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Colonial Academics and Japan's Inner Asia Ambitions: Keijō Imperial University and Studies of Mengjiang or Inner Mongolia[1]

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Abstract

This paper illustrates the role of Seoul-based researchers within Japan's efforts to expand fieldwork and scholarship into central Inner Mongolia, and the creation of the puppet state of Mengjiang (Mōkyō) in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Academics based at Keijō Imperial University (the antecedent institution to Seoul National University) made efforts to document economic and geographical aspects of the empire's expanding Inner Asian frontier, at times taking on Koreans as researchers rather than subjects of research. The present piece therefore lays the groundwork for the uncovering of further narratives of Korean academic involvement in Northeast Asia within the spheres of intellectual history and histories of science.

Keywords: history of science, Keijō Imperial University, colonial Korea, Japanese empire, Inner Mongolia, economics, geography

Introduction

By the mid-1930s, Japan's colonial position in Korea was firmly entrenched. The peninsula's natural environment was being transformed to serve imperial interests, with Korea functioning as a springboard for further industrial and military expansion into continental Asia.[5] Korea's geostrategic function for Japanese imperial expansion has been frequently commented upon, as has the role of Korean collaboration in this process.[6] Historians have made important headway in documenting the overflow and interlinkages of Korean ideas, people, and experiences into Manchukuo.[7] However, far less work has been done on the position of Korea in the extension of Japan's intellectual apparatus and knowledge construction deeper into the continent, especially the areas we today associate with the Chinese Inner Asian periphery.[8] This paper aims to harness some of the recent progress in research on Japanese goals in Inner Mongolia, and the journeys of Japanese researchers in their travels and projects which connected Tokyo and Seoul (then known as 京城 Keijō) to Inner Asia. Following on the path taken by Nagashima Hiroki 永島広紀, our paper also aims to break new ground in showing interconnections between Korea and the region associated with Japan's construction of Mengjiang (known as 蒙疆 Mōkyō to the Japanese), a puppet state that existed from 1939–1945 and whose defunct borders today fall primarily but not exclusively within the People's Republic of China (PRC) region of Inner Mongolia.[9]

Japan's moves into Inner Mongolia in the 1930s and 1940s are typically discussed with respect to geopolitics, or secondarily, questions of their interplay with the frameworks of ethnonationalism or religion under the umbrella of Pan-Asianism.[10] Scholars like James Boyd and, more recently, Deng Yannan, have discussed military aspects in the region's history with Japan.[11] The connection, if any, of events in Inner Mongolia in the 1930s and 1940s to those in Korea is almost never examined, perhaps because Koreans are not deemed to be sufficiently statistically prevalent, or because their discussion might detract from more central and burning questions of Mongol ethnic autonomy or Chinese territorial sovereignty. Historian Sakura Christmas makes an exception to this by making parallels between Japanese research in Inner Mongolia and the Japanese anthropological view of Korea, referring to the discussion of E. Taylor Atkins.[12] The work of Jin-Kyung Park provides another exception, revealing the dreams of Japanese politicians in the late 1920s to initiate Japanese settlement of Inner Mongolia by means of Korean pioneers.[13] Rare testimonies exist of Korean women who were sex-trafficked into Inner Mongolia, where abuse took place at so-called comfort stations in Zhangjiakou (张家口) and Hohhot (呼和浩特) (then known as Kalgan

喀拉干 and Guisui 歸綏, respectively).[14] In the field of history of science, the role of Korean academics working within Japanese institutions has become an area of growing interest today within the larger project of writing the intellectual history of colonial Korea, and this trend offers one means of drawing connections between Inner Mongolia and Seoul. We have been especially intrigued by David Fedman's innovative integration of Korean researchers into his history of Japanese colonial forestry on the peninsula.[15] While at present, it remains difficult to follow the trajectories of specific Korean researchers or elites into Inner Mongolia; we are endeavoring to draw such connections.

It is our intention with this paper to begin the process of integrating Koreans into the broader wave of recent and ongoing academic production with respect to Japanese historical actors and the connections between Inner Mongolia and Japan. Within that new wave of studies, Sakura Christmas focuses on the Hsing'an (興安省) provinces of western Manchukuo, doing so in part through the activities of a Mantetsu (満鉄 South Manchuria Railway) researcher, Kikutake Jitsuzō 菊竹実蔵.[16] Christine Moll-Murata moves toward a more bottom-up approach to looking at investigations and field work of Japanese academics in Inner Mongolia.[17] She describes the career of the Hiroshima researcher Imahori Seiji 今堀誠二, who did extensive fieldwork in Hohhot in 1944, following several years of study in Beijing. Moll-Murata further draws our attention to Japanese economists active in the study of Mengjiang in the wartime era, such as Nakamura Shin 中村信, and in this paper we aim to find similar economists with interests in Korea and Inner Mongolia. In following individual histories or micronarratives which crisscross the colonial period, our goal is to draw closer to the values inherent in Gregory Clancey's exhortation: "If the historian of science moves between the (former) colony and the metropole repeatedly, just as his subjects did, finding traces of them in both localities, we are much more likely to grasp the texture of colonialism than if he/she simply mines an archive in a single post-colonial location."[18]

When it came to transnational institutions located "between the colony and the metropole," Keijō Imperial University (京城帝國大學) in colonial Seoul was a significant example. The university was also an important node of research as Japan extended its reach into Mengjiang. This paper will look at the empirical networks based in the city, with a main focus on researchers who participated in an extensive Korea-based 1939 fieldwork project in Mengjiang. Knowledge was ultimately fed back to the imperial metropole in Japan, so we will at times zoom outward to look at researchers beyond Korea. However, it is precisely this wider angle that allows us to see the prevalence of outputs from researchers in Seoul, which shows how Korea was a base of knowledge construction and conveyance

for researchers and bureaucrats in the colonial metropole of Tokyo who were concerned with resource extraction and development and curious about potential for further colonization on the Asian continent.

In the context of colonial expansion, Japanese researchers based in Seoul began to do more consistent and wide-ranging field research on Inner Mongolia. Just as Korea was enveloped into Japan through the concept of *Naisen ittai* 内鮮一体, Japanese writers and militarists put forward the concept of Man-Mong, or "Manchuria-Mongolia" as a coherent continental space.[19] This writing at times connected to larger issues and questions of Japan's continental role, including Korea. But while Japanese scholars had been researching in Taiwan and Korea in some cases for decades, in Inner Mongolia or Mengjiang's case the newness made research outputs all the more urgent. Usually, Koreans were involved on the periphery of this work but at times more centrally positioned as researchers. In the body of this paper, we will focus on a handful of researchers with Korean ties, as well as noteworthy researchers who did fieldwork in the Mengjiang region, beginning with those engaged in research on colonial economies.

The study of the colonial economy has noted the extractive emphasis and developmental debates amongst Japanese economists and economic planners at the time.[20] Scholars connected to Keijō Imperial University were a part of this changing discourse, and as the Pacific War expanded, they took additional interest in connecting Korea to the continental empire, the research about it, and its resource potential. One of the most important of these connecting scholars was Suzuki Takeo 鈴木武雄, an economist at Keijō Imperial University from 1928, teaching finance. He was promoted in 1935 after two years abroad (in an unspecified and probably European country). His wartime career has received only scant attention in English, but he was an enormous enthusiast for Korea's importance within the empire and its economic potential. The modern sociologist Yunshik Chang called him "an ardent intellectual spokesmen for [the] view" that Japan needed to use Korea as a base for continental expansion through Manchuria.[21] Suzuki's beliefs about Japanese expansionism were not limited to discussions of markets, exports, and tariffs; he also had interest in Japanese military logistics. In 1939 he wrote about continental military base theory, after a few years of outputs on the subject.[22] In 1942, still based in Seoul, he wrote a book about Korean colonial economy and argued Korea was undergoing an "industrial revolution" at that time.[23]

Suzuki was based in Seoul, but participated in the important 1938 expedition to Inner Mongolia. According to the Report of the Mōkyō scientific exploration team of Keijō Imperial University, which conducted fieldwork in 1938, Suzuki was

a subgroup leader and deputy to the formal head of the group, the legal specialist Odaka Tomoo 尾高朝雄, who had to return early to Seoul.[24] Suzuki and others left for the exploration of other places and regions in Inner Mongolia or Mengjiang, while the core group was the "mountaineering detachment" that climbed the highest peak of the Taihang mountain range (太行山), Xiao Wutaishan 小五台山 (2882 m).[25] In his chapter in this report on the political and economic situation of Mōkyō, Suzuki stressed that during his stay, he "tried to visit Mongol *gers* (*bao* 包) as often as possible" to inquire about the actual economic conditions, production, and consumption patterns of the Mongolian herding population. Suzuki reported that in the vicinity of lama temples or dwellings of the nobility, Chinese traders would assemble and sell their goods to the Mongols, likewise living and doing commerce in *gers*.[26] The Inner Mongolian steppes were in marked contrast to the streets of more developed and densely occupied Seoul, but Suzuki continued to monitor patterns of commerce nonetheless.

Song Byong-kwon assessed that Suzuki's concept of the political economy of colonial Korea could be "expressed as 'Keizaiteki Naisen Ittai Ron' (経済的内鮮一体論 Economic Integration of Japan and Korea) in a theoretical sense."[27] Suzuki, seemingly influenced by German notions of geopolitical and geographical analysis current at the time, also produced work for the research group focused on northern Korea and argued for the harnessing of the hydropower of the Kaema Plateau and the industrial development of Hamhung and Chongjin as logistical bases for Japan's continental military.[28] In 1943, he wrote a major work on Korea's role within the broader Pacific War.[29] This text indicated that rural development needed to be swept up into the broader war economy.[30] Song asserts that Suzuki's research had a transwar valance, having been "created for warfare in wartime and [deployed] against reparation policy after World War II."[31]

Not all researchers working on Mengjiang's economy had a vantage point in Seoul, such as Suzuki Takeo. Some were based in Harbin, like Yoshioka Hisashirō 吉岡久四郎.[32] Yoshioka's discussion of Inner Mongolian trade was produced in summer 1938, just as Japan's offensives in China were bogging down and resource mobilization from the continent became more imperative.[33] We have yet to locate an analysis that explicitly linked the Korean peasant economy (including that in eastern Manchuria, or Kando 간도 or Jiandao 間島) with that of Inner Mongolia. The differences in economic output and scale are of course noteworthy, but discussions of animal husbandry among Koreans in northeast China and those of Mongols in the interior might be one place to begin such a query.

Nakamura Shin 中村信

It is likely that the 1938 Keijō University expedition functioned as a trailblazer for other groups, as mentioned by the Inner Mongolian researcher Ren Qiyi 任其怿.[34] Later research teams were to come, such as the Kyōto University scientific research investigation team for Inner Mongolia (Kyōto teikoku daigaku Nai Mōko gakujutsu chōsatai 京都帝國大學內蒙古學術調查隊). Yet another, presumably unrelated work on the economic conditions in Mengjiang emerged via Nakamura Shin, who researched the resource potential of Mengjiang.[35] The author was a financial specialist with the rank of First Lieutenant of the Field Army. He is reported to have been affiliated with the Buddhist Ōtani University in Kyōto and in 1939 was sent to Zhangjiakou (Kalgan) as one of six group leaders of a Japanese student battalion.[36] As Suzuki had done earlier, but in much greater detail and with more reference to the Mongolian economy, Nakamura gave overviews of agriculture, herding, mineral resources, and the options for their exploitation. As with most authors on the socio-economic situation of Mengjiang, cooperation and conflict between Chinese migrants and Mongols and their specific economic roles and agency was discussed in detail. At the same time, the colonial official Yamada Takehiko and colleagues pointed toward options for of Japanese settlement in Mōkyō, which they assessed cautiously as less promising, mainly due to geopolitical reasons.[37] The land issue was taken up further by Yamada Takehiko 山田武彦 (1910–1940), a productive specialist on agriculture.[38] Yamada's work has recently been revived by scholars in Inner Mongolia looking for more insights into agricultural development and the roots of what would be the slow turn across regimes and toward economic development and "land reform" in the region.[39]

Geographers, geologists and other natural scientists

Alongside the economists and anthropologists who formed a large percentage of the research community and funded projects from core and central institutions of Japan, geographers and geologists were also part of research teams and centers. Their integration intensified as the empire expanded into more peripheral or unlikely areas, and the landscape and spaces encountered by its forces and bureaucracies became more distant to the metropole and less and less familiar to the Japanese. This process had occurred already on the Korean peninsula, but it was certainly the case as Tokyo's power maneuvered into Inner Mongolia or Mengjiang. Here, Japan had conquered a truly continental landscape, connected more to the spaces and lands of Inner Asia, the deserts and steppes, than to the coastal or oceanic terrains of its home islands.

The scalar shift in landscape as Japan engaged with Inner Asia was not unprecedented in its imperial or expansionist recent history. Japan's conquest of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and Taiwan (Formosa) had expanded Tokyo's perception of the southern waters of Asia,[40] and its stewardship of the former German territories of the Seas Mandate, known as the "Japanese Mandate for the Governance of the South Seas Islands" or 委任統治地域南洋群島 (*Inin tōchi chiiki nan'yō guntō*) to the Japanese, and what is now Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and Palau, made it a nation of the deep and distant ocean, a key player in the Trans-Pacific region.[41] By this expansion south and westward, Tokyo's scientific and research communities were forced to develop knowledge and expertise in these watery geographies and to engage with the technologies and research methodologies that made them knowable.[42] The same was true of the continental landscapes of Inner Mongolia or Mengjiang, knowledge and empirical analysis of which was subject to a turn in geographic theory and research akin to that which followed Vitus Bering's exploration of Kamchatka in the northern Pacific and Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵 with his mapping of Sakhalin or Karafuto 樺太.[43]

Cartography and geographic analysis was developing at pace in the first decades of the twentieth century, and though the age of the sailing ship and multi-year expeditions (such as Bering, Humboldt, and von Krusenstern's) was coming to an end, the new technologies of flight were generating opportunities for landscapes and spaces to be considered from different aerial perspectives, which drove an expansion of analysis at a much larger scale. Sakura Christmas's recent doctoral work, as mentioned previously, details some of this in relation to the geopolitics and transport logistics of Central Asia.[44] Developments in the geological sciences, plate tectonics, and a deepening understanding of the age of the earth itself also spurred transformations in the perception of the time scales that humans and human societies engaged with landscapes and of the impact they had on local, regional, and global geographies and topographies.[45] These initially came together in the work of the Berkeley School of Geography, led by Professor Carl Sauer of the University of California, Berkeley, who in papers such as his "The Morphology of Landscape"[46] (1925) and his "Recent Developments in Cultural Geography"[47] (1927) suggested that social, cultural, and political landscapes are at least in part a product of their environments and topographies on geographic, geologic, and temporal scales. For Sauer, the cultures of the southwestern United States and Mexico could be analyzed as products of the region's soils, its geology, and its experience of seismic activity.[48] Carl Sauer and his colleagues in Berkeley would apply this scalar approach primarily to Latin America, but their approach to geographic analysis proved very popular also to research communities from

nations such as Germany and Japan, whose politics were becoming expansionist and seeking an understanding of landscape at a wider scale.[49]

While there was much in the way of interaction between the Berkeley School and geographers from Germany, Albrecht Penck was invited to teach summer courses at the University of California, Berkeley, alongside Sauer in 1928.[50] Penck's subsequent links to Japan show how the more expansive approach to the discipline emerging in Berkeley was influential for Japanese geographers and their encounters with newly colonized spaces such as Inner Mongolia or Mengjiang.[51] Among the geography departments and research institutions of the imperial universities, expansion into Northeast China and the conquest of Manchuria and setting up of Manchukuo as a new colonial domain generated a great deal of interest in the new landscapes of the former Manchu homeland. Connections with the cultures and spaces of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia led to the establishment of a number of Man-Mong or Man-Mō Research Groups, who felt tasked and inspired by these new territories and the opportunities they presented to consider them in detail.[52] After the establishment of Mengjiang, this trend and the empirical communities repurposed themselves with a wider scope of analysis as continental research groups, expanding the scope of their research to the wider and deeper spaces of Inner Asia.[53]

Keijō Imperial University in particular had a very active Man-Mong Research Group, which transformed in the late 1930s into a Continental Research Group.[54] Though Keijō did not explicitly have a geography department within its institutional structure, geography and geopolitics were taught there through occasional courses within the history faculty, and a group of scholars and students coalesced into the group, led by the scholarship of the University of Tokyo's Tada Fumio (who is encountered in a following section).[55] This group would go on to engage in fieldwork in Korea (Chōsen), Manchukuo, and Mengjiang on a number of occasions, funded by both the institutions of Imperial Japan and the Government General of Chōsen, adding a spatial element to that analysis provided by the economists, anthropologists, and political scientists from Keijō and other imperial institutions.[56]

Tada Fumio 多田文男

The geographer Tada Fumio, a Professor of the University of Tokyo (and later in life of Komazawa University) was a part-time lecturer at Keijō from the mid-1930s. Two of the authors of this paper have written in some detail in a previous paper about the role Tada Fumio played in both the development of geographic analysis of landscapes beyond the mainland and at Keijō Imperial University

in particular.[57] Tada Fumio's mentor, the great Japanese geographer Yamasaki Naomasa 山崎直方 and future Vice President of the International Geographical Union, had recommended him for a Foreign Ministry-sponsored journey to China in 1924, which was his inaugural fieldwork abroad. In the early 1930s, Tada Fumio toured Europe, making contacts in Berlin and Halle in 1930, and presented research at geographic conferences in Paris and Amsterdam in 1931. During his tour of Germany, Tada Fumio met with Norbert Krebs (1876–1947), with Carl Troll,[58] and with Herbert Lehmann (1901–1971).[59] Tada Fumio's relationships would broaden as he gained importance in his field and hosted German researchers in Japan, including the geographer Martin Schwind (1906–1991). In the 1930s, Schwind's efforts to convey trends in Japanese geographical studies to German readers resulted in several small cooperative projects with Tada Fumio. Tada Fumio would invite Schwind to a lecture series in Tokyo 1939, where he was working between continental fieldwork journeys.[60]

Tada Fumio traveled extensively around the province of Jehol and visited such cities as Chengde 承德市 and Chaoyang 朝阳, multiple times.[61] The trip ranged into the Inner Mongolia region, and citing Von Richthofen's nineteenth-century studies of the Mongolian plateau and its links to the Liaodong Gulf, Tada Fumio's research sought to combine analysis of the three distinctive areas of Jehol, uniting the Gobi Desert, the Jehol mountain lands, and the plains of south Manchuria.[62] In 1935, Tada Fumio began traveling to Korea, where he would conduct fieldwork and teach.[63] Tada Fumio would play a role in Japanese geographical studies of Korea, but these were less significant than his role in underpinning the teaching of geography at Keijō Imperial University.[64] This academic post served as a base for his many continental trips and enabled him to combine his studies of the southwestern pocket of Manchukuo, the Liaodong peninsula, and the Korean peninsula. As the Japanese Empire embarked on a range of military, economic, and cultural activities seeking to integrate Inner Mongolia into its orbit, Tada Fumio traveled to Mengjiang and engaged in a fieldwork exercise surveying, analyzing, and considering the new landscapes under Japanese control. This work was done alongside scholars and researchers from Keijō Imperial University, including Koreans from Keijō's Man-Mong Research Group. As with Tada Fumio's work on Mongolian nomads from his 1933 expedition to Jehol, the report on this expedition to Mengjiang addressed the level of development among Mongolian nomads and their housing and social arrangements as well as the social and environmental geographies around Mengjiang's second largest urban space, Hohhot. Tada Fumio describes his travel with Keijō University group to Zhangjiakou and Manchukuo, as well as the Mengjiang trip in a 1940 paper on "Inland hills and climate change" in continental Asia.[65]

Kobayashi Teiichi and Kim Chong-wŏn

While Tada Fumio was a human linkage between Korea and Inner Asia with his extensive fieldwork, other researchers in Tokyo would simply remain in Japan and draw from fieldwork data to process their results. Kobayashi Teiichi 小林貞一 was one such example. A geologist by training, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Kobayashi presented a series of papers that focused on areas of Japanese empire in northeast Asia, most of all Korea as well as Mengjiang.[66] Kobayashi was an avid reader of Tada's work, citing Tada's 1939 lecture on Mengjiang well into the 1980s in summing up research of the pre-1945 era. Kobayashi was not reliant only on published outputs by other researchers but maintained a personal network whereby various agents could bring him specimens from the imperial periphery. For example, a paper he published on the doubly peripheral region of Jinbei 晋北, in or adjacent to Mengjiang,[67] credits Onuki Yosio, a colleague from the "Manchurian Railway Company" (presumably the South Manchurian Railway) for obtaining the specimen.[68] His work on the northern Korean border region also relied on external research. In a paper focusing on north P'yŏngan province in northern Korea, Kobayashi credits Takahashi Eitaro from the Geological Survey of Chōsen for providing the sample.[69] This type of Tokyo-based research highlights the need and the interconnectivity of researchers actually in the field, like Tada, and the importance of Korea as a continental base for the researchers in the colonial metropole.

Given his reliance on scholarly networks, Kobayashi's work does speak to the question of how cognizant or respectful the Japanese researchers were of Republican Chinese scholarship. Kobayashi produced work on the geology of Anhui 安徽, in central China, which bears citing as a counterexample to much of Tada's work in that Kobayashi's survey of pre-1945 research on East Asian geology, specifically names and incorporates specific Chinese university research groups. Amid the crushing military conflicts of the Japanese military units in China, his engagement at length with the writings of Chinese scholars on the region, even quoting papers from Republican Chinese scholars of the 1920s at length, is exceptional.[70] In the early 1930s, Kobayashi worked together with a Korean researcher, Kim Chong-wŏn 金鍾遠, co-authoring a paper. Kim Chong-wŏn was a Korean geologist with notable research achievements in the colonial era and a promising postwar career in US-occupied South Korea. which was cut short by his premature death during fieldwork in 1947.[71]

In April 1928 Kim Chong-wŏn entered the Department of Geology at the Faculty of Sciences at Tokyo Imperial University and graduated in 1931. Of course, this would mean he was moving in much the same circles as Tada Fumio, who was

freshly graduated from and now employed at the same university. Kim then traveled back to northern Korea, worked for the Geological Survey of the Japanese Government-General of Korea (1931), and published his first paper, a geological study of the Kanggye 강계시 area (then in North P'yŏngan province 평안북도, today Chagang-do 자강도).[72] This endorsement presumably led him to work with Kobayashi and they co-authored papers.[73] However, Kim and Kobayashi's example of intellectual cooperation was relatively rare. Looking at fields of research of natural scientists, like the interest in bees and insects of Tsuneki Katsuji 常木勝次, it is possible to find scholars with interests spanning from Korea to Mengjiang but without any evidence of meaningful cooperation with researchers.[74]

Tada Fumio was one of the rare researchers who returned to South Korea, around the time of the normalization treaty of 1965. We have been able to read his notebooks from this visit, and he apparently consulted the United Nations on development projects dealing with river slopes, flooding, and erosion. Again, the authors of this paper look to the problem: Where are the Koreans in this research, on these research teams, and on these expeditions? In the field of humanities, we find via investigation of the philosopher Miyamoto Kazuyuki, that seven Koreans graduated from Keijō from 1933–1938 with degrees in Chinese philosophy—statistically outstripping the six Japanese who graduated from Keijō with the same degree in the same period of time.[75] There is, however, no connection to Inner Mongolia. We also find some new work analyzing the strata of research assistants at Keijō, which may provide pathways into discovery regarding human interaction.[76]

The fieldwork report from 1938 mentions another name: the entomologist Cho Pok-sŏng 趙福成 (1905–1971).[77] Cho was an assistant for the preparatory course of biology at Keijō Imperial University, and together with his mentor Mori Tamezō 森爲三 (1884–1962), he contributed a catalog of animals and insects live and fossilized found in Mōkyō during the field trip in 1938.[78] According to Kim Sung Won, Cho made a career that led him as a researcher to the Nanjing Museum. After the war, he continued his research and teaching at Sungkyunkwan and Seoul National Universities and was celebrated as the "father of Korean entomology."[79]

Conclusion

More transnational work is needed to understand relationships between the research communities of colonial Korea and the rest of the empire. This research note has focused on one interface of colonial Korea—that with Mengjiang, the puppet state sponsored by Japan in Inner Mongolia and northern China from 1937–1945. As colleagues have pointed out in *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal*, major blind spots continue to exist within

the history of science and Japan's history of empire.[80] More needs to be done to knit together the discursive world at the time in which Korean colonial elites or other colonized literati would have been able to engage, collaborate, and develop research fields. By looking at individual researchers we can start to reconstruct and better understand the workings of the empirical and academic worlds of the Japanese empire in Korea and beyond and ultimately how Koreans in war and under colonization might have engaged with the expanses, institutions, and peoples north and west of the Amnok or Yalu River.

Notes

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5. On transport and industrial linkages, see Lim Chaisung, "Nitchūsensō-ka no kahokukōtsū no setsuritsu to senji yusō no tenkai," *Rekishi to Keizai*, 49.1 (2006): 1–15. On transformation of Korea's natural environment under Japanese rule, see Joseph Seeley, "Liquid Geography: The Yalu River and the Boundaries of Empire in East Asia, 1894–1945," PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2019. On Korean labor, see Janice Kim, "The Pacific War and Working Women in Late Colonial Korea." *Signs*, 33.1 (2007): 81–103.
6. Michael Kim, "The Aesthetics of Total Mobilisation in the Visual Culture of Late Colonial Korea," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 8:3–4 (2007): 483–502.
7. Suk-Jung Han has produced a good number of thoughtful articles on this interplay. See for example Suk-Jung Han, "From Pusan to Fengtian: The Borderline Between Korea and Manchukuo in the 1930s," *East Asian History* 30 (2005), 67–106.
8. Robert Winstanley-Chesters and Adam Cathcart, "Encountering the Silk Road in Mengjiang with Tada Fumio: Korean/Japanese Colonial Fieldwork and Research Connections and Collaborations," *Acta Via Serica* 7.1 (2022): 131–148.
9. Nagashima Hiroki, "Mōkyō no 'tanken' to Keijō teikoku daigaku – Keijō teidai to 'Tairiku shigen kagaku kenkyūjo' setchi ni kansuru yobiteki kōsa," *Kankoku Chōsen bunka kenkyū* 19 (2019): 1–18.
10. Kelly Hammond, *China's Muslims and Japan's Empire: Centering Islam in World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press), 2020.
11. Deng Yannan, "The Manchukuo Mongolian Army: Military Collaboration and Disillusioned Nationalism," *Inner Asia* 24 (2022): 191–220; see also James Boyd, *Japanese-Mongolian Relations, 1873–1945: Faith, Race and Strategy* (Folkestone: Global Oriental), 2011.
12. See E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910–1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 2010 referenced in Sakura Christmas, "Imperial Japan and the Nature of Borders in Occupied Inner Mongolia," presentation at University of Michigan Center of Japanese Studies, 15 February 2018, at roughly 1:00:00 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u6GFquxVh7k. See also Sakura Christmas, "The

Cartographic Steppe: Mapping Environment and Ethnicity in Japan's Imperial Borderlands," (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2016), pp. 90–91. For Inner Mongolian complaints and worries in 1923 that they would end up "enslaved" under a foreign empire without recourse to Wilsonian nationhood, see Christmas, "The Cartographic Steppe," 2016, p. 23.

13. Jin-kyung Park, "Interrogating the 'Population Problem' of the Non Western Empire: Japanese Colonialism, the Korean Peninsula, and the Global Geopolitics of Race," *Interventions* 19.8 (2017): 1120.
14. "Comfort stations" were established in Zhangjiakou, Hohhot, and Baotou, according to postwar oral histories. See Testimony of Kim Sun-ak, "I Couldn't Do Anything that I Wanted to Do," *Northeast Asian History Network*, n.d.; Testimony of Seok Sun-hee, "Will There Ever Be Justice?" *Northeast Asian History Network*, n.d. For Japanese archival evidence of Bank of Mengjiang payments relating to "comfort women" in 1944, see Seoul Record Center, "Cipher text S-11414, 1945-06-15." Although the dates of establishment of military brothels are unclear in all of the above sources, the oral testimonies of Korean women trafficked to Inner Mongolia as well as the corroborating Japanese evidence seem to be weighted toward 1944 and the end of the war.
15. David Fedman, *Seeds of Control: Japan's Empire of Forestry in Colonial Korea* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2020), pp. 113–116.
16. Christmas, "The Cartographic Steppe," 2016, pp. 43–95.
17. Christine Moll-Murata, "The Industrialization of Inner Mongolia in the Mengjiang Phase (1937–45): Diverging Japanese Accounts from Tumultuous Years," in *Northeast Asia in Focus: Life, Work and Industry between the Steppe and the Metropoles, 1900–2020* (Duisburg: University of Duisburg-Essen, Institute of East Asian Studies), 2022.
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67. For Jinbei as a highly contested space from the geopolitical standpoint, see Norman D. Hanwell, "Japan's Inner Mongolian Wedge," *Far Eastern Survey*, 8.13 (1939): 147–153.
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