not aimed at female students, but the formation of a touristic mode of *shūgaku ryokō* that was separate from military training led to its adoption

5 Shirahata 1996, p. 130.

by some women's educational institutions. Most women's schools saw excursions as incompatible with their stated purpose of fostering "good wives and wise mothers," and refused to participate.

If tourism was a factor behind the survival of *shūgaku ryokō*, as argued earlier, what relation was there between the military-rooted *shūgaku ryokō* and touristic *shūgaku ryokō*? By focusing on the interrelationship of militarism and tourism, this paper will examine the factors behind *shūgaku ryokō*'s survival from the Meiji period to today, and the continuities in school excursion practices over this period.

***Shūgaku Ryokō* for Military Training**

Origins of Shūgaku Ryokō

Although *shūgaku ryokō* as educational trips emerged after the modern educational system was introduced into Japan, out-of-school activities were not without precedent. In the Edo period, *terakoya* 寺子屋 (lit. temple schools) elementary schools organized school events, such as cherry blossom viewing, for purposes of recreation, friendship, and amusement. In the early Meiji period, New Year shrine visits and boat excursions were offered by elementary schools. These events served as a prototype of collective out-of-school activities, laying the social and cultural foundations of the distinctive system of school excursions developed in modern Japan.⁶ Relatively early examples of such activities in the Meiji period were a New Year shrine visit by forty students at Eiseikan 永清館 school in Tochigi prefecture on 1 January 1875; and a visit to the First National Industrial Exposition in Ueno Park by students from Kōgyokusha 攻玉社 school in Tokyo in August 1877. Such activities were not conducted on the basis of educational legislation, but as voluntary school events organized mainly by elementary schools, women's educational institutions, and small private schools, using *terakoya*-type school events as a prototype.⁷

Around 1884, recreational out-of-school events, such as New Year shrine visits and boat excursions, began to transform under the influence of European and North American models. One new event was *kōgun* or military marching, conducted as part of infantry training. For example, students at Osaka Normal School received infantry training at the Osaka Garrison over four months from May 1884, during which they conducted live target practice three times and *kōgun* twice. While marching, the students were equipped in the same way as army infantry soldiers, and were divided into two opposite forces to fight simulated battles. They marched mostly over weekends to avoid missing class.⁸

Ensoku 遠足, which today refers to educational day trips by bus or train, should be mentioned here in comparison with *shūgaku ryokō*. In the Meiji period, the form and content of *ensoku* varied according to the educational institution, but a common element was traveling on foot in lines from the school to a selected destination, where they conducted some kind of collective physical activity. Activities ranged from "flag grabbing" (*hata ubai* 旗奪) and ball games, to sumo wrestling and simulated battles. In short, military marching (*kōgun*) could be categorized as *ensoku*, but *kōgun* could also mean something other than military-style training. For example, in 1885 Saitama Prefectural Normal School

6 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 183–84.

7 Suzuki 1983, p. 87.

8 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 184–86.

held an event called *gi kōgun* 擬行軍 (pseudo-military marching) to Mt. Asuka 飛鳥山, where students played football, instead of doing military exercise. The following year, the same school also held an out-of-school event near Yorii 寄居, with rabbit hunting as the main activity. These examples suggest that *ensoku* in the Meiji period referred to a wide range of events involving walks outside the school and certain physical activities, and that terms such as *ensoku*, *kōgun*, *ensoku undō* 遠足運動 (exercise) and *undō kai* 運動会 (sports meetings) were often used interchangeably to denote activities with similar content. These events could even include academic study. For example, from October 1885 to May 1886, Toyotsu 豊津 Middle School in Fukuoka prefecture held ten events called *ensoku kai* 遠足会, which contained not only physical exercise but also research. This example anticipates the later incorporation of academic research into long-distance hiking carried out by Tokyo Normal School.⁹

Military-Style Gymnastics and Tokyo Normal School

Tokyo Normal School is commonly considered the first school to adopt *shūgaku ryokō*, which then spread to normal and middle schools nationwide. While the *shūgaku ryokō* of Tokyo Normal School were originally conducted under the name *chōto ensoku* 長途遠足 (long-distance school trips), a later publication produced by Tokyo Higher Normal School on the occasion of the school's sixtieth anniversary uses the term *kōgun ryokō* 行軍旅行 (military marching trip) for these events. A significant part of *chōto ensoku* was taken up by the military-style training known as *kōgun*, but these trips also contained school visits, naturalistic observation, and other activities. Below is a brief explanation of how Tokyo Normal School, as a teacher training institution, decided to adopt the military training of *kōgun* in the form of *shūgaku ryokō*.

Founded as Normal School in 1872, it was renamed Tokyo Normal School in 1873. There are no records about out-of-school activities held by Tokyo Normal School until the *chōto ensoku* of 1886. In the revised school regulations of November 1874, physical education was first categorized as an activity to be conducted out of regular school hours. In October 1878, however, four months after the Taisō Denshūjō 体操伝習所 (National Center for Physical Education) was founded, the educational regulations were revised. These provided for physical education to be incorporated into the regular curriculum within the advanced class category of "Arts," together with drawing, writing, reading, and singing. The revised regulations recommended that physical education should be taught for five hours per week, or ninety hours per semester, and should focus on exercises without equipment, exercises with equipment such as dumbbells, clubs, and ball-tipped wands called *kyūkan* 球竿, and marching. Isawa Shūji 伊沢修二 was appointed Taisō Torishirabe Gakari 体操取調掛 (officer in charge of physical education) by the Department of Education in 1878, then assumed the position of principal of Tokyo Normal School in March 1879, while concurrently serving as the head of the National Center for Physical Education.¹⁰ A close relationship existed between personnel at the center and Tokyo Normal School, and the revised regulations were followed.

⁹ Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 186–90.

¹⁰ Hamano 2004a, pp. 84–87.

In 1880, in order to commence a program of infantry training, the National Center for Physical Education requested the Ministry of the Army send one commissioned officer and three non-commissioned officers from its military training faculty as instructors. These officers taught students at the center three times per week.¹¹ Tokyo Normal School added military training to its educational activities after the Ministry of Education issued a notice in May 1885 requesting that a trial program should begin. The title of the class was *heishiki taisō* 兵式体操 (military-style physical education).¹² In August 1885, Mori Arinori 森有礼, a Ministry of Education official, was appointed to supervise Tokyo Normal School, and the National Center for Physical Education was incorporated into Tokyo Normal School in December that year. The appointment of Mori as supervisor of Tokyo Normal School meant that it was used as the model for all normal schools, and that Mori's nationalistic ideology concerning education would be directly reflected in educational activities there.¹³ Tokyo Higher Normal School's sixtieth-anniversary publication, *Sōritsu rokujū nen* 創立六十年, explains the situation at that time: "Military training was added as a class within the regular curriculum. Although some argued that *kōgun ryokō* should be modeled closely after the military, in consideration of the school's educational objectives, it was concluded that it would be more appropriate to ensure that military-style marching excursions also include an element of academic study."¹⁴ In this way, the official introduction of *kōgun ryokō*, or military-style physical education, as a regular subject in the curriculum, led to the planning and development of *chōto ensoku*.

Mori Arinori played a crucial role in Tokyo Normal School's teacher training and the formation of early *shūgaku ryokō*. After working in the United States, Qing China, and Britain as a diplomat for the new Meiji government, Mori was appointed as a member of the Sanji-in 参事院 (Legislative Advisory Council) in May 1884, and began to serve concurrently as a Ministry of Education official. The Sanji-in was the core governmental organization involved in establishing and reviewing laws and regulations, but Mori was more enthusiastic about educational administrative reform than serving as a Sanji-in member. In December 1885, he became a member of Itō Hirobumi's 伊藤博文 first cabinet as Minister of Education.¹⁵

Mori believed that education should be aimed at fostering national subjects with the necessary attitudes and abilities to support and develop the prosperity and power of the state. Normal schools were training future leaders who could help produce such citizens, therefore their educational activities needed to be strictly controlled and managed. The military-style physical education introduced into normal schools was seen as one means of achieving Mori's goal.¹⁶ Previously, normal school students had been generally allowed to dress as they liked and live where they wished. However, after Mori's reform, normal schools around Japan required students to live in school dormitories supervised by former non-commissioned officers. All students were required to wear Western-style uniforms

11 Monbushō 1881, p. 790.

12 Monbushō 1885, p. 5.

13 Hamano 2004a, p. 88.

14 Tōkyō Bunrika Daigaku and Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1931, p. 32.

15 Inuzuka 1985, pp. 249–52.

16 Inuzuka 1985, p. 258.

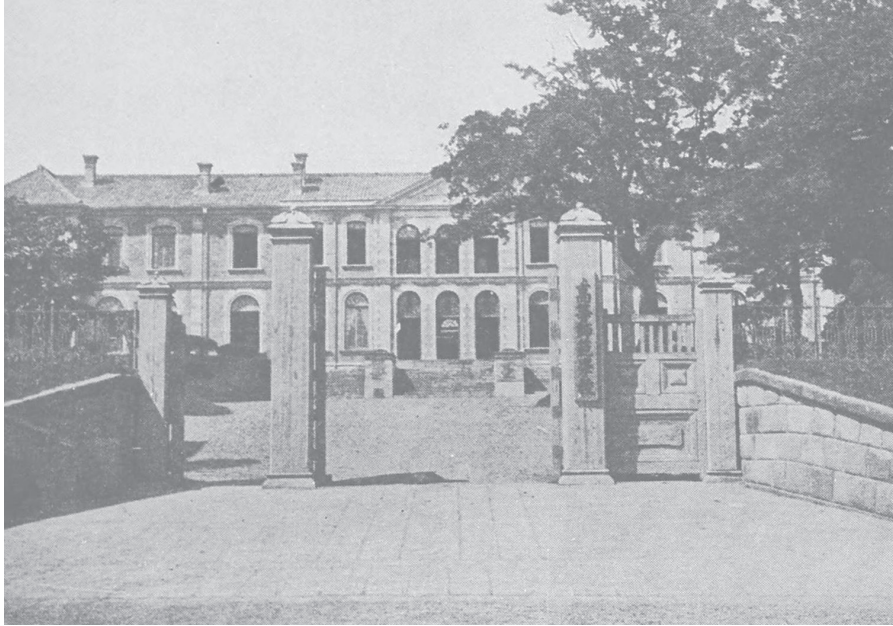


Figure 1. Higher Normal School (circa 1900). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

and submit to strict military discipline, both inside and outside the classroom.¹⁷ In 1901, following Mori's policy, the Ministry of Education ruled that military gymnastics should be incorporated as a regular subject within school curriculums. This was what led to military training—once the core of *shūgaku ryokō*—becoming separated from such excursions.¹⁸

Tokyo Normal School and Long-Distance School Trips

As noted, the first recorded example of *shūgaku ryokō* is the *chōto ensoku* or long-distance school trip carried out by Tokyo Normal School in February 1886. It was a combination of *kōgun*, *ensoku*—both of which had been conducted nationwide prior to the emergence of long-distance school trips—and Toyotsu Middle School's *ensoku kai*, which included academic study as well as physical activities.¹⁹

Principal Takamine Hideo 高嶺秀夫 gave instructions that teachers in military-style physical education, physics, zoology, botany, geography, history, economics, drawing, and other subjects would take part in the excursion in order to further its aims of studying various classroom subjects in a hands-on way. He also gave students detailed directions about interacting with locals in a respectable and caring manner suitable for prospective teachers.²⁰

The trip itself was held in the Bōsō 房総 region of Chiba prefecture over twelve days from 15 to 26 February 1886. A total of 121 people participated, including ninety-nine

17 Hasegawa 2005.

18 Suzuki 1983, p. 132.

19 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 191.

20 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1886.

Table 1. Itinerary of the Tokyo Normal School Excursion.

	PLACES TO STAY	TRAVEL DISTANCE (1 <i>ri</i> ≙ 3.93 KM)
15 Feb.	Departure from Tokyo–Yawata-machi 八幡町–Stay in Funabashi 船橋	Over 7 <i>ri</i>
16 Feb.	Departure from Funabashi–Stay in Yakuendai 薬園台	Over 1 <i>ri</i>
17 Feb.	Departure from Yakuendai–Stay in Ōwada 大和田	1 <i>ri</i>
18 Feb.	Departure from Ōwada–Sakura 佐倉–Stay in Narita 成田	7 <i>ri</i>
19 Feb.	Departure from Narita–Matsuko 松子, Inō 伊能–Stay in Sawara	8 <i>ri</i>
20 Feb.	Departure from Sawara–Stay in Chōshi (by ship from Omigawa)	11 <i>ri</i>
21 Feb.	Stay in Chōshi	
22 Feb.	Departure from Chōshi–Nakaya Izumikawa 中谷泉川–Stay in Yōkaichiba 八日市場	6 <i>ri</i>
23 Feb.	Departure from Yōkaichiba–Takoe 田越, Hayafune 早船–Stay in Tōgane 東金	Over 6 <i>ri</i>
24 Feb.	Departure from Tōgane–Kawai 川井–Stay in Chiba	Over 6 <i>ri</i>
25 Feb.	Stay in Chiba (half a day)–Departure from Chiba–Stay in Funabashi	5 <i>ri</i>
26 Feb.	Departure from Funabashi for Tokyo	Over 7 <i>ri</i>

Source: Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 192.

students from both the middle and elementary school teacher courses, and ten military and academic instructors. Wearing military outfits, including “firearms, a knapsack, a coat and a blanket,” students traveled the entire route of about 260 kilometers in military marching style; other than their feet, the only transportation used was the Omigawa 小見川 boat between Sawara 佐原 and Chōshi 銚子 (see table 1). During the twelve days, four main activities were conducted: naturalistic observation, elementary school tours, visits to famous places and historic sites, and military training.²¹

Naturalistic observation included meteorological observation, marine life collection on trawlers, and sketching of geological features. Students visited seven elementary schools, while instructors visited twenty elementary schools. The party also visited famous places and historic sites, such as Narita-san Shinshō Temple 成田山新勝寺, Katori Shrine 香取神社, the Hirayama shell midden 平山貝塚, Lake Inba 印旛沼, Tega Marsh 手賀沼, and the Chōshi coast. While Narita-san Shinshō Temple was a popular tourist destination that attracted many visitors from Tokyo, the other places the party visited were local historic sites or scenic spots on the route, rather than tourist destinations that would attract visitors from afar. Military training was completed without a hitch, including a two-day outdoor

21 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1886.

exercise on the Narashino 習志野 drill ground.²² This first Tokyo Normal School long-distance school trip, with its distinctive combination of military training and naturalistic observation, provided a model for early *shūgaku ryokō* in the mid-Meiji period. Educational trips modeled after it later spread under the term *shūgaku ryokō* to normal schools and secondary educational institutions around Japan.

The first confirmed appearance of the term “*shūgaku ryokō*” in print was in the article “*Shūgaku ryokōki*” (A record of *shūgaku ryokō*) in issue 47 of *Tokyo meikei-kai zasshi* 東京茗溪会雑誌, published in December 1886. The first use of the term in the title of an actual school excursion was for a one-month trip by the Higher Normal School (the former Tokyo Normal School) in August 1887, the year following the long-distance school trip described above.²³ In this *shūgaku ryokō*, the focus on military training was reduced, and military-style marching for traveling was abolished. Instead of walking, the group traveled between Ueno and Yokokawa 横川, and back to Tokyo from Kōzu 国府津, by train. Moreover, the first confirmed appearance of the term *shūgaku ryokō* in an official document was in the Jinjō Shihan Gakkō Setsubi Junsoku 尋常師範学校設備準則 (Regulations on Equipment at Ordinary Normal School) issued in 1888, which says, “*Shūgaku ryokō* shall be conducted during a regular term, for a period of up to sixty days a year, in such a way as to allow students to participate without paying expenses other than regular meals.”²⁴

Education Journals and Military Training in Shūgaku Ryokō

Education journals help clarify the early military training elements present in *shūgaku ryokō*. For example, in the April 1887 issue of the education journal *Dai Nihon kyōiku kaishi* 大日本教育会誌, a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Nagano Prefectural Normal School was reported to include “fieldwork in military physical education partly aimed at academic research.”²⁵ Another article in the same journal about a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Fukushima Prefectural Ordinary Normal School in May 1887 says that the party, “in military uniform and in possession of firearms, [...] visited elementary schools, [...] collected animal and plant samples, [...] and measured the temperatures of mineral springs.”²⁶ These descriptions suggest that normal schools nationwide conducted *shūgaku ryokō* with similar objectives to Tokyo Normal School’s long-distance school trip. In addition, an article about a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Saitama Prefectural Ordinary Normal School in November 1887 contains military terms such as “enemy troops,” “scouts,” and “reconnaissance,” indicating that this excursion included military training.²⁷

Meanwhile, some journal articles show examples of schools that were reconsidering the military training aspects of *shūgaku ryokō* or deliberating whether to remove them entirely. For example, it is reported that, prior to an excursion held by Yamaguchi Higher Middle School in April 1888, “some moved for a debate about whether students should have firearms or not, but finally the school decided to allow them because of the preference of many

22 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 192–93.

23 Shin’ya 2001.

24 Suzuki 1983, p. 83.

25 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1887a.

26 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1887b.

27 Kyōiku Jiron 1887.

students.”²⁸ In this way, after discussion, some schools chose to conduct the *shūgaku ryokō* in a military-training style. However, at about the same time, the very school which had devised the militaristic *shūgaku ryokō*, the Higher Normal School, ruled that “*kōgun* shall be conducted only during summer or winter holidays, or after spring tests, as an overnight or day excursion using no military equipment.”²⁹ Thus, while normal schools around Japan adopted a style of *shūgaku ryokō* centered on military marching that was modeled after the long-distance school trip, the Higher Normal School was detaching military training from *shūgaku ryokō*, and transitioning to a mode of school excursion that used rail rather than marching and focused on study tours and naturalistic observation. This is not to say that the Higher Normal School abolished military training as an educational activity; rather, the school began to draw a clear distinction between *kōgun* and *shūgaku ryokō*.

Detaching Kōgun from Shūgaku Ryokō

Under the influence of Mori Arinori and the Department/Ministry of Education, and the use of Tokyo Normal School as a model for normal schools nationwide, military training was included in early *shūgaku ryokō*. Yet the examples above suggest that school principals could choose to conduct *shūgaku ryokō* in a *kōgun* style or conduct *kōgun* separately from a *shūgaku ryokō* thus shorn of its more overt military-training elements. At the very least, it appears that the Department/Ministry of Education did not exert a strong influence on the forms of *shūgaku ryokō* organized by schools around the country. Consequently, some normal schools adopted *shūgaku ryokō* that included military training, while other schools, such as the Higher Normal School, conducted *kōgun* and *shūgaku ryokō* separately.

Tochigi Prefectural Ordinary Normal School conducted *shūgaku ryokō* and *kōgun* separately in 1892. During their nine-day *shūgaku ryokō*, carried out from 19 to 27 April, they mainly traveled on foot in Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures, visiting elementary schools and observing local lifestyles. This *shūgaku ryokō* was in the style of Tokyo Normal School’s long-distance school trip, but without military marching. Indeed, they used the railway to travel outward from Utsunomiya 宇都宮 to Furukawa 古河 and to return from Mito 水戸 to Utsunomiya. The same year, the school also conducted a three-day *kōgun* from 10 November to the Maoka 真岡 region in Tochigi prefecture. A firing exercise was scheduled for day two of the event, but the itinerary also included visits to elementary schools, factories, and Buddhist temples. Thus, although participants wore military uniforms, the event was a kind of *kōgun*-style *shūgaku ryokō* in terms of its content.³⁰ While this example shows that each school was able to select from various forms of *shūgaku ryokō*, there was a definite trend toward detaching it from military training.

The separation of military training from *shūgaku ryokō* did not mean that military training disappeared from the school curriculum. On the contrary, a distinct, independent form of military training was able to securely establish itself within the education system. Following a 1901 ordinance from the Ministry of Education, military-style physical education became part of the regular curriculum, and was clearly separated from *shūgaku ryokō*. Then, the Rikugun Gen’eki Shōkō Gakkō Haizoku Rei 陸軍現役將校学校配属令 (Imperial

28 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1888, p. 633.

29 Kyōiku Jiron 1888, p. 21.

30 Kobayashi 1892.

Ordinance Concerning the Stationing of Active Army Officers at Schools), promulgated in 1924, incorporated military training as a core component of school education, and made military training and *shūgaku ryokō* fully distinct.³¹ Thus, the separation from military training played a key role in the standardization of a touristic *shūgaku ryokō* focused on study tours.

Shūgaku Ryokō and the Railway

While it was school principals who finally decided to separate military training from *shūgaku ryokō*, two external factors accelerated this process: first, the development of the railway system as a mass transit system, and second, the staging of expositions in Tokyo.

Japan's first rail line was constructed between Shinbashi 新橋 and Yokohama in 1872. By 1899, when the Tokaidō 東海道 line between Shinbashi and Kobe was completed, the entire length of the railway network, both public and private, reached 1,052 miles (1,692.7 km).³² Still, even in the 1890s, there were large areas of Japan that were not covered by the rail network, and it would be a considerable time before all students on *shūgaku ryokō* could travel their entire route by train. But, if they were willing to travel on foot for a few days, most students were able to reach stations on the Tokaidō, San'yō 山陽, or Nippon 日本 rail lines, and from there depart to Tokyo. The rest of this paper examines a number of such case studies.

Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School's Shūgaku Ryokō

During nineteen days from 1 to 19 August 1890, twenty-six participants—the principal, two teachers, a dormitory supervisor, a caretaker, and twenty-one fourth-year students—from Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School toured Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka. The party departed on foot from the school at 5:30 am on 1 August, and reached Chizu 智頭 within the day. On 2 August, they continued on foot to Hirafuku 平福. On 3 August, they walked to Une 有年 station on the San'yō Railway line, and at 6 pm caught a train to Himeji 姫路, where they slept. On 4 August, the group traveled by train from Himeji to Kobe, carried out a study tour there, then boarded the steamboat *Yamashiro Maru* 山城丸 for Yokohama. After arriving at the port at 6:30 pm on 5 August, they traveled on the 7:25 pm train to Shinbashi, arriving there at 8:40 pm. The party then walked to Ginza, Nihonbashi, and Kanda before reaching the Hasuikan 巴水館 inn in Hongō at 11:20 pm. For the next eight days, from 6 to 13 August, they visited various sites in Tokyo. Although the Third National Industrial Exposition had been held in Ueno 上野 from 1 April to 31 July that year, the party arrived in Tokyo just after it had closed.³³

Many of the places they visited in Tokyo were schools: Tokyo Imperial University, the Higher Normal School, Tokyo Fine Arts School, Tokyo Music School, the Technical College, the Science College, and Tokyo School for the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb. Included among these were military-related educational institutions as well: the Naval War College, the Imperial Japanese Army Academy, the Military Preparatory School, and the Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal. In addition, they visited other kinds of places: the Ministry

31 Suzuki 1983, p. 132.

32 Oikawa 2014, pp. 110 and 225. See also Oikawa's paper in this special issue.

33 Yoshida 1890.



Figure 2. Shinbashi Station (circa 1900). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

of Education, the official residence of the Tottori prefectural governor in Yushima 湯島, the residence of the Ikeda 池田 family, their former daimyo in Mukōjima 向島, the government office district, Ueno Park, the zoo, the Imperial Museum, Koishikawa 小石川 Botanical Garden, a wool mill in Senju 千住, the Sōkōkan 湊治館 (an industrial product exhibition facility in Kanda), temples and shrines such as Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂 and Zōjōji 増上寺 temple, and the Nijū bashi 二重橋 bridge in the imperial palace.

On their return home, the group departed Shinbashi by train at 4:45 pm, and reached Kyoto Station at 10:10 am on 14 August. They visited a number of temples, including Nanzenji 南禅寺, Kurodanidera 黒谷寺, Kiyomizudera 清水寺, Hōkōji 方広寺, and Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂, before departing for Osaka at 4:05 pm the next day. On 16 August, they visited the garrison drill ground (Chindai Renpeijō 鎮台練兵場), temples and shrines such as Shitennōji 四天王寺, Ikukunitama Jinja 生国魂神社, Tennōji 天王寺, Osaka Castle, Brigade No. 8, and the mausoleum of Emperor Nintoku 仁徳天皇, and then departed for Kobe at 2:25 pm. After a brief rest there, they boarded a train at 5 pm, and reached Une at 7:53 pm. After staying overnight in Une, Hirafuku, and Chizu, the party finally returned to the school just after midday on 19 August.³⁴

Among their tours of major higher educational institutions in Tokyo, students visited three military schools. However, military training was not included in their itinerary. The group visited the drill ground and Brigade No. 8 in Osaka, but because of their tight schedule it is unlikely they had time to participate in military training practice. Given public support for an economically prosperous and militarily powerful nation in the Meiji period, military schools and facilities might seem like common-sense destinations for *shūgaku ryokō*.

³⁴ Yoshida 1890.

However, military-related educational institutions were primarily chosen because they functioned as important modern facilities located in the capital of Tokyo, rather than for explicitly nationalistic reasons. From an educational point of view, it was generally accepted that a certain number of military-related sites should be included on these study tours, and school administrators followed this logic. Along with free time in Tokyo and/or Osaka for students to visit relatives, military sites were one part of a diverse *shūgaku ryokō* itinerary.

The *shūgaku ryokō* of Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, which was conducted about four-and-a-half years after the long-distance school trip of Tokyo Normal School, illustrates the main features of the touristic *shūgaku ryokō* that became a standard for subsequent school excursions in Japan. First, most of the activities scheduled for Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka were study visits that neither included elements of military training (though they visited military schools and facilities), nor naturalistic observation. Second, in terms of transportation, the group used private and government-run railways, enabling them to travel long distances in a short period of time, which helped establish a model of excursions over large areas in Tokyo and Kansai.

Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School

Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School carried out a *shūgaku ryokō* at almost the same time as Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, and this example clearly shows that the previous case study was not unusual. Tokyo was also the primary destination for the Nagano school excursion, which took place over twenty days from 22 July to 10 August 1890. A total of ninety-nine people—including eleven instructors and staff, and eighty-four first to fourth-year students—participated. Although the school actually had 121 students in total, some were unable to participate due to influenza. The party traveled by train from Nagano to Karuizawa, walked over the Usui pass 碓氷峠, which no rail lines crossed, and took a train again at Yokokawa to reach Tokyo.³⁵ In contrast to the Tottori school excursion, the Nagano school were able to visit the Third National Industrial Exposition, although the school reported that “it was regrettable that the party had only limited time to see the exposition.”³⁶ The other places they visited while in Tokyo included the Imperial Palace, the Imperial University, schools such as the First Higher Middle School, Koishikawa Botanical Garden, the Diet Building, the Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal, and Asakusa. They visited the Imperial Palace together with school groups from Chiba and Ehime, which suggests that a number of normal schools had organized *shūgaku ryokō* to Tokyo during the period of the exhibition. Among the Nagano party, forty-four members returned home after completing scheduled visits in Tokyo, while the remaining students continued to travel. They visited the warship *Ryūjō* 龍驤 in Yokosuka, stayed two nights in Kamakura, then in Hakone Yumoto 箱根湯本, and climbed Mt. Fuji, before spending six days on a return journey that took in overnight stays in places like Kōfu, Kamisuwa 上諏訪, and Matsumoto.

The Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal and the naval port of Yokosuka were two military-related sites that the party visited. Although there is no record of military practice, physical and mental training objectives are clearly shown in activities such as climbing Mt. Fuji. In general, most of the sites visited by Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School

35 Asai 1890.

36 Asai 1890, p. 2.

Table 2. Comparison of the First, Second, and Third National Industrial Expositions.

ITEM	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD
No. of exhibitors	16,174	31,239	77,432
No. of exhibits	14,455	85,366	167,066
No. of visitors	454,168	822,395	1,023,693

Source: Kuni 2010, p. 129.

were the same as those visited by Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, which suggests that a set of places and practices for touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, including Tokyo as the primary destination, originated around 1890.³⁷

Expositions and Shūgaku Ryokō

Walking as the main form of *shūgaku ryokō* transit was replaced by rail because the latter enabled groups across the country to easily travel to Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe, all destinations which exerted a powerful pull on schools planning excursions. National industrial expositions further increased the appeal of these cities, and helped trigger a transition to touristic *shūgaku ryokō* using the railway network.

As exemplified by the month-long Kyoto Exposition held at Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 temple in October 1871, and an exposition held by the Department of Education in Yushima, Tokyo, in March 1872, such events in the early Meiji period mainly displayed old objects, including paintings, calligraphic works, and antiques. However, in 1874, the Home Ministry began planning industrial exhibitions aimed at promoting industry. This was the origin of the national industrial expositions staged every four years. The First National Industrial Exposition was held in Ueno over a period of 102 days from 21 August 1877, and the Second National Industrial Exposition, also in Ueno, from 1 March to 30 June 1881. As shown in table 2, the second exposition was clearly on a larger scale than the first, but also raised concerns that such a regular pace of events would stretch exhibitors and staff, and that displays might therefore lack novelty. Consequently, the Third National Industrial Exposition was postponed until 1889, and held from 26 March of that year. Although many *shūgaku ryokō* groups from around Japan visited this event, the spread of influenza in May and the first election of the members of the House of Representatives in July meant that visitor numbers did not show the expected increase, despite a much larger number of exhibitors and exhibits than the second exposition. Nevertheless, the number of visitors to the third exposition exceeded one million. The Fourth National Industrial Exposition was held in the Okazaki district of Kyoto. The Fifth National Industrial Exposition, held in Tennōji, Osaka, in 1903, attracted over 5.3 million visitors.³⁸

³⁷ Asai 1890, pp. 2–44.

³⁸ Kuni 2010, pp. 48–179.

There is no doubt that a major draw of these events for *shūgaku ryokō* groups was that they displayed the modern achievements of Meiji Japan. In particular, the Third National Industrial Exposition, which corresponded with the transition to touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, is thought to have made a significant impact on the formation of this mode of school excursion.

The Expansion of *Shūgaku Ryokō*

Shūgaku Ryokō at Elementary Educational Institutions

In many regions, including Hyogo prefecture, elementary schools were initially prohibited from holding *shūgaku ryokō*. In the late 1890s, however, *shūgaku ryokō* began to be conducted by elementary and higher elementary schools.³⁹ Matsuyama 松山 Higher Elementary School in the Hiki 比企 district of Saitama prefecture carried out a three-day *shūgaku ryokō* in October 1900 in which sixty-two male students, twenty-two female students, and five teachers and staff participated. As seen in table 3, the group traveled by train to Tokyo, where a tight schedule allowed them to visit a variety of sites in a short time. They had group photographs taken at Zōjōji temple, and at various sites around Tokyo, it appears that they met *shūgaku ryokō* groups from other elementary schools. The places they visited—shrines and temples, parks, the imperial palace, schools, and troop camps—were not substantially different from the places visited by normal school groups, suggesting that a set of pre-established practices were adopted by higher elementary schools.⁴⁰

These touristic *shūgaku ryokō* were aimed at allowing students to visit scenic spots and historic places, and observe the achievements of Japanese modernization in an urban area. They emerged through the detachment of military training from school excursions, the reduction of naturalistic observation exercises in itineraries, and a decline in the importance or necessity of walking as a means of transit. By the late 1890s, this style of *shūgaku ryokō* had been introduced into normal schools, secondary educational institutions, and eventually many elementary schools.

Many policy-makers hoped that children would grow up to actively support military action, and that some children would also become dedicated soldiers. Consequently, classroom and outdoor training was also introduced into elementary education. The cultivation of military-friendly attitudes through these activities was supported not only by families and educators, but across society as a whole, and militarism was promoted through publications targeted at children, and informal activities such as “playing war.”⁴¹ *Shūgaku ryokō* also played a significant role in the socialization of young children to support militarism. Places visited on elementary school *shūgaku ryokō* included military facilities such as troop camps. In direct ways, such tours were intended to make children positively interested in the military, but I would further argue that the inclusion of *non*-military sites, side by side with military ones, on *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries was itself an effective means of normalizing militarism. Although it might seem self-evident that explicit military training, such as *kōgun*, would most effectively shape positive attitudes to the military, rigorous physical activities such as marching and shooting practice would likely also have

39 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 214–17.

40 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 218.

41 Frühstück 2017, pp. 19–103.

Table 3. Itinerary of Matsuyama Higher Elementary School's *Shūgaku Ryokō* in October 1900.

21 Oct.	Departure from school; travel on foot (boys) or by coach (girls) to Kōnosu 鴻巣; Kōnosu to Shinagawa (by train); Sengakuji 泉岳寺 temple; Maruyama Park 丸山公園 (lunch); Zōjōji temple (group photos); Diet Building; Nijū bashi bridge; Statue of Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成; Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社
22 Oct.	Apprentice School (Totei Gakkō 徒弟学校) attached to the Technical College; Tōyō Glass 東洋硝子 (lunch); Asakusa Park 浅草公園; Hanayashiki 花屋敷; Aquarium; panorama パノラマ
23 Oct.	Visit to the First and Second Regiment (lunch); Ueno Park; the zoo; statue of Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛; Ueno to Kōnosu (by train)

Source: Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 218.

discouraged such attachments for some children. Thus, the inclusion of military elements within the largely non-military mode of touristic *shūgaku ryokō* worked as an indirect means of mobilizing large numbers of children for militarism. This occurred not only with elementary school groups but also students at secondary educational institutions. On the other hand, the inclusion of military facilities and sites associated with the Imperial Army also helped justify touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, allowing schools to plan itineraries that primarily took students to famous tourist destinations, historic sites, scenic spots, and sites representing the achievements of modernization in metropolitan areas.

Shūgaku Ryokō and Women's Educational Institutions

A relatively early example of the introduction of *shūgaku ryokō* into a women's educational institution was the *shūgaku ryokō* carried out by Yamanashi Women's Normal School in 1889. A total of fifteen students participated in this *shūgaku ryokō*, visiting Kyoto and Mie, then returning to Tokyo, where they went on a tour of the Ministry of Education.⁴² Then in 1890, the Women's Department of Tochigi Prefectural Middle School and other women's schools went on *shūgaku ryokō*.

Yet, these examples aside, only a small number of women's educational institutions conducted *shūgaku ryokō* in the mid-Meiji period. The declared purpose of women's education was to produce "good wives and wise mothers," and schools did not see participation in *shūgaku ryokō* as a necessary or effective means of achieving this. Indeed, social norms stated that a group of women should not travel and stay overnight together, and objections were made on this basis as well. Japan's first government-run women's higher school, a school affiliated to Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, was founded in 1882 and served as a model school for women's secondary education. However, it was not until 1924 that the school conducted its first *shūgaku ryokō*, a four-day tour primarily of the Ise shrines. This was also the case with women's Christian mission schools: both Joshigakuin 女子学院, founded in 1870, and Sacred Heart School 聖心女子学院, founded in 1910,

⁴² Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 197.



Figure 3. Statue of Kusunoki Masashige in front of the Imperial Palace (Meiji period). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

only conducted their first *shūgaku ryokō* in 1931. Thus, while some women's educational institutions made early efforts to adopt *shūgaku ryokō*, many other schools opposed the introduction of such programs.⁴³

An illustrative example of *shūgaku ryokō* carried out by a women's educational institution is that of Nara Women's Higher Normal School. Higher normal schools aimed to train future teachers who would work at secondary educational institutions, including middle and women's higher schools. The majority of students at higher normal schools were graduates from ordinary normal schools. In 1890, women's higher normal schools became independent from higher normal schools. The increase in the number of women's higher schools in the 1900s required new schools to train female teachers, which led to the foundation of Nara Women's Higher Normal School in 1908.

Nara Women's Higher Normal School conducted its first *shūgaku ryokō* in June 1909, allowing sixty-eight preparatory course students to participate in an overnight trip. The following year, the school began to hold *shūgaku ryokō* for specific departments, and thus second-year students in the Department of Mathematical, Physical, and Chemical Sciences went on an overnight *shūgaku ryokō* to Kyoto in November. The party mainly visited Kyoto Higher Craft School, the Ceramics Research Institute (Tōjiki Shikenjō 陶磁器試験場), Kiyomizudera temple, and Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮 shrine. In 1911, second-year students in the Department of History and Geography conducted a five-night *shūgaku ryokō*, mainly visiting Osaka (Tennōji temple, Nakanoshima Park 中之島公園), Takamatsu (Kotohira 琴平), Okayama (Kōrakuen 後樂園 gardens), Hiroshima (Kure 呉 Imperial

43 Suzuki 1983, pp. 119–20.

Navy base, Itsukushima Jinja 巖島神社, Hiroshima Higher Normal School), and Kobe (Minatogawa Jinja 湊川神社). As can be seen in the above cases, Nara Women's Higher Normal School conducted touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, which primarily visited famous places, historic sites, and other schools. Some correlation between the departments and destinations are visible, but it seems that the major objectives of these *shūgaku ryokō* were to allow future female leaders in education to broaden their knowledge about society, as well as strengthen interpersonal bonds with each other and instructors. As seen in the visit to the naval base by students in the Department of History and Geography, their *shūgaku ryokō* also included visits to military facilities—as with ordinary normal schools and other schools. It is thus difficult to distinguish any unique characteristics of women's educational institutions through their *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries.⁴⁴

Compared with those carried out by men's educational institutions in the Meiji period, *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by women's secondary or higher educational institutions sometimes included naturalistic observation, specimen collection, and similar activities, but did not include military training because of assumptions that the military was for men. Therefore, from early on, *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by women's schools tended to focus on visits to famous tourist destinations, historic sites, sites representing modernization, and schools. Furthermore, prevailing discourses around female physical characteristics meant women's school groups relied more often on transportation methods like rail than men's school groups, resulting in a stronger tendency toward touristic *shūgaku ryokō*. While women were required to be physically healthy enough to become good mothers, they were not required to do military training. Although schools that trained female teachers introduced *shūgaku ryokō* in a relatively proactive manner, not all middle- or upper-class families at that time viewed such attempts as favorable. In the pre-World War II period, middle- or upper-class families believed that the happiness of their daughters lay in a good marriage soon after or even before graduation from women's higher schools, and some families discouraged their daughters from advancing to women's normal schools, although highly educated female teachers were generally respected.⁴⁵

Criticisms of Shūgaku Ryokō

As *shūgaku ryokō* expanded, so did criticism of it. A relatively early example was an article from 1889 titled “Shūgaku ryokō no hi o ronzu” 修学旅行ノ非ヲ論ズ (An Argument Against *Shūgaku Ryokō*), in the education journal *Kyōiku jiron* 教育時論. This pointed out the following problems: first, though *shūgaku ryokō* fostered shared feelings and obligations between instructors and students, there were very few other effects that were positive; second, students sometimes acted in a troublesome manner while traveling; third, from an educational point of view, it would be more effective to spend the excursion budget on employing more instructors; and fourth, if the current trend toward *shūgaku ryokō* by women students was not halted, the “reputation” of the educational community would be damaged, and a groundswell of public reproach would result.⁴⁶

44 Hamano 2004b, pp. 27–35; Takagi 2013.

45 Inoue 2017, pp. 182–86.

46 *Kyōiku jiron* 1889.

Education journals published after 1900, when *shūgaku ryokō* spread across the country, carried articles that pointed out problems such as the burden of travel expenses on students' parents, and scheduling difficulties for regular classes due to the need to include excursion itineraries.⁴⁷ Other articles pointed out students' problematic behavior: "Needless to say, *shūgaku ryokō* do have a beneficial impact on students [... But] local newspapers report that some higher or middle school students behave badly, including students who secretly visit brothels at night, inviting geisha to entertain them there." The article concluded that greater regulation was required.⁴⁸ Many of these critical articles did not completely reject *shūgaku ryokō*; rather, they acknowledged the importance of school excursions, and looked to find ways to reduce unacceptable behavior.

Shūgaku Ryokō on the Continent

Army Support for Shūgaku Ryokō in Korea and Manchuria

A boom in *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea was concomitant with continental expansionism in the years after the Russo-Japanese War. On 13 July 1906, a joint party from Tokyo Higher Normal School and Tokyo Prefectural Normal School departed from Shinbashi for Ujina 宇品 in Hiroshima prefecture. Two days later, at six in the morning, the party boarded the *Kotohira Maru* 琴平丸. Students from Kagoshima Seventh Higher School joined them, when the ship visited Moji port the following day. The group—totaling an impressive six hundred members—arrived at the port of Dalian (Jp. Dairen 大連) on 18 July.⁴⁹ A few weeks later, in late July, students from schools around Japan once again came together in Ujina to undertake a continental *shūgaku ryokō* on ships provided free of charge by the Imperial Japanese Army.

The main factor behind the sudden popularity of school excursions to Manchuria and Korea was a proposal for the Man-Kan Junyū Ryokōkai 滿韓巡遊旅行会 (Manchuria-Korea Excursion Tour) by the Asahi Shinbunsha. This tour was advertised in both the eastern and western Japan issues of the *Asahi shinbun* on 22 June 1906. It was scheduled to depart from Yokohama the following month, on 25 July, visit major cities in Manchuria and Korea, as well as battlefield sites from the Russo-Japanese War, and return to Kobe on 23 August. The maximum number of tourists who could participate was set at 374, and this figure was reached in just three days. An overseas group tour on this scale had never been seen before in Japan, and readers reacted positively. After the newspaper announcement, the Imperial Army made a number of generous offers to the company, including permission for the excursion party to land at Dalian and Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur) and use the Dalian pier for free; a one-third discount on train fares for all lines in Korea and Manchuria, then under the control of the Japanese Army; and permission for the tour group to use military quarters along the lines for accommodation. The Imperial Navy also permitted the tour ship to enter Kure and Sasebo 佐世保 ports and invited the group to visit the naval dockyards. In addition, discounts were also offered on domestic train fares to the departure port, while both Higashi and Nishi Honganji temples allowed the tour group to rest at their branch temples in Korea and Manchuria. The Asahi Shinbunsha, as

47 *Kyōiku jiron* 1902.

48 *Kyōiku jiron* 1903.

49 Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.

organizer, had hoped students would participate in this excursion, and offered reduced ship fares for 200 of 370 tickets in anticipation of student applications, but these low-fare tickets were quickly sold to non-student applicants. It was within this context that the Ministry of War formulated plans to allow middle- or higher-level school students to use army ships departing from Ujina port for free when they traveled to Manchuria and Korea during the summer holidays, on the condition that they were led by school staff. The army organized its ships according to the following boarding schedule: *Karafuto Maru* 樺太丸 (15 July 1907); *Kotaki Maru* 小滝丸 (19 July 1907); *Jingū Maru* 神宮丸 (23 July 1907); *Miyoshino Maru* 御吉野丸 (25 July 1907); *Karafuto Maru* (29 July 1907). In total, 7,616 people applied to take the ships arranged by the army, although in the end, only 3,694 people were able to board these due to a shortage of vessels.⁵⁰

With military victory against Qing China and Russia, there was increased excitement in Japan about the country's status as a great power, and new interest in the continent. Public reaction to the Asahi Shinbunsha's tour promotion inspired the Ministry of Education, schools and companies nationwide, and the Imperial Japanese Army, who offered a different kind of support and encouragement.

Tokyo Higher Normal School's Continental Shūgaku Ryokō

An illustrative example of *shūgaku ryokō* on the continent is Tokyo Higher Normal School's 1906 tour. On 13 July, the group departed Shinbashi station, returning there nearly a month later on 11 August. The school's report of the tour is entitled *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 遼東修学旅行記 (A Record of a School Excursion to Liaodong), but the expression "*Shūgaku ryokō* to South Manchuria" is also used inside the report. The stated objective of the excursion was for students to "inspect the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War." In all, there were 192 participants: 168 student volunteers, twenty-one instructors and staff members, and three hired workers. The students were affiliated to a diversity of university departments, and were divided into twelve mixed groups. Before the party departed, the Ministry of Education negotiated with the national railway organization to enable the party to ride the train network for free. The Ministry of War also allowed the party to use its ships, and provided them with support on trains, accommodation, and other matters in Manchuria.⁵¹ Table 4 shows an outline of the itinerary.

This *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea was carried out with the generous support of the army. Since the tour was intended to take students to inspect battlefields from the Russo-Japanese War, the party visited five military-related places—Liaodong, Tieling, Liaoyang, Nanzan, and Ryūjūton—where they were guided by army officers. The army exerted a substantial influence on the tour, and the school was unable to freely choose destinations and local itineraries. In other ways too, the army offered support: a considerable number of students became sick at various times during the month-long journey in an environment different from mainland Japan—in Yingkou, thirteen students came down with diarrhea, and were sent to the Imperial Japanese Army Hospital in Dalian.⁵²

50 Ariyama 2002, pp. 18–39.

51 Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.

52 Shimoda 1907, p. 9.

Table 4. Tokyo Higher Normal School's *Shūgaku Ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea.

13 July	Departure from Shinbashi
15	Arrival in Ujina at 6:20 am; boarding <i>Kotohira Maru</i> at 9 am
16	Arrival in Moji at 6 am; departure from Moji at 3 pm
18	Arrival in Dalian at 3 pm
19	Stay in Dalian; lecture by a Development Office engineer on the geological features of Manchuria
20	Dalian Ordinary Higher Elementary School; product exhibition hall; power plant; steel works; agricultural research institute; water source; Nishi Park 西公園, and so on
21	Departure from Dalian at 11 am; arrival in Liaodong at 2:18 pm
22	Visits to Huang Chin Shan 黄金山砲台 (Golden Hill Fort) and other places in Liaodong
23	Departure from Liaodong at 7:20 am
24	Arrival in Fengtian 奉天 (Mukden) at 9:20 am
25	Tour of Fengtian; visit to the Fushun 撫順 coal mine
26	Departure from Fengtian at 6:57 am; arrival in Tieling 鉄嶺 at 10:32 am; visit to military defenses; tour of the city
27	Free time in the morning; departure from Tieling at 8:11 pm
28	Arrival in Liaoyang 遼陽 at 3:14 am; visit to Kubiyama 首山 fort
29	Departure from Liaoyang at 3:59 am; arrival in Yingkou 營口 at 9:05 am; optional tour of the city
30	Departure from Yingkou at 7 am; arrival in Jinzhou 金州 at 7:30 pm
31	Nanshan 南山, lecture by brigade commander, explanation about defensive positions by officer; departure from Jinzhou at 5 pm; travel on foot; arrival in Ryūjūton 柳樹屯 at 7 pm
1 Aug.	Visit to military positions from the first Sino-Japanese War in Ryūjūton; departure from Ryūjūton at 5 pm; departure from Jinzhou at 7 pm; arrival in Dalian in 9 pm
2	Optional tour in Dalian
3	Stay in Dalian; no participants requested to return via Korea
4	Stay in Dalian
5	Departure of <i>Kotohira Maru</i> at 3 pm
8	Arrival in Moji at 7 am; departure at 11 am; arrival in Ujina at 10 pm
9	Landing at 8 am; close of tour, excepting Tokyo return groups
10	Departure from Hiroshima at 10:05 am
11	Arrival in Shinbashi at 5:30 pm

Source: Compiled from information in Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.

As can be seen from the example of Tokyo Higher Normal School, *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea were conducted with the full support of the Ministry of Education and the army prior to departure, and with the help of local Japanese army troops while the party was in Manchuria. However, it is important to recognize that, although the army was very closely involved in all stages of this tour, there was no provision of military training practice, including *kōgun*. To that extent, this was a touristic *shūgaku ryokō* with battlefields as the main destinations, conducted with the cooperation of the army.

Expansion of Continental Shūgaku Ryokō

After that, many secondary or higher-level educational institutions in Japan conducted tours of Manchuria and Korea as *shūgaku ryokō* in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. In 1930, 10,677 students in 213 student groups visited Manchuria and Korea. Many of the schools that conducted this type of *shūgaku ryokō* were vocational schools, including normal, commercial, and agricultural ones, and the overwhelming majority of them were located in western Japan, as this location meant lower transportation costs. Some women's educational institutions also conducted *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea. For example, in 1930, nine women's normal schools, five women's higher schools, and two women's technical schools.⁵³ Knowledge about the military and battlefields was seen as particularly necessary for students at women's normal schools so they could share these experiences with students in the future.

It is generally thought that the number of schools conducting *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea declined after the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident in 1931, and the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, but it is clear that these conflicts rather boosted Japanese interest in China and the continent. As late as 1939, Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School and Nara Women's Higher Normal School were organizing separate "continental trips."⁵⁴ However, in May 1940, the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education issued a notification that imposed restrictions on *shūgaku ryokō* to mainland China.

Even if *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea were intended to bring students to battlefields, or help them to understand national policy on continental expansion, these journeys had striking touristic qualities. Although former battlefield sites were important places to be visited in an overseas version of touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, students' travel impressions would have taken in a large variety of other scenes and experiences as well. Most of the itineraries of these *shūgaku ryokō* included visits to parks, schools, museums, and product exhibition halls, as well as battlefields or military sites, and in some cases, students were given free time to explore local cities. I would argue that the continuation of *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea over thirty years was enabled by this combination of attractive overseas travel and the easy justification provided by "battlefield inspection."

End of *Shūgaku Ryokō* under the Wartime Regime

What changes did *shūgaku ryokō* undergo in the 1930s, as nationalism increased and a wartime regime was established? One noticeable shift was that visits to Shinto shrines, especially the Ise shrines, and to military facilities, were more actively promoted. When

53 Osa 2007, pp. 339–40.

54 Osa 2007.

Gunma Prefectural Maebashi Middle School 前橋中学校 went on a *shūgaku ryokō* to the Kansai region in April 1939, one year before the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the imperial reign, the group volunteered for three hours at Kashihara Jingū 橿原神宮 shrine, as part of the Kenkoku Hōshi-tai 建国奉仕隊 (National Foundation Service Team) program. Two years later, in June 1941, students at the same school visited Meiji Jingū 明治神宮, had a tour of Ise, Nara, Kyoto, and Osaka, and volunteered in the Imperial Palace plaza.⁵⁵ Such examples suggest that increasing nationalism influenced *shūgaku ryokō*, as practices of reverence for deities and ancestors were added to school excursion aims and itineraries. That said, it is also the case that wartime restrictions on transportation made it increasingly difficult for schools to use the rail network, and volunteer services at the imperial palace or national Shinto shrines may have been useful justifications to make excursions by train.

The beginning of the Pacific War accelerated supply shortages and further tightened restrictions on transportation. This situation brought an end to most *shūgaku ryokō*, yet such tours were not prohibited, and some schools continued to conduct excursions after 1941. For example, the prefectural Nagano Commercial School initially halted *shūgaku ryokō* with the expansion of military conflict, but later restarted them for the stated purpose of visiting Shinto shrines. The party toured the Ise shrines, Kashihara Jingū, Nara, Nagoya, and other places for three days and two nights from 24 October 1942. However, the following year, the school once again discontinued *shūgaku ryokō*.⁵⁶

The above suggests that the ideology of wartime nationalism was not detrimental to *shūgaku ryokō*. This has two implications. On the one hand, it suggests that *shūgaku ryokō* were used in school education as a means to instill nationalistic thought and reverence for deities and ancestors into students. On the other hand, nationalistic ideology was a useful pretext to sustain preexisting touristic *shūgaku ryokō*. The interaction of these two factors meant that school excursions could be, and were, carried out under the wartime regime. Shirahata argues that to understand *shūgaku ryokō* to the Ise shrines, for example, only in terms of nationalist reverence for the imperial family, is over-simplistic. Whatever the stated aim of a school excursion, it is as necessary to recognize the role also played by the motivation to travel and see new places.⁵⁷

Also, although discussions about *shūgaku ryokō* from the 1930s often placed strong emphasis on Shinto shrines, the imperial palace, and military facilities, these places did not suddenly emerge as destinations with the beginning of the wartime regime. On a trip to the Kansai region in 1928, a party from Tokyo Kaisei Middle School 東京開成中学校 took advantage of the chance to sail on the warship *Yamashiro* 山城 from Yokosuka to Ise bay on their outward trip. In 1929, a party from the prefectural Wakayama Middle School undertook a study tour at the naval port of Kure.⁵⁸ Such examples are taken from the period before the beginning of total war.

Organized tours of famous Shinto shrines associated with the emperor-centered national polity, as well as military facilities, played a significant role in fostering nationalistic thinking and militarism in young people. This was done without the need to directly mold

55 Suzuki 1983, pp. 139–40.

56 Suzuki 1983, pp. 141–42.

57 Shirahata 1996, pp. 136–38.

58 Suzuki 1983, pp. 133–34.

their physical bodies, as through military training. However, to some extent, such sites were already being selected for *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries from the mid-Meiji period; and therefore, over time, through processes of repetition and social convention, they became established as “must-see” places. This suggests a reason other than military nationalism for why these sites were being visited into the 1930s. Included on excursion itineraries, they helped frame touristic *shūgaku ryokō* as a respectful and serious practice.

Closing Remarks: *Shūgaku Ryokō* in the Postwar and Present

With the end of the Asia-Pacific War, war-devastated railways and severe food shortages prevented most schools from resuming *shūgaku ryokō*. But some secondary educational institutions did carry out excursions relatively soon after the surrender. In 1946, Yamaguchi Prefectural Asa Women’s Higher School 厚狭高等女学校 carried out a four-day *shūgaku ryokō* to Matsue and Izumo Taisha shrine, and Gunma Prefectural Takasaki Commercial School 高崎商業学校 went to Nikko. However, it was not until the early 1950s that most schools nationwide restarted *shūgaku ryokō*. Education authorities around the country requested that schools duly consider the economic burden on guardians when resuming *shūgaku ryokō*. Osaka Prefectural Department of Education sent out a notification to this effect in November 1947, as did the chair of the Tokyo Board of Education in March 1950. Meanwhile, schools made efforts to resume excursions by overcoming the transportation and food issues.⁵⁹

While advice from government bodies regarding *shūgaku ryokō* focused more often on the negatives, instructors at schools often worked hard to give their students the opportunities for excursions. These efforts suggest that both instructors and students had a special attachment to *shūgaku ryokō*, and this importance was generally accepted across society. As seen above, there were continuities in touristic *shūgaku ryokō* over the Meiji and Taishō periods, and through prewar and wartime Shōwa. After the war, under the control of General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ-SCAP), the Japanese government promoted educational democratization, and strived to remove evidence of militarism from the field of education. On 15 December 1945, GHQ-SCAP issued the Shinto Directive (Shintō Shirei 神道指令) prohibiting Shinto-based education. The notice that the Ministry of Education sent out seven days later to prefectural authorities and school principals prohibited not only organized shrine visits, but also bowing towards (*yōhai* 遥拜) the Ise, Meiji Jingū, and other shrines. Remarkably, the notice did not prohibit similar expressions of reverence towards the imperial palace, reflecting GHQ-SCAP’s decision to utilize the emperor system during the Occupation. While this ruling stopped schools from organizing trips to the Ise shrines, Yamaguchi Prefectural Asa Women’s Higher School’s 1946 visit to Izumo Taisha suggests that Shinto shrines were not completely ruled out as *shūgaku ryokō* destinations.⁶⁰

Military-related sites were removed from postwar itineraries. Even after the reestablishment of a Japanese military force in the form of the Self-Defense Force, their facilities were not reincorporated as *shūgaku ryokō* destinations. The postwar educational establishment embraced principles of democracy, anti-militarism, and pacifism, and the

59 Suzuki 1983, pp. 151–55.

60 Ōta 2015, pp. 181–89.

Japan Teachers' Union, which had a powerful influence on public schools, was a vocal defender of postwar demilitarization.

As *shūgaku ryokō* became increasingly diversified in the 1980s, a growing number of schools began to incorporate peace education into *shūgaku ryokō*. In peace education, students typically visit sites of wartime devastation in Japan with the aim of understanding the value of peace and engaging with antiwar principles. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and later Okinawa, became common destinations for this type of school excursion. *Shūgaku ryokō* parties do not make a tour of all these places, but at least one such site is usually included in excursion itineraries. For example, students may visit the Atomic Bomb Dome and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum alongside tours of Kurashiki 倉敷 and Tsuwano 津和野, see war-related sites in Nagasaki after enjoying themselves in Huis Ten Bosch theme park, or stay overnight at a resort hotel in Onna-son 恩納村 after going to the Himeyuri Memorial Tower in Okinawa.⁶¹ In these common itineraries, tourism-related sites sit comfortably alongside sites related to the primary focus of peace education. It might be argued that the military-related elements of prewar excursions have thus been replaced with peace education in today's *shūgaku ryokō*. As the theme of peace does not exclude women, peace education has also helped to overcome some of the overt gender disparities found in prewar *shūgaku ryokō*.

Based on extant sources, it is hard to confirm the precise reasons for the continuation of *shūgaku ryokō* over such a transformative period. However, it is clear that touristic *shūgaku ryokō* have been strongly, if often implicitly, supported by students, parents, and teachers, and these practices have, at the same time, enjoyed the tacit support of society at different historical moments. Arguably, three factors explain such continued support: first, in the prewar period, *shūgaku ryokō* played an important role as the primary means of tourism for most people. *Shūgaku ryokō* provided opportunities for tourism-oriented trips and excursions in ways that the travel industry did not. Second, teachers and students saw out-of-school activities, including school excursions, as an effective means of recreation able to foster close interpersonal bonds of friendship. It was this desire that motivated schools to resume *shūgaku ryokō* in the postwar period.

The third factor is the close relationship between touristic *shūgaku ryokō* and the military. Visits to military facilities provided educational value to touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, and thereby offered an effective justification for excursion practices. Visits to battlefields in Manchuria and volunteering at Kashihara Jingū and Meiji Jingū were a useful pretext for a mode of *shūgaku ryokō* which emphasized primarily recreation and friendship. In this way, the military played a significant role in sustaining touristic *shūgaku ryokō*. Though present-day activities have been stripped of war and militarism as positive values, the emphasis on peace education means that war and militarism continue, as negative values, to be closely entangled with the Japanese school excursion.

61 For a discussion of postwar tourism to some of these sites, as well as an examination of discourses of "peace" in tourism, see Fukuma's chapter in this special issue.

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