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Publications in the Early Stages of Academic Geography in Japan (1907-1945)

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THE DECLINE AND SURVIVAL OF ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY: PUBLICATIONS IN THE EARLY STAGES OF ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY IN JAPAN (1907–1945)*

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I. Pre-Academic Geography and Early Geographical Publications

Attempting to pin down the exact year of the establishment of academic geography in Japan is something of a problem. The year 1879 saw the founding of the Tokyo Geographical Society, which was modelled after the Royal Geographical Society, London, and the organ of which, the Journal of the Tokyo Geographical Society, played an important role in the diffusion of geographical knowledge of foreign countries among intellectual circles in Japan. The bulk of the members of the society consisted of bureaucrats, military people, and journalists; very few were academicians. Its main undertakings were the diffusion of geographical knowledge and the encouragement of exploration in the field as practised by numerous geographical societies in Western countries. In 1886, the Imperial University (of Tokyo; at this time the phrase ‘of Tokyo’ was not yet part of the official name of the university) came to be divided into faculties, and in the Faculty of Letters a certain number of courses on geography were read by L. Riess, a visiting German professor of history and K. Tsuboi, graduate of the Department of Geology and lecturer on the Faculty of Letters, in the Department of History,1 a few decades before a Department of Geography was established within the Faculty of Sciences. In 1889, the staff and graduates of the Department of Geology of the Imperial University (of Tokyo) commenced publication of the Chigaku Zasshi, literally ‘Journal of Earth Sciences,’ but with the English title of the Journal of Geography. The main purpose of this journal was to introduce the scientific achievements of the staff and graduates of the Department of Geology of the Imperial University (of Tokyo), and eventually, this group was incorporated into the Tokyo Geographical Society. After 1897, the Journal of Geography (Chigaku Zasshi) became the sole


1 In 1907 Riess left Japan and his post was taken over by M. Mitsukuri. On the introduction of geography in the Department of History of the Imperial University of Tokyo, see Yoshida, T.: “Shigaku Chirigaku Koza ni okeru Kindai Jinmon Chirigaku Donyu no Keifu” in Kyoto Daigaku Bungaku-bu Chirigaku Kyoshitsu (ed.): Chiri no Shiso, Chijin Shobo, 1982, pp. 192–205.
organ of the Tokyo Geographical Society.\(^2\)

The latter journal was far more scientific in content in comparison with the previously-mentioned *Journal of the Tokyo Geographical Society*. None of the contributors of papers to the journal, who were mostly geologists, was designated by the specific title of geographer, even when his papers pertained, as the titles indicated, to geography or regional geography. In fact, Bunjiro Koto, the founder of the Department of Geology at the Imperial University (of Tokyo) published a paper entitled “The Interpretation or Significance of the Meaning of Geography” in the first volume of the *Journal of Geography*;\(^3\) but his title continued to be professor of geology. Because of the increasing importance of geographical teaching at primary and secondary school levels, after the end of the 1880s geographical books began to be published in growing numbers; these books constantly had reference to Western geographical books of the time, indicating that the authors relied in one way or other on environmentalism or man-nature paradigms.

Teachers of geography at the secondary-school level were formed in the Higher Normal Schools of Tokyo and Hiroshima and the Higher Women’s Normal Schools of Tokyo and Nara. At the same time, there were a large number of secondary school teachers who had passed the Ministry of Education examinations for Teachers’ Licenses in Geography at the Secondary School Level (Mombusho Chuto-gakko Kyoin Kentei Shiken, usually abbreviated to *Bunken*) while teaching at primary schools. Apart from general readers in intellectual circles, aspirants to teaching posts in secondary schools voiced strong demands for geographical books of a higher educational level. So much so that several thousand copies in several editions of certain books such as Shigetaka Shiga’s “Lectures on Geography” (first published in 1889) and “Japanese Landscapes” (first published in 1894), or Tsunesaburo Makiguchi’s “Life Geography” (*Jinsei Chirigaku*, first published in 1903) were estimated to have been published.

It should here be noted that up to the beginning of the 1920s, authors of geographical books, including those cited above, were not necessarily part of institutionalized organizations or established circles. They can be divided into three categories, the first of which comprises professors and graduates of the Department of Geology of the Imperial University (of Tokyo). Bunjiro Koto, author of several papers on the constitution of geography, whose works were based on the *Anthropogeographie* of Friedrich Ratzel,\(^4\) Naomasa Yamasaki\(^5\), who graduated from the Department of Geology of the Imperial University in 1894,

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\(^2\) The Tokyo Geographical Society between 1889 and 1923 together with the contents of its publications were examined in detail by Ryuziro Isida “‘Tokyo Chigaku Kyokai Hokoku’ (Meiji 12-30 nen)—Meiji Zenhan no Nihon ‘Chirigaku-shi Shiryo to Shite,” *Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyu* (Meiji 22 nen) yori Kanto Daishinsai made, Nihon no Chigaku Zasshi'-Sokan (Meiji 22 nen) (Meiji 22 nen) (Meiji 22 nen) (Meiji 22 nen), Hitotsubashi Kenkyu Noen, Vol. 10, 1969, 1-83.


and Takuji Ogawa, who graduated from the same department in 1896, all belong to this category and played important roles in the formation of academic geography in Japan. Yamasaki was professor of geology at the Second Higher School in Sendai, when in 1898, he was dispatched abroad for three years by the Ministry of Education, in order to study geography. There, he mainly studied geomorphology with Albrecht Penck in Vienna, and upon his return to Japan in 1902, he was appointed professor of geography at the Higher Normal School of Tokyo and also lecturer in geography on the Faculty of Science of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Ogawa worked from 1897 at the Geological Survey Institute, and at the same time, in the capacity of one of the team of editors of the Journal of Geography, he published numerous articles and book reviews on geographical topics. The year 1907 found him in China working for the Geographical Survey Institute. While there, he received an appointment to the professorship of the newly-created chair of geography on the Faculty of Letters at the Imperial University of Kyoto, and thence returned to Japan to assume this post.

The second category comprised those authors of geographical books who were at the same time what could be termed "outsiders" with regard to the group comprising the Tokyo Geographical Society, and hence also outsiders with regard to the emerging academic geography. Shigetaka Shiga, who was considered a journalist of nationalistic proclivities, and Kanzo Uchimura, who was a devoted Protestant and later became famous as a theologian, were each graduates of the Agronomical College of Sapporo, and despite the great difference between them ideologically, had both become interested in geography or the man-nature relationship on the basis of an agronomical formation. Both of them were proficient in English and relied heavily on the English language writings of authors such as Arnold H. Guyot, Mary Somerville and George P. Marsh and English translations of other European authors. To this category of outsider or heterodox academicians we can add Michitoshi Odauchi, graduate in 1899 of the newly-established course of history and geography at the Higher Normal School of Tokyo. He taught geography at a private university (the present Waseda University) and published pioneering works on the settlement geography of Japan in the 1910s and 20s, under the strong influence of the French school of geography; but prior to the 1920s, he was completely outside the group comprising the Tokyo Geographical Society members and the newly established academic circle of geomorphers of geology formation.

The third category may be defined as being composed of leading geographers of the day who had been formed in a milieu of a geographical education or school geography. Very often in the Journal of Geography, books by authors in this category were severely criticized or treated with contempt as writings by amateurs or non-professionals. Before

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the appointment of Naomasa Yamasaki to the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, the professors of geography at the latter establishment were either former compilers of school textbooks in the Ministry of Education or former teachers in primary and secondary schools. Their books were, however, most welcome as far as school teachers and those who hoped to attain a license for teaching geography at the secondary-school level were concerned. Tsunesaburo Makiguchi for instance, was a primary school teacher, who in 1887, at the age of twenty-six, passed the examination, so often cited here, for the said license to teach geography at secondary school. Later, in 1903, while working at the Ministry of Education as a compiler of guidelines for geography textbooks, his Jinsei Chirigaku ("Life Geography") was published with an introduction by Shigetaka Shiga. Geographers of imperial universities at that period were incapable of appreciating this work, which was actually the most complete synthesis of human and economic geography of its time and appropriately met the demands of the school teachers of geography. Perhaps the only writer in the "outsider" category to receive the acknowledgement of an "insider," so to speak, was Masanaga Yazu, author of the Nihon Chimongaku ("Physical Geography of Japan"). This work was published in 1889 with an introduction written by Bunjiro Koto, the above-noted founder of the University of Tokyo's Department of Geology. Yazu was a primary school teacher who, in 1887, at the age of twenty-five, obtained his secondary-school geography teachers' license; this was two years before he wrote the "Physical Geography of Japan." He was a self-trained scholar and the recognition extended to him by Koto was exceptional. In 1893, Yazu was appointed professor at the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, but later on in 1910, he transferred to Waseda University. It is worth noting that, around that same year, a large number of professors of geography in the prestigious Higher Normal Schools and Higher Women's Normal Schools were replaced by newly formed younger academicians; hence the transfer of the self-trained Yazu was an event symbolic of the changing times.

II. The Institutionalization of Geography and the Publication of Geographical Periodicals

At the beginning of this paper I alluded to the difficulty of determining the exact year of the establishment of academic geography in Japan. Apropos of this, not only where the appointments of Yamasaki and Ogawa to the imperial universities were concerned, but also with regard to the replacement of self-trained geographers and textbook compilers by younger professional geographers at the Higher Normal Schools, it would be more accurate to state that rather than the year 1910 alone, the years around and about 1910 formed

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10 Later Makiguchi founded an association for the promotion of Pestalozzian education called Soka Kyokai, which later became the Buddhist sect Soka Gakkai now prevailing on the contemporary Japanese religious scene. In connection with this, many annotated works and studies of the geography of Makiguchi have been published by Soka Gakkai-related publishers. Jinsei Chirigaku was reprinted, with detailed annotations by S. Saito, by Dai-san Bunmei-sha in 1983. See also Kunimatsu, H.: "Jinsei Chirigaku" Gairon, Dai-san Bunmei-sha, 1978.

the period of the establishment of academic geography in Japan. Thereafter, the establishment of academic geography in Japan meant not only the institutionalization of geography in higher education, but also the institutionalization of the hierarchy of professional geographers, from school teachers at the bottom to professors of imperial universities at the top. The institutionalization of this hierarchy in relation with the formation process of professional geographers caused the publication of geographical books and periodicals to be carried out in closer connection with the hierarchy, and the role of "gate-keeper" in the process of the publication of geographical books and academic achievements hence became more explicit.

In 1923, the offices of the Tokyo Geographical Society together with its library and reference materials were destroyed in the conflagration brought on by the Kanto earthquake, and work relating to the publishing of the *Journal of Geography* came to a stop. After an interval of a few months, publication of the journal was resumed, but the editorial office and, in 1925 the office of the Society itself, was transferred to the Geological Survey Institute. In this way, at least during the period prior to World War II, the compilation of the journal was completely in the hands of geologists; hence the number of papers on and information concerning geography appearing in the journal were very limited, though its English title continued to be the *Journal of Geography*.

In this way, not only where the establishment of the department of geography in the imperial universities and the Higher Normal Schools was concerned, but also with regard to the editorship of periodicals, geography and geology finally arrived at an institutional parting of the ways. In January 1924, at the initiative of Takuji Ogawa and Goro Ishibashi, respectively professor and associate professor of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto, and Shintaro Nakamura, geologist also of the Imperial University of Kyoto, a group calling itself the Chikyu Gakudan (literally, Group for the Study of the Globe) was founded, for the purpose of publishing a monthly journal, the *Chikyu* ("The Globe"). The editorial note to the first number stated that the scope of the periodical was to cover articles, reports and book reviews dealing with not only the physical aspects of the earth but also its human aspects over various parts of the earth's surface. In fact, the contents of the journal as a whole did consist of a large variety of articles ranging from scientific reports to articles on travel. While merely subscribing to the periodical entitled one to become a member of the Chikyu Gakudan, members of the latter group and other contributors to the periodical mostly consisted of faculty members and graduates of the Imperial University of Kyoto. Chief editor Takuji Ogawa composed almost half of the written material for the journal, writing under his own name or under a pseudonym. Publication of the *Chikyu* ceased in 1933, owing for one thing to economic difficulties; the journal had been issued by private publishing companies, and in spite of repeated campaigns to boost the sale of subscriptions, the number of subscribers remained on the order of five hundred or so, of which the faculty members of higher educational establishments and members of the Geological Survey Institute comprised less than one hundred. The second reason was that in 1932, the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto commenced its own publication, *Chiri Ronso* or "Collection of Geographical Papers" (issued twice a year at irregular intervals). Consequently, the faculty of graduates of the Imperial University of Kyoto turned their attention to the writing of contributions to the newly-founded scientific periodical; the resulting dearth of material where the *Chikyu* was
concerned became another factor in the bringing about of its demise. For while membership in the Chikyu Gakudan was comparatively freely attainable, especially as the publishers welcomed new members, i.e., new subscribers, for economic reasons, the editorial board, especially in the person of Ogawa remained extremely selective regarding the choice of writers or contributors to the journal. Hence, the number of writers and contributors acceptable to the editorial board had always been limited, and these became less available as more and more of them assumed new writing commitments to the newly-established Chiri Ronso. Actually, however, the regulations of the Chikyu Gakudan, contained no clear description or regulation regarding the editorial procedures of its organ the Chikyu. Thus we note that in its last years, especially after 1920, the list of contributors included, besides graduates of imperial universities, a number of school teachers who had passed the Ministry of Education examinations for teachers' licenses in geography at the secondary school level (Bunken), one example being Yaichihiro Yamaguchi.

Two other journals existed in these early days, which were unrelated to the Journal of Geography, but which had geographical titles. These were Rekishi Chiri (“Historical Geography,” founded in 1899 by the Historical Geographical Society) and Rekishi to Chiri (“History and Geography,” founded in 1915). Both journals were published at the initiative of the graduates of the Department of History of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Officially speaking, this department had a course in historical geography on its curriculum, but actually, some of the lectures pertaining to the course were read by geologists and geographers of the Faculty of Science. In the Department of History, geography was treated as an auxiliary discipline with regard to historical studies, and the systematic formation of geographers therefore did not take place within the department. The only exception was Goro Ishibashi, who after graduating in history from the University of Tokyo, taught economic geography at the Commercial College of Kobe and later went on to an associate professorship in the Department of Geography at the time of its founding at the Imperial University of Kyoto. Ishibashi and several other members of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto, such as Saneshige Komaki, published a number of papers dealing with environmentalist considerations in the Rekishi Chiri. But otherwise, the majority of the contributors to the two journals were historians to whom geography meant merely place names. This was exemplified in the compilation of the “Dictionary of Japanese Place Names” (1900–09) by Togo Yoshida, a monumental achievement of the historical geographical school.

In 1925, six years after the establishment of the new, separate Department of Geography at the University of Tokyo in 1919, (and one year after the founding of the Chikyu Gakudan or Group for the Study of the Globe in Kyoto), the faculty and graduates of the Department founded the Nihon Chiri Gakkai (The Association of Japanese Geographers) for the purpose of publishing the monthly academic journal Chirigaku Hyoron (“Geographical Review of Japan”). We should here note that in both the case of the Chikyu Gakudan dealt with above and that of the Association of Japanese Geographers, the establishment

12 In the declaration made on the occasion of the Rekishi Chiri Kenkyu-kai (Historical Geographical Society), we can read the following: “The study of the historical geography of Japan, for its very nature does not constitute an independent discipline but an auxiliary discipline for the study of Japanese history, hence its main task consists in research or inquiry into historical facts.” (“Nihon Rekishi Chiri no Kenkyu ni Tsuite,” Rekishi Chiri, Vol. 1, 1899, 28.)
of their respective organs did not take place as a consequence of association, but on the contrary were set up with the purpose of bringing about the formation of academic associations and serving as vehicles for the publishing of scientific achievements. Prior to this, in 1923, the graduates in geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo had already formed a small circle for geographical studies and it was this circle that constituted the nucleus of the newly-founded association. There were forty-nine founding members, of which staff members and graduates of the Departments of Geology and Geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo numbered twenty-eight, and staff members and graduates of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo numbered twelve. The leader of the association was naturally enough the chairman of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Naomasa Yamasaki. He used the title of president of the association for the first time in 1926, but the formal regulations of the association were established only in January 1929, immediately before his death. The English name of the association was clearly after that of the Association of American Geographers and in contrast to the Chikyu Gakudan (Group for the Study of the Globe) of Kyoto, the membership was strictly limited to academic geographers; according to the regulations, qualifications for membership were graduation in geography at the university level or admittance by the council of the association after the applicant in question had had papers accepted for publication in the association’s organ, the “Geographical Review of Japan.” Yamasaki himself took full responsibility for the activities of the association and at the same time assumed exclusive leadership with regard to the editorial work of its organ, which he decided to publish on a monthly basis. This was done at the suggestion of Takuji Ogawa, who at that time was continuing the monthly publication of Chikyu (“The Globe”) in order to publicize the Chikyu Gakudan.

All the contributors to the first volume were exclusively graduates of the Imperial University of Tokyo and Yamasaki and Taro Tsujimura, then associate professor and later second chairman of the department, published papers, short notes or book reviews in almost every issue. Just as the editorial work of the Chikyu was undertaken by the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto, the editorial work of the Chirigaku Hyoron (“Geographical Review of Japan”) was completely taken over by the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo. But in contrast to the Chikyu, which had always been plagued by financial troubles with its publishers, the Chirigaku Hyoron was fortunate in this respect. The publisher of the latter periodical was Kokon Shoin whose president, Fukumatsu Hashimoto, had become a teacher of geography at a girls’ middle school after passing the ubiquitous examination for would-be secondary school geography teachers. In 1922, he established the Kokon Shoin publishing company and issued some waka (stylized thirty-one syllable poems) anthologies, he himself being an amateur waka poet. In 1923, he published the Chikeigaku (“Geomorphology”) of Taro Tsujimura13 which sold the most of all the books put out by the company because

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13 The history of academic geography in Japan before World War II in general and the development of physical geography in particular are well traced in Yamaguchi, S.: Nihon o Chushin to Suru Hankin Chirigaku Hattatsuushi, Seibido, 1943 (reprinted in 1983 by Taimido). According to Yamaguchi, there were twelve printings of Tsujimura’s Chikeigaku. After a few years it went out of print and the author wanted to put out a revised edition; hence, in 1932 Tsujimura published the Shinko Chikeigaku (“Newly Revised Geomorphology”), a completely revised edition, which sold several thousands of copies over a period of ten years.
it was the only available systematic textbook on geomorphology. Tsujimura was also a member of the Examining Commission for Teachers' Licenses in Secondary School Geography, and those aspiring to gain the license probably felt that a work by a commission member would also provide them with material useful in passing the examination for the license. Hashimoto agreed to become the publisher of the newly founded academic journal presumably partly because of his love of geography, and partly because of the new commercial perspectives involved in specializing in the publication of geographical books.

In 1924, another monthly magazine of geography, "Chiri Kyoiku" ("Geographical Education") published by Chukokan, appeared for the first time. It was explicitly aimed at people taking the examination for a teaching license for secondary school geography. The potential number of aspirants to teaching posts in geography in secondary school was thought to be about 2,000; so from a commercial point of view, the business of publishing periodicals catering to the needs of this group was a more lucrative proposition than that of publishing journals of a purely academic nature. By accepting the task of the publication of the "Geographical Review of Japan," however, Kokon Shoin succeeded in establishing personal relationships with the newly emerging academicians in geography, especially members of the Examining Commission for Teachers' Licenses in Secondary School Geography. By having published works authored by the members of the Examining Commission and numerous authoritative reference books written by newly established academic geographers, Kokon Shoin later became the most important publisher of geographical books during the 1930s, as well as publisher of the monthly magazine Chirigaku ("Geography") also for the benefit of would-be teachers of secondary school geography. (The teacher's license examination so often referred to here was abolished in 1947 and the institutional aspects of geography in higher education have undergone a complete change since the end of World War II; but Kokon Shoin still remains the most important publisher of geographical books with Fukumatsu Hashimoto's grandson now serving as president).

After the death of Yamasaki in 1929, the chief editorship of the "Geographical Review of Japan" was taken over by Taro Tsujimura. In 1931, at its general assembly the association agreed to adopt moves proposed by younger members that 1) the author alone was to be responsible for the contents of his paper, and 2) papers were to be published according to the order of acceptance. From the nature of these resolutions it is possible to conclude that, prior to these resolutions, Yamasaki, Tsujimura and other editors were in the habit of making arbitrary decisions as to whether or not to accept a paper, and that the order of publication was also arbitrariness determined by them. In 1933, following the dissolution of its council, the Association of Japanese Geographers extended invitations to the staff and graduates of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto to join the association, and some ten persons accepted. Until 1938, members of the council of the association had all been graduates of the Imperial University of Tokyo, with the exception of two professors of geography of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, and only after that year were a certain number of graduates of the Imperial University of Kyoto elected to membership on the council. In other words, the association became a nationwide organization only after fourteen years had passed from the time of its inauguration.

Up till 1932, there had been some fifteen non-member contributors to the "Geographical Review of Japan," who were not university graduates, and most of whom had passed the examination to obtain a license to teach geography in secondary schools. Only from
1993, did the council admit a certain number of non-graduate geographers who had contributed papers or articles to the "Geographical Review of Japan" to its membership, such as Katsue Misawa and Masao Nishiki. And it was only in 1947 that the regulations of the Association clearly outlined the editorial procedures of the "Geographical Review" of Japan stating that the permanent council (after 1948 known as the editorial board) had the right to reject a manuscript or ask for it to be modified. This contrasted with the old period before World War II as mentioned above when the "Geographical Review of Japan" had been edited solely under the responsibility and exclusive authority of the head of the Department of Geography of the University of Tokyo.

As discussed above, Chiri Kyōiku ("Geographical Education") and Chiri ("Geography") published respectively by Chukokan and Kokon Shoin, were placed on a commercial basis in order to reach a larger readership consisting mainly of the numerous aspirants to teachers' licenses in secondary school geography. Sometimes these journals took it upon themselves to publish papers and notes criticizing the stance adopted by the academic orthodoxy. Ryuziro Isida’s criticism of the quantitative method in human geography, for instance, was published in "Geographical Education" in 1933. Also a number of critical comments with regard to German geopolitics appeared in the second half of the 1930s in "Geography." A number of geographers who had succeeded in passing the examination for a teachers’ license to teach geography at secondary school contributed articles to these two periodicals on the techniques or strategies involved in passing the examination, based on their own experiences. But it is important to note that from time to time, these two journals also offered a genuine opportunity to those geographers of non-academic or heterodoxical formation of publishing their scientific works.

In the 1930s, besides the Chiri Ronso ("Collection of Geographical Papers") of the University of Kyoto and the Chiri ("Geography") of Kokon Shoin, a number of new periodicals were initiated, including the Chirigaku Nempo ("Annals of Geography") founded in 1932 by Gakuro Imamura, a polemical physical geographer of the time, Chiri to Keizai ("Geography and Economy") founded in 1941 by Kan’ichi Uchida, historical geographer of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo and Iwao Kuromasa, economic geographer of the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1941, and Chiri ("Geography", not to be confused with the journal of the same name put out currently by Kokon Shoin), quarterly organ of the Association of Otsuka Geographers, the latter being comprised of graduates of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo. Three years after their establishment, the Chirigaku Nempo ("Annals of Geography") and Chiri to Keizai ("Geography and Economy") were compelled to cease publication due to financial difficulties.

After 1942, under the severe wartime economy, Japan suffered a shortage of paper, and the government began to exercise control over the distribution of paper for printing in 1943. All the geography-related periodicals, except for the "Geographical Review of

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14 Isida Ryuziro: "Chirigaku ni Okeru Hosokusei: Shu to Shite Kankyosetsu to Kettei setsu," Chiri Kyōiku, Vol. 17, Nos. 4 & 5, 1933. "Futatabi Kankyosetsu/Kettei setsu ni Tsuite," Chiri Kyōiku, Vol. 18, Nos. 3 & 5, 1933. In 1967, on the occasion of his retirement from Hitotsubashi University, Isida published an autobiographical note in the Hitotsubashi Review, Vol. 58, No. 1, in which he conducted some self-criticism regarding the fact that this debate did not contribute to the productive development of Japanese geography, and instead discouraged the pioneering attempts of younger geographers in the quantitative method. In fact, some papers, such as those of I. Matsui, which were once severely criticised by Isida, later on in the 1950s came to be highly appreciated abroad at the peak of the quantitative revolution in geography.
Japan" were forced to cease publication by governmental order. Even the "Geographical Review of Japan" became noticeably thinner and thinner, until finally, with the August issue of 1944 (Vol. 20, No. 8), most copies of which were burnt at the publisher's in an air raid before they could be distributed to the members of the association, this periodical too ceased publication. It recommenced publication in 1948 with Vol. 21, No. 1.

III. Publication of Geographical Books

Prior to 1920, the publication of geographical books was limited, there being no publishers at that time specialized in the field of geography. As mentioned earlier, certain treatises on geography or human geography, such as Makiguchi's Jinsei Chirigaku ("Geography of Human Life") were aimed primarily at readers who aspired become to teachers of geography in secondary schools. The first generation of academic geographers in Japan, represented by Naomasa Yamasaki and Takuji Ogawa, did not publish books or papers of this kind. Authors of works of this kind, therefore, were generally those who had passed the Ministry of Education examination and received licenses to teach geography in secondary school or they were teachers at private universities such as Shigetaka Shiga and Michitoshi Odauchi. Shiga was however also known as a journalist and many of his books published for general readers were not considered geographical works. Of foreign geographers, only Ellen Churchill Semple had already received recognition among intellectual circles in Japan in 1910; however, it was not as a geographer that she was thought of but rather as an author of general considerations on civilization. As it was, the Japanese translation of her work Influence of Geographic Environment (1911) was published in 1917. Later on, in 1926, another translation of the same work appeared in print. Meanwhile the Civilization and Climate of Ellsworth Huntington was translated into Japanese in 1915. The publication of these translated works always took place in the context of the popularity of environmental discussion in the intellectual circles of the Japan of that time. For the Japanese translation of Semple's work of 1911, Yazu wrote an introduction explaining quite properly that Semple's Works were invariably developments of Ratzel's Anthropogeographie. It is a matter for curiosity that while many of the newly-formed academic geographers such as Goro Ishibashi referred from time to time to Ratzel they never found occasion to refer to Semple. Hence it may be inferred that academic geographers deliberately avoided having recourse in any way to authors who had gained popularity among general, nonacademic readers.

In the 1920s, despite the post-World War I economic recession, the situation of the publication of geographical books underwent a radical change with the increase of income levels and the formation of the middle class. Firstly, the 1920s and 30s saw the remarkable expansion of the publication market. Secondly, with the institutionalization of geography

15 The Japanese title was Chiteki Kankyo to Jinsei, literally "Geographical Environment and Human Life," published by Dainihon Bunmei Kyokai, a non-commercial association for the promotion of culture and civilization.
16 The Japanese title translated by M. Mazaki was Kiko to Bunmei. This translation was first published by Chugai Bunka Kyokai, but later on this work was re-published by Iwanami Shoten as one of its "pocket-book" series, Iwanami Bunko.
in higher education and of the formation system pertaining to secondary school teachers, the market for geographical books was enlarged and groups of authors of geographical books who were graduates in geography were consequently formed. Thirdly, in the second half of the 1920s, there appeared a certain number of publishers specializing in the field of geography, such as the above-mentioned Kokon Shoin, Chukokan, Chijin Shokan and Toko Shoin. In the 1920s, most of the graduates in geography of the imperial universities obtained posts in private universities, higher normal schools and higher professional schools. At the same time, when they were still in their twenties, they commenced to publish treatises and introductions to or outlines of geography from one or other of these publishing houses. Hiroshi Sato and Nobuyuki Imoto, for instance, both graduated from the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1926, and published their first treatises on political and economic geography in 192717 and political geography in 1929,18 respectively. Upon graduation they had respectively obtained lectureships at the Commercial College of Tokyo and the Women's Higher Normal School of Tokyo, and later on due to the prestige attached to their teaching posts and their prolific output of writings for publication, they were appointed members of the Examining Committee for Teachers' Licenses for Secondary School Geography in 1932 and 1926, respectively.

Those authors who had their works issued by the publishing houses specializing in geography were by no means limited to the members of the Examining Committee but also included those who had succeeded in passing the examination and thus held licenses for teaching geography at the secondary school level, or those who were teachers of geography in higher education. Nonetheless, it is an inescapable fact that those authors who published large numbers of books in numerous editions invariably proved to be members of the Examining Committee. Every year the Ministry of Education announced the names of the members of the Examining Committee; but after 1932 up till the end of World War II, the membership of the committee remained restricted to five professors: Taro Tsujimura and Saneshige Komaki who were bosses of the Imperial University of Tokyo and Kyoto, respectively, Hiroshi Sato of the Tokyo Commercial College, Keiji Tanaka of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, and Nobuyuki Imoto of the Higher Women's Normal School of Tokyo. Except for short-term substitutions by other professors, these five members remained unchanged for many years. Every year, journals such as Chirigaku and Chiri Kyoiku, read or subscribed to mostly by those aiming to take the examination for a secondary school teacher’s license, published records of oral examinations carried out in the form of interviews with the examinees. Among the five professors on the Examining Committee, Keiji Tanaka of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo insisted on the necessity of the study of regional geography and on the importance of a methodology of regionalization based on field work in Japan. Imoto and Sato, however, were keen to introduce in Japan the achievements of Western geographers in the fields of political and economic geography. They relied heavily on German authors such as O. Maull, R. Reinhardt, A. Supan, S. Passarge and E. Friedrich as their sources of reference. Taro Tsujimura, introducer of Davidian geomorphology in Japan in the 1930s, emphasized the unity of geography, that is, physical and human geography on the theoretical base of a morphology of landscape. He published numerous field surveys involving cases in Japan,

18 Imoto, N.: Seiji Chirigaku, Kaizosha, 1929.
but at the same time, he read foreign books and journals and published more than two hundred book reviews on foreign works in the “Geographical Review of Japan,” during the 1920s and 30s. In this way, his reading of foreign geographical works was both extensive and deep, but curiously, his version of the morphology of the cultural landscape was actually a morphological classification of landscape without morphogenetic considerations, in contrast to the morphology of the cultural landscape of the German school and the Berkeley school. Before he turned into a fanatic advocate of Shintoist Japanese geopolitics in 1938, Saneshige Komaki, the third professor of geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto and another member of the Examining Committee was a specialist in pre-historical and historical geography and introduced numerous European works, especially French works, in Japan. He systematized the methodology of the historical geography of the Kyoto school, this methodology being essentially the reconstruction and spatial analysis of past geography. The five members of the Examining Committee were in this way not only “gatekeepers” in the formation of teachers of secondary school but also authorities in the world of the academic geography of the time and wielded a great deal of influence in the assigning of teaching posts in geography in higher education.

An additional important factor of their work was that they not only introduced pertinent foreign works in Japan but also actually served as a kind of antennae, withal somewhat biased, to intercept information concerning geographical studies abroad. For in deciding which foreign works were to be translated into Japanese, publishing houses in the 1920s and 30s relied a great deal on information and suggestions from them. Authors whose works were translated and published by specialized publishers during this period included Otto Schlüter (1906) in 1930. Jean Brunhes (1910) in 1929, E. Huntington (1920 & 1929), S. Passarge (1922) in 1933, J. G. Kohl (1841) in 1929, O. Maull (1932).
in 1937, C.B. Fawcett (1918) in 1932, N. Krebs (1921) in 1936, A. Supan (1922) in 1933, O. Graf (1925) in 1932, and P. Vidal de la Blache (1922) in 1933 and 1940. Translations of some of the works of K. Haushofer and his geopolitical school occurred only around the end of the 1930s with the rise of a certain popularity where geopolitics was concerned and due to the close relationship of the author with Japan. As I have already pointed out elsewhere, geopolitical trends in Japan in the 1930s and 40s were divided into three entirely separate currents. In this situation, the Kyoto school of geopolitical thought, which under the leadership of Saneshige Komaki emphasized a properly Japanese politics based on a nationalistic form of Shintoism and was critical of German geopolitics, absorbed a large number of graduates in geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto. German geopolitics was actively introduced by the Tokyo school but the number of geographers participating in the activities of this group were few; the majority of orthodox geographers of the Imperial University of Tokyo and the Higher Normal School of Tokyo were indifferent to the currents inspired by German geopolitics.

Apart from the output of independent works such as those mentioned above, editorial promptings on the part of publishers mobilized a large number of geographers and historians into producing an increasing number of works for printing during this period of the enlarged market for geographical publications. The first project initiated consisted of a twenty-six-volume work titled *Sekai Chiri Fuzoku Taikei* ("Comprehensive Collection of the Geography and Folklore of the World") published by Shinkosha during 1928–31.

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25 Maull, O.: *Anthrogeographie*, Berlin, 1932, was translated by T. Tsujimura and T. Yamasaki and published by Kokon Shoin under the title of *Jinmon Chirigaku*, in 1937.


29 Graf, O.: *Vom Begriff der Geographie im Verhältnis zu Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft*, München, 1925 was translated by H. Kunimatsu and published in 1933 by Kokon Shoin under the title of *Chirigaku no Ganen*.

30 *Principes de géographie humaine* was first translated by Sadao Yamaguchi under the title *Jinmon Chirigaku*, Kokon Shoin. The second translation was made by Koji Iizuka under the title *Jinmon Chirigaku Genri* in two volumes in the popular pocket book edition series published by Iwanami Shoten. Vidal de la Blache was introduced in 1910 under the name of Blache, and both translations carry the name of the author as Burashu. Iuzika translated L. Febvre's *La terre et l'évolution humaine*, *Introduction géographique à l'histoire*, 1922, in the same Iwanami pocket book series under the title of *Daichi to Jinrui no Shinka: Rekishi eno Chirigaku-teki Joron*. Only the first half of the translation was published in 1941; the manuscript of the second half was burnt in a fire at the printing house due to an air raid. This second half was published only in 1972, having been translated by Hiroshi Tanabe after the death of Iizuka.

31 I. Abe translated Körholz, H.: *Einführung in die Geopolitik*, Leipzig & Berlin (1908) and the classical work of R. Kjellen from the German translation, "Der Staat als Lebensform" (1924) under the respective titles of *Chiseljigaku Nyumon* (Kokon Shoin, 1933) and *Seikatsu Keitaito shite no Kokka* (Sobunsha, 1936). Thanks to his experience as military attaché in Japan (1909–11), Haushofer was able to write six books on Japan alone between 1913 and 1938. Between 1939 and 1943 two Japanese versions of *Bausteine zur Geopolitik* (1928) which had been written in coauthorship with Obst, Lautensach and Maull were published and three Japanese versions of *Geopolitik des pazifischen Ozeans, Studien über die Wechselbeziehungen* (1925). Also Haushofer's *Weltime und Weltsmacht* (1937) and *Geopolitische Grundlage* (1939) were translated in 1943 and 1940 respectively. Some booklets of the series *Macht und Erde* directed by Haushofer, such as Wiersbisky, K.: *Südostasien. Ein Kampf der Zukunft zwischen Weiß, Rot und Gelb* (1938), were also translated.

This was the first commercial publication of its kind, a new feature being the inclusion of numerous illustrations on art paper; these volumes were not so much for reading as for filling the role of prestige goods, so to speak, thus lending prestige to the owners. Another project of this kind was the Sekai Chiri ("World Geography") of the Kaizosha publishing company, consisting of seventeen volumes published over 1933-35. The Kaizosha work was slightly more academic than the Shinkosha work, aiming to present a systematical regional geography pertaining to various parts of Japan and of the world. Later on, in 1939-41, another series of Sekai Chiri ("World Geography") in sixteen volumes was published by Kawade Shobo. This series consisted of a systematic collection of papers on regional geography written by academic geographers more or less specialized in the regions concerned. Partly because Japan was already under a wartime economy, but also because it was expected that this series would gain readers among teachers and students, this series was physically simple, being printed on recycled paper. The series carried the names of three responsible editors, Yoshiji Yoshimi, Akira Watanabe and Ryuziro Isida, who were at that period in their forties and hence representative of the younger generation of academic geographers of the time. The second type of project to be initiated was the publication of two series of pamphlets on various topics pertaining to the newly-established academic discipline. Both series were begun in 1930 and about forty pamphlets were published over a period of two to three years. One series called "Courses of Geography" was put out by Chijin Shokan, publishers specialized in geography. The appearance of a second and revised edition of this series in 1936 indicated that it was a commercial success; its readers consisted of students of geography and examinees seeking to gain the secondary school geography teacher's license. Another series constituted part (about one-third) of a series of courses in geology, palaeontology, mineralogy and geography published by Iwanami Shoten, a prestigious company known for its production of academic books. Both series aimed to present topics pertaining to a systematic geography and, in aid of this, mobilized authors consisting of geographers, earth scientists and historians comprised of both professors of imperial universities and young newly graduated scholars. In the first booklet of the Chijin Shokan series, Takuji Ogawa explained the aim and outline of the series, but we fail to discover on any of its pages the name of the responsible editor or list of members of the editorial board. In the case of the Iwanami Shoten series, in each set of five or six pamphlets, editorial notes were provided presenting data on the writers prepared by the editorial staff of Iwanami Shoten. There were numerous graduates in geography and geology of the University of Tokyo among the writers of the Iwanami series but we do not know whose influence was at work in the selection of the writers, though certain influential professors such as Tsujimura and Iimoto figured as writers in both series. The Chijin Shokan series incorporated a certain structural relationship binding pamphlets whose subjects ranged from physical geography to human geography, but the Iwanami series consisted of a collection of various topics of geography without any systemic consideration. In fact, the Iwanami Shoten series was never reprinted, indicating that it was not commercially successful, though Iwanami went on to repeatedly publishing revised editions of series of disciplines other than geography. According to remarks made by Ryuziro Isida in 1975.33

these two series of courses in geography served to reveal clearly the backwardness in systematization and the immaturity of scientific research pertaining to the then newly-established discipline of geography. He went on to point out that the main course of this scientific failure lay in the circumstances in which newly-established academic geographers were lured into over-productiveness by being too easily able to sell their writings to a receptive reading public consisting of school teachers and the numerous aspirants to teaching of geography in secondary schools.

IV. Gatekeepers in Geography in the Pre-war Period in Comparison with the Situation after World War II

In Japan, under the Meiji constitution of 1889, the state exercised a strong control over many aspects of the country's culture, including its educational system. The discipline of geography shared certain aspects in common with other disciplines, but apart from the common aspects, there were circumstances peculiar to geography alone. In the field of geography in school education, as with other school subjects, the strong control of the Ministry of Education was very much in evidence. From 1904, all primary and secondary school textbooks were compiled and published by the Ministry of Education. Geography was considered an important subject in the school curriculum, together with history, civics, and Japanese, which were taught with a view to the indoctrination of the pupils with the ideology of the state. The authors of the school textbooks of geography were bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education who had graduated teacher's training colleges or higher normal schools. After World War II, with the reform of the educational system, some of them subsequently became university professors; but as writers of school textbooks under the Ministry’s authority, they were nonentities without social standing. In other words, the Ministry of Education was a highly autonomous organization that chose to remain independent of academic geographers where the compiling of school geography textbooks were concerned. The state directly supervised the contents of the textbooks; hence the writers working for the Ministry were anonymous gatekeepers diffusing geographical knowledge, but whose competence was admittedly very limited.

In this respect, the situation from 1947 to the present is quite different. Today all textbooks of primary and secondary school levels are published by private publishing companies, but have to be approved by the Ministry of Education. Currently, there are about ten publishing companies issuing junior and senior high school level textbooks of geography, and each publisher, in order to promote sales, arranges for the use of the name of a prominent academic geographer as the responsible writer/editor. The latter in many cases heads a group of academics which in consultation with the editorial staff of the publishing company puts together a team of writers composed of younger university geographers and veteran school teachers of geography. On the other hand, since the Ministry of Education must still set its seal of approval on the text in question before it can be put to use in schools, the Ministry itself requests other authoritative university geographers, whose names are kept confidential, to form a committee to screen the text. In this way, at present there are a certain number of gatekeepers who decide the orientation of geography in the school curriculum and who keep a watchful eye on the material composing the geography texts.
In the pre-war period, on the other hand, it will be recalled that the system which then existed, centering at the Ministry of Education Examinations for Teaching Licenses in Geography at the Secondary School Level, conferred a great deal of power and influence on the five members of the Examining Commission. The power and influence not only related to the holding of the examinations but also extended to the sphere of publication. Records of the interviews conducted by Y. Sato\textsuperscript{24} with some of the former members of the Commission, indicate that the latter were given carte blanche in choosing the themes for the written examinations and the questions for the oral examinations; the Ministry of Education did not attempt to orient them in any way or impose restrictions on them. An examination of the themes and questions that made up the examinations, however, reveals that they reflect to a certain extent the influence of the current tasks and state ideology of the imperial Japan of the day; in the decade of the 1930s, for example, with the advancing expansion of militarist Japan in continental and Southeast Asia, there was a marked increase in the number of themes and questions concerning these areas. Unfortunately, no documentation now remains that can provide enlightenment on the process of selection of the members of the Examining Commission, and how it was that the same five members came to be chosen each year, during the 1930s. But judging from the fact that four of the five were graduates of the imperial universities, it may be supposed that circles composed of the graduates of the imperial universities played an important role in these processes. As we have already noted, this system of examination for would-be teachers was abolished after the end of World War II and since the educational reform of 1947 every university graduate can obtain a teacher’s license if he accumulates a certain number of credits in the concerned subject and in pedagogical subjects and has acquired a certain number of teaching hours at a school. In place of the pre-war demand for geographical books from those aspiring to a teacher’s license for secondary school geography, a huge market for books for the preparation for entrance examinations and reference books for junior and senior high school students currently exists, caused by the increased rate of enrolment in higher educational establishments and the highly competitive and selective system prevailing in school education.

In comparison with history books, the market for geography books is still small; nonetheless, the scale of the market for the latter is on the order of some hundred thousand books, a year. An enormous increase in the number of university geographers is another consequence of the reform in the education system and the increased enrolment rate in higher education after World War II. Generally, however, university geographers do not author geographical books of the sort discussed in the previous paragraph, especially if they are going to be used in cramming for entrance tests for university; in fact, almost all universities prohibit members of the faculty from teaching at preparatory schools where students are being readied to sit for entrance examinations to university, and either explicitly or implicitly prohibit them from writing texts for use at these schools, for the moral reason that every university holds entrance examinations proper to itself. Therefore, at present, compared to the geographers on the pre-war Examining Commission, present-day university geographers are not able to profit financially from the production of best-selling geography texts of this type, in spite of the enlarged market for them.

With the changing lifestyle, the upgrading of living standards brought on by the in-

creased level of income, and the diffusion of higher education, the publishing market in general has expanded enormously compared to prewar times. It is interesting to note that the market for geographical books, whether of academic or popular persuasion, has not expanded; if anything it has decreased or at least, the relative importance of geographical books has decreased. A market for books on world geography or travelogues has certainly shown a remarkable increase, but geographers are rarely invited to involve themselves in the writing or production of books such as these. More than 90% of academic books of geography in the narrow sense of the word are issued by three publishing companies (including Kokon Shoin, founded in the 1920s) and their reading public hardly extends beyond the narrow circle of professional geographers. These three publishing companies, therefore, contribute to maintaining and reproducing the identities of geographers and the raison d'etre of geography and the small amount of communication between geography and other disciplines. In this sense, the situation today shows little change from that of the time prior to World War II.

In contrast to pre-war times, however, a remarkable amount of funds for research and publication subsidies are today made available by the Ministry of Education, and the screening committee for each discipline consists of university professors; in the case of geography, the council of the Association of Japanese Geographers elects the candidates to the committee and the Ministry appoints the candidates recommended by the Association. In this way, the Association of Japanese Geographers, with its internal hierarchy and politics, actually wields much more influence than it did in pre-World War II times in controlling access to publication, hence also to academic posts which depend greatly on the number of publications that can be accredited to the younger generation of scholars seeking those posts. Nowadays, geographical association of sub-disciplines such as the Human Geographical Society and the Japan Association of Economic Geographers, and geographical associations on a local scale, such as the geographical societies of each prefecture, are to be found. But in the years following World War II, the Association of Japanese Geographers became the largest nationwide association of the geographical community, combining all the sub-disciplines of geography, with a membership of three thousand strong. The present-day institutionalized power and influence of this Association are incomparably stronger and more far-reaching than they were in the days prior to the Second World War.

Before World War II, the functions and management procedures of the Association were far less democratized and formalized in comparison to now. For instance, there was no referee system with all its formal procedures regarding the acceptance of manuscripts for printing in the organ of the Association, the Geographical Review of Japan. Presently, however, various elections take place to determine officers and members of the Association. The president and councillors of the Association are now chosen by general election with all members voting, and the executive board is elected by the council members. Members, representing the geographical community, of various academic/scientific bodies such as the Science Council of Japan are elected or recommended by the council of the Association of Japanese Geographers. All these procedures are formally democratic, but are actually realised through compromises between cliques, especially cliques formed on the basis of the members' alma mater: i.e., the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, the University of Tsukuba (a development of the former Higher Normal School of Tokyo), Hiroshima University and Tohoku University among national universities and Ritsumeikan, Rissho
and others among private universities. As mentioned before, only around the end of the 1930s, did the Association of Japanese Geographers formally admit to its membership a certain number of graduates of the Imperial University of Kyoto and the Higher Normal School of Tokyo. But even before that time, the community of geographers in Japan was already divisible into three major cliques based on alma mater ties and the institutionalization of geographical affairs was actually built on the compromise of these major alma mater cliques, as shown in the composition of the Examining Commission for the Ministry of Education Examinations for Teaching Licenses in Geography at the Secondary School Level.

Today, the commitment of geographers in social and administrative affairs is considerably more positive in contrast to the pre-World War II situation. In comparison with foreign countries, there are not very many graduates in geography working in the planning or administrative offices of central or local governments in Japan, but numerous Japanese university geographers work as members of consulting bodies for regional planning, conservation of the cultural heritage and natural beauty, and environmental protection. It is certainly possible to regard all this in a positive light, but at the same time it should be noted that they are not always conscious of the fact that in joining these bodies, they are politically committing themselves to the existing socio-political establishment. In pre-World War II times, especially in the 1930s, and the first half of the 40s, the majority of Japanese academic geographers closeted themselves in ivory towers, some no doubt because they preferred to do so; but most often because doing so was a form of passive protest—the only kind of protest available to them—against the ultra-nationalistic militarist regime of the time. As mentioned before, those who committed themselves to geopolitical affairs constituted a minority among academic geographers, and except for the staff of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto, their position academically was a peripheral one. The historical consequence was that it was the survivors of the totalitarian regime, who having remained secluded in their ivory towers until the fall of that regime, emerged after the end of the war to take on the roles of gatekeepers in Japanese geography; while those who had involved themselves in geopolitics disappeared from the academic scene having been purged from their teaching posts by order of the Allied Forces in what was a political move, since the criticism levelled against them was not based on the terms of the logic of the science of geography.35

The fundamental structure of the hierarchy in the community of geographers and the mechanism involved in the means of access to publication and to professional posts remains the same as in the pre-World War II and postwar periods. But after World War II, the institutional changes and the political and social purges of certain prominent figures who had been protagonists on the academic scene of geography necessitated a change of personnel. The school of geography represented by the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, though the latter changed its name, maintained a certain continuity. Where the Kyoto school of geography was concerned, all the members of the faculty of the Department of Geography and many graduates were purged and new faculty members such as T. Oda and I. Suizu restored its excellent tradition of historical and social geography. As for the geographical school of the University of Tokyo, a certain continuity was maintained in the field of physical geography, but in human geography, apart from the traditional landscape

morphology school of Tsujimura, there arose a younger generation of scholars who were critical of the traditional school of geography and laid emphasis on the Marxist approach. In this school, the influence of K. Iizuka and R. Isida was very strong. Iizuka and Isida themselves published many of their books from publishers that were not specialized in geography, but their students, followers and epigones published work from conventional publishers specialized in geography through the same screening mechanism established in prewar times. The old system, therefore still exists and a number of former protagonists have survived into the post-World War II era; but the latest generation of almost five decades after World War II, has not succeeded in developing the heritage of pre-war Japanese geography. In too many fields geographers have lost the leading roles that could be theirs, such as in the field of environmental studies, for instance; and publications of geographical achievements are limited or narrowed down in comparison with pre-war publications. In these respects, then, the burden of responsibility lies heavy on the shoulders of the gatekeepers in present-day Japanese geography.

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