

## **War, Firsthand, at a Distance: Battlefield Tourism and Conflicts of Memory in the Multiethnic Japanese Empire**

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One of the most important battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was 203-Meter Hill. Located in the city of Lushun on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula, 203-Meter Hill also became one of the most important and contested places of memory in the Japanese empire. This article explores the production of collective memories at 203-Meter Hill. It does so from the perspective of Japanese and Korean travelers from the very first student tours in 1906 to the late 1930s. It pays particular attention to how changes in territory and ideology produced changes in commemorative practices. It argues that the history of 203-Meter Hill as a site for producing Japanese national identity is only one part of the battlefield's story. Reading the accounts of Korean travelers alongside those of Japanese travelers, the article shows that the site produced powerful senses of Korean national identity as much as it did Japanese ones.

**Keywords:** tour guides, collective memory, colonialism, nationalism, 203-Meter Hill, Manchuria, Russo-Japanese War, Kim Kyo-sin, Japan, Korea

### **Introduction**

Battlefield tourism “recruits sympathy” for otherwise ethically murky national projects.<sup>1</sup> One of these projects is nationalism itself. Battlefield tourism sites tell the story of the nation. They ignore the messy realities of the colonial and the local, and do not often acknowledge that battlefield sites are also places of memory for other nations and communities.<sup>2</sup> The results are national imaginaries with terrestrially overlapping yet discursively discrete geographic footprints; a palette upon which yellow and blue never mix to make green.

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1 Gonzalez 2013, p. 116.

2 For recent critiques of this approach to battlefield tourism, see Gonzalez 2013; Kelman 2013; and Laderman 2009. Tai (2001) argues compellingly that the “places of memory” approach has excised colonialism from the history of the modern nation. She suggests a return, as I attempt here in modified form, to Halbwachs’ (1992) concept of “social frameworks” rather than places as the primary structures of collective memory.

Battlefield sites can be places of memory.<sup>3</sup> But they are unstable ones. Actual places are run through with all sorts of complicating factors: people who identify and are identified with different nations or subject positions for one; changing borders and political structures for another. Treated as its own site of history, the commemorative battlefield reveals the monocular perspective of national history to be but one square of a cubist world. As a physical piece of land, a battlefield exists within a transnational context of intertwined routes and individuals. As an assemblage of commemorative infrastructure, a battlefield tourism site shows how one era's authentic truth changes over time and with its audiences, and how inconvenient facts disappear into the fog of mythic history. As sites of emotional encounter, battlefields elicit introspection and identification from visitors, whose records expose to historians the moments in which they choose to overwrite their own personal experiences with the fictive memory of national history; or, when they choose to do precisely the opposite, and reject the myth in favor of a different identification.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the modern Japanese state created places of memory to foster a shared sense of identity and collective memory among the newly constituted Japanese nation.<sup>4</sup> From the early twentieth century, the Japanese colonial governments in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria worked with the Ministry of Education and the army to incorporate places of memory for the Japanese nation that were located in recently colonized territories. In particular, the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR), the ministries of the Army and Education, and the Governor General of the Kwantung Leased Territory promoted the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria as places of memory for the Japanese nation. Encouraging teachers and students to travel to these sites, they used battlefield tourism to inculcate travelers and young people with a sense of patriotic nationalism that encompassed the entire territory of the Japanese Empire.<sup>5</sup>

For many travelers, travel to Russo-Japanese War battlefields produced a shared sense of national experience and affective attachment to Japan's informal colonial territory in Manchuria. For others, however, travel produced competing nationalisms and conflicting subject positions. Among those students and teachers whose participation in battlefield tourism the Ministry of Education and the colonial governments encouraged were elite students, who largely did not fight in the war, and Koreans, who were colonized subjects of the Japanese Empire. Some of these Korean travelers experienced Manchuria and its Russo-Japanese war battlefields not as a place of memory for the Japanese nation but as a place where they could perform, and thus inhabit, a Korean national identity.<sup>6</sup>

Both groups of travelers premised their memories of the battlefields on the implicit and explicit denial of the other. At times these collective memories denied the lived personal experiences of the travelers themselves. Weaving Japanese and Korean accounts of Japan's Manchurian battlefields back together shows how collective memories shifted to address the contradictions between an ideally homogenous national body and an actually unequal

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3 Nora 1989.

4 For example, Fujitani 1996; Takenaka 2015.

5 McDonald 2017; Osa 2007; Ruoff 2010. Some of these materials and their analyses appear in chapter 1 of McDonald 2017.

6 Manchuria also plays a significant role in the landscape of Chinese national memory, both as a site of "national humiliation" and as an opportunity for economic renewal through Japanese tourism. See Cohen 2003; Gao 2001, pp. 226–27; Tamanoi 2006.

society. Travelers used these sites to erase the classed nature of the war experience and to negotiate the conflict between the Japanese state's official embrace of cultural pluralism and its actual denial of Korean history.

### A Place of Memory

Soon after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the Ministry of Education and the army began to convert southern Manchuria into a place of memory for the Japanese nation. The Kwangtung Army constructed memorial towers at Mt. Hakugyoku 白玉山 and at 203-Meter Hill (Nihyakusan Kōchi 二百三高地). Roads up the hills were improved; soldiers attached to the Kwangtung Army became tour guides; and, by 1909, the South Manchuria Railway Company had produced a tourist guidebook and hired the famous novelist Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 to tour the region and publish his accounts in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* 東京朝日新聞 (Tokyo Asahi Newspaper).<sup>7</sup>

Government and private organizations in Japan sprang into action as well. In 1906, the Ministry of Education and the army sponsored nearly six hundred students and teachers from Tokyo Higher Normal School, Tokyo Prefectural Normal School, and Kagoshima Higher Normal School on a trip to Manchuria and Korea. Two weeks later, the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* sent four hundred travelers to the continent.<sup>8</sup> School and individual travel expanded rapidly over the following two decades. Tokyo and Nagasaki higher normal schools sent groups in 1907; Yamaguchi Higher Commercial School sent a group to Manchuria and Korea every year between 1907 and 1911; and Osaka Higher Commercial School sent a group in 1907, 1909, and then every year from 1911 to 1918. By the 1920s, the range of schools expanded considerably to include middle schools, higher girls' schools, higher agricultural schools, and universities. Kyushu's Oita Middle School, for example, sent a group to Manchuria and Korea each year between 1923 and 1930. The groups originated from all over the inner territory: students from Tottori Higher Forestry School traveled to the continent each year between 1926 and 1935, while Shikoku's Kagawa Normal School sponsored a trip nearly every year between 1924 and 1940. Schools in Hokkaido and Okinawa sent groups, as did schools in Taiwan and Korea.<sup>9</sup> As school travel expanded, so did private travel. By 1918, the Japan Tourist Bureau was selling discount travel tickets and preparing itineraries for a growing number of individual Japanese travelers eager to see Korea and Manchuria.

7 Sōseki 1909. It appears that 203-Meter Hill became a site of battlefield tourism and national commemoration without first serving a more local audience. This differs from Hiroshima and Okinawa. There, memorial museums and battlefield tourist sites began as artifact- and bone-collection sites where locals gathered to remember the dead. The army did host funerals at battlefields during the war. But these were often celebratory affairs, as they offered a break from the fighting. See Figal 2012, pp. 30–32; Schäfer 2008, pp. 155–68; Shimazu 2001, p. 88.

8 Ariyama 2002, pp. 57–58. See also Soyama in this special issue.

9 Manshūkoku shisatsu ryokōki 1935. For an example of intra-colonial school travel, see reports cited below from *Kōyūkaishi* 校友会誌, the Keijō Public Middle School (Keijō Kōritsu Chūgakkō 京城公立中学校) alumni magazine. Technically, the school was open to all students who could pass entrance exams in Japanese. Practically, however, very few Koreans were admitted. For Taiwan, Yokoi Kaori 横井香織 has tracked the travels of the Taihoku Higher Commercial School (Taihoku Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 台北高等商業学校), whose students took trips to Manchuria and/or Korea almost every year between 1923 and 1942. See Yokoi 2007, pp. 160–62. For statistics on school travel to Manchuria, see Gao 2004, pp. 290–96.

The impetus for this memory work was not the fear that the nation would forget the war.<sup>10</sup> It was that the nation might remember the war too well. The scale and uneven sacrifices that the war demanded prompted intense criticisms of the government and of those who promoted the war as an act that would benefit the entire Japanese nation. The increased taxes to support the war effort fell heavily on the urban lower classes, especially rickshaw pullers and craftsmen, who joined in demonstrations to protest the cost of the war. Parents and neighbors of conscripts made pilgrimages to shrines to pray for the safety of their hometown kids—not, as Naoko Shimazu points out, a necessarily jingoistic act.<sup>11</sup> Poets even inaugurated a new theme for the era. “War-weary poetry” lamented the human costs of the conflict. Emblematic of this style was Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子, whose poem to her conscripted younger brother, “Kimi shinitamō koto nakare” 君死にたまふことなかれ (You must not die), earned her the opprobrium of the pro-war literary establishment. Ōmachi Keigetsu 大町桂月, himself a poet but of a more conservative bent, called Yosano’s poem “unforgiveable as a Japanese citizen (*kokumin* 国民).”<sup>12</sup>

The conflict over the costs and consequences of the war continued even after its conclusion. The Treaty of Portsmouth, which settled the war, transferred to Japan the Russian leasehold and railway concession in southern Manchuria and placed Korea under the guidance of Japan as a “protectorate.” But Japan was not granted an indemnity from Russia to cover the extraordinary costs of the war. This practice had been a standard component of previous resolutions between Western and Asian states and had, in fact, even been part of the resolution of the previous Sino-Japanese War. At the news of the settlement’s paltry terms, some thirty thousand people in Tokyo gathered in Hibiya Park to demand that the emperor oppose the government and reject the treaty.<sup>13</sup> Protestors overturned streetcars and set fire to police boxes. Clashes with police resulted in nearly one thousand casualties.

The memory of the Russo-Japanese War that tours of southern Manchuria promoted was therefore quite specific. Manchuria would be remembered as a place of national sacrifice. Tourism would disseminate this memory by linking the official historical narrative with personal experience. The idea was that, by traveling to Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites, travelers would gain “authentic” knowledge of the war. The tourist would feel like he or she understood “the truth” of the site in a way that was not accessible to those who had not seen it firsthand.<sup>14</sup> They would then bring this knowledge home to those who could not see the battlefields for themselves. Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎, the principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School, laid out the logic as he dispatched his students to Manchuria and Korea in 1906: “A great many citizens (*kokumin*) know only part of the layout of the battlefields and the conditions of warfare from [reading] a few newspapers or magazines, and the chance to witness the sites of victory are scarce,” he wrote. “Because of this, [the great many citizens] are not able to form deep impressions of the war.”<sup>15</sup> Kanō situated his charges in contrast: “Those who will become teachers must not stop at simply reading accounts of battles, or gaining information about the [Russo-Japanese War] from conversations with others,” he

10 On the term “memory work,” see Fujitani et al. 2001, p. 1.

11 Narita 2004, p. 122; Shimazu 2001, p. 75.

12 Quoted in Shimazu 2009, p. 41.

13 Gordon 1991, pp. 26–33; Okamoto 1982.

14 MacCannell 1976, pp. 135–43.

15 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryōkōki* 1907, p. 2.

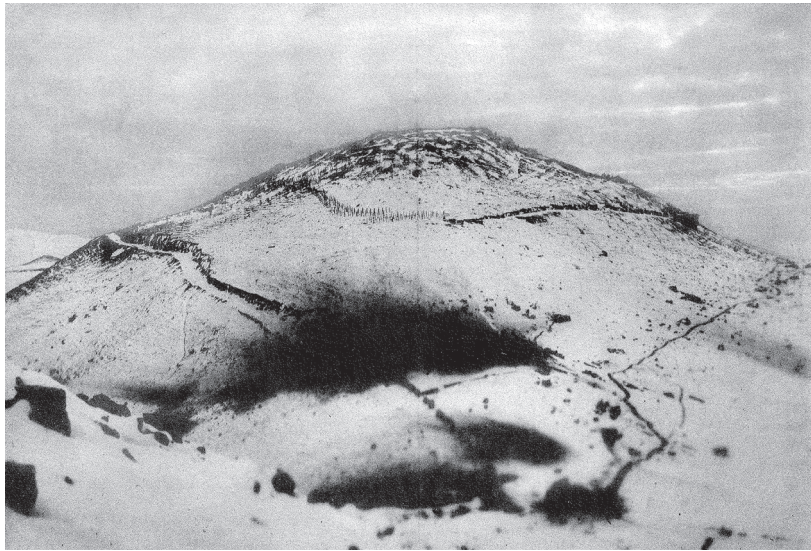


Figure 1. 203-Meter Hill, ca. 1904. Kaigun Gunreibu 1909.



Figure 2. Students from Miyakonojō 都城 Higher Commercial School present their observations from a trip to Manchuria and Korea. The picture shows them posing in front of a map of Korea. Miyazaki-kenritsu Miyakonojō Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 1931.

exhorted. Rather, “they must go themselves to the battle sites, reflect deeply [on them], and use these materials to enlighten today’s subjects and guide the next generation.”<sup>16</sup>

They did. The students traveled to the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War. Upon their return, they used their elite status as higher and higher normal school students to amplify their memories. They spoke to their peers, alumni and others interested in hearing what the travelers had learned about Manchuria and Korea. The Tokyo Number One Higher School Travel Club organized exhibitions that displayed photographs and memories of the trip, as well as a lecture series where students presented their findings.<sup>17</sup> Other schools offered public presentations and published reports in alumni magazines. Often running to hundreds of pages, these reports detailed the journey from beginning to end so that they might serve as a blueprint for future travelers. They also included essays on the current state of various industries and institutions, such as elementary education and banking, “not only so that the students’ observations (*kenbun* 見聞) might be disseminated, but also because the results of their investigations and research deserve attention.”<sup>18</sup> Students who graduated from normal schools and higher normal school would become teachers, in which capacity they were expected to share their authentic observations of the battlefields with the next generation.

### Reenacting 203-Meter Hill

203-Meter Hill was the most significant of all the sites student travelers visited. The battle of 203-Meter Hill lasted four months. It cost the lives of over eight thousand Japanese soldiers and six thousand Russian soldiers. It cost other things as well. The failure of the Japanese military leadership to bring the battle to a swift conclusion led to the temporary downfall of General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典, a hero of the Sino-Japanese War. The general lost his two sons in the battle, too. Ultimately, however, the battle of 203-Meter Hill would be remembered as a great triumph for the Japanese nation. Covered heavily and competitively by the burgeoning national news media, the victory in the battle of 203-Meter Hill quickly became a celebrated moment in the history of the Japanese nation. Largely as a result of 203-Meter Hill, Japan became the first Asian nation in modern world history to defeat a white power.

The terrain of 203-Meter Hill made for a particularly memorable image. Located in the Manchurian city of Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur) on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula, 203-Meter Hill rose two hundred and three meters above sea level. It was the highest hill in the area. It was also rocky and barren. Indeed, the hill’s strategic value and the battle’s tragedy stemmed from this barrenness. Encased in earthen bunkers and surrounded by fences of sharpened planks, Russian guns had an unimpeded view of Japanese forces marching up the hill. Yet the top of the hill afforded an equally unimpeded view of the harbor of Lushun. For this reason, the generals sent wave after wave of Japanese soldiers up the hill. When Japanese forces finally prevailed, they called in the coordinates of the Russian fleet stationed in the harbor below. In short order, artillery behind the hill sunk the Russian fleet. The war was almost over.

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16 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 1907, p. 2.

17 *Ryokōbu buhō* 1915, pp. 50–51.

18 *Kōbe Kōtō Shōkō Gakkō* 1919, preface (not paginated).



Figure 3. “Great Battle for the Occupation of 203-Meter Hill” (*Daigekisen nihyakusan kōchi senryō* 大激戦二百三高地占領) by Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親 (1847–1915). Kiyochika’s print encapsulates the heroic sacrifice narrative of 203-Meter Hill. Kiyochika emphasized the fortifications at the summit of the hill, perhaps because 203-Meter Hill’s barren slopes could not adequately illustrate the challenges that the soldiers overcame. 1905. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper. Catalogue raisonné: Yoshida, Kiyochika (1964), #51. Vertical ōban triptych; 35.4 x 71 cm. Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection. 2000.77a-c; photograph © 2018 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

When he sent his students to visit the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War, Kanō argued that travel would allow students to “reflect” on the battles and their significance to the Japanese nation. In practice, this reflection took the form of reenactment.<sup>19</sup> Student travelers described how they experienced the battle of 203-Meter Hill vicariously while touring the site. Tour guides assisted them in this endeavor by providing narratives that connected the specific piece of terrain upon which the student travelers stood to the larger narrative of heroic sacrifice and victory at 203-Meter Hill. One member of Tokyo Higher Normal School’s English Club described his experience on the hill in these terms:

According to the officer, the last assault began at five in the morning as planned. Taking advantage of the fast gathering darkness our soldiers pressed on the rampart; but the sword-like hills, the irresistible machine-guns, the scattered bodies of the killed and the wounded were serious impediments to their progress. Now, marching, now stopping, they came always closer to the rampart. Just then strains of our national anthem arose from the left wing of our army. All cleared and encouraged, they overthrew the enemy who now appeared to give way somewhat and sprang over the rampart in high spirits. A hand-to-hand fight ensued and at daybreak our regimental flags of the Rising Sun arose high above the heap of the enemy’s dead.

<sup>19</sup> Sturken 1997, p. 24.

Well, our schoolmates, I can imagine how the brave soldiers this time forgot the strain and exertion of the furious attack in the joy of victory and in shouting the deafening “Banzai!” Greatly moved by the officer’s lectures and standing still on the traces of this memorable fortress I was quite oblivious of all else and absorbed in deep meditation.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to determine the authenticity of the emotion recorded in these accounts. Yet, as Peter Cave and Aaron W. Moore point out, the capacity of discourse to shape thought and self-knowledge means that it is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of emotion even in supposedly private accounts, such as diaries.<sup>21</sup> In this case, the discursive patterns in student travelers’ accounts show how “seeing” 203-Meter Hill came to be synonymous with “remembering” the battle of 203-Meter Hill, and how students gauged the authenticity of these memories by the emotions that the reenactments provoked. The Tokyo Higher Normal School student’s account would come to be the standard account of Japanese encounters with 203-Meter Hill: the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers trying and re-trying to take the hill; the heroism of the last waves of soldiers as they climbed over the dead bodies of their comrades; and, significantly, the attachment of the mythic narrative of the battle of 203-Meter Hill to the physical site upon which the traveler stood via the traveler’s own subjective experience. “I can imagine how the brave soldiers felt,” wrote the Tokyo Higher Normal School student. Others made similar statements. “They stood atop that hill. That place is right next to today’s memorial tower and viewing platform,” wrote a student from Hiroshima Higher Normal School in 1915.<sup>22</sup>

Reenactment on the stage of battle brought the battle’s mythic narrative into the bodies of the travelers. It allowed travelers to create personal memories of an event that they had never themselves experienced.<sup>23</sup> The carefully curated landscape contained old cannons and other remnants of the battle that enhanced the authenticity of the scene. In contrast to what travelers would have encountered at a commemorative site such as Yasukuni Shrine, tour guides explicitly directed travelers to imagine the events of their narratives taking place on the terrain on which the travelers now stood.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the experience of the hill itself encouraged the students to adopt the viewpoint of a soldier in battle. As one Keijō Public Middle School student commented, “If it is this hard to climb the hill on this nice road, it must have been a nightmare to climb it during battle.”<sup>25</sup>

### Imaginary Battles

More than other forms of tourism, battlefield tourism relies on the imagination.<sup>26</sup> John and Margaret Gold suggest that this is because battlefields often “lack imposing topography.”<sup>27</sup>

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20 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 1907, pp. 217–18.

21 Cave and Moore 2016.

22 Hiroshima Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1915, pp. 99–100.

23 White 2004.

24 Takenaka 2015, p. 67. The Yūshūkan 遊就館, the war memorial museum on the grounds of Yasukuni Shrine, displayed relics from the Russo-Japanese War during and after the fighting. The exhibits enjoyed tremendous popularity in 1905 and 1906, with over ten million visitors each year.

25 Hō 1935, p. 252.

26 Lloyd 1998, p. 113.

27 Gold and Gold 2003, p. 108.



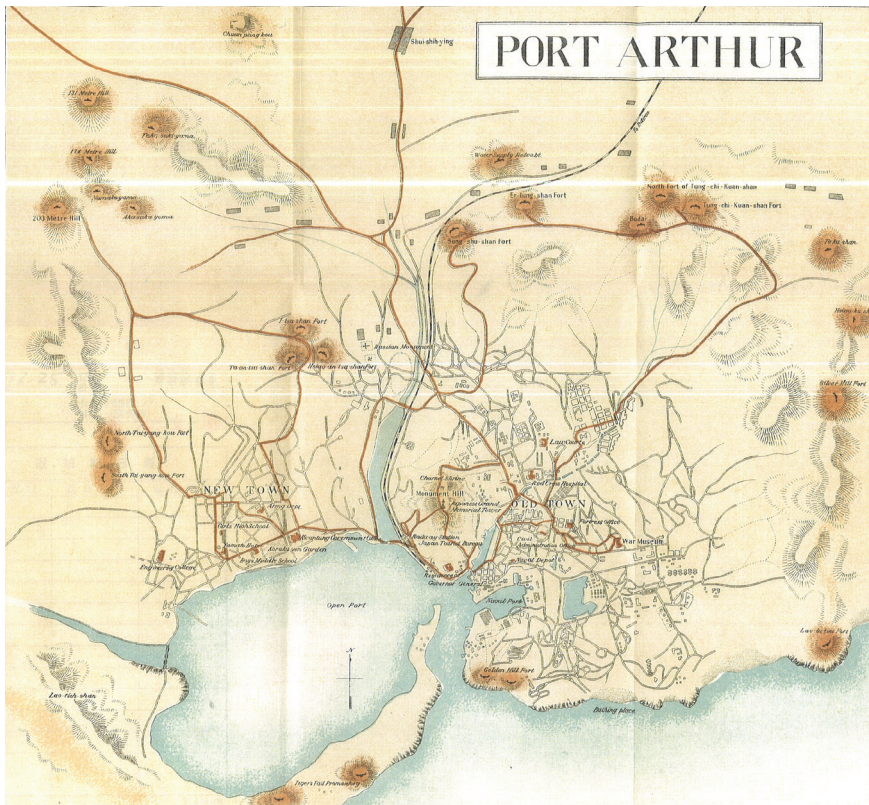


Figure 4. An English-language pamphlet published by the JTB provided an illustrated map of the Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites in Lushun. Japan Tourist Bureau 1918.

But even in the case of 203-Meter Hill, which presented a striking landscape, tour guides encouraged travelers to use their imaginations to make the battlefield dramatic.

Tour guides were a central component of the commemorative infrastructure of 203-Meter Hill. By the late 1930s, tour guides referred to Lushun as “a town of battlefield ruins that no Japanese person can forget.”<sup>28</sup> But of course Japanese people could forget. Or, worse, they could reenact a different story of the war, one that perhaps highlighted the meaninglessness of death or the uneven character of the state’s demand for such a sacrifice.<sup>29</sup> To ward off this possibility, tour guides performed narratives that kept the theme of patriotic sacrifice front and center. They also played up the authenticity of their own accounts, as many were in fact veterans of the conflict. Over time, as the number of Japanese tourists traveling to Korea and Manchuria grew, tour guiding became its own occupation. Tour guides competed for the most stirring narratives of Lushun’s Russo-Japanese War battlefields, and were known for their expertise.<sup>30</sup>

28 Osa 2007, p. 367. The guide used the term *Nihonjin* 日本人 for “Japanese person.”

29 Konishi 2013, pp. 183–87; McDonald 2017, pp. 40–41; Tierney 2015, pp. 96–114.

30 Ruoff 2010, pp. 130–32. See also Hamamoto 1942, pp. 12–13, for a description of the tour guides as performers with particular expertise.

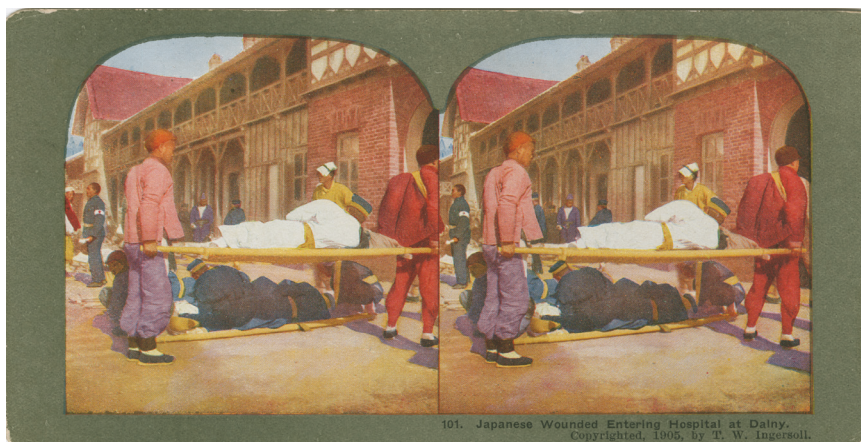


Figure 5. T. W. Ingersoll stereoscope image of Chinese stretcher-bearers in the Russo-Japanese War. 1905. Digital image courtesy of Special Collections and College Archives, Skillman Library, Lafayette College, and the East Asia Image Collection (<http://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia/>). Image sv0084.

Tour guides' narratives deeply influenced the observations that travelers brought home. Indeed, we know what the tour guides said only because many travelers quoted them extensively in their reports. This lens also affords us a view of the ways in which the tour guides' narratives transformed the battle of 203-Meter Hill into a narrative of patriotic sacrifice and national glory.

In the context of the early postwar, tour guide narratives were fictive in three important ways, each of which worked to undermine the critique of the Russo-Japanese War as a war of uneven sacrifice and uneven reward. Tour guides told the story of 203-Meter Hill as one of intentional sacrifice and honorable war death.<sup>31</sup> This was not a universal memory of the war. Some returning soldiers, several of whom published their own accounts of the battle, rejected the notion of military death as intentional sacrifice. As Ishimitsu Makiyo 石光真清, a junior officer in the war, wrote, "Death in war is not about dying because one wants to die. One gets killed without really knowing what's going on."<sup>32</sup> In tour guide accounts, however, Japanese soldiers "pressed on" in the face of Russian guns, choosing death over retreat.

Tour guides also enhanced the emotional value of Japanese grit, heroism, and sacrifice by reducing the number of actors in the story. They told the story of the battle as one of a conflict between two great, modern powers—Japan and Russia. China received no mention. The elision of China is striking for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that Manchuria was sovereign Chinese territory at the time of the conflict. Manchurian villagers suffered casualties from Russian and Japanese shelling. Chinese merchants also carried provisions from Dalian 大連 (Jp. Dairen) to the front and sold fresh food to soldiers in the trenches, while the armies paid Chinese workers fifty *sen* or fifty *kopeks* per body to carry the wounded and collect the dead between skirmishes. In a conflict that saw nearly as many

31 Shimazu 2001, p. 70.

32 Ishimitsu Makiyo, "Bōkyō no uta" 望郷の歌, in *Ishimitsu Makiyo no shuki* 石光真清の手記 (Chūō Kōronsha, 1988), p. 668, quoted in Shimazu 2001, p. 81.

deaths from wounds and illness as from combat, Chinese provisions kept the Japanese and Russian armies alive. Chinese labor made it possible to bury the dead.<sup>33</sup>

By far the most potent myth, however, was the myth at the heart of the nationalist narrative itself. This was the idea that the sacrifice that Japanese soldiers made at the hill was a “Japanese” sacrifice, an act of interchangeable agents of the nation, rather than an act of individuals caught in particular webs of relations and socioeconomic structures. As Andrew Elliott argues in his study of Anglophone travel writing during the second Sino-Japanese War, refusing to point out the contradictions, elisions, and ideological purpose of tourist tropes is as important a component of effective propaganda as is reproducing the official narrative.<sup>34</sup> The same can be said for the memory work at 203-Meter Hill. Tour narratives were largely shorn of individualizing details, which might suggest the possibility of an experience that was not transferrable to any willing member of the Japanese nation.<sup>35</sup> Instead, tour guides told the story of the battle as one of “our army” and “the brave soldiers.”

The early tours to 203-Meter Hill emphasized the universality of the war experience to promote the memory of the Russo-Japanese War as a shared national sacrifice. This memory homogenized the sacrifice; it cleansed the war of the class distinctions that determined who actually participated in it. Every traveler would have had individual experiences to forget as they put themselves in the shoes of those soldiers climbing bravely up the hill. But it is possible that early student travelers faced a mental challenge more difficult than most. Conscription was a “poor man’s lottery.”<sup>36</sup> As the next generation of leaders, the government offered elite students special terms of military service, which Kikuchi Kunisaku 菊池邦作 calls “government-authorized draft evasion.”<sup>37</sup> This included a six-week service for normal school students and pay-your-own-way volunteer one-year service for other elite school graduates with significant financial resources (in contrast to the three-year terms of other conscripts).<sup>38</sup> If they served at all, students tended to serve in the rear, moving weapons and bodies that would otherwise be contracted out to Chinese laborers.<sup>39</sup> But in writing about their visit to Lushun, these students—even those on the 1906 Tokyo Higher Normal School trip, for whom the war was a recent memory—conveniently elided the uneven demands the state made of its subjects during the war. Instead, they argued that their firsthand encounters with the battlefield gave them the authority to observe the meaning and history of the landscape in a way that those who had only read about it could not: as a tale of patriotic sacrifice.<sup>40</sup>

33 See the text that accompanies Ingersoll 1905.

34 See Elliott in this special issue.

35 Cipris 2003 (pp. 32–41) notes that Ishikawa Tatsuzō 石川達三 humanized the death and destruction that war demanded by naming characters in his 1938 novel, *Ikite iru heitai* 生きてゐる兵隊 (Soldiers Alive). Censors replaced specific details, such as unit or division names, with generic monikers, such as “the unit.” Though the ostensible reason was to protect military information, the censorship of individual distinction effaced the conflicts that shaped each individual’s experience of the war. See also Cook 2001.

36 Kikuchi 1977, pp. 110–11, quoted in Shimazu 2001, p. 73.

37 Kikuchi 1977, p. 111.

38 Kikuchi 1977, pp. 176–78, 197, and 427.

39 See, for example, the text that accompanies T. W. Ingersoll’s image “A Group of Japanese Students.” Image sv0078. East Asia Digital Images Collection. Lafayette College. Easton, PA.

40 The tales were meant to be generic—that is, able to be experienced and embodied by all Japanese travelers. But the variety of rhetorical options available to wartime diary writers suggests that the tour guides modeled their retellings after the rather elite voices who delivered their accounts in elegant and emotional prose rather than providing simple day-by-day account of events. Moore 2013, pp. 30–32.

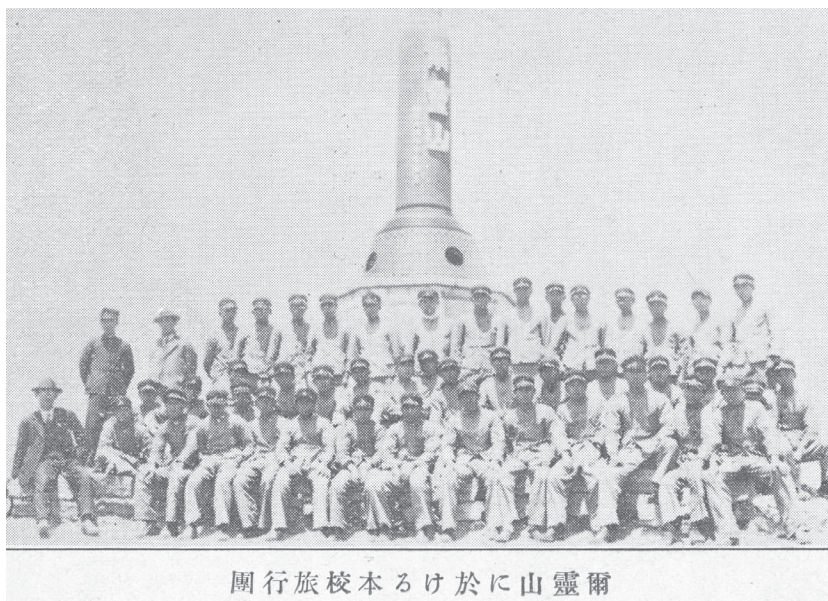


Figure 6. Students from Miyakonōjō Higher Commercial School take a commemorative photograph in front of the Nireisan 爾靈山 memorial tower at 203-Meter Hill. Miyazaki-kenritsu Miyakonōjō Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 1931.

### Persistence

Paul Connerton once wrote that the significant question is not how collective memories are constructed, but how they are made to persist.<sup>41</sup> This question is particularly interesting in the case of 203-Meter Hill. So many things changed as 203-Meter Hill's "memory industry" took shape.<sup>42</sup> The territory of Japan changed. In 1910, the empire expanded to include Korea. The rise of anti-imperial nationalism and the discourse of self-determination in the colonies motivated changes to the composition of the Japanese nation as well. In colonial policy and official discourse, the ideology of Japanese nationalism and imperialism gradually shifted in the late 1910s and early 1920s from one of assimilation into a "civilized" Japanese core to one of imperial cultural pluralism.<sup>43</sup> The state claimed that the Japanese nation included Korean, Taiwanese Chinese, and indigenous people, as well as Japanese people. At the same time, burgeoning nationalist movements in China and Korea claimed Manchuria and Korea for their own people. In 1919, a Korean independence uprising rocked the Japanese colonial government in Korea. In the late 1920s, the nationalist Kuomintang government made Manchuria a central component of its vision of an independent China. In response, in 1932, members of the Japanese Kwantung Army declared Manchuria's independence from China. They called it the state of Manchukuo.

41 Connerton 1989, pp. 38–40.

42 For statistics on school travel to Manchuria and Korea, see Gao 2004, pp. 290–96.

43 Oguma 2002, pp. 125–42.

Throughout these turbulent times, the memory of 203-Meter Hill as a site of patriotic sacrifice persisted. By 1939, “there were twenty-five tour buses that could each hold twenty-five to thirty passengers providing two tours of Port Arthur per day. The city with the second most buses operating, the nearby city of [Dalian ...], had ten.”<sup>44</sup> Hori Yasuo 堀保夫, a student on a Keijō Public Middle School trip to Manchuria in 1936, described his arrival at Lushun Station at nine thirty in the morning: “The entrance to the station was jammed with school tour groups from various regions.”<sup>45</sup> These travelers heard tour guides tell the story of the battle of 203-Meter Hill in a way that was largely the same as what the original travelers heard in 1906. Yet the way that tour guides fostered emotional connections between travelers, memory, and the land had changed. They encouraged travelers to imagine the soldiers as their ancestors. One unintended consequence of this change was that it opened the door to competing uses of the same idea. Korean nationalists also used ancestry to place 203-Meter Hill in a story of Korean suffering and national emergence. After all, Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War led to the Treaty of Portsmouth, which made Korea a “protectorate” of Japan. This was the first official step toward Japan’s colonization of Korea, which took place five years later. More than a place of memory, 203-Meter Hill became a place of many memories.<sup>46</sup>

### National Land

In the particular context of Japanese imperialism, student battlefield tourism to Lushun performed an additional ideological function beyond that of producing a shared national memory. It also sought to produce a body of subjects who held affective attachments to a “national land” (*kokudo* 国土) that exceeded the territory of the state: attachments, in other words, to the empire. The Ministry of Education originally intended school field trips to prepare students for military service by teaching them to put their academic knowledge to practical use in the field and to travel as a disciplined group. As Soyama Takeshi 曾山毅 argues in this volume, the ideological function of school travel remained a central component of its practices even as its historical relation to the military was forgotten. Categorizing school travel as education and leisure kept the question of its relation to the military largely out of the public sphere, even in the postwar period.<sup>47</sup>

Equally important was that early tours encouraged Japanese travelers to form emotional attachments to Manchuria, a Chinese territory that Japanese expansionists such as Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 sought to colonize more formally in the future.<sup>48</sup> The region known to Japanese travelers as “southern Manchuria” (Minami Manshū 南滿州) was made up of the Kwangtung Leased Territory (Kantōshū 關東州), within which Lushun was located, and the South Manchuria Railway Zone, which ran from Dalian in the south to Changchun 長春 in the north. Southern Manchuria was not part of the sovereign territory of Japan. Unlike Korea and Taiwan, which Japan had formally colonized, Japan’s Manchurian territories were only leased from China. But, minimizing these legal niceties, Japanese imperialists argued that Lushun was part of the history of the Japanese nation because it was here that Japanese

44 Ruoff 2010, p. 131.

45 Hori 1936, p. 127.

46 Podoler and Robinson 2007, pp. 186–96.

47 See Soyama in this special issue.

48 Matsusaka 2001, pp. 81–83.

forces defeated the Russian army and navy and secured for Japan a place among the world's great powers.<sup>49</sup> In 1914, the Manshū Senseki Hozonkai 満州戦跡保存会 (Society to Preserve Manchuria's Battlefield Ruins) made this case when they declared that Manchuria's Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites should be preserved. These sites were essential places of memory for the Japanese nation because they could be used to produce "unwavering loyalty to the national land."<sup>50</sup> The society was not the only organization to deploy this definition of national land. Odauchi Michitoshi's 小田内通敏 1913 geography primer *Waga kokudo* 我が国土 (Our national land), divided the space of the nation into two components: "old" national land (*kyū kokudo* 旧国土) and "new" national land (*shin kokudo* 新国土).<sup>51</sup> The informal colony of Manchuria and the formal colonies of Korea, Taiwan, Hokkaido, and Okinawa all fell into this second category.

The declaration of Manchukuo's independence in 1932 did not in and of itself pose a challenge to the idea that Manchuria was part of the Japanese national land. After all, national land did not refer to a distinct juridical or sovereign territory. Indeed, the idea of a national land that exceeded the boundaries of the territory of the state remained a potent component of Japanese imperialism's spatial politics through the second Sino-Japanese War. By that time, "plans for the national land" (*kokudo keikaku* 国土計画) encapsulated the entire region of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.<sup>52</sup> But as Chinese and international challenges to Japan's "special interests" in the region grew over the 1920s and into the early 1930s, 203-Meter Hill's memory industry adapted its techniques to sustain the emotional attachments of a body of subjects who were a generation or two removed from the conflict for the land itself. In this era, tour guides began to emphasize that the story of the battle was about "your grandfathers" (*sofu sama* 祖父様) as much as it was about "our army." Tour guides encouraged students to imagine the soldiers who had fought at Lushun as their ancestors. The turn to ancestry reflected the manner in which Japanese expansionists claimed that Japan's "special interests" in Manchuria superseded Chinese sovereignty. In the words of Tsurumi Yūsuke 鶴見祐輔, "Manchuria is watered by the blood of Japanese patriots; their graves and battle monuments dot the landscape from Port Arthur to Mukden. The land may belong to China, but it is hallowed soil for the sons of Nippon."<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the Japan Tourist Bureau tour guide who led the students from Keijō Public Middle School on a tour through the battlefields in 1935 made exactly the same case, even though the territory now belonged to the sovereign state of Manchukuo: "The mountains, sea, plains, and rivers of Port Arthur must be eternally sacred ground for us Japanese (*Nihonjin* 日本人)."<sup>54</sup>

Reflecting the varied perspectives of the travelers who toured the hill, "ancestry" and "ancestor" were capacious categories. Sometimes tour guides represented ancestry as a direct

49 Iriye 1989.

50 Manshū Senseki Hozonkai 1914.

51 Odauchi 1913.

52 Yamamuro 2006, pp. 60–64.

53 Wilson 1999, pp. 185–86. In this English-language speech, Tsurumi uses the transliteration "Nippon."

54 Hō 1935, p. 247. The Japanese government regarded the power to issue leases as having been transferred from China to Manchukuo; in other words, Port Arthur was now part of the sovereign territory of Manchukuo. Japan renegotiated its ninety-nine year lease on the Kwantung Leased Territory with the state of Manchukuo at the same time that it transferred the SMR territory to Manchukuo (even though Japan retained Kwantung Leased Territory as a separate administrative unit).

familial tie. As one guide told students at Lushun's Mt. Hakugyoku in the early 1930s, "There were over two thousand bodies that were not recovered. You might have grandfathers or other relations who number among these."<sup>55</sup> Other times, travelers understood ancestry through the regional identities of Edo-period domains. Hamamoto Hiroshi 浜本浩 drew on this kind of ancestry to claim a personal connection to Lushun: "I am a Tosa 土佐 man. Soldiers from Tosa performed distinguished service here. With the feeling that I wanted to walk around proclaiming in a loud voice, 'My teachers and my neighbors died in battle in this place!' I gazed upon the topography of the area."<sup>56</sup>

Other times, students understood ancestry through institutional genealogies. Honma Yoshio 本間義雄, also of the Keijō Public Middle School, recorded his patriotic gratitude toward the soldiers who fought at 203-Meter Hill in 1931. He regarded them as *senpai* 先輩 or senior students. "We always say 'Russo-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War.' But here in this place for the first time I feel gratitude for my senior students soaking into my body," Honma wrote. "The place where we step is a wasteful mountain. A mountain whose shape was transformed by blood and tears."<sup>57</sup> Honma's statement was not jingoistic. He lamented the waste of life that the mountain represented. Nonetheless, he drew a genealogical connection between himself and the soldiers who had died on the hill, and found himself moved by this fictive tie.

### Conflicting Ancestries

The many definitions of ancestry that tour guides and travelers deployed suggest that ancestry was a performative identity rather than a biological one. It was perhaps for this reason that neither Tsurumi Yūsuke nor the Japan Tourist Bureau guide referred to Japanese people as *naichijin* 内地人, or "inner-territory people." Rather, they used the term *Nihonjin* 日本人, or "people of Japan." In contrast to *naichijin*, *Nihonjin* was an expansive category that could in theory incorporate all subjects who internalized a self-understanding of their Japanese subjectivity and outwardly performed their loyalty to the Japanese state, regardless of their territory of origin.<sup>58</sup> When he claimed that Lushun was "hallowed soil for the sons of Nippon," Tsurumi thus implied that "we Japanese" could be defined by an adoptive ancestry, a fictive family who shared a genealogical connection to those who died on the hills.<sup>59</sup>

The performative nature of the national ancestry idea intimated that colonized subjects might claim a Japanese ancestry too, at least in the patriotic sense. It also opened the door to the possibility that travelers might adopt conflicting ancestries. Indeed, as successful as battlefield tourism to 203-Meter Hill was in producing Japanese imperial subjects with an affective attachment to tenuously colonized land, it also had the unintended consequence

55 Hō 1935, p. 247.

56 Hamamoto 1942, p. 19.

57 Honma 1931, p. 200.

58 Doak 2007, pp. 165, 193, and 148; Morris-Suzuki 1998, pp. 188–89.

59 The Japanese government enshrined the idea of the Japanese nation-state as a "family-state" (*kazoku kokka* 家族国家) in the 1889 Constitution and popularized the ideology through education and military service from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to 1945. Irokawa argues that the Russo-Japanese War cemented this understanding of the relationship between self, nation, and state among soldiers (1985, pp. 295–98). Student travelers would have learned this way of thinking through school textbooks, among other sources.

Table 1. Itinerary from Songdo Higher Common School's 1937 trip to Manchukuo.

DAY #	DATE	DESTINATION	SIGHTS
1	May 18	Songdo–Fushun	Open-air mining; oil refinery
2	May 19	Fushun–Fengtian	Free time
3	May 20	Fengtian	Manchuria Medical School; old town; new town; Manchukuo army training center
4	May 21	Lushun	203-Meter Hill; Museum; Higashi Keikanzan Hill; site of armistice signing
5	May 22	Dalian	Museum, Dalian Harbor; oil-processing Plant
6	May 23	Dalian	Dairen Shrine; South Manchuria Railway Company Hospital; Grand Plaza
7	May 24	Fengtian	Stayed indoors due to bad weather
8	May 25	Andong	Lumber mill
9	May 26	Songdo	Returned home

Source: Woo 2010.

of drawing attention to the conflict between Japanese nationalist and Korean nationalist relationships with Manchurian soil and history. The attention was not just intellectual: after the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932, Korean schools began to send an increasing number of groups to Manchukuo.<sup>60</sup> Korean students followed the same itineraries as Japanese students. They visited the Japanese-operated coalmine at Fushun 撫順, the capital at Fengtian 奉天 (Mukden), the commercial heart of Japanese Manchuria at Dalian, and the Russo-Japanese War battlefields at Lushun.<sup>61</sup>

Increasing official censorship and informal pressure would have made it difficult for Korean student travelers to critique the idea of adoptive ancestry in official or semi-official Japanese-language public texts, such as reports of school travel published in school magazines. For example, Hō Yun 許潤, a Korean student on the 1935 Keijō Public Middle School trip, recorded an account of 203-Meter Hill that differed little from those of his fellow Japanese students, including the guide's mention of lost grandfathers.<sup>62</sup>

But other venues presented different opportunities. As Korean travel to Manchuria expanded in the late 1920s and early 1930s, commentators in Korean newspapers urged Korean travelers to follow itineraries that would promote a Korean nationalist identity,

<sup>60</sup> Gao 2002, p. 223.

<sup>61</sup> See Woo 2010, table 3, for a sample itinerary from Songdo Higher Common School's 1937 trip to Manchuria. The itinerary is the same as one for Japanese students, with the exception of the direction of travel. Many travelers from Japan arrived directly at Dalian from Moji rather than crossing into Manchuria from Korea. See also Cho 2011.

<sup>62</sup> Hō 1935, p. 247. The student signed his report “許潤.” Moto would be the Japanese reading of the student's surname. Hō would be the Korean or Chinese reading. Since Moto / Hō was a student at Keijō Public Middle School, I presume that he was Korean. A student with the same name also published a short poem in the student section of the Korean-language newspaper *Maeil shinbo* 毎日申報 (Daily News) in 1938 (Hō 1938).



Table 2. Suggested itinerary for Manchuria portion of Manchuria–Korea itinerary.

DAY #	DESTINATION	SIGHTS
1	Dalian	Tour city
2	Dalian–Lushun	Battlefield sites
3	Anshan–Fengtian	Tour Anshan Iron Works; Fengtian city tour
4	Fengtian–Fushun	Tour coal mine at Fushun
5	Shinkyō	City tour
6	Fengtian	Transfer to Pusan-bound express
7	Andong–Heijō	Continue to Heijō (Kr. P'yōngyang)

Source: Japan Tourist Bureau 1935.

rather than a Japanese imperial one. Writing just before the 1931 coup, one journalist in the Korean newspaper *Chosŏn ilbo* 朝鮮日報 (Korea Daily News) criticized the standard itinerary: “Travel to Manchuria is the motto of your trip to this place. With just a detailed tour of Lushun and Dalian, it is more accurate to claim that you visited Japan not Manchuria.”<sup>63</sup> Other writers criticized the itinerary’s exclusion of what they saw as more authentically Korean sites in Manchuria. “A Korean student visiting Manchuria must learn first about the real life of our compatriots and their farm life, second of the land and the national character of the Chinese, and third of the commercial and industrial development and the education system of the new China,” wrote one Fengtian-based reporter for *Tonga ilbo* 東亞日報 (East Asia Daily News) in May 1931.<sup>64</sup>

The Japanification of the Manchuria experience troubled Korean commentators because Manchuria was as much a part of Korean nationalist imaginaries as it was part of the Japanese. Korean nationalist discourse emphasized the centrality of Manchuria to the Korean nation’s origins and early history. In the era of the Great Han empire (1897–1910), when King Gojong 高宗 formally renounced Korea’s tributary ties to the Qing Empire and declared Korea an independent state, nationalist newspapers made “territorial questions” an “issue of public concern.”<sup>65</sup> Manchuria took on a special significance in this context because nationalist histories singled out Manchuria’s Mt. Paektu as the birthplace of the god Tan’gun, the mythical progenitor of the Korean nation. In these accounts, the story of Tan’gun served as the foundation for a view of Korean history that took place in Manchuria

63 Quoted in Woo 2010, p. 47. This particular reporter even referred to Manchuria by the Chinese name for the region, 東三省 (Ch. Dongsansheng; Jp. Tōsanshō; En. Three Northeastern Provinces). In the context of the 1930s, this term emphasized the Chinese-ness of the territory by locating it within the administrative structure of the Chinese state. In contrast, the Japanese practice of referring to the region as “Manchuria” emphasized the region’s distinct ethnic identity by underscoring its historic significance as the Manchu homeland.

64 Quoted in Woo 2010, p. 47. I wish to thank and acknowledge Miyeong Woo, without whose work I would not have known about Kim Kyo-sin’s travels to Manchuria. The discussion of Korean travel to Manchuria draws heavily on her published research. I am also grateful for the work of Eun-Joo Ahn, who translated Woo’s article from the original Korean to English.

65 Schmid 2000, p. 221.

as much as it did in Korea. Other historians traced the idea of a Korean state back to the early kingdom of Koguryō, which expanded to include much of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>66</sup>

In actuality, 203-Meter Hill did not itself play a large role in Korean nationalist imaginaries of Manchuria. But the idea of claiming an ancestral genealogy through the vicarious experience of history at particular territorial markers did. By the early 1930s, Korean nationalists exhorted their compatriots to preserve historic sites related to “national heroes” (*minjokchök wiin*). As Gi-Wook Shin writes, “Such attention to exemplary figures from Korea’s past was designed to preserve a national consciousness and identity in the face of colonial assimilation policy.”<sup>67</sup> As Japanese imperial tourism expanded to include more and more Korean travelers, so too did local efforts to preserve and annotate a specifically Korean canon of sites. Like sites in Manchuria, many of these sites could be incorporated into either Japanese or Korean nationalist historical imaginings. For example, standard itineraries for Japanese tourist travel to Korea included numerous stops at sites related to Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s failed 1592 and 1597 invasions of Korea. Official Japanese tourist guidebooks described these sites as evidence of Japan’s long-standing commitment to liberate Korea from Chinese influence. In a practice similar to that undertaken at 203-Meter Hill, Japanese travelers created their own memories of these events by reenacting the actions of soldiers on the land itself. A trip to battlefield ruins at Pusan 釜山 (Kr. Busan) prompted the diarist from the Hiroshima Higher Normal School’s 1915 travel group to imagine himself in a relationship with the soldiers in Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 and Konishi Yukinaga’s 小西行長 sixteenth-century armies. Pusan was the site where Hideyoshi’s invasion force landed. It was, in his words, a site “where the blood of countless of my countrymen runs.”<sup>68</sup>

Sites related to these invasions could also be made to speak to a fierce history of Korean resistance to Japanese invasion, however. In 1931, Yi Kwangsu 李光洙 and the newspaper *Tonga ilbo* organized a series of fundraising campaigns to renovate and preserve the tombs of Admiral Yi Sun-Sin 李舜臣 and General Kwōn Yul 權慄. Yi and Kwōn were both heroes of the Imjin War, as Hideyoshi’s invasions were known in Korea. Japanese travelers knew of these events as the “Bunroku and Keichō Campaigns” (*Bunroku, Keichō no eki* 文祿・慶長の役).<sup>69</sup> Though Yi Kwangsu became an outspoken proponent of the Japanese regime in the late 1930s, his desire to celebrate Yi Sun-sin and Kwōn Yul was at odds with the Government General of Korea’s dismissal of these figures’ historical significance.<sup>70</sup> The Government General of Korea’s 1934 *Chōsen ryokō annaiki* 朝鮮旅行案内記 (Guide to Travel in Korea) praised and belittled Yi at the same time, emphasizing his death at the hands of Japanese forces rather than his triumph over the Japanese navy.<sup>71</sup> The guidebook did not direct travelers to visit his tomb, which was located near the popular On’yō 溫陽 (Kr. Onyang) hot spring.

It was this anti-imperial nationalist rendering of national land that was on display in the travel account of Kim Kyo-sin. In 1936, Kim led a group of Korean students from

66 Allen 1990; Em 1999; Em 2013; Pai 2000, pp. 63–65; Schmid 1997.

67 Shin 2006, p. 50.

68 Hiroshima Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1915, p. 140.

69 Shin 2006, pp. 49–50.

70 On Yi Kwangsu as a “pro-Japanese nationalist,” see Treat 2012, p. 92.

71 Chōsen Sōtokufu 1934, pp. 29–30, 73–74.



Figure 7. Dongjiguanshan Fortress. Postcard, ca. 1910s. Digital image courtesy of Special Collections and College Archives, Skillman Library, Lafayette College, and the East Asia Image Collection (<http://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia/>). Image ip0161.

Yang-Jōng Higher Common School on a tour of Manchuria. Kim was a graduate of the prestigious Tokyo Higher Normal School, which was one of the first schools to send travelers to Lushun in 1906. He was also a recognized anticolonial activist. He was a member of the Non-Church Movement, a Japanese Christian movement that eschewed clergy and emphasized correcting social injustices. Kim's Tokyo Higher Normal School classmate and outspoken critic of Japanese colonialism Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄 belonged to the same movement. He was also a member of the editorial board of *Sōngsō Chosōn* 聖書朝鮮 (Biblical Korea). It was in this capacity that he used his experience of travel to the Russo-Japanese War battlefields to highlight the mechanisms by which imperial and anti-imperial nationalism demanded emotional attachments to historical landscapes that were similar in form but conflicting in content.<sup>72</sup>

While most travelers found themselves swept up in the reenactment of the Russo-Japanese War battles, for Kim the experience was one of deep alienation. Listening to the tour guide's account of the battle of Dongjiguanshan 東鷄冠山 (Jp. Tōkeikanzan), which fell to Japanese forces shortly after 203-Meter Hill, Kim found that the tour guide's intense emotions held up a rather uncomfortable mirror to his own lukewarm nationalism.

While listening to the story of the sea battle during the blockade of Lushun and the battle at Dongjiguanshan, my pounding heart could not be calmed and noiseless tears welled up in my eyes. Nobody could defeat those soldiers who fought this noble war

72 Lee and de Bary 1997, p. 494.

with all their might for heaven and for their souls. I felt so ashamed of my frivolous life. Even the tour guide who was narrating these stories appeared like a loyalist and a hero.<sup>73</sup>

Kim's experience at Dongjiguanshan showed him how these places of memory could create a nation through a strong sense of a shared history. For that same reason, it clarified the threat that his own lack of emotion could pose to the future of the Korean nation. Nothing encapsulated Kim's sense of lack than his reaction to the stele of King Kwanggaet'o, whom he referred to as the Hot'ae King of Koguryö. Deploying ancestry language similar to that of the Japanese tour guides, Kim wrote: "Viewed the stele of Hot'ae King of Koguryö and could not help the fearful feeling that I am a wretched descendent."<sup>74</sup> The stele, which dated from about 414, chronicled the Kingdom of Wa's invasion of the southern Korean Peninsula in the fourth century. When Japanese archaeologists discovered it in the late nineteenth century, they argued that it was the best evidence that this invasion, which was and is still highly disputed, actually took place. They celebrated it as a commemorative monument to fifteen hundred years of Japanese colonialism in Korea.<sup>75</sup>

Kim lamented his lack of a powerful emotional response to the stele. Referring to his friend Ham Sökhön 咸錫憲, Kim wrote, "I feel sorry for Ham in that I could not feel sufficient passion towards his Korean history [...]."<sup>76</sup> Ham, like Kim, was an anticolonial activist and prominent member of the Non-Church Movement in Korea. He was at that moment writing a history of Korea entitled, *A Korean History from a Spiritual Perspective*.<sup>77</sup> Like other, earlier Korean nationalist histories, Ham's history dwelled on the centrality of Manchuria to the history and spirit of the Korean nation. But unlike other nationalist histories, Ham located the uniqueness of the Korean nation not in its triumphs, but rather in its suffering.<sup>78</sup> In contrast to Japanese archaeologists, Ham saw the Kingdom of Wa's invasion as the beginning of fifteen hundred years of Korean hardship.<sup>79</sup> Kim castigated himself for not feeling the suffering of the Korean nation, especially as he compared himself to the Japanese tour guide, whose emotional exertions made him a "loyalist and a hero." For Kim, the experience of the battlefields at Lushun was deeply troubling. It highlighted his distance not only from Japanese imperial nationalism, but from Korean nationalism as well.

## Conclusion

Japanese travelers to 203-Meter Hill reenacted a fictive past in the service of actualizing a communal, living present. These memorial practices emerged out of the specific context

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73 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 63.

74 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 63.

75 Pai 2000, pp. 26–27.

76 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 62.

77 Later published in English as *Queen of Suffering: A Spiritual History of Korea*. Philadelphia: Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1985.

78 Kim 2016, p. 158. In referring to Ham's history as "nationalist," I am drawing on Henry Em's (2013, p. 202, note 110) broad definition of nationalist historiography as "histories written as a narrative of resistance to colonial rule, devoted to countering the pernicious effects of colonialist historiography and to empowering Koreans to join the struggle for Korea's independence." While Ham's work, which was guided by a Christian philosophy, contained elements that cannot easily be described as nationalist, it also sought to further the anticolonial movement and promote the idea of Korea as nation with a unique role to play in world history.

79 Lee and de Bary 1997, pp. 412–16, esp. p. 414. Note that Ham refers to the "fifteen centuries following the Three Kingdoms" as the era of Korean suffering.

of the contested nature of Japan's Manchurian claims after the Russo-Japanese War and the class conflict that fueled protests during and after the war. In the first years of Japanese imperial travel to the Russo-Japanese War battlefields in Manchuria, conflicts of memory emerged out of the attempt to flatten the classed experience of war into a homogenous national memory of patriotic sacrifice. In the decades that followed, tour guides and travelers adopted new practices. These practices, which focused on the concept of ancestry, created opportunities for a multiethnic and multigenerational body of subjects to claim personal ties to sovereign Chinese territory and, after 1932, the territory of the putatively independent state of Manchukuo. Guides encouraged travelers to adopt a particular ancestry that tied them to the soldiers who died on the battlefield. They constituted Manchuria as a sacred site of Japanese history. This shift in memorial practices was directly related to the problem of producing a collective memory for a multiethnic nation.

The process was not total. There remained ample room for subjects, metropolitan and colonized alike, to question their own participation in the collective memory of the nation and empire. Ham Sōkhōn encouraged Kim Kyo-sin to claim a Korean ancestry and national land that emanated from the same land that Japanese tour guides claimed as sacred for the Japanese nation. Others rejected the proposed affective connection entirely. Writing about a different battlefield tourist site, that of Fengtian after the 1931 Manchurian (Mukden) Incident, Nakanishi Inosuke 中西伊之助 reported a fellow traveler's response to the celebration of dead Chinese soldiers and the sacrifice of Japanese troops: "The politicians did this. They should all go to jail."<sup>80</sup>

Japanese imperial claims to Manchuria ended in 1945. Yet the work of maintaining 203-Meter Hill as a place of memory for the Japanese nation continues to this day. In an age in which conservative commentators lament that Japanese citizens have "stiffened" to a view of modern Japanese history as one of defeat and humiliation, the Port Arthur battlefields, which exemplify triumphant nationalism, remain a popular if improbable tourist site as well as an object of patriotic reenactment.<sup>81</sup> Shiba Ryōtarō's 司馬遼太郎 best-selling historical novel about the Russo-Japanese War, *Saka no ue no kumo* 坂の上の雲 (The Clouds Above the Hill, 1979), tells a story of 203-Meter Hill that early Japanese tour guides would have found familiar. The novel mythologizes the "heroic fights to the death" and "impressive bravery" of Japanese soldiers, who, Shiba writes, "felt no distress" over being made into agents of an unwavering Japanese state. Rather they felt a "collective excitement over their ability to participate in the nation for the first time."<sup>82</sup> Shiba's title refers to the clouds parting above 203-Meter Hill after it had been captured by Japanese soldiers, exposing the Russian ships in Lushun harbor below that would soon be destroyed by Japanese artillery directed from the hilltop. In 2006, NHK dramatized the novel. Japanese tourism to Lushun boomed as a result.<sup>83</sup>

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80 Nakanishi 1936, p. 174. It is also likely that participants in the battle, whether soldiers or laborers, carried with them traumatic memories of the event that could be triggered by everyday sights, smells, and sounds even years later. On the ways in which local Okinawans remember and re-remember the Battle of Okinawa, see Nelson 2008, pp. 3–5.

81 Kawamura 2004, p. 218.

82 Shiba 2014, pp. 18, 20.

83 Takayama 2012, p. 159. The 1980 Toshi Masuda film, *203 kōchi* 二百三高地 (The Battle of Port Arthur) tells a similar story of heroic sacrifice and triumph on the battlefield.

The memories that battlefield tourism produces are “an ideological compass for the present.”<sup>84</sup> In this context, treating 203-Meter Hill as a place of many memories rather than a place of memory is more than just an exercise in rhetoric. It is a necessary intervention. Though the ongoing occupation of contested territory is no longer an issue, the 203-Meter Hill experience continues to valorize death in battle, erase Chinese participation and sacrifice, and collapse class difference and the state’s uneven demands into a mythic story of Japanese national sacrifice. Stories like Kim’s point to a different history of 203-Meter Hill. Kim saw Japanese battlefield tourism as an attempt to erase a way of encountering Manchuria that he believed to be uniquely Korean, even if he could not find it in himself to reenact this history as his own. For Kim, nationalism was as troubling as it was triumphant; it was compelling but also coerced. One can presume that there are more stories to be told. The challenge for historians is to find them.

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