The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue

Toyo University
The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue
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Preface

Makio Takemura  Ph.D.
President of Toyo University
August 1, 2011

Toyo University originally began as a private Academy of Philosophy (Tetsugakukan) founded by Dr. Enryo Inoue in 1887 (Meiji 20) when he was twenty-nine years old. Now it has developed into one of the leading private universities in Japan, having ten faculties and eleven graduate schools. As the original name indicates, it was “a single school specializing in philosophy,” namely a vocational college teaching philosophy. In 2012 (Heisei 24), Toyo University will celebrate its long history of 125 years.

The founding spirit of Dr. Inoue was to educate students in philosophy in order for them to gain the ability to examine the essence of things deeply. Moreover, such learning was intended to help students to develop their own identity, intelligence and morality so as to give them the foundation for contribution towards the creation of a prosperous society. In addition, Dr. Inoue valued social education and hence provided social education of the general populace through his numerous nationwide lectures over a long period of time.

This book, The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue, reviews the founder’s life and thought as well as the history of Toyo University. Though brief, this
book examines so many significant matters that I believe it is a valuable source for research on modern Japanese education.

I hope this book will provide an opportunity for many people to learn about the educational spirit of Toyo University and come to care for Toyo University and Japanese culture.

Hopefully the book will be a stimulus that encourages many people to come to Toyo University as exchange students and visiting researchers from outside Japan.

Finally, I will like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Miyauchi and his editorial staff for the completion of an English translation of this book.
Preface to the Original Version

“History is made each contemporary day!”
Munetaka Iijima

Time changes a lot of things. However, each era leaves that which cannot be easily changed and that which never changes. Time is irreversible; however, it recurrently changes the present. Time seems a trifle, while many things are changed by human endeavor.

The past 100 years have seen the Academy of Philosophy (Tetsugakukan) change from its early foundation into the Toyo University of today. These footprints of events, the ups and downs of the school, have been accompanied by the checkered years 1887 – 1987 for Japan and the world. This same period brought development for people in their knowledge, feelings, and perceptions. That Toyo University could endure such a tumultuous period is worthy of congratulations. I would like to celebrate this 100th stage of its history.

On the other hand, if asked to explain what has not changed at Toyo University since its inception, no easy answer comes to mind. This is true of other universities as well. Each university has a founder and the spirit of its foundation, but over time the spirit diminishes. Most universities, in their present circumstances, have been unable to retain their original spirit. Thus, becoming a “multiversity” has caused the diminishment of the original spirit.
Expansion is not necessarily good for a university, unlike the case of a company (though growth may also not be good for companies). If a university is not to become insubstantial through diminished spirit in the present situation of popularized university education, the faculty must overcome serious challenges to maintain or realize the original intent of the founder.

History is made each contemporary day, by contemporary people—not only moving forward but also looking backward. By giving contemporary meaning to past facts, history exists. Future history can be made with every advance by giving meaning to past lessons learned. This is also true of tradition. Standing at the threshold of its second century, Toyo University has come of age to outline its history and traditions and to reflect them in its management and education. Objectively, time seems to provide a favorable situation.

The consideration of these things reminds one of the wishes and educational principles of Dr. Enryo Inoue. There are tremendous differences between Dr. Inoue and his situation in 1887 (Meiji 20) and that of ourselves in 1987 (Showa 62). Dr. Inoue devoted his whole life to non-governmental education through school, social, and family education. Fortunately, I think, his educational principles resonate with us today, and these principles are suitable for the history and tradition of the present Toyo University.

<January, 1987 (Showa 62) Former professor of
the Faculty of Literature>
Foreword to the English Translation

By Setsuo Miura
Professor of the Department of Human Life Design
Researcher of the Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center
August, 2011

The original edition of this book was published in 1987 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Toyo University. In 1978, ten years before the 100th Anniversary of Toyo University, The Research Association of Enryo Inoue started with three groups for the study of Dr. Inoue, the founder of Toyo University, and his achievements. The third group was formed with researchers in philosophy and social science, including myself. Its purpose was to view Dr. Inoue within the context of the modern history of Japan, and make new objective research based on recently collected materials.

When the third group had studied for five years, and was looking for the next research step, Prof. Iijima, a member from the Department of Philosophy, reported The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue. Hiroo Takagi, chief of the group and a professor of the Faculty of Sociology, highly praised his report, and proposed to make the Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue the comprehensive theme of the third group.

With unanimous approval from the research
members, the third group started its comprehensive study based on each individual member’s research, a process which continued for three years. The third group through its ten-year research achieved much in basic understanding, leading to a comprehensive picture of Enryo Inoue. As a result, a new image of Dr. Enryo Inoue emerged.

Meanwhile, Toyo University was active in its 100th Anniversary commemorative projects. The Memorial Publication Committee originally planned to publish a collection of Dr. Inoue’s impressive words in a more accessible style, _Enryo Inoue_, and this suggestion was accepted.

As a result, Professor Takagi became the project supervisor, and I was selected as the writer of the book. However, this abrupt change of plan caused great difficulties.

In the very year of the 100th Anniversary, Professor Takagi (a member of the publication committee) proposed that the university publish the life of Enryo Inoue and his educational principles as a pocket book entitled _The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue_. Although there were already research results made through the comprehensive studies of the third group, they were essentially academic research products. We could not use these materials directly for writing this book. It took time to put the research results into a book that could be easily understood by general readers.

In a short period of approximately six months, overcoming various barriers, Professor Takagi and I
worked hard and finally could produce the first version of this book The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue just before the Anniversary Day of Toyo University on November 23.

This book was designed on the one hand to comprise the educational philosophy of Enryo Inoue and the history of Toyo University while on the other hand adding his biography and thoughts. Perhaps as a consequence, after the publication of the first edition, there arose a movement within the university to look for a new educational principle for the university which would start with recognition of the origin of the foundation of the university from a fresh perspective. It was a symbol of this movement that the Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center was soon organized and has been managed directly by the university board. Since then, this book has been revised upon the request of the university, then published and distributed throughout the university.

By Atsuo Miyauchi
Professor of the Faculty of Life Sciences
May, 2011

Years ago when I was one of the researchers at the Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center (2003-5), I translated most parts of this book into English. Last year I proposed the publication of an English version of this book for the 125th Anniversary of
Toyo University in 2012. Soon after my proposal was accepted by President Makio Takemura and the university board, I formed a translation group, inviting Professor Robert Hughes (the Faculty of Regional Development Studies) as a translation re-writer, Professor Nicholas Lambert (the Faculty of Human Life Design) for proofreading, and Professor Miura for references.

In these days of globalization, there is a need to explain Toyo University to those outside of Japan. Many international students and visiting researchers from other countries have been coming to Toyo University; therefore, the university should define what kind of university it is and what learning is offered. Hopefully, for readers, this book can convey the spirit and history of Toyo University as well as the general history of higher education development in Japan since the Meiji era. It is my desire that many people read this book and come to know how Toyo University was established through the educational motto of its founder Dr. Enryo Inoue: “All learning lies in philosophy.” This is a very unique principle in the history of education in Japan.

The book jacket was designed by Mr. Seiji Kanie, who already designed the cover of the Japanese version. Lastly, I want to express my sincere gratitude to him and the other Toyo staff involved in the publication of this English version.
I
Growth Process of the Educational Principles
1. Establishing the Academy of Philosophy

Philosophy as the Starting Point of Establishment

Toyo University originally began as a private Academy of Philosophy (Tetsugakukan) in 1887 (Meiji 20). The Japanese word ‘tetsugaku’ means philosophy and ‘kan’ means academy or house. At first, as the name indicates, it was “a single school specializing in philosophy,” namely it was a vocational college teaching philosophy. In the century since its establishment, the school has changed due to decisions or external circumstances. However, the spirit of the foundation of the original Academy of Philosophy has been consistently retained without any amendment. This is symbolically preserved in the motto “The basis of all learning lies in philosophy.” Toyo University has faithfully upheld the educational belief of its founder Enryo Inoue.

Enryo Inoue, the founder of the Academy of Philosophy thought that “philosophy is essential learning for the art of cultivating thought,” and therefore, humans need to study philosophy to cultivate their minds, just as they need physical exercise to train their bodies. As such, the Academy of
Philosophy taught philosophy, but the goal was not to foster philosophers. Its educational purpose was to provide ordinary people with a foundation for perception through a study of philosophy.

Private universities established in the Meiji era like Toyo University were originally vocational colleges characterized by their professional field. Such schools could be classified broadly into two categories. In the first category were the schools for practical studies in law, medicine and other professions. For progress and enlightenment, these schools spread new learning, knowledge, and techniques that were introduced from Western countries.

In the second category were the schools established for specific religious beliefs. The purpose of these schools included proselytizing as in the case of Christian missionaries or the education and training of Buddhist priests. The Academy of Philosophy certainly included learning brought from the West, but it was characterized and taught as the search for universal and fundamental truth. Training of students in religion was also one of the purposes of the Academy because philosophy could be applied to religion, but this education was not limited to a specific religion or sect. Considering this dichotomy, the Academy did not fall into either category. The school had such unique educational content that it was an unprecedented educational program.

Specific vocational colleges develop their characteristics from the spirit of their foundation regardless of whether it was an individual or a group
of founders. The characteristics of each college influence the educational principles that are in effect. This is entirely derived from the founder’s own principles which are reflected in the initial founding spirit. A founder’s principles are derived from various factors such as educational attainment, religious beliefs, environmental factors, social situation, friendships and professional acquaintances. This was very much the case with Enryo Inoue, the founder of the Academy of Philosophy. It was from his unique background that he realized the importance of philosophy. To understand the beginning of Toyo University, a study of these background influences is essential.

Encounter with the West

Enryo Inoue entered the Department of Philosophy of the Literature Faculty, Tokyo University at the age of 24 in September, 1881 (Meiji 14). Historically, this school was called Tokyo University in 1877 (Meiji 10), the Imperial University in 1886 (Meiji 19), Tokyo Imperial University in 1897 (Meiji 30), and since World War II, Tokyo University again. Here, Enryo Inoue first encountered philosophy. Long after these studies, Enryo Inoue acknowledged that the truth for which he had been searching for many years was not found in Confucianism, Buddhism or Christianity, but was found only in the philosophy which was studied in Europe. From his comment, it is clear he groped for
clarity in his own thinking at a time characterized by completely uncertain values. This is a portrait of the young Inoue in agony searching for “truth” in the early stage of the Meiji era.

Ten years prior to the Imperial Restoration of 1868, Enryo Inoue was born the eldest son of the head priest living in Jikoji Temple of the Shinshu-Otani sect in Ura, Nagaoka City, in Niigata Prefecture. In Shinshu Sect Buddhism, the eldest son was to be the temple successor and so young Enryo was trained to be the successor from his childhood. He always carried his prayer beads in his hand, and the parishioners treated him as the future inheritor of the temple. Buddhism which had long been stable as the state religion in the Tokugawa period and was supported by the parish system (Danka-seido) went into decline. Through an anti-Buddhism movement, the early Meiji government was trying to replace Buddhism with Shintoism (the Japanese animistic religion) as the state religion.

A song reflecting the social phases of those days went Iranumono yumiya daisho chaki no rui, bozu yamabushi satewa oyakusha (“Useless are things like bows and arrows, swords, and tea-wear. In addition, so are monks, itinerant monks, actors, and actresses”). Inoue was burdened with the fate of succeeding as temple priest amidst deteriorating social conditions. Reflecting on those days, Inoue later said that he had wished to escape from the world of Buddhism as quickly as possible. At the time, escaping such hereditary duty was almost impossible. The
social conditions of those days may have triggered doubt about Buddhism in his young mind, and thus the beginning of his search for other ideas.

He began to learn Chinese Literature under Tadanori Ishiguro from the age of ten. This old traditional subject was considered indispensable for the refined elite. Ishiguro, who later became an army surgeon superintendent-general, had good knowledge of the West, and a preference for Western tastes and styles. Ishiguro introduced his students to a new world; for instance, he gave sheets of “western paper” as prizes when students (including Enryo Inoue) got good marks on exams.

With Ishiguro, Inoue studied Confucianism, and at the same time he had his first encounter with the West. Enryo Inoue was born in 1858 (Ansei 5) when the United States-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce, or the Harris Treaty (Nichibei Shuko Tsusho Joyaku) was signed. The 1854 treaty was in response to Matthew Calbraith Perry’s demands after he sailed into Tokyo Bay with a fleet of Black Ships. Perry demanded the Tokugawa government to open diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and Japan. Using this opportunity, two political groups emerged in Japan: the sabaku faction with a conservative ideology aimed at the maintenance of Shogunal rule and the kinno faction, a group aiming to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate and to restore imperial rule.

These antagonists confronted each other, which led to civil war and the birth of the Meiji Restoration.
In 1868 (Keio 4) when Enryo Inoue was ten years old, his life was influenced by the Hokuetsu-Boshin Civil War. The Nagaoka clan government of his birthplace was defeated and captured by the new government’s troops. Imagine how strong an impression was made on a young mind with the conversion of the old order to the new order.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan turned towards the advanced European countries, with an eagerness to import Occidental culture, various learning, religion and other matters under the name of civilization and enlightenment. The spirit of the times rejected traditional Japanese thought as archaic, and shifted towards these new values coming from Western countries.

After completing his studies of Chinese literature at the age of 15, Enryo Inoue began to study Western learning through his introduction to the English language. He followed the climate of the times. In 1874 (Meiji 7), he entered the First Branch of the Niigata School (the old Nagaoka Western Learning School) to further study English. This school was established with a new policy because the Nagaoka feudal clan, defeated in the Restoration, was trying to advance itself. Here, Enryo Inoue encountered Christianity for the first time. He read the Bible, contrasting an English version with a Chinese version. Though Christianity was in the spotlight in those days as a “civilized” religion, he could not find what he was looking for in it.
The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue

Truth is in Philosophy

The Higashi-Honganji Temple (the head temple of Otani-ha of the Shinshu Sect) had a seminary to train priests who would be sect temple successors. Enryo Inoue, as an excellent student, particularly in English, was accepted into the school through the recommendation of the governor of Niigata Prefecture.

In 1877 (Meiji 10) just when Inoue entered the seminary, Tokyo University was established. Higashi-Honganji Temple immediately sent him to the university as a domestic transfer student. In September 1878 in Tokyo, he entered the preparatory school of Tokyo University. In those days,
lectures there were given in English, so the students were required to study English for three years and master it at preparatory school. It is highly likely that he came across aspects of philosophy while he was studying there.

Enryo Inoue was the only freshman in the Department of Philosophy in 1881 (Meiji 14). At the university, he learned Asian philosophy from Tetsujiro Inoue, Indian philosophy from Tanzan Hara, and the Western philosophy of Kant, Hegel, Mill, and Spencer from Ernest F. Fenollosa. He was especially fascinated by Western philosophy. He was convinced that in philosophy he had finally found what he had been looking for: the search for truth. In those days, philosophy in Japan was a new subject of study. In fact, only a few years earlier, in 1874 (Meiji 7) Amane Nishi had coined the Japanese term Tetsugaku as the translation of the English term “philosophy.”

In addition to the recent importing of Western philosophy, a new movement interested in the scrutiny of Asian philosophy had developed. Enryo Inoue re-examined Buddhism by means of his new insights acquired through studying Western philosophy. It was then that he discovered there was an oriental philosophy within Buddhism with a thousand year history, that although different from Western philosophy, held the same tenet: all philosophy was intended to investigate truth.

From this, Inoue reached the conviction that the truth truly lies in philosophy, whether Western
or Asian. The result of his epiphany is the general recognition that Enryo Inoue played a leading role in the field of Asian philosophy.

Necessity for Recognizing Philosophy’s Pre-eminence

In his student days, Enryo Inoue organized a philosophy circle with his friends, and held monthly meetings for the study and discussion of Kant, Hegel and Comte. When the Literature Circle (Bungaku-kai) was organized in 1883 (Meiji 16), he immediately became a member. During this period, he was extensively studying philosophy on his own.

However, the activities in the Literature Circle did not satisfy him, so he thought that he should establish a formal society specializing in philosophy. He worked on a plan with his university friends, Yujiro Miyake and Ichiro Tanahashi. Miyake was a student in the Department of Philosophy, while Tanahashi was a student in the Department of Japanese and Chinese Literature. Together, they consulted with Professor Amane Nishi, and asked for his opinion. With his approval, they started the Philosophy Society (Tetsugaku-kai) in 1884 (Meiji 17). As a result, the Literature Circle split into two: the Philosophy Society and the Society of Japanese Literature (Kokka-gakkai). As a result of the split, the name of the Literature Circle (Bungaku-kai) was changed to the Society of Japanese Literature.
The core members of the Philosophy Society were Tetsujiro Inoue and Nagao Ariga, in addition to Inoue, Miyake and Tanahashi. The society's office was at Gakushuin School located in Nishiki-cho, Kanda in Tokyo. In attendance at the first meeting were Amane Nishi, Hiroyuki Kato, Masanao Nakamura, Shigeki Nishimura, Masakazu Toyama and others. They were all scholars who helped to introduce philosophy into Japan and advance its study.

In 1887 (Meiji 20), they founded a magazine called the Journal of the Philosophy Society (Tetsugaku-kai Zasshi) which later became the Journal of Philosophy (Tetsugaku Zasshi). Enryo Inoue opened the initial issue with his paper Discussing the Necessity of Philosophy Instead of the History of this Society. In it, he showed his recognition of philosophy and the purposes of the foundation of the Philosophy Society.

He claimed: Philosophy can usually be divided into two parts: theory and application. Yet, in short, it is theoretical learning. It surveys the homology of thoughts and the principles of things. Therefore, there is nothing that is not grounded in philosophy, regardless of whether it is a thought or an object.

Then, he emphasized the following three points. Firstly, philosophy is the basis of all learning. Secondly, the study and prevalence of philosophy is indispensable for developing a civilized nation. Thirdly, it is necessary to study Asian philosophy.
in addition to Western philosophy in order to fully develop the Japanese civilization and make the nation rich and strong.

The establishment of the Philosophy Society is an example of Inoue’s activities to promote philosophy, while at the same time he was writing books and publishing papers with the same intention. For instance, his first book “Evening Stories of Philosophy” (Tetsugaku Issekiwa) drew many people’s attention to philosophy when it was published in 1886 (Meiji 19). Actually, in his student days, he had published many papers and articles in magazines and periodicals. Of particular note is the article “Is It Reasonable to Exclude Christianity?” which was later published as a book titled “The Essence of Truth” (Shinri Kinshin). Two works, “The Essence of Truth” (Shinri Kinshin) and “The Main Points of Philosophy” (Tetsugaku Yoryo) are his esteemed masterpieces.

Aiming at a Career in Education

In 1885 (Meiji 18), at the age of twenty-seven, Enryo Inoue graduated with a BA from Tokyo University. His graduate thesis on the Chinese philosopher Junshi was entitled “Reading Junshi.” After his graduation, he taught for a while at two schools: Dojin-sha and Seiritsu-gakusha. The former was founded by Masanao Nakamura in 1872 (Meiji 5). These schools used to be as famous as Keio-gijuku (present day Keio University) founded by Yukichi
Growth Process of the Educational Principles

Fukuzawa.

Judging from the employment of the graduates of Tokyo University’s Department of Literature in those days, it seems graduates were mostly employed as university teachers or administrative bureaucrats. The Ministry of Education had designed Tokyo University as the national bureaucrat training facility so naturally, the same path was open to Enryo Inoue.

Tadanori Ishiguro, Inoue’s Chinese literature teacher, had a distinguished career as a surgeon-general and kept important government contacts. Ishiguro asked the Minister of Education, Arinori Mori, to employ Inoue at the Ministry of Education. Mori instantly consented to employ him, but Inoue declined the offer of employment with the words: *I am very sorry I cannot avail myself of your kindness, since I cannot allow myself to enter public service. That is because I went to university using a Honganji scholarship and my cherished wish is to be involved in some religious, educational occupation and do my best for the development of ordinary people …*

Having refused the offer of a bureaucratic career path, Inoue had no other choice but to return to Honganji. Bunyu Nanjo, his guarantor during his university days, visited the deacon of Higashi-honganji, Kaien Atsumi, to request preferential treatment of Inoue at Honganji, considering he was the first person among all the Buddhist sects to obtain a bachelor’s degree. This religious body offered him a post as a researcher at their seminary. He firmly
refused the offer, with the conviction that he should act as a layman in order to revive Buddhism which had been in decline with modernization.

His rejection of their request was due to his intention to found a school. He negotiated several times with the Honganji religious body, and was appointed a temporary researcher of Indian philosophy. However, Inoue’s will was firm and his intention prevailed. Before long, he established the Academy of Philosophy. Honganji finally understood his long cherished desire, and allowed him to continue on as a lay person.

Considering the rejection of two possible career paths, Enryo Inoue’s determined will must have been set for a future in the field of education long before his graduation from university. This strong determination also enabled him to accomplish his primary objective: the spread of philosophy.

**Improvement of Japanese Society**

This chapter examines the influence of the social situation and the thought development of Inoue and his acquaintances leading to the founding of the Academy of Philosophy.

In the autumn of 1886 (Meiji 19), Inoue consulted Ichiro Tanahashi who was a colleague at the Society of Philosophy to establish a publishing company specializing in philosophy books. The publishing company Tetsugaku Shoin emerged in January of 1887 (Meiji 20) and published the first issue of
the Journal of the Philosophy Society (Tetsugaku-kai Zasshi) the following month.

For the next twelve years, Tetsugaku-shoin published a range of material including Inoue’s books. The place was very special for Inoue. The History of 80 Years of Toyo University states that Tetsugaku-shoin, besides publishing, served as a salon for Inoue’s acquaintances. It became the center for the exchange of thought and culture where Inoue’s ideas and activities were fused together.

Such exchanges led to important developments of significant impact. In May of 1887 (Meiji 20) Kojiro Tatsumi, and Shuichi Kaga joined Tanahashi and Miyake on the second floor of the Tetsugaku-shoin. Tanahashi lamented, There are so many people imbued with foreign influences that we must correct them, mustn’t we? All of them were in agreement and the Religion and Politics Circle (Seikyo-sha) was born. The plan was to recruit other members to expand their influence. From this modest beginning, the Religion and Politics Circle made a significant impact on contemporary thought in the 20s of the Meiji era. Enryo Inoue gave this explanation of Tanahashi’s proposal:

After the Meiji restoration (1868), Japan was in a dire situation in which it was felt that everything needed to be westernized, including all the necessities of life, such as food, clothing and housing. People thought that even women should be brought up in a Western way, and taught social dance. And, needless to say, this meant that traditional Japanese learning was
to be denied. Such fanatical pursuit of Westernization first tried to exclude Buddhism, next Chinese learning, and lastly even commonplace Japanese food such as miso and tofu were criticized. This happened because the social climate of those days swung from extreme to extreme.

As an inevitable result of that admiration for the West (or even worship of Western culture), public opinion dictated that people should discard the old Japanese religions, and instead believe in the imported religion from Western countries. That is the main reason why Christianity became widespread in Japan in those days.

This trend was called “Europeanization.” A typical case was the Rokumeikan diplomacy undertaken by the Japanese government. This came out of the idea that imitating Western styles was necessary in order to amend the unequal treaties with Western countries. In contrast, the Religion and Politics Circle members insisted that Japan should preserve its peculiarities and the merits of its own religions, education, art, politics, and production systems under the slogans “Kokusui-shugi” or “Nihon-shugi.” Both were nationalistic banners against Westernization. The member’s actions were intended to restore the Japanese identity of the people.

The Religion and Politics Circle membership can be classified into two groups: the Tetsugakukan group of mostly Tokyo University graduates which included Enryo Inoue, Setsurei (Yujiro) Miyake,
Shuichi Kaga, Mokurai Shimaji, Kojiro Tatsumi, and others; and the Tokyo English School group who were graduates of Sapporo Agricultural School, including Shigetaka Shiga, Jokichi Matsushita and Kumataro Kikuchi. Each member had rejected a bureaucrat path or had given up a bureaucratic position to stake independent careers.

The Religion and Politics Circle primarily wrote articles for a publication called “Nihonjin” (“The Japanese”), a magazine first published in May, 1888 (Meiji 21). Group member opinions were disseminated so widely among the Japanese people that their ideology split Japanese thought in two by the middle of the Meiji era. The members had already acquired a considerable knowledge of the modern West, yet they expressed opinions from a public perspective.

The establishment of the Academy of Philosophy was in September, 1887 (Meiji 20), which coincided with the birth of the Religion and Politics Circle. The combination of the ideology of Nihon-shugi (“Japanism”) which was crucial to the Religion and Politics Circle and Inoue’s own thoughts gave the Academy of Philosophy a secondary mandate to improve Japanese society along with its educational purpose of teaching philosophy.
2. Establishment of the Academy of Philosophy

Two Groups

While recuperating from illness in Atami (a seaside resort in Shizuoka Prefecture) in the spring of 1886 (Meiji 19), Enryo Inoue worked out a blueprint for the establishment of a school to teach philosophy. Although it was just a year following his graduation from Tokyo University, Inoue confided his concrete idea for the founding of a school to Shuichi Kaga. This idea had been on Inoue’s mind since his university days. Later, he presented his ideas to Ichiro Tanahashi, Yujiro Miyake, and Shuhei Uchida.

According to Tanahashi, Inoue’s stated objective was the promulgation of philosophy, and in the explanation Inoue had said, *Buddhist priests are not studying what they should in real Buddhism, instead they are merely sticking to the topic of hell and paradise (Sukkavati). However, if they are given philosophical ideas, they will certainly do what is useful to society.* Clearly, Inoue’s intention was to reactivate a stagnant Buddhist world with the help of philosophy.

More than a century has passed since the
Academy of Philosophy was established and unfortunately, there remain few records of the early circumstances. By piecing together fragmentary records and comments from those involved in the foundation of the school, it appears there were two groups involved in its establishment.

There were the Tokyo University graduates, including members of the previously mentioned Philosophy Society and there was a group of seminarians from Higashi-Honganji Temple who had also been sent to Tokyo University. After Enryo Inoue studied there, Higashi-Honganji Temple sent several students to Tokyo University including Manshi Kiyosawa and Yushin Yanagi. These students were advised to consult with Inoue and to follow his lead.

Evidence suggests that Inoue and his acquaintances in these two groups dreamed of founding a new religious school. Resultantly, it is said that the Academy of Philosophy embodied their dream. Through the collaboration of the two groups, the Academy of Philosophy was founded.

**Purpose of the Foundation**

With the Tetsugaku-shoin publishing arm, with the Religion and Politics Circle, and with other acquaintances, Enryo Inoue refined his concept of the school. With the publication of *The Prospectus of the Academy of Philosophy* in June, 1887 (Meiji 20), the Academy was opened. The prospectus explained
the meaning and significance of philosophy, and the purpose of the Academy of Philosophy. Its academic charter contained the following explanation:

*The development of civilization is due mainly to the development of the intellect. The progress of the intellect is developed by means of education. High intellect requires suitable learning. That is the study of philosophy. Philosophy is the search for and definition of the principles of all things. It is a kind of central government for all learning from physical science to crafts. It governs all learning. In spite of this, only the Imperial University teaches philosophy. Although there are many Japanese versions of philosophy texts, it is difficult to understand exactly what the originals meant by reading these Japanese translations.*

*Therefore, I have consulted with scholars in the concerned fields, and now have decided to establish a school with a major in philosophy. I would like to name it the Academy of Philosophy. At this school, we will teach philosophy quickly to people who cannot afford to go to university, that is, people without wealth, and people who do not have the time to read original foreign books. We will lecture on logic, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, religion, education, philosophy, and Oriental and Occidental studies for periods of one to three years. If education at the Academy of Philosophy is successful, it will bring great benefits to society and the nation, and will be a great help to the progress of civilization.*
This statement was sent to Inoue’s acquaintances, prominent persons, and was also published in magazines to obtain wide recognition and support. The magazines were vital for widespread distribution to society of his intentions.

**Numerous Supporters**

The Academy of Philosophy began with many supporters and patrons. Enryo Inoue, recalling those early days, noted:

> **When planning the Academy of Philosophy, I had no money myself, and would not accept any financial help or subsidy from any organization. All funds for the establishment of the school were subscriptions from individuals. There were 280 persons who supported the aim of the project, and subscribed small sums of money. Therefore, we can say that the Academy of Philosophy was established by those 280 persons.**

Financing the Academy of Philosophy depended neither on the wealthy nor the powerful, but on small subscriptions provided by many people. Among those were Hiroyuki Kato and Fukuju Terada. Hiroyuki Kato was to first suggest the idea of a constitution for Japan. He applied the theory of evolution to political philosophy. In 1881 (Meiji 14), Kato became the first president of Tokyo University.

When the Academy of Philosophy was first established, Kato became an advisor. Kato kept watch over the development of the school until he died.
Fukuju Terada was a Shinshu-Otani-sect priest, and a former sponsored student from Higashi-Honganji Temple at Keiogijuku, the forerunner of Keio University in Tokyo. There, he had studied ways to make difficult aspects of Buddhism easily understood by the general public. Terada was also actively engaged in the religion beyond sect and ward though he was a priest at Shinjoji Temple in Komagome in Tokyo. He never begrudged requests for help, and willingly opened his temple to the Academy of Philosophy.

Kaishu Katsu, whom Inoue met later, gave a lot of assistance. Inoue called Kato, Terada and Katsu “the three benefactors of the Academy of Philosophy.” Kaishu Katsu (1823-1899) was a great politician around the end of the Tokugawa-shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji restoration. In 1860, when envoys were sent to the United States for ratification of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce Exchange, he commanded the Kanrin-maru in the first successful Japanese voyage across the Pacific. In the Meiji Government, he worked as Naval Lord: a high level government adviser.

Beginning of Higher Education

In the Prospectus for the Opening of the Academy of Philosophy reference was made to people without wealth or spare time, so clearly Inoue’s educational prospects were people who could not afford university or who had no time to study foreign languages. An understanding of the demands of the higher
education system in those days is necessary to put this in perspective.

While modern education in Japan began with the Meiji Restoration, the general public had great interest in education before that time. Schooling had been widely conducted at temples, private homes, private schools, and other venues. However, these educational efforts were rather spontaneous and unsystematic compared to compulsory education systems. In 1872 (Meiji 5), when the modern European education system was first introduced and promulgated, the new education law planned one primary school per 600 citizens, one junior high school per 130,000 and eight universities for the entire country. Nevertheless, it was impossible for the Meiji Government to implement this planned system because of its weak financial base.

The following year, the government laid down a provision called *Additional Two Articles to the Educational System*, which defined university direction in higher education. This provision also stipulated the foundation of vocational colleges. These colleges were to teach various industrial technologies, geography, medicine, law, economics and other subjects deemed necessary for the modernization of Japan. These subjects were to be taught in European languages by native speaking teachers. The reason why the government would not name these schools “universities” was because under the Educational System Law a “university” meant a school where Japanese teachers taught comprehensive subjects in
Japanese.

The vocational college purpose was to develop teachers who could teach such European subjects and technologies in Japanese when such universities were established in the future. Japanese higher education started with the help of contracted foreign teachers. Studying in English and German, the students were described “as Japanese living as Europeans.”

Under such conditions, several schools were established. Kaisei School and Tokyo Medical School were united in 1877 (Meiji 10) as “Tokyo University,” the first university in Japan. This unification proposal was made by Kaisei School President, Hiroyuki Kato. The new university had departments of Literature, Science, Law, and Medicine. The classes were still being taught in foreign languages, and as defined in the Educational System it was not actually a university.

In order to study at Tokyo University, students had to study foreign languages at its Preparatory School for three years before entering the university. Therefore, graduation took seven years. The basic route from preparatory school to university had not changed when the Academy of Philosophy was founded. Ordinary people would have had considerable difficulty studying at a university due to constraints in time and money. Concerned with these circumstances, Inoue opened the school for “people without excessive savings” and “people without excessive time.” The Academy of Philosophy was for
those people who were eager to study, but could not afford to spend the time nor money for a university education.

**Governmental School Policy**

The Faculty of Letters of Tokyo University began with two departments: History, Philosophy, and Politics in the First Department, and Japanese and Chinese Languages and Literature in the Second Department. Later, the subjects were divided into independent departments. Philosophy became independent in 1881 (Meiji 14) when Enryo Inoue entered the university. At this early stage, each department had a limited number of subjects. *The Centennial History of Tokyo University* contains a university inquiry to the Ministry of Education about the educational subjects for the Department of Philosophy. The Ministry directive stated that the department should include not only philosophy (called pure philosophy at the time), but also psychology, morality, and logic. Philosophy was to be taught at its most basic level.

Describing the Department of Philosophy in those days, Enryo Inoue noted, *When I was a student at the university, I was the only student in the Department of Philosophy, but there were more than ten professors. Therefore, if I was absent, all the professors lost their lectures. All said to me, “Whenever you are absent, tell me beforehand.”*

Interestingly, a small number of students were
taught by a large number of professors at Tokyo University. This was acceptable because Tokyo University was the main organization to train professionals needed for the rapid modernization of Japan.

The government proclaimed “The Imperial University Act” in 1886 (Meiji 19) to define the character of Tokyo University. The name Tokyo University was changed to the Imperial University. The gist of this law was not about general “universities,” but specifically about the Imperial University. The government clearly stated in this Act, that the purpose of the Imperial University was: The teaching of such arts and sciences as are required for the purposes of the State, and the prosecution of original investigations. With this Act, the Imperial University was to educate the elite deemed essential for the development of the nation and to advance its academic fields.

The Imperial University, as an elite-training organization, guided by the hands of the national government was given preferential treatment benefiting the graduates. The graduates were given qualifications and licenses without examinations to work as medical doctors, lawyers, high school teachers, and university lecturers. The High Civil Servant Examination System beginning in 1887 (Meiji 20) guaranteed all graduates of the Department of Law of the Imperial University (the present School of Law at Tokyo University) the status of a high level bureaucrat without an examination.

The Imperial University Act initiated govern-
mental school-centered policy in higher education. These policies created a discriminatory dual structure between national universities and private universities and influenced the developmental progress of higher education in Japan. The impact of such policy continues to the present day.

Birth of Private Schools

A month after distributing *The Prospectus of Founding the Academy of Philosophy*, Enryo Inoue submitted *An Application for the Establishment of A Private School* to the Tokyo Metropolitan Governor in July, 1887 (Meiji 20). Manshi Kiyosawa and Enryo Inoue himself were listed as the teachers. Within three days, he received a certificate of permission. In those days, many kinds of schools did not require such government authorization. The government with its governmental school-centered policy did not recognize private schools as higher education institutes and would not incorporate any into its higher education system.

Private school applications were not reviewed by the national government, making them ineligible for the preferential treatment and financial support as given to the Imperial University. A consolation of this was that the private schools were not under the academic control of the government. The founders could freely direct their schools according to their own educational principles.

Twenty-four private schools which were
### Table 1: 25 Private Universities that have continued since they were founded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foundation Year</th>
<th>Former Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858 (Ansei 5)</td>
<td>Rangaku-Juku 藪学塾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872 (Meiji 5)</td>
<td>Shukyo-in 宗教院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874 (Meiji 7)</td>
<td>Rikkyo Gakko 立教学校（英語学校）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 (Meiji 8)</td>
<td>Soto-shu Senmon Gakko 曹洞宗専門学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doshisha Ei Gakko 同志社英学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879 (Meiji 12)</td>
<td>Daikyoko 大教校（浄土真宗本願寺派）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880 (Meiji 13)</td>
<td>Senshu-gakko 専修学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokyo Hogakusha 東京法学社</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881 (Meiji 14)</td>
<td>Meiji Horitsu Gakko 明治法律学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seikai Koshujo 成医会講習所</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882 (Meiji 15)</td>
<td>Shinshu Daigakuryo 真宗大学寮</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koten Kokyujo 本典講究所</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokyo Senmon Gakko 東京専門学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885 (Meiji 18)</td>
<td>Igirisu Horitsu Gakko 英吉利法律学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886 (Meiji 19)</td>
<td>Shingon Sect Kogi Daigakurin 真言宗古義大学林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kansai Horitsu Gakko 関西法律学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 (Meiji 20)</td>
<td>Tetsugakukan 哲学館</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889 (Meiji 22)</td>
<td>Nihon Horitsu Gakko 日本法律学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kansei Gakuin 関西学院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891 (Meiji 24)</td>
<td>Ikueiko Nogyo Ka 育英団農業科</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 (Meiji 33)</td>
<td>Taiwan Kyokai Gakko 台湾協会学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyoto Hosei Gakko 京都法政学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904 (Meiji 37)</td>
<td>Nihon I Gakko 日本医学校</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 (Meiji 44)</td>
<td>Joichi Gakuin 上智学院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926 (Taisho 15)</td>
<td>Tendai-Buzan-Shukyo Daigaku 天台宗大学・豊山大学・宗教大学</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**I Growth Process of the Educational Principles**

*were founded under the old education system*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Name</th>
<th>Current Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keio University</td>
<td>慶應義塾大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rissho University</td>
<td>立正大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rikkyo University</td>
<td>立教大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komazawa University</td>
<td>駒沢大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doshisha University</td>
<td>同志社大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryukoku University</td>
<td>龍谷大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senshu University</td>
<td>専修大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosei University</td>
<td>法政大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiji University</td>
<td>明治大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jikei University School of Medicine</td>
<td>東京慈恵会医科大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otani University</td>
<td>大谷大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokugakuin University</td>
<td>国學院大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waseda University</td>
<td>早稲田大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuo University</td>
<td>中央大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koyasan University</td>
<td>高野山大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansai University</td>
<td>関西大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toyo University</td>
<td>東洋大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihon University</td>
<td>日本大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwansei Gakuin University</td>
<td>関西学院大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo University of Agriculture</td>
<td>東京農業大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takushoku University</td>
<td>拓殖大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritsumeikan University</td>
<td>立命館大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippon Medical University</td>
<td>日本医科大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia University</td>
<td>上智大学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taisho University</td>
<td>大正大学</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
founded in the Meiji era (1868-1911) are listed in Table 1. These schools continued until they became newly designated universities after World War II. In the initial stage of establishing Japan’s modern education system (from 1877, Meiji 10), many schools were established one after another. The “Five Law Schools” founded in that period, exist today as Senshu University, Hosei University, Meiji University, Waseda University and Chuo University. They had complementary roles to the Imperial University in the training of lawyers. As private schools, they were to provide higher civil education. Their social roles grew large, but were not highly esteemed by the government.

Table 2 illustrates the number of higher educational institutions and their student enrolments in 1888 (Meiji 21), a year after the Academy of Philosophy started. The Imperial University was the only university, but there were nine national and public vocational colleges in Japan. In contrast, at that time there were thirty-four private schools, accepting more than 77% of the total students. Much of the task of higher education was being fulfilled by private institutes.

By educational design, many schools taught practical subjects within three main categories: (1) Social Sciences, Law, Economics, etc. (2) Humanities—mainly language education i.e. English, etc. and (3) Natural Sciences—Medical Science, Physics, etc. Other schools were for religious teaching such as Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintoism.
Among these schools, there were none teaching a major in philosophy. At the time, Enryo Inoue’s Academy of Philosophy was a very unique institution.

### Opening Ceremony of the Academy of Philosophy

At first, the Academy of Philosophy did not have a school building. Rinshoin Temple of Myoshinji ward of the Rinzai Buddhist sect rented out a room for the Academy. The Buddhist temple was located in Tatsuoka-cho, Hongo Ward (now Yushima in Bunkyo Ward, Tokyo), near the present day Hakusan campus of Tokyo University. In the precinct of this temple on September 16, 1887 (Meiji 20), the opening ceremony for the Academy of Philosophy was held.

The ceremony started around two o’clock in the afternoon. The new Principal of the Academy...
of Philosophy, Enryo Inoue addressed the students and guests with a statement on the purpose of the school. Then, Masakazu Toyama, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Imperial University, extended a congratulatory speech entitled *The Prevailing of Philosophy*. Next was a speech on *The Essence of Philosophy* by Ichiro Tanahashi. Lastly, Kojiro Tatsumi spoke on *The Effects of Philosophy on the Public*. The guests were primarily graduates of the Imperial University and learned priests of most Buddhist sects. The opening ceremony was reported in several newspapers: *Tokyo-Nichi-Nichi-Shinbun* (“Tokyo Daily News”), *Yubin-Hochi-Shinbun*, etc.

Attending the ceremony as a freshman was Nobutsuna Sasaki, a poet and scholar of poetry whose writings are still widely known today. Having read *Evening Stories on Philosophy* and other works by Enryo Inoue, he developed strong interest in philosophy. Sasaki decided to study at the Academy of Philosophy, even though he had been studying at both the Department of Classical Literature of the Imperial University and the National School of English (*Kokumin Eigakkai*). His impression of the first day of the Academy stated: “When I went to Rinshoin Temple to attend the opening ceremony, I found quite a number of students in the temple hall. My first impression was wonderment over why so many people wanted to study philosophy. It was a sense of astonishment as well as pleasure.”
Why Study Philosophy?

Enryo Inoue’s speech at the opening ceremony expanded on the content of his *Prospectus for the Foundation of the Academy of Philosophy*, and described the purpose of the Academy in detail. According to Inoue’s explanation, the ideal candidates for study at the Academy were:

1. those who started learning late in life and needed a shorter program of studies.
2. those who could not afford to go to university.
3. those who had no knowledge of European languages and were unable to read original sources.
The Academy of Philosophy, as Inoue explained, would teach philosophy to such persons. The academy would not train “philosophers,” but only offer opportunities to study philosophy. Accepting the idea that philosophy was the basis of all learning implied that anyone who wanted to carry out any activity in society should have philosophical knowledge. A study of philosophy would benefit those in educational or religious fields by deepening their professional understanding. The Academy was to be a philosophy school for wide practical understanding, taught in Japanese, and taught at an accelerated pace. Inoue, reflecting on his educational experience at the Department of Philosophy at Tokyo University, was planning a more accessible but intensive educational program.

Inoue added that the Academy had other vital educational responsibilities. In the development of learning, philosophy was a convenient tool to see the connections in various Western subjects. A study of philosophy would complement weaknesses in Oriental learning, especially in Oriental philosophy which was rather imaginative and apt to depend upon conjecture. Western philosophy as a complement to Oriental philosophy could help revitalize it. An institute like the Academy of Philosophy was necessary to enable students to study European and Oriental philosophy at the same time.

Inoue’s speech ended with the comment that although the Academy of Philosophy was in a temporary school building, someday it would have its
own building and attain “independence.”

Necessity of the Academy of Philosophy Education

What was expected at the birth of the Academy? Masakazu Toyama of the Imperial University provided an answer when he spoke of the need for philosophy and for the Academy:

*The only higher educational organization is the Imperial University, but to finish the program it requires many years of study and expensive tuition fees. There is a great demand for education in Japan. Many*
people want to study at university, but university opportunities are few. Therefore, we need vocational colleges. To begin with, the development of the civilization of a country cannot be achieved by one or two men of intelligence. The general public needs to learn. For that purpose, there have appeared a lot of vocational colleges which teach law, medicine, politics and economics, but there is no school to teach philosophy. The Academy of Philosophy is significant in filling that gap. There are a lot of people who do not value philosophical knowledge, but we cannot do anything without it. Historical writings, religious discussion, improvement of the arts, the study of morals, and, moreover, the achievement of progress for this country all demand a knowledge of philosophy.

As mentioned, admission to the Imperial University required preparatory school study of foreign languages necessitating seven years of study to graduate. Under such conditions, it would have been impossible to educate the personnel necessary for modernizing Japan. It would also have been impossible to promulgate learning and knowledge throughout the country. For this reason, the private vocational schools relied on intensive education and lectures in Japanese. At the opening ceremony of Tokyo Vocational College (the present Waseda University) in 1882 (Meiji 15) Azusa Ono, one of the founders, said that they would teach in Japanese for rapid progress. Using this intensive method, he said, independent learning and the evolution into a university would develop in the future. All the
founders of private schools in those days shared this idea, including Enryo Inoue.

**Young Teachers**

The Academy of Philosophy began in this way and gathered teachers who shared Enryo Inoue’s principles. Many of the teachers and trustees at the start of the school were associate members in establishing the school (see Table 3). There were two characteristics shared among these associates: a large number of lecturers, twelve out of eighteen, were graduates of Tokyo University and these lecturers were young. Enryo Inoue, Principal of the school, was twenty-nine years old, and most of the others were in their twenties and thirties.

Kansuke Okamoto, who had taught Enryo at the Preparatory School of Tokyo University, was the oldest lecturer at forty-eight years of age. Sensho Murakami who was teaching Buddhism, was at the same time a student of Western philosophy. The fresh intelligence and abundant enthusiasm of the lecturers was the driving force behind the newly opened Academy of Philosophy.

**Various Kinds of Students**

In the beginning, the Academy had no entrance examination. The only admission stipulation was that applicants had to be male and over sixteen years of age. There were no other restrictions. Resultantly,
<Table 3> Lecturers and Trustees at the time of the foundation of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>University of Graduation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enryo Inoue</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansuke Okamoto</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensho Murakami</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Takakura Gakuryo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Higashi-honganji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsutomu Seino</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Numazu Military School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuhei Okada</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinsaku Kokubunji</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aizu Matsumoto</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentaro Matsumoto</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigoro Kano</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokunou Oda</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Takakura Gakuryo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojiro Tatsumi</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yujiro Miyake</td>
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<td>Tokyo University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manshi Kiyosawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ichiro Tanahashi</td>
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<td>Tokyo University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ryohei Okada</td>
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<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazane Hidaka</td>
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<td>Tokyo University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shuichi Kaga</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun Isoe</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ohogijuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginnosuke Sakakura</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yushin Yanagi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Tetsugakukan (In order of ages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lectures</th>
<th>Key Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psychology, Philosophy</td>
<td>Educator, Philosopher, Founder of the Tetsugakukan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td>Lecturer at the prep school of Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>Buddhist scholar, Lecturer at Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>Philosopher (self-taught) introduced Kant for the first time to Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism, Aesthetics</td>
<td>Chinese Philosopher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>Professor of the Teacher School, Diplomat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Language and History</td>
<td>PhD in Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>Educator, Founder of Kodokan Judo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Buddhism</td>
<td>Self-taught Buddhism scholar, Otani-sect priest, author of <em>The Oda Buddhism Dictionary</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Teacher of the prep school of Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Philosophy</td>
<td>Philosopher, Critic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology, History of Philosophy</td>
<td>Philosopher, Priest who headed the Higashi-honganji Reform Movement, Trustee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>Educator, founder of Ikubunkan Junior High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis Reader</td>
<td>Educator, Tokyo Univ. student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary English</td>
<td>Educator, Professor at Gakushuin, Trustee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>Philosopher, Professor of Kagoshima Zodokan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary English</td>
<td>Visiting Student from Higashi-honganji, Trustee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
students ranged from youths of 17 or 18 years old to the middle-aged men of 40 or 50 years. Some were married with children or grandchildren. The intended number of freshmen was supposed to be fifty, but an additional number of students were accepted on account of the large number of applicants.

Satoshi Sakaino, who entered the Academy at 19 years of age and later became the 4th President of the school, wrote his impression of those days:

Our school was a school in name only, and, in fact, it was like a temple school in the days of Tokugawa Shogunate. A room was rented at a Buddhist temple in Yushima. The clothes of the students were not unified. Some of them wore Western suits, some wore worn-out hakama (a divided long skirt for formal wear), and others were in priest robes of gold brocade carrying prayer beads (kesa robes with juzu beads). I imagine now it was like a fancy parade.

The level of scholarship among the pupils varied greatly. Some students had already acquired specialized knowledge, while others had no formal education. Most had no English language ability, so terms like psychology and ethics were new to their ears.

In the beginning, the Academy offered only on-site instruction for the registered students. However, in October, a month after opening, the Academy created a system for off-campus education, an early form of distance-learning. There were no requirements to be eligible for this off-campus education. By the following year 1888 (Meiji 21),
transcripts of Academy lectures were available for anyone in the district who wanted to study. Three times a month, transcripts of lectures were issued as a printed collection. These publications were intended to provide anyone an opportunity to study philosophy and to encourage its spread.

One of the original students was Ekai Kawaguchi, who became a Buddhist scholar and explorer. His fame is derived from adventures in Nepal and Tibet. There he obtained Buddhist scriptures when these regions were closed off from the world. When the Academy opened, Kawaguchi was twenty-two years old. As he could not afford to pay the tuition fee, he became an off-campus student by reading the transcripts of lectures at home. Eventually, he moved to Tokyo to attend the Academy and to work in support of his studies. Life was tough as a working student and in his words, *It cost two yen for poor food and the lodging of a church mouse, 1.20 yen for the tuition and facility fee, and 0.90 yen for necessities.* Working hard part-time to earn four yen, he struggled against fatigue and studied. Enthusiasm to study philosophy was common among the students at that time.

**Vignettes of the Classes**

The school year ran from September through July with daily hours from one to five p.m. “What lectures were given in the tatami-mat classroom?” one might inquire. The teachers were not using
translated textbooks. From the original text, they translated the content sentence by sentence in class. At that time, Japan was ardently coining Japanese equivalents for Western words, so sometimes it was rather difficult to understand the meaning of a sentence by reading its Japanese translation.

With this direct method, the teachers struggled to find suitable Japanese words, while the students were further troubled in grasping the meaning. One student commented that, “They needed 30 minutes of question time to understand a one-hour class.” In extreme cases, there were both “masters of questions” who shot questions one after another at their teacher, and “masters of explanation” who reversely lectured to their teachers.

In such classes, the teachers could be proud, thinking perhaps I am the first person who taught the difficult philosophy of Kant in Japan. On the other hand, there is a funny story of a teacher who was asked by a student, How do you spell kyakkan? He answered in English, It means ‘Object’.

Due to confusion between teachers and students, these early classes were often unsatisfactory; nevertheless, they were really lively because of enthusiastic teachers and students. Attitudes toward learning were serious, and study was unrestricted so educational results were excellent.
3. Improvement of the Academy of Philosophy

Overseas Tours of Inspection

In the Meiji era, extensive inspection tours by governmental and civilian groups were made to advanced Western countries to acquire knowledge and information. Many founders of private universities in Japan made overseas tours, or studied abroad. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the founder of Keio University, studied in America and Europe. Jo Niijima, the founder of Doshisha University, studied in America. Azusa Ono, one of the founders of Waseda University, studied in China and England. Tatsuo Kishimoto, the founder of Meiji University, studied in France.

Enryo Inoue traveled abroad three times in his life. His travels reached much of the world (Table 4). Aside from inspection tours, he also lectured in China and Korea. Just a year after the Academy opened, Enryo Inoue made his first trip abroad in June, 1888 (Meiji 21) for one year. The purpose was to investigate the relation between religion and politics, and to inspect the study of Oriental learning in Europe and America. This tour gave him an
opportunity to explore the reality in the strong European powers described in books, and to reconsider relations between Japan and Western countries. This opportunity gave Enryo Inoue a chance to reflect on his existing knowledge and thoughts. Then with newly acquired knowledge and deep convictions from this overseas tour, he refined his educational policy, linking the Academy program with the reform of Japan.

**The 1st Overseas Travel: Details**

On June 9, 1888 (Meiji 21) in Yokohama, Enryo Inoue at thirty years of age, embarked on an
English vessel for America. The Academy had been entrusted to Ichiro Tanahashi during his absence. Crossing the Pacific Ocean took at least two weeks in those days. Enryo Inoue found himself in San Francisco after twenty-four days. On the Trans-Continental Railway, which had been operating for twenty years, he crossed the American continent. Then from New York, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean to London.

For three months, Inoue traveled around Scotland and the southern parts of England. At Oxford University he met with Max Muller, a Sanskrit scholar who had established the first Buddhism studies in Europe. At Cambridge University, Inoue discussed Oriental philosophy with Edward B. Cowell (1826-1903, a scholar of Indian studies), Sir Thomas F. Wade (1818-1895), a Sinologist, and Adolphe Siret (1810-1888), an art historian. He paid a visit to the British Museum and to the Asian Society, where he inquired about the state of studies of Indian philosophy.

At the end of December, Inoue moved to Paris from London. In Paris, he met up with Ryoin Fujishima, an overseas philosophy student from the Nishi-Honganji Temple, who was introducing Buddhist philosophy to scholars in Europe and America with his book *A History of Japanese Buddhism*. Lodged next door to Fujishima, Inoue talked to him about spreading philosophy in Japan and what he would do at the Academy of Philosophy after returning to Japan. For the next stage, Inoue
continued on his travels to Berlin via Rome and Wien.

After their meeting in Paris, Fujishima and Enryo Inoue went to Berlin where Tetsujiro Inoue had been studying philosophy and teaching at the Oriental School at Berlin University. The three of them talked about how to spread philosophy in Japan. They also consulted with the respected German philosopher Eduard Von Hartmann (1842-1906). After that, Enryo Inoue traveled to Paris via Belgium, and visited the International Exhibition for which the Eiffel Tower was constructed.

The return voyage from Marseilles went via Egypt, Arabia, India and China before ending in Yokohama on June 28, 1889 (Meiji 22). An entire year had passed since Inoue’s Yokohama departure.

**The Conclusion Induced by his Overseas Tour**

Back in Japan, Enryo Inoue published two volumes of his *Diary on Religion and Politics in America and European Countries* in 1889 (Meiji 22). Outlining his observations in the countries he had visited, the diary classified religion, manners, and customs into two hundred and ninety-one items.

For instance, in the chapter *Prayer at the Table*, he reported that *In England, I visited a religious family, and found that they have nothing like a Japanese household Buddhist altar (butsudan) or Shinto shrine (kamidana) in their homes. Therefore, they do not have the custom to pray in the mornings and evenings.*
**But they say grace at the table every day.** Saying grace at the table seems to have been of interest to him.

One purpose of his tour was the investigation of the relationship between politics and religion. Enryo Inoue was especially interested in the situation of Christianity in Europe and America because in those days Japan had a problem with foreigners regarding freedom of residence. The issue resulted from the demand for the amendment of the unequal treaties between Japan and America and also with the European countries. Demands were made by these countries for the right of their people to live freely in Japan. Specifically, they wanted the freedom to live, to travel, and to do business in exchange for relinquishing the foreigners’ residential areas and extraterritorial rights. Freedom of residence for foreign residents was a serious matter for the Buddhist world because then Christianity could be propagated freely.

This issue had been argued over since the beginning of the Meiji era. In May, 1889 (Meiji 22), a month before Inoue’s return from abroad, there occurred a great movement against the treaty because Shigenobu Okuma’s draft of the treaty amendment was found to involve an article which would permit foreigners’ freedom of residence. It took until 1899 (Meiji 32) for the treaty to be amended allowing foreigners to live freely in Japan.

Enryo Inoue sent the following note on Christianity to the *Journal of the Philosophy Society*:

*I most carefully observed the vicissitudes of*
Christianity on my tour of America and England. It seemed to me that Christian belief was still thriving in America, but in England it was internally in considerable decline, though institutionally it appears to continue its influential power. Observably, there is a great external decline of the religion on the European continent. He added that this opinion was not exclusively his, but was shared by both travelers and residents in America and England.

Another purpose of his trip was to observe Oriental studies in Europe and America. His observations were reported in the chapter Schools for Oriental Studies of Diary on the Religion and Politics in America and European Countries.

It was not until the 19th century that Oriental learning in European countries began. Therefore, schools for Oriental studies are very recent. Germany, France and Austria have established schools for Oriental studies. Some universities in Germany and France even had a Department of Japanese Studies. Some universities in England are teaching Sanskrit and Chinese. Sanskrit and Chinese are taught and studied in Italy and Russia, too. Japan has intensive European studies, while its own studies have been given up. Now Oriental learning is being studied very ardently in Europe. Is this not strange and intriguing?

Enryo Inoue had strong doubts about Japanese Westernization: the tendency to accept anything Western without any criticism. Through this tour, Inoue found what was supporting the wealth and power of America and European countries. The
people in these countries had what he called “independent minds.” In other words, they had their own idiosyncrasies in learning, business, organization, manners, and religion. America followed the American way, and England followed the English way in respective fields. On the other hand, Japan was inclined to take in European and American things, throwing away what was unique to Japan. He concluded that such a tendency must stop and in order to maintain Japan’s independence, the nation must preserve its own unique language, religion, history, manners and customs.

A New Building for the Academy

Upon return from the America and Europe tour, Inoue was driven to make educational improvements and to develop the Academy into a university. Toward this end, he started construction of an Academy building. The timing was right to make the most of his newly acquired thoughts, developed on his travels. The plan for the construction of a building had already been addressed at the Opening Ceremony in 1887 (Meiji 20) in the speech The Independence of the Academy.

Within a year of the Academy opening, one whole building in the precinct of Rinshoin Temple was needed as a result of increasing student enrolment. However, outside the Academy the social situation had become unstable. Preparations were underway for the beginning of the National Diet of
Japan so there was trouble and agitation over suffrage and eligibility to vote (The National Diet of Japan eventually opened in 1890). Due to social instability, the number of students at the Academy decreased a little; however, there were still over 200 full-time students, and more than 900 students by correspondence. The capacity of the existing building had already been exceeded.

The decision was made to establish a new location at Horai-cho, Komagome in Hongo Ward (present day Mukogaoka in Bunkyo Ward). The Academy of Philosophy would have its own campus. Construction began on August 1st, less than two months after Inoue’s return from Europe. Completion was scheduled for September 15. The estimated cost was four thousand and several hundred yen. To cover the expenses, Inoue requested special donations. Both Higashi Honganji Temple and Nishi Honganji Temple contributed one thousand yen each, while Kaishu Katsu donated one hundred yen.

Kaishu Katsu (1823-1899), a very famous Japanese historical figure, requires little in the way of introduction for most Japanese. Katsu worked to restore political power to the Emperor from the Tokugawa Shogunate. After the Meiji Restoration, Katsu became Minister of the Navy and Council Advisor. Katsu’s daughter Itsuko was married to Tanetaro Megata, who later became a Baron. Mr. and Mrs. Megata were the go-betweens for Enryo Inoue’s marriage in November, 1886 (Meiji 19).
This acquaintanceship provided Inoue an opportunity to meet Kaishu Katsu. According to Lady Megata, Katsu had already heard of Inoue, and was interested in him. She reported that Katsu after visiting Inoue with her husband had commented admiringly, “Oh, I didn’t know he is so young.” Further details are included in this description:

At the sight of Inoue it is reported Katsu exclaimed, *You are young!* Inoue provided an explanation about the Academy of Philosophy prompting Katsu to say, *It’s wrong to think every good idea will go well. You can carry out nothing, however good it is, without money. The Tokugawa Shogunate was overthrown because a lack of money. Try to make money in any way, without saying argumentative things. This is a drop in the bucket.* He then gave Inoue a one hundred yen donation. Inoue owed much gratitude, and afterwards kept Katsu’s words as a salutary lesson for his educational project.

The *Diary of Katsu Kaishu* states they met for the first time on September 4, 1889 (Meiji 22), close to the expected completion date of the new Academy building. After that entry in Katsu’s diary, Inoue’s name appears frequently. Diary entries describe contributing ¥100 to the Academy, donating ¥15 for an old Buddha image, and other notes. Inoue had great respect for Kaishu Katsu, and often mentioned him in public speeches. Katsu gave his calligraphy for Inoue to give to the contributors as “thank you” presents. To this end, Katsu did not spare himself in writing calligraphy for the educational projects.
of the Academy, calling himself “a brush servant” (fude-bohko). In Japan, well-known persons often write calligraphy as gifts to others. Today, the calligraphy of Kaishu Katsu is highly collectable and of great value.

Although construction of the Academy building was proceeding according to schedule, a big typhoon swept the Tokyo area on September 11, killing many people. The building was destroyed. At that time, Inoue was on a visit of Buddhist congregations in Kyoto lecturing about the aspired official recognition of Buddhism in Japan. After receiving a damage report telegram, Inoue headed for Tokyo. As the Tokaido railroad was blocked by the typhoon, he traveled from Yokkaichi to Yokohama by ship. On September 20, construction began again and the building was finished on October 31. Lessons in the new building started the following day. The unexpected disaster ran up building costs beyond the original estimate. Inoue found himself with considerable debt when he finished the building.

The Academy of Philosophy was now a two-story building. The first floor was a single hall with one hundred and fifty seats, while the second floor consisted of two fifty-student-capacity rooms. Inoue also had a dormitory built with twenty rooms of six mats, which could accommodate forty students.

The building was the first property of the Academy of Philosophy but as they had no lessons in the morning, Ikubunkan (the present day Ikubunkan
High School) rented it. Ikubunkan had just been established by Ichiro Tanahashi as a secondary school, but Academy students were induced to attend English classes there. Enryo Inoue became the counselor of the school.

**Improvement of the Academy**

The ceremony celebrating the move from temporary facilities in Rinshoin Temple to the new building in Horai-cho was held on November 13, 1889 (Meiji 22). In addition to the students, one hundred guests attended. Main guests included Senator Hiroyuki Kato, Educational Minister Buyo Enomoto, and Tokyo Metropolitan City Governor Goroku Takahashi as well as holders of bachelor degrees, doctorates, and high Buddhist priests from all sects.
At the ceremony, Enryo Inoue’s speech repeated the prospectus covering the foundation of the Academy, but then he expressed four ideas for educational improvement at the Academy influenced from his tour abroad. The four ideas were:

1. To design departments on the basis of various kinds of traditional subjects learned in Japan.
2. To develop a Japanese program of studies comparing Oriental and Western studies.
3. To educate people of wide knowledge and high virtue.
4. To educate masters literally true to their titles especially religious ministers and educators.

He also stated, I would like to open a professional college someday, or what we may call a “Japanese University” which would involve a History Department, a Language Department and a Religion Department as a big engine to foster the independence of this country. Along with independence in learning, we can anticipate the independence of the country. He had declared his determination to reform the Academy into a “Japanese Studies University” or a “University of Japanism” with majors in languages, history and religion in order to maintain the independence of the nation.

Inoue’s concept of a university centered on “Japanism” was intended to be the counterpart of a “Western University,” which borrowed European organization, departmentalization, teaching, and instructional texts. Although this plan emphasized
a Japanese identity, the intention was not to reject Western learning. Inoue’s idea was to improve on Japan’s strengths through the greatest use of the merits of the West. Inoue publicized this new educational policy as *The Improvement of the Academy of Philosophy* in magazines and newspapers.

Jo Niijima or Joseph Hardy Neesima (1843-1890), who founded Doshisha English School, the predecessor of Doshisha University, wrote a letter supporting Inoue’s intention to establish a university. Niijima published his *Prospectus for the Foundation of Doshisha English School* in November, 1888 (Meiji 21). He stated that *The maintenance of a country does not depend on the power of several heroes, but instead depends on the power of educated, knowledgeable, virtuous common people. These people are the conscience of a country.* To educate the gifted, his educational principles were based on Christianity. Although other civilians were planning to establish universities, he was carrying out his plan because he realized its necessity. Therefore, he particularly supported Inoue’s ideas. He asked, if possible, that Inoue establish a “cosmopolitan university.”

**Independence of the Nation**

Enryo Inoue mentioned the concept “independence in learning” in his speech at the opening ceremony for the new Academy. The founders of private schools in those days expressed similar ideas. The schools that became Keio, Waseda and Doshisha
universities were using terms like “independence” or “self-standing” in their slogans.

After the Opium War (1840-42), the great European powers colonized China; therefore, those powers were felt as a threat all over Japan. Government, private institutes, and citizens were all declaring the goal of “independence.” The idea of the independence of the nation was thought an urgent matter for Japan. To establish a national government, the local domains of feudal lords had to be broken up and the four feudal classes of warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesmen eliminated. The feudal clan system had been the governing structure in the past Edo period. Measures needed to be taken to build up a strong country with a strong army so as to gain amendments to unequal treaties with America and the European countries. All classes of Japanese people in the first half of the Meiji era shared such desire.

The Japanese government and people were united under the flag of “independence for the nation.” There was, however, a difference in their approach to this budding nationalism. The educational rivalry between the governmental schools and the private schools was paralleled by the conflict between the government and the citizens in the early Meiji years. Before the second decade of the Meiji era, citizen resistance to a despotic government came from rebellious descendants of the warrior class (samurai), the movement for democratic rights, and the opposition to the autocratic administration in
the early Imperial Diet. When the government adopted the principle of Europeanization in order to plot the independence of Japan in the second Meiji decade, citizens expressed opposition in counter-movements. The Religion and Politics Circle, an ideological society previously mentioned as organized by Inoue’s acquaintances, ignited an ideological clash starting from 1887 (Meiji 20). With a different view to the approach of independence, these concerned citizens raised opposition to the government’s policy of Europeanization, and promoted “Japanism” or “Nationalism” as their slogan. These civilians represented the new elite with their knowledge of Western art and science. They insisted that Japan should maintain Japan’s uniqueness, but not with extreme xenophobia. They recognized the merits of Western civilization.

Japanism and Universalism

Enryo Inoue’s idea of Japanism, by definition, was not applicable only to Japan. Each country has its own way of national independence or national character. In 1888 (Meiji 21), a short time before the ceremony celebrating the new campus, in these two publications *On the Purpose of the Academy of Philosophy* and *Transcripts of Lectures at the Academy of Philosophy* Inoue explained two theories—Japanism and Universalism. These two separate ideas were linked together but neither could be ignored.

To achieve the independence of Japan, it would
be necessary for not only scholars, or the elite, but the entire population would need to develop this “independent mind.” For that purpose, Japan needed to establish education in language, history, and religion. With these studies, “the atmosphere for the nation to be independent” could be created. Japanese could ingest Western culture and adapt it to Japanese sensibility. In this way, Japan’s independence could be guaranteed and maintained.

Enryo Inoue’s thoughts on preserving the essence of Japan while adapting Western innovations resulted from his overseas travel. In his vision, the Academy of Philosophy would become a future “Japan University” for the comprehensive teaching of language, history and religion. This educational curriculum would contribute to the independent identity of Japan. Such studies would be the surface thread; however, underneath would be the thread of “Universalism.”

To consider a person Japanese is to make a distinction between Japanese and foreigners, but if you see people as human beings, then there are no differences among the earth’s people. From a higher understanding, human beings and plants are merely “single items in the universe.” This idea is found in Buddhism. Inoue’s thinking embraced universal concepts because without it he believed neither science nor philosophy could exist.

Language, history and religion are independent studies forming the core of Japanism, but at the same time are related in the essential education of
human beings. Universalism is the undercurrent of many contemporary ideas including globalism and environmentalism.

For Inoue, Japanism and Universalism were not separate entities. When intertwined as one thread, they became flawlessly complete. Neither was sufficient alone as they were needed to complement each other (illustrated in Chart 1). In the illustration, the right side shows the front surface, and the left side shows the back surface. The front surface reflects Japanism composed of language, religion and history. These subjects are for the core of independent identity for Japanese, while behind in the back is Universalism from philosophy and the truth of the universe. Inoue proposed this model of thought and education as the main principle of the Academy.
Emphasis on Humanity

In his opening ceremony speech for the new Academy building and campus, Enryo Inoue stated his intention *To educate men of knowledge and virtue*. He also stated in *The Improvement of the Academy*, that *education would have no effect if there was no moral education, no matter how much intellectual training was undertaken*. Inoue’s educational philosophy involved improving character in addition to gaining knowledge. The development of virtue to improve character was not taught as subject knowledge in Academy education. Each individual was to discover the importance of human nature and behave accordingly. Thinking deeply about this, Inoue proposed the “dormitory” as a specific place to improve character.

Inoue thought that student days were the “spring of life” because students were free of social restrictions and obligations. Students could associate with acquaintances regardless of their status, rich or poor. Most schools in those days restricted students with various rules, but not the Academy. As he was against strict rules at the dormitory, Inoue treated students with respect. Judgment of behavior was entrusted to the self-judgment of the individual students. Students were not punished for rule infractions.

Toward his objective of character formation, Inoue instituted a “tea party” for dormitory students. The idea came from family tea-time that he
had witnessed in England. Over a cup of tea and playful chatting with students, Inoue began to work on the development of the students’ moral character. The Academy custom of a dormitory tea time began on November 15, 1889 (Meiji 22). In the beginning, it was only twice a month, but eventually it evolved into a daily morning and evening practice. Years later, a graduate described the atmosphere of the tea party:

On Saturday evening, all the boarders went to Dr. Inoue’s house, and sat down in a circle in his eight-mat Japanese-style room. We used to listen to lots of moral anecdotes. Then, at eight o’clock every Sunday morning, he came to our dormitory, and talked to all the boarders in a friendly way. In anticipation of his visit, we used all our floor cushions (zabuton) to prepare a high seat for him. He would directly take his seat on the highly-stacked cushions and begin to talk about learning and morality. Those Saturday and Sunday talks were the greatest pleasure to all the boarders.

[The size of a tatami-mat is about 170x80cm. A zabuton is a 70cm square cloth cushion packed with cotton.]

Discussion as an Educational Tool

To instill a sense of humanity in the students was the tea party goal. This approach exemplifies Inoue’s basic attitude toward education. The serving of tea implied an opportunity for a “conversation or discussion.” Inoue was not the type of teacher to
force his ideas on others. Even when he expressed an opinion, he never expected full agreement from the students. On moral issues, he entrusted their judgment to determine what was right or wrong.

Inoue’s attitude on the benefit of discussion as a learning mechanism can be understood from the following account in which he resolves a problem. In those days, dissatisfied students were calling for the expulsion of teachers deemed unsatisfactory. An incident of such dissatisfaction also happened at the Academy with the teaching method in a particular class. Students petitioned President Inoue to discontinue that subject. To resolve the problem, Inoue himself attended the lecture with the students, and held a forum after the class. Listening to the opinions of both the teacher and the students, he found a way to resolve this problem.

Enryo Inoue taught his students to be free from prejudice. To make his point in class, he used the example of Buddhist priests. He explained that among Buddhists there is a dogma that teaches “Buddhism is able to solve all problems. From this dogmatic rigidity, Buddhist priests take a narrow-minded view and deny all other learning and theories. This narrow-mindedness becomes prejudice.” Therefore, he emphasized that students should try to perceive matters from a broader point of view.

Inoue valued a progressive stance for learning new ideas. As Darwinism was a new concept stirring much argument, he invited a man as a guest lecturer who had newly returned from Europe and
America to discuss Darwin’s ideas. Along with the students, Inoue attended the lecture. This, for him, was the “spirit of a private school” where teachers and students communicated with each other and shared a spirit of humanity. This educational concept, applied through a curriculum grounded in philosophy, was his means to develop student thinking.
4. Educational Purpose of the Academy of Philosophy

Plan to Set up Major Courses

Enryo Inoue’s educational vision saw the Academy of Philosophy becoming a “University of Japan–centered Studies.” For this purpose, he announced that he was going to offer major courses at the Academy.

In September, 1890 (Meiji 23), the educational prospectus stated that the existing three year program would become the General Course while a Specialized Course of two years would be added. In his original plan, the Specialized Course would have four Departments: Japanese Language and Literature, Classical Chinese, Buddhism, and Western Learning. Those departments were to be established one by one when donations had reached half of the estimated cost of 100,000 yen. Unfortunately, the Department of Western Learning was never established.

Inoue laid down thirteen articles in the “Donation System” in order to solicit contributions for this educational expansion. The articles specified a classification system based on the amount of
contribution: donors, fellows, special fellows, and limited fellows. From the college, they were to be presented with a receipt, a certificate of appreciation, and certain benefits.

The foundation of the Academy of Philosophy and the move to the new location were achieved through supporter donations. In those days, the financing of school operations came from tuition paid by students. With few students, most school operations were very difficult. Government support was only extended to their own schools, not private schools. Private schools were dependent on donations for new educational projects. Resultantly, school owners had to be very inventive with fund-raising.

The old Keiogijuku fell into difficult conditions because of a rapid decrease in students after Takamori Saigo’s South-West Rebellion against the government in 1877 (Meiji 10). Keiogijuku asked the government for a loan, but did not get a favorable response soon enough. The school had to find money by itself. Realizing the limits of private school management, Yukichi Fukuzawa, founder of Keio University, devised a new method. He organized a fellowship system (called “Shachu”), for graduates and school’s supporters to join as members. Through this system, he was now able to raise funds. This fund system gave Keiogijuku an advantage to create a “university course” in 1890 (Meiji 23) before other private schools.
Lecture Tours All Over Japan

How did the Academy of Philosophy raise the 100,000 yen to establish the Specialized Course? In his letter to Kaishu Katsu dated July 21, 1890 (Meiji 23), Inoue wrote that he had no clear, suitable idea for school management and operations. He was without a good means of collecting the funds for the Specialised Course. As he had already made a schedule for a lecture tour through Japan, he would lecture at as many places as possible and explain the Academy prospectus to procure donations from people who supported his educational concept. On October 30, 1890 (Meiji 23), four days before he started on this tour, the Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyoiku-chokugo) was promulgated. Eager to promote it, Inoue also lectured on the Imperial Rescript.

[Kyoiku-chokugo: This was an imperial letter on education by Meiji Emperor Mutsuhito in 1890 (Meiji 23). It can be summed up as follows: Remember that our imperial ancestors started this country a long time ago. The virtue they built was profound and honorable. Our people have nourished the beauty of virtue with cooperation, loyalty and filial piety through all generations. It is the honor of our nation, and the education roots here in. People, be filial to parents. Brothers get along with love. Couples stay in good harmony and help each other. Friends believe in each other, act decently, and hold out the helping hand of philanthropy.
to all. Study and learn a trade. Cultivate your mind and polish your virtue and talent. Then you should willingly do your best for the society, always observing the Constitution and laws. In an emergency, serve valiantly for the public. In this way, you should devote yourself to the outstanding prosperity of our imperial nation. This means not only that you are faithful, good subjects, but also that you reflect the good traditions that your ancestors have left. This way of life is the lesson that our Imperial ancestors have left, and must be kept by us together with our people and descendants. This is a way of life unchanged through the ages and common to our nation and other nations. We will keep it in mind together with you, our subjects; therefore we hope you will all follow this way of virtue. October 30, 1890   Emperor’s name and seal]

Inoue continued his nationwide lecture tours from 1890 (Meiji 23) to 1893 (Meiji 26). Traveling energetically, he visited various parts of Japan. According to The Annual Reports of the Academy, 1893 (Meiji 26), in almost four years he visited Hokkaido, Kyoto and thirty-two prefectures. He visited a total of 220 locations giving 816 lectures. The total number of lecture days was three hundred and ninety, slightly over the number of days in one year and one month. Transportation then was not as convenient and comfortable as it is now. Traveling was much more difficult than we can imagine. Inoue’s youth (mid-thirties) and his passion toward education gave him stamina. As president of the
Academy he was conscious of his responsibilities, and that had changed his way of life. His calling cards read “Temperance, No Smoking, Thrift in All,” a motto he actually kept. Sometimes he requested a contribution as a “prepayment of an obituary gift,” so it was likely that he was, at times, misunderstood. Even with such arduous efforts, donations only reached a little more than 8,250 yen.

Jo Niijima, founder of Doshisha English School (later Doshisha University) also began fund promotion to establish a university course. However, at the age of forty-eight in January, 1890 (Meiji 23) while on a journey to secure donations, he died of illness. The realization of his dream was not to be seen with his own eyes. The donation amounts and the names of the donors were published in newspapers. The political world and the business circles were great contributors; for example, Shigenobu Okuma donated 1,000 yen, Eiichi Shibusawa (a high-classed bureaucrat and businessman who founded more than 500 banks and companies) donated 6,000 yen, and Yanosuke Iwasaki, the second president of Mitsubishi Corporation, donated 5,000 yen. Eleven people donated a total of 31,000 yen.

Compared to the Academy of Philosophy, there was a fundamental difference in the recruitment of funds. Enryo Inoue had persistently carried out school management based on public support from the very beginning. However, according to his way and the nature of the Academy, his supporters and his intended students were ordinary people of
limited means living in various parts of Japan.

**Philosophy for the Public**

Inoue’s lecture tours throughout Japan were more than mere fund promotion. In order to get cooperation for the Academy, he knew it was necessary to make his education policy and philosophy understood. The lectures he gave all over the country to the public popularized philosophy.

At the request of the Kumamoto Prefectural Governor, in January 1893 (Meiji 26) Inoue lectured on “the Effect of Philosophy.” Thousands of people in a large theater in Kumamoto City were moved by his impassioned two-hour speech. Shuhei Uchida, a professor of the Fifth High School (presently Kumamoto National University) was surprised at the reaction of the audience, and shared his pleasure with Inoue.

Analyzing how Inoue could make the term ‘philosophy’ widely known to even women and children through his lectures and books, Uchida said:

*I was most impressed that he had translated the originals, but never used the original words themselves. It is impossible for others to do so. In those days, trendy academics often used the original words, but he did not do so. He translated the original concepts into as simple and easy Japanese as possible. This was true of his speeches. I think he is great in this way because within him he could digest such foreign knowledge.*

Inoue never used the difficult terminology of
philosophy, but spoke with his own vocabulary. He had already digested the original text, and for those who had no philosophical background, his simple explanations planted interest in philosophy. As a result, many of those who heard his lectures recommended their sons and acquaintances enter the Academy of Philosophy. Since Inoue believed his educational mission was to popularize philosophy for the public, he made great effort not only through his books but also in his public lectures. Offering a course called Sunday Lecture in 1890 (Meiji 23), Inoue opened his Academy campus directly to the public. Today, this is known as an “Open Lecture.”

**Philosophy Misunderstood**

Enryo Inoue’s effort to popularize philosophy earned him the title “the great scholar of philosophy.” Requests from all over the country came for his philosophy lectures. However, his lectures were not always appreciated. Some lectures, like the one in Kumamoto City, were enthusiastically received by packed audiences, while others were addressed to small unresponsive audiences as if he were speaking to the pillars of the hall. The success or failure of a lecture was often caused by the people’s misunderstanding of philosophy. This was his explanation:

*A typical misunderstanding is caused by the fact that people think philosophy is like the idea of Zen or immortality. Therefore, they expect that philosophy is
learning full of strangeness and wonders. I will tell you a story. There were crowds of people who wanted to see something entertaining in front of my inn. They had been informed that a philosopher was an “immortal” man with a long beard and easy movement, and that a great scholar of something called ‘philosophy’ would come from Tokyo, and give a speech. With my appearance, far from an immortal, some trumpeted loudly that that man with the name of Enryo Inoue was a fake philosopher. Also, at one place, there was a person who called me a “master smith.” It was because he mistook the translation of the term philosophy “tetsugaku,” and the Japanese word meaning the study on iron, also “tetsugaku.” [These words are homonyms with different written characters: tetsu can mean iron while gaku means study]

There were some other reasons why philosophy was misunderstood. As I had said that philosophy was common to all learning, and there was nothing that could not be explained with philosophy, various misunderstandings developed. Some asked me to read and check their poetry (haiku) and compositions. Others asked me to estimate the value of their antiques, and, to my annoyance, some asked me to evaluate their tea ceremony manner or flower arrangements, while in the worst case, others asked me to read their palms.

These kinds of misunderstandings were not serious, but what I felt regret over was that most people thought, regardless of whether it was interesting or difficult, that philosophy was not practical learning. It would neither enrich the family nor strengthen the
country. They imagined that those studying philosophy were debauchees or the curious. Therefore, I made up my mind to make an effort to talk to people about philosophy in easily understandable words.

Philosophy as an Art to Improve Thought

When he was on his lecture tours throughout Japan, Enryo Inoue was often asked the same questions: “What is philosophy?” and “Is philosophy a necessary thing?”

His reply was that almost no one could understand philosophy. No one wanted to study philosophy in the country. Philosophy was considered as difficult learning, neither easily attainable nor profitable in daily life. Therefore, they thought philosophy was an eccentric study for radicals. To remove such misunderstanding, it was necessary for Inoue to give lectures.

His answer to the above two questions was given in The Use of Philosophy which appeared in the magazine “Heaven’s Law” (Ten-soku). In this paper, he stated that to every warrior, farmer, craftsman, and merchant (the four social ranks of Japanese feudal society made by the Tokugawa Shogunate), learning philosophy is necessary as an “art to improve thought.”

He summarized his argument as follows: Human beings consist of the two aspects of body and mind. In order to maintain health, the way of training the body includes exercise and gymnastics. The mind
needs similar training. Philosophy is learning for its own purpose, and a means of thought training. The discoveries of Newton’s universal law of motion and Copernicus’s astronomy were the results of human imagination and creativity elevated by thought. Because thought never develops spontaneously, the mind must have training just like there is physical training for the body. Philosophy is the way to train thought. Philosophy is fundamental learning to acquire perception and thought. Therefore the training of thought and the ability to apply philosophy to other fields should be done during student days. However, students do not need to memorize various views and theories unless they want to be scholars in the future. Philosophy is essential for everybody as general education, and as the art to train thought. Therefore, “studying philosophy” is the foundation of education at the Academy.

Development of Teachers and Religious Leaders

In the five years immediately after the opening of the Academy of Philosophy, only the school name of Tetsugakukan became known nationwide. What the Academy actually was doing, what subjects were taught, and what kind of skills were developed was mostly unknown. Therefore, Enryo Inoue renewed his educational purpose in preparation for becoming a university in the future. A description follows: The Imperial University in those days was separated into four colleges (equivalent to a modern Faculty
or School): Law College, Medical College, Science College and Liberal Arts College. Each private school was pitching their intensive education in one of the same disciplines as taught at the Imperial University. All the private schools were aiming at founding a college as stated in their respective educational archives. Some schools were aiming at becoming law colleges and others medical colleges. The Five Law Schools as they were known including English Law School (presently Chuo University) and Meiji Law School (presently Meiji University), had their own concrete purpose to produce judges and lawyers. Schools like Saisei Gakusha, a famous medical school from 1876-1906, were intended to train medical doctors.

The Academy of Philosophy was aiming to be an intensive liberal arts college. The Liberal Arts College of the Imperial University was an institute to train philosophers, historians and literary scholars. The Academy of Philosophy taught the same subjects as the Liberal Arts College, but its purpose was to train educators and theologians who could apply philosophy directly to their professions.

At the Academy, educator training was for school teachers. Inoue’s idea was to train middle school teachers. The certificate for middle school teachers was exclusively awarded to Imperial University graduates at that time. However, in 1886 (Meiji 19), the Ministry of Education opened the system up to grant teaching certificates for high schools, teacher training schools, and girls’ high
schools to anyone who passed the teaching certificate examination. Inoue decided to train students at the Academy of Philosophy who would attempt the teacher certificate examination, just as law schools taught students who wanted to prepare for the certificate examination to become lawyers and medical schools taught students who wanted to prepare for the certificate examination to become doctors. To accomplish this, higher level studies would be offered in ethics, historical studies, and literature.

In 1890 (Meiji 23), the Academy of Philosophy applied to the Ministry of Education for official approval to offer teaching licenses without an examination as at the Imperial University, but this wasn’t accepted. In 1894 (Meiji 27), the Academy of Philosophy applied together with the Kokugakuin (presently Kokugakuin University), but again it was in vain. Reserving it exclusively for state universities, the Ministry of Education had no interest of awarding that privilege to private schools. Finally in 1899 (Meiji 32), the Academy of Philosophy was granted the privilege. However, acquiring this privilege was not without consequences as it led to the “Academy Incident” (Tetsugakukan jiken).

Behind Inoue’s persistence to offer teacher education was a much larger plan. The idea in his mind was to provide education throughout Japan by means of private organizations. The ideal would be to develop secondary education. The idea was to promote private-sector education. Graduates of the Academy of Philosophy would be dispersed around
the country. Some of them would then establish and manage private junior high schools. These private simplified or informal junior high schools would be established locally depending on the existing powers. Spare rooms could be rented from Buddhist temples. The ratio of enrolled students was to be about 30 students per 1,000 families. An effort would be made for female education which had not yet been offered. These private schools could consider local conditions for alternative options such as winter schools, night schools, schools for the poor, or kindergartens.

Inoue also had ideas about the education of religious leaders. The several Buddhist private schools at the time were founded by specific Buddhist sects. Therefore their educational purpose was the training of priests, specializing in their own sect. For the future, he believed that priests should first study both Oriental and Occidental philosophies. Then they could train in Buddhist ascetic practice, or could continue to study their specific sect doctrines. His intention was to teach them philosophy at the Academy because the Imperial University was the only institute that was currently teaching philosophy.

Enryo Inoue thought that theologians, specifically Buddhist priests, were in almost the same category of education as school teachers. Prior to the Meiji era, Edo period education was in the hands of Buddhist priests. By the Meiji era the academic level of Buddhist priests had become too low to
teach students. This was one of the reasons why Buddhism had declined and why Inoue felt it his urgent duty to educate theologians at the academy of Philosophy.

If school teachers and Buddhist priests, as part of their background studies, learned the philosophy of the East and the West, and were able to apply it, then their professions would indeed benefit society. This reason is why Inoue chose their education as the main purpose of the Academy of Philosophy.

Reform of the Educational System

In 1895 (Meiji 28), the Academy of Philosophy established a junior high school course “Preparatory Course” (Shukikan). They were taught ethics, Chinese classics, mathematics, psychology, and composition in one year. This intensive course was organized to train students who wanted to study secondary education in a short period of time, and was preparation for entering the regular course of the Academy.

The Academy of Philosophy implemented an entrance examination from that year. Previously, applicants were accepted without an entrance examination as the Academy doors were wide open to everyone who wanted to study. Due to a remarkable increase in applicants, an entrance examination became necessary to determine student academic ability.

With the start of entrance examinations, the
academic departments were reformed. The Academy of Philosophy would now have two departments: the Department of Education and the Department of Religion. Each department would have a one-year Preparatory Course and a two-year Regular Course. Inoue’s educational program to develop teachers and religious leaders had materialized.
II
Development of Educational Principles
1. The Road to Establish Toyo University

Toyo University and the Library for Oriental Learning

Japan, having won the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95, Meiji 27-28), was proud of the strongest armament in the Far East. It was strong enough to suppress foreign countries, establish colonies, and even resist great external pressure from Europe and America. After this war, capitalism in Japan expanded, changing Japanese society along with it.

Enryo Inoue had originally thought the Academy of Philosophy would be named “Nippon University” or “The University of Japanism,” but he abandoned this idea. In a New Year speech in 1896 (Meiji 29), for the first time, he called it “Toyo University.” He said that if Japan, having achieved a great victory in the Sino-Japanese War, wanted to be the leader of the Orient and a world power, it must have great educational strength. He thought that Toyo University would exemplify the power of oriental studies in the world of learning. Then, people from Western countries would come to Japan to study oriental learning, just as Japanese had been
studying in Europe and America to learn Western ideas. In the future, Japan should be a country to which Foreigners would like to come for learning.

In the same speech, he referred to the foundation of a university library. A university without a library was like a soldier without arms, or a rifle without bullets. Pleading for cooperation from others, Inoue said that with a complete library of Japanese, Chinese, and Buddhism texts, Toyo University could be a learning center for Oriental studies. He said he intended to establish “an Oriental library affiliated with the Academy.” His fund-raising lecture tours throughout Japan for the establishment of the specialized course or university course had stopped during the Sino-Japanese War, but he started again in March of that year. Traveling all around Nagano Prefecture on a lecture tour, he received contributions of 1,856 yen for the construction of a new building for the university course.

On the 8th of June in that year, Enryo Inoue was conferred a Doctorate of Letters which placed him in a celebratory mood. In December, he announced that the Academy would open a department for majors in Chinese Literature and Language. With this favorable start, he continued advancing one step at a time, but then a sudden reversal of fortune befell his school. A tragic fire burned down the whole school.
Fire at the Academy

On Sunday, December 13, 1896 (Meiji 29) a fire broke out around 10:30 at night. Ikubunkan High School which shared the Academy facilities had carpenters in the barn that day repairing desks and chairs. The blaze started in the barn from a cigarette or from a small fire kept by the carpenters for warmth.

When the soundly sleeping students were woken up, it was already as bright as daytime on campus. Notification to the fire station was delayed because there was no police box nearby. The Shinjoji Temple bell was rung to alert the neighborhood. As people in the neighborhood came running, the blaze consumed the roof of the barn. Carrying water from the well at Inoue’s house, all concerned tried desperately to extinguish the blaze. The fire raged, spreading to the schoolhouse, and then to the dormitory. The students removed their personal belongings, but could do nothing except watch in disbelief as the fire burned down the buildings. Within an hour, the schoolhouse, the dormitory, and most of the books and documents were ashes.

The fire painfully upset Ikubunkan High School Principal Ichiro Tanahashi, but Inoue was not overly agitated. Students went to console him and one said, *You must have been shocked at the unexpected accident!* Sitting on the verandah of his house, he answered calmly, *I could save most of my things.* From this episode, one can surmise that he
was always rational and composed.

As a student at the Imperial University, Inoue had organized the *Society for Research into Strange Phenomena* in 1886 (Meiji 19) and the *Society for Research into Demonology* in 1891 (Meiji 24). Based on his own rational and practical mind, he was trying to eradicate superstition and the belief in ghostly specters. The Japanese word for superstition *meishin* is believed to have become popular through his efforts to research such phenomena. His intention was to prove that there was no truth to the existence of a dark world of influence. With the Academy buildings, he had ignored the superstitious beliefs that compass directions had an impact on one’s well-being, similar to contemporary Feng Shui beliefs.

In a newspaper reporting the fire, it was written, *No, even a doctor cannot contend against the rulers of the tabooed quarter* (the north-east direction from one’s present position in the *Way of Yin and Yang* in China). The newspaper article was a sarcastic commentary on the fact that Inoue had suffered the calamity of a fire in spite of his assertions.

**The Birth of Hakusan Schoolhouse**

As the fire was in the middle of December, very close to the winter break, the school closed immediately. Study sessions in the New Year began in a temporary schoolhouse. Around April of the following year, schoolhouse reconstruction was set to begin,
but the location would move from Horai-cho. The new location was Keisei-ga-kubo in Hara-machi, Koishikawa Ward which is the present Hakusan Campus of Toyo University.

One hundred and fifteen years ago, the heights of this area were covered with thickets in which pheasants clucked about while the lower regions were marshes and rice paddy fields. The students were surprised at the sight of this location, and sighed, *What do you intend to do, buying such a place, Professor?* Inoue, with a clear vision in his head, laughingly answered, *You cannot understand it yet.*

Actually, this land had been purchased the previous year, in November 1895 (Meiji 28), for the planned site of the new Toyo University and its library. The plan for such construction was declared in his New Year speech of 1896 (Meiji 29).

The architectural plan for the new school building was already in *The Annual Report of the Academy, 1895*. However, with the land purchase, Inoue had originally intended to develop the campus five years later. The fire hastened its development. Construction of the new facility kept Inoue so busy that he had no time to rest. He tried to turn such misfortune into a blessing. His restless effort brought about a new schoolhouse in July, and in September, second semester lectures began in it. Despite this mixed blessing, Inoue later referred to his hardships as *Three Catastrophic Days*. The first was the destruction by typhoon of the almost complete schoolhouse on the Horai-cho Campus, a day he called
the “wind disaster.” The second catastrophe was this fire, which he called the “fire disaster.” The third catastrophe, introduced later, he called “the human disaster”. It was the Academy Incident occurring in 1902 (Meiji 35).

Establishment of Keihoku Junior High School

The accidental fire did not stall Enryo Inoue for long. His plans for educational development continued unabatedly. The Department of Chinese Language and Literature that had been previously announced was opened on January 10, 1897 (Meiji 30) with classes beginning on January 18. More than seventy students enrolled. Out of his three planned Departments of Japanese, Chinese and Buddhism, he opened Chinese Language and Literature first.
because Kokugakuin had already founded a Department of Japanese Language and Literature, and each Buddhist sect already had schools for majors in Buddhism. It wasn’t long before he opened the next department. The establishment of the Department of Buddhism was announced in February, and the opening ceremony was held at Rinshoin Temple on April 8.

While moving forward in this way towards the establishment of a university, Inoue was also working toward the realization of an integrated education system from kindergarten through to university. One month after moving into the new schoolhouse in Hara-machi, the Academy was honored with a royal gift of 300 yen from the Imperial Household Ministry.

With this gift money, Inoue was determined to establish a junior high school for the development of secondary education. Construction of a schoolhouse began quickly in October. Keihoku Private Junior High School was then established on February 26, 1899 (Meiji 32). The headmaster was Enryo Inoue himself with Takehiko Yumoto supporting him as vice-headmaster. Yumoto had formerly served as a teacher of the Crown Prince. He was chief editor of “Current Views On Education” (Kyoiku Jiron), a famous magazine in education circles, while simultaneously lecturing at the Academy. When the new semester started in April, Inoue himself taught in the classroom. Critic and esthetician, Jiro Abe who became famous as the author of
a novel *Santaro’s Diary*, was one of the first graduates from Keihoku.

Keihoku Junior High School was step one of Inoue’s integrated education concept. Keihoku Kindergarten followed in 1905 (Meiji 38). This school’s corporate body became Keihoku Gakuin and included a kindergarten, a junior-high school and a high school. The location was next door to what has become the Hakusan Campus of Toyo University. Formerly an independent educational body, they have joined in the corporate affairs of Toyo University. They are soon to move to a nearby newly built campus.

**Certification of Teachers Exempt from License Examination and Military Service**

The Academy applied twice after 1890 (Meiji 23) for permission to grant high school teaching certificates without the examination, but both times were rejected. The Ministry of Education in 1899 (Meiji 32) proclaimed a ministerial ordinance on teacher licenses for private school graduates. Private vocational schools would be allowed the privilege to grant teaching certificates without examinations to graduates for teacher training, and teaching in junior high schools and girl’s high schools. The Academy immediately applied for this privilege, together with Kokugakuin (presently Kokugakuin University) and Tokyo Vocational School (presently Waseda University). Quick acceptance of the application
came on July 10.

The Academy was officially approved for three kinds of certificates: the certificate for training college teachers, the certificate for junior high school teachers, and the certificate for girls’ high school teachers. Specifically, the Academy was given permission to grant the teaching certificate for morals and education (the latter was ratified on November 7) to the graduates from the Morals Education A Course of the Faculty of Education, and also the teaching certificate to graduates from the Chinese Literature A Course of the Faculty of Education. Without students having to take teaching license examinations, the official issuance of teaching credentials to graduates would commence after three years, from 1902 (Meiji 35) onward.

With permission for exam-free certification of teachers, the Academy changed its education system. In September, 1900 (Meiji 33), the old system was replaced by a new education system with a one-year Preparatory Course and a three-year Regular Course. The Regular Course formed part of the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Philosophy. The Education Faculty consisted of the two departments of Ethics (later becoming the First Department), and Chinese Language and Literature (later becoming the Second Department). The Chinese Special Course was merged into the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, and the Buddhism Special Course into the Faculty of Philosophy.
In 1900 (Meiji 33), exam-free teaching licenses for Japanese language teachers of junior high school could be issued to the A-grade graduates from the Department of Chinese Language and Literature.

In the late Meiji period, the privilege of granting teacher certification without an examination was crucial not only for the education of teachers, but also for the development of private vocational schools. The main source of revenue of a private school was the tuition paid by students. With special privileges, schools could collect many students and gain financial well-being. Two important privileges were exam-free teaching licenses for graduates and student exemption from military service.

As to the teacher's license without examination, the Academy, Kokugakuin and Tokyo Vocational School were first to receive this privilege in 1899 (Meiji 32). They were followed by Keiogijuku (presently Keio University) in 1900 (Meiji 33) and Nihon Law School (presently Nihon University) in 1901 (Meiji 34).

At the turn of the century, with the privilege of student exemption from military conscription given in 1900 (Meiji 33), the Academy was equipped with the two essential conditions for the development of a private school. The schools given the privilege were:

1886 Nihon Law School (Nihon University)
Keiogijuku (Keio University)
1889 Tokyo Vocational School (Waseda University)
Previous Announcement of University Education at the Academy

The Academy had achieved satisfactory results before earning the privilege of being able to grant teaching licenses to students without the national license examination. Archived records show that twelve graduates from the Academy passed the exam at the 13th Teacher’s License Pre-Examination for teacher training school, junior high school and girls’ high school which was given by the national government in January 1900 (Meiji 33). Moreover, fifteen graduates passed the Formal Certificate Examination given in March.

Enryo Inoue began actively devoting himself to public duties. He was entrusted by the Ministry of Education in 1900 (Meiji 33) to be a member of the
Committee for Examination of Moral Education Textbooks and in the next year became a member of the Higher Education Conference. With these appointments, he felt able to publicize in April 1902 (Meiji 35), the Previous Announcement of Opening of University Education at the Academy of Philosophy.

The Academy was teaching Japanese Literature (including Shintoism), Chinese Literature (including Confucianism) and Buddhism. The University Course Inoue designed was to have the following two departments: the Department of Ethics teaching Confucianism (Eastern Ethics) and the Department of Education teaching Buddhism (the Eastern Religion). The entrance requirement would be junior high school graduation or its equivalency, and the degree program duration was to be five years. Shintoism was not adopted as a separate study in these departments as Kokugakuin already specialized in it.

For the campus of the University Course, Inoue was going to buy about three hectares of new land. Moving the Academy there, he would use the old Haramachi campus for Keihoku Junior High School. On August 1, 1902 (Meiji 35) Inoue bought 4.4 hectares at Wadayama, Nogata-mura, Toyotama-gun, Tokyo (presently Nogata in Nakano Ward). The funding of this big project (300,000 yen) was to be obtained through donations from the 3,000 Academy alumni, the 30,000 existing and previous correspondence students, and the 22,000 contributors who had previously supported the school.
Ultimately, this land was not used for the campus. It became the precinct of the Philosophy Temple (Tetsugakudo). Eventually, the land was donated to Metropolitan Tokyo, Nakano Ward and is open to residents as Tetsugakudo Park.

In Previous Announcement of Opening of University Education at the Academy, Enryo Inoue reported that Keio University had already opened its University Course and Waseda University, the previous year, had started to prepare for a University Course. The Academy was going to embark on a similar project of university education. Inoue wrote that, at last, the time was ripe for university education. Private schools could meet the qualifications for further development, so Tokyo Vocational School (Tokyo Senmon Gakko) became Waseda University in 1902 (Meiji 35), and the next year Meiji Law School (Meiji Horitsu Gakko) started its university Law course.

In the article, A Survey of the Year Meiji 35 in a magazine called Chuo-Koron published in December, 1902 (Meiji 35), there is the following statement on The Rise of Private Universities: Schools such as Waseda, the Academy of Philosophy, and Meiji Law School for career and reputation stood up comparably to the College of Law and the College of Liberal Arts of the Imperial University. Now with further advancement in their groundwork and sizes, they are developing themselves into universities. I cannot help celebrating their advancement. The rise of private universities is a milestone in education in Japan.
From this comment, it appears that a lot of other schools like the Academy of Philosophy were gaining inertia with educational competence equal to the Imperial University. Shortly after this magazine article appeared, the Academy Incident occurred.
2. The Cause and Development of the Academy Incident

The Academy Incident in 1903 (Meiji 36) shook not only the Academy but also the whole of Japanese society. The real cause of this major incident has not been perfectly understood until now. It began as a dispute between a teacher of the Academy and an inspector from the Ministry of Education concerning a student’s answer on the Ethics examination. The incident was seemingly affected by the Ministry of Education’s bias in favor of national universities, and the government’s stance against social and ideological movements stemming from the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95, Meiji 27-28) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5, Meiji 37-38). In a sense, the Academy was sucked into the complicated political whirlpool of those days, and made an example of. This incident hurt both Enryo Inoue and the Academy of Philosophy. The matter needs careful chronological examination from start to finish.

Postponement of Graduation Examination

On July 14, 1902 (Meiji 35), the Academy of Philosophy held its 12th graduation ceremony. The
Academy was qualified to grant teacher certificates without the national examination from this year on, so certificates for teaching morals and Chinese classics were to be granted at this ceremony to the students who had already passed the graduation examination. However, the students from the Department of Ethics were not yet given these certificates.

Immediately before the graduation examination started on June 23, the Ministry of Education ordered the Academy to postpone the final examination for the graduating students of the Ethics Department. The reason was that the Ethics Department had qualified for the exam-free teaching certificate in November 1899 (Meiji 32). This was later than the other two departments, and therefore, it had not fulfilled the entire period of three years of required education to be eligible for the teaching certificate. The discrepancy was about four months. This Ministry order was not anticipated by the Academy because they were under the impression that the school could graduate the Department of Ethics students with teaching licenses at the same time as those of the other departments. The Academy thought, despite the four month delay, the additional authorization of the Department of Ethics within the same year meant that the Department of Ethics had been also validated, retroactive to July when the others were approved.

The tight application of the three year period resulted from the Ministry of Education carrying out a state-school-centered policy of pressure on private
schools, in addition to a narrow-minded interpretation of bureaucratic regulations.

The Ministry of Education initially had entrusted only governmental institutions the privilege of exam-free teacher certification. It opened its reluctant doors and granted the privilege to private schools in a ministerial decree because a graduate of the private Keiogijuku, Yukio Ozaki, had become Minister of Education. The elevation of private schools had been going on under his jurisdiction. Soon after Ozaki left that office, the Ministry established new national institutions to educate teachers. In March, 1902 (Meiji 35), they mandated Imperial University of Tokyo and other national universities with temporary teacher-training institutes. Under this system, after completion of two years of education, teacher’s certificates for Teacher Colleges and Junior High Schools were granted. The application requirement was graduation from junior high school or intellectual ability at the level of junior high school graduation. In the case of private schools, the requirement was limited to the graduation of junior high school, and the program was for three years. This difference of conditions meant that teacher’s certificates would be mainly given by national institutions and private schools were disadvantaged alternatives.

Even though exam-free teacher certificates could be granted by private schools, compared with the state schools there were still many inequities in governmental treatment: for example, Keiogijuku
earned the privilege in March in 1900 (Meiji 33), but it was quickly rescinded because their facilities were deemed inadequate.

For official approval to issue exam-free teacher certificates, there were conditions in addition to “adequate facilities.” Inspections of graduation examinations took place by officials of the Approval Committee of Teacher Certification or public officials such as school inspectors in the Ministry of Education. These officials would attend the graduation examination of a private school to evaluate the examination questions and the answers. If the examination questions or test methods were deemed unsuitable, they could force changes. The Ministry of Education was able to employ such tactics to place private schools under their control.

**Act of Evil with Good Motive**

At the Academy on October 25 1902 (Meiji 35), the final exam of the A Course of the First Department (the Ethics Department) had started. The week of graduation examinations was to last until the 31st. Four examinees were taking the examination in the library. The Ministry of Education sent their personnel Aritaka Kumamoto and Shigekichi Kumamoto along with some attendants. Office workers of the school were in attendance as well. It was during this examination that the Academy Incident transpired.

Tokuzo Nakajima was the Ethics lecturer. At
thirty-four years of age in 1897 (Meiji 30), he had become a lecturer of the Academy. In 1900 (Meiji 33), he was appointed to the Ethics Textbook Drafting Committee in the Ministry of Education, so he took a leave. He returned as a lecturer to the school the following year. Nakajima’s class textbook was the translation by Genyoku Kuwaki of the first edition of The Elements of Ethics, written by John Henry Muirhead in 1892 (Meiji 25). Muirhead was a Neo-Hegelian philosopher in England. This textbook had been adopted by many schools at that time. The examination questions focused on the content of this textbook. The first translation titled “Ethics” had been published by Toyama-bo in 1897 (Meiji 30).

At the end of the exam, school inspector Aritaka Kumamoto examined the answer sheets, specifically the paper of Mitsuo Kato. He had been given the top grade by Nakajima. According to Nakajima, he said he had written about the main issues in the textbook. His answer sheet was taken to the Ministry of Education during the incident and is not on public record. It remains inaccessible.

The test question was Is there any act whose result is evil even though the motive is good? Kato answered, Seeing only a result without motive, we should not judge it good or evil. If so, all who commit regicide (shigyaku) for the purpose of liberty must be punished... The Japanese term Shigyaku means regicide: killing a king or queen.

This answer reflected Muirhead’s theory which
stated that in the act of regicide, even with a good motive such as ‘for Liberty,’ the result becomes evil in the end. We must make an ethical judgment on his act by considering the entire act including the motive and the result. The exchange of opinions between Kumamoto and Nakajima over this answer was the catalyst for the Academy Incident.

The Exchange Between Kumamoto and Nakajima

When he found Kato’s response in the answer
sheet, Kumamoto asked Nakajima, *Did you add some words of criticism to this theory of Muirhead’s?* Nakajima answered, *As I chose it as a textbook suitable to the level of my students, I didn’t criticize anything.*

Kumamoto then brought up the case of Toru Hoshi, an influential person of the Seiyukai (a political party) who had been assassinated by swordsman Sotaro Iba in the councilor’s room in Tokyo Town Hall in June of the previous year. Hoshi had been a politician who was rumored in newspapers to be corrupt. The conversational exchange between Kumamoto and Nakajima included the following:

_Iba said it was wonderful he could kill that filthy swine for the benefit of the country. Don’t you think he was good in his motive?_ Kumamoto proffered. Nakajima replied, *No, that was not the case. His motive was merely subjective and emotional. So his motive couldn’t be good.* Next, Kumamoto queried _But, if the motive is good, it is not evil to kill the lord, is it?_ To this question, Nakajima applied the theory of Muirhead. *Regicide should not necessarily be rejected. In an inevitable case, the act is sometimes acceptable if the motive is good. There has been no case of killing a lord in Japan. In England, Cromwell (Oliver Cromwell, 1599-1658) leading the Parliament Army defeated the King’s Army. He executed Charles I and adopted a republican form of government. What he did is accepted by historians._ Kumamoto then asked _Does Green explain things like you?_ I think so, replied Nakajima.
Thomas Hill Green (1836-82) was a representative philosopher of the New Idealism School in England. He supported the theory of self-realization, and supposed in his theory that the realization of one’s ego is good for the self and therefore, good for the public. As the source of sovereign power is grounded in a moral sense shared by the people, the nation must positively be concerned with giving the people their freedom. With this idea, he proposed a new political theory that introduced positive governmental functions to the stagnating England of the 19th century. As it happened, Muirhead had been influenced by Green’s theory of self-realization.

Nakajima’s acceptance of regicide as allowable in some cases, must have stirred up Kumamoto whose position would be that such a response is a serious problem for the national polity of Japan. Nakajima had no idea what this incident would become.
Rumors after the Examination

For the four students of the First Department of the Faculty of Education (the Department of Ethics), the school held a second graduation ceremony on November 7, one week after the graduation exam. In his address, President Inoue told the students that they should remember they were the first graduates honored with the teacher’s certificate, free of examination. He advised them to be careful when they applied Western learning to Japanese national affairs. Nakajima, in his speech to these graduates, referred to Muirhead’s theory of Ego-Realization and its application. He said that one must be prudent in the application of this theory to avoid misunderstanding in actual cases because the newest and sharpest theory could be very dangerous with faulty application. At this same ceremony, Mitsuo Kato, whose exam response had come under scrutiny, gave the valedictory speech, representing all the graduates.

On November 10, Enryo Inoue, Tokuzo Nakajima, and Takehiko Yumoto called on Aritaka Kumamoto at the Ministry of Education. They went there because only a few days after the problematic Ethics examination, a rumor was circulating that the Academy would lose its privilege to issue exam-free teacher certificates. To this day, there is no confirmation of the actual content of the rumor or how it started. In fact, it is mysterious how the exchange between Nakajima and Kumamoto over the Ethics
examination could cause such a rumor. Therefore, a significant number of researchers question whether the incident ever really happened.

As it was, having heard the rumor, those three became anxious and went to the Ministry of Education to present an explanation. Nakajima explained the motive in Muirhead’s ethics, adding that the motive was not intended to disrupt the law and order of a nation. Muirhead had written that if a motive was good, some cases would allow revolt against and the imprisonment of the sovereign.

Nakajima continued that determining what a “good motive” was could not be made by an arbitrary selection by individuals or an unreasonable choice. Nakajima emphasized that such a case would never happen in Japan with the Emperor’s everlasting reign. However, Kumamoto broke off his conversation with them, with the reason that he had another appointment. Then, Nakajima presented to Kumamoto a Japanese translation of *The Elements of Ethics*, which wrote about what he was trying to explain, in order to get Kumamoto’s understanding.

On November 14, Inoue visited the home of Ryohei Okada, chief of the General Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education. Okada had been serving as a bureaucrat since 1893 (Meiji 26). He worked on the implementation of *The Vocational School Order* (1903) and *The System of Governmental Authorization of Textbooks* (1904). Later he became a Minister of Education, and worked on the
reformation of the education system of Japan.

Okada had suspected from the report of the school inspectors that the Academy had done something inexpedient. At their meeting, Inoue explained the teaching on Ethics at the Academy. The teachers divided the teaching of Ethics into two parts. Nakajima taught the theoretical part, and the practical part was taught by Inoue himself. Furthermore, he explained the content of their educational principles. He insisted they were faithfully teaching the students loyalty, filial piety, and priority to the nation consistent with the *Imperial Rescript on Education*, so that people as subjects of the nation would have respect for the Imperial family.

Since Inoue considered “loyalty and patriotism” highly important, he made a great effort to popularize the *Imperial Rescript on Education* all over Japan. This was so well known to people that some called him “a stubborn patriot.” He asked Okada to see whether the report of the school inspectors would influence their status of issuing teaching licenses.

On November 15, Inoue left for a tour abroad from Shimbashi Station, the then terminal station of the Tokaido line in Tokyo. This second tour to Europe had long been scheduled. The tour purpose was to gather information about universities in foreign countries, and make use of it to fine tune the future policy of the Academy. As Nakajima was well-trusted, Inoue appointed him to the post of acting president during his absence of six months. As he was leaving for abroad at this time, Inoue had
no inkling that the Ethics exam issue would develop into a major incident.

The Explanation by Tokuzo Nakajima

On November 17, a letter of inquiry reached the Academy from the Ministry of Education. The Academy was to explain the teaching methodology in the Ethics class on the relationship between ‘motive’ and ‘act.’ The Academy was to submit all the answer sheets of the final exam. This was the first investigation by the Ministry of Education to check the content of Ethics education at the Academy. Until then, the trouble had been merely a rumor, not a case. Finally “the incident” became reality.

On November 19, Nakajima took a copy of Muirhead’s *The Elements of Ethics* and a letter with the name of President Enryo Inoue to the Ministry of Education. In a meeting with Ryohei Okada, he described what part of the textbook he used in his class and what he taught. He repeated what he had said to Aritaka Kumamoto at the school. As to regicide, a massacre of royalty, he emphatically explained that it was a matter of theory, and Muirhead’s thought, in fact, would never apply to Japan.

To clear up the misunderstanding, he emphasized that dangerous education corrupting the national polity had never been given to the students at the school administrated by Enryo Inoue, a man of “loyalty and patriotism.” The Academy, he added,
would quite willingly accept another inspection if there were any further doubt. At that time, Okada answered that personally, he understood him.

On December 8, Nakajima met with Kenjiro Yamakawa, a member of the School Textbook Screening Committee because despite the discussion with Okada, the official teacher certificates had not been granted to the graduates even by December. Anxious and impatient, Nakajima went to see Yamakawa on the suggestion of an acquaintance. Yamakawa said that it was undesirable that Nakajima had given no comment to such a serious matter as regicide in his class. In reply, Nakajima answered that a textbook was an expedient to teach and no student would be influenced through the quoted instance, as such a case would never happen in Japan.

In the afternoon of the same day, Nakajima visited the Ministry of Education and met with Matsumura, manager of the Committee for Official Approval of Teacher Certification. Nakajima again made an earnest apology and implored him to grant the teacher certificates as soon as possible. What Matsumura actually said is not documented, but Nakajima himself thought that he had gotten consent.

Cancellation of Official Approval to Grant Exam-free Teacher Certificates

Takehiko Yumoto had a visit from Nojiri, a
school inspector of the Ministry of Education on December 14. An old friend, Nojiri, told Yumoto that the Ministry on the 13th had cancelled the approval to grant teacher certificates by the Academy. He gave the following reasons for the cancellation:

1) It is due to the teaching of the Ethics Department, not by reason of the facilities.

2) The selected textbook contains unfavorable content inexcusably against the national polity. If graduates teach such ideas in junior high schools and at teacher training colleges, the results will be serious.

3) The Academy employs a teacher who has an unacceptable point of view.

This has been clearly determined from the documents submitted by the Academy to the Ministry of Education, because of the letter submitted by Nakajima to the Academy, the fact that a student’s test quoted undesirable notions, and lastly, Nakajima gave the highest score to this student.

Resultantly under such circumstances and for employing such a teacher, the Academy of Philosophy cannot avoid severe consequences. Rightfully, the Ministry of Education should order the closure of the Academy, but at this time, understanding the situation of the school, will do nothing more than cancel privilege to grant exam-free teacher certificates. The chief professor of the Ethics Department should resign over his responsibility for the consequences.

This was an informal visit, and there are no
records of Nojiri’s response to the above reprimand.

On December 18, the letter of cancellation was formally delivered from Minister of Education Dairoku Kikuchi to President Enryo Inoue. It stated:

*The entitlement of dealing the Education Ministry Act 25-1 (The approval for issuing examination-free teacher certificates) entrusted to The First Department and the Second Department of your institute in the year of Meiji 32 will be canceled as of today, December 13, 1902 (Meiji 35).*

With this official document, the Academy Incident was undeniably real. Nakajima resigned from the school on December 13. However, it seems that he continued to try to resolve the problem. According to his diary, the next year on January 18, he tried to visit Hiroyuki Kato and on January 19 and 20 Ryohei Okada. Unfortunately, he could not meet with them for advice. On January 21, official letters disqualifying the four students from obtaining exam-free teacher certification were sent to the Academy from Koishikawa Ward, Tokyo affixed with its mayor’s seal. (Even now, teaching certificates are issued by the local government.).

**Measures Taken by the Academy**

The cancellation of the granting of exam-free teacher certificates was not only a problem for the four examinees who sat for the final exam, but also
for the eighty-three students in the third year who were studying in the First Department (Ethics and Education) and the Second Department (Japanese and Chinese). Immediately after the cancellation occurred, the school gathered these undergraduates in the auditorium to inform them that the privilege to offer the teacher certificates had been canceled. Students were told they could transfer to other schools if they wanted. Some students transferred to Ochanomizu Teachers’ College. Estimates are that the student numbers were halved.

This privilege was one of the favorable conditions for developing a private school, so the cancellation of it drove the Academy into a corner. The Academy decided to release the following statement: As the president is absent now, the graduates now working in the Academy have conferred and decided to be penitent and tread warily. Hereafter, we will not express our opinions. Although the Ethics lecturer was replaced, the textbook remained in use. They continued to use Muirhead’s Ethics, a situation the students thought was strange.

**Enryo Inoue’s Impression**

Enryo Inoue, had left Kobe port on November 19 and arrived in India on December 13. At the time the cancellation became official, he was meeting with Kojun Omiya and Ekai Kawaguchi, both graduates of the Academy. When he arrived in London on January 24, he first learned of the
developments. He wrote the following:

I got a telegram from Tokyo on December 30, 1902 (Meiji 35). It stated that the privilege of teacher certification at the Academy was cancelled by the Ministry of Education for the reason that there were some undesirable descriptions in the Ethics textbook used by the lecturer of the Department of Ethics in my school. This was publicized in the government gazette dated December 30. With this notice, I will now write in Japanese poetry my impression.

Never think the morning snow will damage the field.
It will make strong the roots of growing wheat plants.
Never mind. There comes sunshine after a storm.
Young paulownia never die even if burned in fire,
downed by the wind or felled by a man.
The more often felled, the stouter paulownia woods flourish.

He contributed this poem to the magazine Oriental Philosophy. Both on and off campus, Inoue made his feelings known. From the phrase felled by a man one can interpret that he thought the Academy Incident was a kind of conspiracy.

The Academy as a Scapegoat

Today, the view that the Academy Incident was persecution is widely accepted as reasonable. The incident was deeply related to the social situation of Japan in the period from the Sino-Japanese to the
Russo-Japanese War. Japan, having won the Sino-Japanese War, developed ambitions in the context of Asia and even on a global scale.

The national policy of wealth and military strength encouraged great domestic progress in production and expanded Japanese capitalism. However, the creation of a massive working class through industrial development created big problems for the nation. Conflictively, there appeared new ideologies: anarchism to deny the existence of the state itself, and socialism. Then in 1899 (Meiji 32), a movement towards Democracy began, such as the organization of the Alliance for Common Elections.

During this time, the concept of individualism was gaining ground. The family system had been the most important component of the Japanese social system. It was esteemed as the basis of warm human feelings, beautiful manners, and the customs of the Japanese; however, it was contradictory with its patriarchal authority and sacrifices required of family members.

Entry into the second half of the Meiji era with its rapid economic advances brought new stages of development to society. The strong bonds of family consciousness broke apart in some homes leading to ruin, scattered relatives and dismantlement. In literature, novels appeared on the theme of escaping ‘family’ restraint in the search for ‘individual’ freedom.’ Individualism gradually had become stronger. Among the post Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)
generation, there was a posture of indifference to the state, weak loyalty, and indifference to war. In this way, a movement away from nationalism was occurring in the minds of some people.

On the other hand, the government, since the Sino-Japanese War (1894), had been proceeding along and was pressing the unification of the state by promoting the sense of “the Empire and subjects” among the people. Therefore, the government tried to strengthen nationalism by means of the general education of the people. In 1894 (Meiji 27) books appeared which denied the universal morals of humanity and emphasized that Japan should have her own specific morals. Nationalism was gaining power, and its pervasiveness could be accelerated by a state-authorized Ethics textbook used in 1904 (Meiji 37). The Academy Incident happened within such a social background.

The central issue of the Academy Incident was the implications of the word shiigyaku or regicide: to kill one’s king. These concepts could be interpreted as a revolt against the Imperial family and the national polity of Japan. Therefore, the Ministry of Education set great store on tightening-up such teaching through its educational administration. This incident happened in the midst of the government’s groping for ways to implant the consciousness of “Empire and subjects” into all people without exception. It was thought that the case was contrived and used as a timely lesson for accomplishing the government’s ulterior motive.
From such a background, the Academy Incident took off and stimulated debate from a wide range of different angles: the Imperial Household and the state, the independence of learning, freedom of thought, and ostensible problems concerning teaching itself.
Questions Raised by Tokuzo Nakajima

After resigning from the Academy, Tokuzo Nakajima made quite an effort to reverse the Educational Ministry decision. However, with the Ministry letter dated March 21, 1903 (Meiji 36), informing the Academy that they had lost the right to give graduates the exam-free teacher certificate, Nakajima revealed the whole story through the mass media. He told his version of the incident, gave his opinion to the public, and asked for public commentary. His lengthy account entitled The Academy Incident and My Opinion finished by the night of the 26th, was sent to several newspapers such as the Mainichi Shinbun, Nihon Shinbun, Jiji Shinbun, Kokumin Shinbun, Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, and Yorozu-choho. His account included the following:

1) an explanation of why he wished public debate on the Academy Incident

2) a complete explanation of how the Academy had lost the privilege to grant exam-free teacher certificates
3) the consequences and penalty
4) issues in teaching Ethics and problems in educational policy
5) a defense of advanced Ethics education

At the end of the five sections, he wrote the following:
1) an acceptance of blame for causing the dispute
2) an assertion that the problem happened due to careless teaching; therefore, the graduates should not have suffered any consequences
3) an inquiry whether careless teaching was the decisive cause of this problem. Consultation with colleagues and a consideration of their opinions raised several issues. Firstly, the Ministry of Education questioned the passage on the relation between motivation and action. These are concepts and remain purely theoretical with no practical application. Secondly, in philosophy, abstract truth should be judged holistically, but the Ministry “became suspicious” of the intent of the instruction and then used tricky interrogation.

Nakajima wanted educators and scholars to debate the issue to illuminate any problematic instruction for which he would then accept his personal responsibility. His exposure of the entire episode stoked the fire of media debate.

View of the Ministry of Education

A critical reaction came quickly from Aritaka
Kumamoto in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*. In accusatory terms, he argued:

*If you were allowed to continue with your good intentions, Sotaro Iba, Ichiro Shimada, Tsuneki Kurushima and Buntaro Nishino would not have been charged and convicted either. Resultantly, the national polity would be thrown into chaos. A lecturer, even when admitting something is just a theory, must teach it to students with an explanation and critical comment to avoid student misunderstanding. If a lecturer does not do so, then he is careless. Therefore, the Ministry concluded this was a case of negligence.*

The four persons mentioned were all terrorists. Iba was the assassin of Postal Minister Toru Hoshi. Shimada was one of the murderers of Toshimichi Okubo, a government councilor. Kurushima had attacked Foreign Minister Shigenobu Okuma. Nishino was the murderer of Arinori Mori, the Minister of Education.

In a direct challenge to Kumamoto, Nakajima in his article *If the words of the Ministry inspector were true* pointed out that the critical issue had been shifted from educational methods to matters of theory with reference to Muirhead’s theory.

As the conflict continued, the Ministry of Education stepped in with an official statement titled *Defense of the Education Ministry Officer Concerned with the Academy Incident* in the newspaper *Jiji Shinpo* dated February 16.

According to the Ministry, this incident was triggered by Nakajima introducing the concept
of regicide (shigyaku) which was the quotation of a greatly unreasonable theory. The matter had been discussed in a conference, and the conclusion reached that the Academy lectured on an unacceptable topic which would endanger the national constitution. The Academy had special privileges from the Ministry which were not given to all schools. Therewith, permission to issue the exam-free teacher certificates was revoked.

The Ministry justification then challenged the publicly held view that the Academy was a victim of “powerful measures for the eradication of private schools.” The Ministry stated the case was caused by mere carelessness, so the penalty was not so strict. However, if the Academy were to advocate dangerous ethical theories against the nation, “the effective closing of the school would be ordered.” Furthermore, the Ministry acknowledged that graduates from the Academy could take the examination for middle school teacher certificates as well as those for other schools. Referring to the dispute between Nakajima and Kumamoto, the Ministry said that Kumamoto was stating personal opinions that were irrelevant to the Ministry’s decision and the penalty.

Mass Media Response

The Academy Incident first appeared in the Nippon Shinbun on December 24, 1902 (Meiji 35). Prior to this, it was known to only the few people who were directly involved. The newspaper article
focused on Tokuzo Nakajima and with inaccurate information distorted the truth. The Academy had not publicly expressed an opinion or position up to this point. The Academy’s version of events was unknown to the public until later when Nakajima spoke out in defense through his newspaper article.

With the public debate between Nakajima and Kumamoto, all the media jumped on this issue at the same time. As the episode was sensational, the public had great interest in it. In May, the issue came under discussion in the National Diet.

A book entitled *The Academy Incident and Ethical Issues* was published in 1903 (Meiji 36). A sequel followed with collected articles from newspapers and magazines. The total number of newspaper articles collected and published in the two books is listed in *Table 5*.

February and March of 1903 (Meiji 36) saw numerous articles on this incident appear in the mass media. In February, there were only four days without coverage in newspapers and magazines. The Academy Incident became so widely covered nationwide that it was said, *A newspaper which did not mention the Academy Incident is not a newspaper.*

The sensationalism of the incident was partly attributable to the Ministry of Education involvement as they had just been embroiled in a separate “school textbook scandal.” The whole land had already been abuzz with the scandal which was one of bribery. In the early days of the Meiji era, schools
II Development of Educational Principles

<Table 5> Articles and Papers on the Academy Incident

December 1902~February 1904

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<Note> 'Others' refers to the total number of known books and papers.

Daily Appearances of Articles Concerning the Academy Incident in February, 1903

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133
could freely determine their textbooks. Then in 1883 (Meiji 16) a new law on textbook authorization was enacted. The Minister of Education authorized a booklist for textbooks and library books that all education committees had to use throughout the country. Through this system, the problem of bribery crept into the world of Japanese education.

Through sheer coincidence, a memo notebook had been found among lost articles on a train. The memo notebook contained a list of sums along with the names and addresses of the receivers. That occurrence opened wide the textbook scandal. On December 17, 1902 (Meiji 35), the police started arresting the people concerned. Over two hundred people were arrested including prefectural governors, chairs of prefectural councils, and educational inspectors in metropolitan areas and prefectures. One of the arrested was Shigeyoshi Kumamoto who together with Aritaka Kumamoto had inspected the Academy graduation examination triggering the Academy Incident.

The Academy Incident, closely following this bribery scandal must have placed the Ministry of Education under severe public scrutiny. The Minister of Education was called out over his responsibility in the bribery scandal. The Academy Incident would have then drawn special public attention because of the timing. One view holds that the Academy Incident was crafted intentionally by the Ministry in order to divert public attention from the textbook bribery scandal.
Media Content on the Academy Incident

The terrific number of media articles on the Academy Incident, fall into several different categories.

Type A: Accusations Against the Ministry of Education—These articles criticized and protested the severe attitude of the Ministry towards the Academy as it would lead to unfavorable standing for private schools. They also referred to the textbook scandals. For instance, the magazine *Yorozu-choho* attacked the Ministry of Education, claiming the Ministry should bear great responsibility for the textbook scandal and the ‘Yotsumeya case.’ Yet, in a hypocritical act the Ministry gave a severe punishment to the Academy over a trivial issue of a careless teacher who did not comment on textbook content. The cause of the problem according to the article was the Ministry’s questionable zeal for loyalty and patriotism as well as their private school eradication policy. The magazines *Rikugo Zasshi, Kyoikugakujutsu-kai,* and *Chuokoron* mainly discussed the Ministry’s prejudicial policy for private schools. The ‘Yotsumeya case’ in April 1902 (Meiji 35) happened over a government-authorized Japanese language book for girls’ high schools which contained a description of a drug store specially dealing in sexual stimulants and sex toys.

The *Asahi Shinbun* wrote about the harshness of the penalty, and added that if the Ministry needed
to impose sanctions on the Academy, it would have been enough to warn the president and demand Tokuzo Nakajima’s dismissal. Additionally, the student who had written the unacceptable comment on his examination paper should have failed the subject. Revoking the privilege of exam-free teacher certification from the Academy was considered excessively harsh.

**Type B: On Academic Freedom**—These journals criticized the Ministry of Education’s action as a denial of academic freedom. Therefore, the penalty itself was an injustice. Ethics is theory, different from the teaching of practical morals. Furthermore, Muirhead’s theory was widely accepted as the most advanced at the time. The same textbook was being used at national colleges. Such academic theory was international in scope, so there should not be interference with teaching or studying such disciplines at any national or private school. In these articles, with the perspective of academic freedom, the Ministry of Education’s behavior was totally unacceptable.

**Type C: Support for the Ministry of Education**—This group of articles supported the decision of the Ministry of Education, upholding their position and the Academy penalty. *The Kyoiku-kai Magazine* reflected such views. Their rationale came from the fact that Nakajima had already admitted not giving sufficient commentary on the questionable text in Muirhead’s *The Elements of Ethics*. They argued the
teacher’s methodology was inadequate. If the professor and these future teachers of ethics and morals at middle schools overlooked the unacceptable implications of such text, the teaching method should be questioned. Therefore, the Ministry of Education acted appropriately and the penalty was justified.

Criticism of Nakajima’s teaching method and the Academy’s responsibility as a teacher training institute appeared in the Kokugakuin Magazine and some other journals. These antagonistic attitudes reflected the perspective of those in national schools and people close to the Ministry of Education.

**Type D: Scandal Accounts**—These journals were mainly interested in the persons incriminated. Their articles came out to satisfy curiosity, so some carried slanderous articles.

For instance, one article says that Tetsujiro Inoue, President of the Literature College at Imperial University of Tokyo, expressed an opinion on the dispute. With a grudge against Enryo Inoue and without deliberate examination of the case, he suggested to the Ministry that they punish the Academy. However, Tetsujiro Inoue later denied this, saying that in fact, he had a different opinion from Enryo Inoue over a certain theory, but had no concern with the Academy issue.

There were other rumored stories in print. In one, Nakajima and Kumamoto are reported to have had a heated argument before the exam confrontation. The ambitious Kumamoto by himself was
reported to have provoked trouble to gain the favor of the Minister of Education who wished to restrict private schools. Such stories remain unsubstantiated to this day.

**Type E: Criticism of the Academy Attitude**—These articles criticized the Academy for their silence and for not taking direct action regarding this incident.

Actually, the students of the Academy were preparing for an open meeting. The school stopped it because President Enryo Inoue had telegrammed from London instructions for them to remain silent. One newspaper wanted to know why the graduates were not protesting. The Academy answered that Mitsuo Kato, the student who had written the answer did not respond due to the absence of the President, the situation of the Academy, and concern for his family. This reluctant attitude of the Academy and the students was not understood by outside people. *Taiyo*, a magazine, taunted them by printing, *How servile the graduates from the Academy are! You are so devastated, but cannot protest it at all. They criticized the Academy for weak-mindedness. There was a chorus of such voices.*

**Type F: Academic Disputes**—Some journals disputed Muirhead’s theory which was the cause of the affair. One particular spirited debate raged between Genyoku Kuwaki, the translator of Muirhead’s *The Elements of Ethics*, and Michikazu Maruyama, a
German language teacher of The First High School. Kuwaki said that Kumamoto had misunderstood the theory of motive in his faulty interpretation over regicide that killing a king was acceptable if the motive was good. Against Kuwaki, Maruyama argued that regardless of how well-intended the motive, the problem was what methods were resorted to. Even if the killing of a king was a hypothetical case on Japanese school desks, not all students were so wise. Hence, teachers must take precautions. He pointed out that Nakajima had created the problem through his teaching.

**Opinion of the Teiyu-rinri-kai**

Without a doubt, the Academy Incident created a media sensation and developed into a societal drama. It seemed the dispute would not end. Finally, the opinion of the Teiyu Ethics Society (Teiyu-rinri-kai) shut it down. This ethics society carried the most weight in those days. They published their position in *Our Opinion on the Academy Incident* on March 10, 1903 (Meiji 36).

*As to the Academy Incident in dispute, Muirhead’s ‘theory on motive’ is not a danger in education. Nakajima should not be so harshly treated because he refrained from commenting on the quotation.*

Their statement clearly vindicated Nakajima’s teaching approach and methods. After the Teiyu Ethics Society published this opinion, the dispute
ended. However, the Ministry of Education did not reinstate Academy privileges regarding the teacher certificates.

**Tokuzo Nakajima and Students**

Tokuzo Nakjima took individual initiative to expose the truth of the Academy Incident, triggering wide debate in the mass media. Meanwhile, the students and graduates continued to demonstrate support for him. For his humor and wit, he had been a popular lecturer with the students. Supporters canvassed other students and graduates who had been taught by him. From thirty-seven students, they collected 62.70 yen in contributions. A representative student presented him with the donation, but he refused it. He felt responsible for the trouble caused to both the Academy and the students.

Upon the advice of the office administrator, Nakajima later accepted the students’ goodwill gesture. However, he used the funds to purchase books for the Academy Library with the money. With those books, Nakajima wanted the Academy to continue its educational advancement in spite of losing the teacher certification. The books Nakajima contributed to the Academy Library can be found today in the Toyo University Library.

After returning from abroad, Inoue with a persuasive effort got Nakajima back teaching at the Academy in August, 1903 (Meiji 36). Twenty-three years later in 1926 (Taisho 15), Nakajima took
Muirhead and the Japan-Anglo Alliance

Professor Muirhead at the University of Birmingham in England was the author of *The Elements of Ethics*, the source of the disputed text. After reading the *Japan Chronicle* on February 4 and 11 in 1903 (Meiji 36), Muirhead became aware that his book was a critical part of the incident. To the same newspaper, he contributed *A Letter of Explanation* to clarify his ideas.

He wrote: *There are two conditions for judging whether an act is good or bad:*

1) *The agent’s heart and character.*
2) *Whether the result of an act gives benefit or damage to society.*

*Applying these criteria to the deed of Ichiro Shimada in the assassination of Councilor Toshimichi Okubo, it is clear that such violent, destructive criminal behavior is not acceptable. In a country like Japan where politics and welfare are peacefully supported by freedom of speech and a representative parliamentary system, anyone resorting to violent, extreme measures is a serious criminal. Any society that overlooks or permits violence is not a civilized country. These conditions were the standards commonly accepted by the academic world in Europe, America, and among Asian peoples.*

At the end of his explanatory letter, Muirhead stated his wish to eliminate any misunderstanding.
To resolve matters with the Academy, Muirhead sent personal letters to both Tokuzo Nakajima and to Enryo Inoue who was still traveling in Europe. Calling at the Japanese Legation in London, he handed a letter to Minister Hayashi, petitioning him to make an effort to settle this problem.

Hayashi, from common sense, thought that the cancellation of the privilege to grant teacher certificates was impossible to understand. However, thinking Muirhead’s involvement could make it into an international issue, Hayashi recommended that Muirhead speak directly to Enryo Inoue.

After the Sino-Japanese War, Russia’s southern expansion policy was a serious problem for Japan. With Russia’s advance to Korea, the Japanese government was strengthening their posture for confrontation. The policy of accommodating Russia was shifting towards a strong anti-Russia direction. At that time in 1902 (Meiji 35), the “Anglo-Japanese Alliance” had been concluded. This alliance gave Japan confidence to strengthen policy against Russia.

At such a sensitive diplomatic juncture, Hayashi worried that if the Academy Incident became a diplomatic issue, it would have an influence on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. He sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jutaro Komura. This letter is kept by the Ministry to this day. Hayashi explained Muirhead’s message in this letter. He added that he had already explained to Muirhead that this educational matter was under the control
of the Ministry of Education. However, Hayashi’s fear was that the Ministry of Education response might be seen by the British people as “a fruitless measure which hinders freedom of thought and restrains freedom of speech.” Not to permit the reading of a book that was already widely circulated was unreasonable and showed too much intervention in “private school affairs.” This was a delicate situation with the potential for a diplomatic crisis.

After the Ministry of Education received the report from Hayashi, a letter in July was sent to Muirhead in the name of the Minister of Education. It said—As the privilege of issuing Exam-free Teacher Certificates is only permitted to schools with “perfect educational management,” the Academy of Philosophy was not able to satisfy that requirement, and so the privilege was cancelled. The Ministry is not opposing your theories.

The Ministry claimed the problem arose from a poor teaching method, denying any contradictory interpretation of Muirhead’s theory. It became apparent that the Japanese government was avoiding controversy so as not to damage the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

**Enryo Inoue in London**

On receiving notification of the Academy Incident, Inoue Enryo expressed his feelings in a poem; however, he had also appealed to his Tokyo staff to make a strong effort to see if the Ministry would
reverse its decision on the cancelled privileges. Following his directive, the Academy on April 20 delivered a petition letter to the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, Inoue had received a letter from Muirhead in London in the beginning of April, and Inoue had asked to meet him immediately.

Next, Inoue called on Minister Hayashi. In way of an explanation, Hayashi said, *It might be because Nakajima had a quarrel with the inspector. Otherwise, I cannot with common sense imagine such a measure as canceling the certificate privilege.* Inoue instantly denied the possibility of that conjecture. Hayashi continued, *I am worried about this case. If it becomes known to British people, it will upset them, and the outcome might damage the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Therefore, I have already asked Muirhead for his understanding.*

Enryo Inoue’s thoughts on the Academy Incident, becoming a serious diplomatic problem, would have been important to understand his way of dealing with the situation. Unfortunately, there is no remaining documentation regarding this complicated situation. Furthermore, Inoue encountered schedule difficulties and never did meet with Muirhead.
4.

Development of Educational Principles of the Academy of Philosophy

Enryo Inoue and the Ministry of Education

After returning from his tour of Europe and America, Enryo Inoue was interviewed by the Japan Newspaper (Nippon Shinbun) on July 27, 1903 (Meiji 36). He spoke about the Academy Incident. Referring to his discussion with Ryohei Okada just prior to departing on tour, Inoue said that at the time, he had not imagined it would develop into such a big problem. He also explained the steps he had taken to deal with this issue.

In a significant comment, Inoue said, This is not a natural calamity but a human disaster. Certainly a swirl of questions needed explanation. Inoue was puzzled over questions such as: Why did the Ministry suddenly order the Academy to stop the Department of Ethics graduation examination a few days before the scheduled date and what were their intentions? In 1899 (Meiji 32) when the Academy applied to open the Department of Ethics, the application missed the deadline by three days. The Ministry now was saying that the department would not be qualified before it had fulfilled the
specific three year instructional requirement. If this were such a serious matter, the Ministry could have informed him much earlier.

On losing the privilege to grant teacher certificates, Inoue pointed out how extremely unfair this action was not only for the students who were to sit for the examination, but also for the other years of students who had entered the Academy to take advantage of this privilege. Inoue had played a significant role in disseminating the Imperial Rescript on Education, and had actively promoted practical ethics by publishing “A Proposal for Ethical Education in Japan” (Nihon Rinrigaku-an), “A Practical Method of Teaching Royalty and Piety” (Chukou-katsuron), and “The Original Meaning of The Imperial Rescript on Education” (Chokugo-gengi). As he had been very active in promoting Ministry creeds, he told the newspaper he could not understand why this whole episode had happened at the Academy.

In this interview, Inoue’s attitude toward the Ministry of Education was evident. Inoue explained how he had petitioned the Ministry on behalf of the student whose answer had been criticized leading to his exam failure, but the Ministry of Education never replied to the petition. Taking these facts into consideration, if the privilege of the issuing teacher certificates were to be reinstated, Inoue said he would have to refuse it until the student’s situation was resolved. This was an “obligation of the Academy” regarding the welfare of its students. With a defiant tone, Inoue declared, I will not recognize any
more of their sanctions. His determination against this injustice never weakened after that.

Not long after returning from his tour, he got Tokuzo Nakajima to return to the Academy. In Nakajima’s diary, there is the entry I agreed to be a lecturer of the school again with pleasure. Inoue probably decided to get Nakajima back on staff in order to return the Academy to the way it was before the incident.

**Changes after the Incident**

On August 5, a welcome home event was held for President Inoue and Ekai Kawaguchi (1866-1945) who had recently returned from India. For entertainment, a costume parade was organized. One costume portrayed Aritaka Kumamoto as a bear being pulled around on a rope. This scene greatly amused Inoue. Later though, a student and a graduate proposed in their welcome back speeches that they should rename the Academy as “Philosophy University” (Tetsugakukan Daigaku) just like Tokyo Vocational College had become Waseda University through the Vocational College Order enacted the previous March. Inoue’s normal countenance disappeared and he looked tense. Clearly, something was on his mind.

In a newspaper interview on the theme of Religion in the Future before his trip abroad, Inoue said the purpose of the trip to Europe and America was to study ‘how private universities were organized
and their systems of administration.’ He intended to study school financial management because he said, half-jokingly, *It is easy to support myself, but difficult to support a school with a big stomach.*

In the same interview, he had expressed his view on the development of various fields in Japan: *In these days when Japanese society is poor in self-governance in various fields, it is expedient to get support from the government. Developments of medicine, developments in law, and developments in education all transpired through the power of the government. If development is left to the private sector, not much could be expected in terms of development and progress.* He mentioned that his opinion had been already expressed that the nation should follow the “railway” or the wealth and military strength policy already set by the government to create new businesses and industry.

However, with the Academy Incident, Inoue suspected the government was trying to force the Academy into closure and he realized how petty Ministry of Education policies were toward private schools. Reflecting upon such an attitude, he changed his fundamental view of the government. While in England, Inoue made a careful consideration of new policies for the Academy.

**Vocational School Order**

Long before the Academy Incident, private schools had been carrying on vigorous campaigns
for government acknowledgement of their efforts as higher education organizations. The government's selective educational policy recognized only their endorsed colleges and universities as higher education institutes. For these schools, the Ministry of Education gave exemption of military service and the privilege of offering the exam-free teacher certificates. These special privileges had been extended to only a small number of private schools. The mass media criticized the Ministry of Education's selectivity, saying it was a policy to ‘crush private schools.’ Unable to continue ignoring the social awareness of the value of private schools, the government proclaimed the Vocational School Order on March, 1903 (Meiji 36). However, this proclamation did not mean that the government had changed its fundamental attitude. Their proclamation came out at the height of the Academy Incident. That is why it was the focal point of some student speeches at the event to honor President Inoue’s return home.

Vocational schools were defined as “schools to instruct higher art and science crafts.” In the Imperial University Order, universities were expected “to answer the needs of the state” and “to pursue studies and develop academic research,” but vocational schools were not expected to have such roles. The Vocational College Order was intended to place vocational schools at a lower rank than universities because the study requirements involved fewer years than national universities and university lectures were solely given in Japanese. The new Order
introduced an approval system that required approval by the Minister of Education to establish or abolish a vocational college. Previously, private colleges were established with mere notification. The Vocational College Order tightened up governmental control over private schools in exchange for some benefits and status.

Before the introduction of the Vocational College Order in 1903 (Meiji 36), the government position was that a ‘university’ (Daigaku) must be of similar size to the Imperial University. Some private schools in the Meiji 20’s had taken to calling themselves ‘university schools’ (Daigakkuko), but they were quite different from the officially authorized government universities. The government was now permitting private schools to use the title ‘university,’ if they had authorization under the Vocational College Order. There had been no change in the attitude of the government toward private schools. Their basic policy was to control private schools without offering financial support. Private colleges as “universities” still had to make their own way without any government financial assistance, so all they got was a title without benefits.

Considering name status, it was a leap forward for a private school to be a vocational college or university. Hence, a lot of vocational universities came into existence. In 1903 (Meiji 36), three state schools and thirteen private schools received authorization as vocational colleges or vocational universities. The following year, one more public school and twenty-
two private schools followed suit. By 1905 (Meiji 38), sixty-three schools (including business schools) had become vocational colleges or universities.

**Ideas on Independence and Self-Support**

Enryo Inoue announced the new educational policy of the Academy in a paper entitled *Announcement to All Students and Alumni* on September 5, 1903 (Meiji 36). He did not dwell on the Academy Incident: his gaze was already fixed on the future. The Academy had overcome two natural disasters: the wind disaster and the fire disaster. Inoue believed the Academy Incident, as a human disaster, was an opportunity to both ‘evolve independently and to expand offerings in practical education.’ With knowledge acquired from overseas and lessons from the Academy Incident, he charted the future direction.

By comparing Japan and the United Kingdom, Inoue was able to determine his new educational direction. The reason why England had become a world powerhouse was surely due to the characteristics of the people. They were capable of critical thinking and they were a practical people. They were able to comprehend high-level theories and ambitiously apply them in practice. Theory and practice combined were the Academy’s hallmarks from the start. Now the Academy needed to promote these principles even more in its education. Especially, they would teach independent critical
thought because it was what the Japanese lacked most. Inoue outlined six features in his educational reform plan:

a) Establish a University Course

By observing how other private universities were established, and by reflecting on the lesson of the Academy Incident, Inoue was determined to create an entirely self-supporting private university with the spirit of independence. The Academy would offer the three following courses: the Preparatory Course (Yo-ka), the Vocational Course (Senmon-ka) and the University Course (Daigaku-ka). The Vocational Course was to be three years, and the University Course five years. The graduates from each course would respectively earn either a Vocational Degree (Tokugyo) or a Bachelor of Philosophy (Tetsugakushi).

b) Educate intensively for the Teacher Certificate Examination in the Department of Education

With the loss of the exam-free teacher certification, the Academy would intensively prepare students for the National Teacher’s Certificate Examination. Teachers would accelerate instruction so that the students would be able to pass the examination after only half a year or one year depending on their ability.

c) Focus on Practical Studies in the Department of Philosophy

The Department of Philosophy’s purpose had been to train seminarians and educators. The
Academy’s previous policy was to teach in three years the basics of Buddhism that normally took eleven years to learn at Buddhist sect schools. The Academy had also given students a wide range of knowledge by teaching Ethics, Psychology and Law. To make the educational program more practical and international, English or Chinese would be added to the curriculum.

d) Take Measures for Internationalization

The Academy objective had been to produce teachers and seminarians. According to the changing of times, the Academy would now train students who would be able to work in many fields, and especially those who would be able to work abroad. Japanese would be dispatched to work in America, China, Korea, and other overseas locations. Students would need ability in foreign languages, mainly English and Chinese. The Academy would create an Optional Subject Course.

e) Construct a Memorial Temple (Tetsugaku-do)

The land for the University Course had already been obtained, so construction could start as soon as funding was obtained. In recognition of the Academy Incident and for opening the University Course, a memorial temple would be built. It would be named the “Four-Saint Hall” (Shisei-do), to enshrine four selected philosophers from different periods and countries. Inscribed on a memorial stone would be the names of the eighty-three students who had lost their eligibility for Teacher Certificates in the Academy Incident.
f) Encourage the Application of Philosophy

The Academy not only taught students the theories of philosophy, but also encouraged the application of the theories. Students were encouraged to apply philosophy directly in education and religion, but also indirectly in general society through work as lawyers, businesspersons and in other occupations. The school had already produced excellent results, but would try to further distinguish itself by opening the University Course. The Fellowship titles of Qualified Master, Lecturer, or Honorary Lecturer would not only be given to the graduates with highest grades, but also to graduates who made significant contributions in society. Inoue concluded that the commencement ceremony of Harvard University had inspired such actions. Finally, the regulation on Titles showed the new education policy of the Academy.

With these new educational principles, clearly Inoue’s ultimate objective was to improve the thinking capacity of the populace. To attain his goal, he set as the policy of the Academy, a ‘Merit System’ to foster in students independent and self-supporting minds.

Development of People of Perspective and Action

Enryo Inoue revealed his educational direction for the Academy in the paper Address to All Students and Alumni, but he also wanted to apply this policy
to educate society and improve the Japanese people. This basic idea appeared in his paper *Discussion of the Features of Japan* published on November 5, 1903 (Meiji 36).

By contrasting the West with the East, and England with Japan, differences emerged. Recognizing both the merits and demerits in each, Inoue primarily wrote about the weak points of the Japanese.

His observations on Japanese people were expressed in terms like ‘narrow and small,’ ‘short and quick,’ ‘shallow in thinking and near in sight,’ and ‘thin and weak.’ All of these could be expressed with the single word ‘small’. Compared with foreign countries, Japan visually had small things, like the country itself. The Japanese were physically ‘small and short,’ and mentally ‘small and hasty.’ All aspects of their intelligence, thinking, mind-set and ambition were ‘small.’ Considering this, Inoue claimed, Japan had not produced any great men, great enterprises, or major inventions in the history of the world.

Only through education would a small country be able to develop the perspective and characteristics of a big country, said Inoue. He was planning to inject universal thought or creativity into school education and other fields. He believed Japanese people had to get a wider perspective and more world knowledge through education. To develop such a perspective, students would need the challenge of ‘far-reaching thought’ in astronomy and philosophy, the inspiration of ‘grandeur in accomplishment,’
and the ‘dynamism and attractiveness’ of the arts. Such heights of attainment in thought would require not indulging in typical Japanese fancies, but instead would come about by creating significant things and employing powerful measures.

With such ambitious plans, renewed education at the Academy began under the slogan ‘independent and self-supporting.’ Social education to upgrade the moral thinking and power of the population at large was started by Inoue as Morality Church (Shushin Kyokai).
III
Educational Principles of
Enryo Inoue
1. School Education and Social Education

Establishment of Tetsugakukan University

Enryo Inoue started three projects in quick succession after returning from abroad in 1903 (Meiji 36). The first was the establishment of Tetsugakukan University, the second was the construction of the Philosophy Temple (Tetsugaku-do), and the third was the beginning of Morality Church activities. The seeds of these ideas had germinated in his mind while he was travelling abroad. Seemingly separate, these projects were related in Inoue’s educational master plan.

On August 27, 1903 (Meiji 36), a month after returning from abroad, Inoue applied for permission for the Academy to become a vocational university. Meeting the conditions in the Vocational College Order, approval came on October 1. The Academy of Philosophy (Tetsugakukan) was renamed ‘Tetsugakukan University.’ Fourteen years after announcing his plan to establish a vocational school in 1890 (Meiji 23), Inoue’s dream had come true with the establishment of a university. Nearly ruined by a storm, a fire, and educational harassment, Inoue
never lost faith in his educational endeavors.

According to government policy, to open as a university, the Academy of Philosophy had to change the existing regulations over to *The Rules of the Private Tetsugakukan University*. The first article designated its educational objective: *This school is a place to teach high-level philosophy, literature, and other subjects*. The second and subsequent articles outlined the school system. The University Course had the First Department, Second Department and a Special Course. The Vocational Course had an Education First Department, Education Second Department and a Special Course. The First and Second Departments of the University Course and
the Vocational Course were the same in their educational fields. The First Department emphasized studies in philosophy and religion, and the Second Department emphasized studies in Japanese and Chinese language and literature. The Second Department also offered philosophy and ethics. Thus, philosophy as the base of moral education and the common denominator was firmly established from the start of the school. The Special Course had a different curriculum because it was for the students who had not finished junior high school or teacher’s training school.

On March 25, 1904 (Meiji 37), an alumni convention was being held in Academy Hall. Many people were in attendance including Enryo Inoue, lecturers, fellows and office clerks. A commotion broke out in the hall with the appearance of a familiar face. Tokuzo Nakajima who had resigned one year prior due to the Academy Incident had returned to take his position as a lecturer again. On stage, responding to thunderous applause, Nakajima made a humorous speech about a Nakajima-style way of life.

The opening ceremony of the vocational college of the ‘Private Tetsugakukan University’ lasted two hours from ten a.m. to noon on April 1, 1904 (Meiji 37). In attendance were students, graduates, and fifty special guests including Tadanori Ishiguro, Hiroyuki Kato, and Sensho Murakami. During the ceremony, Inoue, according to custom, presented Honorable Lecturer certificates to three lecturers
and certificates of appreciation to the other twenty-three lecturers who had been working for the school since its foundation. All those in attendance were invited to attend, that afternoon, the inauguration ceremony of the Philosophy Temple enshrining four philosophers.

**Construction of the Temple Philosophy**

*(Tetsugakudo)*

In October, 1903 (Meiji 36), Inoue already had begun construction for the Temple at Wadayama (present day Tetsugakudo Park in Matsugaoka, Nakano Ward). The land had been previously purchased in 1902 (Meiji 35) for the campus of the university. The building of a temple was a commemorative act for both the opening of Tetsugakukan University and the Academy Incident, as Inoue had previously explained in the message *Announcement to All Students and Alumni*. In an article “History of Tetsugakudo” (*Tetsugakudo Yuraiki*), he explained why he built the Temple. Half of the article dealt with details of the Academy Incident. Additional explanation covered his intentions behind the commemoration of Morality Church (*Shushin Kyokai*).

The Temple (*Tetsu-ku-do*) enshrined the four great philosophers of Buddha, Confucius, Socrates and Kant (see Chart 2). Resultantly, it was also known as the “Four-Saint Temple” (*Shisei-do*). The origin can be traced back to the first *Philosophy Festival* on October 27, 1885 (Meiji 18) when
Inoue recognized these four as saints of philosophy, representing the East and the West. This festival has been held every year to the present day. Gaho Hashimoto, a famous artist, painted their portraits in the temple.

The temple building was completed on November 23, 1903 (Meiji 36). On that day, the school held a ceremony to enshrine the votive tablets of the four saints. All the students walked to the Temple from Shinjuku Station, a considerable distance. Inoue himself guided them around the park. After that, students, dressed as the four philosophers, performed a drama with dialog in the philosophers’ own languages: Sanskrit, Chinese, Greek and German.

When the Morality Church was established, the Philosophy Temple became its cathedral. In addition to the temple building, other facilities were developed in what is the present-day Tetsugakudo Park. These developments came later while Inoue was promoting the Morality Church. On his lecture tours nationwide, Inoue did calligraphy for hanging scrolls (kakejiku) and framed pictures (gaku-sou) at the request of the people. Half of his remuneration was used to cover lecture tour expenses and

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**<Chart 2> Four Saints**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Chinese Philosophy — Confucius</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Philosophy</td>
<td>Indian Philosophy — Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Philosophy</td>
<td>Ancient Philosophy — Socrates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Philosophy — Kant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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to contribute to social work and charities in the local towns and villages. The remainder was saved for building expenses and maintenance costs of the Temple. Tetsugakudo Park held the temple which was the cathedral of the Morality Church. Inoue decided to use the grounds as a training resource. This Western idea was learned on Inoue’s tour in Europe. In European countries, there were parks for training the body and churches for training the mind. In such places, people could spend half a day
in the church and the other half day in the park. Inoue tried to accomplish a similar arrangement in Tetsugakudo Park.

After completing the temple building, on the same grounds he added some attractions: the “Stage of Six Sages” (Roku-ken-dai), “Three-Scholar Arbor” (Sangaku-tei), “Garden of Materialism” (Yuibutsuen), “Garden of Idealism” (Yuishin-tei), and the “Garden of Three Ancestors” (Sanso-en). The park was opened as a place to train in mental discipline.

**Establishment of the Morality Church**

During his travels, Enryo Inoue compared Western countries and Japan. He fully realized the need to upgrade the mentality of Japanese people. His insight led him to embark on social education. The places he gave lectures to the general populace he called ‘morality churches.’ In addition to school education, he was actively contributing to social education of the commoners.

In his paper *Impressions on Europe* Inoue elaborates on the idea of both physical and mental training. On his first tour of Europe, he perceived that Western countries were highly developed. On his second visit after a fifteen-year absence, he realized that these countries had developed even further. By means of education in morality, Inoue thought Japan would be able to keep up with the developed countries of Europe. The achievements of European culture came from the characteristics of Western
people. He believed Western people were: a) economical and thrifty, b) dedicated to their tasks, c) honest and reliable, and d) oriented towards saving money. These characteristics were not inherent by nature, but were the result of education and discipline. He concluded that a big role was played by religious education on top of school education. With ethical and moral education, he believed Japan could develop itself up to the same level.

With the Morality Church sermons, Inoue
aimed at reforming ‘Japan’s citizenry and national power’ which were perceived to be much lower than those of Western countries. Using the Imperial Rescript on Education as the base of national morality, Inoue tried to teach people the morals necessary for manners at home, in customs, in occupations, and in Japanese society.

Inoue interpreted the Imperial Rescript on Education in a broad sense. He understood that the Imperial Rescript on Education in the Meiji era was based on loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to parents. There had been no change or development in values since the time of national isolation, the policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate. To the Rescript, Inoue thought that he would add the values of philanthropy, independence, self-sufficiency, ambition, aspiration for success, and freedom. With a full awareness of the situation in Japan and with reference to morality in Europe and America, Inoue would form the content and the methods of a program of social education. Through such a program he would teach the people of Japan and open the door to the world outside.

Inoue’s Morality Church concept was based on a model of church organization in Europe or America. It would be a nationwide network like the Episcopal Churches or the Independent Churches. However, the local organizations in towns and villages would govern independently by themselves not by any central authority of the main temple (Tetsugakudo). To ensure a communication channel
among the organizations, it was necessary to issue a magazine. Inoue believed the best venues for these morality sermons would be Buddhist temples with their already established nationwide networks. This was the core of his policy to reach the Japanese masses.

A prospectus was published on September 30, 1903 (Meiji 36). Then, in January next year, Inoue started a lecture-tour through Yamanashi Prefecture to solicit donations for the establishment of the University Course and the promotion of the Morality Church. Dark clouds of conflict were over Japan at that time. The following year, with a declaration of war against Russia on February 10, the Russo-Japanese war had been launched. On February 11, the following day, the Morality Church was established. The first issue of Morality Church Magazine (Shushin Kyokai Zasshi) was distributed from the office at the Tetsugakukan campus. After that the magazine was continuously published monthly. Inoue went on his lecture-tours during summer recess. This educational project was originally associated with Tetsugakukan University, but he later separated it after his university retirement. For the remainder of his life, Inoue dedicated himself to spreading Morality Church activities.

Influence of the Academy Incident

Tetsugakukan University started with Enryo Inoue’s far-sighted educational concepts, but soon
its school management fell in a critical state. The Academy Incident had caused considerable damage. Unfortunately, no administrative records exist regarding the effect of the incident on enrollment. The number of the graduates in 1906 (Meiji 39) indicates almost no change in enrollment figures till 1904 (Meiji 37). After the incident, enrollment numbers began to decrease. Of course, the influence of the Russo-Japanese War that broke out at that time would have had an impact on enrollment, but it was clear that the main cause was the cancellation of the privilege of the exam-free teacher’s certificate in the Academy Incident.

By 1902 (Meiji 35), the Academy should have been one of the schools to qualify as a university and to leap forward. However, the Academy Incident and the dim political and ideological state of the nation and of society left the school floundering like a wrecked ship.
Inoue’s preoccupation with management issues led to a state of near exhaustion. During the summer he worked half a day, then took a rest for the afternoon but he still felt extremely exhausted in the evening.

Thinking that he had mostly fulfilled his original ambition ‘to popularize philosophy,’ Inoue thought about closing the university or perhaps changing it into a culture center. When he consulted his close associates, no one agreed to these ideas. Tetsugakukan University had been managed as an independent organization, but the era was over for Inoue to control the institution entirely by his personal will.

The loss of the exam-free teacher certification privilege greatly decreased student enrollment, but Inoue’s educational programs had never depended on just that privilege. His basic policy focused on imparting real ability to students. When people around him recommended re-applying for the exam-free teacher certificate privilege, Inoue strongly responded, It would be disheartening to do so, thinking of the students who suffered as a result of the cancellation. His reluctance to request the privilege again and his reinstatement of Tokuzo Nakajima as a lecturer were his protests against the Ministry of Education.

Unfortunately, Inoue’s acts of protest were not sufficiently understood by the lecturers and the alumni. Re-application was suggested by some of the alumni on October 21, 1904 (Meiji 37), then
by the Association of Alumni on October 22, and lastly by all the teachers on 28. Finally on November 10, these parties united to pressure Inoue to request the Ministry to grant teaching certificates to Mitsuo Kato and the other two students who had lost them in the Academy Incident.

Having the privilege to issue teacher certificates was a critical matter for the survival of a vocational school. For Tetsugakukan University with its financial difficulties, issuing teacher certificates was an urgent matter.

**Retirement of Enryo Inoue**

Concerning the re-application for the privilege of issuing exam-free teacher certificates, President Inoue again refused to apply for it. The alumni and the lecturers were confronted with a serious problem that threatened the existence of Tetsugakukan University. The Vocational College Order allowed the Academy to become a university, but it meant the university was under the government’s educational control. The school could not be managed through only the founder’s judgment and decisions. At this critical point, various accusations and slander arose against Inoue.

One accusation in circulation was that *Tetsugakukan University was not the personal property of Enryo Inoue or the Inoue family*. Another misunderstanding arose claiming that Tetsugakukan University was a Buddhist sect school. Inoue habitually
People are apt to misunderstand, but the doubt will be cleared up in time. However, accusations were apparently coming from alumni, so Inoue must have realized things were very serious. In a letter to a graduate who was a newspaper journalist, Inoue made the following request: 

*Probably there are some people who bring in articles attacking the school or they ask you to write about the school. Please don't accept their requests.*

To resolve this dispute, there were two ways open to Inoue. One was to give in and apply for the privilege again, but this clashed with his principles of remaining independent, self-supporting and practical in education. The other way was for him to resign from the position of school administrator. It seems Inoue had already given this issue much thought and the decision was not so difficult to make. Before his retirement, he had been thinking of making an integrated education system from kindergarten through to university.

This led to the establishment of Keihoku Junior High School in 1899 (Meiji 32). In 1902 (Meiji 35), he asserted the importance of children’s education prior to elementary school enrollment in his paper *An Idea on Kindergartens*. His educational mission would be complete with the establishment of a kindergarten and an elementary school.

Inoue established Keihoku Kindergarten and became its schoolmaster on May 3, 1905 (Meiji 38). Soon after though, he again suffered from exhaustion. Diagnosed with “neurasthenia” by his
doctor, Inoue considered retirement; however, he thought that he should first complete his ideal of an integrated education system by adding an elementary school. Once this was accomplished, he would transfer the management of all the schools to an appropriate person.

During the summer recess of 1905 (Meiji 38), Inoue made lecture-tours throughout the prefectures of Shizuoka, Yamaguchi, Nagasaki, and Ibaraki. He was well and his health seemed to have recovered. However, by November he was suffering from neurasthenia again. Twice in December he nearly fainted in his own garden.

On December 13, Enryo Inoue finally made up his mind to resign from his position. That day, Tetsugakukan University was holding a memorial party at Seiyoken restaurant in Ueno, Tokyo to celebrate the opening of the University Course. Inoue wrote in his diary that he made his decision while listening to the speeches of Tadanori Ishiguro and Seiran Ouchi. Unfortunately, he did not mention any specific content in their speeches. However, they influenced him to withdraw from school education without having created an elementary school. Coincidentally, the date was the 13th, the same date as the three disasters—the storm, the fire, and the loss of privilege for exam-free teacher certificates.

**Transfer of Tetsugakukan Leadership**

In consultation with several people, Enryo
Inoue decided Eun Maeda would be his successor. On December 28, two weeks after his decision to retire, Inoue amended the President Contract with three articles directing his successor:

1) To follow the principles of the Tetsugakukan establishment.
2) To convert the school into an educational foundation.
3) To appoint, upon retirement, a well-qualified person as successor from among the alumni. In case no well-qualified alumni can be found, choose an appropriate successor from among the lecturers.

With this contract, Inoue handed over Tetsugakukan University to Maeda, while Keihoku Junior High School was entrusted to Takehiko Yumoto.

No relatives of Inoue became heirs with a school inheritance. As specified in the contract, Inoue had made it very clear that the school was not his personal property. Instead, it would become a foundation for the benefit of society. Inoue had been so ambitious to make money for the establishment of a university that he was at times rumored to be selfish and greedy. This contract wiped away such misapprehension, and proved that Inoue had separated his personal life from his professional life.

On January 1, 1906 (Meiji 39), Enryo Inoue resigned from his positions as President of Tetsugakukan University and Principal of Keihoku Junior High School. Respectively, he became
honorary president and honorary principal. His retirement was posted on the bulletin board in the campus on January 8, surprising the students and lecturers. It read *Notice of President Dr. Enryo Inoue’s Retirement*, All the students and teachers collected in the hall to learn the reason for his resignation. He also explained his action in a magazine article titled *The Reason for my Resignation*.

‘Tetsugakukan University’ changed its name into ‘Toyo Private University’ on June 29, 1906 (Meiji 39). On July 4, the organization became ‘Toyo Private University Foundation.’ In this way, a historical event marked the change of the university from the days of Founder Enryo Inoue’s individual direction into the period of leadership by council.

After retiring from the university, Inoue put all his power into Morality Church work. His rare university visits occurred for events like commencement ceremonies and alumni meetings. Even when he heard of issues related to the school administration, he never spoke on the matters. Inoue was not indifferent to school affairs, as he was most certainly available on request for consultations. With the transfer of responsibility to his successor, Inoue had decided not to poke into school affairs. This seeming aloofness was misunderstood and he was sometimes accused of being indifferent.
The Country Scholar

Although retired from school operations, Enryo Inoue continued with social education through his nation-wide lecture-tours. He had already done two sequences of lecture-tours—the first lasted three years from 1890 (Meiji 23) through 1893 (Meiji 26), and the second sequence lasted seven years from 1896 (Meiji 29) through 1902 (Meiji 35). In these lectures to the general public, Inoue made an effort to promote philosophy and the Imperial Re-script on Education. He had also used the tours as opportunities to raise funds for the Tetsugakukan.

In the lecture-tours from 1906 (Meiji 39) to the end of his life in 1919 (Taisho 8), Inoue’s intent was the improvement of public morality.

After his retirement in January, 1906 (Meiji 39) at the age of 48 from the administration of Tetsugakukan University, Inoue was able to regain his health. Poor health had been the stated reason for his retirement. Then, a new series of lecture-tours started with Kanagawa and Kyoto Prefectures in April. His activities in social education were focused on the development of the Morality Church. He had entrusted the university administration to a reliable successor, and now he could focus on social education. With this new freedom to lecture in public, Inoue was back to his early beginning as an educator.

Enryo Inoue labeled himself as a ‘country scholar.’ Comparing himself with Yukichi Fukuzawa (the
founder of Keio University), Inoue said *In the world there are aristocratic scholars, and I, myself, am a farm scholar … Mr. Fukuzawa used to call himself a street scholar, but as a farm scholar, I am one step down from him.* Fukuzawa once declined to accept an award from the Emperor, but Inoue in 1912 (Taisho 1) twice declined to accept awards. In a spirit of humility, Inoue said he would finish his life as an ordinary individual without rank or title. He said he was just a scholar and educator of the countryside, and he never succumbed to the intoxication of power. He named his personal style that of country scholar (*dengaku*) to make deeper inroads into the general public than did Fukuzawa.

In an interesting comparison Inoue said, *As a gentleman living in the countryside is a country gentleman, so a scholar working in the country should be called a country scholar (*dengaku*). In contrast to a country scholar (*dengaku*), a scholar who lives in the city, titled and employed by the government should be called a government scholar (*kangaku*). Government scholars are surely noble, but a country scholar (*dengaku*) is not someone to be despised. Sea-bream sashimi is served on the table for noble people, but does not reach the mouths of the poor. But dengaku flavoured tofu is much easier to prepare compared to sea bream sashimi. Dengaku food is similar in role to the rural scholar (*dengaku*). I will be dengaku, a dish of learning for all people irrespective of rank and class.*

In contrast to a “government scholar” (*kangaku*), the idea of “country scholar” (*dengaku*) matched
the educational spirit of the Tetsugakukan in offering educational opportunities to those who started learning late in life, those who could not afford to pay expensive school fees, and those who were poor in foreign languages. Although times had changed with advancements in social conditions since the early days of the Academy, Inoue had removed himself from a top position in school education to focus on social education. He was starting over again.

**Busy Travels through the Nation**

*(Nansen-hokuba)*

The Moral Church campaign aimed at a total upgrading of Japanese morality and thought to reach the high level of European and American social and business moralities. Inoue’s target audience was the general public, and he attached importance to the ‘provinces.’ His travels would take him to provincial cities, farming villages, mountain hamlets and fishing villages.

Inoue recorded his footsteps in *The Collection of Nansen Hokuba* (volumes 1 to 16). These records show that he traveled to 60 cities and 2,198 towns and villages in Japan during thirteen years from 1906 (Meiji 39) through 1918 (Taisho 7). He gave 5,291 lectures at 2,831 places for 1,366,895 people. On average in any year, he lectured at 218 places, with an average audience of 247 people per lecture. Inoue traveled extensively throughout the nation. He called this busy travel schedule *Nansen Hokuba,*
which literally means _go south by ship and go north on horseback_. When these results are combined with the results running to the end of his life on June 6, 1919 (Taisho 8), the lecture total is approximately 5,400 to around 1,400,000 people. As far as social educational activity in those days, Inoue had set a high standard.

At that time, there were no developed means of transportation as now. Travel in the countryside was difficult. Although the national railway had tracks running through the nation, Inoue had to go into remote places by light rail, by tramcar, by horse and even by boat. As an example, it took five days from Tokyo to Miyakonojo in Miyazaki Prefecture (Kyushu) traveling by train, river boat and horse drawn wagon. For such long trips, each day Inoue would start before dawn, and because of ferry cancellations a two day wait on an island was not uncommon.

Inoue reported that some provincial locations had no comfortable traveler accommodation, and at such places he would stay in the rooms for the night watch at elementary schools and public offices. On these lecture-tours, Inoue always traveled third class on trains and carried rice balls for his lunch. He was not particularly well-dressed, and neither his bag nor watch was showy. His clothing and belongings were of practical use. At the sight of Inoue, a Tetsugakukan graduate once remarked, _He looks like a mayor or treasurer of some remote village at best._
Inoue’s lecture-tours often lasted terms of 70 days, 80 days, or even 136 days at a time. He spent little time in his own home. At most, he would remain home for several days, then he would be off on his next lecture-tour.

**Content of the Lectures**

There were various organizers or sponsors of Inoue’s lectures including the local city and county education associations, Buddhist groups, youth associations, women’s societies, business clubs, agricultural societies, and alliances of three to five villages in the remote countryside. At times, individuals
such as mayors of towns and villages, schoolmasters, and volunteer groups invited him. In each county, Inoue with Tetsugakukan alumni or his old friends would be shown the way by a school inspector. He could get support from Tetsugakukan and Keihoku Junior High School graduates anywhere he went. Wherever he gave a lecture, it was not uncommon for graduates, fellows of the Tetsugakukan, and students in the Distance Course to show up. For the distance course students who ordinarily used lecture transcripts to study, an Inoue lecture would have been special.

Inoue was said not to like formal arrivals and departures; nevertheless, he was graciously welcomed everywhere. At times, for his arrival, adults waved various national flags, small children waved small Japanese flags, and trumpets blared.

Inoue referred to his audience as “the public.” These audiences included a variety of people of different status, age, and sex. He never restricted his audience. Sometimes he even spoke to pre-school or elementary school children. Bad weather could result in a small audience. While at other times, it was a full hall even when sumo wrestling matches were being held simultaneously in the same town. Inoue’s attractive lecture style and the cooperation of the organizers or sponsors of his lectures made for successful speaking engagements.

*The Collection of Nansen-Hokuba* contains Inoue’s lecture content for ten years from April of 1909 (Meiji 42) to May of 1918 (Taisho 7).
Considering the purpose of Morality Church activities, most lectures dealt with spiritual and mental refinement as outlined in the Imperial Rescript on Education. The second largest lecture category dealt with apparitions, ghosts, and superstition. From lectures on these topics, he was nicknamed ‘Dr. Ghost’ or ‘Dr. Apparition.’ As these lectures addressed the general public, and not university students, the philosophy and religion content within his speeches was reduced for the inclusion of more material on superstition and the supernatural. Inoue often lectured two or three times a day, carefully matching his theme to the anticipated audience. For instance, he lectured twice in Sakata City, Yamagata prefecture on August 11, 1916 (Taisho 5). The first lecture was on mental development, but the second lecture was on ghosts. The local newspaper reported over three hundred people attended.

His lectures on ghosts and superstitions were popular with his audiences. Topics were chosen

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**Table 7** Nationwide Lecture-Tours and Topics (1909-1918)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture Topics</th>
<th>No. of Lectures</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperial Rescript on Education/Morals</td>
<td>1,574</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghosts, Demons, and Superstition</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy/Religion</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Industry</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Talks (including Travels)</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,857</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Setsuo Miura’s *The Nationwide Lecture Tours of Enryo Inoue* in *The Selected Works of Enryo Inoue*, Vol. 15>
according to the proposal of the event organizers or the audience. A person from Murayama City, Yamagata Prefecture who remembered an Inoue lecture from the old days said: *I was in the 5th grade of elementary school. His talk was a rare opportunity. My parents were very superstitious. I felt lonely and scared in the evenings. I became afraid when it got dark. Dr. Inoue told us that stories of the jack-o’-lantern parade, of the will-o’-the-wisp, and of spirit fireballs were not terrifying at all. He lightened up my childhood fears.*

His lectures challenged superstitious minds and their daily life practices by explaining rationally the everyday experience of people.

**The Passing-away of Enryo Inoue**

With vigor, Enryo Inoue expanded Morality Church activities to Korea and China. On May 5, 1919 (Taisho 8), he left Tokyo for a lecture-tour around Manchuria (the northeastern part of China). He lectured at many places, and planned a lecture on June 5 in Dalian. He arrived at the kindergarten attached to Nishi-Honganji Temple in Dalian at eight o’clock on the evening of June 5. After a short 30-minute rest, he immediately began his lecture. It would be his last, for during the lecture Inoue fell from a stroke. His last breath was at 2:40 a.m. on June 6. He was 61 years of age.

The previous year, when his former students proposed a celebration of his 60th birthday, Inoue had said, *If I walk another four or five years, I can*
travel throughout Japan. Then I would like to accept your offer to celebrate the completion of my national tours. Leave it till that day. Though he never completed his nationwide lecture-tour, he lectured to his life’s end. An entire life dedicated to social education must have given him satisfaction in those final moments.

Inoue had written a last will and testament long before his death. In it, he wrote, The Philosophy Temple Park (Tetsugakudo Park) is not to be inherited by the Inoue family because with this park I wish to show my gratitude for the support of the country.

Just as he had made Tetsugakukan University an educational foundation, Inoue also returned Tetsugakudo Park to society. With these acts, he demonstrated his spirit of personal generosity and
dedication to the welfare of Japanese society.
2. Enryo Inoue’s Educational Principles

Open-Door Policy

Enryo Inoue dedicated his life to education through various energetic accomplishments. The driving force behind his life’s work was his faith in religion. From birth, he had a pious upbringing in a Buddhist temple of the Jodo-Shinshu sect (founded by Shinran). Although he did not assume the head priest position in his father’s temple, he lived his faith. It is clear that he was able to separate his private faith from the public education offered at the Academy. He did not preach the doctrine of any particular sect when teaching religious followers at his school. He said, *My belief in the Shinshu sect is not like the narrow-minded beliefs of others* in his paper *Confession of My Belief*. Inoue believed in Shinshu sect Buddhism, but he was accepting and tolerant of others’ religious beliefs. He always maintained an ‘open-door policy,’ composed of open study, open discussion and open belief, not bound to any sect. His faith was in the Shinshu sect, but his religious foundation was the spirit of Mahāyāna Buddhism (Great Vehicle) combined with the rational thought.
of pure philosophy. Central to his educational philosophy was the practice of the open-door policy to education.

One scholar of Enryo Inoue’s life and faith wrote the following:

*Enryo Inoue did lecture tours throughout the nation, asking people to organize Morality Churches. However, he did not have the original intention to combine those branches into a powerful nationwide organization. It is unique that his churches were not combined using a modern organizational theory. The branches were actually like Buddhist lay groups (Sangha: groups of monks). Lecturing from place to place, Inoue’s style is reminiscent of Buddha’s preaching tours on foot, and therefore Inoue’s fundamental spirit of Morality Church activities was more — ‘Leaving mind, but not leaving name.’ This seems to be an appropriate motto for his educational endeavors after establishing the Academy of Philosophy.*

**Improvement of the Japanese**

Through a review of Enryo Inoue’s life, the reader senses the thoughts and methods applied to carry out these substantial educational activities. Such ideas and thoughts were molded at a time of dangerous undercurrents challenging the emergence of modern Japanese society. Within this milieu, his accomplishments are remarkable and his educational principles deserve recognition. His educational principles can be summed up from
different vantages.

Enryo Inoue circulated among the elite society of his time, yet he was neither attracted to nor reliant on wealth nor power. He led his life as an educator in the private sector. Without financial resources, but with widespread community support, the Academy of Philosophy became the first of his significant educational endeavors. Overcoming many obstacles, he successfully created and managed a range of educational enterprises.

Japanese people in those days were insular by nature, and had no knowledge of the West or of the world beyond Japan. Their lives were lived in a small sphere of limited awareness. They were influenced by superstition and lacked the rationality of scientific inquiry.

At the time, the Japanese government concentrated on the modernization of the country at the expense of advancement in knowledge and morality of the general populace. In this clime, Dr. Inoue was disappointed and at times in despair considering the low mental capacity of the common people. Hence, the target of his educational endeavors was always ordinary people. His birth and early years in a Buddhist temple were the source of his understanding and compassion for his fellow man. Throughout Japan, he appeared in public halls to lecture like a bright star in a dark sky.

Inoue called his educational efforts to reach the Japanese populace “remodeling” or “improvement,” an effort dedicated to awaken people “to greater
ambition and activity.” Regardless of occupation, through his directed effort, people could aspire to gain wisdom. With Inoue’s guidance, these ordinary people could begin a journey down wisdom road and at a way-station discover “peace of mind” along the way. Inoue’s educational philosophy applied critical thinking and religion to remodel the intellectual capacity of the Japanese people.

Knowing the great wealth and strength of Europe and America compared to Japan, Inoue attributed the contrastive gap to differences in the people’s capacity for intellect and reasoning. With this understanding, he placed high value on enriching individual intellectual capacity as the way to guide and support one’s life. Unfortunately, these serious matters affecting the lives of the people had been left behind in efforts to modernize the country. Inoue believed a remodeling and improving of the intellectual capacity of Japanese people would result in greater ambition and activeness to overcome the challenges facing Japan. Individual vigor would lead to national prosperity, military strength, an active society and ultimately a powerful nation. Inoue made a lifetime of educational effort so that Japan would be able to catch up with the developed countries in the West.

**Spirit of the Private School**

Enryo Inoue’s educational projects served ‘ordinary people: those lacking both wealth and
excessive free time.’ The Philosophy Academy provided a solid school education and the Philosophy Temple taught social education. These educational institutes ran counter to the Imperial University which was the sole educational organization for a small number of national elite.

The Academy started as a school to teach philosophy, but not as an institute to train philosophers. For Inoue, what was important was the study of philosophy. He called it ‘the art of training in thought’ with a purpose to activate human intellectual capacity. In other words, Inoue’s teaching of philosophy was an education focused on acquiring the fundamentals of observing and thinking.

Around 1902 (Meiji 35), the following educational commentary was made: *Even at the Imperial University, the professors try to input as much knowledge as possible into the heads of the students. The students attempt to memorize as much as possible in order to pass the examinations. Therefore, the present education is not ‘the cultivation of the mind’, but rather ‘the instilling of knowledge.’ This is not thinking, it is merely mechanical learning. Precisely, what is a university? Is it a place just to give and get knowledge?*

In contrast to such educational circumstances, the educational goal at the Academy was to cultivate the mind and to teach ways to gain knowledge. To these ends, the school taught philosophy and a wide range of other subjects. At the Academy, the favored teaching method of the instructors involved ‘open discussion and individual analysis and reflection.’
At Inoue’s school, students participated in training of the intellect as the means to gain knowledge. The Academy clearly valued moral education and humanism. Dr. Inoue thought his school was a place for students to take ‘the road for men to become part of humanity.’ The curriculum would not only provide facts and knowledge but would develop students of balanced character, polished sensibility and integrity.

The Academy student dormitory was used to realize these objectives with the social activity of a morning and evening tea party every day. Inoue gave freely of his time to speak with students over tea, creating a relaxing environment conducive to the cultivation of their humanity. At tea time, every student was shown respect, and each was free to express opinions and unique viewpoints. Ultimately, any choices or decisions made depended entirely upon their self-reflection.

Education valuing humanism and open communication between individuals was the spirit of a private school.

Application of Philosophy

Enryo Inoue always said to his students, *Forget empty theory; think with facts.* He emphasized practical applications. He hoped graduates would apply philosophy to benefit society. If students who had learned philosophy went into society and used their acquired capacities, Inoue believed it would activate
Japanese society, leading to overall improvement of the Japanese nation.

For graduates of theoretical learning in philosophy only a limited choice of jobs were offered, while at that time in the Meiji period positions related to practical knowledge and technology were in demand. Nonetheless, Inoue thought philosophy could be directly applied to occupations in education and religion. He anticipated many graduates would become teachers and they would establish schools in the provinces in order to promote secondary education in Japan and spread the spirit of the Academy.

With Japan’s social development, a wider range of occupations were becoming available. After the Academy Incident, Inoue encouraged graduates to search widely for occupations to which they could apply their newly acquired skills and knowledge of philosophy. Academy graduates had studied with the premise that *All learning is grounded in philosophy*; therefore, Inoue expected them to enter new fields, to continue their studies, and to apply their critical capacities to gain further knowledge.

### Uninhibited Teaching Methods

Dr. Inoue’s educational vision was comprised of both academic study and social education. For the academic side, he envisioned an integrated educational system. With the Academy as the head school, Inoue followed up with Keihoku Junior
High School and Keihoku Kindergarten. The system was not complete as it lacked an elementary school. However, Inoue shifted his focus from school education to social education for the general public through Morality Church activities.

His educational activities were open and varied. He used various means to reach out in society. To accomplish an educational goal, Inoue considered the circumstances carefully, and was flexible in his method. To these ends, he managed a publishing firm at Tetsugaku Shoin, compiled lecture notes for distance education, and provided Sunday open lectures on the school campus. Inoue had the idea of opening a simplified junior high school and an irregular junior high school which would differ from the regular school.

In his open style of education, Inoue recommended art as a subject. His educational acumen can be seen in this idea as he proposed it in the middle of the Russo-Japanese war. He stated, "Nobody would think of the necessity of fine arts during wartime. However, I think art and aesthetics are more essential at such time than in normal times. That is because I believe the post-war society will certainly be full of brutality and harsh attitudes for a while with many fights, beatings and murders. To prevent such social chaos, we should appeal for the effective use of art in social education."

His flexibility was also apparent in his response to changing social conditions. As Japan was completing its phase of modernization and many Japanese
were going to America and neighboring countries in Asia, Inoue changed the educational program of the Academy in accordance with the new needs of society. He developed programs to educate students to be able to successfully work in those countries. Specifically, he had emphasized a foreign language education system, with emphasis on English.

**Free Development Policy**

Enryo Inoue’s educational principles contained original features that were suitable characteristics for a private school. With the state-school-centered education policy of those days, private schools had to take complementary roles to the Imperial University.

The Academy’s administration followed its own “Free Development Policy,” and developed humanistic education, which was remarkably different from the government institutes. The difference was indicated in Academy slogans like ‘ability-oriented education’ and the phrase “a real private school to teach independent thinking.”

Long after his retirement from Tetsugakukan University in 1906 (Meiji 39) and while he was dedicating himself to Morality Church activities, Inoue was asked to return to the University again. The name had been changed to Toyo University in June of the year of his retirement. In 1918, (Taisho 7) with the end of the First World War, campus circumstances and the social situation in Japan were
unstable, so he was asked to help to reconstruct the university. Solemnly, he responded:

*I appreciate your request. However, the present government still has bureaucratic control of educational policy. If I were to take on the position again, forgetting my old age, it is quite natural that I would never be able to meet your expectations. I can do no more than devote my life to the social education of the public as decided after my university retirement. There is no other way but for some other person to carry out my original goals.*

The Free-Development Policy that began with the establishment of the Academy and later guided all Inoue’s educational enterprises would be his legacy. His work partially incomplete, his policy remained to guide his successors into the future.
IV
Seeking New Educational Principles
1. Pre-war University Education

Proclamation of the University Decree

Without major difficulty, Tetsugakukan University followed its solid educational policy and continued development during the succeeding presidential tenures of Eun Maeda (the successor to Enryo Inoue) from 1906 (Meiji 39) to 1914 (Taisho 3) and the third President, Seiran Ouchi from 1914 (Taisho 3) to 1918 (Taisho 7). Ouchi’s term coincided with the years of the First World War when Japanese society was in turmoil. Nonetheless, from 1916 (Taisho 5), the university began to accept female students, and in the following year a grand ceremony was held for the 30th anniversary of the university.

In 1918 (Taisho 7), Satoshi Sakaino, a professor of Tetsugakukan University, became the fourth president. When Inoue retired from Tetsugakukan University, he had stipulated in his agreement with Maeda that when Maeda retired from the presidential position, the next president should be a well-qualified person from among the alumni or teaching faculty of the university. Inoue’s wish
was finally realized with the second successor after Maeda, Satoshi Sakaino.

The University Decree was promulgated in December of that year (1918). The government finally opened the way for vocational schools to function as universities. The long cherished dream of many schools to become a university was now possible. Even though the Vocational School Decree in 1903 (Meiji 36) recognized private schools as higher educational institutes, their status was still low. Despite being among those vocational schools, some were at as high an academic level as the imperial (governmental) universities. These private schools had respectively campaigned for acceptance as full-fledged universities. The University Decree issued by the Japanese government in December 1918 (Taisho 7) officially recognized these vocational schools as on par with the governmental universities of its system.

Prior to 1918 (Taisho 7), five imperial universities were in existence: the Imperial University of Tokyo (1886), Kyoto Imperial University (1897), Tohoku Imperial University (1907), Kyushu Imperial University (1911), and Hokkaido Imperial University (1918).

The impetus for the University Decree proclamation was a rising societal demand for trained human resources. As elite national training organizations, imperial universities in the early days had various bureaucratic and administrative privileges. Therefore, their graduates seldom wandered
into business. With developments in the Japanese economy, there was growth in private enterprises. In the lead-up to the Taisho era (1912-1926), some Imperial University graduates had been employed in the private sector outside the framework of “civil service.” Large companies and banks had started employing them.

On the other hand, as if to show ranking by academic meritocracy, private vocational school graduates were being employed in medium-sized companies and venture businesses. These private companies were, in fact, the supports of Japanese industry, and the driving force in the modernization of Japan. In that sense, Japan’s modernization was enabled by the effort of private school graduates. Through the First World War years, Japan grew as a capitalist nation, and more private school graduates were needed. The government had to raise its evaluation of the high level of educational attainment of private school graduates.

**Severe University Establishment Standards**

Article 1 of the University Decree stated: “The purpose of a university is to teach academic theories, apply theories benefiting the nation, and conduct a great depth of research. At the same time, a university must pay attention to the formation of student character and patriotic thinking.” With this decree, the government formally recognized private universities as equal to the Imperial Universities.
established with the Imperial University Decree. However, in order to avoid the establishment of dubious universities, stringent conditions were required for the establishment of a private university. Private schools had difficulty fulfilling these conditions.

For a new university to be the equivalent of an Imperial University, the University Decree contained several severe conditions, such as: the opening of a preparatory course, the construction of required facilities, and a minimum number of highly qualified faculty members.

The greatest burden for poorly funded private schools was the deposit of a bond. The required amount was 500,000 yen for each university or college. In addition, deposits of 100,000 yen had to be included for each department. Waseda University with five departments had to deposit around a million yen. The annual operating expense for Waseda was 360,000 yen in 1917 (Taisho 6), so the deposit was almost three times the yearly operating expenses.

Private schools had to prepare a tremendous amount of money to apply for university status. In fact, most private schools could not afford to apply for such status. Waseda University and Keio University had strong alumni organizations, so they canvassed alumni to raise the funds. With such an advantage, they qualified as universities in 1920 (Taisho 9) ahead of all the other private schools. Other private vocational institutes had to make a
serious effort to clear this obstacle. Toyo University made such an effort until finally gaining university status in 1928 (Showa 3).

Toyo University had in 1919 (Taisho 8) already announced a plan to gain university status with three departments: Japanese Language and Literature, Chinese Language and Literature, and Buddhism.

A financial plan outlined the initial deposit of 500,000 yen for university status, and 250,000 yen for three initial departments. Then a reserve fund of 1,250,000 yen was thought essential for the future management of the university so that it would not have to depend solely on tuition fees. The total amount came to 2,500,000 yen.

Raising such an amount was an ideal plan. The school began systematic fundraising, but initial contributions were greatly below the revenue goals because an economic recession had hit Japan. A scandal on campus in 1923 (Taisho 12) also affected fundraising efforts. Eventually, the administration of President Nakajima acquired the necessary amount from donations and Toyo University re-started its University Promotion Campaign in 1927 (Showa 2). Under the University Decree, university status was finally obtained in March of 1928 (Showa 3). The financial obstacle had been overcome but demands were made to reform the educational system and to construct a main school building, a library, and an auditorium. These additional requirements created a great financial burden for the future.
Contemptuous View of Private Schools in Education

Enryo Inoue resented the fact that the content of the University Decree still centered around government school standards. In an article Contemptuous View on Private Schools in Education in the Asahi Shimbun (dated February 3, Taisho 8, 1919), Inoue criticized this state-school-centered university policy using the phrase “government-centered policy:’ As a result of World War I, the word ‘democracy’ is recently in vogue. Some people assert that the world will become completely democratic, owing to the defeat of German militarism. It is very difficult for me to understand the meaning of democracy. I want to take the word democracy as the counterpart of governmentism. More correctly, the opposite of democracy (citizen-centered policy) seems to be government-centered policy. All the policies our nation adopted in the past were government-centered ones except for those concerning religion. This is especially true in education. Recent expansion in higher education shows this clearly. In short, I cannot but conclude that the government policy is the alteration of private schools as reproductions of government schools. I wonder if this is a government-centered policy.

Germany does not have private universities, and on the other hand, Britain and the United States of America do not have government-owned Universities. This is evidence that German education is government- mental, whereas Anglo-American education is democratic.
Now Japan has permitted private universities, but its old policy (Vocational University Decree) uses the German system, so the government has thought of private schools as a nuisance. It seems to me that their policy has been a ‘dead-ball policy’, not an ‘intentional-walk policy.’ The latter policy is preferable. The government accuses private schools of having incomplete facilities, but will not help them in any way to correct such defects. It is as if water is only provided to government rice fields, and not a drop to private rice fields. They only add to the despair. Finding a way to love and help private schools is thought to be the only way to swim with the current after the war.

In recent years, I hear officials have been keeping a watch out for dangerous ideologies. Some suspect there are private schools teaching such dangerous thoughts. If there were such a danger in a private school, we have two ways to prevent it. One is the complete abolition of private schools, and the other is to protect private schools and help them to correct their defects. There is no merit but only demerit in the present political tactic of not killing or not saving them. Regarding the protection of private schools, steps should be taken to devise measures to secure donations for the enhancement of capital for private schools that have already been built up through their own financial efforts and to entrust private schools to do what they can, while national universities will do what private schools are unable to do. This is democracy in education.
IV Seeking New Educational Principles

Governmental Control of Education

Though the University Decree recognized private universities were equivalent to government universities, this decree showed the government clearly intended to control all university education, as evidenced with their phrase ‘cultivate national thought.’ With wartime emergencies in the Showa era, the government exercised greater control over private universities. Toyo University was forced to change itself as there was no escape from this movement.

Tokuzo Nakajima, wrote the following about Toyo University in the Taisho era (1912-1925):

- In fact, Toyo University was small, and the administration was not conspicuous. However, the campus was filled with the air of austerity and freedom. A big organization is apt to have the demerit that authority gains power and reigns over reason, and so emotion follows authority. Therefore, the most sacred light of an educational institution is apt to become small and dim within secular society. Such schools tend to be managed in bureaucratic manners and the partisan spirit conforms to the nouveau riche, and school politics are in name only: the beauty of the signboard replaces plausible reasoning. However, this university, as far as I feel, was not so ruthless. It is why I could work freely and pleasantly at this university for a relatively small salary.

However, the austere and free atmosphere Nakajima enjoyed was about to be lost to national
control. After the violent clashes in Manchuria in 1931 (Showa 6) and in Shanghai in 1932 (Showa 7), Japan began military expansion. Education was strongly controlled due to the “national emergency.” The Ministry of Education set up the Student Affairs Department in October, 1928 (Showa 3) and the Thought Bureau in June, 1934 (Showa 9). In addition, the National Spiritual Culture Research Institute (Kokumin Seishin Bunka Kenkyujo) and the Education Reform Council (Kyogaku Sasshin Hyougikai) were established in the same year. In 1935 (Showa 10), the government started movements promoting nationalist ideology like the Clarification of National Polity (Kokutai Meichou) and Exaltation of National Spirit (Kokumin Seishin Sakkou). In 1939 (Showa 14), the government compelled universities to make military training a required subject. All of these movements led to the strict control that prevailed through to the end of World War II.

Toyo University was adrift with the tides of such thought control. In the policy manual, “Toyo University List of Rules” (Showa 8, 1933), “Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth” (Gokoku Airi) was stated as the educational spirit of Toyo University. Looking over old documents of this kind from that period, we cannot find any references to this kind of founding educational spirit within the history of school establishment.

“Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth” (Gokoku Airi) is a phrase that Enryo Inoue used
IV  Seeking New Educational Principles

for the first time in his book *Introduction to the Rehabilitation of Buddhism*, *(Bukkyo Katsuron Joron)* (Meiji 20, 1887). This book was written to prove that Buddhism was as valuable a study as European philosophy. At that time, Buddhism was usually dismissed as outdated thought without practicality, but Inoue insisted that Buddhism was able to make a great contribution to civilized society.

In the history of Japanese Buddhism, this book by Inoue was highly esteemed as a way to modernize Buddhism. The expression “Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth” (*Gokoku Airi*) was used to show that protecting the nation and loving the truth are not two different ideas but a single concept. However, this phrase rarely appeared in Inoue’s books after 1894 (Meiji 27), and not once in the documents relating to the educational policy of the Academy of Philosophy. Ironically, in the beginning of the Showa era, this slogan was used as the University Motto in government collaboration with the emphasis on national supremacy.

**In the Framework of the Nation-centered System**

Nationalism gained strength at Toyo University, partially as a consequence of university management problems. In the budget of 1937 (Showa 12), the student enrollment was expected to reach six hundred. However, the actual number of students was three hundred and seventy-seven. This was 40% below the anticipated enrollment, resulting
in a serious revenue decrease. The university was facing serious financial problems which had to be urgently resolved.

Two opposing solutions surfaced—the first one involved reducing the size of the university with a freeze on student recruitment, while the second one supported stronger efforts and positive development to overcome the difficulties. Although the university staff was divided in two on the matter, they finally agreed to the idea of inviting Kunihiko Okura as the 10th President. Despite being from outside the university, he had financial connections and a high level of management skill. In the initial invitation to him, they emphasized that ‘the establishment principle of the school mirrored Okura’s ideas.’ Soon after taking the office of president, Okura made “A Plan for the Promotion of the University” (Gakuen Shinkian), and began university reform.

For the past 50 years since the Academy was founded, the trend of general academic circles and educational ideas has been heading toward modern Western academia. I think that people have overemphasized the love for truth side (airi), but disregarded the concern for the retention of nationhood (gokoku). Negative aspects of the trend are emerging in the greatly changing circumstances of various affairs. I know the day has come when we should raise a new academic tradition particular to Japan by integrating the cultural merits of East and West.

We hear voices crying for the necessity of educational reform from the academic circles of learning
and thought. I believe that, in this drastically changing situation, our university, standing with the motto ‘Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth’ (Gokoku Airi) has a mission to be a pioneer of the times.”… The first article ‘Uplift the Spirit of Defense of the Country’ in A Plan for Promotion of the University says that the cultivation of the spirit of patriotism is the principle of university establishment advocated by the founder Dr. Inoue, and also is provided as Article 1 in the University Decree. Coincidently, I have wished this for a long time. I believe that our academic tradition can only be fulfilled by upholding this spirit.

Okura mapped out his plan. Article 1 of the University Decree provided for ‘the cultivation of student character and national thought’ through academic study. It was 1937 (Showa 12) and the 50th anniversary of Toyo University. The motto “Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth” (Gokoku Airi) was especially emphasized.

University management under President Okura adopted an educational development policy in accordance with government policy. To this management initiative, opposition came from sixteen professors who were eventually forced to resign. In 1941 (Showa 16), the student managed Student Association was transformed into the Association for Protecting the Nation (Gokoku-kai), becoming a newly unified regime on the campus. The university management now had a development policy in accordance with government policy, which ultimately transformed Toyo University. The foundation of
government policy was nation-supremacy and militarism. No one from the days of Enryo Inoue could have imagined such a transformation taking place.
2. Educational Principles in the Post-War Period

Educational Reforms

In 1945 (Showa 20), with defeat in the Pacific War, democratic educational reform was applied by the occupation forces to Japanese education. The first reform section widely encouraged higher education opportunities for the general public, instead of past limitations to a select few. The percentage of students enrolling in higher-level schools was 0.4% in 1875 (Meiji 8), and this trend continued for a long time. By the end of the Meiji era (1911), only 1% of eligible students were enrolled in higher education. Despite the promulgation of the University Decree (1918, Taisho 7), the yearly percentages only increased a little, reaching no more than 3.7% by 1940 (Showa 15).

However, by 1948 (Showa 23), the old system was revised. Under the new system, all former universities were recognized. A total number of sixty-nine national universities were recognized with a policy of one per prefecture. One by one, private universities were becoming established and by 1950 (Showa 25) the number had grown to one hundred
In addition, revisions changed the qualifications necessary for university admission. Previously, only those students who had graduated from the old-system recognized high schools and the university preparatory course were admitted, the revisions allowed all high school graduates an opportunity.

The second reform section of the new education system rejected the nationalistic educational content which had been in existence since the Imperial University Decree (Meiji 19, 1886). Article 52 of the School Education Law now stipulated Universities educate mainly academics, giving wide and profound knowledge, and at the same time, offer profound teaching and studying in the professional arts and sciences, and develop intellectual, moral and applicable abilities among students.

The pre-war system contained the bias that government schools were superior and private schools inferior, which led to the neglect of private schools. The idea that a ‘national university was best’ had been lodged in the minds of the general public. Under the new system, this prejudicial state-university-centered policy was reformed. The independence of private universities was defined in the law in 1949 (Showa 24), the Private School Act was passed. In article 1 was stated that By considering their characteristics, respecting their autonomy, and elevating their contribution to public benefit, private schools shall make sound development.

By 1955 (Showa 30) when most of the educa-
ational reforms had been achieved, the percentage of students enrolling in universities and junior colleges reached approximately 10% of the total high school graduates. By 1975 (Showa 50) this figure had grown to 37.8%, a remarkable increase in the student enrollment at national universities and private universities. In 2009 (Heisei 21), the figure was 56.2%, a significant achievement. Correspondingly, the number of private universities and junior colleges had increased remarkably.

Currently, three-fourths of all university students are studying at private universities or private junior colleges. Especially during the high
economic growth of the Showa 40s (1965-74), there was a rapid increase in student enrollment, reflecting the value attributed to higher education among the general population. With this favorable trend towards university education, many private universities enlarged their schools, improved their facilities, increased student quotas and set up new departments.

Development of Toyo University

Bombs from American B29 planes greatly damaged Toyo University in April, 1945 (Showa 20). All the wooden buildings burned, and several of the reinforced concrete buildings (the library, the auditorium, and Lecture House 3) sustained damage. The war had caused tremendous damage throughout Japan. The collapse of pre-war Japanese society influenced politics, the economy, culture, and values. The very roots of the people’s way of life had been changed. Under these circumstances, Toyo University had to regenerate itself. However, the regeneration was not just to be a remaking of the old pre-war Toyo University, instead ‘a complete rebirth’ was needed.

An Appeal for Donations to the Rehabilitation of Toyo University (April, Showa 24, 1949) detailed how Toyo University was starting afresh under the new education laws: Dr. Enryo Inoue established the Academy of Philosophy (Tetsugakukan) to realize his educational dream of establishing new and original
academia by fusing cultural elements of the East and West. For over 60 years, Toyo University graduates have contributed to the development of culture through entry into the fields of education, religion, literature and mass media. However, Toyo ‘Academia’ must continue along a hard, steep road as only a way station has been reached with respect to Dr. Inoue’s educational paradigm.

The university administration confessed that despite its long history, the educational ideals envisioned by Enryyo Inoue had not yet been achieved. They presented new plans to guide the university: We can be proud that in the humanities, our university has reached the top of the field, but solely limited to humanities, the educational offering is too narrow for modern society and culture. ‘Toyo Academia’ must become comprehensive through additional departments in Politics, Economics, and Science. The new Japan will require the establishment of new fields of studies. Toyo University should pursue these ideals as its dream.

Before World War II, Toyo University had fallen under strong government control from the University Decree, but ordinances gave the new Toyo University freedom to emerge. Toyo University would be allowed to take a new education direction suitable to a new age, consistent with post-war social movements to reconstruct Japan. This opened the door to Toyo becoming a comprehensive university.
Pursuing a Comprehensive University

In 1949 (Showa 24), Toyo University relaunched itself under the new university system. However, there were two problems in setting up a comprehensive university: how to rebuild the school buildings destroyed in the war, and how to create new fields of education. The prewar Departments were all combined into the Faculty of Literature.

The next step was the establishment of the Faculty of Economics and the Junior College Night Program in the following year (1950). Two years later, a Graduate School was opened. Then Toyo University greatly improved its educational offerings with the Faculty of Law in 1956 (Showa 31) and the Faculty of Sociology in 1959 (Showa 33).

However, science and engineering departments were needed in order to realize the dream outlined in An Appeal for Donation to the Rehabilitation of Toyo University (1949). Establishing these departments would require a large amount of money for lecture halls and educational facilities. Nonetheless, in 1961 (Showa 36), the Faculty of Engineering was established with great help from political and business communities. Finally, Toyo University in a true sense had become a comprehensive university. It had taken twelve years under the new university system.

In 1964 (Showa 39), the Correspondence School was opened, and the Faculty of Business Administration and Junior College followed in 1966.
These developments were remarkable achievements coming not so long after the end of World War II. The establishment of these new faculties and departments resulted in more than 5,000 graduates in 1975 (Showa 50). This number was fifteen times larger than in 1949 when with 345 graduates the university emerged under the new educational system.

With new faculties, departments, and an increase in student numbers, Toyo University created the following new campuses:

1) Kawagoe Campus (300,000 square meters) in Kawagoe City, Saitama Prefecture for the Faculty of Engineering (Showa 36, 1961).

2) Asaka Campus (110,000 square meters) in Asaka City, Saitama Prefecture in 1977 (Showa 52). Asaka Campus offered Liberal Arts courses to the first and the second year students of the five faculties of Literature, Economics, Business, Law and Sociology.

Hakusan as the main campus was used for third and fourth year students of the above five faculties, the research institutes, the Central Library. Toyo University integrated and expanded its educational system with the addition of Himeji High School in Hyogo Prefecture in 1963 (Showa 38), and Ushiku High School in Ibaraki Prefecture the following year.
Modernization of the Educational Principles

All the private universities founded in the Meiji era (1868-1912) have long histories. These histories can be categorized into three stages from their initial foundation principles through to program realization. The first stage involves their initial establishment. The second stage is the period of institutional expansion after World War II. Expansion was, in part, driven by social demands, while reflection on the university’s founding spirit or mission may have gotten lost along the way. In the 1960s, Japan’s period of high economic growth created a social structure of educational elitism that affected employment opportunities for graduates. The percentage of students enrolling in universities increased dramatically leading to ‘fiercely competitive entrance examinations.’ Universities selected students with higher “deviation values.” Educational choices came to depend heavily upon a ranking scale. Universities were being equated with their numerical ranking. Universities were evaluated solely by their position on this scale. This system of ranking ignored each institution’s unique characteristics regardless of whether it was a national or private university. Under these competitive circumstances, it was easy for a university to lose sight of its founding principle and original educational mission as university. Universities themselves and the public lost sight then of what kind of education was being offered and what educational level the graduates
really reached.

The third stage beginning in the 1980s has been a period of reflection. With the recent educational climate in Japan, the government and the public expect educational institutes to clearly state their educational spirit and principles. Each university is going back to its starting point and re-examining its original educational mission and principles. Critics have pointed out that in postwar competitiveness even universities with long histories have strayed from the original path of their founding principles.

An inquiry by The Japan Association of Private Universities and Colleges (Nihon Shiritsu Daigaku Renmei) produced a list of universities that have changed their original motto or their raison d’etre with contemporary replacements:

Kwansei Gakuin University changed their original motto “Knowledge and Virtue” (Chitoku-kenbi) into “Mastery for Service” (Hoshi no tame no rentatsu). Kokugakuin University changed from the “Spirit of Shintoism” (Shinto seishin) to “Explanation of the Fundamental Character of the Nation and Cultivation of Moral Values” (Kokutai no komei, Tokusei no kanyo). Chuo University changed from “Understanding of English Law and its Popularization” (Igirisu ho no rikai to fukyu) to “Establishment of Individual Freedom and Self-reliance” (Kojin no jiyu to jijo no kakuritsu). Waseda University changed from “Independence of Learning and Progressive Mind” (Gaku no dokuritsu, Shinshu no seishin) to “Sensibility to Understand and Respect
In contrast, Toyo University has retained its original motto “The basis of all learning lies in philosophy” (Shogaku no kiso wa tetsugaku ni ari), to preserve a fundamental belief in the merit of understanding philosophy in the modern world.

Looking for New University Principles

Changes in postwar Japanese society lead to more modern interpretations of the spirit of private universities in Japan. An analysis of data every five years on changes in public sentiment shows that a significant shift began around 1975 (Showa 50). From the Meiji Restoration, the modernization of Japan started by pursuing European and American models of development with these slogans: “civilization and enlightenment,” “national prosperity and defense,” and “economic development.” This drive towards modernization actually lasted until 1975 (Showa 50), at which time a new era dawned.

Toyo University was established in 1887 (Meiji 20), and expanded into a large, comprehensive university after World War II. Now in its third stage of development, Toyo University must offer progressive education, while at the same time maintaining its traditions. Just as Japanese society has outgrown itself and advanced into an uncharted future, Toyo University has also started a new journey in the current age to advance education without an obvious
In the 1970s, Toyo University re-examined its past in search of a new spirit and direction for the next generation. There have been two challenges. The first involves the improvement of conditions and the expansion of campuses. The second challenge has been preparation for internationalization and information technology by building up educational resources and re-examining educational principles.

This introspection began with a comprehensive study of the life and times of Enryo Inoue, including his thoughts and actions in relation to the era in which he lived. Both historical and contemporary perspectives were examined to fully understand the implications. The founder of Toyo University had sought, in his time, a revolution in the perception and thinking of the general populace. Clearly, through education he had wanted to achieve the intellectual and spiritual refinement of individuals. His vision was for the creation of new learning paradigms and for a new society. This book *The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue* resulted from an exhaustive review of Dr. Inoue’s ideas and accomplishments.
3. Creation of a New University

Toyo University: the Next Generation

With its 100th Anniversary in 1987 (Showa 62), Toyo University celebrated its centennial, and with renewed confidence began the advance into its next century of development. At the time, Toyo University started a unique literature project by inviting the submission of original poems (tanka) from young people throughout Japan for an annual publication. Each year, one hundred poems from one hundred different writers are selected for publication as “One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Students” (Gakusei Hyakunin Isshu). On January 15th each year, the book of poetry is published.

This compilation of poetry has become popular and is widely recognized in contemporary times. As a publication it was created with the purpose of discovering and recording the thoughts and feelings of youth in contemporary times. This newly established practice beginning with the 100th Anniversary has helped to re-establish links to earlier traditions of Toyo University. It is becoming popular with Japanese society, and is a modern adaptation
of a tradition.

With the trend towards internationalization, Toyo University has reached out to establish relationships with foreign universities. From 1985 (Showa 60) through 2011 (Heisei 23), exchange agreements for study abroad and student exchanges have been signed with thirty-one universities in these fourteen countries: the United States, Canada, France, Germany, England, Ireland, Australia, Indonesia, China, Taiwan, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and Uzbekistan. Through these agreements, Toyo University and partner universities exchange students and teachers.

In the 1980s, many large-scale universities withdrew from city centers to build larger campuses in the suburbs. Toyo University retained an urban-focus and started redeveloping Hakusan campus. Additional land was purchased around Hakusan campus, and with three stages of construction, the facilities have become modern buildings. This decision has proven fortuitous regarding enrollments.

New educational concepts emerged with the “Open-Door University” and “Continuing Education” which began with admission by recommendation for students with full-time jobs. These developments have led to a special selection system for graduate school students, as well as the opening of the evening graduate school. The two-semester system was first adopted by the Faculty of Engineering, and has now been adopted by all faculties. In addition to April admissions, Toyo University began
accepting the admission of students in October, the first in Japan. Continuing this developmental thrust, in April of 1997 (Heisei 9) Toyo University opened Itakura campus in Itakura Town, Gunma Prefecture with two new faculties: the Faculty of Regional Development Studies and the Faculty of Life Sciences. The Faculty of Regional Development Studies became the first department in Japan to combine the four seemingly unrelated disciplines of Economics, Regional Development, Industrial Development, and Environmental Studies into a comprehensive, practical program of global concern. Three years later, the Department of Tourism was added to the Faculty of Regional Development Studies. It had formerly been the Tourism Department of the Junior College until 2001 (Heisei 13) when the Junior College was discontinued. As a department at the forefront of research on all life, the Faculty of Life Sciences started investigative studies of molecular levels of life from microbes to humans. In 2009 (Heisei 21), the Faculty of Regional Development Studies moved from the Itakura Campus to the newly-constructed Second Hakusan Campus near the main Hakusan Campus. At that time, the Department of Applied Biosciences and the Department of Food Life Sciences were added to the Faculty of Life Sciences at the Itakura Campus.

These two Faculties are intended to answer present day needs to remodel and recombine science and technology for the future. These demands are symbolized by rapid progress in the fields of high
technology, information, and biosciences. Innovation in science is advancing from the ‘forefront’ to the ‘super-forefront.’ Bio-Nano technology is a futuristic cutting-edge field of study being undertaken by Toyo University. More advanced developments in information processing require research and development of new electronics using nanometer devices (1 / 10,000,000 cm) because there is a limit to the capacity of ULSI devices based on the micrometer (1/10,000 cm).

The size of a nuclear atom is about 0.1 of a nanometer, so nano technology is a research area optimizing measurement and sizes close to those of nuclear atoms. Nano technology will open up new applications through such microscopic analysis.

Bio-nano technology is the integration of nano technology and ultimate biotechnology, the investigation of unknown micro-organisms living in the depths of the sea. This highly advanced research will be significant for 21st-century systems. This fusion of life science and nano technology at Toyo University has opened the door to new research and an intensification of continuing research. Resultantly, such unique and diverse research will benefit the next generation.

**Social Contribution of the University**

The year 1999 (Heisei 11) brought the 80th Anniversary of the death of the Toyo University founder Enryo Inoue. Toyo University began its
infancy as the Academy of Philosophy. The educational developments leading up to Toyo University relied heavily on donations from people throughout Japan.

The idea behind commemorative events for the 80th anniversary of Dr. Inoue’s death was “to express gratitude for the public’s assistance during the early years of the school and to further contribute to the society with the founder’s spirit.” In 1990, the Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center was established to realize this spirit and intent by sending lecturers out into society. The university began to send its professors out as lecturers free of charge across the nation to meetings and workshops organized by municipalities, boards of education, chambers of commerce, and agricultural cooperatives.

This ‘thanksgiving project’ for Toyo Universities’ 110th year caught the public’s attention because it coincided with the need for further programs in both social and continuing education. This act by Toyo University was highly valued for its social contribution. For one year, lectures were given at 230 places throughout Japan from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south. Due to such a favorable response, the University still continues to offer such lectures.

The New Education System

Today world affairs can create sudden change in Japan, and conversely, changes in Japan can quickly
affect the world. A university is a transit point for students and their future social achievements. Success after graduation does not depend on a singular specialty that is conventionally defined; instead, success results from comprehensive knowledge and intelligence spanning many disciplines. From this perspective, a university education needs to integrate various fields of study.

Considering these modern demands, Toyo University renewed its education system. By 1996 (Heisei 8), Toyo finished curriculum reformation. In 2000 (Heisei 12), a new department system was brought into effect. The Junior College and the Liberal Art Faculty Organization were abolished after serving their purpose. Liberal Arts teachers became involved in all departments. New faculties appeared such as the Faculty of Regional Development Studies, the Department of Life Sciences, and
the Faculty of Human Life Design. Existing faculties added new departments, and some departments changed their names to enable inclusion of new
IV  Seeking New Educational Principles

fields of studies. (see Table 8, 9)

New Research Projects

Advancement in the reform of Toyo University’s
### Table 8: Undergraduate Faculties and Departments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campuses</th>
<th>Faculties</th>
<th>Departments (Day, Night)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hakusan</td>
<td>Faculty of Literature</td>
<td>Department of Philosophy (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Indian History (D &amp;N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Chinese Philosophy and Literature (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Japanese Literature and Culture (D, N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of English and American Literature (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of English Communication (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of History (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Education (D &amp;N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Economics (D &amp; N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of International Economics (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Policy Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Business Administration (D &amp;N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Marketing (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Accounting and Finance (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Law (D, N )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Business Law (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Sociology (D &amp; N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Socio Cultural Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Social Welfare (D &amp; N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Media and Communications (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Social Psychology (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Regional Development Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Tourism (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td></td>
<td>Regional Studies Course (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>Correspondence Department</td>
<td>Department of Japanese Literature and Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campuses</td>
<td>Faculties</td>
<td>Departments (Day, Night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawagoe</td>
<td>Faculty of Science and Engineering</td>
<td>Department of Mechanical Engineering (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Biomedical Engineering (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Electrical, Electronic and Computer Engineering (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Applied Chemistry (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Civil, and Environmental Engineering (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Architecture (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faculty of Information Sciences and Arts</td>
<td>Field of Information and Computer Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field of Media and Culture Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field of Environmental Information Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field of Psychological Information Studies (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itakura</td>
<td>Faculty of Life Sciences</td>
<td>Department of Life Sciences (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Applied Biosciences (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Food Life Sciences (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaka</td>
<td>Faculty of Human Life Design</td>
<td>Department of Human Care and Support (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Health Care and Sports (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Department of Human Environment Design (D)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research capacity has been parallel with the reform of educational systems. In 2005 (Heisei 17), the Academic Research Promotion Center was founded. This umbrella organization of the university controls all university research institutes, centers, and personal research projects. Through internal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campuses</th>
<th>Graduate Schools</th>
<th>Major Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hakusan</td>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian Philosophy and Buddhism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
<td>Private Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>Business Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Business, Accounting and Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Private Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Development Studies</td>
<td>Regional Development Studies</td>
<td>Regional Development Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>International Tourism Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>System for Welfare Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toyo University Law School</td>
<td>(Special school to educate students as lawyers)</td>
<td>(Special school to educate students as lawyers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawagoe</td>
<td>Interdisciplinary New Science</td>
<td>Bio-Nano Science Fusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>Intelligent Material Mechatronics Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Biological Applied Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental System Planning and Space Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Open Information Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itakura</td>
<td>Life Sciences</td>
<td>Life Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaka</td>
<td>Human Life Design</td>
<td>Human Centered Life Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human Environment Design (also at Hakusan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mergers and in some cases the elimination of some research centers, a modern academic institution emerged.

The Ministry of Education and Science has paid much attention to Toyo University’s research initiatives such as the Advanced Policy Science Research Center, the Center for Sustainable Development Studies, the 21st Century Human Interaction Research Center, the Plant Regulation Research Center, and the Asian Culture Research Center. The proposal of Bio Science and Nanotechnology Interdisciplinary Research by the Bio-Nano Technology
Research Center was adopted as a Ministry of Education and Science 21st century COE program.

The Founder’s Wish

The Academy of Philosophy evolved into the present Toyo University from a foundation in philosophy. Today, it is a large comprehensive university with ten faculties, forty-four departments, their respective graduate schools, night programs and correspondence courses. Almost all imaginable subjects are taught in the fields of literature, law, economics, business administration, sociology, regional development studies, science and technology, life science, and life design (human services). In 2010 (Heisei 22), student enrollment reached 31,449. Considering the first intake quota of fifty students for the Academy of Philosophy much has transpired since the humble beginning.

Dr. Inoue at one of his tea-time talks informed his students of an idea which is still relevant more than one century later. This particular talk mentioned in “Chatting over Tea at the School of Philosophy” (Tetsuso Sawa) is as follows:

There is no more pleasant time in your life than student days. Such delight and happiness are beyond words. In childhood, you feel your future life will be long, but you cannot feel happy in everything because you haven’t had enough experience using intellect and will. In the prime of life, a few years after your student
days, you will have to support a wife and children, do your job duties, be economical, and fulfill your social obligations. Sometimes you will have to say flattering things and cater to the pleasure of others. Thinking of these things, days of youth are really the spring in one’s life. Whether you close your life happily or unhappily certainly will depend on how you spend your days from age twenty to twenty-seven or twenty-eight which will make the foundation of your life. Therefore, as your future is cast in your youth and student days, you must work hard and live life carefully and moderately.

Through his own school experiences and in his life afterwards, the founder’s acquired wisdom was given as a message to his own students and the future students of Toyo University. Toyo University as one can see it today, evolved out of the Academy of Philosophy. Now at Toyo University, a multitude of students study in various fields with a variety of methods. The most important factors are what is to be taught, how it will be taught, and how it will be learned. Social responsibilities for both individual graduates and the university have increased in both quality and quantity. Toyo University must advance towards the future with a supporting ‘cane’ of philosophy, to fully realize the educational principles espoused by its founder Dr. Enryo Inoue.
<Table 11> The numbers of Departments and Students of Major Private Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>Student Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  Nihon University</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>69,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  Waseda University</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>*44,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Ritsumeikan University</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Kinki University</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>*31,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Meiji University</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>*29,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Toyo University</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  Keio University</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28,931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  Tokai University</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  Hosei University</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>*28,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Kansai University</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>*27,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Doshisha University</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Chuo University</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Teikyo University</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Kwansei Gakuin University</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Senshu University</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Fukuoka University</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Rikkyo University</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Aoyama Gakuin University</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Kanagawa University</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Ryukoku University</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17,675</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The data are from respective university HP on undergraduate. The numbers are 2011 numbers. The items with * are 2010 numbers.*
## Chronological Table of the History of Toyo University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Enryo Inoue was born as the eldest son of the priest of Jikoji Temple of Shinshu-Otani Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Started to study Chinese Literature under Tadanori Ishiguro at his Kangaku-juku (age 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Ordained as a priest at Higashi-Honganji (age 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Studied English at Takayama-Rakugun-sha (age 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Entered the First Year of Niigata School (the old Nagaoka Western School) (age 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Entered the Priest School of Higashi-Honganji. He studied English (age 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Entered the Preparatory School of Tokyo University (age 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Entered the Department of Philosophy at Tokyo University (age 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Started a monthly research society of Kant, Hegel, Cont and others with his friends (age 24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Founded The Association of Philosophy with Tetsujiro Inoue, Hiroyuki Kato, Amane Nishi, Setsurei Miyake, etc. (age 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Graduated from Tokyo University (age 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue made the plan of establishing the Tetsugakukan while recuperating at the resort of Atami. Married Miss Kei Yoshida (age 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Founded Tetsugaku-shoin, and published the first magazine of Tetsugakukai (The Society of Philosophy). Founded the private Tetsugakukan (The forerunner of Toyo University) on the grounds of Rinsho-in Temple in Tatsuoka, Hongo, Tokyo (age 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue started Distance Education with the lecture notes from the Tetsugakukan. Made his first tour to America and Europe (age 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue constructed a new school house and dormitory at Horai-cho, Komagome, Tokyo (age 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue began the first nationwide lecture tour to gain the funds for the major Courses at the Tetsugakukan. The fund drive continued for 3 years (age 32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>The Tetsugakukan consisted of Departments of Education and Religion (age 37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Dr Inoue declared that he would build a library. Started his second nationwide lecture-tour (~1902) (age 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>The Tetsugakukan moved to the present campus (age 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Keihoku Junior High School was established. The Tetsugakukan was permitted to award the teacher’s license without license examination (age 41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue started on his second overseas tour. The exam-free teacher’s license was cancelled as the result of the Tetsugakukan incident (age 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>On return from his overseas tour in July, Dr. Inoue announced a plan to start Moral Education to the public in September. In October, Tetsugaku-do started to be built, enshrined four Saints. The name Tetsugakukan changed to Private University Tetsugakukan in October (age 45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue started his third lecture-tour. Opening ceremony of University and Tetsugaku-do (age 46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Foundation of Keihoku Kindergarten (age 47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue retired from office of president. The name of Tetsugakukan University changed to Toyo University (age 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>The exam-free teacher’s license was re-permitted (age 49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Dr. Inoue started on another overseas tour (age 53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Enrollment of women (one of the first co-ed schools)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Death of founder Dr. Enryo Inoue in Dalian, China (age 61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Toyo University was sanctioned under the University Establishment Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Restructured as a New University under National School Establishment Law; Undergraduate School of Literature established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Undergraduate School of Economics and junior college</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue

established
1952 Graduate School of Literature founded
1956 Undergraduate School of Law established
1959 Undergraduate School of Sociology established
1961 Opening of Kawagoe Campus; Undergraduate School of Engineering established
1964 Correspondence courses established
1966 Undergraduate School of Business Administration established
1977 Opening of Asaka Campus
1987 Celebration of 100th Anniversary
1990 Founding of Inoue Enryo Memorial Research Center
1992 Completion of Hakusan Campus Building No. 1
1994 Initiation of student acceptance beginning in October; Completion of Hakusan Campus Buildings No. 2 and 3
1996 Bio-Nano Electronics Research Center established
1997 Opening of Itakura Campus with Faculties of Regional Development Studies, Life Sciences
1998 Remote lecture system “Space Collaboration System” and information network system “ToyoNet” implemented
2001 Completion of Hakusan Campus Building No. 4 and Itakura Campus Building No. 3
2002 Completion of Hakusan Campus Hosui-no-Mori Park, Kawagoe Campus Building No. 1 and Library rebuilt
2003 Completion of Hakusan Campus Enryo Inoue Memorial Hall and Kawagoe Campus Building No. 2
2004 Professional Graduate School established
2005 Completion of Hakusan Campus Building No. 6. Implementation of unified education system among five liberal arts faculties. Undergraduate School of Human Life Design established on Asaka Campus. Completion of Inoue Enryo Memorial Museum
2006 Second Hakusan Campus opened
2009 Undergraduate School of Engineering reorganized into
Undergraduate School of Science and Engineering, Undergraduate School of Information Science and Arts established at Kawagoe Campus. Undergraduate School of Regional Development Studies moved to Second Hakusan Campus. Undergraduate Departments of Applied Biosciences and Food Life Sciences added in School of Life Sciences

2011 Keihoku School is unified with Toyo University

2012 Toyo University celebrates its 125th Anniversary