



Figure 1. Tadao Kano giving a lecture wearing the traditional costume of the Tayal Tribe, an indigenous people of Taiwan. The lecture is thought to have taken place between 1941 and 1944. [Ink drawing on cardboard].

TADAO KANO (1906-1945) AND JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN TAIWAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA*

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In reassessing the history of Japanese anthropology, one of the biggest priorities should be inquiry into the life and accomplishments of the Japanese scholar Tadao Kano who went missing in the midst of what is referred to in Japan as the 'Great Pacific War'. Kano's disappearance is related to the serious problem of 'postwar processing'. If we avoid this topic we should just give up reconstructing the history of Japanese anthropology. The historical gap produces a "black box" that has no explanation, and it is an obstacle to the indigenization of Japanese anthropology and its bright future. In this paper, I would like to offer some basic information to reconstruct the history of Japanese anthropology. Recognition must be given to contributions by dedicated scholars such as Kano who have pursued their inquiry on an individual basis. Moreover, Kano's achievements and his experiences through his research force us to think about the issue of ethics in anthropology deeply.

Keywords: Tadao Kano, Japanese imperialism, post-war processing, Taiwan, the Philippines, H. Otley Beyer, colonial ethnology, Japanese anthropology

Unfortunately, [Tadao Kano] had been lost sight of in North Borneo during the war one summer day of 1945, and was never to return. He is a person who suffered the tragedy of becoming a miserable victim of the war.... I cannot help but say that society has suffered a great loss by his going missing. - Tsukane Yamasaki (1988:354)

Introduction

Tadao Kano is one of the people who became "MIA" (missing in action) in wartime. But after his disappearance on the 14th of July 1945 was reported

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repeatedly, no official action was taken on the case. Of course we understand that priority had to be given to repatriation of civilians from foreign countries and to demobilization of soldiers from the battlefield, and this delayed the search for missing persons when Japan was defeated in the war. But why haven't members of the Japanese Society of Anthropology or some other Japanese academic society attempted an investigation into the problem of Kano being missing? Why were no anthropologists active in the search? I believe that they should conduct an investigation about this case even now.

We have to remember the problem of psychological processing of wartime experience and the defeat of Japan. I can say that what Japanese anthropologists did in the wartime has been forgotten. With the defeat of Japan, pieces of wartime memory gradually diminished and became vague. We nevertheless need to rectify this and to examine closely, assemble, and analyze the documents and other evidence about this, as if we are archeologists excavating remains and trying to reconstruct culture. It is for the sake of the future to study the past.

In the summer of 1997, I was examining thirteen boxes labeled "Seiichi Izumi" piled up in the corner of the library of the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan. I am from former 'colonial Korea'¹ and a graduate of Keijo Imperial University² (hereafter, "Jyodai"), and at that time I was collecting documents about a cultural anthropologist named Seiichi Izumi³ who was Associate Professor of Jyodai when he went back to Japan. When I opened those boxes, I discovered various articles by "Tadao Kano," including his diary. It was the first time I heard this name. I became interested in him from then on. Thereafter, anything related to Kano came to constitute part of my research into the history of anthropology in East Asia.

¹ [Korea was a colony of Japan from 1910 to 1945.

Cf. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/kp_koreaimperialism.htm, <http://yris.yira.org/essays/3523>].

² [Keijo Imperial University was in existence from 1926-1945 during the Japanese regime. During this period, it was the only university in Korea. Considered a Japanese university outside of Japan (together with Taihoku Imperial University in Taiwan), it was abolished by the US military government in Korea following the Japanese surrender in World War 2. Cf.

https://www.ide.go.jp/library/English/Publish/Periodicals/De/pdf/71_02_04.pdf].

³ [Seiichi Izumi (1915-1970) is known for his contributions to Andean archaeology. Cf. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/5542A8BBEFA02D37FE313FB7FC10D92D/S0002731600087576a.pdf/div-class-title-seiichi-izumi-1915-1970-div.pdf>].

I just had a simple question at first: Why had Izumi kept so many documents of Kano? Born in 1906, Kano was nine years older than Izumi. Izumi was based in Korea and did fieldwork chiefly in Mainland China while studying at Jyodai. On the other hand, Kano was a graduate of Taihoku High School in Taipei, Taiwan, and after that went to Tokyo Imperial University [now Tokyo University] in Japan. Kano's field research was mainly in Taiwan. I was able to see their names together once, on the contents page of a magazine about mountain climbing published in 1936. I understood they did not have personal acquaintance with each other at all.

Some years later I had opportunity to study in Tokyo University for a year from September 2003 through the support of Professor Abito Ito and the Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation. On my first day, Professor Ito guided me to the room of the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology on the 4th floor of School Building No. 14 in Komaba Campus to greet the staff and inspect the library. Then he brought me to the seminar room for graduate students where portraits of eminent professors hung over the upper section on the wall of entrance, and bookshelves lined the three other walls. I was shocked to see many documents labeled "Tadao Kano" or "Kano". Ito mentioned that he himself did not know those were in the bookshelf till then. I was brought its key and I opened it. In the shelf were 34 bound books entitled "Kano's papers". Volumes 1 to 21 were with red covers, and the rest had black covers. About half of the books contained papers in English, including extracts from the *National Geographic* magazine relating to islands in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. The other half were mostly in Japanese. Volumes 26 and 27 contained offprints of Kano's geographical articles. I'm certain that the former owner of those documents is Kano himself.

According to Prof. Ito, these documents used to be in the room of the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology in Hongo Campus. When the faculty moved to Komaba Campus in 1971, these were transferred to this room. I learned that all the things related to Kano had been moved around: from Building No. 1 in Komaba Campus, they next moved to Building No. 2, and finally to Building No. 14 in 1996. I discovered four more containers labeled "Kano" two months later in room No. 304, the Andes Laboratory, Specimen Room of Cultural Anthropology. One of them was a Taiwan-made reed basket covered with a cloth. The other three were cardboard boxes which contained among other things: the scenario which introduces a movie, a small magazine, a *Kabuki* brochure, pictures of insects, the *Gyotaku* 'fish

relief print'⁴ and tools for making the rubbed copy, a photograph of glass film plate, articles from zoological earth science magazines, a flashlight, a postcard of Taiwan scenery circa 1927, a reading card, handwritten maps of Thailand and Vietnam, Taiwan. There was a mimeographed paper of 17 pages entitled “*Kitaboruneo no Genshi Nogyo*” (‘Primitive Agriculture of North Borneo’) dated March 1944 which was a translation into Japanese of part of the book by H. Ling Roth [*The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo, Vol. II* (1896)], a 20-page list of the exhibition by the Museum of the Japanese Society of Ethnology in May 1939 (132 Shimo-hoya, Hoya-mura, Tokyo-shigai), a stuffed animal specimen of a rodent (bat) collected in Mt. Ari in Taiwan in August 1933, a fossil shellfish from Ieshima Island, and an item of stoneware labeled “*Raboran*”. I also found a bamboo flute from Taiwan, the rim of a pot, pencil, sketchbook, album of photographs, an oil painting of the landscape of a native house along the seaside, and several drawings of sea and mountain views drawn on thin board.

In one box, I found 315 pieces of business cards. They included the cards of 245 police officers (74.6%), 10 officials of the Office of the Government-General of Taiwan, 4 members of Army Land Survey at General Staff Imperial Japanese Army, 4 officials of local government, 3 teachers at an elementary school, 3 official doctors, 1 school principal, a manager of the Hualian-gang Port branch office of the “*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpo*” (newspaper company), 1 official of the Office of the Government-General of Korea among others. I surmise that Kano kept many cards of police officers because he used to visit “*Banchi*” – the ‘savage lands’. There were five business cards of Kano himself showing four different affiliations: with the Faculty of Geography at Tokyo Imperial University; as temporary employee of Police Affairs sections and ‘Barbarian Management’ at Taiwan Police Affairs Faculty⁵; as part of the Japan Alpine Club; and with the address 348-

⁴ [Imprints taken from actual fish (an art form).]

⁵ [In Taiwan,

“Japanese occupation (1895-1945) refined and reinforced the indigenous identity through ‘barbarian management policies’ that included disidentification through infiltration or disbanding of indigenous communities and the use of anthropologists to reidentify indigenous people by imposing new ‘tribal’ names and boundaries... From 1938 an accelerated Japanese Imperialism (皇民化) under the Meiji government emerged based on British colonial practices. This system developed a Japanese police force - the first in Asia, based on the British model - separate and distinct from military and alienated from ‘native’ populations in Taiwan.”
<https://daneshyari.com/article/preview/1012037.pdf>]

2 Aza-Kashiwagi, Yodobashi-mura, Tokyo-shi. In the basket, I discovered a map of Germany and surrounding areas with the inscription “Masayo Kano, 3rd grade” at the left margin of the map. Kano was the eldest son of the family and had two younger brothers and two younger sisters. Masayo would be Kano’s youngest sister⁶. This personal detail also proves that the owner of these articles was indeed Kano.

Why were all those things immediately related to Kano in which nobody took any apparent interest in the room of the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology at Tokyo University? Kano not only became missing *before* the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology of Tokyo University was founded, but he was a graduate of the Faculty of Geography. I believe that the person who purposely kept those things of Kano in the room of the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology was Prof. Izumi. After Izumi died suddenly on November 15, 1970, all his belongings in his room in Hongo Campus were sent to the team preparing for the opening of the National Museum of Ethnology. After the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology moved to Komaba Campus in the beginning of 1971, the books and articles were stored in the bookshelf of the seminar room at the fourth floor, and the newspaper clippings and earthen vessels which were gifts of the Yami Tribe on Botel Tobago Island were stored in the Andes Laboratory at the third floor (Figs.2&3). Prof. Ito said that he sent all the other things related to Kano that were in Building No. 14 to the National Museum of Ethnology because those should be in one place.

I asked elderly anthropologists I met about such old history. Finally I got an unexpected explanation as to how Izumi got those things related to Kano from Prof. Wen-hsun Song of National Taiwan University whom I met in Taipei. He said: “It is simple. Prof. Izumi said to me that he bought them from Kano’s bereaved family directly.” But when I related the story to the son of Izumi, Prof. Takura Izumi, he said “I think that he did not have enough money to purchase them because he lived in a rented house until the 60s.” Later I was able to get some answers about the process. There is a library of the Faculty of Cultural Anthropology of Tokyo University, wherein many books were ‘donated’ by the wife of the late Professor Kenichi Sugiura, but it is said that those books were actually purchased, and that Izumi led the purchase. This would be Izumi’s particular way of gaining cooperation of benefactors to help the bereaved family. I can suppose that Prof. Izumi used the same way to get those things related to Kano.

⁶ Kano’s “youngest sister Masayo got married to Mr. Aizawa” (Yamasaki 1992:24).



Figures 2 and 3. Newspaper clippings and earthen vessels (typical boat from the Yami tribe of Botel Tobago) and dolls of clay inside boxes in the “Andes Laboratory” of Komaba Campus. One figure has a police hat and firearm.

Rediscovering Tadao Kano

We can understand Kano’s wide interests from the phrase “six doctorates” accompanying an illustration of him giving a well-received lecture (Fig.1). Uniquely, he gave the talk about *Ribangaku* (the study of the policy toward the ‘barbarians’ in Taiwan) wearing the traditional costume of the Tayal Tribe, an indigenous people of Taiwan, in the lecture hall for Zoology (although he was a graduate of Geography). He was a biologist and a geographer, interested in insects, birds, a glacier, and fishes. His geographical studies ranged from Siberia to Polynesia. He left many achievements in the various fields of the natural sciences and in interdisciplinary study between zoology and geography. His entomological and biogeographical achievements have already been well-recognized. In this paper I want to discuss only his achievements in the field of anthropology.

There are only few evaluations of Kano’s achievements in Japan (Obayashi & Yamada 1966, Ogawa 1966, Kokubu 1986, Yamasaki 1988 and 1992), and no proper evaluation of his anthropological work. The first article written about Kano is a biography by Tsukane Yamasaki (1974). Next is an essay by Naochi Kokubu (1986). Kano was featured in the book *Bunkajinruigaku Gunzo 3: Nihon* [‘Introduction to the life and work of cultural anthropologists Vol.3: Japanese’] (hereafter “*Gunzo*”), on the life and work of twenty-two ‘eminent anthropologists’ (Ayabe 1988). In this

book Kano is recognized as one of six eminent scholars about Taiwan in Japan. There are two critical biographies about Kano by Yamasaki (1988, 1992), the first one being the chapter in "*Gunzo*". I am considerably unsatisfied with this chapter because it is mainly on Kano as a natural historian rather than as an anthropologist. I think the author failed to evaluate Kano's anthropological achievement because he was not an anthropologist. (When compared with the other chapters in "*Gunzo*", a reader may ask whether Kano should even be included among the 22 'eminent anthropologists'!) After this, it seems that appreciation of Kano's work gradually declined because the succeeding doctrinal history was developed without any criticism or reflection on the work of previous biographies.

What kinds of change took place in the field of Cultural Anthropology in Japan over the decades? Why has Tadao Kano become gradually forgotten?

One reason is there has been transformation in perspective due to the alternation of generations since the war. More than 70 years have passed since the end of World War II. For the generation who grew up after the war and had no direct war experience, I can sense that the recognition of past events and the academic point of view toward the war changes. The second problem is lack of appreciation for multi-sited ethnological inquiry in Japanese Anthropology. It is very common now in Japan that an anthropologist focuses his study on only one place as a specialist of the area, and cannot develop simultaneous interest for various places. Kano developed and deepened his study while he continuously changed his point of view toward subjects and areas. Because he accomplished his work in this way, it went beyond the range of understanding of Japanese scholars who only have the fixed and narrow point of view.

I would also like to point out change in the way in which the Japanese study their history. Dr. Katsuhiko Yamaji has indicated the difficulty in recognizing a scholar who has mainly acted alone and did not become affiliated with any academic faction: when scholars reconstruct the history of scholarship it seems they have a tendency to keep in mind those academic factions which are attractive and institutionalized first, and neglect someone who is difficult to identify with a specific faction (Yamaji 2011:38). There was clearly limited effort to coordinate and crosscheck between the chapters in "*Gunzo*". For all that, they draw an image of general activity of scholars of the day. However, as reconstructing the history of a discipline focusing on a particular faction or main project became mainstream, the achievements of a scholar like Kano who did research in various places as a special kind of government employee tended to be disregarded.

Kano's anthropology stems from a position of self-education that cannot belong to one specific school. There is no one academic organization which can encompass Kano's background and stature in the Imperial Japanese period, perhaps because he had majored in biogeography (mainly in entomology). I can't find any special relationship between him and a teacher from the laboratory of a university or a core member of a learned society in his career. He was commissioned by the Governor-General of Taiwan and the Colonial Institute of Nippon, and then by the Imperial Japanese Army to undertake scholarly work deemed relevant to the Japanese colonial policy or to prosecution of the war. He was just a temporary employee all his life. For example, he received a monthly salary of 70 yen as a part-time employee of the police affairs sections and also of the aborigine-controlling policy section in the police affairs departments of the Governor-General of Taiwan (Taiwan Sotokufu 1936:146-148). The duty of a commission just depends on one contract to perform a specific task for policy by the colonial government or by the military in prosecution of the war. But although Kano never had a regular job, "he had a good sponsor" in Prof. Keizo Shibusawa⁷ "who was like a patron of the Italian Renaissance" (Ankei & Hirakawa 2006:241).

It is difficult to provide the background for achievement of scholarship from out of a mere network of social relations that immediately before and after the Japanese surrender made it possible to publish Kano's work even if it was extremely difficult and he was missing at the time. I can say that Kano was a loner when I examine his research achievements from the point of leaving school. If I were to name colleagues who maintained personal relations with him, I can mention only three: Naoichi Kokubu⁸ who was Kano's junior in Taipei High School, H. Otley Beyer⁹, and Souhei Kaneko. Kokubu and Beyer left valuable records about Kano's achievements. Kano and Kaneko are the only known witnesses to each other's disappearance while doing collaborative research in North Borneo. Special attention should be paid to their case, more so because it was not a personal accident, but the

⁷ [Keizo Shibusawa (1896-1963), Governor of the Bank of Japan in 1944-1945, and Minister of Finance immediately after the war, studied folklore and biology and conducted ethnographic fieldwork among fishing communities, his collection of folk items from throughout Japan in the museum he set up in his hometown became the founding collection for the National Museum of Ethnology, headed the Japan Folklore Association as well as the Anthropological Society of Nippon.]

⁸ [Naoichi Kokubu (1908-2005), conducted folklore studies, and ethnographic and archeological investigations in southern Japan and Taiwan.]

⁹ [H. Otley Beyer (1883-1966), Professor of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines.]

disappearance of a group, including two scholars. Their collaborative work remains unfinished. I hope that Japanese anthropologists recognize that this is a mystery left for them to solve. It belongs to their future. One day I expect that it can play a role as the authentic mirror for Japanese anthropology.

The significance of a ‘field scientist’ for Modern Japan

“Kano’s Study covers natural history of Taiwan namely entomology, zoology, biogeography and also cultural anthropology or ethnology including the ethnography or ethno-history of Taiwan aborigines, so-called Takasago Tribe” – Tsukane Yamasaki (1992:19)

Kano’s accomplishments have often been summarized as “field science” (Nobayashi 2001:59). He was led to anthropology through his fieldwork as an entomologist. As he climbed mountains to collect insects, he met Taiwan aborigines. After he had the experience to live with the Yami in a remote island, Botel Tobago¹⁰, he ventured into anthropology as a necessary science for understanding what he encountered in the field, namely, human beings and their culture. Kano’s fieldwork was in order to collect data to investigate the workings and relations between his observations in the field. When we consider that at that time there were very few scholars who did “fieldwork”, we can appreciate how Kano was held in honor and respected as a “field scientist”. However this identity results in obscurity for Kano because the term “field science” had not been defined in any exact manner. Moreover, Kano’s name is unexpectedly appears in the journals of other fields.

Over the last ten years, some great books about the history of Japanese anthropology have been published.¹¹ But they all had hardly any interest in Kano’s achievements. Toru Sakano who challenged rearranging the history of Japanese anthropology from the perspective of scientific history did not take up Kano’s contributions in his book at all (2005). Katsumi Nakao who focused on the analysis of the achievements of Taihoku Imperial University¹² only mentions Kano in connection with mountain climbing (Nakao

¹⁰ [Botel Tobago (same as Lanyu and Orchid Island), 45 km. southeast of Taiwan, across the Bashi Channel from Batanes, Philippines. See Fig.5.]

¹¹ To mention some in order of year of the publication, there are *Teikoku Nihon-no Jinruigaku* [Imperial Japan and Anthropologists] by Toru Sakano (2005), *Nihon-no Jinruigaku* [Japanese Anthropology] by Katsuhiko Yamaji (2011), and *Kindai Nihon-no Jinruigaku-shi* [History of Modern Japanese Anthropology] by Katsumi Nakao (2016).

¹² [Now the National Taiwan University (NTU).]

2016:508), while in Yamaji's thick book of more than 700 pages, we only find the following reference to Kano in relation to other scholars:

“...like Tadao Kano and Magane Koizumi [...] they dislike communal living, the authority and the power of the state, so they were free and easy with everybody.” (Yamaji 2011:38)

Mariko Miyaoka who wrote on the development of research among the Taiwanese aborigines, mentions Kano as “an expert in biology”, and that he did research for the Office of the Government-General of Taiwan (2011:86). With just these simple descriptions, Kano and his achievements are remarkably neglected in the current outline of the history of Japanese anthropology (including ethnology). I surmise that the main reason is that such reconstruction has depended on identification either with the Imperial Universities¹³ in the colony or with large-scale projects. Thus the scholars who did their research by themselves had very little chance to be evaluated properly for their achievements. That is, the history of science was focused on the [academic] system and neglected scholars who were outside this system. Thus Kano who has already experienced being sacrificed for the system has without fair grounds or reason been further excluded from the mainstream history of Japanese anthropology. I can't say but that it was caused by unconcern, rather than unfairness, that he has been overlooked repeatedly in current attempts to outline the history of the discipline.

My purpose is to point out such problems, and to argue against disciplinary history focused on system. I cannot just watch in silence as Kano is left out of the framework of the history of Japanese anthropology. More meaning must be given to Kano's work in the discussion of ‘anthropology in Imperial Japan’ or of ‘Modern Japanese anthropology’. It is proper to establish Kano's work as one of the most important issues in the history of Japanese anthropology. Koichi Segawa, who is the co-author of the English edition of the illustrated book about the indigenous Yami people (*The Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines- Vol.1 The Yami*), wrote

“Dr. Kano, the co-author, disappeared in North Borneo in July 1945 while engaged in ethnological field-work and has not been heard from since.” (Segawa 1956:v)

But the main author of this book is Kano! At least he should have been described as the “first author”. It is necessary to champion Kano's

¹³ [Imperial Universities, universities founded by the Empire of Japan between 1886 and 1939. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_Universities]

accomplishment in what might seem to be a trifling detail such as this, so that Kano can regain his due recognition.

There is one aspect that seems quite strange to me. The top priority of defeated Japan was repatriation and demobilization. In 1947, the “February 28 Incident” happened in Taiwan, which they then put under martial law (proclaimed on May 20, 1949)¹⁴. Field research for ethnological study was restricted for quite a while. Investigation into the history and customs of the southern area which was a representative study of Taihoku Imperial University was suddenly prohibited. Documents about the southern area were kept closely and rate of utilization became very low (Miyamoto 1949:117). The Research Organization of Taiwan Aborigines was restarted in August 1949 when the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology at National Taiwan University¹⁵ was established with Je Lee (1896-1979) as the chief of the faculty (Song 1952:1). The year after, Kano’s book (originally published in Tokyo in 1946) came out in four parts in a magazine in Taiwan “Taiwan Fudo (Description of Regional Climate, Culture, etc. in Taiwan),” introduced with the title “*Tonan-azia Minzokugaku, Sennsigaku Kenkyu* [Anthropological and Prehistoric Archaeological Study of Southeast Asia] by Tadao Kano” (Song 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d) (Fig.4).

To publish a journal or book means to give social recognition and appreciation for the author and his ideas. Clearly Kano’s work was given social value in postwar Taiwan and Japan. His situation was sorted against other intellectuals who were labeled as committing ‘war crimes’ and who were forced into hiding. How was it that Tadao Kano’s work was rediscovered in postwar Taiwan which had tense problems over the liquidation of the colony and of the construction of the nation, and also in Japan, then under occupation by the Allied Forces and with the Post-war process in progress? It is necessary to think about the symbolic meaning of the name “Tadao Kano” at this time when propaganda publications produced in support and incitement of the aggressive war disappeared, and were replaced by his writing; in the midst of the disorder of thought caused by disappearance of the violent commands under the Greater East Asia Co-

¹⁴ [Also known as the “February 28 massacres” when the Republic of China Koumintang government suppressed an uprising in Taiwan. As many as 28,000 are believed to have been killed starting from February 28, 1947. Martial law in Taiwan was only lifted in 1987.]

¹⁵ [Former Taihoku Imperial University.]

prosperity Sphere¹⁶, the name “Tadao Kano” made an appearance. While he was missing in a dense forest in North Borneo, his old papers were being translated and published continuously in Taiwan, where a new state of affairs had been established led by *gaishojin* [immigrants from mainland China to Taiwan after 1945]. It is interesting to think about what the people who survived from severe war were going to learn through Kano’s publications.



Figure 4. Tadao Kano’s article in “Taiwan Fudo [Description of Regional Climate, Culture, etc. in Taiwan]”, Vol. 49 (1938). The title is “Koutousyo Yami-zoku no Awa ni kansuru Noukougirei” [The Agricultural Ritual for the harvest of millet by Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. It was abridged and translated to Chinese by Chan Ki [an alternate name of Chen Chi-lu] from the original paper in *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* [Ethnological Studies], 4-3:407-420).

¹⁶ [Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, an imperial Japan idea citing cultural and economic unity of the Japanese-occupied Asia-Pacific.]

How can we explain the situation that Kano's articles were collected and published as a book, in English,¹⁷ bound in elegant western style, while Japan was placed under the rule of the occupation army of GHQ (the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers)? Authors usually take the initiative for the publication of their work. But these publications were being done without Kano's presence. Such republication of Kano's work in Taiwan and Japan at the end of the '40s and in the early '50s demonstrates that people who survived war damage spoke for Kano even though he was still missing. It is difficult to ascertain who specifically acted and what kind of power was wielded in the process, all without Kano's involvement. However, we can certainly say that these publications were prepared in reaction to the times they were in. Kano's anthropological work was necessary at this moment when people were impoverished and the mind was morally ruined. This time just after the end of the war was completely different from the wartime. What were people looking for that in this completely different world?

What is the significance of Kano's articles being revived just after the end of the war? What people most needed at this moment was to cure the trauma caused by severe war in Japan and in Taiwan. It seems that the voice of Kano provided a way out. I think that the reason why Kano's work was reproduced just after the end of the war has to do with the existence of a zone of feeling in Taiwan and Japan that Kano's pursuit of truth would have a healing effect. The phenomenon of these publications is the evidence, and the reason why I try to find the meaning of "rediscovery of Kano's work". Moreover, we should face the fact that many problems related to the "Greater East Asia War" are still unresolved. It is difficult to create a peaceful society with trauma still existing; there were some troubles from the process of Post-war settlement. Given the timing of these publications, I propose that some people believed in them to play a part in recovery, such that pursuing particular truths should have a healing effect. In this oppressive situation that nobody can alleviate, it seems that the words of Kano gave inspiration to reactivate and divert mind-sets. I don't doubt the power of Kano's work that carried in two very different points in time, and moreover was consistent though time passed and even if he moved around. My stance is that Prof. Seiichi Izumi kept Kano's belongings even though he had no acquaintance with Kano because of this reason.

In the publication of Kano's papers in wartime we can find resistance against war in the form of science. Kano's continuing pursuit of scholarly

¹⁷ There had been a prohibition to use English during the Greater East Asia War, Japan advocated "*Kichiku Beiei*" ('all Americans and British people were brutes').

investigation in itself was a measure of hidden resistance, a ‘weapon for the weak’ (Scott 1984), in the oppressive situation of all-out war. Not all science has a meaning of ‘resistance’, some studies intentionally conceal truth, a study which scoops out truth performs a measure of hidden resistance.

Tracing the movement of Kano’s work in anthropology

“...It's a matter for regret that it was stopped by his early death. [H]is work should be completed and compiled as the ideas relate the grand cultural history or ethno-history covering Southeast Asia and Oceania.” (Obayashi & Yamada 1966:5)

Based on critical biography, we can shed light on two aspects of Kano’s anthropology. One is his “originality”: as Obayashi and Yamada stated: “Kano's work is full of originality”. This originality ensues from the juncture where Kano’s natural science based on minute investigation of details about insects, fish, and topography, met anthropology. It is essentially “Ethno-science”, which appeared as a new field in the learned societies of anthropology all over the world after the 1960s. In Ankei and Hirakawa’s evaluation, Kano was “the earliest ethno-archeologist in the world” (2006:241). Ethno-scientists emphasize the necessity for the “native’s point of view”, and folk classification is the most important first step. It is surely the case that Kano was one who practiced such basics of ethnographic study. In fact Tadao Kano is perhaps the *only* natural historian who used the native's point of view in his documentation at a time of expanding Japanese imperialism! Therefore, I do not hesitate to call him an “anthropologist”.

Kano observed phenomena of natural geography such as insects, birds and fishes, and ocean currents, and his ideas on relations between the elements were extended to human beings as part of nature. Even in his papers on prehistory, he was superior to any other scholar in terms of demonstrating the relations between excavated materials and the human beings who had used them. Oriented toward geographical phenomena, during his time in Manila he looked into the relationship between the Yami and the people across the Bashi Channel in the Batanes Islands of northern Philippines. The core of his academic interest is the relation between diverse elements. To use a modern term for it, I think that Kano’s ultimate purpose was *consilience* [or the convergence of evidence from different unrelated sources; belief in the unity of the sciences (Cf. Wilson 1998).]

Kano can be compared with the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber who was intensely interested in the relations between natural and cultural phenomena

and had raised this as a problem for anthropology in his writing over the 1930s and the 1940s [Cf. Steward 1962]. Julian Steward's "cultural ecology" (1955) also comes to mind. Kano's practice of anthropology was at a level next to American anthropologists.

The second aspect of Kano's anthropology relates to ethics. He did research in the occupied territories of the Philippines and North Borneo in wartime. We all know that there are many ethical problems for any anthropologist working under the conditions of military occupation. We can shed light on Kano's ethicality if we compare it with the work done by the members of *Minzoku Kenkyuzyo* (the Institute of Ethnology) which was an expression of the concrete discourse in those days. Kano delineated the "mission of ethnology" as: to "provide reference materials for colonial policy", to study the basic structure of the life of ethnic groups or tribes, and to clarify those relationships and differences, and that beyond this "is going too far" (Kano 1946:2). Written before Japan's defeat in the Greater East Asia War, we can also read it as firm criticism for the work of the *Minzoku Kenkyuzyo* led by Masao Oka¹⁸. I know that Kano was initiating a forward-looking discussion for the issue of ethics. Oka was the principal figure in establishing the new order of Japanese anthropology after the war. If Kano had been able to engage with these Japanese anthropologists in the post-war setting, what kind of anthropology would have resulted?

It is much more difficult to aim at a moving target than a fixed one, and the hit rate of the shooter who aims at a moving target is naturally lower than one who aims at a fixed target. This is the reason why Kano's achievements were neglected in the process of narrating the history of the Japanese anthropology, even though 70 years have passed since the war; Kano's development as an anthropologist – or what I prefer to call 'movement' – is perhaps most complicated of all the past Japanese anthropologists.

If I may apply another metaphor: consider the difference between the movement and drifting of a ship at sea. 'Drift' looks like the phenomenon of movement. But the difference between drift and movement is the actor. 'Movement' means that the actor moves of his own resolve. Drift is the situation of roaming irrelevant of the actor. Thus far in our discussion, Kano's contribution has merely been 'drifting', in certain directions unrelated to his will, because his whereabouts are unknown. He had moved

¹⁸ [Masao Oka (1898–1982), leading figure in the establishment of Japanese cultural anthropology, pushed for a research institute (*Minken*) to support the government's ethnic policy (Cf Steger 2019:60).]

with clear purpose while working under Imperial Japan, but his work has since drifted. The challenge in this paper, my research task, is to apprehend Tadao Kano's *movement* as a scholar. We need to shift paradigms and examine his writings carefully in order to understand his concrete positionality and intent.

I operationalize 'movement' as a conceptual frame for pursuing my arguments by three aspects: First is in terms of spatial movement of objects or people by physical energy—in this case, the subject of moving changes position from one location to another location or shifts from point L1 to L2 so we can plot down a trace of movement in a system of coordinates. We may argue as to the meaning of that physical movement through space to the relevant subject and the surroundings. It is a geographical phenomenon and there is synchrony (or simultaneity) in the corresponding phenomenology. The second aspect is the passing of time: the moving subject transforms over time. Here we may track temporal coordinate changes, which is also a kind of 'cultural change', observing how the subject transforms – T1 to T2 – as time passes. Observations about a phenomenon's existence in 'time order' falls under this. The movement of the subject is approached as a diachronic or historical phenomenon. Spatial movement presupposes passing of time in everyday life, but passing of time does not necessarily presuppose spatial movement. The third aspect is 'transfer of perspective'. Unlike the first and second aspects which are objective phenomena, this one is considerably subjective. Therefore, we approach it phenomenologically. The subject who transfers perspectives moves an object from P1 to P2, and necessarily chooses the object by his phenomenological recognition. For example, it is possible to discuss about 'virtual' or 'augmented' reality because of transfer of perspective. The situation combines spatial movement, passing of time, and transfer of perspective, incorporating the movements that occur commonly in everyday life. The dynamism of life leads amplification of meaning by the coherent combination of *moving* space, time, and perspective. By the degree of intervention of transfer of perspective, we can argue for mutual subjectivity, in short, I can show virtual reality to move from L1T1P1 to LnTnPn. On the objective coordinate which time and space constitutes, I know that the transfer of perspective of the human being who acts in the context of a subjective, mental, phenomenon is embedded in the world, from everyday life to virtual reality.

Based on chronological data and the list of his achievements, we can trace how Kano moved through fields of study. He started with biology and biogeography (especially of insects), then expanded and diversified his

disciplinary interest to humans as part of nature. Kano climbed mountains to satisfy his academic curiosity, thus he also became reknowned as a “mountain-climbing expert”. Born in Tokyo, Kano moved to Taiwan, which was then a Japanese colony, to receive secondary education. Even as a student of Taihoku Senior High School, Kano gained regard for his entomological inclination. According to the newspaper *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shinpou*,¹⁹ he was nicknamed of “Doctor of Insects”,

“Tadao Kano ...a young scholar and specialist of the study of insects, decorated the specimens of approximately 20,000 kinds of insect which filled his boarding house while he was in Taiwan...” (*Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shinpou* 1934)

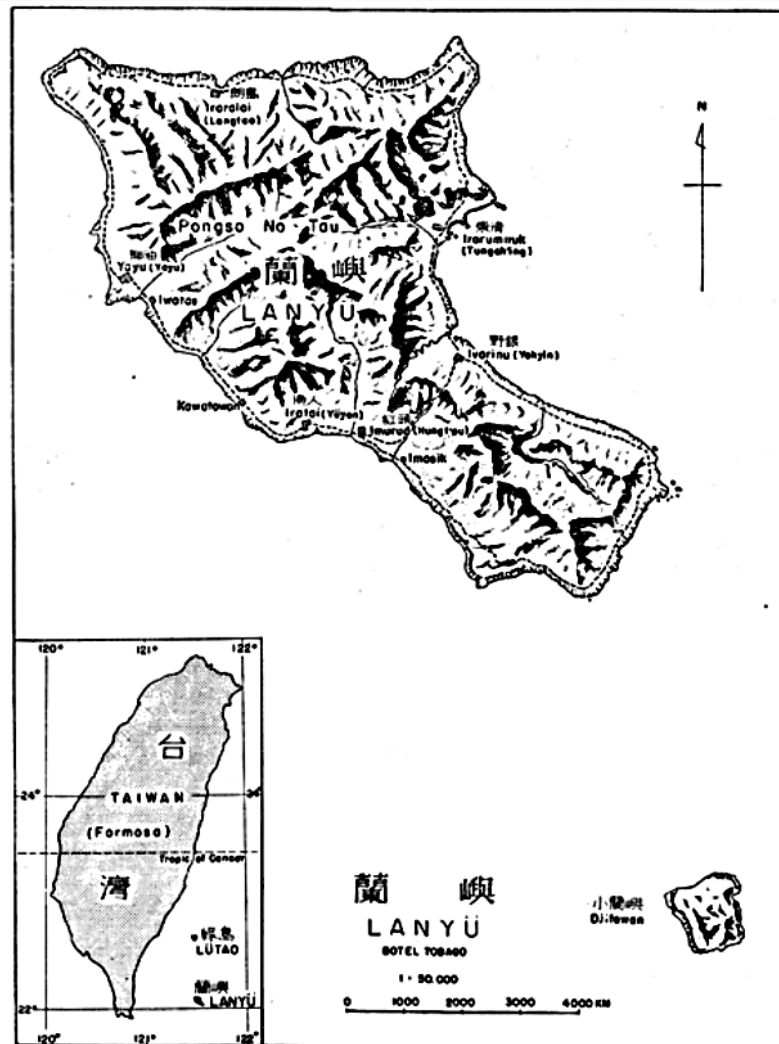
When he entered university after graduation from high school, it was clear that he had a preference for geography, which also covers the biology and zoology which he had become interested in, but he already had considerable knowledge about anthropology. He trained in Geography at Tokyo Imperial University yet finished his degree from Kyoto Imperial University (this also reveals Kano’s way, deviating from the rigidity of institutions). His interest expanded from Taiwan to the Philippines where he met with H. Otley Beyer, and thence to Borneo and particularly [British] ‘North Borneo’.

Botel Tobago island (Fig.5), the home of the Yami Tribe, is the starting point of Kano’s movement in anthropology. Kano’s paper about the annual Yami ritual boat launching festival was published in the academic journal *Minzoku*²⁰ (1928) when he was still a student of senior high school. This is an important point to acknowledge: that Kano was engaged in “anthropological” study *on his own* in 1927 (Kano 1928:107), and at least a year earlier than the founding of the Faculty of Ethnology and Anthropology at Taihoku Imperial University in 1928 (mainly by Utsurikawa), the establishment of which is recognized as the key event which differentiated academic anthropological study about Taiwan – i.e. ‘pure’ and ‘apolitical’ research as opposed to studies intended to be applied for political (colonial) ends (Chiu 1999:97, Shimizu 1999:135). Kano could not have started to study anthropology under the influence of Utsurikawa because from March 1926 to March 1928, Utsurikawa was traveling in the U.K., the Netherlands, Germany, India, and

¹⁹ [*Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (Taiwan Daily News), the most widely circulated daily newspaper in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, official newspaper of the Taiwanese government (1898-1944).]

²⁰ [*Minzoku* (‘The Folk’), journal first published in 1925 by pioneering folklorist Kunio Yanagita (1875-1962).]

other places in order to inspect folklore and ethnology under the alleged reason of studying abroad as an overseas researcher of the Government-General of Formosa (Taiwan).



*Figure 5. Botel Tobago (Lanyu Island).
[From Beauclair 1958:9]*

Kokubo erroneously thought that Kano did research in Botel Tobago for the first time in 1929 “with Nenozo Utsurikawa²¹ together with Chushichirou Okonogi, [Nobuto] Miyamoto, [Toichi] Mabuchi” (Kokubu 1949:46). Miyamoto relates that they rented a spare room of the police station, and that they stayed for one month because the liner only traveled once a month. They went there mainly to collect ‘folk crafts,’

“...Mr. Okonogi was a natural historian. Kano was a zoologist, and he shot the birds for making stuffed birds. (Miyamoto 1983:12)

Kano apparently served as the guide on this expedition.²² He had in fact by this time already written a report about the Paiwan Tribe (published in 1929), and five papers about the Yami Tribe: on musical instruments, boats, bows, their ‘relations with animals’, and, “a preliminary anthropological report”.

Rather than relying on the histories of Japanese anthropology that have been published so far, it is best to return to Kano’s own writings to clarify the traces of his academic movement. Although those were fragmentary, The Shibusawa Foundation, Professor H. Otley Beyer and Professor Naoichi Kokubu have also pointed out the direction of movement or trajectory of Kano’s work. Another anthropologist who has made use of Kano’s writings is Dr. Inez de Beauclair²³.

Kano’s achievements in anthropology have been outlined as follows: (I) Study of the material culture of Taiwan Aborigines, (II) Study of the material culture of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago, (III) Estimate of the cultural layer based on the comparison between prehistory and culture of Taiwan Aborigines, (IV) A preliminary essay about the comparative history of the culture of Taiwan and the neighboring region, (V) Study of anthropological

²¹ [Nenozo Utsurikawa (1884-1947), PhD. in Harvard University, “established and managed the first department of anthropology in Japan as well as in Taiwan” (Chun 2016:79).]

²² Kano’s description of what it was like in Botel Tobago during this trip:
 “I had a serious trouble of food that they ate the canned foods almost every day... The eggs and eels were very helpful... The aborigines raised chickens but never ate them... They brought many eggs and proposed to exchange them for silver coins... We lost interest in eating omelet because of having it too often (Kano 1929:24).

²³ Inez de Beauclair (1897-1981), produced a uniquely “extensive and reliable body of information on the nonmaterial and sociological aspects of Yami culture” (Cf Kaneko 1981:93; Beauclair 1957, 1958, 1959a, 1959b, 1959c, 1969, 1972).

geography about Taiwan Aborigines, (VI) A preliminary essay about the history of material culture in Southeast Asia (Yamasaki 1988:364).

Kano surveyed almost all domains of Paiwan Tribe (1930). He explained the cultural significance of the nose ring, tattoo, earring, bracelet, and shells on the “*Saurai*”, ‘pillar of their ancestor’. The following description of the shells used to decorate a waist strap demonstrates the keenness, comparative cross-cultural breadth, and time depth of his observations:

“the base of spire of Conidae was cut into round slices. They use it as a decoration sewed on clothes now, but in ancient times [it was] used as money. It might be ... a different species of shell from the one that can be picked up in the sea around Taiwan. Meanwhile, it seems that the ancient people used to use the shells as money or belts with the shells frequently. The people of Paiwan Tribe call it *Karipa*. Among the Taiwan aborigines, Paiwan, Puyuma, and Ami Tribe use this *Karipa*, and also [it] is used in Taiwanese Plains Aborigines. We can also find clothes with these shells in the tribes of Indonesia, and around New Guinea. I consider that People of Paiwan Tribe had already the *Karipa* before the time when they arrived in Taiwan from the south (Kano 1930:71).

Kano’s interest in biology was the essential driving force for the development of his anthropological inquiry. He made notes for example on how the Tayal people used the bird “*Sisileq*” to divine whether fortune would be good or bad especially in deciding to attack enemies. And how “*Kurogaki*”, a tall tree of the Ebenaceae family, was used by aborigines for making hoes, that Yami in Botel Tobago called it “*Kamayo*” and Paiwan called it “*Kamaya*”. He reported on ginger as a special food for aborigines in Taiwan, which they ate in order to excite their mind and body before going headhunting (1930). Later he wrote on “The Affinities between Botel Tabago and Batanes Islands in the Names of Flora and Fauna” (1941), “Culture of Gold in Indigenous Peoples of the Philippine Islands, Aborigines of Botel Tobago, and Taiwan” (1941), “Problem of the Turn of the Cultivation of Grains in Indonesia, Particularly Rice and Millet” (1943), “Sickles Made of Shellfish for Harvesting Rice in Manobo Tribe, with Appendix: the Relation between the Sickles and Stone Knives in Southeast Asia” (1943).

Some of Kano’s articles we can refer to as practical examples of ethno-archaeology, these include: a commissioned document responding to the request of Oyama Prehistoric Research Institute to give his opinion on fossil

insects excavated in Korekawa, Aomori Prefecture (1930), “The Relation between Several Kinds of Cultivated Plants and History of Aborigines in Taiwan” (1941), “Preliminary Report of the Prehistory about the Island of Fire on the East Coast of Taiwan” (1942), “The Stoneware of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago” (1942), “The Uses for the Scraping Tool of Raw Skin and Single-edged Stone Axe in the Society of Aborigines in Taiwan” (1942), “A Tool for “Weeding in Southeast Asia” (1944). Other writings on prehistory discussed “The “Polynesian Stone Ax with Handle and its origins” (1944), “Black Pottery, Colored Earthenware and Red Pottery in Southeast Asia: By Reading the Article of Dr. Kanaseki” (1945), and “Cultural Layers of Prehistoric Times in Taiwan” (1944). On their archaeological investigations in Botel Tobago (previously surveyed in 1897 by Ryuzo Torii²⁴), he wrote,

“I never doubted the report by Dr. Torii, but I tried excavating one graveyard. We got different results from the report by Dr. Torii. My excavation was only one time, but Yami people answered that they buried the dead by the way same as I found if I asked it. And so I was convinced that they used this way at this stage. I guessed that the case of Dr. Torii was [the] special and exceptional one.” (1930:37-38)

He pointed out information that was lacking in the list of the sites of Japanese Stone Age and “reconstructed the list” [of Ushinosuke Mori²⁵ and the laboratory of anthropology] expanding it from 58 places to 234 (1930). Based on his observations of the shape of earthenware vessels, he identified tribes which were not Paiwan or Bunun but had already become extinct.

Kano also attempted statistical analysis in papers on population geography (e.g. “Research about the Population Density and the Vertical Distribution of Aborigines in Taiwan”, 1938). He analyzed the unification of blood (marriage), the propagation of material culture (clothes) and intangible culture (language) and so on, using data quoted from “The Reports about the Investigation of Takasago Tribe”. The latter are government data in six volumes resulting from the investigations made by the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs of the Governor-General of Taiwan from 1936 to 1939. Kano used them as the basis for a paper entitled “The Regional Differences of the

²⁴ [Ryuzo Torii (1870-1953), was known for his anthropological fieldwork in Taiwan, Korea, China, Mongolia, and many other places, and for pioneering use of the camera.]

²⁵ [Ushinosuke Mori (1877-1926), assisted Ryuzo Torii, went on to extensively survey, visually document, and write on the Taiwan landscape and its peoples.]

Influence by Han People in the Societies of Aborigines in Taiwan” (1941). The exact analysis stands out in this article, and he also used data that he collected by field work for reconfirming the specific documents. While in the part-time service of the Governor-General of Taiwan and Colonial Institute of Nippon, he demonstrated his ability for close analysis of statistics and published “The emigration and change of the population distribution in the society of aborigines in Taiwan during the past decade” (1941), and “Research about Population Distribution according to the Hometown of Taiwanese in Taiwan” (1943). He could view the society of aborigines in Taiwan in broad perspective because he had geographical knowledge and the ability of analysis, with such background, he wrote “A Draft for the Classification of Aborigines in Taiwan” (1942). This is an introductory book in which the history of Taiwan aborigines is clear at a glance.

Undoubtedly Kano showed real ability as an ethnographer in his reports about the Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago: “Building a Big Boat and the Festival on Boats...” (1938), “Agricultural Rite for planting the foxtail millet” (1938), “The Customs about the Giving Birth” (1939), “Two Kinds of Ornament Made of Shellfish of Nautilus in Botel Tobago and their Origin.” (1944), and “The Flying Fish in the Society of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago, with Appendix: The Flying fish fishery in the Batanes Islands, Philippines” (1944) are his prominent ethnographies, and nobody was able to imitate them in those days. Displaying delicate sensitivity in both the choice of subject and in the process of analysis, his records about fishing the flying fish (“fishing by torchlight”) of Yami Tribe show that he thought how important the culture of aborigines was; he wrote that, “It was a taboo to take a foreigner on board, but one day in 1937, I was permitted to do specially and could observe it” (1944:528).

From this we can apprehend Kano’s ethical and culturally respectful stance, as one who had continued to do fieldwork among the Yami for ten years (from 1927 to 1937). Kano’s sentences have no element of ‘Othering’. His anthropological interest was a thorough humanism, and depended on “the viewpoint of the aborigines.” It may be said that Kano’s decolonized perspective was not a thing he learned from scholars but originated from his own humanism. He kept this humanism while moving to the occupied territories of the Philippines and Borneo in the ‘Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere’. As his humanist attitude diverged from the ‘Othering’ viewpoint which was the mainstream of education in Imperial Japan, it cannot but make us recognize him as a human being headed for maladjustment or resistance toward the system.

His scientific curiosity expanded to Southeast Asia and Polynesia as he noted a 'chain of culture' from the south of Japan,

“...the line of cultural drift from the mainland of the Philippine to Batanes Islands to Botel Tobago, and further more to mainland of Taiwan or Ryukyu Islands” (Yamasaki 1988:368- 369).

Few other scholars in his milieu shared this line of inquiry at that time. Kano exerted effort to prove the cultural connection between Botel Tobago and Batanes Islands. After returning from the Philippines, he wrote the article “Muslims, Moros and the rule” (1943). It covered only historic notes and sketches about the classification of the indigenous peoples in the Philippines, but his approach using images of the indigenous peoples opened a new field of study. Meanwhile he also continued to engage in fieldwork,

“I finished writing in this paper in last June. The author got an opportunity to go to the Philippines for approximately eight months from... July to this March, I was able to devote all of my attention to the ethnological study there... Then on the afternoon of every Saturday from August to September, I visited this town [San Fernando in Manila where people from Batanes Islands lived], and recorded what they talked about their custom” (1944:569-570).

Apart from the *The Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines* (1945), Kano's other important book is *Studies of Ethnology and Prehistory in Southeast Asia*, composed of selected articles, which was eventually published in 1946. We can say that he put his will for the title of book and the contents were compiled by his hand since he mentions,

“I was ordered by the army to go to North Borneo for the ethnological study before checking its first proof. I wanted to provide the index in the end of the volume but it became already impossible. Therefore, I hope to carry it out when second volume of this book is published, if possible. I wrote this at the hotel in Hakata on May 24, 1944” (1946:4).

He also mentions writing a chapter about spears while staying in Manila to study materials gathered by the Ethnology Division of the Natural Museum Division of the Bureau of Science (1946:172). He put appreciative words for Keizou Shibusawa, Governor of the Bank of Japan and vice-president of the Japanese Society of Ethnology, “who constantly encouraged and helped my study with great understanding and sympathy” (1946:3).

This is the first book to show the basic frame of Kano's inquiry and comprises the conclusion to his work. There is a subtitle, "especially about Taiwan", which indicates that he had started to study Southeast Asia with the viewpoint for the study of Taiwan. Chapter 1 is entitled "the Culture of Gold in the Philippine and Its Spread to the North", in which he mainly handles its relation with Taiwan, including Botel Tobago. He relates,

"The tallest mountain is Mt. Hongtoushan (Zirakobak) at 548m. [...] When I first stood on the top of the mountain in 1927, [...] I was certainly able to perceive two black points that looked like islands on the sea far away. My companion, a Taiwan aborigine said that those are Itbayat Island and Batanes Islands, and his ancestors had come from those islands to Botel Tobago Island. After that, they used to go back and forth between those islands and Botel Tobago" (1946:36-37).

To the articles he published after having gone to the Philippines might have been added ideas which were acquired through his interactions with Professor H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines. He quoted Beyer's paper in his discussion of burial urns (1946:110-111). The publication of the second volume was taken over by other scholars' studies about Taiwan such as Professor Kokubu,

"Because Dr. Tadao Kano tried for protection and rearranging the collections gathered by Dr. Beyer during the war, we can find only few of the results in *Study of Ethnology and Prehistory in Southeast Asia (Vol. 2)*. But now, we cannot help putting some knowledge of the south by the communication with Dr. Beyer because Dr. Kano was not yet returned from Borneo. It is heartfelt work to pray for Tadao Kano still missing in Borneo returning safely after defeat. (1952:27)

Kano had already written about his interest in Borneo. He published the photo collection of Dayaks carrying an orangutan and a paper about the mountain of Borneo he himself had never been (1942) expressing his wish to climb it. Later, he got the opportunity to visit the mountain by the order of Imperial Japanese Army, and there he who was a genius of climbing drew the fate that he would not come back from that place.

From anticolonial to antiwar, from ‘The South’ to ‘Southeast Asia’

The duration of Kano’s scholarly activities is from 1927 to 1945. Except for the first few years this was practically the period of the wars of the Empire of Japan²⁶ – from the Manchurian Incident of 1931,²⁷ and the Japan-China War of 1937²⁸, leading to the Greater East Asia War of 1941. Under the ideological control system of imperialism, one characteristic endeavor of intellectuals is conversion of thought. But Kano wrote, expressively and in a studious manner, always with an academic purpose, even if the published paper may have political influence to the public as a result.²⁹ He developed his thinking according to his own beliefs. He also expressed his views on the government policy and military strategy which were against his principles. As I verified, his standpoint was completely opposed to that expressed by the intellectuals who responded positively to the colonial administration and aggressive war of the day.

In reaction to the Governor General’s report dated January 6, 1931 – which announced that the causes of “Musha incident”³⁰ in Taichu Prefecture on October 27, 1930 were complaints for the heavy labor in carrying construction materials and for the delay of payment of wages, The scheme by Biho Sapo and Biho Walis, Rebellious attitude of Mouna Rudao, a chief of the village of Mahebo (Cf. Anonymous 1931:102-105) – Kano wrote:

“The misunderstanding about the land problems becomes the cause which should incite the aborigines most strongly and make them upset. But we can prevent to disturb the aborigines if we investigate thoroughly about their customs related to land

²⁶ [The ‘Empire of Great Japan’ (1868-1947), from the Charter oath under Emperor Meiji to the 1947 constitution. A period of industrialization and modernization.]

²⁷ [September 18, 1931, alleged bombing by China of a Japanese-owned railway became a pretext for invasion of Northeastern China (Manchuria).]

²⁸ [July 7, 1937 - September 2, 1945, full scale war between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan, continuing through World War 2.]

²⁹ By contrast with Takeo Kanasaki’s strategy for quiet resistance in an extreme of confidentiality (Chun 2014:30), Kano’s way is resistance by open expression.

³⁰ [The ‘Musha incident’, also known as the ‘Wushe rebellion’, (October 27-December 1930), an uprising against Japanese colonial forces by the Seediq, an indigenous group in Taiwan. It was put down with heavy artillery and chemical warfare (aerial spraying of poison gas) and by using a rival indigenous group. It led to beheadings, massacre, and the displacement of the Seediq (Cf.

<https://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/Wushe.html>;

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musha_Incident.]

use, admit their right even just a little, and take a sympathetic action for their life. Many past cases like a Musha incident can be traced to the land problem. I am convinced that the case like Musha incident can never happen in the future if we admire the aborigines' sense for their land, respect their priority, and rule with understanding and sympathy." (1932:39).

Kano's attitude coincides with the "practical anthropology" which was common among anthropologists in European countries at that time.³¹

According to the Safe Conduct pass issued on July 28, 1931 which I found in his belongings, Kano had visited Mount Niitaka and Taichu Prefecture from July 28 to August 24 in 1931 for "Research of the aborigines". Of his twelve Safe Conduct passes to the land of aborigines, this is the only one with the stated purpose of the investigation of aborigines. The other Safe Conduct passes were usually in order to collect specimens of insects and animals (see Appendix 1). It is thought that this research trip was related to the Musha incident. Kano wrote "A Material about the Custom related to the Land Right of the Aborigines" (1932) using the data which he gathered from that time. The research was conducted for the 'Riban policy' of subjugating and forcibly assimilating the aborigines.³² While mobilized for such political objectives, Kano criticized the analysis offered by the office of the Governor-General as being of minor importance and at a personal level, and expressed that the origin of the Incident is the "land problems" and a basic problem for colonial policy.

That this applies "not only to Musha incident but also past many cases" conveys criticism for the colonial policy in general. We do not know if Kano's opinion had any impact on the *Riban Seisaku Taiko* (Aborigine Rule Policy Outline), but he argued for pursuing academic studies hand-in-hand with the 'operation to the South'³³:

³¹ Here is an example from a leading figure:

"To take another subject of paramount importance, namely, land tenure in a primitive community. The apportioning of territory must be one of the first tasks of an administrator, and in doing this he has first of all to lay down the broad lines of his policy and then see that they are correctly carried out by his officers" (Malinowski 1929:29-30).

³² [*Riban*, Japanese colonial policy of managing the aborigines by punitive raids against those who did not submit, and alteration of the economic activities and lifestyle of those who surrendered (Tierney 2010:44).]

³³ [The 'Southern Expansion Doctrine' that Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands were in Japan's sphere of interest and ideal for territorial expansion.]]

“(E)thnological investigations should precede the operations to the South, or if there are no such studies until now, we have to study them simultaneously with or follow Japan’s advance into the South (1940:26).

Japan prepared for the Greater East Asia War not only in the military level but also the whole government organization. The Ministry of Greater East Asia³⁴ was established in 1941. All organizations under the Imperial government acted within the concept of “the Great East Asia”. The learned societies followed suit to promote all-out war. Miyamoto stated,

“We must pay attention to the fact that the reason why Japan is destined to occupy the leading position in the Great East Asia is in the specificity of the culture of Japanese race. We believe that the Japanese own spiritual strength was based on the nature like that we have kept essential things clearly while absorbing the foreign cultures, never affected with them” (1941:10).

Together with government organizations and military operations, the specialists in the learned societies played not a little role in creating the mood of cooperation to the war efforts. This was expressed in synergistic activities with initiatives that related closely to anthropology. The *Gakushuin* (Imperial Academy) established *Toa Shominzoku Tyosa Inikai* (Committee of Investigation of the Tribes in the Great East Asia) in February 1940 under the judgment that it is necessary to investigate the tribes in the Great East Asia toward the establishment of the “Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere”. Over two years they completed index cards of the books about the tribes in the Great East Asia. They also made a distribution map of the tribes. Then they started investigations in the fields of physical anthropology, linguistics, socioeconomics, and religion/customs/arts. The Ministry of Education set up *Daitoa Kyouiku Gakuzyutu Gizyutu Renraku Kyogikai* (Education, Science and Technology Liaison Council in Great East Asia) to be in charge of specific application in school education. The Minister of Education, the Vice-Minister of Ministry of Education and the committee secretaries from the Ministry of Education, the Army and Navy, the Planning Board, participated in the first meeting. Representing the universities were the president of Tokyo University, the president of Kyoto

³⁴ [The Ministry of Greater East Asia (1942-1945), administered Japan’s overseas territories.]

University and professors. They discussed the administration of the Institute of Ethnology in ‘the South’, sending academic expeditions, the Research Institute for Tropical Medicines (*Teikoku Daigaku Shinbun*, July 13, 1942).

The May Festival of Tokyo Imperial University was held on the theme “The Great East Asian War and the Students” in the same year. All seven departments of the Faculty of Agriculture exhibited about the agricultural resources in the South. The pilgrimage for civil engineering by the Department of Agricultural Engineering entitled “*Daitoa Kyoueiken Hizakurige*”³⁵ (‘Travels on Foot in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’) was deemed best exhibition. They also proposed to produce wine in Japan for the consumption of the people in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere because the U.S. and British stopped supplying it to them. In the Faculty of Science, under the theme of “Science in the South”, the Department of Botany exhibited on the plants such as Cinchona and Coca. The Department of Geography established the room of Daitoa [Greater East Asia] in which was displayed “The Map of War Situation of the Day”, as well as a map and a piece of lava from Hawaii. The Department of Anthropology exhibited on the distribution of the tribes in the South by the size of head and height, earthen vessels made by the aborigines in the South, and materials to show the physical features of the tribes. The Department of Mineralogy displayed mineral resources to stimulate interest in the resources of materials under the wartime regime. There was a detailed explanation about the resources of oil under the Great East Asian War in the exhibition by Department of Geology. Lectures commemorating the festival included those of Professor Enku Uno of the Institute of Oriental Culture about “the life of tribes in the South”, and Professor Matsujiro Takeuchi of the Faculty of Medicine about “medical science of the South” (*Teikoku Daigaku Shinbun* No 899, May 4, 1942). In this fashion, the scientific community came to be deeply united for the all-out war of the Empire of Japan.

Kano arrived at Manila in July 1942, sent at the request of the military government in the Philippines. The telegram (Fig.6) transmitted to the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of the Army reads:

³⁵ [Translator's note: Literal meaning of "*hizakurige*" is ‘shank of chestnut horse’. But in this case, it means ‘foot travelers who use their own legs instead of horses’ which is quoted from the book entitled “*Tokai Dotyu Hizakurige*”. This is a comical story of the heroes’ travel.]

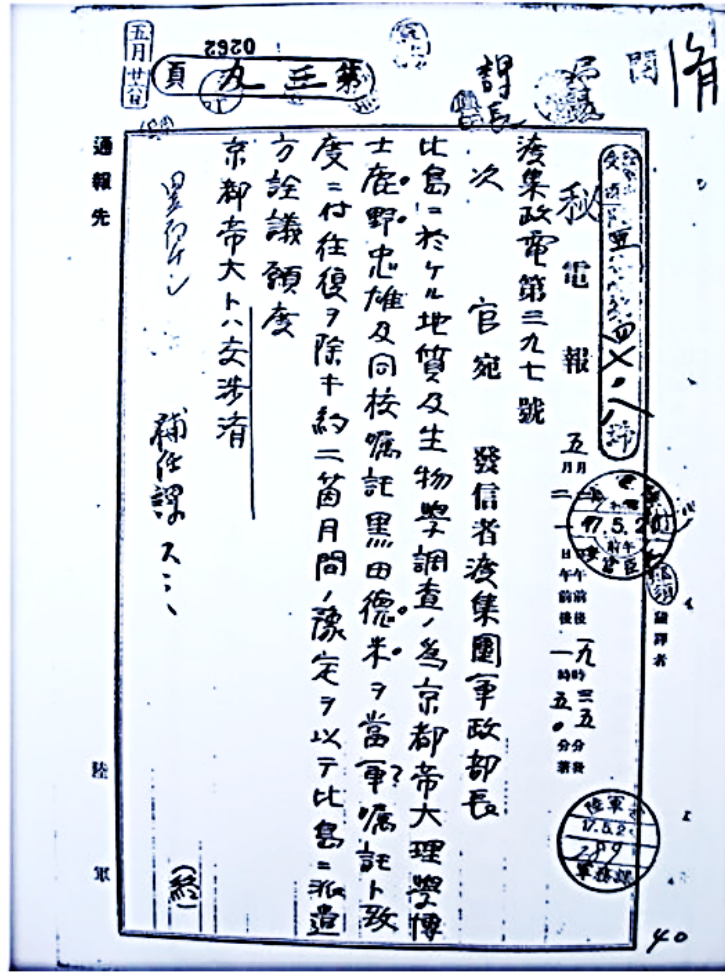


Figure 6. The ‘secret telegram’ requesting for Tadao Kano to travel to “Hi-to” (Philippines), with the day of official announcement, May 20, 1942. There are seals of the Minister's Secretariat of the Ministry of Army and the army Faculty of Military Affairs Bureau in the Ministry of the Army, and also the stamp of the day: “May 26”. There are a total of 26 seals including of “the head of the Bureau”, “the head of the Faculty”, and the translator.

“I want to send Tadao Kano Doctor of Science, and Tokubei Kuroda of Kyoto Imperial University for the research on geology and biology in the Philippines. They intend to stay for two months excepting the days for the round trip. Please discuss this proposal. Negotiations with Kyoto Imperial University have been done. End.”

It is likely that Kano was to take charge of geology, and Professor Kuroda of biology (Kuroda, 1886-1987, is the founder of Japanese conchology).

Kano facilitated University of the Philippines professor H. Otley Beyer's release from the internment camp. A well-known scholar in the Japanese learned society, and "the *Dozokugakusya* (ethnologist) of the South", Professor Tomokazu Miyoshi did field research in the northern part of Philippines with the kind help of Dr. Beyer (Miyoshi 1937, 1942). More significantly, Kano gave Beyer the environment to continue his scholarly work. Kano carried out his role – 'part-time service' to the Imperial Army during the Greater East Asia War – as a researcher at the "Philippines Research Institute for Oriental Prehistory" (*Hitou Senshi Kenkyu-zyo*). The physical space was in an old building provided in 1943 by the Japanese authorities (Lirazan 1965:22). An assistant (Natividad Noriega-Ocampo) was issued certifications so that she could continue to work there as a typist clerk. (Fig.7 and Fig.8).

Beyer was present for the picture taken on Kano's birthday on October 24 (Fig.9). There are nine Filipinos in this picture, including: Angel S. Arguelles, who was Editor in Chief of *The Philippine Journal of Science* before the invasion of the Japanese military into the Philippines; Canuto G. Manuel, an ornithologist; Joaquin Meajorada Marañon, a biochemist with a doctorate degree from the University of Michigan; Hilario A. Roxas, an ichthyologist and author of the book, *A Check List of Philippines Fishes* (1937); Quirico A. Abadilla, a geologist and director of the Bureau of Mines; Eduardo Quisumbing a deputy editor of *The Philippine Journal of Science* with a doctorate degree in botany from the University of Chicago. Beyer is holding a cigar in one hand.

Kano did not treat Beyer, who was 23 years his senior, as an enemy, but as a respected fellow scientist and as a friend. Beyer was acquainted with Professor Utsushikawa at Taihoku Imperial University (both had been advisees of Dr. Roland Dixon at Harvard University). Kano gave Beyer his article offprint (Fig.10). Beyer was judged as a harmless person politically. For that reason, the authorities were willing to take measures to help him in storing his collections. It goes without saying that all of these were promoted by Kano, but I think that doing so was not so easy for him.

Kano's business trip to the Philippines, meant to be for two months, was extended for eight months perhaps because of new duty related to the museum and to inquiry into prehistory. The research institute was established in the period of extension. He went back to Japan on March 19, 1943. (After

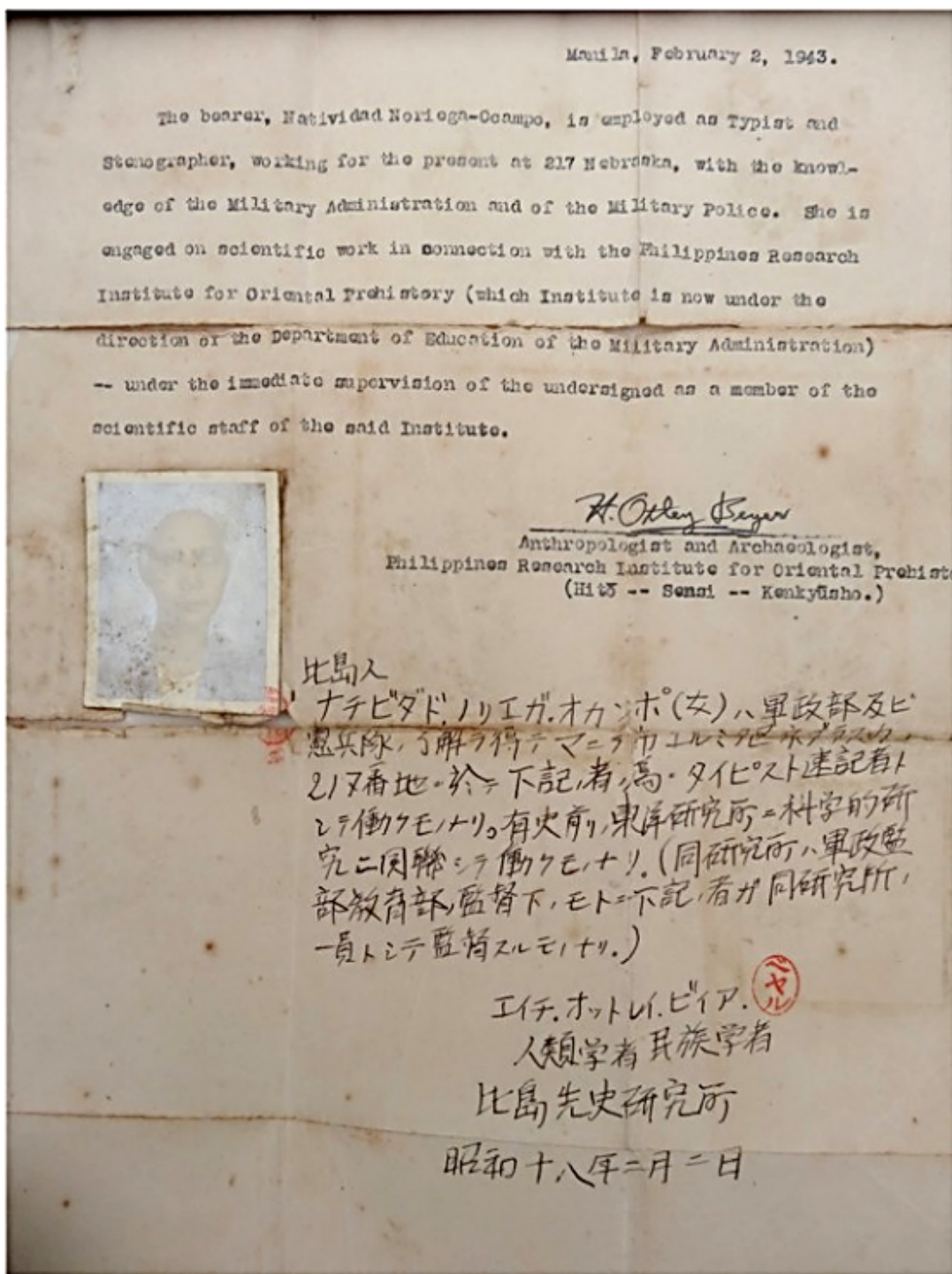


Figure 7. Identification paper of Natividad Noriega-Ocampo, signed by H. Otley Beyer. The translation is written in the lower part. The date is February 2, 1943, six months after Kano's arrival in Manila. This may also be the date of establishment of the institute.

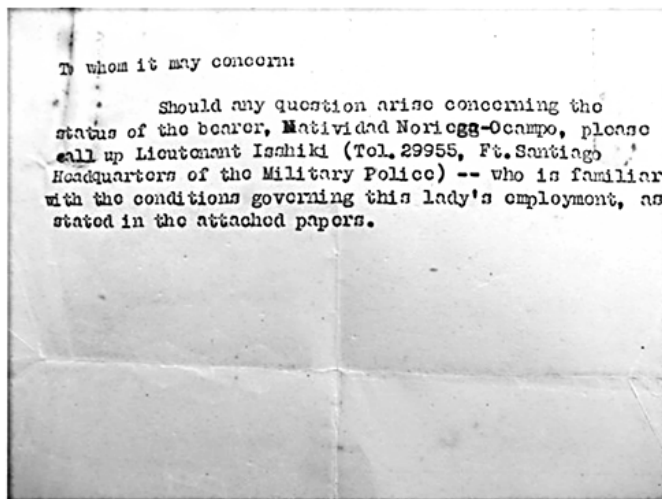


Figure 8. Identification paper for H. Otley Beyer's secretary.

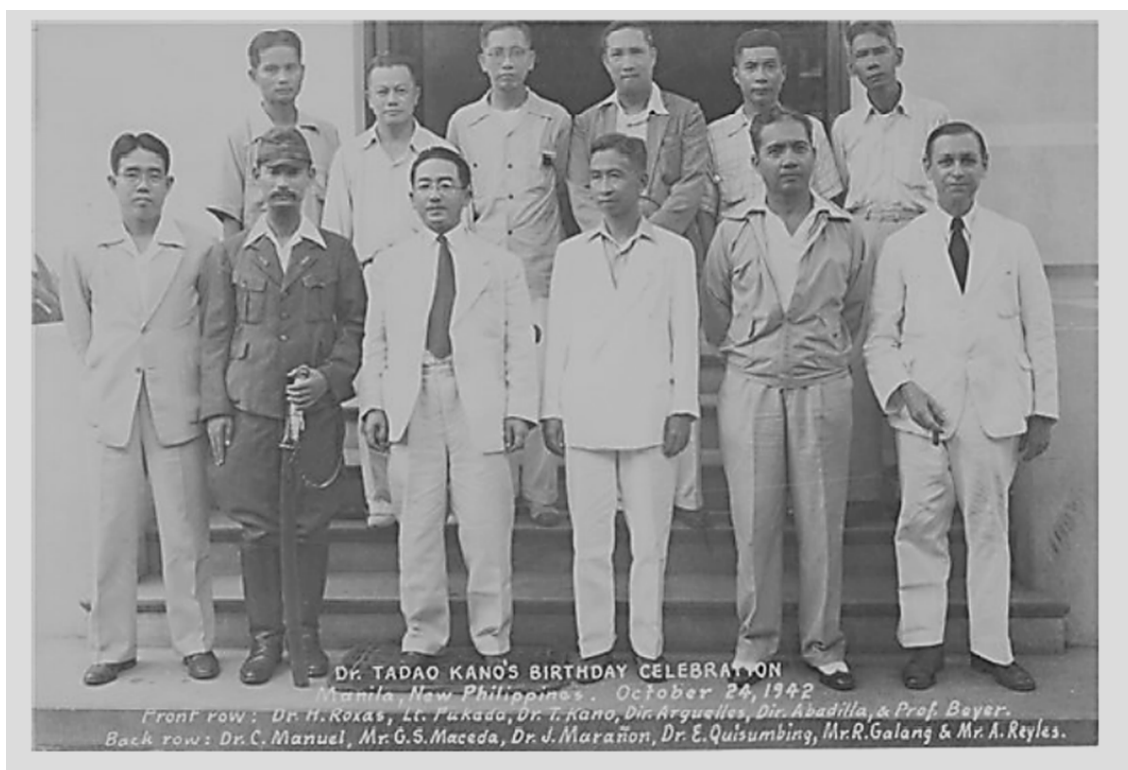


Figure 9. Picture commemorating the birthday of Tadao Kano taken on October 24, 1942 at "Manila, New Philippines". "New Philippines" was the name given after the start of the Japanese occupation. Front row: Dr. H. Roxas, Lt. Fukada, Dr. T. Kano, Dir. Argeulles, Dir. Abadilla, & Prof. Beyer / Back row: Dr. C. Manuel, Mr. G.S. Maceda, Dr. J. Marañon, Dr. E. Quisumbing, Mr. R. Galang & Mr. A. Reyes" (Photo from Henry O. Beyer)

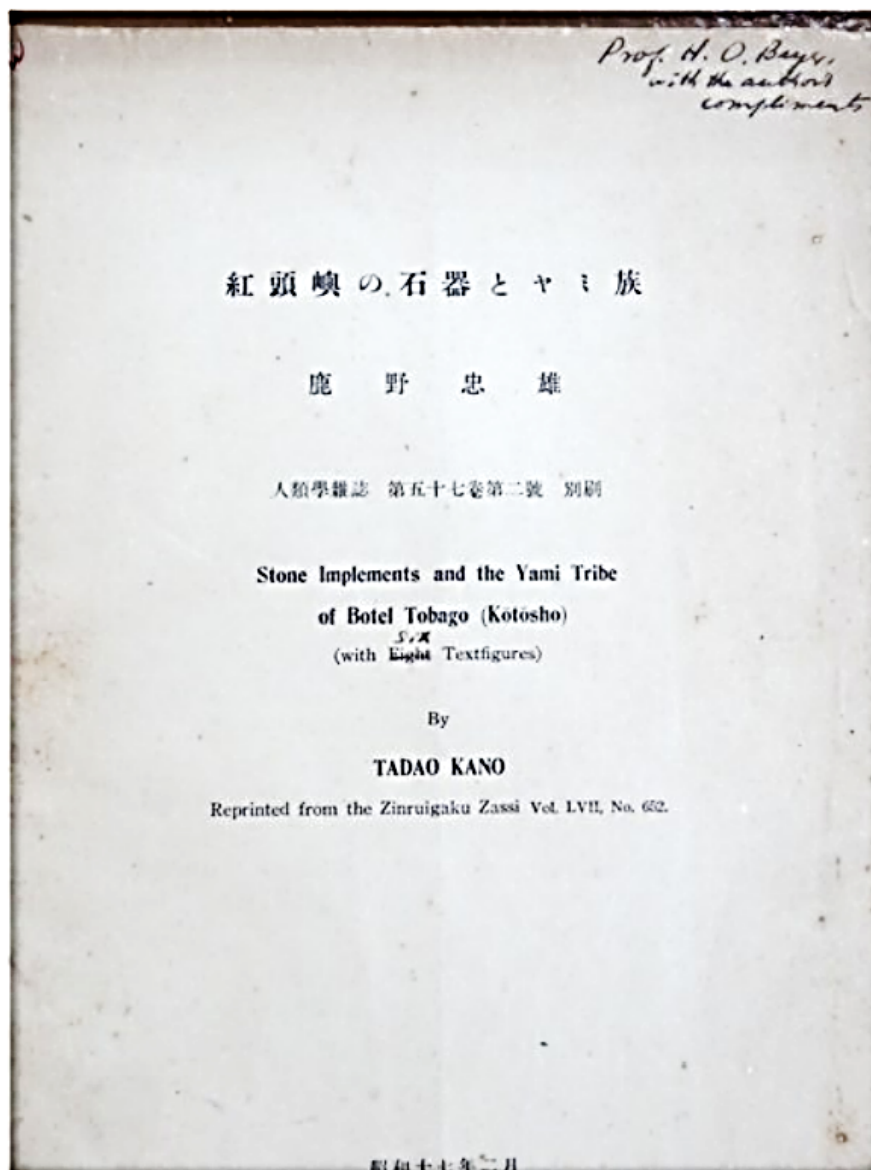


Figure 10. The offprint of Tadao Kano's article which he gave to Beyer. (Original in Henry O. Beyer's possession).

Kano left Manila Professor Beyer continued to work at the research institute for a year and a half. He was imprisoned again in the University of Santo Tomas Internment Camp (Ravenholt 1964:388) in September 24, 1944 as the American Army advanced forward to February 11, 1945 [A.T.S. 1965:39].) Kano had an uneasy premonition of his fate. Henry O. Beyer, the grandson of Beyer, narrated this to me (Fig.11). When he took his leave from Beyer at the museum in Manila, Kano told him that "he might die soon". We can imagine that these words left by Kano are not conjectural; he may have been warned or threatened by the military authorities, directly or indirectly.



Figure 11. Interview with Henry O. Beyer in Banaue, Philippines, on July 18, 2013. Henry (b. 1942) lived with his grandfather H. Otley Beyer in Manila for 8 years before he died. Henry remembers the name “Kano” because he had many chances to hear about various past memories of his grandfather, who used to say all relics belonging to the National Museum in Manila would have been moved to Japan if “Kano” was not there at that time. Henry still keeps many of his grandfather’s belongings and is also a collector of folklore materials.

The war situation continued to deteriorate from the summer of 1942. As the United States Armed Forces’ and the Allied Forces’ offensive to hold command of the air and the sea of the west Pacific strengthened, the Japanese military operation turned into *Gyokusai* (‘honorable death’, no surrender, especially in isolated outposts in the Pacific). Meanwhile, there was reinforcement of thought control in support of the wartime mobilization. Examples:

“It is hard to doubt that war in itself prevents the development of the culture. However, there is one side of the culture also that was promoted by the war directly. That is the moral life of Japanese and the aspect of technology and economy which were necessary for the war” (Takada 1942:169)

“...of course, in the situation of the present time of our country facing the national mission of the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, I think that the auspicious and active support of the sociologists are expected. It might become the unparalleled academic support for the great achievement historically such as the establishment of the glorious greater area through the victory of the war.” (Matsumoto 1943:342)

The Greater East Asia Conference in Tokyo in November 5, 1943 whose outcome was the Joint Declaration adopted on November 6,³⁶ required more academic support. In the *Kokusaku Kenkyukai* (Research Institute of National Policy), research was to be used against the subjects of study:

"The aim of this report was not for anthropological ethnographical study, but was intended to provide the reference materials for drawing up the measures against the tribes in the South, and I studied the political, economic and military ability of the tribes in the South" (1943:1).

The director of the Institute of Ethnology requested for research which was closely and directly related to the policy on the tribes especially given the change in the war situation (Takada 1944). *Tairiku Datsu Sakusen* ('Continent Cross-Through Operation' a series of battles from April-December 1944] cutting through China toward Vietnam, was ordered on January 24, 1944.

Four months later, in May 1944 Kano went to North Borneo for another mission in 'part-time service' of the army. Perhaps he was eager for another chance to do fieldwork in Southeast Asia. His standpoint at this time was clear: the mission of research is to study the 'basic structure of the tribes'

"... to observe the ethnological and anthropological differences and provide the reference materials for the colonial policy... That is going too far if you do a different matter" (1946:1-2).

Reading through Kano's articles, I observe that he used the word "anthropology" habitually since the article about Botel Tobago published in 1927. Noticeably, he only made use of the term "ethnology" in conjunction

³⁶ [A declaration of cooperation against 'Anglo-American Imperialism' among the nations that attended this international summit.
<http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Japan/tojo%20summit.htm>,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_East_Asia_Conference#/media/File:Greater_East_Asia_Conference.JPG]

with policy. (The organization which spearheaded cooperation to the war in the field of anthropology was the Institute of Ethnology under the Ministry of Education.) Therefore it has a special meaning in the above paper published in 1946. Kano argued the point that ethnologists should be prudent in political intervention and cooperation to the war so that they could protect the duty of ethnology. This paper was proofread by Kano himself as he was on the way to North Borneo in the last years of war.

Although people followed the directive to agitate for or cooperate with the war, Kano's thought was in the opposite direction. Kano was a liberalist who did not even attend the classes of his Taihoku Senior high school's curriculum but was devoted to document collection only out of his scientific curiosity. And he was a naturalist who found the heuristic subject of his study in nature. Kano had a superior sense of balance so that he recognized himself as "in dilemma because he was stuck between the civilization and the primitive". His anthropology was based on nature and humanism. When everybody devoted themselves to study 'the South' for the construction of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, he evinced a change of direction, to "Southeast Asia" (1944). Kano's shift from 'the South' to 'Southeast Asia' expresses a mental change rather than a spatial one — since geographically 'the South' in Japan is the same as Southeast Asia. He was eager to assert the term "Southeast Asia" to separate it from the invasive connotation of "the South". In a kind of 'hidden transcript,' he evinced the minimum resistance against the war using the symbol of the word. In addition, the superiority of Kano's thought to others is seen in how his interest turned to Polynesia over Southeast Asia (1944). Kano overcame the political aspect and kept the attitude of a scholar.

We cannot exclude the possibility that such cooperative deeds by Kano during the Greater East Asia War may have been suspected as acts of betrayal which benefit the enemy if the military authority of Empire Japan judged them. Kokubu narrates,

"...when I attended the International Conference at University of Hawaii in Honolulu in 1961 and joined in the excursion of the conference to look at something like a cave painting, a lady who was an ethnologist and her name was Beauclair, of Viennese descent, approached me while sitting down on the coral reef of the shore and opening the lunch box. And she said, "Are you a close friend of Kano, Mr. Kokubu? Do you know what happened to Kano?" Then I asked her whether she knew the circumstances about him or not. She answered in a small voice that Kano's

missing involved the Japanese *Kenpei* (the Military Police), and that the story was spread as a rumor among British scholars. I was surprised very much to hear that. I wrote about what I was informed by Beauclair (in *Taiyo/The Sun: monthly journal*, No. 4, 1963, Heibon-sya) I even forgot to consider Kano's wife lived in Japan." (Ankei & Hirakawa 2006:244-245).

Naoichi Kokubu showed the chief of the village in Botel Tobago the illustrated reference book which was published under Kano's name (Kokubu & Miki 1963b:30). Kano's former schoolmate did this on behalf of Kano. It affirmed that as an anthropologist Kano always acted to give priority to the aborigines, from the field research to the publication of his findings, which could enable not only the opportunity to make a conversation between the researcher and the target of research, but also minimum consideration to the heroes or heroines of the ethnography in print, and material evidence of Kano's attitude that he studied Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago without looking down on them as the 'barbarian'.

Notice this report after the war (Harrisson 1947:189):

"...we must thank the fact that the Japanese military did not destroy Sarawak Museum aggressively. They packed a big amount of the collections of the museum at one time to transfer to Japan, but most things were left there as a result".

Kano was in the Sarawak Museum in those days. Hisakatsu Hijikata³⁷ who came to North Borneo as a civil administrator had met Edward Banks, the curator of the Sarawak Museum.³⁸ After Hijikata was sent to the hospital in Osaka because of illness, his post was vacant. Kano was appointed in May 1944 as a successor. It can be appreciated that scholars such as Kano and Kaneko were sent to Borneo³⁹ within the context of national policy:

³⁷ [Hisakatsu Hijikata (1900-1976), artist/sculptor and also ethnographer, lived in Micronesia (Palau and Satawal islands) from 1929-1942 (Yamashita 2004:100-102).]

³⁸ I have to make a correction to the name of the curator of Sarawak Museum appearing in Kokubu's evidence as "Tom Harrisson". "Banks, E. Curator, Sarawak Museum, Kuching" is recorded in the Report of Present Situations about the Persons in Charge of the Institution on December 24 (1941) (Ooi 1998:106). When the Japanese military invaded Borneo, Banks was put in the Batu Lintang Internment Camp. I think Kokubu thought the curator was Harrisson at the time because he was attracted by the heroic legends about Harrisson after the war (Cf. Heimann 1998).

³⁹ Another is Takezo Takanushi of the Makassar Research Institute, who visited Murung in the upper reach of Barito River and some tribes in the middle and lower

“[in] the past all studies in North Borneo were focused on the consideration about the specific tribes lived in the mountain with the ethnological interests. But now we concentrated our efforts on the study of the actual situation of *Kaika-Malai* (Deutero-Malays) lived in the seaside of Borneo because we believed the study was more useful for us in the point of utilizing their abilities [...] (Kokusaku 1943:285-287).

In line with this, books about Borneo were translated into Japanese (Noguchi 1944). In “The primitive Peoples in the Great East Asia”, only the parts related to the Great East Asia and the situation of occupied Borneo were introduced from the book *Die Grosse Volkerkunde* by Hugo A. Bernatzik⁴⁰ (1939). The translator was a teacher of Daini Senior High School (old system) and had met Kano at the Colonial Institute of Nippon. He wrote in his book that Kano helped him in the process of translation (Sato 1944:4).

Kano was sent to the battlefield for part-time service in North Borneo with only one document. According to his letter of appointment which was issued on March 22, 1944, he was to be a contract employee of the army and get the treatment due to *Soninkan* [higher level bureaucrat]⁴¹

The Cabinet issued this letter [...] treated as the *Soninkan* corresponds to the Colonel of the Army which was the rank of the third senior official. Judging from his career, it is exceptional treatment. [...] The third senior official was a satisfactory rank for him to do the research smoothly.
(Yamasaki 1992:245-246)

I think that the order was like a violent oppression to Kano, as a liberalist whose activity gave priority to objective research instead of the thought which the military authority required, although he should follow orders of the army in the occupied territory (Cf. Hata 1981:418). I cannot find any documents about Kano’s activity during his stay in Borneo.

reach of the river in February, 1945 (*Nihon Zinrui-gakkai* (Anthropological Society of Nippon) 1955:2-3). [Cf. https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/minkennewseries/13/4/13_KJ00002395777/_article/-char/en].

⁴⁰ [Hugo A. Bernatzik (1897-1953), “one of the best known German-language anthropologists of the 1930s”, Cf. <http://www.albanianphotography.net/bernatzik/>, <https://www.howold.co/person/hugo-bernatzik/biography>].

⁴¹ The posts to which persons are appointed by the Emperor based on the recommendation of the prime minister. [Translator’s note]

Tadao Kano as an authentic mirror for the Japanese

Kano's thought had never drifted. He pushed on with his fieldwork and scientific inquiry according to his will. In the end, he could not accommodate himself to the social system. Paradoxically, Imperial Japan enabled Kano to grow as an anthropologist (even though it affected him dysfunctionally), meanwhile the [academic] system had drifted. This is the fundamental reason why we cannot remove Kano from the history of Japanese anthropology.

Inez de Beauclair who worked after the war in the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, took over Kano's trail in studying the culture movement which had connected Taiwan, Southeast Asia and later Polynesia. She also studied Kano's change of thought. Beauclair stayed in Imurud Village in Botel Tobago from December 3, 1956 to February 14, 1957 and gathered data about six villages (Imurud, Irumiruk, Iralalai, Yayu, Irata, and Ivarinu). She quoted extensively from Kano's (1944) paper about these areas, including his notes on two different descent groups: 'bamboo descent' and 'stone descent' (Beauclair 1957:105). She also studied the weapons of the Yami, comparing them with the ones of North Borneo studied by Kano (Beauclair 1958:97), and clarified the relevance of Kano's study of the oral information about the cultural exchange between the Yami and the people of Batanes Islands (Beauclair 1959c:116). Moreover, she comprehended that the practice of jar burial ranged from Indonesia, Philippine, Babuyan Islands, Batanes Islands, to the place of the Yami, Taiwan, Japan and Korea, quoting Kano's article about jar burial in 1941 which was written from the viewpoint of cultural exchange (Beauclair 1972:172). Unfortunately, other than Beauclair nobody has noticed Kano's interest in the issue of kinship.

Kano was called "*Shi-kano san*"⁴² by the Yami;

"There will be very few people who left a deep impression on the mind of Yami Tribe like Kano. He visited their island ten times from 1927 to 1937, and stayed there for 340 days in total which covers all seasons and equals to almost one year.... I think that he became the most unforgettable Japanese for the Yami people because of this fact." (Kokubu & Miki 1963b:32)

Kano's work among the Botel Tobago should be recognized as a model case teaching us about how the anthropologist should set relationships with the people in research. It could even be recorded as the first case of longitudinal

⁴² As Kokubu mentioned, "Yami people use the article *si* with the personal name..."

research in anthropological methodology. Professor Beyer who was a pioneer of anthropology in the Philippine (Cf. Zamora 1967) expressed respect for Kano's point of view, especially his analysis of basic materials about archeology and comparative ethnography in Southeast Asia. (Beyer 1952:vii).⁴³

Japanese Imperialism permitted pure research, but also killed (literally) many scholars who strove hard for their science. Politics by Japanese Imperialism is frozen to the past by 'the Defeat', but it still exists in the unsolved problem of some of the "Missing in Action" in wartime. Imperial Japan abandoned a "Great Ethnographer" in the battlefield of the defeat (Kokubu 1986),

Tadao Kano (died in 1945) was a leading person who made ethnology related to geography through his study before the war.... The days of the war ended with tragedy of Kano, and the present era began. (Ogawa 1966:111)

But I disagree. The imaginary end of "the tragic war" is the source of the present tragedy. Though Kano was silenced in the jungle of Borneo, until now the work of Kano continues to give evidences about the past in the region of East Asia. The intercepted memory of the dead person is waiting to be reproduced by those who survived. A scholar's legacy acquires meaning only by the successor's efforts down the ages. Kano's work is the inheritance of Japanese anthropology, and it is the future of the anthropology of East Asia too. The effort for rediscovery of the study of Kano at that time just after the war means that in the dire needs of the times, Kano's work could play a role as a true north academic standpoint in the confusion and incoherence of the period. It is not an exaggeration to say that Kano's work provided nourishment to keep going after the war. If we review the history of anthropology not only within the frame of 'Japanese anthropology', but also of the anthropology of East Asia 70 years after the end of the war, we should remember the contribution of Tadao Kano first of all. Note that the achievements of Kano were discussed by the people in Taiwan and Japan at the time. Ironically, the dead person ("Tadao Shi-kano") played a role to intermediate between the academic relations of living persons (in the learned

⁴³ Beyer listed the researchers about Taiwan as follows:

"N. Utsurikawa, Erin Asai, Tadao Kano, the representative researcher about Samasama Island (Kasho-do) as Tadao Kano, the representative researchers of Botel Tobago (Koto-sho) as Erin Asai, R. Torii, Tadao Kano" (Beyer 1947:210).

societies of Taiwan and Japan separately). It is my hope that we may rediscover and appreciate Kano, who survived the blowing of the stormy wind such as the war and occupation, and develop the future of anthropology of East Asia. Up to the present, Kano's publications may continue to shine something like the guiding light of a lighthouse.

Kano's research activities in East Asia were closely related to the colonial management and prosecution of the war by Imperial Japan. Yet he gave pioneering opinion to recognize the problems of colonial policy and he wrote critical reports on administration of the colony without hesitation. He expressed how East Asia should not be converged into one ideological value as "the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere". Kano was always on the side of the devastated people in their life in the colony and occupied territories. Kano's humanism was created by himself in Imperial Japan which he got through the experience in Colonial Taiwan. His viewpoint came from his relationships with the people he lived with in the field, in spite of his position within the suzerain state or the army of occupation. From when he first met the Yami his attitude never changed. I call it deotherization; this viewpoint should be the final purpose of anthropologists.

It may be said that resistance against the power of the system is the basic spirit of Kano's work and this attitude remained even in occupied territory. He established the *Hitou Senshi Kenkyu-zyo* (Philippines Research Institute for Oriental Prehistory), and helped Beyer to protect his collections and to continue his work. During The Pacific War⁴⁴ he worked to save monuments and museum objects ordered destroyed by the Japanese military in the Philippines and in Borneo. 'Interlocality' refers to relationships based on social exchange. These establish the characteristic nature of the local cultures and becomes a sort of 'lifeworld' or *Lebenswelt*, in each local society; this phenomenon can also be termed 'interlocal relationships'. Anthropologists look at relations that have developed between individuals *in a locality* in the midst of human beings continuously moving due to migration, trade, marriage, long-distance visits, work, production, and even warfare. A state can be built through interlocal cooperation and solidarity. We should revitalize this spirit so that future generations of anthropologists will have a model for cooperation and commensalism to protect local cultures against the tides of globalization.

Kano produced a set of two volumes related to "Southeast Asia" under the occupation of the General Headquarters. They are among the most original of

⁴⁴ [World War II in Asia and Oceania, December 7, 1941 - September 2, 1945.]

all books until then related to anthropology. They should be valued as his greatest contribution, published through the efforts of those who survived in the war since Kano became missing. I believe that they were left us to be like a mirror which can cure our mind, to give comfort to us – gifts from the dead person for the living ones.

Acknowledgements

This paper was prepared in 2016, which marked the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, and was also the 110th year of Tadao Kano's birth. It was presented at the conference marking the centennial of the Department of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, in December 2017.

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 APPENDIX A

 SAFE CONDUCT PASSES AND LICENSES TO VISIT THE LAND OF ABORIGINES
 ISSUED FOR TADAO KANO [PARTIAL LIST]

Name of Document	Date Issued	Stated Purpose	Duration	Place	Notes
Safe Conduct No. 73	May 9, 1925	To collect specimens of insects	May 9-30 (22 days)	Throughout Wulai District	
Safe Conduct No. 157	June 11, 1925	To collect specimens of insects	June 11-16 (7 days)	Office of Chikuto District	
Safe Conduct No. 52	Feb. 2, 1927	To collect specimens of insects	Feb 6-7 (2 days)	Wulai	With one companion*
Safe License No.8	March 17, 1927	To collect specimens of insects	Mar 17-20 (4 days)	Makazaya Observation District (Takao Prefecture)	
Safe License No. 77	March 30, 1927	To collect specimens of insects and visit the aborigine's village	Mar 20 -31 (12 days)	Amawang-Lekeleke (Takao Prefecture)	
Safe Conduct No. 1288	April 4, 1927	To collect specimens of insects and visit the aborigine's village	April 11 - 15 (5 days)	Hatsune - Karenko Prefecture	----

Provisional Safe Conduct	May 7, 1927	To collect specimens of insects and visit the aborigine's village	May 7 – 9 (3 days)	Police Affairs Sections of Taichu Prefecture	..
Safe Conduct	May 16, 1927	To visit the aborigine's village and collect specimens of insects	May 17 – 30 (14 days)	Alishan / Office of Kagi District, Tainan Prefecture	
Safe Conduct No. 313	Sept. 24, 1927	To collect specimens of insects	Sept 24 – Dec 30 (97 days)	Police Affairs Sections	
Safe Conduct	August 29, 1928	To collect specimens of animals and plants	August 29 - Sept 25 (27 days)	Mallepa, Taichung Prefecture	
Safe Conduct	July 28, 1931	Research of the Aborigines	July 28 - August 24 (27 days)	Mount Niitaka / Taichu Prefecture	
Safe Conduct	Sept. 8, 1933	Study of the animals	September 9-23 (15 days)	Taihoku Prefecture	With one companion**

* Likely to be Mr. Koukichi Segawa, Secretary of the Society of Living Creatures Studies (Cf Kano 1929).

** "(Kano) hiked Nanhu Mountain in Taiwan with Mr. Ken Tanaka, Professor of Economic Geography (36 years old, Kobe University of Commerce) for 4 days from September 13..." (*Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* 1933).

APPENDIX B

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL WRITINGS OF TADAO KANO*

1927. Koutou-sho Yami-zoku no Jinruigaku-teki Gaikan (Anthropological Overview of Yami Tribes in Botel Tobago). Syo-fu [Soar Window], 4:129-148.

1928. Banjin no Gakki Robo [Robo: Musical Instrument of the Savage]. Syo-fu [Soar Window], 5:99-109.

1928. Yami-zoku no Fune nit suite [The Boat of Yami Tribe]., *Minzoku* (Ethnology), 3(5):99-110.

1928. Taiwan Ban-zin no Yumi nit suite [The Bow of the Savage in Taiwan]. Syo-fu [Soar Window], 6:38-40.

1929. Taiwan Banzoku Zyunrei: Paiwan-zoku [Pilgrimage to the Places of Taiwan Aborigines: Paiwan Tribes]. Syo-fu [Soar Window], 7:29-45.

1929. Koto-syo Yami-zoku to Doubutu no Kankei [Yami Tribes in Botel Tobago and Their Relations with Animals]. Taiwan Hakubutu Gakkai Kaihou [Transactions of the Taiwan Natural History Society], 101:190-202.
1929. Taiwan Sekki Zidai Ibutsu Hakken Timei-hyo [The Name Lists of the Places where the Relics of the Stone Age were Excavated in Taiwan]. Shizen-gaku Zassi [Zeitschrift für Praehistorie], 1(5):53-56.
1929. Koto-syo no Keiran to Unagi [Eggs and Eels in Botel Tobago] Amiba [Amoeba], 1(2):24-25.
1929. Taiwan Yamizoku Banzin no Syuryo Seikatsu [Hunting life of the Savage Yami Tribe in Taiwan]. Amiba [Amoeba], 1(2):26-28.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zoku no Yagi no Suhai ni tsuite [The Worship to the Goat of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. Zinruigaku Zassi [Journal of Anthropology], 45(1):41-45.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zoku no Maiso-ho nit suite [Burial Method of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. Syukyo Kenkyu [Studies of Religion], 1:36-38.
1930. Taiwan Sekki Zidai Ibutsu Hakken Timei-hyo (2) [The Name Lists of the Places where the Relics of the Stone Age were Excavated in Taiwan (No. 2)]. Shizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie), 2(2):61-63.
1930. Kodai Fuzoku Kenkyu Shiryo to Site no Paiwan-zoku no Sosen-zo ni tsuite: Paiwan-zoku Sosen-zo ni kansuru Hobun Dai-ichi [Resources for the Study about the Ancient Manners and Customs and the Image of Ancestor of Paiwan Tribe in Site: The report about the Image of Paiwan Tribe, No.1], Shizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie), 2(2):68-71.
1930. Ban-zin no Touka-yo Syokubutsu [Plants for the Light Used by the Aborigines]. Amiba [Amoeba], 2(1):4-5.
1930. Taiwan Ban-zin no Seityo Sirekku [A Sacred Bird Sirek of Taiwan Aborigines]. Amiba (Amoeba), 2(1):31-33.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zoku to Aumu-gai [Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago and Nautilus]. Amiba (Amoeba), 2(1):45-46.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zokuno Yumiyanitsuite [The Bow and Arrow of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. Zinruigaku Zassi [Journal of Anthropology], 45(4):164-166.
1930. Taiwan Kodai ni okeru Kurogaki Yoto [The Use of Black persimmon in the Ancient Times in Taiwan]. Shizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie), 2(3):54.
1930. Koto-syo de Hakken seraretari Sekki ni tuite [The Stonewares excavated in Botel Tobago]. Shizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie), 2(3).

1930. Taiwan Banzoku ni Seidoki-zidai Zonzeshika [Was there the Bronze Age in the Taiwan Aborigines?]. *Zinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 45(6):242-245.
1930. Kore-kawa Deitan-so Syutudo Kotyu no Issyu ni tsuite [A Kind of the Beetle were found from the peat bed of Korekawa River]. *Shhizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie)*, 2(4):44-45.
1930. Taiwan Higashi Kaigan Kyoseki Bunka Iseki ni tsuite (1) [The Ruins of the Megalithic Culture in the East Ccoast of Taiwan Island (1)]. *Zinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 45(7):273-285.
1930. Koto-syo Banzin to Tabako [Aborigines in Botel Tobago and Cigarettes]. *Amiba (Amoeba)*, 2(2):14-15.
1930. Taiwan no Banzin to Syoga [Taiwan Aborigines and Ginger]. *Amiba (Amoeba)*, 2(2):17.
1930. Taiwan-san Syokubutsu Banmei (Sono 1) [The Lists of the Name in the Local Language of Plants in Taiwan (No.1)]. *Amiba (Amoeba)*, 2(2):78-81.
1930. Taiwan Higashi Kaigan Kyoseki Bunka Iseki ni tsuite (2) [The Ruins of the Megalithic Culture in the East Ccoast of Taiwan Island (2)]. *Zinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 45(9):362-374.
1930. Taiwan Raibunroku, Machikuru-sya hugin no Iseki [Ruins around the Raibunroku and Matikul-sya in Taiwan]. *Shizen-gaku Zassi (Zeitschrift für Praehistorie)*, 2(5):45-46.
1930. Chirigaku-tekini Mita Taiwan no Banzin (Zyou, Tyu, Ge) [Geographical Analyses of Taiwan Aborigines (No. 1, 2, 3)]. *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun [Newspaper]*, No. 15984, 15986, 15987.
1930. Kuvaran-zoku no Fune oyobi Dozoku to Am-zoku no Kankei (1) [Ships of Kavalan Tribe and the Relation between Kavalan Tribe and Yami Tribe (No. 1)]. *Zinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 45(11):441-444.
1930. Kuvaran-zoku no Fune oyobi Dozoku to Am-zoku no Kankei (2) [Ships of Kavalan Tribe and the Relation between Kavalan Tribe and Yami Tribe (No. 2)]. *Zinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 45(12):476-480.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zoku no Doubutsu-meï [The Names of Animals of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. *Amiba [Amoeba]*, 2.
1930. Koto-syo Yami-zoku no Syokubutsu-meï [The Names of Plants of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. *Amiba [Amoeba]*, 3
1931. Koto-sho Ban no Shiyo-suru Fune [Ships of the Aborigine in Botel Tobago]. *Zinruigaku Zassi [Journal of Anthropology]*, 46(7):262-272.

1932. Taiwan Banzin no Kyodo-kannen [Idea of Taiwan Aborigines' Hometown]. *Kyodo Kagaku* [Folk Science], 15:34-39.
1932. Taiwan-to ni okuru Kobito Kyozyu no Densetu [Legend of the Little Men who lived in Taiwan Island]. *Zinruigaku Zassi* [Journal of Anthropology], 47(3):103-116.
1933. Taiwan Banzin no Syuryo Seikatsu [Hunting life of the Aborigines in Taiwan]. *Koyodo Kenkyu* (*Zeitschrift für japanische Volks*), 7(1):13-35.
1934. Houdo Nantan no Shima, Koto-syo: Sono Ikimono to Banzin no Seikatsu [The Southernmost Point of the Territory of Japan, Koto-syo: Its Living Things and Life of the Aborigine]. *Kagaku Chishiki* [Scientific knowledge], 14(7):103-107.
1935. Nankai no Genshi-min: Hodono Ippen Koto-syo [The Primitive People of the Island in the South Sea: A Piece of the Territory of Japan, Koto-syo]. *Miyako Shinbun* [Newspaper], No. 17255.
1937. Taiwan Genzyu-minzoku no Zinko-mitsudo Bunpunarabini Koudo Bunpuni kansuru Tyousa: Koen Yoshi [The research about the population density and the vertical distribution of aborigines in Taiwan: the Substance of his Lecture]. *Chirigaku Hyouron* [Geological Review], 13(12):84-85.
1938. Koto-sho Yamizo kuno Taisen Kenzoto Funa-matsuri [Building a Big Boat and the Festival on Boat in the Society of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. *Jinryugaku Zassi* [Journal of Anthropology], 53(4):125-146.
1938. Taiwan Genzyu-minzoku no Zinko-mitsudo Bunpu narabini Koudo Bunpu ni kansuru Tyousa [The research about the population density and the vertical distribution of aborigines in Taiwan]. *Chirigaku Hyouron* [Geological Review], 14(8):1-19.
1938. Taiwan Genzyu-min no Zinko-mitsudo Bunpu narabini Koudo Bunpu ni kansuru Tyousa (Zoku) [The research about the population density and the vertical distribution of aborigines in Taiwan (continuation)]. *Chirigaku Hyouron* [Geological Review], 14(9):31-66.
1938. Koto-sho Yamizoku no Awa ni kansuru Noukou Girei [Agricultural Rite for planting the foxtail millet in the Society of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. *Minzoku-gaku Kenkyu* (*Studies of Ethnology*), 4(3):35-48.
1939. Koto-sho Yamizoku no Syussan ni kansuru Fusyu [The Customs about the Giving Birth in the Society of Yami Tribe in Botel Tobago]. *Nanpo Dozoku* [Ethnology of the South], 5(3-4):6-17.
1939. Taiwan Genzyu-minzoku Zinkou no Suihei-teki narabini Suityoku-teki Bunpu [Horizontal and Vertical Distribution of the Population of Taiwan Aborigines]. *Takusyoku Syorei-kan Kihou* [The Quarterly journal of the Colonial Institute of Nippon], 1(2):29-74.

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1940. Taiwan Genzyu-min no Shin Bunrui (Yoho) [The Classification of the Taiwan Aborigines (Advance Report)]. *Nihon Takusyoku-kyokai Kihou [The Quarterly Journal of the Colonial Institute of Nippon]*, 2(1):1-33.
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1941. Koto-syo Yami-zoku no Doki Seisaku [Making of Earthenwares of Yami Trive in Botel Tobago]. *Jinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 56(1):41-49.
1941. Saikin Zyunen-kanniokeru Taiwan Genzyu-minno Izyuto Zinkou-bunpu Henka [The Emigration and Change of the Population Distribution in the Society of Aborigines in Taiwan during the Past Decade]. *Nihon Takusyoku-kyokai Kihou [The Quarterly journal of the Colonial Institute of Nippon]*, 2(4):27-39.
1941. Koto-sho Hakken no Kamekan, Tonan-azia Kamekan Maiso ni kannsuru Kosatsu [The Jar Burials founded in Botel Tobago and the Considerations about the Jar Burials in Southeast Asia]. *Jinruigaku Zassi (Journal of Anthropology)*, 56(3).
1941. Taiwan Genzyu-minzoku no Bunnrui ni taisuru Ichi Shian [A Tentative Proposal for the classification of Aborigines in Taiwan]. *Minzoku-gaku Kenkyu (Studies of Ethnology)*, 7(1):1-32.
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* This list is derived from Yamasaki (2001).

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