

# The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue



Toyo University



TOYO UNIVERSITY



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The Educational Principles of  
Enryo Inoue

First Japanese edition by Hiroo Takagi and Setsuo Miura, October 20, 1987

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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 founded by Dr. Enryo Inoue in 1887 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, 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

Former Professor of the Faculty of Literature

January 1987

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 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 to 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 and that of ourselves in 1987. 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.

## Foreword to the English Translation

By Setsuo Miura

Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center

Professor of the Faculty of Life Design

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, 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: *The basis of 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.

# Background to the Establishment of the Academy of Philosophy

## Philosophy as the Starting Point of Establishment

Toyo University originally began as a private Academy of Philosophy or *Tetsugakukan* in 1887. 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. Historically speaking, in 1877 this school was called Tokyo University, in 1886 the Imperial University, in 1897 Tokyo Imperial University, and since World War II it has become 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 Jiko Temple of the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism in Ura, Nagaoka City, in Niigata Prefecture. In this sect of 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 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* (translation: Useless are things like bows and arrows, swords, and tea-wear. In addition, so are monks, mountain ascetics, 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 when the United States-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce, or the Harris Treaty 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 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 to restore imperial rule.

These antagonists confronted each other, which led to civil war and the birth of the Meiji

Restoration. In 1868 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, 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.



Young Enryo Inoue in Nagaoka

### Truth is in Philosophy

The Higashi-Hongan Temple (the head temple of the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism) 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 just when Inoue entered the seminary, Tokyo University was established. Higashi-Hongan 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. 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, 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 this epiphany is the general recognition that Enryo Inoue played a leading role

in the field of Asian philosophy.

### The Necessity to Spread Philosophy

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 Society was organized in 1883, 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 in 1884. As a result, the Literature Circle split into two: the Philosophy Society and 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 District, 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, they founded a magazine called the Journal of the Philosophy Society which later became the Journal of Philosophy. Enryo Inoue opened the initial issue with his paper *Discussing the Necessity of Philosophy together with 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 spread 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 *An Evening of Philosophical*

*Conversation* drew many people's attention to philosophy when it was published in 1886. 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 Golden Compass of Truth*. Two works, *The Golden Compass of Truth* and *An Epitome of Philosophy* are his esteemed masterpieces.

### Aiming at a Career in Education

In 1885, 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: Dojinsha and Seiritsu-gakusha. The former was founded by Masanao Nakamura in 1872. These schools used to be as famous as Keio Academy (present day Keio University) founded by Yukichi 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 Hongan Temple 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 Hongan Temple. Bunyu Nanjo, his guarantor during his university days, visited the deacon of Higashi-Hongan Temple, Kaiken Atsumi, to request preferential treatment of Inoue at Hongan Temple, 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 Hongan Temple 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. Hongan Temple 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, 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 Philosophy Press emerged in January of 1887 and published the first issue of the *Journal of the Philosophy Society* the following month.

For the next twelve years, Philosophy Press published a range of material including Inoue's books. The place was very special for Inoue. *The Eighty Years of Toyo University* states that Philosophy Press, 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, Kojiro Tatsumi, and Shuichi Kaga joined Tanahashi and Miyake on the second floor of the Philosophy Press. 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 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* (Nativism) or *Nihon-shugi* (Japanism). 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 Academy of Philosophy 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 *The Japanese*, a journal first published in May 1888. 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. These intellectuals had already acquired a considerable knowledge of the modern West, yet they expressed their opinions to reach commoners.

The establishment of the Academy of Philosophy was in September 1887, which coincided with the birth of the Religion and Politics Circle. The combination of the ideology of "Japanism" which was crucial to the Religion and Politics Circle and Inoue's own thoughts gave the Academy of Philosophy a secondary purpose 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, 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 Inoue had said:

*Buddhist priests are not studying what they should, instead they are merely sticking to the topic of hell and paradise. 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-Hongan Temple who had also been sent to Tokyo University. After Enryo Inoue studied there, Higashi-Hongan 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 Philosophy Press 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 Founding Ideas of the Academy of Philosophy* in June 1887, 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 tide towards enlightenment, although naturally dependent on numerous inner and outer circumstances, mainly relies on the development of the intellect. The development of the intellect although naturally dependent on the educational method, mainly relies on the type of science. If today, we educate young people with an inferior science, inferior intellects will develop. This follows in principle. The science that is the most superior to all the various sciences is philosophy. If philosophy is not studied it is impossible to develop a superior intellect and to progress to superior enlightenment. I take this to be self-evident. From this the necessity of philosophy should be understood.*

*Philosophy is the science that searches for the principles behind all things and determines their laws. From the heights of politics and law down to the numerous sciences and technologies, they all receive their principles and laws from this science, philosophy. Therefore, one certainly does not praise philosophy too much, if one calls it the central government in the world of science, the learning which rules the myriad forms of learning.*

*In our time, however, specialized studies of*

*philosophy are possible only at the Imperial University. In Japan today, schools that teach philosophy are still unheard of. Although recently there has been some publishing of translations, when using them, however, it is still very difficult to understand the meaning of the original text. Therefore, all those who need intensive evening classes, or those who are poor and lack resources, or those who, having no command of Western languages, are incapable of understanding the original texts, are — to date — not able to catch a glimpse of this noble philosophy. I take this to be a futile, self-inflicted waste of intellect. This is, in fact, a huge deficiency of this illuminated age and everybody who has the will for true learning must deplore this deeply.*

*After conferring recently with scholars of various fields, I am founding a school for specialized learning of philosophy and call it the Academy of Philosophy. Thereby, I erect a ladder for quick steps in philosophy for those who do not have the resources to go through the curriculum of the public university and for those who do not have spare time to read the original texts. A quick and convenient way shall be provided to study from one to three years: logic, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, religious studies pedagogic, politics and law, genuine philosophy, the various types of eastern learning, and all other subjects which are directly connected with them. When the day comes,*

*when what I am hoping for is finally achieved, I believe it will benefit society and profit the state. How could this not also be of great help for the tide of progress?*

*Stating here the founding principles of the Academy, I am awaiting a regular arrival of students.*  
*June 1887*

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, 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 priest in the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism, and a former sponsored student from Higashi-Hongan Temple at Keio Academy, 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 Shinjo 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 *Founding Ideas 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, 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 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 when Enryo Inoue entered the university. At this early stage, each department had a limited number of subjects. *The One Hundred Year 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 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 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 governmental 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 *Founding Ideas of the Academy of Philosophy*, Enryo Inoue submitted *An Application for the Establishment of a Private School* to the Tokyo Metropolitan Governor in July, 1887. 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 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), 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

<Table 1> 25 Private Universities that have continued since they

Foundation Year	Former Name
1858	Rangaku-juku
1872	Shukyo-in
1874	Rikkyo Gakko
1875	Soto-shu Senmon Gakko
	Doshisha Ei Gakko
1879	Daikyoko
1880	Senshu Gakko
	Tokyo Hogakusha
1881	Meiji Horitsu Gakko
	Seikai Koshujo
1882	Shinshu Daigakuryo
	Koten Kokyujo
	Tokyo Senmon Gakko
1885	Igirisu Horitsu Gakko
1886	Shingon Sect Kogi Daigakurin
	Kansai Horitsu Gakko
1887	Tetsugakukan
1889	Nihon Horitsu Gakko
	Gakuin
1891	Ikueiko Nogyo Ka
1900	Taiwan Kyokai Gakko
	Kyoto Hosei Gakko
1904	Nihon I Gakko
1911	Jochi Gakuin
1926	Tendai-Buzan-Shukyo Daigaku

**were founded under the old education system**

	Current Name
	Keio University
	Rissho University
	Rikkyo University
	Komazawa University
	Doshisha University
	Ryukoku University
	Senshu University
	Hosei University
	Meiji University
	The Jikei University School of Medicine
	Otani University
	Kokugakuin University
	Waseda University
	Chuo University
	Koyasan University
	Kansai University
	Toyo University
	Nihon University
	Kwansei Gakuin University
	Tokyo University of Agriculture
	Takushoku University
	Ritsumeikan University
	Nippon Medical University
	Sophia University
	Taisho University

**<Table 2> Quantities of schools and student enrolments  
(1888)**

	Universities in the old education system		Vocational Schools in the old education system	
	Number of Schools	Student Enrolment	Number of Schools	Student Enrolment
National	1	738	4	439
Public	—	—	5	1,107
Private	—	—	34	7,736
Total	1	738	43	9,282

<The Ministry of Education: Data in *The Centennial History of School System* in 1972>

in 1888, 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 Rinza Buddhist sect rented out a room for the Academy. The Buddhist temple was located in Tatsuoka District, 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 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 Spread 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 Newspaper*, *Yubin-Hochi Newspaper*, 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 *An Evening of Philosophical Conversation* 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 Commoners School of English. His impression of the first day of the Academy stated:

*When I went to Rinsho 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 *The Founding Ideas 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



The guest room at Rinsho Temple used for the classroom

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*



Enryo Inoue in the days of  
founding the Academy of Philosophy

*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 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, students ranged from youths of 17 or 18 years old to 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

<Table 3> Lecturers and Trustees at the time of the foundation of

Name	Age	University of Graduation
Enryo Inoue	29	Tokyo University
Kansuke Okamoto	48	
Sensho Murakami	36	Takakura Gakuryo Higashi-Hongan Temple
Tsutomu Seino	34	Numazu Military School
Shuhei Okada	33	Tokyo University
Shinsaku Kokubunji	32	Tokyo University
Aizu Matsumoto	30	Tokyo University
Gentaro Matsumoto	30	Tokyo University
Jigoro Kano	27	Tokyo University
Tokunou Oda	27	Takakura Gakuryo
Kojiro Tatsumi	27	Tokyo University
Yujiro Miyake	27	Tokyo University
Manshi Kiyosawa	24	Tokyo University
Ichiro Tanahashi	24	Tokyo University
Ryohei Okada	23	Tokyo University
Mazane Hidaka	22	Tokyo University
Shuichi Kaga	22	Tokyo University
Jun Isoe	21	Ohogijuku
Ginnosuke Sakakura		Tokyo University
Yushin Yanagi		

**the Academy of Philosophy (In order of age)**

	Lectures	Roles
	Psychology, Philosophy	Educator, Philosopher, Founder of the Academy of Philosophy
	Confucianism	Lecturer at the prep school of Tokyo University
	Buddhism	Buddhist scholar, Lecturer at Tokyo University
	Logic	Philosopher (self-taught) introduced Kant for the first time to Japan
	Confucianism, Aesthetics	Chinese Philosopher
	Pedagogy	Professor of the Teacher School, Diplomat
	Japanese Language and History	PhD in Literature
	Psychology	Educator
	Ethics	Educator, Founder of Kodokan Judo
	History of Buddhism	Self-taught Buddhism scholar, Otani-sect priest, author of <i>Oda Buddhism Dictionary</i> .
	Sociology	Teacher of the prep school of Tokyo University
	History of Philosophy	Philosopher, Critic
	Psychology, History of Philosophy	Philosopher, Priest who headed the Higashi-Hongan Temple Reform Movement, Trustee
	Ethics	Educator, Founder of Ikubunkan Junior High School
		Bureaucrat, Politician, 5th President of Toyo University; Trustee
	Thesis Reader	Educator, Tokyo University student
		Educator, Professor at Gakushuin, Trustee
	Elementary English	Educator, School Officer and Lecturer, Founder of Keika Gakuin
	Logic	Philosopher, Professor of Kagoshima Zōdōkan
	Elementary English	Visiting Student from Higashi-Hongan Temple, Trustee

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 the 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-style 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. 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), 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 *kyak-kan*?" 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 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

<Table 4> Enryo Inoue's Overseas Tours

	Purpose	Visited countries
<b>First Trip</b> Start: June 9, 1888 Term: 1 year Age: 30	To investigate politics and religion in America and Europe. Research on Oriental studies	America, England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Egypt, Yemen
<b>Second Trip</b> Start: Nov. 15, 1902 Term: 8 months Age: 44	Visit historic holy places in India. Investigation of university education and management, and social education in America and Europe	India, England, Wales, Scotland, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, America, Canada
<b>Third Trip</b> Start: April 1, 1911 Term: 7 months Age: 53	Fact-finding tour of Australia, the American Continents and other areas	Australia, England, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru

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 in Yokohama, Enryo Inoue at thirty years of age, embarked on an English vessel for America. The Academy of Philosophy 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 Buddhist 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-Hongan 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 Vienna.

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. 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. 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 or Shinto shrine 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, 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 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*:

*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 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 District, Komagome in Hongo Ward (present day Mukogaoaka 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 Hongan Temple and Nishi Hongan 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. 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, 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." 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



School house at Horai District

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 Rinsho Temple to the new building in Horai District was held on November

13, 1889. 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 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 Nijijima 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. Nijijima published his *Prospectus for the Foundation of Doshisha English School* in November, 1888. 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 or samurai class, 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. 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,

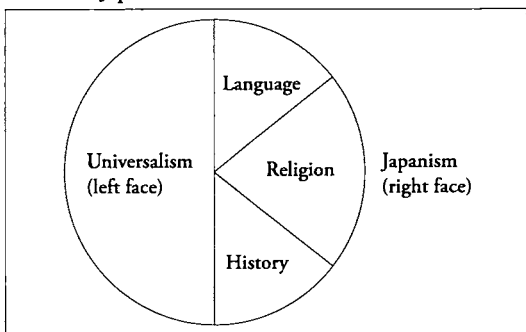
was not applicable only to Japan. Each country has its own way of national independence or national character. In 1888, a short time before the ceremony celebrating the new campus, in these two publications *On the Purpose of the Academy of Philosophy* and *Transcripts of Lectures at the Academy of Philosophy* 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

<Chart 1> Japanism and Universalism



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 time" 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. 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 time:

*On Saturday evening, all the boarders went to Dr. Inoue's house, and sat down in a circle in his eight tatami 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 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.*

## 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 Course Majors

Enryo Inoue's educational vision saw the Academy of Philosophy becoming a "University of Japanism." For this purpose, he announced that he was going to offer course majors at the Academy.

In September, 1890, 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 for a 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 Keio Academy fell into difficult conditions because of a rapid decrease in students after Takamori Saigo's South-West Rebellion against the government in 1877. Keio Academy 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 society for graduates and school's supporters to join as members. Through this society, he was now able to raise funds. This fund system gave Keio Academy an advantage to create a "university course" in 1890 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 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 Specialized 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, 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, which was an imperial letter on education by Meiji Emperor Mutsuhito in 1890 stating the following:

*Know ye, our subjects:*

*Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and*

*sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the law; should emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.*

*The way set forth here is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendents and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.*

*I, the Emperor, think that my ancestors and their religion founded my nation a very long time ago. With its development a profound and steady morality was established. The fact that the subjects show their loyalty to me and show filial love to their parents in their millions of hearts all in unison, thus accumulating virtue generation after generation is indeed the pride of my nation, and is a profound idea and the basis of our education.*

*You, my subjects form full personalities by showing filial love to your parents, by making good terms with your brothers and sisters, by being intimate with your friends, by making couples who love each other, by trusting your friends, by reflecting upon yourselves, by conveying a spirit of philanthropy to other people and by studying to acquire knowledge and wisdom.*

*Thus, please obey always the constitution and other laws of my nation in your profession in order to spread the common good in my nation. If an emergency my happen, please do your best for Our Nation in order to the eternal fate and future of my nation. In this way, you are my good and faithful subjects, and you come to appreciate good social customs inherited from your ancestors and religion which you subjects should observe well together with your offspring.*

*These ideas hold true for both the present and the past, and may be propagated in this nation as well as in the other countries. I would like to understand all this with you, Our subjects, and hope sincerely that all the mentioned virtues will be carried out in harmony by all of you subjects.*

*October 30, 1890 (23rd year of the Meiji Era)*

Inoue continued his nationwide lecture tours from 1890 to 1893. Traveling energetically, he visited various parts of Japan. According to *The Annual*

*Reports of the Academy, 1893*, 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. However, he sometimes requested a "prepayment of an obituary honorarium," 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 Niiijima, 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 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 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, 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."*

*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 *The Law of Nature*. 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 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.

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, 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, 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, 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 in awarding that privilege to private schools. Finally in 1899, the Academy of Philosophy was granted the privilege. However, acquiring this privilege was not without consequences as it led to the "Academy of Philosophy Incident."

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 secondary organizations. 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 structure. 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 such education as the main purpose of the Academy of Philosophy.

### Reform of the Educational System

In 1895, the Academy of Philosophy established a junior high school. Students 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), 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 renamed "Japan University" or "The University of Japanism," but he abandoned this idea. In a New Year speech in 1896, 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 Buddhist 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 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 Shinjo 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 Enigma Research* in 1886 and the *Society for Mystery Research* in 1891. 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 occult influences. 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, "Not even a doctor can 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, 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.

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 District Campus, a day he called the "wind disaster." The second catastrophe



School house at Hara-machi

was this fire, which he called the "fire disaster." The third catastrophe, introduced later, he called the "human disaster." It was the *Academy of Philosophy Incident* occurring in 1902.

### 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 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 Rinsho 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. 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*, 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. 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 for permission to grant high school teaching certificates without the examination, but both times were rejected. The Ministry of Education in 1899 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 on November 7: the certificate

for training college teachers, the certificate for junior high school teachers, and the certificate for girls' high school teachers. The Academy was given permission to grant teaching certificates for pedagogical and moral classes to the graduates from the Ethics Department and the Chinese Literature Department 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 onward.

With permission for exam-free certification of teachers, the Academy changed its education system. In September 1900, the old curriculum was replaced by a new system consisting of a one year preparatory course and a three year regular course. For the regular course, two faculties were established, the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Philosophy. The Education Faculty was formed by the Ethics Department and the Chinese Literature Department. The special course of Chinese Literature was merged into the latter department. The special course of Buddhist studies was integrated into the Philosophy Faculty.

The same year, the future graduates from the Chinese Literature Department were given the additional permission to teach Japanese language and literature classes.

In 1900, exam-free teaching licenses for Japanese language teachers of junior high school could be issued to the 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 of Philosophy, Kokugakuin, and Tokyo Vocational School were first to receive this privilege in 1899. They were followed by Keio Academy (presently Keio University) in 1900 and Nihon Law School (presently Nihon University) in 1901.

At the turn of the century, with the privilege of student exemption from military conscription given in 1900, 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)
- Keio Academy (Keio University)
- 1889 Tokyo Vocational School (Waseda University)
- 1898 Doshisha English School (Doshisha University)
- Meiji Law School (Meiji University)

- Wa-Futsu Law School (Hosei University)  
1900 Academy of Philosophy (Toyo University)  
1901 Taiwan Kyokai School (Takushoku University)  
Kokugakuin (Kokugakuin University)  
1902 Kansai Law School (Kansai University)  
Kyoto Law and Politics School (Ritsumeikan University)

### Previous Announcement of University Education at the Academy

The Academy of Philosophy 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. 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 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, the

*Announcement 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 Hara-machi campus for Keihoku Junior High School. On August 1, 1902 Inoue bought 4.4 hectares at Wadayama, Nogata village, Toyotama district, 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 Hall. Eventually, the land was donated to Metropolitan Tokyo, Nakano Ward and is open to residents as the

Temple Garden of Philosophy.

In the *Announcement 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 became Waseda University in 1902, and the next year Meiji Law School 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, 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 private 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 of Philosophy Incident occurred.

## 2. The Cause and Development of the Academy Incident

The Academy Incident in 1903 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) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). 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 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. 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 Keio Academy, 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 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, Keio Academy earned the privilege in March in 1900, 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 the final exam of the A Course of 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 of Philosophy Incident" transpired.

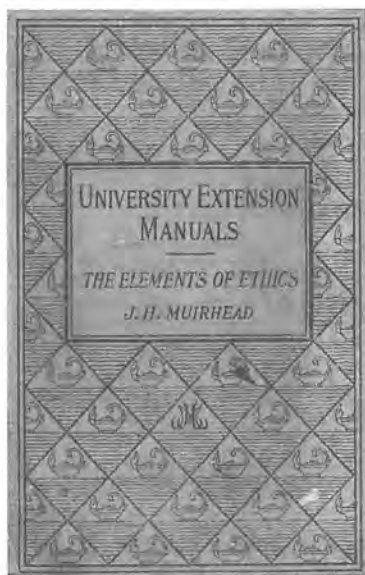
Tokuzo Nakajima was the Ethics lecturer. At thirty-four years of age in 1897, he had become a lecturer of the Academy. In 1900, he was appointed

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. 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.

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 Kato had written about the main issues in the textbook. Kato's 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 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



Muirhead's *The Elements of Ethics*

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 of Philosophy 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.



Tokuzo 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 self-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 are puzzled by this.

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 stating 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. 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 Household.

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 Authorization 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.

## Withdrawal of the Right to Grant 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 of Philosophy employs a teacher who has an unacceptable point of view.*

This has been clearly determined from the documents submitted by the Academy of Philosophy 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 of Philosophy, 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 1899 will be canceled as of today, December 13, 1902.*

With this official document, the Academy of Philosophy 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.

### 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. 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 of Philosophy Incident was a kind of conspiracy.

### The Academy as a Scapegoat

Today, the view that the Academy of Philosophy 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. Conflictingly, there appeared new ideologies: anarchism to deny the existence of the state itself, and socialism. Then in 1899, 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, such ideals contradicted its patriarchal authority and the 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.<sup>7</sup> 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, 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. The Academy of Philosophy Incident happened within such a social background.

The central issue of the Academy of Philosophy

Incident was the implications of the word *shigyaku* or regicide: to kill one's king. These concepts could be interpreted as a revolt against the Imperial Household 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 this educational issue, the Academy of Philosophy Incident took off and stimulated debate on a wide range of different topics: the Imperial Household and the state, the independence of learning, and freedom of thought.

### 3. Unfolding of the Academy Incident

#### 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 informing the Academy that they had lost the right to give graduates the exam-free teacher certificate, Nakajima then 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 Newspaper*, *Nihon Newspaper*, *Jiji Newspaper*, *Kokumin Newspaper*, *Yomiuri Newspaper*, and *Yorozu Morning Post*. His account included the following:

- 1) *an explanation of why he wished public debate on the Academy of Philosophy 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 Newspaper*. 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 in their words the quotation of a greatly unreasonable theory:

*The matter had been discussed in a conference, and the conclusion reached that the Academy of Philosophy lectured on an unacceptable topic which would endanger the national constitution. The Academy of Philoswophy 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 of Philosophy Incident first appeared in the *Nippon Newspaper* on December 24, 1902. 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. 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 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 of Philosophy Incident became so widely covered nationwide that it was said that a newspaper which did not mention the Academy of Philosophy Incident is

## II Development of Educational Principles

**<Table 5> Articles and Papers on the Academy Incident**

December 1902-February 1904

Year/Month	Magazines	Newspapers	Others	Totals
1902 / 12	0	6	0	6
1903 / 1	1	24	0	25
2	34	106	0	140
3	63	80	0	143
4	51	12	0	63
5	32	27	0	59
6	34	7	2	43
7	9	2	0	11
8	12	11	1	24
9	20	4	0	24
10	5	0	0	5
11	5	0	1	6
12	5	0	0	5
1904 / 1	9	2	0	11
2	5	0	0	5
Total	285	275	4	564

<Note> 'Others' includes monographs and book articles.

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

Date	Newspapers	Magazines	Total	Date	Newspapers	Magazines	Total
1	3	11	14	16	1	1	2
2	0	5	5	17	0	1	1
3	1	8	9	18	1	4	5
4	1	6	7	19	0	2	2
5	5	3	8	20	1	2	3
6	0	5	5	21	1	5	6
7	0	6	6	22	0	3	3
8	0	4	4	23	0	6	6
9	0	3	3	24	1	4	5
10	3	1	4	25	6	2	8
11	0	1	1	26	2	4	6
12	0	1	1	27	0	5	5
13	1	6	7	28	1	4	5
14	0	2	2	Total	34	106	140
15	6	1	7				

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 could freely determine their textbooks. Then in 1883 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 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 of Philosophy Incident.

The Academy of Philosophy 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 of Philosophy Incident would have then drawn special public attention because of the timing. One view holds that the 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 of Philosophy 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 Morning Post* attacked the Ministry of Education, claiming the Ministry should bear great responsibility for the textbook scandal and the “Yotsumeya case.” The “Yotsumeya case” in April 1902 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. 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 advise students 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 Magazine*, *Academic Society of Education*, and *Chuokoron* mainly discussed the Ministry's prejudicial policy for private schools.

The *Asahi Newspaper* 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 and is 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 Pedagogical Society 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 stated 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, the article stated 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 telegraphed 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 Ethics Society*

Without a doubt, the Academy of Philosophy 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 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.

*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 Nakajima took individual initiative to expose the truth of the Academy of Philosophy 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. Twenty-three years later in 1926, Nakajima took office as the 6th President of Toyo University.

### 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, 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:

*In passing judgement upon the goodness or badness of any action, two things require to be taken into account: first the mind and character of the agent, secondly the effects of the action in furthering or hindering the welfare of society.*

*The case of Marquis Okubo's assassination is*

*crucial, and I accept it as a test of my teaching. In a country where, as in Japan, a solid foundation of political well-being has been laid in the liberty of the press and representative institutions, such methods are in the highest degree criminal. Any free society which showed itself indifferent to doctrines which sought thus to extenuate them would deserve the contempt of civilised nations.*

*These ideas are the common heritage of the present thinkers, and are held by the best writers on politics in England and America to underlie all sound views of law and government, and therefore to be of no less importance for the East than for the West.*

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, 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 of Philosophy 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 stating:

*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 of Philosophy 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 of Philosophy 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. 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 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 Japanese Ethics*, *Living Discourse on Loyalty and Filial Piety*, and *The Hidden Meaning of the Education Rescript*. 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 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 of Philosophy 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 of Philosophy 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. However, this proclamation did not mean that the government had changed its fundamental attitude. Their proclamation came out at the height of the Academy of Philosophy 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, the government position was that a "university" must be of similar size to the Imperial University. Some private schools in the Meiji 20's had taken to calling themselves 'university schools' 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, 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,

sixty-three schools (including business schools) had become vocational colleges or universities.

### Ideas on Independence and Self-Initiative

Enryo Inoue announced the new educational policy of the Academy in a paper entitled *Announcement to all Students and Alumni* on September 5, 1903. 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 private university with the spirit of independence*. The Academy would offer the three following courses: the preparatory course, the vocational course, and the university course. 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 or a Bachelor of Philosophy.

**b) Intensive Training 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 Philosophy Temple**

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 of Philosophy Incident and for opening the university course, a memorial temple would be built. It would be named the "Four Sages Hall" 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 of Philosophy 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, an emphasis on concrete skills to foster the spirit of independence and self-initiative.

**Educating People for Broad Views and Initiative**

Enryo Inoue revealed his educational direction

for the Academy in the paper *Announcement 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 Characteristics of Japan* published on November 5, 1903.

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.



**III**  
**Educational Principles of**  
**Enryo Inoue**

# 1.

## School Education and Social Education

### Establishment of Philosophy University

Enryo Inoue started three projects in quick succession after returning from abroad in 1903. The first was the establishment of Philosophy University, the second was the construction of the Philosophy Temple, 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, 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 was renamed "Philosophy University." Fourteen years after announcing his plan to establish a vocational school in 1890, 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.



Enryo Inoue

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 Philosophy 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. Two university courses in five years specializing in philosophy were established. The first with an emphasis on Japanese and Chinese Literature, the second with an emphasis on Buddhist philosophy. Further, three vocational courses in three years were offered. Two specializing in education, the one focusing on Western

philosophy and English, the other laid special emphasis on Japanese and Chinese Literature. The third vocational course was again a degree specializing in philosophy. The common denominator of the new curriculum was that philosophy was firmly established as the basis of moral education. The special course had a different curriculum because it was for the students who had not finished junior high school or teacher training school.

On March 25, 1904 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 Philosophy University" lasted two hours from ten a.m. to noon on April 1, 1904. 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 that afternoon to attend the inauguration

ceremony of the Philosophy Temple enshrining four philosophers.

### Construction of the Philosophy Temple

In October, 1903, Inoue already had begun construction for the Temple at Wadayama (present day Temple Garden of Philosophy in Matsugaoka, Nakano Ward). The land had been previously purchased in 1902 for the campus of the university. The building of a temple was a commemorative act for both the opening of Philosophy University and the Academy Incident, as Inoue had previously explained in the message *Announcement to all Students and Alumni*. In an article, *Origin of the Philosophy Temple*, 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.

The temple enshrined the four great philosophers of Buddha, Confucius, Socrates and Kant (see Chart 2). Resultantly, it was also known as the "Four Sages Hall." The origin can be traced back to the first Philosophy Ceremony on October 27, 1885 when Inoue recognized these four as sages of philosophy, representing the East and the West. This ceremony 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. On that day, the school held a

<Chart 2> Four Sages

Philosophy	Oriental Philosophy	Chinese Philosophy — Confucius
		Indian Philosophy — Buddha
	Western Philosophy	Ancient Philosophy — Socrates
		Modern Philosophy — Kant

ceremony to enshrine the votive tablets of the four sages. 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 Temple Garden of Philosophy. These developments came later while Inoue was promoting the Morality Church. On his lecture tours nationwide, Inoue did calligraphy for hanging scrolls and framed pictures at the request of the people. Half of his remuneration was used to cover lecture tour expenses and 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. Temple Garden of Philosophy 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



Four Sages

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 Temple Garden of Philosophy.

After completing the temple building, on the same grounds he added some attractions: the Pagoda of Six Wise Ones, Three Schools Arbor, Garden of Materialism, Garden of Idealism, and the Three

Founders' Alcove. 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 of 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



Temple Garden of Philosophy

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 themselves independently free from central temple authority. 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. Then, in January next year, Inoue started a lecture-tour through Yamanashi Prefecture to solicit

donations for the establishment of the university 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 was distributed from the office at the Philosophy University 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 Philosophy 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**

Philosophy 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 indicates almost no change in enrollment figures till 1904. 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

<Table 6> Annual Numbers of Graduates

Year	Number of Graduates
1902 (Meiji 35)	36
1903	41
1904	42
1905	38
1906	36
1907	11
1908	24
1909	23
1910	17

Source: One Hundred Years of Toyo University

the main cause was the cancellation of the privilege of the exam-free teacher's certificate in the Academy Incident.

By 1902, the Academy of Philosophy 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. Philosophy 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 then by the Association of Alumni on October 22, and lastly by all the teachers on October 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 of Philosophy Incident.

Having the privilege to issue teacher certificates was a critical matter for the survival of a vocational school. For Philosophy 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 Philosophy 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 Philosophy University was not the personal property of Enryo Inoue or the Inoue family. Another misunderstanding arose claiming that Philosophy University was a Buddhist sect school. Inoue habitually said, "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. In 1902, he asserted the importance of children's education prior to elementary school enrollment in his paper *Ideas 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. 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, 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, Philosophy University was holding a memorial party at Seiyoken restaurant in Ueno, Tokyo to celebrate the opening of the university. 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 University 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 created a contract with three articles directing his successor, Maeda. The articles were:

- 1) *To follow the principles of the university 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 Philosophy 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 Enryo Inoue resigned from his positions as President of Philosophy 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 assembled 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*.

"Philosophy University" changed its name into "Toyo University" on June 29, 1906. 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 through 1893, and the second sequence lasted seven years from 1896 through 1902. In these lectures to the general public, Inoue made an effort to promote philosophy and the *Imperial Rescript on Education*. He had also used the tours as

opportunities to raise funds for Philosophy University. In the lecture-tours from 1906 to the end of his life in 1919, Inoue's intent was the improvement of public morality.

After his retirement in January, 1906 at the age of 48 from the administration of Philosophy 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 scholar for peasants ... Mr. Fukuzawa used to call himself a scholar for commoners, but as a peasant scholar, I am one step down from him." Fukuzawa once declined to accept an award from the Emperor, but Inoue in 1912 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 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. In contrast to a country scholar, a scholar who lives in the city, titled and employed by the government should be called a government scholar. Government scholars are surely noble, but a country scholar 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 rural flavored tofu is much easier to prepare compared to sea bream sashimi. Country-side food is similar in role to the rural scholar. I will be a country-side dish of learning for all people irrespective of rank and class.*

In contrast to a "government scholar," the idea of "country scholar" matched the educational spirit of the Philosophy University 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 of Philosophy, Inoue had removed himself from a top position in school education to focus on social education. He was starting over again.

### North by Horse, South By Boat

The Morality 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 his travel diary *North on Horse, South By Boat* (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 through 1918. 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. When these results are combined with the results running to the end of his life on June 6, 1919 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 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,



Lecture tour trunk

schoolmasters, and volunteer groups invited him. In each county, Inoue would be shown the way and supported by university alumni, Keihoku Junior High School graduates, and old friends. Wherever he gave a lecture, it was not uncommon for graduates, fellows of the university, 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 travel diary *North by Horse, South By Boat* contains Inoue's lecture content for ten years from April of 1909 to May of 1918.

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. Specter." 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. The first lecture was on mental development, but the second lecture was on ghosts. The local newspaper reported over three

&lt;Table 7&gt; Nationwide Lecture-Tours and Topics (1909-1918)

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

<Setsuo Miura's *The Nationwide Lecture Tours of Enryo Inoue* in *The Selected Works of Enryo Inoue*, Vol. 15>

hundred people attended.

His lectures on ghosts and superstitions were popular with his audiences. Topics were chosen 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 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 a Buddhist 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 that "The Temple Garden of Philosophy 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 Philosophy University an educational foundation, Inoue also returned Temple

### III Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue



Enryo Inoue

Garden of Philosophy 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

#### Enlightenment

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 temple of True Pure Land Buddhism (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 that his belief in True Pure Land Buddhism was not like the narrow-minded beliefs of others in his paper *Confession of My Belief*. Inoue believed in True Pure Land 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 True Pure Land Buddhism, but his religious foundation was the spirit of Mahayana Buddhism

(Great Vehicle) combined with the rational thought of pure philosophy. Central to his educational philosophy was the practice of education for enlightenment.

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. 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 — 'Teach for enlightenment and not for fame.' This seems to be an appropriate motto for his educational endeavors after establishing the Academy of Philosophy.*

### Awakening 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 along the way discover "peace of mind." 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 Japan's challenges. 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 Private Education

Enryo Inoue's educational projects served "ordinary people: those lacking both wealth and excessive free time." The Academy of Philosophy 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, 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 of Philosophy graduates had studied with the premise that *The basis of all learning lies in philosophy*; therefore, Inoue expected them to enter new fields, to continue their studies, and to apply their critical capacities to gain further

knowledge.

### Teaching Enlightenment

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 Philosophy Press, 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.

### Liberal Education

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 of Philosophy's administration followed its own liberal Policy, and developed humanistic education, which was remarkably different from the government institutes. The difference was indicated as education expressed in the

phrase "private education in the spirit of independence and self-initiative." Long after his retirement from Philosophy University in 1906 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, 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 liberal policy that began with the establishment of the Academy of Philosophy 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, Philosophy University followed its solid educational policy and continued development during the succeeding presidential tenures of Eun Maeda (the successor to Enryo Inoue) from 1906 to 1914 and the third President, Seiran Ouchi from 1914 to 1918. Ouchi's term coincided with the years of the First World War when Japanese society was in turmoil. Nonetheless, from 1916, 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, Satoshi Sakaino, a professor of Philosophy University, became the fourth president. When Inoue retired from Philosophy 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 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 officially recognized these vocational schools as on par with the governmental universities of its system.

Prior to 1918, 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.

### Strict 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, 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 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.

Toyo University had in 1919 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 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. Under the University Decree, university status was finally obtained in March of 1928. 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 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, 1919), Inoue criticized this state-school-centered university policy using the phrase "authoritarian 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 authoritarianism. More correctly, the opposite of democracy (citizen-centered policy) seems to be authoritarian 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 eradication of private schools to increase government schools. This is an authoritarian 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 governmental, 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. Rather than keeping a respectful distance, the situation is one of disrespect. 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.*

## 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 and in Shanghai in 1932, 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 and the Thought Bureau in June, 1934. In addition, the Research Institute for Civic Spirit and Culture and the Education Reform Committee were established in the same year. In 1935, the government started movements promoting nationalist ideology like the Clarification of National Polity and Promotion of National Spirit. In 1939, 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 Regulations" (1933), "Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth" 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" is a phrase that Enryo Inoue used for the first time in his book *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* (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" 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, 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 Nationalism**

Nationalism gained strength at Toyo University, partially as a consequence of university management problems. In the budget of 1937, 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 Kunihiro 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," and began university reform:

*For the past 50 years since the Academy of Philosophy 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 of truth,' but disregarded the 'defense of the nation.' 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' 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 founding spirit advocated by the founder Dr. Inoue, and is also expressed in Article 1 of the University Decree. 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 and the 50th anniversary of Toyo University. The motto "Defense of the Nation and Love of Truth" 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, the student managed Student Association was transformed into the Association for Protecting the Nation, 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, 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, and this trend continued for a long time. By the end of the Meiji era, only 1% of eligible students were enrolled in higher education. Despite the promulgation of the University Decree (1918), the yearly percentages only increased a little, reaching no more than 3.7% by 1940.

However, by 1948, 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 the number had grown to one hundred and five.

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.

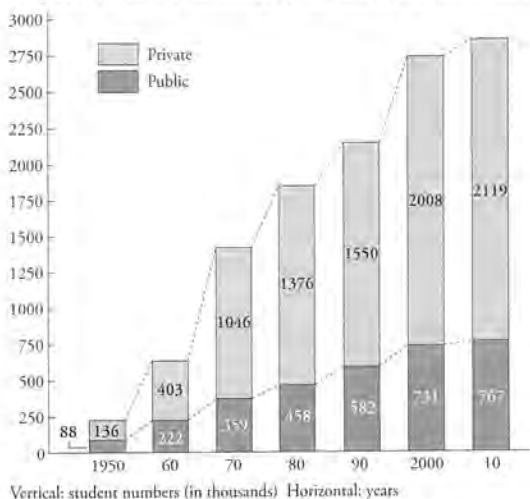
The second reform section of the new education system rejected the nationalistic educational content which had been in existence since the Imperial University Decree (1886). Article 52 of the School Education Law now stipulated:

*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, the Private School Act was passed. In article 1 was stated that:

*By considering their characteristics, respecting their autonomy, and elevating their contribution*

&lt;Figure 3&gt; Student Numbers of Private and Public Universities



*to public benefit, private schools shall make sound development.*

By 1955 when most of the educational 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 this figure had grown to 37.8 %, a remarkable increase in the student enrollment at national universities and private universities. In 2009, 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. 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 1949) detailed how Toyo University was starting afresh under the new education laws:

*Dr. Enryo Inoue established the Academy of Philosophy to realize his educational dream of establishing new and original studies 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, Eastern studies have a long way to go to fulfill Dr. Inoue's educational ideals.*

The university administration confessed that despite its long history, the educational ideals envisioned by Enryo 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, Toyo University re-launched 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 and the Faculty of Sociology in 1959.

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, 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, 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. 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 (1961).
- 2) Asaka Campus (110,000 square meters) in Asaka City, Saitama Prefecture in 1977.

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, and the Central Library. Toyo University integrated and expanded its educational system with the addition of Himeji High School in Hyogo Prefecture in 1963, 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 academic averages. Universities were being evaluated by their numerical ranking. 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 a 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 produced a list of universities that have changed their original motto or their *raison d'être* with contemporary replacements:

Kwansei Gakuin University changed their original motto "Knowledge and Virtue" into "Mastery for Service." Kokugakuin University changed from the "Spirit of Shintoism" to "Explication of the Fundamental Character of the Nation and Cultivation of Moral Values." Chuo University changed from "Understanding of English Law and its Popularization" to "Establishment of Individual Freedom and Self-reliance." Waseda University changed from "Independence of Learning and Progressive Mind" to "Sensibility to Understand and Respect Public Spirit."

In contrast, Toyo University has retained its original motto *The basis of all learning lies in philosophy* 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. 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, at which time a new era dawned.

Toyo University was established in 1887, 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 model to follow.

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, 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 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*. On January 15 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 through 2011, 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 "Life-long Learning" 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 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 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, 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 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 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



Hakusan Main Campus

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, Toyo finished curriculum reformation. In 2000, 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 fields of studies.

The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue



Kawagoe Campus



Asaka Campus

(see Table 8, 9)

#### IV Seeking New Educational Principles



Itakura Campus



Hakusan 2nd Campus

#### New Research Projects

Advancement in the reform of Toyo University's research capacity has been parallel with the reform of educational systems. In 2005, the Academic

<Table 8> Undergraduate Faculties and Departments

Campuses	Faculties	Departments (Day, Night)
Hakusan	Faculty of Literature	Department of Philosophy (D)
		Department of Indian History (D & N)
		Department of Chinese Philosophy and Literature (D)
		Department of Japanese Literature and Culture (D & N)
		Department of English and American Literature (D)
		Department of English Communication (D)
		Department of History (D)
		Department of Education (D & N)
	Faculty of Economics	Department of Economics (D & N)
		Department of International Economics (D)
		Department of Policy Studies (D)
	Faculty of Business Administration	Department of Business Administration (D & N)
		Department of Marketing (D)
		Department of Accounting and Finance (D)
	Faculty of Law	Department of Law (D & N)
		Department of Business Law (D)
	Faculty of Sociology	Department of Sociology (D & N)
		Department of Socio Cultural Studies (D)
		Department of Social Welfare (D & N)
		Department of Media and Communications (D)
		Department of Social Psychology (D)
	Faculty of Regional Development Studies	Department of Regional Development Studies (D)
		Department of Tourism (D)
		Regional Studies Course (N)
	Correspondence Department	Department of Japanese Literature and Culture
		Department of Law

#### IV Seeking New Educational Principles

Campuses	Faculties	Departments (Day, Night)
Kawagoe	Faculty of Science and Engineering	Department of Mechanical Engineering (D)
		Department of Biomedical Engineering (D)
		Department of Electrical, Electronic and Computer Engineering (D)
		Department of Applied Chemistry (D)
		Department of Civil, and Environmental Engineering (D)
		Department of Architecture (D)
	Faculty of Information Sciences and Arts	Field of Information and Computer Studies (D)
		Field of Media and Culture Studies (D)
		Field of Environmental Information Studies (D)
		Field of Psychological Information Studies (D)
Itakura	Faculty of Life Sciences	Department of Life Sciences (D)
		Department of Applied Biosciences (D)
		Department of Food Life Sciences (D)
Asaka	Faculty of Human Life Design	Department of Human Care and Support (D)
		Department of Health Care and Sports (D)
		Department of Human Environment Design (D)

Research Promotion Center was founded. This umbrella organization of the university controls all university research institutes, centers, and personal research projects. Through internal mergers and in some cases the elimination of some research centers, a modern academic institution emerged.

<Table 9 Graduate Schools and Studies>

Campuses	Graduate Schools	Major Subjects
Hakusan	Literature	Philosophy
		Indian Philosophy and Buddhism
		Japanese Literature
		Chinese Philosophy
		English Literature
		History
		Education
		English Communication
	Sociology	Sociology
		Social Psychology
		Social Welfare
	Law	Private Law
		Public Law
	Business Administration	Business Administration
		Business, Accounting and Finance
	Economics	Economics
		Public Private Partnership
	Regional Development Studies	Regional Development Studies
		International Tourism Studies
	Welfare Society Design	Social Welfare
		System for Welfare Society
	Toyo University Law School	(Special school to educate students as lawyers)
Kawagoe	Interdisciplinary New Science	Bio-Nano Science Fusion
	Engineering	Intelligent Material Mechatronics Studies
		Biological Applied Chemistry
		Environmental System Planning and Space Design
		Open Information Systems
Itakura	Life Sciences	Life Sciences
Asaka	Human Life Design	Human Centered Life Design
		Human Environment Design (also at Hakusan)

&lt;Table 10&gt; Research Institutes and Centers

Institutes and Centers
The Institute of Human Sciences
The Institute of Social Sciences
The Asian Culture Research Institute
The Institute of Regional Vitalization Studies
The Research Institute of Industrial Technology
The Bio-Nano Electronics Research Center
The Center for Computational Mechanics Research
The Plant Regulation Research Center
The Symbiotic Robot Research Center
The Center for Sustainable Development Studies
The 21st Century Human Interaction Research Center
The Research Center for Creative Management
The Research Center for Kyosei Philosophy
Wood & Architecture for Symbiosis Society Creation Research Center
The Center for Development of Welfare Society
The PPP (Public and Private Partnership) Research Center
The Center for Biomedical Engineering Research
The Trans-disciplinary Institute for Eco-Philosophy

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, 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 *Philosophical Talks Over Tea* 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. To fully realize the educational principles espoused by its founder Dr. Enryo Inoue, Toyo University must continue to evolve to always be a truly contemporary university.

**<Table 11> The Numbers of Departments and Students of Major Private Universities**

	University	Student Numbers
1	Nihon University	69,678
2	Waseda University	52,402
3	Ritsumeikan University	35,228
4	Keio University	33,681
5	Meiji University	32,270
6	Kinki University	32,010
7	Kansai University	30,210
8	Tokai University	30,061
9	Toyo University	29,510
10	Doshisha University	29,218
11	Hosei University	29,159
12	Chuo University	27,002
13	Kwansei Gakuin University	24,121
14	Teikyo University	23,701
15	Rikkyo University	20,901
16	Fukuoka University	20,388
17	Tokyo University of Science	19,635
18	Senshu University	19,477
19	Ryukoku University	19,031
20	Aoyama Gakuin University	18,735

*<The data are from respective website and Japanese College and University portraits. The numbers are 2014 numbers.>*



## Chronological Table of the History of Toyo University

- 1858 Enryo Inoue was the priest's eldest son at Jiko Temple of the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism
- 1868 Started to study Chinese Literature under Tadanori Ishiguro at age 10
- 1871 Ordained as a priest the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism at age 13
- 1873 Studied English at Takayama-Rakugun School (age 15)
- 1874 Entered the First Niigata Branch School (the old Nagaoka Western School) (age 16)
- 1877 Entered the Priest School of the Otani Branch of True Pure Land Buddhism and studied English (age 19)
- 1878 Entered the Preparatory School of Tokyo University (age 20)
- 1881 Entered the Department of Philosophy at Tokyo University (age 23)
- 1882 Started a monthly research society of Kant, Hegel, Comte and others with his friends (age 24)
- 1884 Founded the Philosophy Society with Tetsujiro Inoue, Hiroyuki Kato, Amane Nishi, Setsurei Miyake, etc. (age 26)
- 1885 Graduated from Tokyo University (age 27)
- 1886 Dr. Inoue made the plan of establishing the Academy of Philosophy while recuperating at the resort of Atami. Married Miss Kei Yoshida (age 28)
- 1887 Founded Philosophy Press, and published the first issue of the journal of the Philosophical Society. Founded the private Academy of Philosophy (The forerunner of Toyo University) on the grounds of Rinsho Temple in Tatsuoka, Hongo, Tokyo (age 29)
- 1888 Dr. Inoue started Distance Education with the lecture notes from the Academy of Philosophy. Made his first tour to America and Europe (age 30)
- 1889 Dr. Inoue constructed a new school house and dormitory

Chronological Table of the History of Toyo University

- at Horai District, Komagome, Tokyo (age 31)
- 1890 Dr. Inoue began his first nationwide lecture tour to gain the funds for the major courses at the Academy of Philosophy. Fund raising continued for 3 years (age 32)
- 1895 The Academy of Philosophy consisted of Departments of Education and Religion (age 37)
- 1896 Dr. Inoue declared that he would build a library. Started his second nationwide lecture-tour in 1902 (age 38)
- 1897 The Academy of Philosophy moved to the present campus (age 39)
- 1899 Keihoku Junior High School was established. The Academy of Philosophy was permitted to award the teacher's license without the license examination (age 41)
- 1902 Dr. Inoue started on his second overseas tour. The exam-free teacher's license was cancelled as the result of the Academy of Philosophy incident (age 44)
- 1903 On return from his overseas tour in July, Dr. Inoue announced a plan to start Moral Education to the public in September. In October, Philosophy Temple was started to be built, enshrining Four Sages. The name Academy of Philosophy changed to Philosophy University in October (age 45)
- 1904 Dr. Inoue started his third lecture-tour. Opening ceremony of Philosophy University and Philosophy Temple (age 46)
- 1905 Foundation of Keihoku Kindergarten (age 47)
- 1906 Dr. Inoue retired from office of president. The name of Philosophy University changed to Toyo University (age 48)
- 1907 The exam-free teacher's license was re-permitted (age 49)
- 1911 Dr. Inoue started on another overseas tour (age 53)
- 1916 Enrollment of women (one of the first co-ed schools)
- 1919 Death of founder Dr. Enryo Inoue in Dalian, China (age 61)
- 1928 Toyo University was sanctioned under the University Establishment Law

The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue

- 1949 Restructured as a New University under National School Establishment Law; Undergraduate School of Literature established
- 1950 Undergraduate School of Economics and Junior College 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 Academic 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

Chronological Table of the History of Toyo University

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





Toyo University