

Geography and Buddhism in Tsunesaburo Makiguchi's Thought*

Keiichi TAKEUCHI**

In this paper, I have no intention of considering the relationship between geography and religion *per se*, since for one thing, I don't think that it would be possible to do so. Moreover, a relationship between geography and religion should be considered only either in a specific social, historical and ideological context, or in the case of a specific person. Here I focus on one such specific person, a non-academic or outsider geographer, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944). Tsunesaburo Makiguchi is now well-known as the founder of the Soka Gakkai (literally "Value-Creating Association"), one of the most active and militant of the Buddhist sects to be found today, and one which also exercises a remarkable influence where the contemporary Japanese political scene is concerned. What is less widely known is that the young Makiguchi was a geography teacher at the Teachers' Training School in Hokkaido, and his first book--*Jinsei chirigaku* (*Geography of Human Life*)--was published in 1903, preceding the establishment of academic geography in Japan (Takeuchi and Nozawa, 1988). In fact, the first Department of Geography at an Imperial University was founded in 1907 at Kyoto and the first Chair of Geography was created at

the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1911 (Noma, 1976). It was under the strong influence of the Orthodox Nichiren sect, known as the Nichiren Shoshu, that Makiguchi, in the year 1930, founded the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Association of Value-Creating Education); after his death in prison in 1944, and consequent upon the defeat of Japan in World War II, this association was to become the Soka Gakkai, by which name it has since been known. After the publication of the *Geography of Human Life*, he published books on geography education, such as *Kyoju no togo chushin to shite no kyodoka kenkyu* (*Considerations on Homeland Studies as the Integrating Focus of School Education*) in 1912 and *Chiri kyoju no hoho oyobi naiyo no kenkyu* (*Studies on Methods and Content in the Teaching of Geography*) in 1916. There is no question that the works of Makiguchi came to be recognised as pioneering writings in geography and geographical education; but basically, it was because of his position as founder of Soka Gakkai that his works were published, accompanied by exhaustive annotations¹⁾.

Here, the problem is whether or not some embryonic questions arise with regard to Buddhist influences, especially that of the Orthodox Nichiren sect, in Makiguchi's geographical writings before 1930, and whether it is possible to discover any geographical discourses in his religious writings (Saito, 1996). Before examining these problems, however, I shall present a brief outline of Makiguchi's life.

1. Makiguchi's Life

He was born in 1871 in a desolate fishermen's village on the coast of the Japan Sea, in Niigata

* This is a paper read at the symposium of the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought of International Geographical Union and International Union of History and Philosophy of Science, held at Sandomierz, Poland, on 14-18 July, 1997. The proceedings of this symposium *Religion, Ideology and Geographical Thought* edited by Ute Wardenga and Witold J. Wilczyński have been published as *WSP Kielce Studies in Geography* No.3 (1998). This paper is here reprinted with the written permission of the editors.

** Department of geography, Komazawa University
taktaktm@ma.kcom.or.jp

Prefecture. Consequent upon the divorce of his parents in 1877, he was adopted by a distant relative, Makiguchi Zentayu, who operated a small shipping agency. In 1885, he went to Hokkaido and there, while working as a house-boy, he graduated from the Teachers' Training School of Hokkaido in 1893, and subsequently taught at the elementary school attached to the Teachers' Training School. From his student days, he had always been deeply interested in geography, and in fact, in 1896, at the age of twenty-five, he passed the examination for the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography at Secondary Schools. At that period, teachers of secondary schools were recruited from among graduates of universities and Higher Normal schools. In the case of geography, due to the lack of geography courses at university level, secondary school teachers were mainly recruited from among primary school teachers who had passed the above examination. There were a large number of aspirants to this examination, which generally took a number of years of successive attempts to pass²¹; Makiguchi's success in passing at so early an age was therefore unusual and indicative of his exceptional ability. In 1897, he was appointed teacher of geography at the Hokkaido school from which he had graduated. In 1901, however, he resigned from this position and left for Tokyo. The circumstances of his resignation are not clear; some researchers suggest that his sympathy with the dissident students protesting the militarist trends in education as practised at the school prompted him to resign in a gesture that also expressed his own personal disagreement with the educational policy (Ishinokami, 1993). In studying geography, moreover, he felt the lack of systematic treatises on human geography in Japan, and upon arriving in Tokyo, devoted himself to the task of writing one himself, in order to remedy this lack. Consequently, in 1903, he visited Shigetaka Shiga, who was then teaching geography at Tokyo Semmon Gakko (the present Waseda University) and who was the well-known author of *Nihon fukeiron* (*Japanese Landscape*) published in 1894, and asked him to revise the voluminous manuscript that had resulted from his efforts. Complying with Shiga's suggestions, he shortened the manuscript somewhat, and published the results as the above-mentioned *Geography of Human Life* with an introduction by

Shiga, a volume which, the latter's recommendations notwithstanding, still ran to a thousand pages. There already existed some short treatises on geography published by Shiga in 1889 and Kanzo Uchimura in 1894; Makiguchi's book was, however, considerably more voluminous, comprehensive and systematic, covering, as it did, all fields of human geography. In Tokyo, in order to support himself and his family, Makiguchi held down various jobs, including editing and part-time lecturing. It was not until 1909 that his appointment to the post of head of the teaching staff of an elementary school in Tokyo provided him with a source of steady income. Life in Tokyo afforded many new opportunities enabling him both to broaden and deepen his geographical studies. In 1909, for instance, he made the acquaintance of Kunio Yanagita, founder of the so-called Japanese folklore school, and hence had chances to conduct numerous field studies in many rural parts of the country with him and/or under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, where Yanagita served as a senior official.

In 1910, Yanagita commenced the holding of regular study-meetings, called *kyodo-kai*, literally group or association for home-land studies, at the home of Inazo Nitobe, a specialist in agrarian history interested in Japanese folklore; Makiguchi, too, was an active member of the *kyodo-kai*²².

In 1912, he met a young teacher, Jogai Toda, who later became a close collaborator of his within the association he founded, and which after World War II was to become today's militant Buddhist association, the Soka Gakkai, and Toda its first president. In 1928, Makiguchi had become a follower of the Orthodox Nichiren sect. After that, the activities he pursued in collaboration with Toda, while nominally consisting of a renovative educational movement, at the same time constituted a fanatic religious movement based on an original interpretation of the Nichiren doctrine. Their activities encountered the opposition of political circles of ultra-nationalist and Shintoist persuasions, and in 1932, at the age of sixty-one, Makiguchi was compelled to resign from the last post he was to hold, that of elementary school head teacher. Increasing emphasis had come to be laid on at tennoism based on a nationalistic form of Shintoism, which in the 1930s and, particularly, the 1940s, held the *tenno* and the

imperial family to be direct descendants of the supreme deity in Japanese mythology. Makiguchi categorically rejected the paying of allegiance to a Shintoist cult of this sort, thus incurring the wrath of the military group and the ultra-nationalist political body (Saito, 1978); subsequently, in 1943, by reason of his rejection of tennoist Shintoism, Makiguchi was arrested and in the following year, at the age of seventy-three, died of old age and malnutrition in a Tokyo prison⁴.

2 Geography and the Geographical Education of Makiguchi

The title of his book of 1903, *Jinsei chirigaku*, was very new at that period, and nobody has ever used the term since. Actually, in 1889, in the first issue of *Chigaku Zasshi (Journal of Geography)*, Bunjiro Koto, then professor of geology at the Imperial University of Tokyo, in his paper on the meaning of geography, used the terms *jinrui chirigaku*, that is, anthropo-geography and *jimon chirigaku* or human geography. Makiguchi was perfectly aware of the existence of these terms; as it was, in the preface to *Jinsei chirigaku* or the *Geography of Human Life*, and also in Chapter Thirty-three of the first edition⁵, he explained his reasons for and the appropriateness of adopting this particular term for his title, underlining the necessity, where education in geography was concerned, of integrating fragmented regional descriptions. For Makiguchi, the systematisation of fragmented geographical descriptions hinged on the relationship between man and the physical environment, explained from the viewpoint of human activities or human experiences. The key concept of the *Geography of Human Life* was the importance of geography in school education and the role of human activities or human experiences in the explanation of the man-nature relationship. It is very understandable that he adopted the man-nature paradigm in geography, as in nineteenth-century geography, both pre- and post-Darwinian, the man-nature paradigm clearly predominated. In fact, in Chapter Thirty-three, he cited Carl Ritter when defining geography, and moreover, emphasised the fact that the uniqueness of geography consisted in the systematic and theoretical explanation of the man-nature relationship from the viewpoint of daily practices in human life. We are able to discover numerous discourses common to both

Makiguchi's geography and contemporary humanistic geography.

At the same time, his anthropocentric understanding of the man-nature relationship prepared the way for the further development of his utilitarianism, which was later to be formulated more explicitly. It should be pointed out that academic geographers have never understood the significance of Makiguchi's term *jinsei chirigaku*. Immediately after the book appeared, Takuji Ogawa's review of it, which appeared in *Chigaku Zasshi* (Ogawa, 1904), criticised the use of this term because the contents of the work in question, in fact consisted of cultural or human geography, and also the term *jinsei chirigaku* itself seemed inordinately strange. In 1978, Hisaya Kunimatsu, graduate of the Imperial University of Tokyo and a prominent academic geographer, published a book on Makiguchi's *Jinsei chirigaku* (Kunimatsu, 1978), which constituted the very first study carried out by an academic geographer on Makiguchi's geography. In his work, Kunimatsu recognised Makiguchi's acceptance of the concept of the nineteenth-century paradigm of geography realised through the reading of translations of Western geographical writings⁶, and recognised moreover, that the leitmotif of Makiguchi's *Jinsei chirigaku* was the importance of geographical education. But he has never understood that Makiguchi had been greatly influenced, since his period as a young teacher of geography, by the Pestalozzian method of direct observation. Only from the Pestalozzian viewpoint with regard to geographical education can we properly comprehend Makiguchi's reasons for utilising the term *jinsei chirigaku*⁷.

Part Three of *Jinsei chirigaku*, which comprised almost one thousand pages and treated economic and political activities of human beings on the earth's surface, can rightly be considered the most important part of the book. In the eighth edition, published in 1908, Makiguchi added one chapter dealing with the sentimental attachment of the social group to the locality. This new chapter was somewhat short, but it is to be noted that with its addition, Makiguchi's geography took on a more humanistic orientation. We have also to note that from the first edition, Part Three also constituted an extremely systematic treatise on economic geography and settlement geography. Makiguchi hardly ever read foreign literature in the original languages and we have to admire his

thorough knowledge of agriculture and industrial location theories acquired almost solely through the reading of translations of Western works. He did not cite the name of von Thünen, but he explained, albeit with some errors of understanding⁹⁾, the theory of isolated state, something which was rather exceptional even in Western geographical writings. In his explanation of industrial location, Makiguchi made particular note of the complicated relationship between transportation costs of raw materials and products. *Jinsei chirigaku* was, in spite of general neglect on the part of academicians, widely read, and up till 1909, ten editions successively appeared. Most of the readers were aspirants to the examination for the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography at Secondary Schools; much evidence exists testifying to the fact that for them, this book was necessary reading. Makiguchi published two books on geographical education in 1912 and 1916, respectively. He prepared yet more developed considerations on geographical education with the intention of having them published as a volume of a series of works entitled *Soka kyoikugaku taikei*, literally, "Value-Creating Pedagogy". We cannot know how much and what he wrote for this volume, however; the manuscript was confiscated by the police in 1943, at the time of his arrest on charges of disrespect towards Shintoism and offences against the Maintenance of Public Order Act, and has never been found. *The Considerations on Homeland Studies as the Integrating Focus of School Education* of 1912 was a clear manifest of the emphasis he placed on homeland studies and on the reconstruction or reorganisation of the school curriculum based on direct observation, along Pestalozzian principles, of the environment of the pupils. Already in 1890, the *Imperial Rescript on Education*, which emphasised a centralised, nationalistic type of school education, had been promulgated, and Makiguchi's position was challenged by this centralised, nationalist line of thinking. His book, meantime, reached ten editions by 1933; and in the 1930s, when the Ministry of Education recommended the pursuit of homeland studies in the frame of a nationalistic reappraisal of the national territory, Makiguchi flatly stated in the preface to the tenth edition of his book that his homeland studies had nothing whatsoever in common with the brand of homeland studies recommended by the Ministry

of Education. In the book, he categorically expressed his opposition to the dominant trends in school education, which persisted in maintaining that the sublime purpose of school education was the formation of people as imperial subjects devoted heart and soul to the emperor; while Makiguchi, too, declared that the target of school education was the creation of the nation, he meant this in the sense of people as citizens rather than subjects. According to the dominant idea, geography education had to aim at, first of all, the formation of identity with the national territory through the learning of geography. But Makiguchi insisted that homeland studies as he saw them were based on a pedagogical philosophy which held that school education should primarily be useful, where the lives of the children or the happiness of the pupils were concerned. This sort of utilitarianism was already implicit in the *Geography of Human Life* and was stated more explicitly in Makiguchi's writings during the 1930s, after he became a follower of Nichiren Shoshu. The *Studies on Methods and Content in the Teaching of Geography* of 1916 differed somewhat in character, the larger part of this particular work being based on lectures he gave at re-training sessions for teachers, in his capacity of veteran teacher and headmaster. The contents of the book are chiefly given over to the practical knowledge and techniques of geography education in the frame of the school curriculum imposed by the Ministry of Education; but still, some discussions proper to Makiguchi appear, such as the insistence on homeland studies as a preparatory stage of geography education in elementary school. It should be noted here that, after all, Makiguchi was by no means free of the circumstances in which Japan found herself at that period. Hence it will be found that he not only incorporated the geography of Korea and Formosa into the geography of Japan in Chapter Thirty-five, titled "Geography Education in Countries under the Influence of the Japanese Empire", but unequivocally recognised Japanese hegemony over the northeastern part of China, the Russian Far East, Mongolia and the Pacific islands comprising a former German colony; what is more, he even saw fit to declare that the Chinese were racially inferior to the Japanese.

3. *Soka kyoikugaku taikei* ("Value-Creating

Pedagogy") and Buddhism

Six volumes of the *Soka kyoikugaku taikei*, consisting of a general and systematic presentation of Makiguchi's methodology pertaining to school education, were published between 1930 and 1934. Makiguchi projected further volumes in the series, which were to treat teaching methods in school subjects and various aspects of school management; but these volumes of a practical nature never materialised, mainly due to the social and political climate of Japan at that time, under which Makiguchi himself and the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Association of Value-Creating Education) suffered persecution. Makiguchi presumably wrote the manuscript of the four published volumes during the second half of the 1920s. In the meantime, in 1928, he professed his faith in the Nichiren Shoshu, to which he had been introduced by Sokei Mitani, a headmaster like himself. On the occasion of the publication, distinguished scholars such as Inazo Nitobe and Kunio Yanagita, companions of the homeland study group, contributed recommendations, as did a number of politicians holding ministerial posts. The circumstances, however, being entirely different from the time of the publication of the *Geography of Human Life*, for which work Makiguchi had asked for and received revision and recommendations from outstanding geographers of that period, there were no academicians in pedagogy who welcomed Makiguchi's new work. As it was, the volumes comprised the first systematic writings on school education written by a school teacher: apropos of this fact, we have first of all to take into consideration the many problems which school education faced in Japan at that time—financial difficulties in schools brought on by the world economic crisis, the increasing burden of military expenditure, increasing state control and uniformisation of school education, as well as inequalities where the obtaining of higher education opportunities was concerned. A pragmatist in one sense, Makiguchi forthrightly criticised the impotence and inability of academic specialists in pedagogy when it came to solving these problems. In the preface to Volume I, he wrote, "Criticism means nothing to me as I am now—I am losing my sanity, as it were, as I look upon ten million students now facing difficulty in getting into schools, trouble in passing examinations and problems in finding work after graduation". In Chapter Five of

Volume I, where he treats "value-creation" in education, for the first time he cited passages from the *Lotus Sutra*, and after this continued to do so quite often in following chapters. In previous writings, Makiguchi's concept of value was a subjective or relative one, or in terms of economics, he relied on the theory of marginal utility; but observing the perpetual instability and confusion of the Japanese society of that period, he felt the need for an absolute standard of values, and wrote "One of Nichiren's major writings, *Rissho ankokuron* [On Securing the Peace of the Land through the Propagation of True Buddhism] provides an appropriate standard for the appraisal of values in this contemporary world of *Mappo* (Latter days of the Law), beset as it is by the wavering of judgement on the part of people and the uncertainties of life". I believe it to be necessary that, in order to understand Makiguchi's motive in writing the *Soka kyoikugaku taikei*, and also his conversion to the Orthodox Nichiren Sect, both writing and conversion have to be viewed in the social context of Japan at that period, that is, a context made up of the social instability and economic deprivation of the majority of the Japanese people, and the imposition of a nationalistic Shintoism in the sphere of intellectual life. In the six published volumes, there appeared a large amount of Buddhist terminology he had not hitherto used, but which he now found necessary in order to propound the spiritual ramifications involving his new faith; but his pedagogical thought remained unchanged from that found in his previous writings. He was always a rationalist and pragmatist where the methodology of school-teaching and school management was concerned, and he consistently remained anti-ultra-nationalist and anti-militarist: in fact, in Volume III of the *Soka kyoikugaku taikei*, he proposed the strengthening of the autonomy of the school and the adoption of a more open system with regard to the formation of school teachers, a system that would prove operable beyond the confines of the Teachers' Training School system. As stated previously, the utilitarianism of Makiguchi always gave priority to the kind of utility that benefited the lives of children, and happiness as the ultimate goal of education; and after conversion to the Orthodox Nichiren sect, he continued to give priority to the happiness of the people. At the same time, however, he increasingly quoted the *Lotus Sutra*, stating that all people should find succour by

embracing the teachings of Nichiren. In this way, his utilitarian view with regard to the man-nature relationship, as expressed earlier in the *Geography of Human Life*, not only continued to remain after his conversion to the Orthodox Nichiren sect, but also properly constituted a significant reason for that conversion: he had difficulty propagating his teaching ideas *per se*, under the prevalent social and political oppression, but those ideas were kept alive by being transposed, as it were, into an alternative mode, involving the discipline of the spirit. As it happened, this motivated the Japanese people, living out their lives in socially and economically deprived circumstances, to adhere to his teachings. I wanted to understand the intellectual itinerary of Makiguchi in the social and cultural context of Japan before World War II. In this sense, an appraisal of the movement known as the Soka Gakkai after World War II, directed first by Makiguchi's first follower and colleague, Josei Toda, and currently by Daisaku Ikeda, and also considerations as to whether or not the postwar Soka Gakkai movement has seen the continuation of Makiguchi's thought, comprise problems entirely different from that of considerations of Makiguchi's thought, which was the result of his struggle with the reality of pre-war Japan.

4. Conclusive Remarks

My conclusions with regard to this paper are as follows:

1) We can observe a certain continuity in Makiguchi's intellectual attitude and activities throughout his lifetime, a certain pragmatism, so to speak, or a readiness to realise in concrete form, what he felt had to be done. When he was young, he felt the necessity for a treatise of human geography, especially to aid the aspirants to the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography in Secondary Schools, and consequently succeeded in publishing in a comparatively short period of time, the voluminous *Geography of Human Life*. Moreover, his second book was published with the practical purposes of promoting and diffusing homeland studies. When he felt the critical nature of the situation in school education under the increasing governmental control of the 1930s, he founded the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai in order to promote school education having as its

primary aim the happiness and well-being of school children. This pragmatic or utilitarian spirit has certainly been inherited by the Soka Gakkai movement after World War II. In fact, among the many Japanese Buddhist sects, which generally gave more importance to the attaining of buddhahood and happiness in a Buddhist heaven, only the Soka Gakkai gave importance to the realisation of Buddhist ideals in this world, for which purpose the political arm of the Soka Gakkai movement was brought into being.

2) His conversion to the Orthodox Nichiren sect can in the main be explained as having been due to the difficult social and political situation of Japan at that time, in which he met with difficulty in promoting his renovative movement with regard to school education. It was only in 1934, six years after his conversion, that in Volume V of the *Soka kyoikugaku taikei*, he categorically declared it necessary to depend on the Buddhist law rather than human law, and that the ideological basis of his "value-creating pedagogy" (*soka kyoikugaku*) consisted in the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra*.

For Makiguchi, belief in the *Lotus Sutra* brought about a kind of transcending of human power; nonetheless, under no circumstances did he abandon the rational logic involved in the modern sciences, and it was on the basis of this idiosyncratic logic that he presented a very original interpretation of the *Lotus Sutra*. His resistance against the nationalistic Shintoism naturally derived from his attitude, which gave supremacy to the *Lotus Sutra*, but was at the same time, based on his acceptance of the rational logic of the modern sciences.

3) The fact of his death in prison has become a kind of legacy in the Soka Gakkai movement after World War II, or in other words, he became a martyr in the invented tradition of the Soka Gakkai. We have to note, however, that the Japanese society experienced by Makiguchi, and that in which Soka Gakkai saw the expansion of its followers to its present enormous numbers, was totally different. Makiguchi conducted his resistance against the then predominant power of the establishment of his day; Soka Gakkai after World War II has always been a reformist movement in the frame of conservative political trends. But at the same time, paradoxically, Makiguchi's teachings, which insisted on the necessity of human endeavour in attaining material and spiritual well-

being, found its most fertile soil in the socio-economic condition of the Japan of the rapid economic growth period of the 1950s and 60s, a period corresponding to the rapid expansion of the Soka Gakkai movement. In that period, many

of the common people of Japan held that the more one worked, the more one received, and the more their standard of living conditions improved.

Chronological Table for Tsunesaburo Makiguchi

(Items between parentheses refer to pertinent events occurring in Japanese society)

- 1871: Born 6 June in Niigata Prefecture, and named Choshichi Watanabe
 Establishment of modern local administration systems (involving the abolition of clans and establishment of prefectures)
 Establishment of the Ministry of Education
- 1877: Adopted into the Makiguchi family
 Establishment of the Imperial University of Tokyo
- 1885: Transferred to Hokkaido, where his uncle lived, and worked as house-boy at the police headquarters of Otaru
- 1889: Transferred to Sapporo, following the director of the Otaru police headquarters
 Enrolled in the Teachers' Training School of Hokkaido
- 1893: Changed his first name to Tsunesaburo
 Graduated from the Teachers' Training School of Hokkaido and appointed teacher at the elementary school attached to the above training school; at the same time, appointed part-time lecturer at the above training school
- (1894: Sino-Japanese war)
- 1895: Married Kuma, second daughter of the Makiguchi family
- 1896: Passed the examination for the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography at Secondary Schools
- 1897: Appointed teacher of geography at the Hokkaido Teachers' Training School
- 1900: Worked as dormitory supervisor of the above school, as well as continuing to teach there; at the same time, served as headmaster of the attached elementary school
- 1901: Dismissed from all of the above posts and went to Tokyo
- 1902: Visited Shigetaka Shiga, famous as a journalist and lecturer in geography, at the Tokyo Semmon Gakko (the present Waseda University) and asked him to revise his manuscript *Jinsei chirigaku* (*Geography of Human Life*)
- 1903: Publication of *Geography of Human Life*
- (1904: Russo-Japanese war)
- (1907: Establishment of the Department of Geography at the Imperial University of Kyoto)
- 1909: Appointed principal teacher at the Fujimi Elementary School in Tokyo Made the acquaintance of Kunio Yanagita, founder of the Japanese folklore school, and accompanied the latter in the carrying out of field work in Yamanashi Prefecture
- 1910: Yanagita founded the *kyodo-kai* study group and Makiguchi frequented the regular monthly meetings held at the home of Inazo Nitobe. Entered the Ministry of Education and engaged in the compilation work of geography school textbooks
- 1911: On the introduction of Yanagita, engaged in field surveys of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in Kyushu
 (Establishment of the Chair of Geography at the Imperial University of Tokyo)
- 1912: Publication of *Kyoju no togo chushin to shite no kyodo-ka kenkyu* (*Considerations on Homeland Studies as the Integrating Focus of School Education*)
- 1913: Appointed headmaster of Higashimori Elementary School in Tokyo
- (1914: World War I; Japan declared war on Germany)
- 1919: Transferred to headmastership of Nishimachi Elementary School in Tokyo

- 1920: Met Jogai Toda, then a young teacher, who later became Makiguchi's collaborator in the activities of the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai
- 1922: Appointed headmaster of Shirogane Elementary School, an elite school of that time
(1925: Establishment of the Association of Japanese Geographers)
- 1928: Became a follower of the Orthodox Nichiren sect
- 1930: Founded, in collaboration with Toda, the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai (Association of Value-Creating Education)
Began to publish the *Soka kyoikugaku taikai* (System of Value-Creating Pedagogy)
- 1931: Appointed headmaster of Niibori Elementary School in Tokyo
Japan entered into conflict in northeastern China (Manchuria); beginning of the so-called Fifteen-Year War
- 1932: Retired from the above headmastership, ending his career as teacher of elementary schools
Began to give lectures in various parts of Japan on his pedagogical methods
- 1934: Publication of Volume VI of *Soka kyoikugaku taikai*
- 1939: First general assembly of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai held
- 1943: Sixth and last general assembly of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai
Arrested at Shimoda for reason of his rejection of the national Shintoist cult; almost all the members of Soka Kyoiku Gakkai were also arrested
- 1944: 18 November, died in a Tokyo prison of malnutrition after sixteen months of imprisonment
- 1945: Defeat of Japan in World War II
- 1946: Reconstruction of the Soka Kyoiku Gakkai under the official name of Soka Gakkai
- 1950: Official establishment of the Soka Gakkai by Jogai Toda
- 1951: Official nomination of Toda as President of Soka Gakkai

Notes

- 1) All the reprinted editions of Makiguchi's works, and also the studies on Makiguchi after World War II, were published by Soka Gakkai-affiliated publishers such as Daisan Bunmeisha.
- 2) The system pertaining to the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography at Secondary Schools was first established in 1885 and remained in force until 1945. After 1935, most geography teachers were recruited from among the graduates of the newly-established courses of geography at private universities, but prior to that, the system played an important role in the recruitment of geography teachers. Detailed studies of the system have been made in Sato, 1988.
- 3) This study group, the *kyodo-kai* and the Japanese folklore school exercised a considerable influence on the formation of early academic geography in Japan. In fact, Michitoshi Odauchi, one of the most influential among the academic geographers, his position as teacher at a private university notwithstanding, was a regular member of the *kyodo-kai*. Moreover, Hikoichiro Sasaki and Sadao Yamaguchi, two younger graduates in geography at the Imperial University of Tokyo, maintained close relationships with Kunio Yana-
- 4) *gita*; but because of the early death of these two brilliant figures, the scholastic legacy they might have bequeathed to post-World War II academic geographers failed to materialise (Takeuchi, 1984).
- 5) His death in prison was not an exceptional occurrence. Under the ultra-nationalist and militarist regime that prevailed from the 1930s until Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, a large number of intellectuals of both socialist and liberalist persuasions were arrested and died in prison due to torture and other forms of maltreatment.
- 6) In the eighth and revised edition of *Jinsei chiri-gaku* published in 1908, the parts from Chapter Thirty onwards underwent a great deal of revision. Most of Chapter Thirty-three of the first edition was rewritten and additions were made to Chapter Thirty-five in the eighth edition.
- 7) No book of Western geography was translated in total before 1920 in Japan. Excerpts from the geographical writings of Western specialists, such as Arnold Guyot or August Meitzen, and numerous other conventional textbooks of geography were introduced or translated frag-

- mentally by Yukichi Fukuzawa, Kanzo Uchimura, Inazo Nitobe and others; and judging from the descriptions to be found in Makiguchi's *Jinsei chirigaku*, it is obvious that he had made an exhaustive study of these translated writings.
- 7) The Ministry of Education sent three young scholars to the United States to study teachers' training systems in use in that country. Among them, Hideo Takamine studied at a teachers' training college at Oswego, N.Y., a centre of the Pestalozzian teaching method. After returning to Japan, he introduced the Pestalozzian teaching method, especially that aspect of it pertaining to geography teaching, in the curriculum of teachers' training schools in Japan. The legacy of Pestalozzian methods was especially strong around the end of the nineteenth century at teachers' training schools in Nagano and Hokkaido (Nakagawa, 1978).
- 8) It is generally considered that Makiguchi obtained his knowledge of von Thünen's theory from the *Nogyo honron (Treatise of Agronomy)* of Inazo Nitobe published in 1898. T. Ohji, however, very precisely examined Makiguchi's presentation of von Thünen and came to the conclusion that Makiguchi learnt von Thünen's theory from the textbook of agricultural economy of Tsunejiro Imazeki, published in 1892, rather than Nitobe's work (Ohji, 1982).

Bibliography

Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi

Here I mainly used Makiguchi's texts from the *The Complete Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi* published by Daisan Bunmeisha, containing the following:

- Volume I, *Jinsei chirigaku (Geography of Human Life)*. Reprint of the Introduction and Part 1 of the first edition of 1903 published by Bun-edo Shoten, with emendations and annotations by Shoji Saito, published in 1983.
- Volume II, *Jisei chirigaku (Geography of Human Life)*. Reprint of Parts 2 and 3 and the Conclusion of the first edition of 1903 published by Bun-edo Shoten, with emendations and annotations by Shoji Saito, published in 1996. (Parts 3 and 4 of the eighth edition of 1908 have not yet been incorporated into the Complete Works, and so for the material contained in these parts, I referred to the Bun-edo edition).

Volume III, *Kyoju no togo chushin to shite no kyodoka kenkyu (Considerations on Homeland Studies as the Integrating Focus of School Education)*. Reprint of the first edition published by Ibunkan, with emendations, annotations and notes by Hideo Sato, published in 1981.

Volume IV, *Chiri kyoju no hoho oyobi naiyo no kenkyu (Studies on Methods and Content in the Teaching of Geography)*. Reprint of the first edition of 1916 published by Meguro Shoten, with emendations, annotations and notes by Koichi Nakagawa, published in 1981.

Volume V, *Soka kyoikugaku taikai (Series of Value-Creating Pedagogy)*, Part 1. Reprint of the first edition of Vols. I & II of the series published in 1930 and 1931, respectively, by Soka Kyoiku Gakkai, with emendations and annotations by Kazunori Kumagaya and Takeo Kizen, published in 1982.

Volume VI, *Soka kyoikugaku taikai (Series of Value-Creating Pedagogy)*, Part 2. Reprint of Vols. III & IV published in 1932 and 1934, respectively, by Soka Kyoiku Gakkai, published in 1983. Emendations and annotations are made by Kazunori Kumagaya and Takeo Kizen, and notes by Kazunori Kumagaya.

References

- Isonokami, G. (1993): *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo to Nitobe Inazo (Tsunesaburo Makiguchi and Inazo Nitobe)*, Daisan Bunmeisha, Tokyo, 251p. (J)
- Kumagaya, K. (1978): *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo (Tsunesaburo Makiguchi)*, Daisan Bunmeisha, Tokyo, 217p. (J)
- Kunimatsu, H. (1978): *Jinsei chirigaku gairon (Outline of Geography of Human Life)*, Daisan Bunmeisha, Tokyo, 268 + v p. (J)
- Nakagawa, K. (1978): *Kindai chirikiyoiku no genryu (Origins of Modern Geography Education)*, Kokon Shoin, Tokyo, 260p. (J)
- Noma, S. (1976): *A History of Japanese Geography in Geography in Japan*, Kiuchi, S. ed., University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, 3-16. (J)
- Ohji, T. (1982): *Waga kuni chirigaku e no chunen "koritsukoku" no shokai (Introduction in Japan of von Thünen's "Isolated State")* in Geographical Institute of Kyoto University (ed.): *Chiri no Shiso (Geographical Thought)*, Chijin Shobo, Kyoto, 271-288. (J)
- Saito, S. (1996): *Jinsei chirigaku kenkyu no tame no joron (Prolegomenon to the Study of the Geography of Human Life)*, in Volume II of *The Com-*

plete Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, 519-543. (J)

- Sato, Y. (1988): *Senzen no chiri kyoshi: Bunken chirigaku o saguru (Geography Teachers in the Pre-war Period: Considerations on the Examination System for the Teacher's License for the Teaching of Geography at Secondary Schools)*, Kokon Shoin, Tokyo, 168p. (J)
- Takeuchi, K. (1984/85): Strategies of Heterodox Re-

searchers in the National Schools of Geography and Their Roles in Shifting Paradigms in Geography, *Organon*, 20/21, 277-285.

- Takeuchi, K. and Nozawa, H. (1988): Recent Trends in Studies on the History of Geographical Thought in Japan – Mainly on the History of Japanese Geographical Thought, *Geographical Review of Japan*, 61B, 59-73

References

1981

- 1982
- 1983
- 1984
- 1985
- 1986
- 1987
- 1988
- 1989
- 1990
- 1991
- 1992
- 1993
- 1994
- 1995
- 1996
- 1997
- 1998
- 1999
- 2000
- 2001
- 2002
- 2003
- 2004
- 2005
- 2006
- 2007
- 2008
- 2009
- 2010
- 2011
- 2012
- 2013
- 2014
- 2015
- 2016
- 2017
- 2018
- 2019
- 2020
- 2021
- 2022
- 2023
- 2024
- 2025