

Japanese Geologists in China from the Late
Nineteenth Century to the Early Twentieth
Century :
Geological Explorations in the Context of Japan's
Imperialism

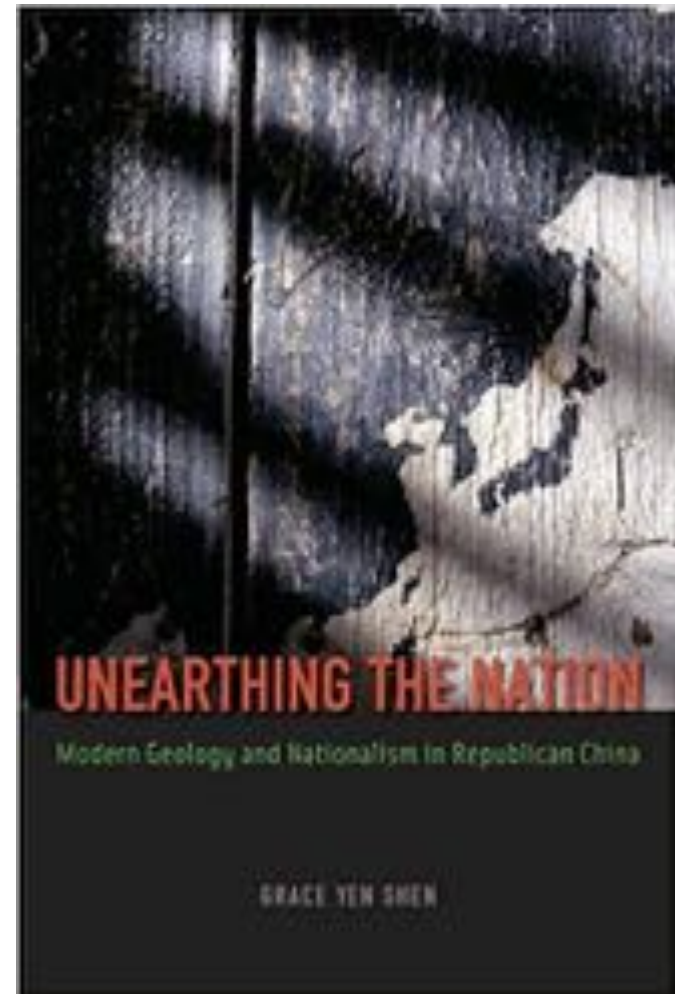
KATO Shigeo (Waseda University, Japan)

The 48th INHIGEO,
AGH University of Science and Technology, Cracow, Poland
30 July 2023

Version with some images omitted.

Grace Yen Shen, *Unearthing the Nation: Modern Geology and Nationalism in Republican China* (2014)

- A historian of science, Grace Yen Shen discusses **the development of modern geology in early twentieth century China**, especially examining **the role of fieldwork** in the Chinese geological enterprise.



Questions

- Grace Shen wrote, “*On January 18, 1915, Japan issued its Twenty-One Demands, including possession of resource-rich Manchuria and Shandong Province, control over China’s main coal deposits*”
- Why was Japan interested in underground resources in Manchuria and Shandong Province?
- How did Japan investigate underground resources in China?
- How was Japan’s policy affected by the results of investigations?

Contents of this presentation

1. The First Sino-Japanese War and Geological Survey of Mineral Resources
2. Ogawa Takuji's Geological Survey in China
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4. Comprehensive Survey of Industries in Manchuria in 1905

1. The First Sino-Japanese War and Geological Survey of Mineral Resources

The first Sino-Japanese war

- **The first Sino-Japanese war** broke out in July 1894.
- The *Treaty of Shimonoseki* was signed in April 1895. In this treaty, the Qing dynasty recognised the total independence of Korea and ceded the **Liaodong Peninsula**, Taiwan and the Pénghú Islands to Japan.

Image omitted.

KOCHIBE Tadatsugu(1854-1927)

- Before *the Treaty of Shimonoseki* was signed, a **Japanese geologist, KOCHIBE Tadatsugu** made a **geological expedition to the Liaodong Peninsula** in China from March to April 1895.
- Kocibe had learned geology from German professor **Edmund Naumann** at the **University of Tokyo** and had contributed greatly to geological surveys in various places in Japan. He became the director of the **Geological Survey Bureau** in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1893.

Image omitted.

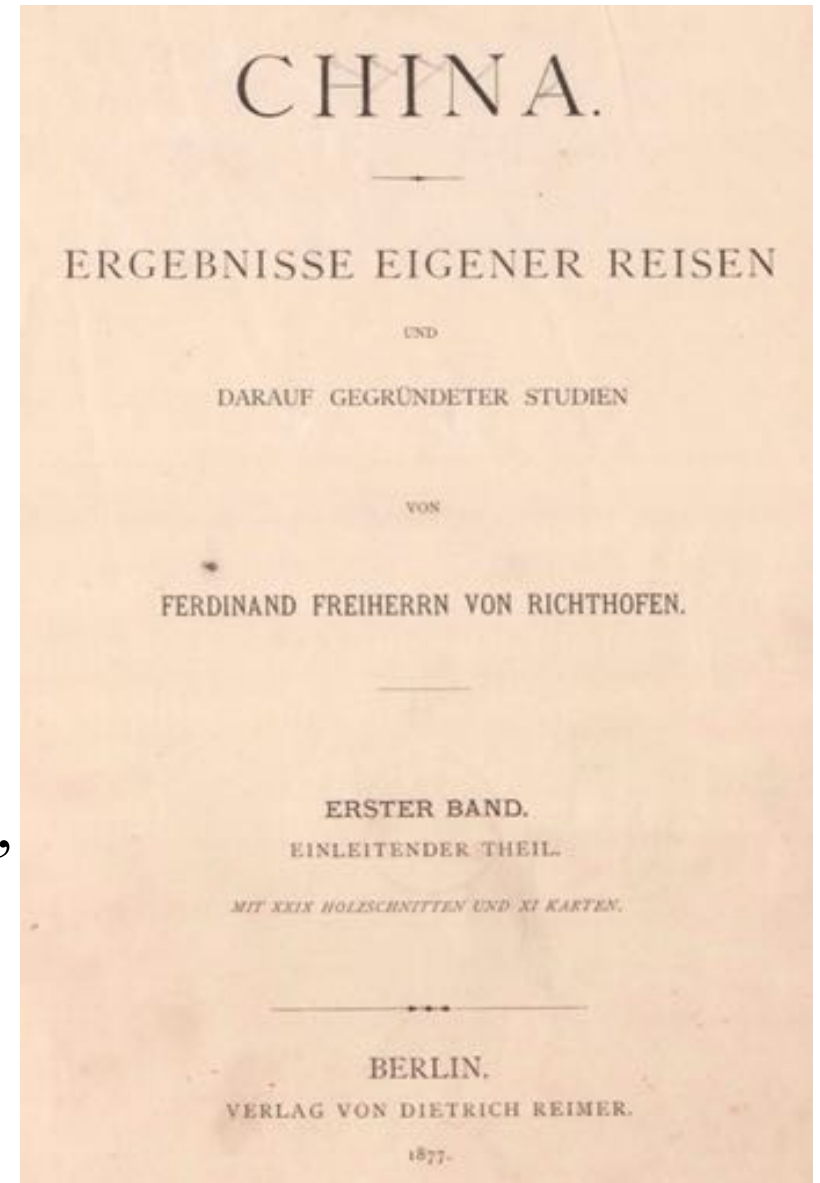
KOCHIBE Tadatsugu(1854-1927)

- Why did Kochibe go on a geological expedition so early **before the end of the war?**
- How did he make a **geological investigation** in the Liaodong Peninsula?
- What was the **result** of his geological investigation?

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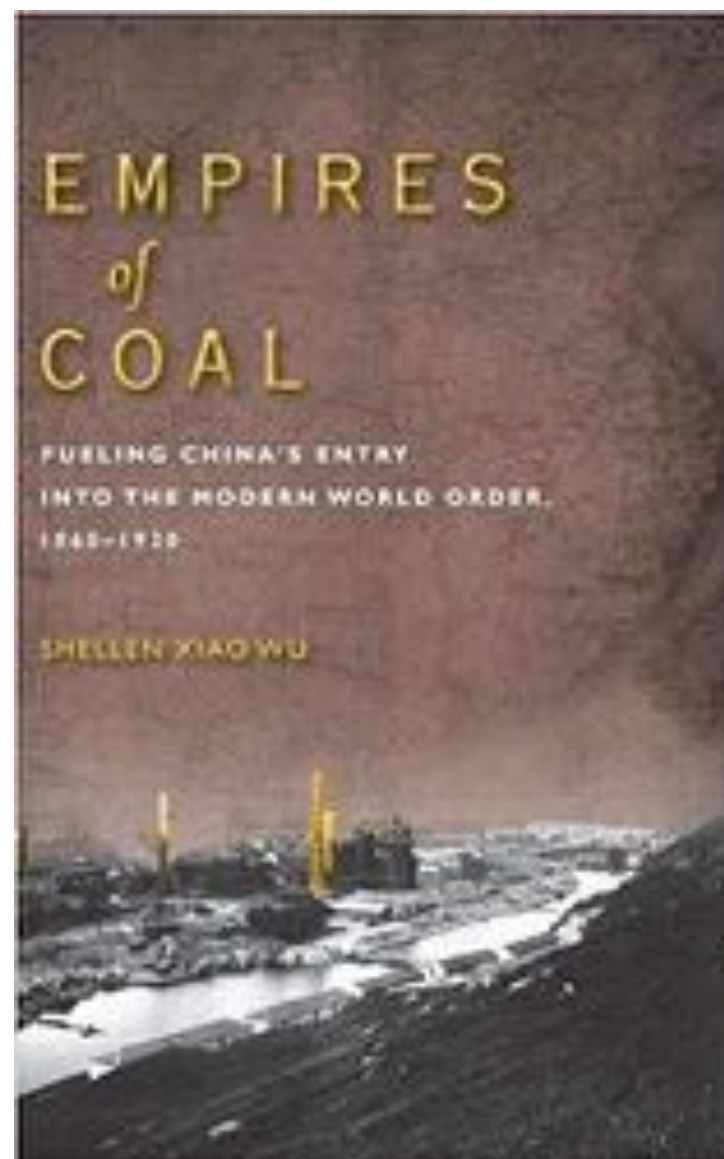
Richthofen, *China*, vol. 1 (1877) and vol. 2 (1882)

- Of course, Kochibe was not the first geologist who went on a geological expedition to the Liaodong Peninsula. German geographer and geologist, **Ferdinand von Richthofen** travelled in China from 1868 to 1872, and he investigated in the **Liaodong Peninsula**.
- Richthofen published his famous book *China* in 1877. He described geography, geology, climate, transportation networks, regional trade, and industries in his book.



Richthofen, *China*, vol. 1 (1877) and vol. 2 (1882)

- Richthofen sent letters to **Otto von Bismarck**, the Chancellor of the German Empire and suggested establishing a **German naval base** in China.
- **Richthofen's imperialistic ambition** was discussed in Shellen Wu's book, *Empires of Coal: Fueling China's Entry into the Modern World Order, 1860-1920* (2015).



Richthofen's journey in Liaodong in May 1869 (*China*, vol.2)

UMGEGEND VON YING-TSZÉ-KÓU.

71

REISE IN LIAU-TUNG, ODER DEM ÖSTLICH VOM LIAU GELEGENEN
THEIL VON SHÖNG-KING.

Von *Ying-tszé-kóu* an der Mündung des *Liau*, an der Nordwestküste hinab,
nach *Wu-hö-shui* an der *Society-Bay* (Mai 22—27, 1869).

Entfernungen in *li*:

Ying-tszé — *Kai-ping-hüen* 70 — *Hsiung-yü-tshing* 55 — *Li-kwan-tshun* 40 — *Ma-tshang* 72

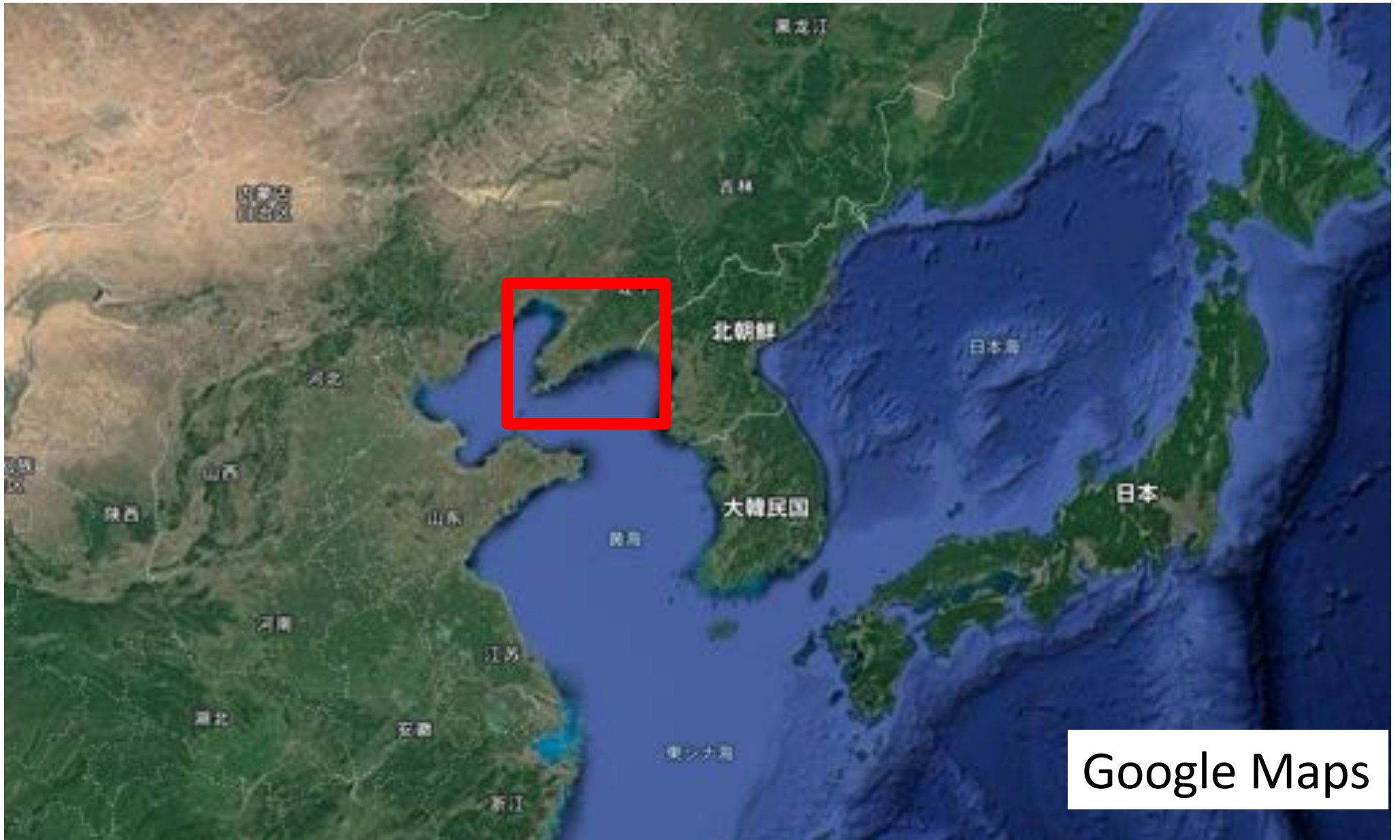
Twenty six years before Kochibe's expedition, Richthofen made a geological expedition to the Liaodong Peninsula in May 1869 on his third journey in China.

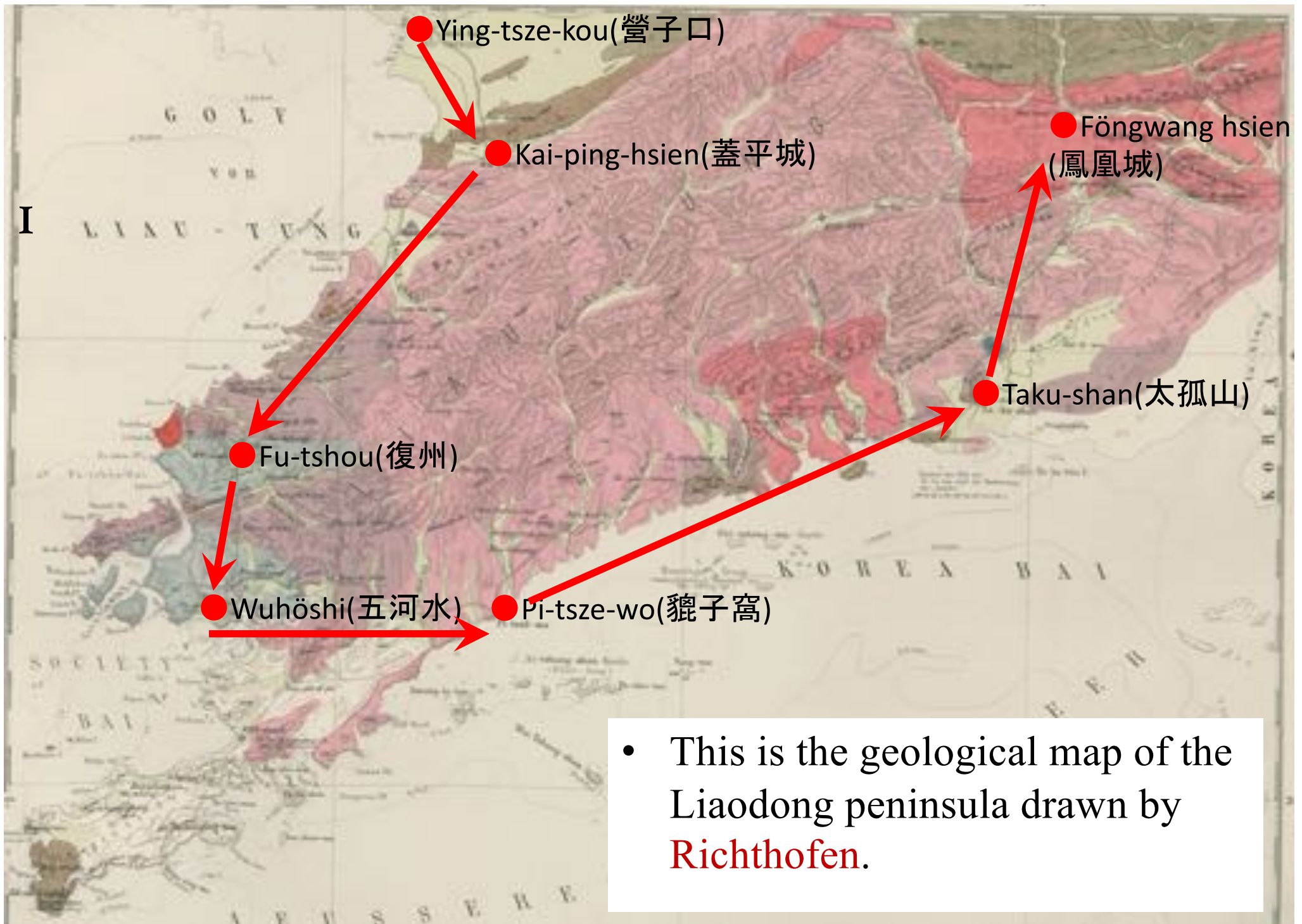
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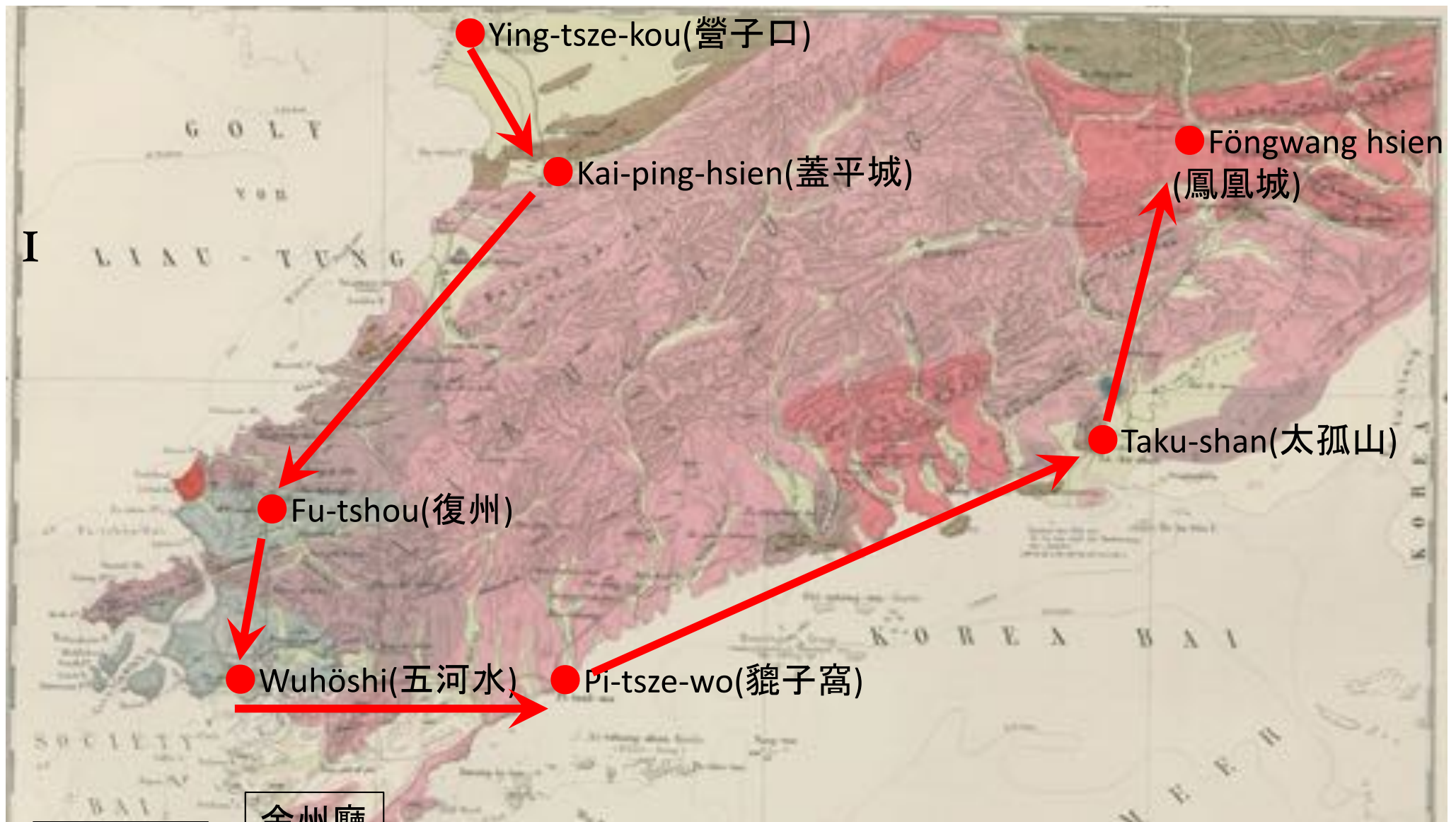
unter diesem ist der Ort allgemein bekannt geworden. Auf seine Bedeutung als Handelsplatz werde ich weiter unten, nach der Darstellung des von ihm aus versorgten Landes, zurückkommen. Die Alluvialebene, in der er liegt, ist nach Osten und Norden

rf, doch
vertrags-
tshwang,
en, und

Liaodong Peninsula







The **area drawn in pink** is the largest in the Liaodong Peninsula.

According to Richthofen, this rock layer of pink area includes **gneiss** and this rock layer is the **Archeozoic** and is one of the **oldest rock layers** in China.

Mineral resources in the Liaodong Peninsula are scarce

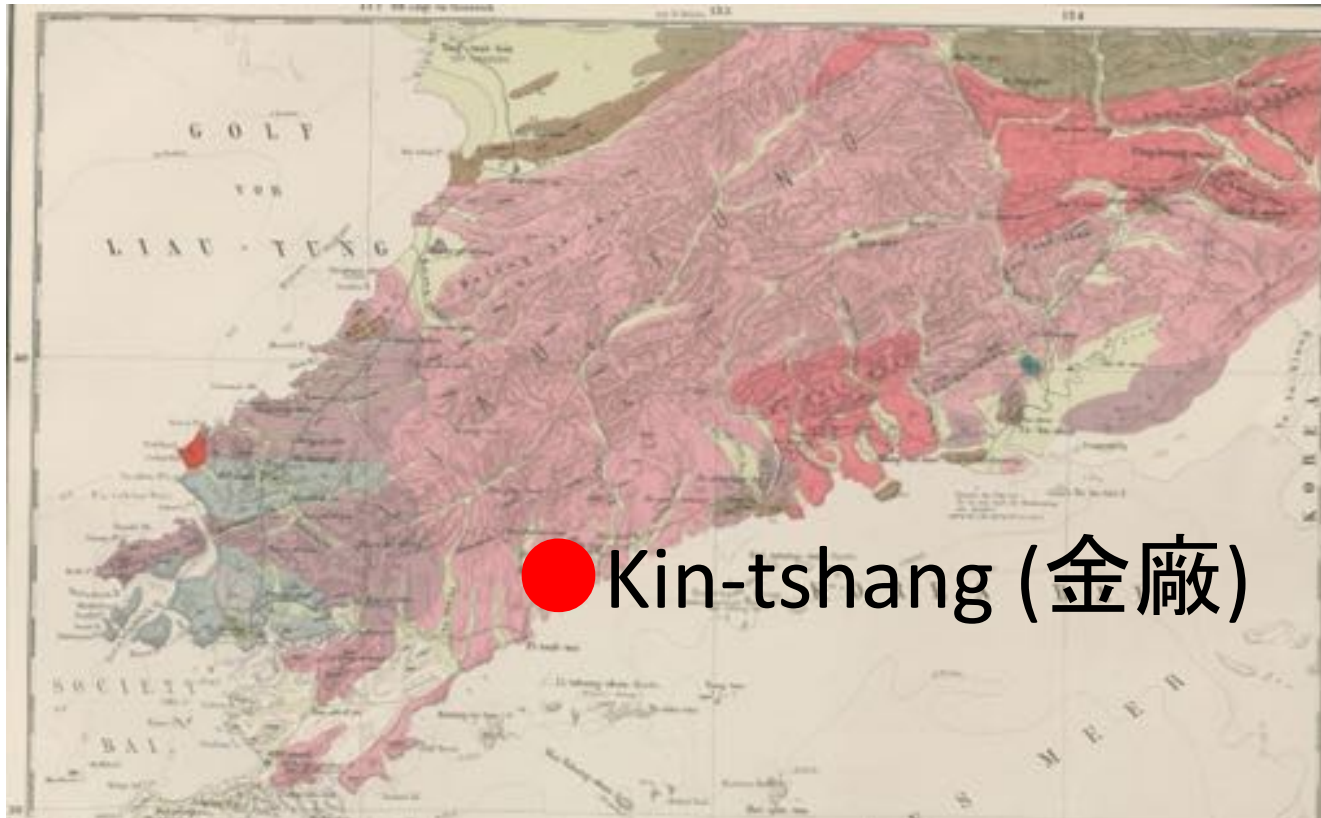
- Richthofen also mentioned **valuable minerals in the Liaodong Peninsula** such as gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, limestone, and marble.
- He concluded that **mineral resources were scarce**, except for iron. However even iron was not so rich.
- Now, back to the question of **why Japanese geologists went on a geological expedition so early** before the end of the first Sino-Japanese war.

SHIRAI Shintaro(1862-1932)

- A trading merchant SHIRAI Shintaro visited China in 1884.
- While he was engaged in **trading with China**, he became involved in the establishment of the *Oriental Association* in 1891.
- The *Oriental Association* was a study group about Asia. And Shirai made the **acquaintances with influential politicians**.

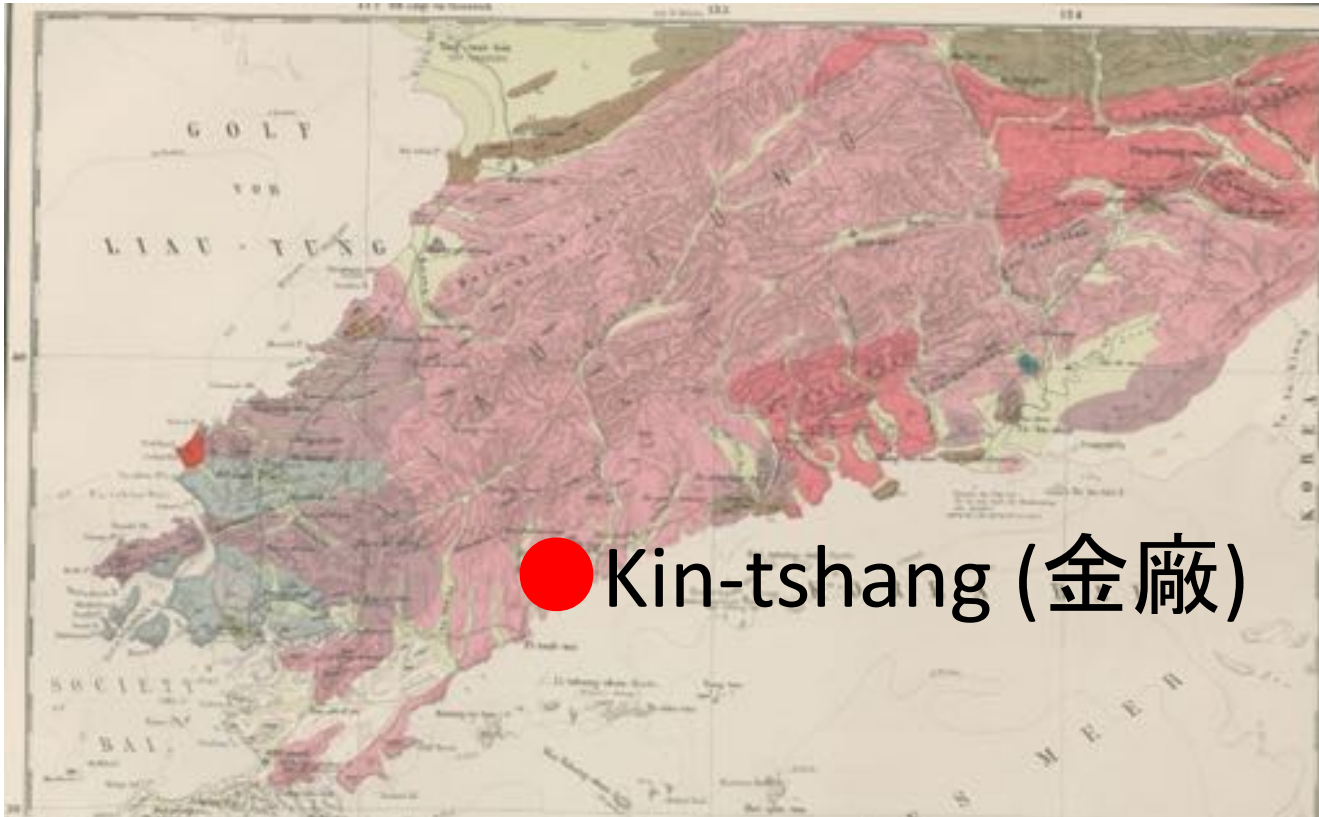
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Shirai's Prospecting for gold at Kin-tshang (金廠)



- Shirai visited Jīnchǎng(金廠) in the Liaodong Peninsula and he **prospected for gold** in January 1895 during the war.
- After Shirai realised the **possibility of the production of gold**, he reported it to the **Imperial General Headquarters**.

Shirai's Prospecting for gold at Kin-tshang (金廠)



● Kin-tshang (金廠)

- The **Imperial General Headquarters** had the supreme command of both of the Japanese **army and the navy**. The head of the Imperial General Headquarters was the emperor of Japan.

Imperial General Headquarter's order

- **Shirai's report** had some influence on decision making by the Imperial General Headquarters. In February 1895, The **Imperial General Headquarters** ordered **Kochibe** and **OKI Tatsuo** to make a geological and mineral survey in the Liaodong Peninsula.
- Oki graduated from the **Department of Mining Engineering** at the **Imperial College of Engineering** and had worked as a mining engineer at the **Bureau of Mines** in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

Image omitted.

←Imperial College
of Engineering

Geological map by Kochibe

Taipingling(太平嶺) ●
● Jinchang
(金廠)

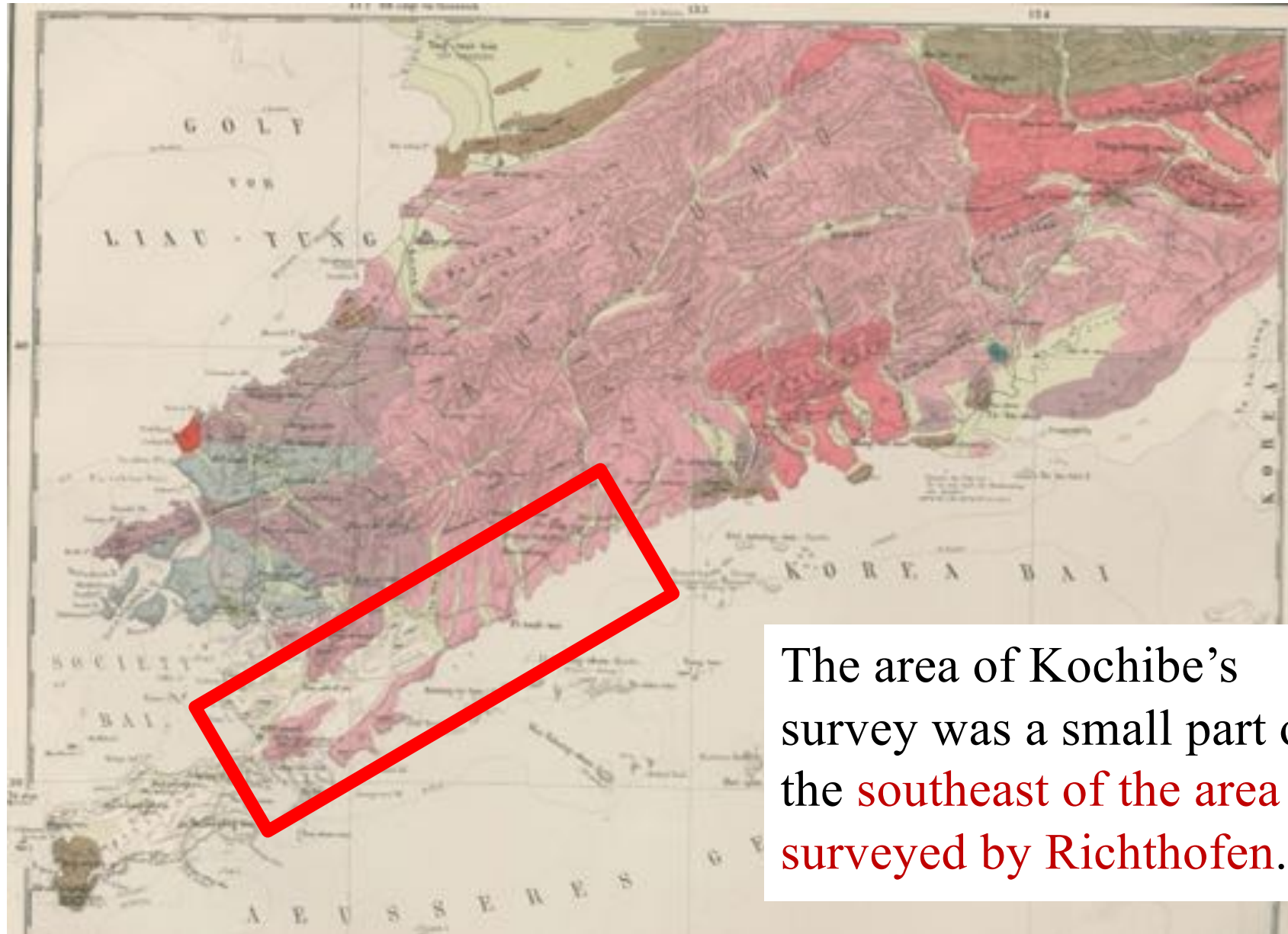
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Kochibe geologically investigated from Jīnzhōu(金州) to Tàipínglǐng(太平嶺).

● Jinzhou(金州)

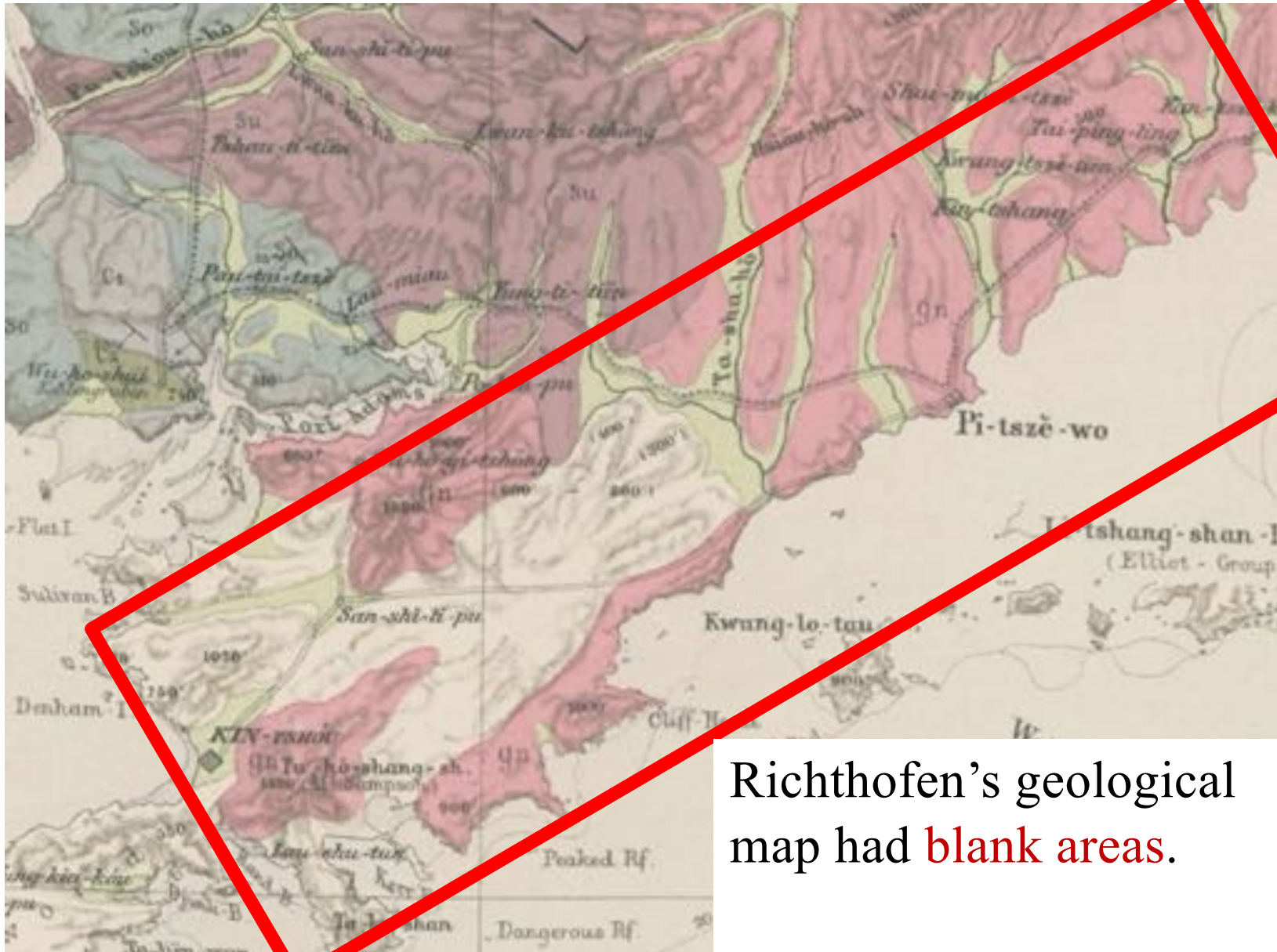
● Dalian wan(大連灣)

Area of Kochibe's survey on Richthofen's map



The area of Kochibe's survey was a small part of the **southeast of the area surveyed by Richthofen.**

Area of Kochibe's survey on Richthofen's map



Richthofen's geological map had **blank areas**.

‘Lower-Gneiss Formation’

Kochibe named this light green area as the oldest stratum ‘Lower-Gneiss Formation’. The ‘Lower-Gneiss Formation’ was the largest in the area where Kochibe conducted a geological survey in the Liaodong Peninsula.

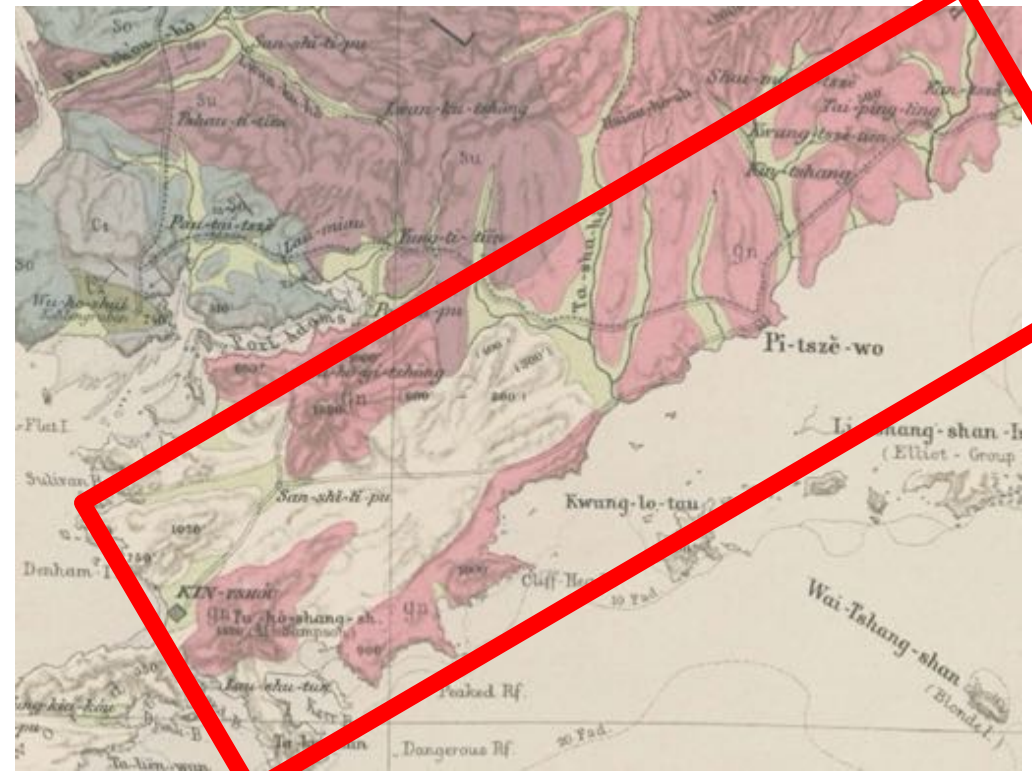


Image omitted.

- Jinzhou(金州)
- Dalian wan(大連灣)

Comparison of the oldest stratum including gneiss

Image omitted.



‘**Lower-Gneiss Formation**’ can be compared with the rock layer drawn in **pink on Richthofen’s geological map**. According to Richthofen, this stratum of pink area also included **gneiss** as the main component.

Comparison of two maps

Lower-Gneiss Formation

Igneous Rock

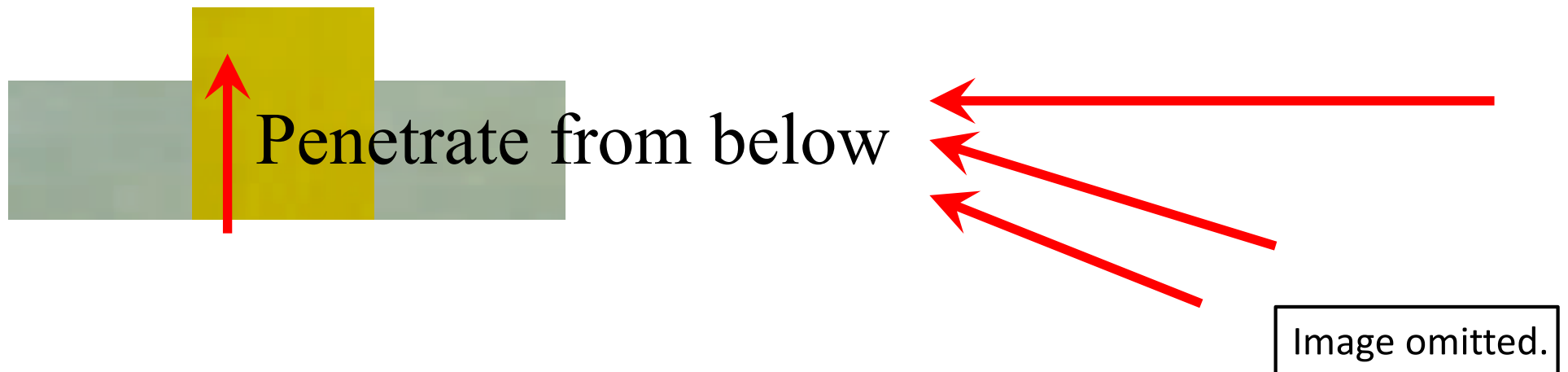
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Upper-Gneiss Formation

Kochibe discovered **igneous rock**, but Richthofen did not find igneous rock in this area. According to Kochibe, the **quartz porphyry** was distributed in the **yellow areas** in Kochibe's geological map.

Quartz porphyry

Kochibe realized that the quartz porphyry penetrated the Lower-Gneiss Formation from below and exposed on the ground in several places.



Locations of gold production

In this map, the **red points** indicate the locations of **gold production**. Yellow areas indicate the stratum of the quartz porphyry. Kochibe conjectured that the **gold veins** were **derived from igneous rock**, especially the quartz porphyry.

Image omitted.

How to find gold

Kochibe triumphantly suggested that if someone wanted to find the place of production of gold in an occupied territory by Japan then person should look for the layer of igneous rock.

Image omitted.

Oki's opinion on gold mine

- However, a mining engineer **Oki was pessimistic**. He estimated the value of gold produced around Jīnzhōu at **sixty thousand Japanese yen a year**.
- The value of gold produced in California in a year was **over one thousand times** more than the value of gold produced around Jīnzhōu.
- Oki said that a proper method of gold mining would increase the amount of gold production. However, **large hydraulic constructions were required to concentrate gold**. Oki insisted that it was **impossible to earn back the cost of investment**.

Image omitted.

Oki's conclusion on the mining industry in the Liaodong Peninsula

- Judging from **both his investigations and the general geological structure** in the Liaodong Peninsula, Oki supposed that **there were very few underground resources** in the Liaodong Peninsula.
- He concluded that the **mining industry could not develop in the Liaodong Peninsula.**

Image omitted.

Tokyo Geographical Society dispatched Professor Jimbou

- *Tokyo Geographical Society* dispatched **JIMBOU Kotoru**, professor of geology at **Tokyo Imperial University** to Liaodong peninsula.
- Jimbou arrived at on July 6 and return to Tokyo on October 3.

Image omitted.

Jimbou Kotoru
(神保小虎, 1867-1924)

What did Prof. Jimbou report ?

- Jimbou reported that “all mines in Liaodong peninsula are **extremely poor**” (*Journal of Geography*, 10 November)
- How did **geology students** see these surveys by governmental and academic geologists ?

●遼東の礦物の富 遼東に於ける礦物の富特に
鎮山の富は最も少し鞍子宮旅順普蘭店及復州等の金銀
銅の石炭復州の鉄は皆少量にして言ふに足らず大連
灣地方には印刷用に擬すへき石版石の産出あり燒て石
灰と製すへき石灰あり然れども安東縣九連城岫巖海城
邊には石炭と産するも同さし所々往きて見れば石炭も何
もなく銅と産するといふも跡方なきの類多し唯遼東の特

Geology Majors' Thoughts

- A student excited to see their masters' geological surveys in Liaodong peninsula.
- He wrote that “masters such as **Dr. Kochibe and Prof. Jimbou** went to Liaodong peninsula and carried out geological surveys. **We students regreted** that we could not join their surveys.”

Image omitted.

OGAWA Takuji

- He was **OGAWA Takuji** who later became famous geologist and geographer and also known as father of **YUKAWA Hideki** who was the first Japanese Nobel laureate for physics.
- In later years, Ogawa proposed **global tectonic theory** that explained the structure of **the earth's surface** as the result of activity of **deep interior** of the earth.

Image omitted.

Ogawa Takuji
(小川琢治 1870–1941)

2. Ogawa Takuji's Geological Survey in China

Geography of Taiwan Islands

- After Japan's appropriation of Taiwan, *Tokyo Geographical Society* asked **Prof. Jimbou** to write geography of Taiwan. He passed it to **Ogawa**.
- Ogawa referred to Chinese historical materials and published *The Geography of Taiwan* in 1896.
- Next year he graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and found his job at **the Geological Survey Bureau**.



Ogawa explored for mineral resources in China

- From 1902 to 1903 Ogawa visited **China** several times and **explored for mineral resources**. Those visits were not planned by **the Imperial General Headquarters** but by **WADA Tsunashiro**.
- Wada was a **mineralogist**, the first director of the **Geological Survey Bureau**, ex-director of the **Bureau of Mines**, and ex-director of the **Yahata Ironworks**.

Image omitted.

Wada Tsunashiro
(和田維四郎 1856–1920)

Wada's geological survey of China with his personal connection

- Wada was interested in **importing iron ore from China** and he had personal connection with geologists, politicians and business leaders in Japan.
- Wada appointed **Ogawa** and a mining engineer **HOSOI Iwaya** of the **Bureau of Mines** and **YAMADA Kunihiko**, professor of mining engineering at **Kyoto Imperial University** to investigate **mineral resources in China**.
- Wada asked his former classmate **KOMURA Jutaro**, the **Minister of Foreign Affairs** to support him.

Image omitted.

Wada's geological survey of China with his personal connection

- **Wada** had connection with Colonell **TACHIBANA Koichiro** who was a **military advisor** of **Yuan Shikai**, a powerful figure in the army and politics in China.
- **Wada** asked **Yuan Shikai** to support him through **Tachibana**.

Image omitted.

The Russo-Japanese War and Ogawa

- The Russo-Japanese War broke out in February 1904.
- Japan's army defeated Russia at the battle of Liaoyang and occupied Yantai coal mine in September 1904. Yantai coal mine had been run by Russia.
- The Imperial General Headquarters needed coal for army as fuel in winter, so intended to use Yantai coal mine. The Imperial General Headquarters ordered Ogawa Takuji and Hosoi Iwaya to investigate Yantai coal mine on August 30th before the end of the battle.

Image omitted.

The Imperial General Headquarters mobilized Ogawa and Hosoi in September 1904

- Although **Kochibe** and **Wada** worried for **Ogawa**, he went to the war front **in military uniform**.
- Ogawa investigated **coal field** geologically and Hosoi examined a method of **coal mining**.
- Besides, **Another geological survey** of mineral resources in Manchuria was planned in same month as follows.

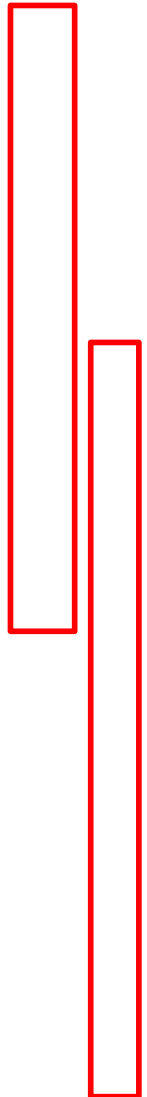
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3. Geological Survey of Gold Ore during the Russo-Japanese war

Geological Survey of Gold Ore in Manchuria, 1904

- KIYOURA Keigo the **Minister of Agriculture and Commerce** asked TERAUCHI Masatake, the **Minister of Army** to employ **eight geologists** for geological survey of **gold ore** in area under Japanese occupation in **Manchuria** on September 30th, 1904.

Image omitted.



Geological Survey and Army, The Imperial General Headquarters

- The **Imperial General Headquarters** had taken the initiative of this geological survey.
- Geologists were divided to **four groups** which explored each of **four areas**.
- They explored for **gold ore** from October 1904 to January 1905.



Image omitted.

Report on Gold Ore in Manchuria, 1905

- A report on **gold ore in Manchuria** was submitted to the **Imperial General Headquarters** on August 2nd, 1905.
- Geologists reported as follows.
 - Area 1: “**Liaodong peninsula is lack of promising gold vein**”
 - Area 3: “**We could not discover promising gold vein**”
 - Area 4: “**There is no mine that deserve to run**”

Image omitted.

Report on Gold Ore in Area 2

- Area 2: “We were so busy to investigate Benxihu coalfield and Yantai coal mine that we did not explore gold ore.”
- Geologists could not find any promising gold vein in all areas.
- In the area 2, they were devoted to investigate coal mine the same as Ogawa.

Image omitted.

Geological Survey in Korea

- After that survey in Manchuria, a part of geologists joined the **geological survey in the whole Korea**, which was conducted by the **Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce** (December 1904 – January 1906).
- The result of the survey was reported as *The Report on Mining in Korea* in 1906.
- On the other hand, **comprehensive survey of various industries was done in Manchuria** immediately after the Russo-Japanese war.

4. Comprehensive Survey of Industries in Manchuria in 1905

Comprehensive Survey of Industry in Manchuria

- The Russo-Japanese War ended in September 1905.
- From October to December, **comprehensive survey of industries in Manchuria** was done.
- In this survey the following industries were explored.
 - 1. Agriculture, 2. Forestry,
 - 3. Sericulture and Livestock industry, 4. Brewing industry,
 - 5. Commerce and Manufacturing industry,
 - 6. Cotton industry, 7. Fisheries, 8. **Mining industry**

Driving Force of the Survey of Industry in Manchuria

Image omitted.

- ISHIZUKA Eizo, the **Civil Administrator of Kwantung Leased Territory** wrote that this survey was originated by him.
- Ishizuka was controlled by General KODAMA Gentaro who was the **Chief of General Staff of Japanese Army in Manchuria**.



Survey of Mining Industry in Manchuria

- In this survey of **mining industry**, the whole area was divided to **five areas**. Each area was examined by geologists and mining engineers.
- They explored mines of **gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and coal**.
- The area 2 was investigated by **Ogawa Takuji** and **OHASHI Takichi** of the **Geological Survey Bureau** who had also participated in the geological survey of gold ore in Manchuria.
- They explored around **Houten**, especially **Fushun coal mine** in great detail.

Survey of Fushun Coal Mine

- Ogawa and Ohashi reported that **quality of coal at Fushun** was the closest to coal produced in Japan.
- They concluded that the Fushun coal mine could produce **2 million tons per year** for several decades at least.
- Actually Fushun coal mine produced 23,000 tons in 1907, over **2 million tons** in 1914 and over **9 million tons** in 1937.

Image omitted.

Concluding Remarks(1)

- **Japanese Army** took **initiative** in some geological surveys of mineral resources in China between 1895 and 1905.
- A trading merchant proposed geological exploration of gold to the **Imperial General Headquarters**.
- The **Imperial General Headquarters** were interested in **military** and **industrial** value of **mineral resources**. The Imperial General Headquarters did not concern only to the **battle itself** but also the **administration** of Manchuria.

Concluding Remarks(2)

- Japanese geologists and mining engineers explored underground resources in China and reported that there were **very few underground resources** except for **coal** by 1905.
- However, the Japanese military **remained interested** in underground resources in China.
- This is the research on only the earliest geological exploration by Japanese geologists. It is necessary to examine **succeeding geological explorations** to answer my research questions.

Thank you very much
for your attention