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ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA

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To the memory of Professor Karin Tomala
Whom we lost for ever

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PARK SUNYONG

Consumption of an Expedition: Media Perceptions of Kyoto University's Expedition to Mt. Baekdu*

Abstract

Mt. Baekdu is considered to be one of the most crucially symbolic geographical locations for the peoples of Korea, China and Japan. The Japanese empire used Kyoto University's expedition to this mountain to confirm their own colonial and territorial empire, and to expand their knowledge and horizons. The Kyoto University expedition explored Mt. Baekdu scientifically and with great interest, and the *Asahi* newspaper reported upon this trip in detail. This article discusses what the expedition achieved and how Japanese society made use of its findings. The paper concludes that the risks associated with the scientific expedition motivated a renewed interest in further exploration.

1. Introduction

Exploration is about seeking new areas of knowledge, places and questions which have not been addressed by previous ventures. It is also about obtaining more data and knowledge about locations which have not been completely explored. People often use their imaginations to think about places about which little or even nothing at all is generally known. In fact, within this process, some areas are more enticing to explore than others.

Writing an article about the exploration of the unknown can often include the strongly subjective opinions of a reporter which extend beyond the normal limitations of a newspaper. In fact, any in-depth coverage of the unknown requires a great deal of basic knowledge, as well as direct communication with the subjects. This may allow readers to gain a more direct understanding of new topics.

In the era of global exploration during the 1930s, Kyoto University planned an exploration to Mt. Baekdu (2744 m), an active volcano and the highest mountain in Manchuria, located between Korea and China, which plays an important geological role in East Asia. This place is the pride of the Korean and Manchurian peoples, and plays a vital cultural role in their national identity. Mt. Baekdu has been worshipped by the surrounding peoples throughout history. Both the Koreans and Manchu minority consider it the place of their ancestral origin and a sacred mountain. Japan's purpose for this expedition was to establish more knowledge about their colonial empire and to strengthen their own national identity.

* This work was supported by the POSTECH Basic Science Research Institute Grant.

Consequently, due to the importance of this trip and its destination, the *Asahi* newspaper published an intensive report on the topic.

Previous research reveals that Japan used experiments, expositions, field trips, and travel in order to increase its knowledge of its colonial possessions. However, no previous research has considered how the mass media itself was used to discuss the exploration of these unknown areas.

This paper will examine Japan's exploration of Mt. Baekdu as carried out by Kyoto University. Also, we will examine the involvement of the *Asahi* newspaper in expanding the Japanese Empire's capacity while increasing its printed circulation. Furthermore, it will explore their reasons for the trip, and how the mass media was used to promote national prestige during this event. Building on this foundation, the article will then analyze the expedition historically, scientifically, and in terms of media information. The conclusion will also consider how this unique combination of exploration and science inspired and initiated other explorations, while providing colonial education.

2. Historical background of the expedition and the recognition of Japan's colonial empire

2.1. Historical background of Japanese exploration

In the 9th to 11th centuries, the Vikings and Marco Polo began to explore, while in the 15th and 16th centuries, Columbus and Magellan discovered the 'New World'. In the 17th century, advances in science allowed for the discovery of Australia and the South Pole.¹ Finally, the 18th century witnessed the conquest of much of the world by Europe using advances in marine technology and science.

Despite this long history, Japan did not initially engage in much exploration in the 18th century, due to the isolationist policies of their feudal government. However, incursions into Asia by Western countries soon encouraged Japan to start exploring. Some examples include Gondo Chuzo (近藤重藏) and Mamiya Rinzo (間宮林藏).² Financial sponsors quickly appeared and began to support further explorations.³

Areas for exploration became more diverse in the Meiji Era. For instance, in 1892 Hukushima Yasumasa (福島安正) crossed Siberia. In 1898, Iemura (家村相助) traveled with Zhang Jiakou (張家口) to Kulun (庫倫). In 1902, Inoue Masaji (井上雅二) traveled around western and central Asia. In 1905, Hayashite (林出賢二郎) went from Beijing (北京) to Xian (西安), to Lanzhou (蘭州) and also to Hami (哈密), Tianshan (天山), Yili (伊犁), and Urumqi. He also introduced the idea of exploring the countries bordering on western China to the Japanese. Hino Tsutomu (日野強)'s 1906 journey to Beijing, Yili, and India was published in *Yili (伊犁) Expedition*. Shirose (白瀨) travelled to the South Pole, and thus gained worldwide attention, as he took a small 24-ton boat all the way to 78 degrees, 31

¹ Seo Jungbok, 'Expedition Background of North America by France and Its Result', *North America Studies*, No. 13, 2004, p. 68.

² Toshiyuki Akizuki, *Nihon hokuhen no tanken to chizu no rekishi* [A History of the Exploration and Cartography of the Northwest Pacific], Sapporo-shi: Hokkaidō Daigaku Toshō Kankōkai, 1999, preface.

³ Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (DAMOFA), K-2-2-0-1, *Tanken no iron tekikenkyū no kokoromi* [Theory Study of Expedition], June 1941, pp. 37–38.

minutes south. He also went all the way to 151 degrees, 20 minutes west to the South Pole. Another team used a dog sled until 80 degrees, 5 minutes south. In 1907, Otani Kozui (大谷光瑞) made many visits to central Asia and Buddhist heritage sites, and Tarabana (橘瑞超)'s reports are still especially valuable regarding modern explorations into a comprehensive 'New Western China'.⁴

The ambition to conquer the world had dropped away in the 1920s, due to the growth of the democratic movement, but became active again in the 1930s when Japan took over the area of Manchuria and founded the Manchukuo puppet state, and an atmosphere of nationalism reemerged. After the 1930s, the East Asia Archeology Association (東亞考古學會), Kyung Sung (京城) and the Kyoto University exploration group were exploring the Mongolian area, while Rehe (熱河) set Shigeyasu Tokunaga (徳永重康) as the head of their exploration. The Manchuria area was explored by the army, the South Manchuria Railway Company, and the Mainland Academy, while Hainan Island (海南島) was explored by other organizations.⁵

These explorations were not conducted simply for sake of exploring the unknown, but were also necessary for awakening the nation's interest and promoting cultural knowledge. Japan's intention during these explorations was primarily to challenge the national imagination, and to strengthen the independence of the nation. Furthermore, it created a visible achievement for other nations to notice.

Secondarily, Japan explored these territories in order to obtain more information about remote places and frontiers, as part of Japan's attempt to create an East Asian New Order. Acquiring basic information about the area was necessary in order for the unification of nations. This data described the ethnicity, society, religion, and habits of the region, which were all necessary for future colonial policies. Using this information, Japan conducted detailed studies on cultural, ethnology, linguistics, and anthropology.⁶ Japan also required this information for topographical, geographical, geopolitical, economic and mining studies, as well as for determining food resources for stable colonial expansion.

These studies were also conducted in order to gather important scientific information. For example, both animal studies and plant research were also conducted in order to estimate figures on the potential loss of livestock and grains. Exploration was also needed to obtain information about the climate in local areas, as this allowed scientists to obtain geological and climate information, and thus to fill in the areas on the map that were not complete. Furthermore, radio and telegraph equipment were needed for this exploration. In additions, these explorations helped to improve roads, railroads and the construction of bridges. Medical knowledge was also gathered, as the explorations reported about the diseases endemic to a given area. Overall, all of this information was reported using the mass media, so as to educate the wider public.⁷

Japan's exploration attempts, then, were not carried out just for the sake of exploration itself, but were also a calculated attempt to expand their colonies. This exploration for the sake of expansion also helped to accelerate the growth of the modern academy.

⁴ DAMOFA, K-2-2-0-1, pp. 40–41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53.

Japan was also interested in the exploration carried out by other nations. Japan's diplomacy records include documentation of the explorations of many other nations. For example, Japan was interested in exploration efforts not only in areas of their own spheres of interest, but also in the United States' expeditions to the Gobi deserts, Taiwan, Siberia, India, Tibet, Mongolia, and the South Pole. In addition, Japan was interested in England's exploration of Tibet, and Russia's exploration of further Russia, the North Pole, polar crossings, and Mongolia. They also recorded documentation about the Swiss exploration of China, and Germany's expeditions to Morocco, Paraguay, and the South Pole, as well as the Netherlands' explorations in New Guinea, France's explorations in Asia, Italy's explorations in the Amazon, Norway's widespread explorations, as well as those undertaken by many other nations.⁸

However, despite this extensive record-keeping, Japan's main interest remained the Pacific region in Asia. Their foreign policy states that exploring the Asian area was their priority, and therefore needed the government's support.⁹

After the 19th century, exploration advanced more scientifically. Europe was concluding a major war, and thus was actively engaged in exploration within the Himalayas, central Asia, China, South America, the South Pole, and Greenland. England was also planning to explore the world's highest peak, Mt. Everest, and Germany was planning to explore the third highest peak of Mt. Kanchenjunga, while Japan explored the Canadian province of Alberta.¹⁰

While travel to every part of the world was booming, Kyoto University was interested in exploring Mt. Baekdu. The notion of this area as 'virgin soil' was especially important and a symbolic requirement for this era of exploration.¹¹ As a result, the exploration of Mt. Baekdu provoked interest not only in newspaper articles,¹² but had also long been considered a goal of the exploration and colonization work conducted by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, who therefore provided assistance.

An *Asahi* article from November 23, 1930 revealed plans to explore the abundant resources of the sparsely populated Mt. Baekdu, as drawn up by the Japanese Governor-General of Korea. In order to conduct this mission, the planning body needed to gather evidence before the start of 1931 under intense scrutiny, as well as to establish a fundamental policy. Their plan had the nominal goals of improving the Korean economy via the united efforts of the officials and the people, and especially by creating an industrial base for the production of pulp, sugar, hemp, sanctions, live stocks, and starch.¹³ Mt. Baekdu is located between Korea and Manchuria, possesses an abundance of resources, and was therefore an important strategic location for Japan. Koyata Kotori (鳥尾小弥太) was a politician and soldier, and he claimed that 'Mt. Baekdu was the first line of the national defense of Japan'.

⁸ DAMOFA, K-2-2-0-1, *Tanken kankei zakken* [Expedition related materials].

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁰ Kinji Imanishi, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], Tōkyō: Azusa Shobō, Shōwa 10, 1935, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹² 'Hakutozan no Tanken' [Mt. Baekdu Expedition], *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* [Tokyo Asahi Newspaper], Aug. 20, 1913.

¹³ 'Hakutozanroku no kaitaku keikaku' [Reclamation Plan for Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* [Tokyo Asahi Newspaper], Nov. 23, 1930.

Shima Hirotake (島弘毅) led a group that explored Manchuria for seven months, as based upon Kotori's policies.¹⁴

Kyoto University's plan to scientifically explore Mt. Baekdu was exclusively promoted in the *Asahi*. During that time, exploration and hiking were tightly integrated. Hiking was one aspect of a multifaceted culture movement which valued recreational sports in addition to art, literature, science and philosophy. A hiker who sought an adventure in unknown areas was generally considered to be exploring. Indeed, hiking provided a great sense of satisfaction as exploring an unknown area required overcoming difficulties with determination, knowledge, will and physical ability.¹⁵

Tsunekichi Kōno (加納一郎), who graduated from Hokkaido Empire University in 1923, worked at the *Asahi*, and served as chairman of the Japanese hiker's association, made an interesting analysis of hiking and exploration. He stated that the discovery of unknown places in nature is the key factor connecting hiking and exploration. Hiking could be considered to be a type of mountain expedition. Ichirō Kano notes that "Exploration is the discovery of an unknown area and its nature, in order to serve the government and the people's advancement".¹⁶ Therefore, exploration is not just a personal desire to explore, but should also be a scientific venture. In fact, without scientific results, it should not be called exploration at all, as it is not just about hiking in an unknown area, but rather the discovery of new scientific results which should assist a nation's interests in the future, such as through the expansion of colonies.

2.2. The purpose for exploring Mt. Baekdu and the expansion of national prestige

Scientific exploration was booming around the world, and Kyoto University's exploration team had a clear goal when they decided to explore Mt. Baekdu in the harsh winter climate.

First, the exploration team wanted to conquer the highest peak in winter, which was a significant challenge due to the icy conditions.¹⁷ They wanted to experiment with Mt. Baekdu,¹⁸ and this desire "was born and raised against the history of Japanese exploration".¹⁹ The trip was also described as one of the most interesting expeditions ever conducted by the Japanese.

Secondly the team wanted to make the exploration scientific. Each member of the group was an expert in his or her own field, and was ready to explore Mt. Baekdu successfully.²⁰ For example, Kyoto University's Kinji Imanishi (今西錦司) had plenty of experience in

¹⁴ Shin'ichi Yamamuro, 'Bunka aiwataru katutotoshite no kunjichosha to shoukuminchi keiei' [Military Investigation and Colonial Control as a Culture Activity], *Jinmun kakuho* [Humanity Studium], No. 12, 2004, p. 237.

¹⁵ Ichirō Kano, 'Tosan to tanken' [Hiking and Expedition], *Nihon sangakugai gansai shibuhen, Sangaku kenkyu koza* [Mountain Study Course] 1, Tokyo, 1943, p. 71.

¹⁶ Ichirō Kano, p. 76.

¹⁷ Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], preface.

¹⁸ Kinji Imanishi, 'Hakutōzan Enseitai nitsuite', *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku, Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], Tōkyō: Azusa Shōbō, Shōwa 10, 1935, p. 5.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], preface.

hiking. He wanted to find out more about the co-existence between humanity and nature, and to explore their relationship in the field, through the study of Mt. Baekdu.

Thirdly, as well as achieving academic results, the group's goal was to show Mt. Baekdu off to the world. They hoped this would plant a seed to inspire future Japanese scholars, in addition to the rest of the academic world.²¹

Kyoto University was keen to join the rest of the academic world's drive to explore by sending a team to Mt. Baekdu. The expedition was prepared with expertise in medicine, meteorology, and biology so as to tackle the harsh winter climate on Mt. Baekdu. They also wanted to experiment with food rationing in the cold winter temperatures, for military reasons.²²

While Kyoto University had general intentions regarding exploration, they did not have one specific purpose for the exploration.²³ They wanted to make the exploration scientific, and did so by conducting scientific experiments during their journey. This was the reason the exploration team did not call themselves the 'Scientific Exploration of Mt. Baekdu', but instead just referred to themselves as an exploration team. However, they did equip themselves with the scientific tools necessary for scientific purposes rather than simply for hiking.²⁴

They believed this exploration was not just for recreational purposes but also to gain new knowledge for the academic community.²⁵ The team was made up of the following members (see Table 1).

Most of the team members were Kyoto University students. The leader, Kinji Imanishi, and several others had bachelor's degrees, and were already teaching at the university. One member had a PhD degree, but not all members had expertise in all of the fields.

Whether scientific or explorative in intention, the Kyoto University team nonetheless had to prepare for harsh conditions in the mountains. They gathered considerable information from experts and prepared extensively for the exploration.²⁶ For example, they learned to use the radio for communications from an engineering professor. They also learned about food from an agriculture professor and prepared accordingly.²⁷

With basic experience in hiking, they equipped themselves with hanging tents, stoves, round tents, chapter furs, beds, dog-skin clothes from Hokkaido, and also lined the bottom

²¹ Takeshi Kaneko, 'Okaruto Jappon no bunsuirei', Morio Yoshida, *Okaruto no wakusei: 1930 nendai mō hitotsu no sekaichizu* [Occult Planet: Another World Map in 1930], Tōkyō: Seikyūsha, 2009, p. 45.

²² 'Shotoko no miwaku kisho hakubutsu no kenkyumo' [Study on Weather and Wide Knowledge by the First Hiking], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934.

²³ Takeshi Kaneko, 'Okaruto Jappon no bunsuirei', Morio Yoshida, *Okaruto no wakusei: 1930 nendai mō hitotsu no sekaichizu* [Occult Planet: Another World Map in 1930], Tōkyō: Seikyūsha, 2009, p. 45.

²⁴ Kinji Imanishi, Hakutōzan Enseitai nitsuite, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku*, *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], Tōkyō: Azusa Shobō, Shōwa 10, 1935, p. 9.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁷ Eizaburō Nishibori, 'Zunbi nitsuite' [About Preparation], *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], 1935, p. 26.

Table 1. List of the Mt. Baekdu expedition team

Name	Status	Name	Status
Kinji Imanishi (今西錦司)	Leader, B. Agr. Faculty of science	Kanji Kojima (兒島勘次)	Student of science
Eizaburō Nishibori (西堀榮三郎)	B.S. Faculty of science	Sukiyama (杉山佐一)	Student in humanities
Kenji Takahashi (高橋健治)	B. Agr., Plants laboratory of science	Tani Hiroshi (谷博)	Medical student at Kyoto University
Asai (淺井東一)	M.D. Surgery laboratory of the medical school	Kuzō Fujiki (藤木九三)	<i>Osaka Asahi</i> newspaper
Takeo Miyazaki (宮崎武夫)	B.A. in Economics, Working for Osaka city	Maruyama Shiro (丸山四郎)	<i>Tokyo Asahi</i> newspaper
Oku (奥貞雄)	B.A. in Law	Imada (今田友茂)	Guiding team of Wuradakuchi (浦田口)
Hira (平吉功)	B.Agr. Plant genetic laboratory of Agr.	Yamato (大和由松)	Mountain guide team
Hasekawa (長谷川清三郎)	Student of agriculture	Saeki (佐伯宗作)	Mountain guide team
Hori (堀龍雄)	Student of engineering	Iiyama (飯山)	Staff of Chosun railroad company
Taian Katō (加藤泰安)	Student of economics	guards 13 persons, police 8 persons, workers 16 persons, total sum of 56 persons	

Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* (Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports), 1935, p. 3 and p. 31.

of their boots with sea-leopard hide. Cooking implements were made of wood or aluminum so as to decrease their weight. They also packed special lightbulbs that continued to work at temperatures as low as -20°C , along with short skis.²⁸

The team selected lightweight food that did not spoil quickly, including fruits, vegetables, salted foods, canned foods, spices, dried fruits, rice, and some military foods. To ensure the team's safety, each member prepared radio transmission equipment that would work from the tallest peak of Mt. Baekdu. They also used airplanes and pigeons for communication.²⁹

As the exploration team did not have one single specific purpose for the trip, they were equipped with a wide range of scientific items. Despite this preparation, the trip was not just about demonstrating their scientific skills to the world,³⁰ but rather intended to provide

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 14–20.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 20–26.

³⁰ Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* (Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports), preface.

a feeling of prestige to young scholars and the Japanese people, and to demonstrate that the Japanese empire was expanding.

Japan's conquest of the Manchuria area and the creation of the Manchukuo state meant that the area where Mt. Baekdu was located was no longer foreign land, but belonged to Japan's newly expanded Empire. As the victor of the Russo-Japanese war, Manchuria was more than just a profit margin, but a sovereign power line. The Kyoto University exploration fitted right into the scheme of advertising who the winner of the war was, and marked the expansion of Japan's imperial territory. The exploration was a perfect means for exalting the Japanese Empire's national prestige and its territory, which the *Asahi* newspaper used to educate the Japanese people.

3. 'Discovering' the 'mysterious land' and creating 'consumption value'

3.1. 'Discovering' the consumption value and the mysterious land

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905 was a special event in Japanese newspaper history, and is known as a direct cause of the rise in newspaper circulation. Reporters were sent out with the troops to report breaking stories as they happened. As a result, they quickly grasped that the media could have a powerful influence upon political, economic, and social ideas.

In June 1906, the *Asahi*, which had previously experienced success with media events planned tours to Korea and Manchuria. The *Asahi* wanted to highlight the Japanese empire's newly acquired territory, as well as to educate and raise patriotic feelings among the Japanese people. They created huge outdoor sets and points of interests to complete the tour package. Through these actions, they sought to give the Japanese people a sense of 'monumental patriotism'.

On the other side, the people in the colonies had to witness the success of Japan's empire when the tour came to visit conquered lands. The *Asahi* was the first newspaper to demonstrate this sense of superiority, via the tour products obtained from the newly acquired colony.

The *Asahi Newspaper* wanted to continue the colony tours after the Russo-Japanese war was over, but the 1920 Kantō earthquake (關東) brought recession to Japan's economy, and thus a slowing of the tourism industry. In addition, the 'Taisho Democracy', a new trend of liberalism, slowed the tour industry in the colony. However, soon afterwards, China's nationalist movement reached Manchuria and the Chinese movement for retaking sovereign power over its former territory was expanded. This movement created a fear of encroachment onto Japan-held territory, which created a rapid increase in campaigning Japanese nationalism, and consequently travel by Japanese increased to boost nationalist sentiments.

After the Manchurian incident in 1931, and the 1932 establishment of Manchukuo, Japan had a strong grasp upon the region. However, Japan was still struggling to make a profit from this area, and it was from this attempt that Kyoto University suggested an exploration of Mt. Baekdu.

While the Mt. Baekdu expedition had merit simply by virtue of exploring the unknown, the mass media painted it with considerably more glory, thus drawing more attention to it. However, the expedition was intended for reasons different than those presented by the

media. Furthermore the media focused on very different aspects than those most people considered to be a part of traveling to the colony.

Indeed, during a time when scientific exploration was spreading throughout the world, the expedition to Mt. Baekdu was not just about travelling into the unknown, but was also a great chance to sell more newspapers through the promotion of travel events, to educate readers, and finally to improve science.

An analysis of the method used to discover the value of such travel events can be broken down as follows:

First, the expedition attracted attention from many different organizations and from people of all social standings.

The Kyoto University expedition received sponsorship from many individuals and organizations. In Chosun, the former king of Korea provided grant money, while the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, the military headquarters, the national railroad, the post office, and the Kyungseong Empire University welcomed the expedition. Furthermore, the 19th commander of the Chosun-based Japanese military supported the Kyoto University team, and offered them protection to ensure their safe travel.³¹ In addition, many hiking enthusiasts and the *Asahi* newspaper provided their support.³² In addition, the *Asahi* provided air transportation, as well as monetary support to ensure that the exploration was a success.³³

“The time that we have been waiting for has finally arrived”.³⁴ This statement, which started the expedition, points to the support provided by the people and organizations of the nation. The exploration team was rather calm, especially as compared to the supporters, including Kyoto University's agriculture and science professors, and the staff of the university and the *Asahi Newspaper*. At the Osaka train station, many employees from the newspaper and members of the Gansai ski club cheered the explorers as they were leaving; an event that the *Asahi* reported as emotionally overwhelming.³⁵

It was not only Japan which was excited about the exploration. In fact, according to the *Asahi*, the Japanese colony of Chosun was excited about and impatient for the exploration.³⁶ Governor Ukaki (宇垣) of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, Watanabe (渡邊), the chief of Education and Study, as well as the police officers of Hamkyung's southern and northern provinces all showed strong support for the expedition. The Chosun military and the railroad administration also supported the trip.³⁷ Both the empire and the colony were thus overcome with joy about the exploration, as the newspaper described.

³¹ ‘Hakutozan ensei senbatsu tai keijo chaku’ [Advance Party of Mt. Baekdu Expedition Team Arrived at Kyungseong], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 23, 1934.

³² ‘Shotoko no miwaku kisho hakubutsu no kenkyumo’ [Study on Weather and Wide Knowledge by the First Hiking], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934.

³³ Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], preface.

³⁴ ‘Hakutozan ensei senbazutai kooshi hanabanashiku shuppatsu’ [Dispatch Advance Party of Mt. Baekdu Expedition Team], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 21, 1934.

³⁵ ‘Ibidem.

³⁶ ‘Zensen no Kofun (Excitement in Chosun)’, *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 21, 1934.

³⁷ ‘Ibidem.

Second, resolving a series of unknown mysteries.

The newspaper repeatedly wrote front-page articles about Kyoto University's Mt. Baekdu expedition, even before the topic began to interest the readers. The following statements were used to advertise the media events, so as to maximize its value.³⁸

'Mysterious heavenly lake',
 'Mysterious lake under the Caldera Wall',
 'Dignity covered with shining silver snow',
 'Unsearchable twig gate silently hidden with puzzle'
 'An enchanted land of deep forests cast over the mystique',
 'Spiritual mountain from the old days',
 'Wildness of Snow',
 'Massive forest displays in front',
 'Primeval forest over 200 years old',
 'The thickness of the 'yellow grass', well known in the world',
 'The coldest place on the Earth',
 'Virgin forests in desolate places without the smoke of steamed rice',
 'The place of Manchurian bandits and gangs of Chosun people'
 'Cold winter exploration to Mt. Baekdu',
 'Splendid achievement of an unprecedented event',
 'Virgin hiking to the top of Mt. Baekdu during the winter'

Third, the emphasis of the "first time".

The *Asahi's* coverage of the Mt. Baekdu expedition emphasized the description of the initial experiences. Initially, it was depicted as the area where horse-riding bandits first appeared. While sources had always described Mt. Baekdu as an unspoiled place with many plants, few had recounted anything about horsemen. Secondly, the Hyesan county (惠山鎮) military escorted the explorers into the harsh conditions, which reached -40°C , the first such experience for the Japanese army.³⁹ Thirdly, it was the first time that skis had been used for exploration; a fact welcomed by the recreational sports world.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the newspaper emphasized the uniqueness of the event by stressing the methods used to explore the ends of the earth. Fourth, the newspaper emphasized that flight had been used for the first time, as the explorers sought to reach Mt. Baekdu's peaks with Nagamoto aircraft. Indeed, this attempt was successful,⁴¹ as the Nagamoto aircraft reported that they "took pictures of the mysterious land before making communication with the expedition

³⁸ 'Nichimankokkyo no daiyitsuho' [The First Peak of the Boundary between Japan and Manchukuo], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934; 'Shinrintainiwa bazoku' [Bandits in Forest], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934; 'Shinpi tozasu taiginrei', *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 21, 1934.

³⁹ 'Rikukun demo saishu reika 40 do no kokan kogun' [The Army's First Intense March in 40-degrees below Weather], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 25, 1934.

⁴⁰ 'Dozankai kuzen no kaikyo' [Brilliant Achievement in Alpine Society], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 12, 1934.

⁴¹ 'Honsha nagatomoki ikkini haku joku o seihuku' [Our Company's Nagamoto Aircraft Conquer the Sky of Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 6, 1935.

team".⁴² They claimed that they were the first to broadcast this news via airplanes.⁴³ They even released this experiment and the essay written by the pilot, and this incident was widely and profoundly admired.⁴⁴

The value of exploring Mt. Baekdu was increased when the danger of the mission was stressed. Thus, the reports not only emphasized the sense of stillness on Mt. Baekdu, but also the dynamic side. If it was represented as an untouched, ancient place with pure white snow, it would just have been portrayed as an unknown place. However, the focus on danger turned this representation into a realistic scientific area of research.

Fourth, the interest in exploring a scientific mystery in order to solve a puzzle.

The newspaper explained that the exploration was not just for academic purposes. Indeed, it argued that the Kyoto University exploration team would also solve the mystery of the temperature of the heavenly lake, and suggested that they might be able to provide a variety of explanations.⁴⁵

The newspaper reported on every move made by the team, particularly as they prepared the scientific equipment, such as the microscope, barometer, and the UV detector, all of which emphasized their scientific approach to conquering Mt. Baekdu.⁴⁶ The paper also reported that the team performed many tests on the furs that they brought, as well as upon their foods and vegetables, to ensure that they could withstand temperatures of -40°C .⁴⁷ In addition, the team would attempt to find previously undiscovered microorganisms and plants that lived on or near Mt. Baekdu. Finally, the paper explained that the team would locate and explore the paths made by the wildlife living near the mountain.

Fifth, putting emphasis on military and social dedication, while adding an entertainment aspect to create a media event.

The *Asahi* did not just report on the aspects of military and social dedication, but included the entertainment factor of enjoyable winter sports event in their article, which the public was interested in. The expedition team was composed of experts in skiing, and the opportunity to ski the untouched territory of Mt. Baekdu was a dream for most ski enthusiasts. This exploratory skiing in -40°C was not just about discovering new academic information, but also provided an interesting news story.

The Kyoto University expedition was presented in the newspaper both realistically and non-realistically. In terms of the former, the paper described harsh deserts, unknown territory, scientific discovery, military expeditions, and social dedication. In terms of the latter, it also described an interesting spectacle and drama, which was written for all groups and ages. The article was very detailed, and thus elicited great curiosity in readers.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ 'Hakutozan no joho o kijo kara muden tsushin' (Mt. Baekdu: Information from Wireless Correspondence of Aircraft), *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 9, 1935.

⁴⁴ 'Nagatomo Hikoshi shuki' [Nagatomo Pilot's Note], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 6, 1935.

⁴⁵ 'Nichiman kokkei no dai itsubo' [The First Peak of the Boundary between Japan and Manchuria], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934.

⁴⁶ 'Hakutozan enseitai dainimotsu tsumitashi' [Large Amounts of Luggage Shipped for Exploration Team to Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 24, 1934.

⁴⁷ 'Shotoko no miwakukishohakubutsu no kenkyumo' (Study on Weather and Wide Knowledge by the First Hiking), *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 6, 1934.

One article described “Mt. Baekdu where the Kyoto University exploration team will conquer” as a “silver lining of beauty lying between Manchuria and Chosun”.⁴⁸ The article also highlighted the expedition as worthy of praise by all hikers and academic members.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the *Asahi*, which held exclusive rights to the story, also praised itself for this coverage.

After the Russo-Japanese war, international travel and school field trips were once again expanding, of which the Japanese army was very supportive.⁵⁰ The support from the army was paralleled by the mass media’s interest in making these tours an event for consumers. In addition, the expeditions resulted in increased prestige for the nation. These three factors combined to make the scientifically focused explorations safe and efficient. Furthermore, the government, media and army also collaborated to make it easier to travel to the colonies, so as to educate and bring prestige to the people of Japan.

3.2. To develop the value of consumption

To determine how the *Asahi* developed the consumptive value of the Mt. Baekdu expedition, one must examine the articles published in the *Asahi*, and compare them to the daily logs of the exploration team.

The *Asahi* sought to raise its own sales value in the following ways.

First, they reported on the expedition in both their morning and evening publications for a month, from December 12, 1934 to January 26, 1935. Consisting of both small articles and large articles encompassing an entire page, daily stories were published detailing this trip, which also included interviews and pictures.

The second method of increasing newspaper sales involved extensive reporting upon exciting and climactic events which were presented as turning points in the expedition. For example, the January 3, 1935 article reported that the expedition team had encountered seventy horse-mounted bandits, who planned to kidnap the explorers, and who wounded ten members in the resulting confrontation.⁵¹ This article emphasized the dangerous elements of the expedition. Similarly, another article was published explaining that it was impossible to use sleds between the base camp and the Xuxiang ridge (虛項嶺), and thus all the supplies had to be carried by hand.⁵² Such dramatic tales of adventure and struggle created a great sense of curiosity in readers, and increased newspaper sales.

When the exploration team was nearing the peak of Mt. Baekdu, the wind was so strong that they were not sure if they could reach the top.⁵³ The first group of seven climbers was

⁴⁸ ‘Hakutozan enseitai yube sobetuen’ [Farewell Party for Exploration to Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 16, 1934.

⁴⁹ ‘Hakutozan enseitai no zunpi mattaku naru’ [Ready for Exploration to Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 17, 1934.

⁵⁰ Yim Sungmo, ‘Expanded Boundary and Perspective of Empire’, *Empire Geology, Manchuria as a Boundary*, Seoul: Dongkuk University Press, 2010, p. 44.

⁵¹ ‘Tanken daiin o nerahu bazoku to shototsu’ (Chasing Bandits Collision with Exploration Team), *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 3, 1935.

⁵² ‘Docho wa yokka’ [The Fourth Day of Hiking], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 3, 1935.

⁵³ ‘Hakutozanchō wa kyōhū’ [Strong Wind on Top of the Mountain], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 8, 1935.

supposed to leave the camp in the morning, so as to reach the summit and then return to the base. However, it was reported that the wind was so severe that the team was not sure if they would ever make it.⁵⁴

This lack of verifiable evidence about reaching the summit led to the first use of an airplane news broadcast. The main role for the Nagatomo aircraft (長友機) was to fly to the top of the peak and then radio to the base. The base would then radio the airplane, which was routed via the Kyungsung radio tower back to the newspaper company.⁵⁵ The use of this airplane was highly dramatic, and resembled the protagonist in a film, who might miraculously come to rescue someone in danger.

However, a comparison of the newspaper articles to the daily logs of the exploration team members reveals several differences. Unlike the newspaper articles, which reported on the many dangers and difficulties the team faced, the daily logs report that the expedition was smooth and uneventful. These discrepancies can likely be attributed to the exaggerations of journalists.

Indeed, the exploration team admitted that it was unfortunate to have to make such compromises with the journal in exchange for the large amount of sponsorship they provided.⁵⁶ However, the team members themselves explained that the successful exploration could largely be attributed to this support, as well as to the rather flat surfaces of the mountain, the short duration of the expedition, and the escort initially provided by the army and the police.⁵⁷

From a journalistic perspective, one can understand the differences in intention between the newspaper and the exploration team. While the expedition team officially stated that they both shared mutual interests, nevertheless differences between the groups did exist.

The discovery of the unknown area had significant sales value. While this value did bring readers closer to an experience of the unknown, any media-sponsored event will inevitably have many different and highly subjective interpretations.⁵⁸

In fact, this creation of a sense of mystery and an emphasis upon recreation created a huge demand in newspaper consumption. Mt. Baekdu came to possess two meanings, as both a closed and an isolated image, and Japan emphasized this dual focus. First, the mountain represented the Japanese empire expanding into other lands, and eliciting sympathy and a sense of connection with the people at home. Second, it represented an interest in the habits and religion of other cultures, which Japan would nonetheless seek to conquer in the near future.⁵⁹ This dual focus was part of Japan's efforts to expand its empire.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

⁵⁵ 'Hakutozan no joho o kijo kara muden tsushin' (Mt. Baekdu: Information from Wireless Correspondence of Aircraft), *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Jan. 9, 1935.

⁵⁶ Kinji Imanishi, Hakutōzan Enseitai nitsuite, *Hakutōzan: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai hōkoku, Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Hakutōzan Enseitai* [Mt. Baekdu: Kyoto University Expedition Reports], Tokyo: Azusa Shobō, Shōwa 10, 1935, p. 10.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁸ Takeshi Kaneko, 'Okaruto Jappon no bunsuirei' [Watershed of Occult Japa], Morio Yoshida, *Okaruto no wakusei: 1930 nendai mō hitotsu no sekaichizu* [Occult Planet: Another World Map in 1930], Tōkyō: Seikyūsha, 2009, p. 43.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

4. Conclusion: educational effect on the empire and colony

After the Russo-Japanese war ended, the Japanese increasingly began to travel to their colonies. However in 1920 Japan faced economic struggles, which reduced the amount of tours. This situation changed again in 1930, when Chinese nationalism began to spread, and Japan sought to counter this threat by campaigning for increased travel. Indeed, the global trend was to explore the unknown, and Japan participated by sending the Kyoto University expedition to the harsh conditions of Mt. Baekdu, both for the purposes of science and also for increasing national prestige. The *Asahi* newspaper had gained considerable success by reporting on the Russo-Japanese war, and now sought to expand and emphasize the prestige of Japan's empire by reporting exclusively upon the Mt. Baekdu exploration.

Indeed, the newspaper stated, "Asia's mountain shall be opened by Asia's hands".⁶⁰ They also reported upon every step of the exploration by creating suspenseful articles to attract new subscribers, thus bringing the expedition to the attention of their readers.

These exclusive reports on the exploration were a new and adventurous way of educating people, and they inspired future expeditions. One example is provided by Tadao Umesao (梅棹忠夫), the First Director of the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology, who was introduced to the exploration team members in 1935.

When Tadao Umesao was in his junior high school, the first middle school delegates of Kyoto prefecture (京一中), the members of the Kyoto University exploration team, had just returned. Among them, Kinji Imanishi (今西錦司), Eizaburō Nishibori (西屈榮三郎) and Tani Hiroshi (谷博) had graduated from the same junior high school. They then visited their old school and gave lectures. While Tadao Umesao did not recall the exact content of the lecture, he remembered watching the movie clips that accompanied them, and was thereby inspired to do the same thing.

In 1940, when Tadao Umesao was a senior in high school, he and Fujida Kazuo (藤田和夫) climbed down the northern slope of Mt. Baekdu. They completed their exploration of a previously untouched area in one week, and then arrived at Erdaobaihe (二道白河), where they found the second source of the Songhua river (松花江), which was a new geological discovery. Tadao Umesao, who later became a leading anthropologist, began his lifelong habit of exploring on Mt. Baekdu.⁶¹ After his expedition to Mt. Baekdu, he published a book called *The springtime of Mt. Baekdu*.⁶²

These media events were not just intended to educate the people of the Japanese empire. In Chosun, Mt. Baekdu was a significant cultural symbol,⁶³ so the people of Chosun were also very interested in the story. After completing their exploration, the Kyoto University team gave lectures at the Kyungsung Empire University on January 19, 1935. Perhaps due to Kyoto University's emphasis on scientific exploration, in 1936 the

⁶⁰ 'Hyosetsu no dendo hakudozan' [The Hall of Ice and Snow of Mt. Baekdu], *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, Dec. 29, 1934.

⁶¹ Kurita yasuyuki, 'chohakusanjiku o koetatabi' [Travel over Mt. Baekdu], *AACK Kyoto Daikaku Gakushi Sangakukai Newsletter* [Newsletter of the Academic Mountaineering Club of Kyoto University], No. 51, Nov. 2009, p. 17.

⁶² Tadao Umesao, 'The Springtime of Mt. Baekdu', *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, 1995.

⁶³ 'Mt. Baekdu Expedition Plan Held by Head Office', *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, July 15, 1936.

representation of the expedition was modified, and it was then presented as having been sponsored by the *Chosun* newspaper.

Furthermore, in 1936 the *Chosun Daily* newspaper stated that regardless of whether any previous explorations of Mt. Baekdu were completed by the Japanese or westerners, "we will conquer Mt. Baekdu with our own hands".⁶⁴ The newspaper's purpose in planning the expedition was not just a simple mountain adventure, but rather both to explore historical and holy lands, and to scientifically study animals, plants, and other materials.⁶⁵ They put a strong emphasis on "using science as a surgical knife to dissect and to explore this matrix."⁶⁶

After planning the Mt. Baekdu exploration, the *Chosun Daily* consistently released articles about Mt. Baekdu's exploration, including its process and discoveries. These were released in several series until October 10, 1936.

On its editorial page, the *Chosun Daily* emphasized the study of Mt. Baekdu's highlands, which could provide important information about meteorology, geology, geography, and history. They also wrote that it was very important to observe the mountain with their own eyes, to walk on it with their feet, and to use a mirror as if to dissect it with a knife. They stressed that, should this expedition even be 0.001% successful, it would represent a huge monument to the academic world.⁶⁷

The *Chosun Daily* repeatedly emphasized that the exploration of Mt. Baekdu was not just about hiking up the mountain, but also about studying its history, geology, geography, and meteorology, as well as the local plants, insects, animal, birds and other species, and to then present this new knowledge to the world.⁶⁸

Furthermore, the *Chosun Daily* sought to plan an exploration conducted by the people of Chosun. It also wanted to conduct explorations that had never been done scientifically, and to discover treasures that the world had never seen. Mt. Baekdu had a breath-taking view, an enormous height, untouched pristine areas, and a lake at its peak. However, these wonders were only a background when compared to its extensive array of alpine plants and insects.⁶⁹ The *Chosun Daily* sought to discover all of these things, and then to share them with academics worldwide.

While the *Chosun*'s approach was not identical to the *Asahi*'s desire to educate the people of the empire via a major media event, their approaches to Mt. Baekdu were somewhat similar in regards to the colony. The *Asahi*'s media event was very successful in reporting the first exploration of Mt. Baekdu. As a result, it created not only sales value, but also challenged subscribers to learn an 'Asian New Order'. It also gained valuable information about the unknown area, while raising the nation's prestige and educating the people of both the empire and the colony.

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ 'Advance Party of Mt. Baekdu Expedition', *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, Aug. 4, 1936.

⁶⁷ Editorial 'Mt. Baekdu Expedition Team Congratulated by Head Office', *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, July 17, 1936.

⁶⁸ 'Two Times Exceeded the Fixed Number', *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, July 26, 1936.

⁶⁹ 'World Repository of Plants, Insects', *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, July 28, 1936.

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