“A portrait of the educator Tsunesaburo Makiguchi: Radicalism and the pursuit of a universal knowledge”

and

“The young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi and our times: From the frontline of research on Jinsei Chirigaku (The geography of human life)”

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Translations of the above two essays written by Shoji Saito, professor at Soka Univeristy, on Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, which were published as part of his book *Nihonteki Shizenkan no Henkakatei* (A process of changes in Japanese views on nature), Tokyo Denki University Press, 1989.

A portrait of the educator Tsunesaburo Makiguchi:
Radicalism and the pursuit of a universal "knowledge"

I. A radicalist in the true definition of the word

If anyone were to ask me to encapsulate the far-reaching, multi-dimensional, dynamic ideas of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi in a single word, I would reply "radicalism" – in its true definition. Study Makiguchi's thoughts on geography, his pedagogical theories and his religious ideas and in the end you inevitably arrive at Makiguchi the man of flesh and blood, a man who can only be described as a radicalist in the true sense of the word. Radicalism is commonly defined as extreme left wing thought. In broad terms this will suffice, however in the atmosphere of pragmatic political dynamism that has prevailed since the 1970s our understanding of the term radicalism has of necessity become less well-defined. In both the West and Japan, it was in the past regarded as only logical to associate the left wing movements of opposition parties and intellectuals in the period starting in the 1930s, continuing through the post-war era and into the 1960s with the political history of the Soviet Union and link these groups to that history. The very foundations of this association are now however in question. In *Ima kibo towa* ("My hopes now"), notes from a series of interviews with Jean Paul Sartre in his last years ("Asahi Journal"; April 18 – May 2 1980), the philosopher calls the Soviet Communist Party "an extreme right wing party." A section of sociologists and political scientists have long regarded the Communism of the Soviet Union and what is known as Stalinism as "conservative", however as we watch the current suppression of striking workers in Poland, this realistic appraisal of the Soviet Communist party by Sartre as an "extreme right wing party" would appear to be the most apt.

The true meaning of radicalism then is not a question of a set of beliefs being Marxist or otherwise (as not even the Soviet bureaucracy could be described as Marxist), but must rather be a question of whether *individuals* are able to hold radical views. Excessive advancement in the areas of science and technology has resulted in the developed nations to a greater or lesser degree in the creation of highly controlled social structures. In these circumstances, there need to exist somewhere "strong individuals" who refuse to submit to the ideology of supremacy of the state and conformity with the uniform modes of thought imposed on them by the state and by a controlling society, choosing to retain their independent spirit as individuals. Individuals capable of questioning the commands and symbols of machines that interfere in our lives unasked; individuals consistently able to find new intellectual methods for the dispassionate observation of an abominably overdeveloped society; individuals capable of retaining utopian ideals in order to maintain a barrage of criticism toward cultural structures that provide those in authority with limitless power to control; unselfish individuals of integrity who spurn worldly wealth and fame to allow them to engage in critical analysis of the current state of affairs; individuals in any case with a love for humankind.
This is what it takes to be a radicalist in this day and age.
Through the most difficult of times, our Tsunesaburo Makiguchi indisputably remained a radicalist individual. Makiguchi always viewed the current reality as "defective" and engaged in a fierce ongoing duel with this reality. The publishing in sequence of the four

volumes of *Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei* ("The System of Value-Creating Pedagogy") constituted a continuing battle against the supremacy of the state and bureaucracy, which the people of Japan had submitted to unquestioningly since the Meiji period. Because Makiguchi continued to say what he thought, as an individual (surrounded of course by like-minded associates) rather than as a representative of the authority of the state, in our time his ideas have gained the support of the majority of people. This is what may be described as the "paradox of history."

II. The young Choshichi Makiguchi's encounter with Satsuma officialdom

Tsunesaburo Makiguchi the educator's strongly defiant spirit and disdain for worldly advancement, traits that can only be described as innate (although strictly speaking, human beings are formed as a result of interaction with their environment, so we should not really describe anyone as having such characteristics at birth), allow us depict him as a radicalist. We may speculate as to whether Makiguchi chose to be a "contrary" "eccentric" of a person, deliberately putting himself in situations not to his benefit as a result of his natural tendencies, but what we can say for sure is that he was by nature an unselfish man of great integrity.

This aspect of his nature becomes apparent when we chart the course of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi's life. At least three times in his life Makiguchi was blessed with chance encounters that had he wished to, he could have used to "go up in the world" and win himself what is often called "a place in the sun," i.e. the kind of encounters most people would jump at as the chance of a lifetime. Three times, and each time Makiguchi spurned the good luck that came his way. This casual disdain for opportunities to distinguish himself that a more worldly person would soon have taken advantage of is the very essence of who Makiguchi was, and these encounters represent in fact the most critical crossroads in his life in terms of the emergence of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi the educational thinker.

Makiguchi's first chance for worldly advancement came at the age of sixteen or seventeen, when he was still known by the name Choshichi Makiguchi.

The young Makiguchi traveled to Otaru in Hokkaido in 1885. His birthplace, the village of Arahama (now Arahama in Kashiwazaki city, Niigata Prefecture) had prospered considerably from the shipping that plied the waters of the Sea of Japan between Honshu and Hokkaido during the years of the shogunate. By the 1880s however the village was suffering from the rapid rise of modern steamships, resulting in a drastic decline from prosperity toward destitution. Choshichi would have witnessed every detail of the sudden drop in the standard of living of his adopted grandfather Zendayu Makiguchi from a tolerable existence to extreme poverty. Even had this not been the case, during this period farming all over Japan was in the process of polarizing between an affluent landlord class and a landless class, and a succession of economic policies enacted by the government and designed to advance the capitalist system, such as currency reform and excessive taxes, inevitably strained the already meager resources of mountain and fishing villages, which were very much at the bottom of the economic pile. To compound the difficulties of rural areas, in 1885 the country was hit by a series of floods, contributing even further to the recession. These were the circumstances that prompted Choshichi to leave for Hokkaido with the help of his other grandfather, Shiroji Watanabe.

The young Makiguchi did not however find work immediately, only after much searching eventually securing a position as errand boy at the Otaru police station. This job of errand boy at the police station, in itself a humble post in the scheme of things, could, had Choshichi been so inclined, opened the door to his "place in the sun" and become the first step on the road to worldly success.
The reason we can say this with such certainty is because ever since Lieutenant-general Kiyotaka Kuroda had risen to the position of director of the Hokkaido Colonization Office (i.e. in June 1874) that employed the young Makiguchi, men from the Satsuma clan (modern-day Kagoshima) had made a clean sweep of positions in the territory, monopolizing the administration, and as an official of this Satsuma clique, Police Superintendent Nagayasu Mori who picked up the young Makiguchi and helped him may naturally be considered a man of influence. In *Otaruku shi* ("History of Otaru") (1914; published by Otaru-ku Hakubunsha), Yoshiaki Watabe attests to this monopoly of the Hokkaido administration by men of Kagoshima origins, writing in"Chapter 1:Overview": "Although his achievements may be great, the frank and open disposition of Baron Kuroda not only allows those officials beneath him to have their own way in every matter, but has allowed a skewed culture of nepotism to permeate the administration, with only those from the Satsuma clan advancing to prominent positions. Whether a so-called appointed official or one of lower rank, only Satsuma people are able to rise to important posts, and the whole place is full of them, from the officials of the Colonization Office at the top to the employees of private companies at the bottom. Thus two camps are formed – those from Satsuma and those not from Satsuma, resulting in an endless litany of problems. This is why people call this the period of tyranny by officialdom, despite that fact that these same officials did notch up considerable achievements in the development of Hokkaido. The evolution of the post of governor of Hokkaido into a tactical weapon used in infighting among the Satsuma leadership also really has its origins in the colonial era.

A drinking song furthermore encouraging followers of the Higashi-Honganji sect to emigrate to Hokkaido sings, "Verse 9:High places are for satsumaimo (sweet potatoes), low places for wheat and rice – they develop the land like the hearts of the people out there. Not bad eh, eh, eh, nothing wrong with that," and other ditties of the time referring to "satsumaimo" in other words likening the deeply-rooted structure of Kagoshima bureaucrats in their burgeoning numbers to a potato crop, provide ample evidence of what the situation must have been. It follows that if Choshichi Makiguchi had been a cunning and impertinent young fellow he would have ingratiated himself accordingly with the Satsuma officials he encountered and become part of the "mainstream" of the Hokkaido administration. The autobiographies of Diet members and government ministers often mention the role of fate, i.e. "encounters between people", in the success of their subjects, but in reality these encounters are no more than instances of someone in a lowly position in society winning the favor of someone of higher status at a particular point in time and skillfully using this break to their advantage. The young errand boy at the Otaru police station however, did not do anything of the kind.
Instead, Nagayasu Mori, promoted to superintendent of the Sapporo police, entreated Choshichi to live and work in his home as a student, with the young man eventually being accepted for the full course of study at the Hokkaido Normal School on Mori's

recommendation. Entry to normal school at that time was in accordance with the philosophy of Minister of Education Arinori Mori, who made district and ward heads responsible for choosing their best students. In one of Mori's speeches, he explains the idea as follows. "Nominating candidates for normal school is a task of district and ward heads, who should first of all look for the following qualities among elementary school students: candidates should be manly and without any trace of cowardice, and consistently earn the affectionate respect of others. To obtain this type of candidate, elementary school teachers should be consulted and a record kept of the names of promising children. Family connections and personal favoritism should not play the slightest part in the order in which students are nominated. Sufficient discretion should be employed from the start and efforts made to ensure the best results are gained from the resources invested in normal school pupils."
Mori in other words aimed to further his ideas about "nationalist education" and "school education" by ordering district and ward heads all over the country to "hunt out the best children." It follows then that young Choshichi Makiguchi's admission to the Hokkaido Normal School was a result of his being caught in the net of this "hunting of the top pupils" espoused by Minister of Education Mori, and there is no reason to believe it to have been due in particular to the recommendation of Nagayasu Mori as the superintendent of police in Sapporo. We can however assume this much - that the officials of an administration so dominated by Satsuma people would not have been able to resist demonstrating to both themselves and others the extent of their own prestige by faithfully carrying out the orders of a Minister of Education with the same Satsuma origins as themselves. It is highly likely that Superintendent Nagayasu Mori did remark to the young Makiguchi in the normal course of events, "The best future for you young man would be as a teacher. I'll talk to the district head and make sure you get into Hokkaido Normal School." In any case, Choshichi Makiguchi was admitted by recommendation (i.e. without having to pass any examinations) to the Hokkaido Normal School in April 1889.

There are no signs on this occasion of the young Makiguchi attempting to make use of his good luck. Even had it occurred to him, at seventeen Makiguchi did not have the resources to do so, and one also suspects that in fact Makiguchi simply studied hard and suddenly found himself "somehow" admitted to the normal school. All he did know was that had he not had the good fortune to meet an important personage of the Satsuma clan with direct links to the hub of the Hokkaido administration, in other words if he had not encountered a Satsuma official, then *maybe* he would not have been admitted to normal school. We should not therefore become too carried away and assume that the young Makiguchi did not use the good fortune that came his way, or that he rejected it out of principle. What we can safely say however is that in all probability even with a connection of this degree, in a country of the *Gemeinschaft* nature of Japan in which nepotism spread its tentacles far and wide, a shrewd young man hoping to work his way up to the rank of businessman or politician of stature would not have been so uncalculating. In other words we approach a true picture of Makiguchi if we understand him as someone who never possessed the innate shrewdness required to use others to make his way in the world, but rather as someone with a greater tendency than usual to think in exactly the opposite way.

The reason we can be justified in saying this with such certainty is that of all the "ways of thinking" that the young Makiguchi studied and mastered following his admission to the Hokkaido Normal School, (our knowledge of which we have no choice but to base on the scant mention he gave to the subject in his works of later years), those which appealed to him most strongly were the developmental education theories of Pestalozzi and Johonnot, and it is obvious that Makiguchi did not agree in the slightest with the military-style training methods used at the school or the nationalist doctrines that the school authorities tried their best to inculcate in the students. Arinori Mori's ideas on education were in one respect based on American-style progressive rationalist theories, and Mori did not demand that normal school education be composed entirely of the gung-ho militarist or nationalist teachings generally associated with the period, however following Mori's assassination the education authorities opted for this latter route exclusively, and the dormitories of normal schools took on the aspect of military barracks. The young Makiguchi was one of those forced to live in these barrack-like conditions, and we may safely assume he was punished heavily by the older students with little justification. This is a time of his life however that he never mentioned, even in his final years. No doubt he had some unpleasant memories of this period. In his works published in later years incidentally, it is themes such as "development", "reason" "education as economy" and "happiness as the goal of education", the main themes of Johonnot's work "Principles and practice of teaching", which he learned from his textbooks at the normal school (i.e. during classes) that are played out over and over in a symphony of ideas. In other words, while most normal school graduates learned and took to heart only the three essentials of "obedience, friendship and respect for authority" instilled by militarist training, our young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi learned something completely different – the principles of "development", "reason", "economy" and "happiness". Among all his classmates (in fact among all the graduates) he was the one student who picked up a totally different variety of knowledge at the Hokkaido Normal School.

In saying that Makiguchi picked up something completely different however, what he in fact gained was the realization of a faithful and accurate transfer of the progressive and enlightened rationalist thought found in the ideas of Arinori Mori. If all graduates of the normal school were to have sufficient ability for dispassionate introspection, observe correctly what they saw, and use ideas without being tempted by the possibilities of worldly advancement, they should really have learned the same things that Makiguchi did. Instead they paid attention only to the military-style training, the "three essentials" instilled by that training, and the philosophy of going with the flow in order to get on in life. This resulted in an enormous gulf between Makiguchi and his normal school peers in later years. From the perspective of the vast majority of more worldly normal school graduates of the time, Makiguchi no doubt appeared an eccentric, a person with an odd tendency to think and behave in the opposite way to the thoughts, needs and desires of ordinary people.

Alternatively, in general perhaps the correct observations and judgements are in fact the exclusive domain of the eccentrics and the contrary types (who have been described using any number of expressions including the cranks, the perverse, the unpopular, the

ones who swim against the tide of prevailing common sense, those that stick out or are isolated from the rest), i.e. the people with ideas opposite to those of the majority, or the people on the frontiers of society. There can be no doubt that even as a teenager Tsunesaburo Makiguchi was one of these people.

III. Makiguchi criticizes normal school education and is pressed to resign

Let us take a look now at Makiguchi's second chance for good fortune.
This second chance cannot necessarily be described as good luck, resulting as it did conversely in an incident that lost the young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi his job. However if we think once again in hypothetical terms, we can imagine that if on this next occasion Makiguchi had maneuvered in a smarter fashion, he would not have sacrificed his posts of teacher at Hokkaido Normal School, house master and principal of the elementary school affiliated with the normal school – instead in all likelihood, he would have used the opportunity to arrange a transfer to another normal school, in the interior.

Why then was Tsunesaburo Makiguchi driven to resign his teaching posts? Let us take a look at the *Hokkaido Sapporo Shihan Gakko Gojunenshi* ("Fifty years of the Sapporo Normal School in Hokkaido") published by the school in 1936, and think a little about what the reasons might have been.
The chronology at the back of *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo* edited by the Seikyo Shimbun gives the reason for Makiguchi's resignation as follows.
"1901 30 years of age/April 18: resigns from post as teacher at Hokkaido Normal School, house master and principal of the elementary school attached to the Normal School. Goes to Tokyo. Resignation was the result of a knifing incident involving students during a student strike in the autumn of 1900, for which Makiguchi was held responsible as house master by the Hokkaido authorities and advised to resign. Makiguchi decided that in one respect this was a good opportunity – to go to Tokyo and present his work on geography (later *Jinsei chirigaku* – "The Geography of Human Life") completed finally after many years of work."

As an individual it is not unnatural that Makiguchi would think this a good opportunity to carry out the dream he had nurtured for years and therefore leave his post and go to Tokyo, however in terms of an official reason, "was held responsible as house master by the Hokkaido authorities and advised to resign" in relation to a student strike that occurred the previous autumn and a knifing that accompanied it, does not quite add up. To investigate further, let us look again at the first chapter of the *Hokkaido Sapporo Shihan Gakko Gojunenshi*, the chronology, and the entry for the year 1900. Here we find first of all, "January 19 – Principal Okamoto suspended from duties, Principal Eiji Makiyama of the Akita Prefectural Normal School appointed as the school's eighth principal."

We see, in short, that the previous principal, Tsunejiro Okamoto (only recently promoted to the position on June 28 1899) lost his job not seven months into his tenancy. Was there something sinister happening at the school? Moreover nothing is mentioned anywhere about a student strike, either in the entry for 1899 or for the years immediately preceding

or following. The new principal Eiji Makiyama spent only two years at the school before taking up a teaching post at a higher normal school for girls. Makiyama too had authored works on pedagogy and was an academic of some repute in the education sector.
The editing of this fifty-year history resulting in a complete omission of the strike is a stereotypical example of prewar education history. A search for more information leads inevitably to "Chapter 4 Recollections and thoughts", where we find not surprisingly a tiresome collection of hackneyed phrases from past and present staff members. Among the graduates however, (including one who became a director of the Dai Nihon Beer Company, and others who ended up pursuing careers in sectors other than education) as might be expected there are intimations of less conventional activities. These include accounts of student strikes in the 1880s and 1890s, immediately arousing our interest because this includes the period during which Makiguchi was at the school. The question is, do any of the graduates mention the strike in 1899? Fortunately for us, some of them do.

Looking back forty years
Midori Sukenobu
Graduated from the abbreviated course 1901

I started at the normal school in 1899 at the age of sixteen. I pretended to be eighteen to get in, and was the only boy in the school all the way from Teshio. This was the year in which the normal school system was reformed and divided into full, abbreviated and preparatory courses of study, and I was notified that I had been permitted to enter the abbreviated course. I packed my bags and set out, grumbling a bit about the course I had been assigned, but not minding too much as at least I had been admitted.
It was in my second year in the time of Principal Makiyama that the third year students in the full course went on strike in that Ishikari incident, causing an uproar all over the country. I remember well how we all bore the brunt of the principal's tearful lectures after that. (ibid. pp. 246-7)

A few memories
Tamekichi Murai
Graduated March 1902
Principal - Sapporo No. 2 Higher Elementary School

1898, the year I entered the normal school, was a watershed year for the school, its first period of expansion, and I believe it was around this time that the Hokkaido Jinjo Normal School, as it was known, became the Hokkaido Normal School.

My class of fifty-seven students was permitted provisional entry to the school on April 20, but on June 14, the day before the Sapporo Jinja (shrine) festival, the head teacher announced that entry exams would be held from the sixteenth. Naturally this was very sudden and we all got quite a shock, so there was certainly no enjoying the festival for me – just frantic preparations for the exams. The results of these exams were that thirty made it into the full course, twenty into the abbreviated course, and seven failed altogether. We had no warning about these exams, were told nothing when we applied, and few had even

thought about the abbreviated course. There was nothing we could do however, and there were some who thought of leaving the dormitory, but in the end we consoled each other and obeyed orders. Naturally those who ended up in the abbreviated course were not happy in themselves, nor were those in the full course, and two years and four months later at events like our farewell party following graduation, while the atmosphere was harmonious, there was also an air of sadness. Following the exams there had been a series of regrettable events such as the organized absence from classes after the Ishikirisan Marathon and the Ishikari incident, then in February of the following year the knifing, and in the end there were only seven of us left.
Out of consideration for my position I will say no more about the matters I have touched upon here. (ibid. pp. 247-8)

My impressions of that time
Kotaro Kon
Graduated March 1905

The Ishikari incident
It was a bright autumn day in 1900. For us it was our first trip away – we had trouble sleeping the night before, we were so excited. I say trip, but in fact it was for military training, and we were divided into a North and a South Army. We were in the South Army, with Nakamura-san as our company commander. Everyone was involved except the fourth-year students, so it was quite an exercise all right. The first day we carried out exercises at Tobetsu and stayed there. We feasted on rice cakes and pumpkin and were treated very well, much like the mobile troop exercises of today. On the second day we finally arrived at Ishikari. After dinner, there were instructions from our company commander.

“This battalion was scheduled to depart for Zenibako early tomorrow morning, however due to a change of plans we will be staying in this town. You may hear the trumpet calling you to assemble, but you don’t need to assemble. Tonight’s curfew is five o’clock, however we will extend it on this occasion to nine o’clock. You may leave the compound as you please.”

We applauded and cheered.
The next day when the trumpet sounded we did not assemble. The school noticed the student’s attitude for the first time and began discussions.
We wandered along Ishikari beach, went to Zenibako, stayed the night and returned to school the next day. Naturally the exercises all went by the board. The third years stayed in Ishikari and marched proudly back to school in formation. They were even called a model class and I still cannot forget how disciplined they were, how tightly in formation, and how dignified their manner. Our corporal Shigeyoshi Ishida expressed great admiration for the preparatory course students, who were soft in appearance but sturdy in spirit.

Inquiries, expulsions, unlimited suspensions…the dormitory buzzed with rumors and panic.

I can hear the tearful words of Principal Makiyama in the assembly hall even now.
The third years who returned in January the following year, thanks to the efforts of their elders, just didn't seem to settle down. This was because they had split, as often happens, into a radical and a moderate faction. This was when the terrible tragedy known as the "knifing incident" occurred.

All those involved were expelled.
Several years passed. Our uniforms that made us look like black crows changed to distinctively colored summer clothing, our hooks to buttons and our small round hats to more stylish French hats. But we should never forget that behind all these changes are sacrifices made in the past like these.
Young and old, new ideas and old ideas, moving and stationary: obviously the way of the world perhaps, but we still should take heed. (ibid. pp. 253-4)

Perhaps I have lingered a little long over quotes from former students, but this is the bare minimum of references required in order for us to obtain an accurate overview of the "Ishikari incident" and the associated "knifing incident" that led the Hokkaido authorities to press the young teacher Tsunesaburo Makiguchi "fall on his sword". Even among this material there is an obvious desire to avoid touching on the very heart of these events making it difficult to ascertain the truth, typified by Tamekichi Murai in the second extract who remarks, "Out of consideration for my position I will say no more about the matters I have touched upon here." Something lurks between the lines of the childish sentences of Kotaro Kon's recollections, what we cannot be sure, but we have little choice but to cling to what clues we are able to dig up.

What we can be sure of thanks to these three recollections however is that education at the Hokkaido Normal School during this period was excessively "oppressive". While Tamekichi Murai is circumspect in his description of events, we can deduce that one day, fifty-seven of a class with provisional entry (permitted to enter the school by recommendation i.e. without sitting examinations) were informed suddenly that a surprise entry exam was to be conducted. The subsequent "weeding out" or selection of the class left thirty in the full course, twenty in the abbreviated course and seven failures (i.e. students expelled). As Murai says, "We had no warning about these exams, were told nothing when we applied," making this a particularly treacherous move on the part of the school. Little wonder when those who did pass were subject to selection (i.e. discrimination) between full and abbreviated course students that they "were not happy in themselves". We may surmise that this was the fundamental cause of the student strike that became known as the "Ishikari incident", the result of which was that only seven of the original fifty-seven students succeeded in graduating, and indeed the list of graduates in the "*Gojunenshi*" does record only seven graduates for March 1902.

Kotaro Kon however, who was three years behind this class, says of them, "They were even called a model class and I still cannot forget how disciplined they were, how tightly in formation, and how dignified their manner." We can only assume therefore that because this class constituted a "model" class of particularly outstanding quality, more

so than those students before or after, they were the kind of students who felt they had no choice but to stand up to the “oppression” they were subjected to by the school authorities.

In Kon’s contribution, after relating the particulars of the Ishikari incident, he adds as a final exhortation, “Young and old, new ideas and old ideas, moving and stationary: obviously the way of the world perhaps, but we still should take heed”, following a paragraph referring to a relaxation of former strictness as symbolized by the changes in the uniform of the Hokkaido Normal School, in which he comments “but we should never forget that behind all these changes are sacrifices made in the past like these”. It is impossible to ignore the meaning behind his words.

Are we assuming too much to imagine that the only teacher who stood by those forty-three sacrificed (what an incredibly oppressive bunch the teachers of the Hokkaido Normal School must have been to expel forty-three out of fifty students!) and fought for them was our Tsunesaburo Makiguchi? The terms “young”, “new ideas” and “moving” used by Kotaro Kon elude without a doubt to those forty-three “model” students who let loose and were expelled, but at the same time, surely to the young teacher Tsunesaburo Makiguchi who took their side as the drama unfolded.

If this were not the case, it is difficult to see, even taking into account the old tricks of government departments, why the principal and renowned pedagogue Eiji Makiyama, and the popular house master Manroku Soji were not held in any way responsible for these troubles by the Hokkaido authorities, and only Makiguchi pressed to resign. Can we assume that on this occasion the “contrary” spirit that burned within the young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, making him “different”, flared up to ignite similar feelings in others?

And at a time like this, anyone with the cunning of a social climber or talent for getting on in the world would surely have gone straight to Principal Makiyama or some influential person in the Hokkaido local government and asked for a transfer to another school (a normal school in the interior), skillfully managing on the face of things to win sympathy, while at the same time actually plotting to secure himself a better post (a not uncommon tactic).

The fact that the young teacher declined to do this, instead taking on himself all the responsibility that should have been borne by the school, being the only person to tender his resignation, becoming a “poor *ronin*” or “retainer without a lord” and traveling to Tokyo with no idea of how he was going to make a living, is just the kind of behavior we would expect from Makiguchi. It is also precisely how he was able to complete what will remain one of his most famous works - *Jinsei Chirigaku* (The Geography of Human Life), at the age of only thirty-two, and take his first steps toward becoming the pre-eminent educational thinker of later years. As a rational, natural “member of the opposition” with a strong sense of justice, it was really the only path open to him.

IV. Thoughts from a place without sun

Makiguchi's third chance for advancement came in 1910, when he had the fortune to begin mixing intimately with the members of the *Kyodokai* ("Group for the study of local communities") and participate in the presentation of their research and joint studies. As is widely known, the *Kyodokai* was a group of eminent personalities led by Inazo Nitobe and Kunio Yanagita, and including Baron Akamaro Tanaka, Undersecretary for Agriculture and Forestry Tadaatsu Ishiguro, doctor of science Shunsuke Kusano, doctor of agriculture Takeo Ono, doctor of agriculture Shiroshi Nasu, doctor of law Takeki Osatake, geographer Michitoshi Odauchi, scholar of folklore Taro Nakayama and Tokyo deputy mayor Tamon Maeda, who met monthly at the home of Professor Nitobe, where they would take turns to each present a comprehensive academic report. According to the chronology in *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo*, Makiguchi "became acquainted with Nitobe on the publication of *Jinsei chirigaku*, and was already acquainted with Yanagita in 1909 through a certain critic," but even these encounters can be counted as examples of Makiguchi's good fortune. The gulf in social status between the members of the *Kyodokai* and the "*ronin*" Makiguchi was enormous, and his warm acceptance into the group a manifestation of the regard held by its members for the high academic standard of *Jinsei chirigaku* (1903, Toyamabo). Makiguchi no doubt now appreciated the value of scholarship.

Speaking of the value of scholarship, while we may assume that the good services of Tokyo deputy mayor Tamon Maeda were instrumental in securing the position, in 1913 Makiguchi was appointed principal of Tosei Elementary School in Tokyo. It was perhaps a well-meaning gesture in which Maeda waited until after the publication of *Kyoju no togo chushin toshiteno kyodoka kenkyu* ("Folk community studies centered on integrated instruction", 1912; Ibunkan).

The appointment sought by Tsunesaburo Makiguchi on this occasion was another example of his lack of any desire for personal aggrandizement. Makiguchi had been a government official himself thirteen years earlier as a teacher at Hokkaido Normal School and principal of the affiliated elementary school, and possessing in *Jinsei chirigaku* and *Kyoju no togo chushin toshiteno kyodoka kenkyu* two well-known works of excellent reputation in wide circulation, plus working, albeit anonymously, on several educational publications for the Ministry of Education, if he had wanted to press the advantage gained by these achievements, his sponsor Tamon Maeda's position in the administration being what it was, even had no such position been possible in Tokyo, chances were that Makiguchi could have made a brilliant comeback in the teaching profession as a teacher at the Kamakura or Saitama Normal Schools with very little trouble. Nor would it have been difficult presumably for him to fill a vacancy at a Tokyo municipal junior high school or higher girls' school. Despite all this, our Tsunesaburo Makiguchi shunned the easier option and became a mere elementary school principal, and the principal of Tosei Elementary School at that, a school in one of the rougher parts of town, and including a night school facility. In view of the circumstances surrounding the appointment, we can assume that Makiguchi knew that this Tosei Elementary School had a night school and was located in a neighborhood of poor artisans next to the pleasure quarters of Yoshiwara, or rather in fact that he chose the school precisely

because of these features. No doubt Makiguchi thought that the children of poor disadvantaged families, i.e. without their “place in the sun” were exactly the children whom could most benefit from the “educational ideologies” he had diligently accumulated and formed over the years.

This “eccentric” choice was what led to Makiguchi’s eventual production of the classic of radicalism, S*oka kyoikugaku taikei* (“A System of Value-creating Pedagogy”).

True theories on educational reform do not originate with those in central authority issuing the orders. It is when the free spirits who persist in their “eccentric” drifting ideas, at the same time constantly digging deep in search of a vein of universal “knowledge”, determine to teach themselves, and then decide to help others and society that the right theories emerge.

The young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi and our times
From the frontline of research on *Jinsei chirigaku*

I. Why now is the time to reflect on the ideas of Makiguchi

I'd like to begin this section with an issue of immediate concern. At present, i.e. as of September 1982, two of four candidates for the leadership of the governing party in Japan have indicated that "a national crisis of unprecedented gravity demands austerity from all our people" and are alluding to the probable use of coercive policies, on the assumption that the next government will be forcing these policies onto the great majority of the people. This has been reported on a number of occasions, and as a result the mass of people are showing no particular reaction. When I first encountered these reports myself, I was astounded that people did not feel more anger. As I recall, the sovereignty of this nation was supposed to lie with us, its people.

Recession - only to be expected, trade friction - only to be expected, administrative reforms - only to be expected, more taxes - only to be expected, control of textbooks - only to be expected, military expansion– only to be expected… As an agenda of power politics that assumes everything is "only to be expected" is advanced day by day toward completion, one day we may wake up to find that we, the great mass of people at the bottom of the pile, are locked into an identical situation as that of the 1930s in terms of our society and culture.

One aspect of our society and culture symptomatic of the 1980s is the admiration all Japanese have for "power" and the way in which they have allowed themselves to become captives of "power." Even granted that as a result of the social phenomena we witness every day - the most ordinary politicians suddenly elevated to prime minister, the most vulgar of people suddenly television performers who lead public opinion, to name just two examples – every one of us labors under the illusion that we too can have power if only we want it, because in this we must see that a gestalt is produced sufficient to create the pattern for this illusion, there is probably no need to single this phenomenon out for special criticism. However, the significance of this admiration of power and desire for "power" and the voluntary curbs placed on the self I speak of here incorporates a warning about the current irregular state of affairs in Japan in which the psychology of the people at the level of everyday existence is permeated throughout with this "love of power." Thanks to innovations in advanced science and technology that surpass those of the west, the vast majority of Japanese people now want to be controlled, want to be ordered around, and are seeking affirmation of themselves in this way, however it must be said that it is precisely these attitudes in thought that constitute an expression of the "will for power".

Why then is the country so full of people who attracted by the idea of power? One conclusion we inevitably arrive at is the well-worn theory that the leaders of the absolutist Meiji regime only accepted those aspects of modern European culture that suited their purpose, and used these without experiencing any conflict of ideas with the

pre-modern elements within themselves. No matter how much anyone tries to deny it, those great achievements of our Meiji forbears still surround us with a formidable barrier that prevents us from crawling out of the depths of our misfortune. Another reason, which should at the same time be understood from a broad perspective including cases in the West, is that because the ideologies and systems of modern public education were formulated and put into practice purely to satisfy the political, economic and military demands of the modern nation state that sprung up in rapid succession during the nineteenth century, the humanity and individual happiness of children in compulsory education were relegated to a secondary position, the priority being immediate benefit to the state, and that for a long time, nobody noticed that this strategy was very much putting the cart before the horse (i.e. inverting the end and the means, the subject and the object).

Children entering this absurd system of public education forced on them by the state in the end will spend their lives dependent on rules and regulations devised by others (i.e. totally different rules to the basic principles of life they discover themselves). This education is by rights hardly deserving of the title, however the state disregards this fact, accords teachers a semblance of authority, and forces them to drag children toward whatever the goals of the state happen to be. Unfortunately, for far too long before the modern period teachers tended to be monks who had come down in the world, the top servants of aristocratic families, or hangers-on of wealthy merchants, in other words people not fitting properly into any particular occupational group, so from the moment they gained any authority in the eyes of the world, teachers had no hesitation in taking on the role the scapegoats charged with implementing the injustices of the state. In education in Japan in the modern period, even more so than in Europe, the power of the state loomed sternly behind the teacher, on top of which sat the authority of the teacher standing before the children. This existence of a small number of people giving the orders and a large majority subordinate to them continues even today as a flaunting of educational authority that has prevailed since the Meiji period, despite the emergence of conspicuous variations in the 1980s like the *Gakushu shido yoryo* ("Guidelines for instruction") and *Kyotsu ichiji shiken* (universal university entrance examination) courtesy of the officials of the Ministry of Education. The production of people graded according to their "deviation value" i.e. how they relate to the average, suits the goals of the state (these days the maintenance of a high-tech controlled society) perfectly.
Alfred Adler is known as the psychologist who formulated a theory of "individual psychology" as an alternative to the teachings of his mentor Freud, who believed sex to be the main determinant in personality, concentrating instead on the conflict between feelings of superiority and inferiority. Adler divided people into submissive and imperious types, and reported that both these types are produced during the process of education. "The greatest disadvantage of an authoritative education," he wrote, "lies in the fact that it gives the child an ideal of power, and shows him the pleasures which are connected with the possession of power." (*Understanding Human Nature*).

Bertrand Russell, influenced by the psychology reports of Adler, adds in his book *Power* (1938), (Chapter Two, Leaders and Followers) "Authoritative education produces the slave type as well as the despotic type, since it leads to the feeling that the only possible

relation between two human beings who cooperate is that in which one issues orders and the other obeys them." Russell continues later, "I have spoken hitherto of those who command and those who obey, but there is a third type, namely, those who withdraw. There are men without the courage to refuse submission without having the imperiousness that causes the wish to command. Such men do not fit readily into the social structure, and in one way or another they seek a refuge where they can enjoy a more or less solitary freedom. At times, men with this temperament have been of great historical importance…..Something of the hermit's temper is an essential element in many forms of excellence, since it enables men to resist the lure of popularity, to pursue important work in spite of general indifference or hostility, and arrive at opinions which are opposed to prevalent errors."

The "third type, namely those who withdraw" refers here to those who free themselves from the relationship of command and obedience, and not those who have dropped behind through sloth or stupidity. On the contrary, these are the individuals with the formidable energy required to take the initiative and propel themselves outside the "power structure." In short, if we are to maintain freedom of thought in the true meaning of the word, and oppose the prevalent errors, we must make the decision to throw ourselves bodily outside of all that is "power". Knowing this, but being unable to make that decision, symbolizes our cowardice as ordinary men.
At the very least, I would like to shed some light on the important question of what it means to stand outside of the framework of command and obedience and think for ourselves, by examining the traces of a voyage taken by an eminent person familiar to us.

These traces left by a eminent person familiar to us, it goes without saying, are the numerous sketches that Tsunesaburo Makiguchi contemplated and discarded, contemplated and discarded again as he created *Jinsei chirigaku* amid abject poverty. From this pile of rough etchings was born a monumental academic work.

II. *Jinsei chirigaku* – a product of the pedagogical paradigm

In 1900, the first year of the twentieth century, when the "young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi" embarked on *Jinsei chirigaku*, not a single preceding work existed of even any slight assistance as a model for the scientific theory of geography he had in mind. There were of course magazines like *Chishi* and a number of published works in individual sciences falling into the broad category of "natural geography" e.g. geology, topography, soil science, limnology, oceanography and meteorology, but these were a disparate collection of writings, and to the young Makiguchi at least appeared to be of little immediate use in the scientific pursuit of "the relationship between land and people" which he was formulating, having either excessive or insufficient detail. Most importantly, they were in essence mere translations i.e. transplants of Western geography displaying a distinct unwillingness to tackle the issues of life i.e. the real concerns of Japanese people. For this reason, thanks to the elevated position of the specialists involved, geography as a discipline had become increasingly theoretical in nature, resulting in a growing aversion to the "dull dry rote learning" of those dimensions of geography dealt with in elementary and middle school textbooks. Something had to be

done. The question was what could be done to enable students to build up their powers of observation, to reveal the powers of reasoning within each student that would enable them not only to answer the question "what?" but ask the question "why?" The "young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi", desperate to find the answer to this question and realizing that no existing work would provide the desired results, decided that he had no choice but to write a book himself.

In 1900, Makiguchi was still head of geography at Hokkaido Normal School. The draft of his lecture *Yama to jinsei* ("Mountains and Human Life") given in May the previous year at a regular meeting of former classmates in the school hall, had been published in July that year in the *Hokkaido shihan gakko dosokai zasshi* ("Hokkaido Normal School Former Students' Magazine") No. 13. This draft of the *Yama to jinsei* lecture was used again in Chapter 9 *Sangaku oyobi keikoku* ("Mountains and valleys") of *Jinsei chirigaku*, published in October 1903. Some slight revisions had been made, but this treatment of the old manuscript i.e. using it three years after printing, (despite the fact that the manuscript was too long and Makiguchi had no choice but to in his own words "cut it in half for publication") itself four years after the actual lecture, demonstrates the attachment and pride he felt with regard to the manuscript. At the same time, from a bibliographical viewpoint this manuscript provides a foundation for extending the period during which Makiguchi worked on *Jinsei chirigaku* back to May 1900.
Now if we take this *Yama to jinsei* and compare the earlier and later manuscripts, we are surprised to find something extremely important that we as scholars of Makiguchi's thought have carelessly missed in our investigations. That surprise is similar to the surprise of wandering through the cloud and mist on the ridge of a high mountain, when suddenly the cloud and mist is blown away and the summit of the mountain appears towering above us in a bright blue sky, much closer than we had imagined. When we take a closer look, to our surprise we see it is clear right down to the base of the mountain.
The recent *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo zenshu dainana kan shoki kyoikugaku ronshu* ("Complete works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi Vol. 7 Early essays on the subject of pedagogy") (1982; Daisanbunmeisha) reproduces *Yama to jinsei* as it was in its first magazine publication, including the exhaustive footnotes and supplementary notes of proofreader and annotator Hideo Sato. These notes serve to illuminate the early process by which Makiguchi's ideas were formed, something of which previously we had little more than a vague idea. First of all, let us take a look at page 2 of the foreword (pp. 329-30 in the "Complete Works").

Yama to jinsei (Mountains and human life)
Having been asked to present this lecture, I agreed without giving it much thought, and after considering for some time what I should talk about, and coming up with no brilliant ideas, I chose the following subject and constructed a plan based to some extent on the so-called five stage format. There are time restrictions however, and I'm afraid I am not much of a speaker, so I can't promise things will work as planned.

This is the aim of the lecture. I believe you will all incorporate what you hear today in your existing knowledge to form a harmonious whole.

My lecture is called *Yama to jinsei* (“Mountains and human life”). At first glance you might imagine a topic like this to be rather profound, but this is not actually the case. Academic disciplines are not necessarily original in character. Look back to the origins of the law of gravity and what do you find – an apple fell, that’s all. The great invention of Pestalozzi too simply involved showing what was already there. The same can be said for geography.

Here, believes that any extravagant ideas evoked in the minds of the audience will have been largely curtailed.

Well then, how shall we begin? Mountains are something you have seen with your own eyes, something familiar to you all, so I’m sure you already have some thoughts on them. At the very least let’s put our minds to the following statements.
1. Mountains produce many things.
2. Climbing mountains lifts the spirits.
3. Mountains make rain fall.
4. Mountains create water sources.

The listeners are made here to pull apart their old ideas.

What I want to talk about here are 2. and 3. What I say will be no more than ideas you already have, or parts of ideas you have, and I will simply try to arrange them in a slightly more orderly fashion. My topic then, more specifically, is “explaining what value mountains have with regard to the various interests we believe to be our objective in teaching”.

Here the six kinds of interest must be revised.

1. Interest related to experience
2. Interest related to thought
3. Aesthetic interest
4. Empathetic interest
5. Social interest
6. Religious interest

At this point, believes the concepts assimilated by the listeners are clearly sorted and they are ready to accept the ideas a whole. This is the preparation process.

From here the author moves on to the main topic. In other words, to ensure his audience has a firm grasp of what he is talking about as he presents new concepts to them, it is necessary to divide the material into several sections to explain it.
These sentences leading into the foreword have been cut from the later *Yama to jinsei* manuscript. It would be reasonable to imagine the grounds for this omission to be that in the old manuscript, having “curtailed extravagant ideas” in his former classmates at Hokkaido Normal School, the aim was to make them “understand the value” of mountains as in Herbartian teaching theory “with regard to the various interests,” and to reproduce this without modification Makiguchi thought would be annoying for the

readers of *Jinsei chirigaku*. And in place of the section omitted, in the new manuscript, before embarking on the final section of Chapter 9 "*Sangaku oyobi keikoku*" ("Mountains and valleys"), i.e. "Section 8　Summary", he adds in small script the following "disclaimer".

"So far I have analyzed and observed the different elements of the effects that mountains have on human beings, and have been careful not to overlook the overall effect of the combination of these elements. Therefore to bring this discussion to a conclusion, we need to shift our viewpoint slightly and summarize what we have analyzed and discussed so far. At the time, in Hokkaido, I lectured a little on the question of "mountains and human life" for the benefit of the students. As I bring this discussion to an end, I admit there will be some repetition of that lecture material, however as I did have a few things to add, I have made some slight revisions and made this revised version an abridged version.
(*Makiguchi Tsunesaburo zenshu daiikan Jinsei chirigaku (I)* ["Complete Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi Vol. 1 The Geography of Human Life (I)] pp. 124-5)

Makiguchi had "analyzed and observed the elements of the effects that mountains have on human beings", from "Section 1 *Yama no kodo to jinsei*" ("The height of mountains and human life") to "Section 7 *Keikoku to jinsei* ("Valleys and life"), however because the basic framework of his observations was grounded in Herbartian teaching theory, it would be reasonable to interpret these words used to conclude the final section as a desire to acknowledge what he owed to the pedagogy of Herbart.
Already, in the introductory section of *Jinsei chirigaku* - i.e. "Chapter 3 *Ikani shui o kansatsu subeki*" ("How we should observe that which is around us"), Makiguchi uses Herbartian teaching theory as a framework, summing up the question of how people interact with their surroundings as follows: "Because we deal with all different kinds of people, we employ various methods of interaction. We may observe moreover that even when interacting with the same person, as time goes by or under different circumstances, or at almost the same time, we use several or all of these methods of interaction."
Makiguchi even provides a diagram, adding "when we apply the items in the summary on the right, we should be able to categorize them as shown on the left."

Spiritual interaction

Sensory interaction (1)
Interaction via use (2)
Scientific interaction (3)
Aesthetic interaction (4)
Moral interaction (5)
Empathetic interaction (6)
Public interaction (7)
Religious interaction (8)

Experience
Social interaction

This system of grouping spiritual and intellectual activities into categories such as "sensory interaction", "empathetic interaction", "experience" and "social interaction" made perfect sense to people working in education in Japan during the 1880s and 1890s, and was a system that anyone knowledgeable in this field would readily recognize and understand.

This is in all probability the reason Makiguchi consciously avoids gratuitous repetition in the new *Yama to jinsei* manuscript.
What I have gleaned from a detailed comparison of the old and new manuscripts is that in the earlier manuscript, a phrase in parentheses is inserted at almost every stage, and at the end of each section are notes on teaching theory, e.g. "I have already discussed the experience of mountains and interest in mountains in terms of reasoning. Here I realized that mountains have considerable value in terms of improving understanding."
"(Observing from this perspective should provoke in us empathetic or social interest. In other words, interest out of empathy as opposed to the interest from the viewpoint of reason that I mentioned earlier. This is the result of the conclusions and summary in Section 4.)". The "young geography student" Tsunesaburo Makiguchi clearly grounded his observations of geographical phenomena in the pedagogical paradigm, at the same time possessing a command of precise techniques of inductive reasoning, and eventually "discovering rules" and "establishing principles" through his own efforts.
The means by which Tsunesaburo Makiguchi achieved this, taking into account his starting point as a thinker, must be found in the pedagogical paradigm. The role of *Principles and Practice of Teaching* (1886) written by James Johonnot and translated by Nagao Ariga, the first work Makiguchi encountered on his admission to the full course of the Hokkaido Normal School, cannot be overestimated. Because the young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, who digested the pedagogy of Johonnot (which combined/resolved perfectly in the United States British ideas of empirical scientific consciousness with the developmental teaching theories of Pestalozzi, bringing the resulting set of ideas to fruition) as he progressed one step at a time toward the formation of his own ideas, was, unlike his classmates, sustained in his thinking by a grounding in the "ocean thought" of Arahama in Echigo (modern-day Niigata) and the "enlightened rationalism" of his time in Otaru, he was able to master easily the various relatively carefree pedagogical theories of the first half of the Meiji period. Furthermore, Makiguchi was able to impose upon himself a "discipline of ideas" far stronger than that of any other student in any normal school in the country. Pedagogy itself was the least advanced academic discipline in the modern period, and being inherently a hotchpotch concocted from the essences of various adjacent sciences, it was convenient in that studying pedagogy allowed Makiguchi to absorb a number of modern sciences at once.

The objective fact of conformity to the above pedagogical paradigms confirmed by comparing the old and new texts of *Yama to jinsei* is something that Makiguchi himself openly acknowledges in his explanatory notes in *Jinsei chirigaku*. Once again I confess I will resort to an extract, however I believe it is unavoidable in order to gain a correct understanding of this acknowledgement.

1. The natural environment that surrounds us on all sides has a constant physical and spiritual effect on our daily lives. If we therefore observe closely all these elements and their relationship to our lives, we will find the basis we need to understand the situation in different regions and countries as described in *Chishi*. And if we accept this as what ought to be the popular view of geography, then we can largely interpret the geography of different regions and countries, what should be called the various types of geographical discourse, by applying these fundamental ideas. Being a bit on the slow side, what I have come up with despite myself as a result of some effort is no more than what I have endeavored to find out about this basis for understanding. My learning is only of limited extent, and I am still unable to find an example from which others may learn from. All I have done is follow some rules of pedagogy that have occurred to me to gradually arrange material into the content of what I say to you, and now more than ever I am concerned that I have failed to produce what I had hoped. My conclusions are no doubt riddled with defects in the same manner as my materials. I hope to receive some guidance on this from those more knowledgeable than myself in this area.
2. Because the objects of our observations are part of the society we live in now, any attempt to obtain a correct understanding of them leads us inevitably to current affairs. So while I have remained aware of the objective of this work, I have sometimes had no choice but to stray somewhat from my main topic, and I ask the forgiveness and understanding of my readers for this.

Thus Makiguchi does not shrink from stating unequivocally that he has merely attempted to arrange the jumble of materials he finds in front of him into some coherent form while "adhering to the laws of pedagogy." This is because in his attempts to construct a fundamental theory of geography, Makiguchi is in the position of "not having the ability to forge parameters for this structure" and Makiguchi himself has no hesitation in confessing that he is unable to find an alternative to basing his ideas on the structure of pedagogical theory.

If Makiguchi had submitted unquestioningly to the "authority" of existing works on geography and thought, "if great teachers of such exalted reputation cannot do it, how could someone like me?" or "there must be considerable difficulty involved if such great men do not do it, so there's no way I could," then what would have happened? He would have decided that the foolhardy endeavor that was the writing of *Jinsei chirigaku* was pure madness and discarded the idea before even attempting it. That however, is not what happened.

III. "Anti-authority" ideas – relativist value theory

Suddenly we find ourselves close to the end of our discussion.
There can be no doubt now that the "young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi" employed the pedagogical paradigm to construct a unique system of geographical theory. So far I have discussed the various influences leading to the writing of *Jinsei chirigaku*, but merely comparing Makiguchi's work with existing work in geography relegates the ideas of Makiguchi himself to the status of a mere shell, and makes it impossible to grasp the true

nature of those ideas. The study of Makiguchi's thought has once again entered a new dimension and a new phase.
We must not reach the hasty conclusion however that Makiguchi succeeded in developing a unique and creative geography system by himself simply by "adhering to the laws of pedagogy". Aspects of his system without a doubt belong in the realm of true inspiration. In these, Makiguchi displayed a genius all his own.
Having recognized this we must remember that *Jinsei chirigaku* was as we might expect a work conceived, contemplated and researched outside the realm of "power" (the command/obedience relationship). Returning to the words of Russell, in terms of being created during a period and at a place when a person was one of the "third type namely those who withdraw," determined to enjoy "a solitary freedom" and indulging in "something of the hermit's temper", Makiguchi's *Jinsei chirigaku* certainly fits the bill.

In April 1901, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, then also a house master at Hokkaido Normal School, was forced to accept responsibility for the famous strike incident, and left Hokkaido for Tokyo, having been made as it were to "fall on his sword." Despite saying that he was going to write a book on geography, at first there seemed little hope of achieving this. In short, he had little choice but to continue the life of an unemployed wanderer. It is around this time also that Makiguchi comes into contact with the socialist activists drawn to the *Heimin Shimbun* ("Commoner's News") as a meeting place. This was a life light years from his existence as a normal school teacher, during which he had gone with the flow as part of the power structure of the state.
And it is precisely because he wrote during this period as one of "those who withdraw", that as Russell says, he was able to "resist the lure of popularity", "pursue important work in spite of general indifference or hostility" and "arrive at opinions" which were "opposed to prevalent errors." Without diminishing Makiguchi's other works, the fundamental reason for his producing such a masterpiece in *Jinsei chirigaku* was that at the time, like it or not he was beyond the magnetic pull of "power."
I would like here to draw the reader's attention to a very significant point concerning the writing of *Jinsei chirigaku*. This is that in *Jinsei chirigaku*, Makiguchi deliberately avoids the terminology used specifically by those in power. I have conducted extensive semiotic searches of *Jinsei chirigaku*, however to describe all my findings would consume far too much space, so I shall confine this discussion to a single example.
When you think about it, Makiguchi spent his childhood and his early adult life in Hokkaido, the school from which he graduated was in Sapporo, the administrative center of Hokkaido, and he "served" (not a term I favor, but as it was widely used at that time I will employ it, if ironically) for around ten years on the staff of his old school, so we would presume that the word *kaitaku* (development, reclamation, exploitation, i.e. a word often associated with Hokkaido) would appear frequently in *Jinsei chirigaku*. When we actually examine the original text however, we notice that Makiguchi has made a conscious effort not to use the term, and only employs it in a fairly off-hand manner (or for paradoxical effect) when it is unavoidable.

In terms of frequency, *kaitaku* only appears four times in an enormous book of one thousand *kiku* size pages (i.e. 22 x 15 cm pages) (strictly speaking six times in four places). This is certainly not nearly as frequently as might be expected. Makiguchi's

stubborn determination to exclude the term is blatantly obvious. The terms *kaimei* and *kaimeijin* ("enlightenment" and "enlightened person") on the other hand are sprinkled liberally throughout *Jinsei chirigaku*, a kind of leitmotiv for the work, appearing over one hundred times in those one thousand pages in a number of "variations on the main theme." We must not forget that "enlightenment" formed the foundation of Makiguchi's geography, and was the alpha and omega of his pedagogy. *Kaimei* (enlightenment; education) and *kaitaku* (development, reclamation, exploitation) are very similar words in terms of Japanese expression, both in appearance and in sound, however their meaning is as different as "civilization" and "barbarity". While the latter term i.e. *kaitaku* (these days "*kaihatsu*") has no separate existence from the power of the state or large corporations, the former, i.e. *kaimei*, only exists in close association with the spirit of the individual. There are three or four other reasons why Makiguchi had little option but to treat *kaimei* with reverence and reject *kaitaku*, however we can justifiably say that the main reason was his understanding of the political and social realities of *kaitaku*, as advanced in the main by the state, for what they were – a saga of injustice, barbarity and inhumanity. Any reader of *Jinsei chirigaku* who fails to note the textual fact that the author has consciously avoided the term *kaitaku* – a term with which anyone with a connection to Hokkaido should be more than familiar, would fail from the beginning to understand any of the concepts that the author is promoting, or experience any change in themselves. The significance of an item of vocabulary that only appears six times in four places is considerable, so I would like now to list each of those uses.

…This is something we must not overlook, like the significance of the landing of the American admiral at Uraga on the Miura Peninsula, like the emergence of a giant of religious reform (Nichiren) from the southern part of the Boso Peninsula, and like the way in which the development of Hokkaido began at Oshima. We may see then that the leaders and main instigators of the reforms of the Meiji Restoration, i.e. the people from the fertile lands of the Satsuma and Choshu clans, did indeed have some bearing on the character of the peninsula.
(Chapter 7 Peninsulas and promontories, Section 2 Peninsulas and Civilizations)

This could well be the reason why most of Japan's highest mountains are famous peaks, inspiring priests to take to them and pilgrims to travel around their sacred sites. In Hokkaido, there are examples of mountain worship among the local people, and perhaps it is simply that the land has only recently been opened up and they have yet to be discovered, but there are still unfortunately no temples on the tops of mountains. The land has however been developed by a mountain people. Can the mountaintops have possibly been left without such adornment for this long? I very much doubt it. And in actual fact even in our playground of Hokkaido, every year on April 8 by the lunar calendar the elderly men and women of Horoto leaning on their walking sticks and forgetting how bent their old backs are, take their grandchildren to the rocky Moiwayama (*Inkarashipe* in the Ainu language) and climb the mountain while paying their respects to the thirty-three statues of the Goddess of Mercy en route. In view of this, no young person living in a country of mountains could do less.
(Chapter 9 Mountains and valleys, Section 8 Summary)

Because forests are the most influential factor in the distribution of rivers, if we know how many rivers there are in a particular area, this will correspond roughly to the forested area in the region. Most of the small rivers and streams of our local areas find their source in areas of lush forest, and the rivers that flow between these trees dry up completely when the trees are felled as part of development of the land, so you can see how these areas are left with nothing but the remains of riverbeds.
(Chapter 11 Rivers, Section 10 Rivers and enlightened individuals)

Plants do not only differ in distribution according to the climate of an area, but even within areas subject to the same climatic conditions plant varieties will differ depending on the soil. This is something obvious to anyone who casts an eye outdoors for even a short time. The terms sandy plain, grassland, bush, forest and developed area as generally used indicate the distribution of plant life based on such factors as soil and topography.

1) *Sunahara* (flat sandy areas)
Places where the soil and sand that form the surface of the earth's crust are exposed are either completely devoid of plant life, or plant life is only found in very small quantities. Narrow strips of flat land near the sea, lakes and rivers belong to this category, and are generally disregarded as areas unable to be put to any use.

5 *Kaitakuchi* (developed land) An area in which human labor has altered the state of the natural environment, using it for the cultivation of a variety of crops. Includes rice paddies, vegetable plots, grazing land, houses, roads etc.

The above categories and order also indicate the concentration of useful plants. In other words developed land refers to so-called fertile land suitable for the growing of useful plants, most of which were once areas thickly covered in forest and suitable for dense growth. Forests become desolate in the following stages, and plant life scarce before finally disappearing as the region is transformed into desert.
(Chapter 20 Plants, Section 8 Distribution of plants in relation to soil and natural features)

The young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi had witnessed and heard of several actions of extreme cruelty and inhumanity in the development of Hokkaido, and did not overlook the injustices perpetrated and the corruption that was rife under the Satsuma-Choshu government. At the time, (in fact the same can be said of the period after World War II) Japanese intellectuals were studiously ignoring (the more brazen and ignorant of the opinion leaders losing all inhibitions and glorifying the government's actions) the way in which the great powerless majority of people were suffering in the name of *kaitaku*, while a handful of the strong and wealthy in power lined their pockets; in other words the fact that the land of Hokkaido was being systematically destroyed by "colonization policy" and "imperialist ideology". Our Makiguchi's penetrating powers of observation however enabled him to see the truth, leaving him consequently with no inclination to use a term like *kaitaku* employed with such abandon by the government and its tame academics. (These penetrating powers of observation however did not mean that

Makiguchi neglected to fairly assess the positive aspects of *kaitaku* such as modernization and rationalization, and at no time did he adopt the narrow-minded stance that all he had to do to be effective was to criticize and oppose anything and everything. Rather he always insisted on a holistic and relative approach.) Take a look at those four examples of *kaitaku* that scrape into *Jinsei chirigaku*. No matter what kind of slant you try to put on any of them, never does Makiguchi give even the slightest hint of affirmation or unreserved support for the act of *kaitaku*. This is one of the remarkable aspects of *Jinsei chirigaku*.

While on the topic of the remarkable nature of *Jinsei chirigaku*, we must not overlook the fact that Makiguchi harbored pacifist ideas of the most radical variety. Around the summer of 1903, when Makiguchi was working on the manuscript for *Jinsei chirigaku*, pressure was mounting to take a tough line against Russia, and the whole of Japan was in suspense, waiting for war to break out. Seven professors from Tokyo Imperial University: Masaakira Tomii, Hirondo Tomizu, Toru Terao, Sakue Takahashi, Shingo Nakamura, Noburu Kanai and Kiheiji Onozuka sent a message of support for war to Prime Minister Katsura, urging him to "take this opportunity to fly the flag of justice and face up to what must be done with the means at our disposal" in what became known as the *Shichi hakase kengen* or "Seven professors' proposal", and engaged in activities that aimed to muster public opinion behind war, including writing in newspapers and magazines and going on speaking tours to publicize their views, in what became a well-known event in Japanese history. Through all of this warmongering, our young Tsunesaburo Makiguchi continued to sing to his own "anti-war", "peace" and "international harmony" tune in direct opposition to the majority opinion, in a kind of *basso continuo* throughout *Jinsei chirigaku*. On page four of the opening volume he suddenly declares, "We feel we are offering ourselves to the world and making the world our home. However in actual fact, we who have encountered the enlightenment of the 20th century have made little headway in these things even if we are aiming toward them, and they are things we should be aiming for. Stupidly we impose our own limits and remain trapped in vain within the confines of our old walls, and are in danger of being swamped by our own petty and narrow-minded conflicts." (Chapter 1 An overview of the relationship between the earth and human beings), and has no hesitation in daring to label the nationalists *chikan* or idiots (this word *chikan* incidentally is now only used to describe a perpetrator of sex crimes, but in the young Makiguchi's time it was used for idiot or fool). He then proceeds to clearly target those pressing for war, insisting that the economic effects of war on private enterprise deserve more attention than nationalist politics.

"This confrontation with the world's powers is said to be about autonomy and independence, but this is only in political terms. In terms of economics we bear a portion of the burden of improving the lives of all by spreading ourselves to every corner of this enormous market and cooperating with each other, and are no more than an outlet for the items produced as our part of this burden. That some economists have used the term "trade group" as a substitute for "country" demonstrates this fact. We talk about civilized nations and uncivilized nations, but this is no more than the difference between selling high quality manufactured goods and low quality inferior manufactured goods, the difference between being an itinerant salesman and owning a shop. And so the position of our great Japanese empire in this enormous market is one of a long narrow mountainous

land a mere 27,000 *tsubo* in area lying between 21 and 51 north and 120 and 150 degrees east, full of rundown shops, where people sit idly in front of the brazier happily smoking and waiting for customers; no more than a silk shop or a tea shop-come-general store with a cherry blossom symbol on the curtain at the entrance, staffed by 40 million employees." (Chapter 13 Ocean Section 1 The role of oceans in our current situation). Now how's that for a far-sighted view?
Makiguchi clearly placed himself outside the magnetic field created by the power of the state. By doing so he developed the ability to perceive the truth where others could not, and develop views "opposed to the prevalent errors". In *Kyodoka kenkyu*, published in 1912, considering he was employed by the Ministry of Education to compile a geography textbook, the way in which Makiguchi still succeeds in openly venting his "anti-central authority" views is quite impressive. *Chiri kyoju* ("Geography instruction") however (published 1916) is rife with double meanings over which he has obviously agonized, as an elementary school principal and thus unavoidably part of the command/obedience structure. Indeed, in *Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei* ("A System of Value-creating Pedagogy") Volume 1 (1930) and Volume 2 (1931), written during the period in which his sense of alienation was rapidly deepening, even in his position as an elementary school principal, he had already begun to voice free opinions outside the realm of "power." In Volume 3 (1932) and Volume 4 (1934) he vents without inhibition his by now totally "anti-authority" views. This was a result of the growing breadth and depth of his spiritual universe as a follower of the Nichiren Shoshu sect. Caution is required in any attempt to rank Makiguchi's works, but these developments are the reason any fair assessment will conclude that *Jinsei chirigaku* and the four volumes of *Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei* may be counted as his masterpieces.
Furthermore if *Jinsei chirigaku* had not been completed, is it not highly dubious that the process by which Makiguchi formed his main ideas would have continued to be active through his second, third and particularly his fourth work – *Soka Kyoikugaku Taikei*? It was only when the free spirit tested his wings outside the web of power (in some periods it would be strictly more accurate to say on its fringes) that life was breathed into the skeleton of the pedagogical paradigm.

My research has turned up a number of geniuses who employed the pedagogical paradigm to excellent effect in other fields. Alexander Graham Bell, who discovered the telephone through his enthusiastic efforts in education for the deaf. D.H. Lawrence, who created great works of literature with piercing insight into the faults of twentieth century industrial society, based only on the pedagogical knowledge he obtained in training for teaching at Nottingham University. Both these men were free spirits, who withdrew from the realm of power. It would be a grave error however to assume that within the pedagogical paradigm lies some amazing innate potential. If this were the case, surely there would be none of that class of inferior school principals – yes-men of the administration -ranting about "the destruction of education" or reviving the compulsory singing of the national anthem and flying of the Japanese flag, issues that confront us so directly today, and no undignified scrambling by elderly professors for honorary posts and medals. In the final analysis, we must conclude that when used by those stubborn but gentle types able to step outside the bounds of "power" to promote their own brand of

free thinking, the paradigm of pedagogy, which in truth is no more than a kind of Jack-of-all-trades jumble of disciplines, can be used to surprising effect.
This is also an issue with which we must all contend. When we escape to a place where the logic (or occasionally the sentiment) of “power” that manages and commands us at every level from the society of our nation as a whole to our everyday lives, and urges us to affirm its authority, cannot reach us, the persistent rays of “absolutism” and “authority” cease to shine on the world and we see clearly that in fact all things are very much relative and play only an unobtrusive transitory role. We should notice furthermore that it is the “reverse thinking” of “escape from the system” that elevates ideas previously on the outside or the fringes to the highest position, that has true revolutionary impact. Our *Jinsei chirigaku*, which remains clear-headed and optimistic throughout, is a great work in that it perceives all of creation in terms of “relative thinking”.