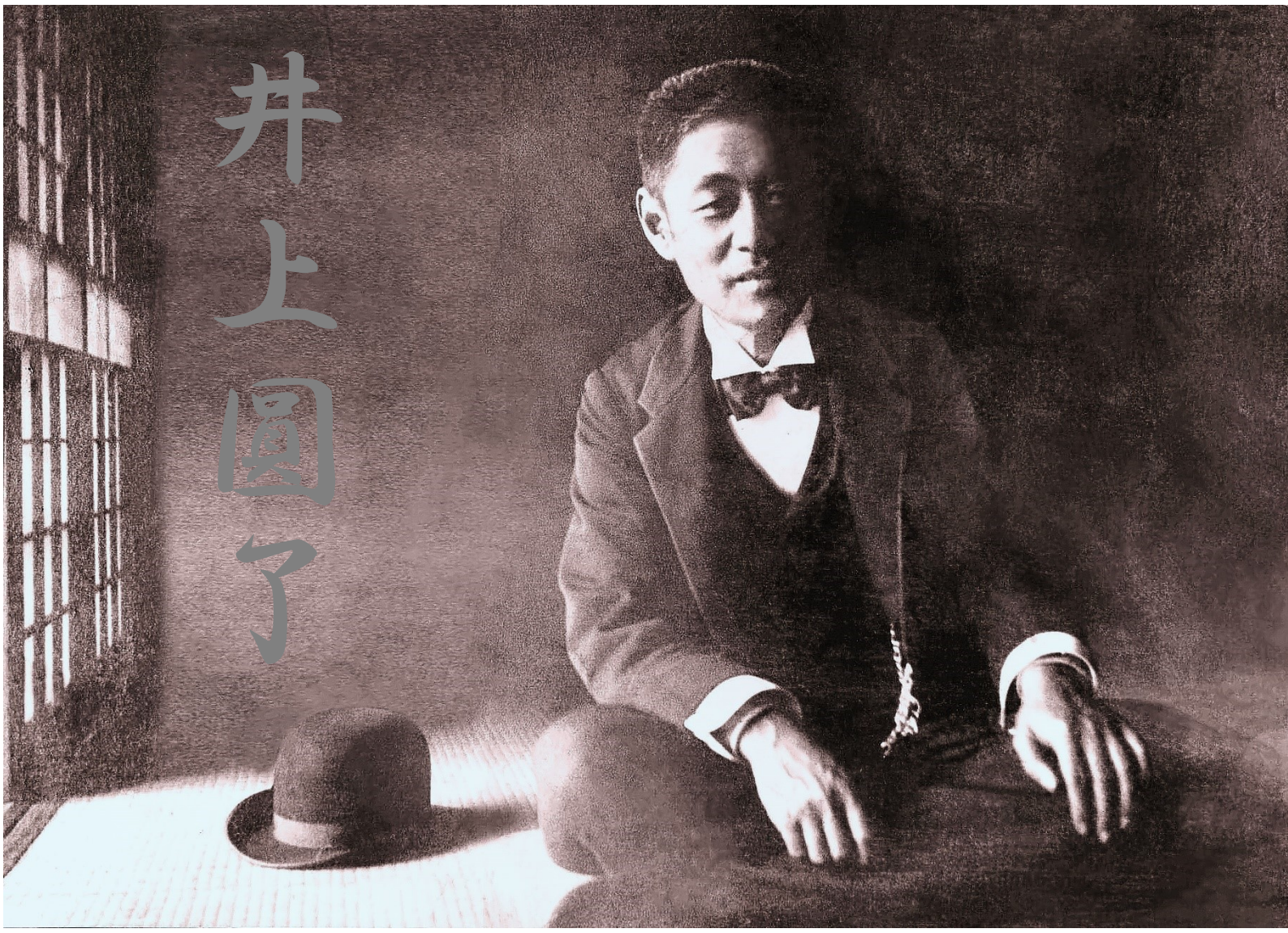
Challenger
Inoue Enryo



"Carve your own destiny"

TOYO UNIVERSITY

Challenger Inoue Enryo:

"Carve your own destiny"

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Photograph of Inoue Enryō held by Toyo University Inoue Enryo Philosophy Center

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Prologue

Anpan were born out of Japan's modernization in the Meiji period near the end of the nineteenth century. These sweet treats of Japanese red bean paste encased in Western bread dough have been a hit ever since they first hit the shelves. In those days *anpan* came in round, diamond, and triangle shapes, and everyone was excited to get their hands on one.

HŌJŌ Tokiyuki was a student in the first intake at the University of Tokyo. One day he went to Urajinbōchō where they displayed *anpan* in Western-style shop windows and he bought one to enjoy while sitting on a bench in the courtyard. All of the students at the time loved *anpan*, and soon Hōjō's classmate Inoue Enryō was also a fan. Five were more than enough for Hōjō, but apparently "Inoue ate more than twenty without even batting an eyelid." Hōjō had been secretly counting how many *anpan* Enryō ate, and it seems he was pretty surprised. This is a side of Enryō we did not know about.

But, Enryō was always one to stand out from the crowd.

I. The Nagaoka Era

The Second Generation of Meiji Youth

The period known as Meiji, literally "illuminated politics," laid the foundations of modern Japan. It was an era when all sorts of cultural products were coming in from the West and the Japanese people that studied these products melded them with traditional culture to create novel hybrids.

Through his research on the history of the mentality of the Meiji period, historian IROKAWA Daikichi discovered that "almost everything we associate with 'modernity'—religion, literature, theater, art, intellectualism, philosophy, scholarship, and so on—was created by the generation of people who were born around the 1860s." They later became known as "the second generation of Meiji youth." These were the pioneers that challenged the status quo in a time of drastic change and modernization.

Irokawa's list includes five people for religion, eleven for literature and theater, five for art, eight for philosophy and thought, and nineteen for scholarship and other fields, for a total of forty-eight. Of those still well known today, we can point to writers such as NATSUME Sōseki and MORI Ōgai. Interestingly, TOYODA Sakichi, founder of the Toyota Motor Corporation, was also of that generation. In the area of religion, Enryō is also considered a key pioneer in challenging Buddhism to reinvent itself in the modern era.

Eldest Son of the Temple

Enryō was born in 1858 at the temple Jikōji in Ura, in what is today's Nagaoka city, Niigata prefecture. He was the first child of the twenty-eight-year-old abbot Engo and twenty-three-year-old Iku. Jikōji was a sub-temple of the True Pure Land School's (referred to as the "True School" below) Ōtani branch Higashi Honganji, which meant that Enryō was destined to take over the temple.

He was born four years after American Admiral PERRY and his four battleships cruised into Edo Bay. Entering the new Meiji Period, Japan was ending its isolation and undergoing dramatic change. As a child, Enryō studied the scriptures under his father and participated in the morning and evening rituals at the temple. He wrote that he enjoyed listening to people's stories and spending time thinking by himself. But, secretly he felt uneasy about being the eldest son and heir to the abbotship.

Chinese Classics Studies (1)

From the spring of his tenth year Enryō started attending the private tutoring school of ISHIGURO Tadanori in the neighboring village. It took him around an hour to walk there so he could take classes in Chinese classics and arithmetic. The study of Chinese classics was the foundation of education at that time, and the course of study began with reading aloud (simply pronouncing the words). Ishiguro was a twenty-three year-old doctor of Western medicine and had been working as an assistant at a medical center in the capital city of Edo (Tokyo). It seemed to Ishiguro that trouble was brewing in Edo.

Thinking that violence was about to erupt he had returned to his home village to open a private school instead.

The Meiji Restoration took place in that year (1868), and the battle in Hokuetsu is said to have been one of the fiercest of the entire Boshin War. Members of the Nagaoka fiefdom where Enryō was born fought with the forces of the new government from May through August, but in the end they lost the battle and Nagaoka's castle town was burned to the ground. The village of Ura that was home to Enryō's family temple Jikōji was an inland port facing Nagaoka from across the river Shinanogawa. It acted as a camp for the troops of the new government, meaning that Enryō had a front row seat to the upheavals of the Meiji Restoration.

Ishiguro was originally a member of the gentry (samurai) class but later abandoned his status to practice Western (i.e. Dutch) medicine. The impetus for this was his encounter with Japan's leading scholar of Western studies, SAKUMA Shōzan, who told him that a new era was fast approaching. Ishiguro taught the children of the private school about the reasons behind the Nagaoka battle and spoke in positive terms about the new approaching era. This was one of the many ways that Ishiguro influenced Enryō, as can be seen in this paraphrase of Enryō's recollection below.

> Teacher was fond of the Western style and replaced the [traditional Eastern style] desks with chairs and tables. At exam time he would reward the highest performing student with a sheet of Western-style paper, which at the time was an imported product. The privilege we felt receiving that sheet of paper was greater than if it had been a silver watch from the emperor.

"Silver watch from the emperor" referred to the reward bestowed on the highest performing individuals at institutions like Tokyo Imperial University. Enryō's excitement over the sheet of "Western paper" shows us how important Ishiguro's private school was to the ten-year-old Enryō. Ishiguro also wrote on his impressions of Enryō.

> One morning there was heavy snow and no one came into school, but then from outside there came the sound of snow being tapped off footwear. My wife said it was definitely Tomotsune (i.e. Enryō), and when she opened the door, sure enough it was Inoue Tomotsune. Tomotsune came in holding his geta sandals with a broken strap, and when my wife asked why he didn't fix it before coming, he said that it would have made him late. It would be wrong to be late for teacher's lecture so he rushed here in bare feet. Inoue had been very enthusiastic about learning ever since he was a child, and his level of commitment was definitely different to the others.

Enryō became his name after he was ordained, but when he was a child he was called Kishimaru, and after that Tomotsune. Looking at these two quotes, we can see that there was a personal connection between the twenty-three year-old teacher Ishiguro and the ten year-old Enryō. In the spring one year later after the flames of the Edo war had subsided, Ishiguro returned to what was now Tokyo. The sudden parting of ways with his beloved teacher was a shock to the young Enryō. Showing the importance of his encounter with Ishiguro he wrote, "I was disappointed to lose such a good teacher."

People say that the point of education is to stimulate interest in each of the students. At Ishiguro's school, though, Enryō was able to take away more. He gained a deep desire for knowledge, a curiosity about all things. Seeing Enryō's dedication, trekking to school in the morning alone in heavy snow, we can tell that he was the sort to fully immerse himself in whatever he did. In today's terms we might call him "inward-looking." In any case, this early experience with education would form the basis of Enryō's illustrious life.

Chinese Classics Studies (2)

According to his study log Enryō studied Chinese classics for more than four years from August 1869 to December 1872 under KIMURA Don'ō of the former ruling family of the Nagaoka fiefdom. Kimura, who was also referred to by the name Donsō, had been dispatched to Edo as a student during the era of the Nagaoka fiefdom. After his return to Nagaoka he acted as principal of the fief school Sōtokukan. At the school they exclusively taught children of the gentry. The sequence of events is unknown but Kimura ended up living in a house in front of Jikōji. This may have been because so many of the homes in Nagaoka had been burned down during the war. (It is possible that TAKAHASHI Kurō, landowner and congregation head representative of Jikōji, had extended assistance to the struggling Don'ō).

A private school was opened at Jikōji and as many as twenty-five children from the neighborhood came to study. Enryō called the school "Jikōkō," a play on the words "Jikōji" and "*kōkō* (school)," and there the students studied Chinese classics under Kimura. In the style of Chinese poetry, Enryō wrote the following.

> A school was opened in Ura village; the children came to study. All day long they devoted themselves to reading. Learning about Chinese works in the morning, studying English in the afternoon... Taking the lead in learning about Japan and the world, I want to become the cornerstone of this new period called Meiji.

Kimura's education in Chinese classics was of the highest level in Nagaoka at the time, so it was a stroke of good luck that Enryō and the others were able to study under him. Saying he wanted to take the lead in learning above everyone else, Enryō showed his passion. According to his study log his education over those four years was carried out in progressive steps. Researcher of Chinese philosophy NAKAMURA Satoshi discusses as follows.

> The "reading" [that Enryō mentioned above] is a reference to "plain reading," i.e. the study of methods for reading out words and passages; "lecturing" is when the teacher explains the content of passages; and, "meetings" refers to group reading, round-table discussions, and reading in turn, with each person reading and interpreting their assigned section. Round-table discussions represented an instruction method characteristic of the Nagaoka Fief School of Japanese and Chinese Literature and were implemented with the goal of "educating each student" (i.e. individualized education). "Questioning" refers to the learning methods employed in a curriculum referred to as a "question course" that was aimed at advanced students and signified a more advanced level of learning. "Self-study" signified the comprehensive last step of one's learning process.

In regard to "round-table discussions," he discusses how, among students of the School of Japanese and Chinese Literature,

> Those with great enthusiasm for learning were encouraged to engage in round-table discussions. These research sessions were energetic, with students exchanging opinions and comparing interpretations. They really were quite lively. Because the teacher made the final conclusions, they increased students' abilities extremely well.

Enryō is said to have shared his own original perspectives at meetings during his time at university, and it seems that this sort of individualized early education had an effect on him.

Enryō said he "studied English in the afternoon," but it is unclear how difficult the lessons were. What is certain is that he had an interest in English since immediately after the Meiji Restoration. Over his five year education in Chinese classics from Ishiguro and Kimura he gained a basis for one "way of seeing and thinking about things" and he began to voice his own opinions. This became the foundation for his later scholarship. About his teacher Kimura's teaching of Chinese classics, Enryō made the clear-cut statement, "My grounding in Chinese classics was simply this alone." This suggests the heartfelt appreciation he had for Kimura. What's more, around this time, in 1871, he passed the ordination examination at Higashi Honganji, and at the age of thirteen he became a priest.

Western Studies (1)

Having finished his studies at the age of fifteen Enryō stood at a turning point. From 1872 he started creating a collection of Chinese poetry. Later, however, there is a marked change in the mood and content. Consider this early poem, "The New Year of the Water Monkey."

> The light of daybreak rises and the season shifts to spring; already everything I see this morning looks fresh. All of the houses put on lavish parties, and we pray for a good year for the world.

Next, let's look at a poem titled "From the First Month of the New Year" from 1874 when he was seventeen years old.

> The rooster next door announced the dawn, the New Year came to us, and now it is the new spring of the year of the wood-dog, 1874. While I am still bound up in the old ways, this is a New Year in the middle of an era of modernization that grows newer every day.

The poem for 1872 is a rather ordinary one, talking of the scenes of the New Year, but the poem for 1874 features the connection between the times in which he was living and him personally. "Old ways," that is to say, his being bound up in the traditional customs and modes of thought is contrasted with his historical location in an era of modernization. Changes were taking place in Enryō's heart.

Looking at his study log for 1872 it mentions "self-study," i.e. reading books on his own. It was at this time that Enryō first saw a map of the world in a Chinese translation of *Abbreviated Explanation of the World*, written by American missionary Richard Quarterman WAY. After that he read all ten volumes of *Western Affairs* by FUKUZAWA Yukichi, who had visited and experienced America and Europe first hand. There Enryō learned about current Western politics, economics, and culture. Now that he had gotten his hands on information that compared Japan and the West for the first time, Enryō's interest turned strongly toward concentrated self-study. When we look at his reading history we can see that it extents to twenty-seven different works. Thinking of the publishing circumstances at the time we can easily imagine Enryō lost in concentration soaking up information.

On the other hand, when Enryō entered adolescence the idea of inheriting the temple started to become a problem for him. In his twilight years he spoke on his ordination at the age of thirteen, saying, "My father issued the ordination request without consulting me." Judging from this comment we can assume that at some point he had discussed his future path with his father. Ordination meant he would become a candidate for overseeing a temple and enter the path to becoming the next abbot. From his father's perspective, the natural pattern would have been to study Buddhism after having finished with the Chinese classics. This likely meant some level of friction with Enryō, who was obsessed with the world and the West. TAKAHASHI Kurō, the head of the temple congregation, said that "Enryō was strong-willed," meaning that he had a stubborn side. We

might assume that this turning point was the genesis of the stubbornness we see in Enryō's character as an adult. People say that a child's education is a source of worry for the parents, and in the context of the changing times of the early Meiji period, we can imagine that Enryō's parents at Jikōji were especially worried.

In December 1872 after Enryō had completed four years of Chinese classics studies, the Nagaoka School for Western Studies was established. This came about at the exact time that the new government promulgated the School System act based on the French system of defining school districts. Through this act all areas of Japan saw the establishment of elementary, middle, and advanced learning schools. This was the first time that schools catered to the learning of all citizens regardless of social class. The people working to revive Nagaoka after the war believed that Western studies was the ultimate key to cultivating new human resources. As part of this FUJINO Zenzō was called back to the region at a high salary to begin providing this education. Fujino was a former clan gentry member who had been acting as the head of Keiō Academy. The school in Nagaoka was revolutionary in allowing commoners to study alongside the children of the gentry. Enryō, however, did not immediately enroll.

Ultimately it was decided that Enryō would attend a private English school in Takayama on the opposite bank of the Shinanogawa river from May twenty-ninth, 1873. He studied at Takayama Rakugunsha for a little over two months until early August under a teacher called KURIHARA. He writes about that time in a Chinese-style poem.

> People would see me in a sedge hat and straw raincoat, wearing a shabby kimono, passing by with books on my back morning and night, and they would ask, what on earth is he doing all day? I would answer, I'm standing in the lecture hall, reciting my "wisdoms" and "smidgens."

As he was going to the school right in the time of the spring rainy season, he needed a sedge hat and straw coat. The villagers wondered where the "young man" of Jikōji was going all day long. "Lecture hall" referred to the classroom. "Wisdoms (恵) and smidgens (微)" were Chinese characters that phonetically represented the roman letters A and B, and hence referred to the alphabet. Thus, the poem is saying, "I was studying English."

His study log mentions the textbooks *Spelling*, *Reader*, CORNELL's *Small Geography Book*, and SARGENT's *First Reader* and *Second Reader*. The first steps for someone learning English are not all that different today. From November onward Enryō kept a vocabulary notebook. It lists words such as "few (僅)" and "only (唯)." It's unclear how he went about making this notebook, but it's fascinating to think about.

It appears that whenever he had time he was reading books. He writes a poem on his impressions after reading *An Encouragement of Learning* by the famous FUKUZAWA Yukichi.

> When I am sitting in my study the spring days feel longer. The book I am reading now is *An Encouragement of Learning*. It teaches that all human beings are equal and that the difference between noble and lowly or wise and foolish lies only in whether one applies oneself to education or neglects it.

So, Enryō like many others was reading this book, one of Fukuzawa's best sellers. Through it he was learning about the new view of humanity that formed the basis of the era—that there is no difference between people and that they are all equal.

Western Studies (2)

According to the school's journals, on April thirtieth of the following year, 1874, he went to the Western studies school in Nagaoka accompanied by his father who made an application for admission. This school continues today as Nagaoka High School in Niigata prefecture. At that time it was named "Niigata First Branch School" because a government initiative in 1871 saw the dismantling of the more than three hundred fiefdoms in Japan and the establishment of the prefecture system. Nagaoka became a part of Niigata prefecture and the prefectural government forced its schools of Western studies into a uniform structure (Fujino Zenzō, who had transferred in from Keiō Academy resigned in opposition to this development). Enryō and his friends did not comply with the name change and continued to call it "Nagaoka School for Western Studies."

Studying in Nagaoka required tuition and housing fees so let's consider how Jikōji might have been positioned financially at that time. The head temple Higashi Honganji was one of the leading religious organizations in Japan and is said to have had "ten thousand temples and one million followers." Its sub temples were classified according to size: large, medium, or small, and Jikōji was a medium temple of average size. It likely had the capacity to deal with all of its own administrative responsibilities, but was likely unable to do much more.

However, at the head of the temple's congregation was the Takahashi family, leading landowners in Niigata prefecture. As the abbot, Enryō's father Engo was responsible for managing the temple so it seems probable he engaged in discussions with the Takahashi family about Enryō's future. This could have been what enabled Enryō to leave the temple and study in Nagaoka.

Enryō had long hoped he could study in an English immersion environment at a Western studies school. Finally, on the afternoon of May fifth this became a reality. He wrote a poem on his thoughts at that time (when the school was still in its infancy, and according to a school historian, "it was very different to the current concept of a school, being more like a private tutoring or fief school").

> I came to the town of Nagaoka by myself and passed through the gate of Nagaoka School for Western Studies for the first time. All day long I would sit in the lecture hall and constantly recite out loud my "wisdoms," "smidgens," and "voices."

"Wisdoms," "smidgens," and "voices (声)" meant the ABCs, and his expression "recited out loud" shows the greatness of Enryō's joy. Incidentally, in line with the educational methods that were practiced at the time, Western studies schools provided education on international subjects such as geography, history, and mathematics through foreign language texts, mainly in English or French. This simultaneous teaching of foreign language and content killed two birds with one stone and was emblematic of Japan's modernization. In Enryō's case he focused on Western studies and mathematics.

According to the school's journal, two days later he was "moved up from being ungraded into the fourth grade." As he had learned the basics of English the previous year we can assume that he was seen as already understanding the language. The class he moved into was using *Parley's History of the World* as its textbook. Because he entered partway through it seems that he was a little lost, which caused him to write the following poem.

> More than three months have passed since coming to study in Nagaoka, and for these three months I have been learning Western studies. But, all I feel is shame in my stupidity, not progressing at all, even after three months.

He also wrote the following poem.

> I eat breakfast at seven and classes begin at eight. At nine there is the lecture on *Parley's History of the World*, and at ten it is Western arithmetic. I am always facing my desk. If I get lazy my body will rot away. I want to build my academic achievements while young and make my name known throughout the country.

In these two poems we see Enryō lamenting that he has not progressed "at all." In actuality, Enryō did have friends more capable than him. More than other people, Enryō really hated losing. In contrast with his earlier poems these discuss his school life, with *Parley's History of the World* starting at nine and Western arithmetic—i.e. mathematics—starting at ten, showing that each class lasted just one hour. It was a curriculum that emphasized preparation and review. In the next line we can see his raw ambition even as a sixteen year-old

youth for doing big things: "I want to make my name known throughout the country." It is interesting to note that these two poems appear one after the other in his collection.

He also composed a poem on the scenery in Nagaoka at the time.

> Nagaoka in Echigo is a land of modernization, becoming more civilized every day, more prosperous every month. Steamboats come and go at Zaōkō Port, and Watarimachi Ferry Port is bustling with rickshaws on their way to and from the city.

In photographs of that time, large numbers of people can be seen riding on the boats and heading out to experience the technologies of the new modern times. After goods started to be transported by steamboat we can easily see how Enryō would have been experiencing Nagaoka as a place of advanced modernization.

He graduated from the Western studies school in two years. According to his study log, he studied mathematics as far as basic arithmetic, fractions, proportions, decimals, squared and cubed roots, and algebra, but on Western studies he comments as follows.

> In those days, it was common to start with the textbook *Spelling* and finish with *Reader*, but I started out directly with *Parley's History of the World*. But then, about a year later, I made a request to my teacher and went on to study *Reader* for two or three months from a Westerner who was holidaying here from Tokyo. Once I was done with *Parley's* I read a great deal, including MITCHELL's *Ancient Geography*, WILLSON's *Outlines of History*, and GUIZOT's *General History of Civilization in Europe*. Being able to read these was equivalent to graduating English.

This is a recollection from his twilight years, and his study log, starting with *Parley's*, lists nine textbooks for the first year of Western studies schooling including MITCHELL's *Ancient Geography*, and QUACKENBOS's *Primary History of the United States* and *Elementary History of the United States*. There were six textbooks for the second year, including CHAMBERS's *Political Economy*, WAYLAND's *The Elements of Political Economy*, and WELLS's *Natural Philosophy*. Altogether, he studied from fifteen texts. We might assume that due to all of this reading he spent a lot of time studying on his own. He also writes poems such as the following.

> Moonlight reaches far and wide across the perfect night sky. Frost spreads out far and wide on the ground, the mood of autumn pervades all. Reading English and French history texts by lamplight, and after reaching the last page the night has already worn deep.

Perhaps this is how he worked to keep up with his classes. In his spare time he read ten Japanese language books, including *A Brief History of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties*, *The New Prosperity of Tokyo*, and *Outline of National Law*. Through the knowledge gained in Western studies and the information collected through private study, Enryō began to come up with his own original ideas, as seen in this poem.

> Those who work hard and those who are lazy are all equally human. All people are equal, and all have the same rights. Stop saying that in the past there were so many great men. Those great men were human too, just as I am also human.

At the age of eighteen Enryō was deepening his interest in ideas on civil liberties and societal modernization. But, there is something that was not recorded in his study log; that is, that day and night he was "passionately" reading the Bible of the "Yaso" religion (the name people used for Christianity at the time) in English and in Chinese translation. It was forbidden for someone born in a Buddhist temple to read the books of another religion, but the ever-curious Enryō secretly worked to understand Christianity. He was not someone to talk on something without having studied its texts. The Chinese classics, i.e. Confucian works, formed the basic structure of Chinese thought and faith, and so learning about Christianity meant that Enryō would now be able to compare three religions. It is interesting to consider how Enryō might have been thinking about all of this.

He was living in a dormitory but would sometimes submit a notice of absence and go back to Jikōji to attend large memorial services. How would Enryō have been feeling then, having studied Western learning and now soon to become the next abbot? His two years of study at the school for Western studies was coming to an end.

Convening the Harmony and Equality Circle

On July twelfth 1876 a new prefectural ordinance meant the discontinuation of Niigata School and a transition to independence for its former branch schools. After that the school took on the curious name "Temporary School" until sufficient capital could be amassed. On September first, the school reopened after the summer break. From this day, Enryō was employed as a "reading teacher." Accord-

ing to a school historian, "reading teachers were later renamed assistant teachers who would teach in addition to studying, and they would oversee classes for entry-level students." (According to his study log Enryō studied English literature under NAKANO Teishirō and Chinese classics under TANAKA Shunkai). If a teacher fell ill these assistant teachers would take over the class. In Enryō's case he was in charge of mathematics, Chinese classics, and English.

On December first of the same year the school made a fresh start as the Nagaoka School. At this time, "Chinese classics" was added to the existing Western studies and mathematics courses to make it more like a middle school. The school was comprised of a principle (on a part-time contract), two office staff, one assistant professor (i.e. teacher) each for English, Chinese classics, and mathematics, and three assistant teachers, for a total of nine staff. Considering this, we can see that the role of an assistant teacher was more than that of a mere tutor.

One month before the reopening of the school a proposal was made to establish the "Harmony and Equality Circle," with Enryō taking the lead. Records state that the purpose of the group was "to deepen friendships between the members and to practice giving speeches." In addition to Enryō, there were three assistant teachers and four regular students as the founding members. As speech-making entails presenting one's own opinions, we can assume that the group placed an emphasis on freedom. The Harmony and Equality Circle has survived the vicissitudes of time and remains today as Nagaoka High School's student circle.

The name "harmony and equality" that Enryō gave the group derives from the Analects of Confucius. Originally, the quote meant "harmonious yet not equal" (i.e. those who are virtuous create harmony but do not blindly conform). However, Enryō read it as meaning "both harmonious and equal" (in the sense that he wanted everyone to get on well and be on the same level). We can see the general mood of the early Meiji period reflected here. Though they were all students studying alike at the school, there was discrimination between the gentry and commoners, as well as between Nagaoka city children and those from the countryside. Because the sons of the gentry had a strong sense of social status and tended to exclude others, Enryō named the group with the intention of reducing discrimination and encouraging bonds of friendship.

Later, Enryō would found a private school based in the belief that all people are equal with an educational principle of kindness and warmth as its foundation. We can see that the germ of this philosophy was likely created during this period.

His time at the Western studies school lasted three years, from May of his sixteenth year to June of his nineteenth year. Items related to this sentimental period of Enryō's youth are currently displayed in the Harmony and Equality Circle Hall, which today is the home of the Nagaoka High School Alumni Association. Among these items are two photographs: one showing Enryō on his own and the other with his fellow members. The fact that they went to the trouble of having these photos taken at a studio makes them especially valuable. Even though there were many twists and turns in the early days of

the Western studies school, we can see that life there was full of freedom and energy. At the end of his collection of Chinese poetry from the time, Enryō composed the following.

> If one looks out at today's modern world, one sees it on a continual road to advancement. Steamboats roll and wheels turn. The people of the world go to and fro, as close as brothers, and distant lands feel as close as next door. Those who were strangers are now just like hometown friends.

When we read this poem we can feel the strength of Enryō's imagination. It is a given in the context of today's globalization, but his perception of "the world as one" as long as 150 years ago at the beginning of the Meiji period shows how he gained a new perspective on the world at the Western studies school. This perspective was the jumping-off point for Enryō in challenging himself to travel around the world. During his time in Nagaoka Enryō was an ordinary young man being raised by parents passionate about education and curious about the early modernization of Japan. However, a time of great change was on its way.

II. The University of Tokyo Era

Rush to the Capital!

In June of 1877 Higashi Honganji in Kyoto ordered Enryō to "rush to the capital." The classical expression "go to the capital" usually referred to Kyoto, but in this case it was an order to come to the head temple. This meant he would have to quit school in Nagaoka and do as he was told. In the background, however, we have the sequence of events related to the nationwide issues of the Meiji period.

There is a saying, "Does history make the man, or does the man make history?" This order would lift Enryō onto the stage of history, but let's briefly go back in time and explore the issues Japan faced.

In January 1868 the new government declared a "restoration of imperial governance"—that is to say, a system under which the emperor would be the ruler. This was followed by the institution of the Department of Divinities and the Grand Council of State, establishing a system of unity between church and state. The Department of Divinities oversaw the religious ceremonies for the imperial court, and the Grand Council of State was responsible for governing the country. Japanese terms related to government that also contain the character for "bureaucracy (官)," such as "bureaucrat" and "official gazette" are said to have derived from these terms naming early-modern government bodies.

The Department of Divinities was staffed by people connected with the National Learning classical Japanese studies movement and shrine-based Shinto. In the Edo period, Buddhist temples oversaw citizens' family registers under the parishioner registration system

and they enjoyed a status akin to state religion. However, the new government aimed for a major shift to Shinto-centered religious policy. Underlying this change was the major issue of establishing imperial authority on a nationwide scale.

During the Edo period the emperor was referred to as "a person above the clouds" and many people were completely unaware of the word "emperor" or even of his existence. This issue, which was essential to the basis of the new government, was overseen by the Department of Divinities, but it was so completely incompetent that the prominent government figure SAIGŌ Takamori was referred to as "the lunchtime nap bureaucrat." This meant that the Department of Divinities was soon abolished and briefly replaced by the Ministry of Divinities, which was then restructured to become the bureaucrat-led Ministry of Religious Education.

On the one hand, shrines were progressively incorporated into the State Shinto system, and in the end the emperor was positioned as a god. State Shinto provided a structure for buttressing this state of affairs. On the other hand, the status of Buddhism, which had essentially acted as a state religion in the Edo period, was eroding away at every step. In the Middle Ages, Japanese religion was an admixture of local deity-worshipping practices (today collectively referred to as Shinto) and Buddhism. Buddhist names and statues were commonly found inside shrines, so the new government promulgated an order requiring the separation of deity-worshipping practices (i.e. Shinto) and Buddhism. The government stripped Buddhist elements from shrines and carried out initiatives such as forcing monks to return to secular life. However, this order was very broadly interpreted and

gave birth to the "abolish Buddhism and destroy Shākyamuni" movement, which focused on expelling the teachings of the Buddha from Japan. The Buddhists fought back, sparking a religious revolt.

According to one scholar, the government's policy toward the Buddhist community consisted of, "aggressive measures taken during the fifth and sixth years of the Meiji era (1872–1873) geared toward removing the glow of Buddhism's authority in the eyes of the masses." The Buddhist world's influence on society was on a one-way path to decay.

Against this background of historical change the Ministry of Religious Education launched the movement for the "Propagation of the Great Teaching" (i.e. the establishment of Shinto) in order to tie the emperor to the people. In 1872 the Ministry of Religious Education appointed fourteen levels of instructors, with prefectural governors at the top and masters of poetry at the bottom. Priests of Shinto shrines became the core of this system and Buddhist monks and priests throughout the country were reclassified as a kind of unpaid public servant. The preexisting organizational structure of shrines and temples all around the country was utilized to establish institutes of Great Teaching, Intermediate Teaching, and Elementary Teaching.

Under this movement, the public were gathered at shrines and temples and told, "You must revere the Emperor and obey the will of the imperial court"—simply put, the people were taught to accept the emperor as sovereign ruler and to abide by the policies of the government. The institutes were not allowed to touch on any other topics, and in terms we might use today, they were merely agents of

propaganda. Through this the people learned of the existence of the emperor, resulting in success for the movement.

Shinto had been given a new organizational structure by the state and because of this it did not experience any problems. In the case of Buddhism, however, it was in the bizarre position of having representatives of its different schools forced into participating in Shinto ceremonies at the Great Learning Institutes (for the True School, this meant the participation of their chief abbot). What's more, they were prohibited from engaging in any missionary activities at temples. In the True School, there is a practice known as *o-kō*, "honorable lectures," which is a fundamental religious activity of delivering sermons to crowds of devotees once a month. However, because of the new rules, they were prohibited from sharing True School teachings and were only allowed to propagandize for the emperor and the government. This was an enormous problem for Buddhism. There was practically no reason for its existence anymore.

Finally, a movement was begun to separate from the Great Learning Institutes by the "Ten Schools of True School Buddhism," led by the Higashi (east) and Nishi (west) Honganji temples. Ultimately they succeeded in withdrawing from the Institutes three years later. In 1875 Higashi Honganji began to move forward based on a teaching and missionary system suited to the new era. As a part of this, the temple established advanced, middle, and elementary schools throughout the country and began to provide education for monks. They decided to select outstanding youths from among the ten thousand temples and one million priests in the country and give them special education before making them instructors. A teachers college

and a special education school were established at the head temple with a capacity of several dozen monks.

The author SHIBA Ryōtarō commented on this, saying, "The Meiji era was a unique period in Japan's history." Traditionally, those who were stationed at the head temple had to conform to a hierarchical order based on the status of their home temple. These new schools, however, were not bound by old customs and they even invited monks from the most minor sub-temples. Due to these twists and turns of history, Enryō was selected as one of the five monks who would be required to specialize in English language.

Studying English Education at Teachers College in Kyoto

It must have been a great honor for his family and the parishioners at Jikōji to have Enryō selected for the school at the "Great Head Temple." How joyful they must have been. Enryō, who had been working at the Nagaoka School, resigned on June thirtieth and returned home. A week later, on July eighth, he left his home of Ura, shared a "farewell cup" with his family and parishioners at the border of the village, and headed for Kyoto. In his travel diary Enryō described the route that people took to Kyoto in those days.

He traveled from the inland village of Ura to Kashiwazaki on the Sea of Japan, then by sea to Takada in Jōetsu, and then southward inland to arrive at the temple Zenkōji in Nagano. From Zenkōji, he traveled along the Nakasendō path, starting at Kiso and passing through Nojiri, Nakatsugawa, and Ōgaki in Gifu to reach Sekigahara. From Maibara, he crossed Lake Biwa to Ōtsu. After leaving Ōtsu he

arrived in Kyoto on July twentieth, making it a thirteen day solo journey. Taking lodgings near Kyoto Station, Enryō wrote of his first impressions.

> The sound of people and goods being transported was deafening, and the bustle of people coming and going was dizzying. It really is the most city-like of cities. I took an evening stroll through the streets, and their warp and woof was straight like a whetstone or an arrow. Observing the customs of the people, I found their words and manners refined and beautiful. Their behavior was graceful and elegant. I realized that this truly was the cultural inheritance of an imperial capital—a capital that lasted for hundreds of years.

As we can see, Enryō experienced culture shock when first arriving in Kyoto. After having settled in to some degree, he wrote the following poem.

> Already thirty days have passed since I traveled to stay in the old capital, and the tears of sorrow are flowing so fast they soon wet my handkerchief. The beautiful scenery is so pleasing to the eye that it brings on melancholy, and the magnificent sight of the city streets hurts my heart. The inn's rooms are all filled with travelers from the provinces, and there is not one from my home. I am alone all day, with no one coming to comfort me. I sit in the shade of the bamboo, with only my books as friends.

Here we can see that Enryō was feeling homesick.

There is a letter dated July twenty-seventh that Enryō sent from Kyoto addressed to twenty-eight school friends in Nagaoka. It is long and written in slender characters, with the last section sharing the same content as the above poem. The letter ended in an appeal to his friends for a response, saying, "I look forward to communicating by mail with you wise people so far away."

In his poetry from his time in Kyoto, we don't see any examples similar to those from his time in Nagaoka when he was aspiring to become the "cornerstone" of a burgeoning modernity. An empty hollow had developed in Enryō's heart.

Classes at the teachers college began in September and consisted of the three subjects of True School doctrinal principles, Western studies, and mathematics. Western studies was a course that Enryō had already taken in Nagaoka. Judging from his poems from that time it appears that despite the unease he felt about life at the head temple he passed his days without incident. He writes as follows.

> As I sit alone in my study in the evening, the bells and drums sound out and the night is already growing dark. Winter is deepening, the wind is strong, the moonlight is crisp, and the barking of the dogs echoes out coldly. The years of my journey are now drawing to a close, and even though I am pining for the countryside, my dream has not yet been fulfilled. Shall I raise up the lamp wick [to brighten it] and try reading some letters?

The holdings of the head temple also included related offices (where devotees from all over Japan stayed), ceremonial goods stores, and shops—making it very large. One monk was heard saying, "If you

are always here, you end up feeling like it is the center of the world." Perhaps Enryō also felt that way. This environment may be why we see so many poems mentioning letters from his hometown. It seems only natural that Enryō would feel uncomfortable. Compared with the freedom he experienced in his school life in Nagaoka, the head temple is the sacred ground of the True School. There, the dominant atmosphere is that of the unique character of the Ōtani-ha as a religious group. It seems his inner feelings are expressed in a letter to friends in Nagaoka when he says, "I was loath to leave my friends but I obeyed the order to come to this mountain." It may be that this experience at the head temple became the basis for Enryō's perspective in his theories later on reforming Buddhism.

Little more than half a year later another major turning point came for Enryō. Higashi Honganji, who saw Enryō as a gifted student, ordered him to go and study in Tokyo, where the University of Tokyo had just been established the year previous in 1877. It was designed to import various types of Western learning and was a first for Japan.

On March twenty-second, 1878, Higashi Honganji announced the order for Enryō to go and study in Tokyo. After a farewell party with his friends Enryō left the "Western capital" that is Kyoto on April second. This poem describes that time.

> In the gloom of the spring showers that fell through the morning mist, green were the willows wet from the rain on the traveler's path. After six months of seclusion from the world near the banks of the river Kamo, I am now prepared for study and I am bound for the banks of the river Sumida.

Here, "Kamo" is a reference to Kyoto and "Sumida" refers to Tokyo. Enryō perceived his experience at the head temple's school as a unique world secluded from regular society. However, at the order of the head temple, he was granted a scholarship to study at a university in Tokyo, and a new challenge began for him. He was twenty years old at the time.

Entering University of Tokyo Preparatory School

The railroad between Kyoto and Kōbe had just been completed the year Enryō came to Kyoto. The distance from Higashi Honganji to Kyoto Station is so short that today they are connected by subway. Early in the morning of April second, Enryō rode for the first time on a steam locomotive (which he referred to as an "iron car"), a symbol of modernization. He arrived in Kōbe that afternoon but had to wait there a few days. Then he also rode for the first time on a steamboat. Due to the wind and rain, it took two days to arrive in Yokohama. On April eighth he boarded a train in Yokohama bound for Tokyo. He wrote about that day as follows.

> The weather today is fine, looking out of the natural glass windows of the iron car, yellows and whites mix together in the peach groves and vegetable gardens, the mountains near and far float in springtime haze—the light rays of this blue-sky spring cannot be put into words.

The way Enryō expresses himself here shows his feeling of anticipation for an unknown world. Soon after arriving in Tokyo, he had the opportunity to meet KATŌ Hiroyuki, who was one of Japan's leading

scholars. Katō was the first premier of the University of Tokyo and also brought together the group called the "Meiji Six Society." An expert in German studies, Katō was a leader in Japan's modernization and enlightenment thought.

On the day of his arrival in Tokyo, Enryō stayed at the True School Ōtani branch (Higashi Honganji) temple Nensokuji, located near the present-day Hakusan campus of Toyo University. The temple belonged to a friend he met during his time at teachers college in Kyoto. The Katō family had entrusted Nensokuji with overseeing their funeral and memorial services. The temple abbot took Enryō with him to visit the family's private residence in Kojimachi. There he introduced Enryō as a visiting student from the head temple and requested that Katō guide him in his future endeavors. From then on Katō become a great lifelong benefactor to Enryō.

Katō's recommendation was that he enter the newly-established University of Tokyo. In order to do so, Enryō began studying for the entrance exams that would take place in September. The University of Tokyo consisted of a preparatory school and undergraduate programs. The prep school was equivalent to a senior high school today, but students couldn't enter an undergraduate program without first graduating from this school. Enryō comments on the situation in the school at that time as follows.

> In those days, the teachers at the prep school were all Westerners, with a couple of Japanese people mixed in. The examinations were all conducted in the Western style, so Western languages were spoken in the classrooms, the bulletins were posted in Western letters, and even the Japanese spoke in English.

The English that Enryō learned at the Western school in Nagaoka was known as the "distorted style" which was taught by non-native speakers. The word "night," for example, was read "ni-gu-fu-to." At this time a standardized national education system for English was yet to be established. Enryō commented as follows.

> By the way, when I was in Nagaoka the guys would read it as "dē ando nigufuto," which was a problem. Then, someone told us that we should pronounce the words in the standard style so I started straight away, but old habits are not easily corrected. I worked on it as hard as I could and eventually I was able to take the exam.

We see here how much work Enryō put into studying for exams.

Then came September. The three subjects were English, mathematics, and Japanese/Chinese. Enryō talked about the entrance exam as follows.

> The teacher was a Westerner who spoke Western languages fluently, and I didn't understand a word of it… The answers had to be written in English, but I had never written a full passage, so I was extremely worried. Fortunately I passed. At that time points were awarded based on an average score for all sections combined, and if you got sixty points, you were allowed to go up a class. The result was… I was very surprised… I got nineteen points in the English literature section and twenty-five points in the essay section, so I was only able to pass because I thankfully got a perfect score in mathematics.

Enryō was thus able to enter the prep school as a student in the first intake. He studied there for three years. The curriculum at the time had just been decided the year Enryō entered. The core subjects were English, mathematics, art, and Japanese/Chinese studies, with different additional subjects for each grade year. According to the course graduation certificates that remain from the school, minor subjects also commonly studied included: in the natural sciences, physics, chemistry, physiology, botany, and zoology; and, in the humanities, geography, history, and finance. Enryō's systematic study of the principles of the natural sciences would play a major role in his later studies of philosophy, Buddhism, psychology, and mystery studies.

A classmate, HŌJŌ Tokiyuki, commented as follows. (Hōjō became a mathematician and later took on roles such president of Gakushuin University.)

> During his time as a student Mr. Inoue was a brilliant mind in addition to being very studious. Naturally, during my time at the preparatory school I was in a different class from Mr. Enryō, who was always taking first place, standing out one rank above the others… In addition to his academic achievements, he was proactively engaged in many other activities as a student so… his creative insights, the wealth of knowledge he gained from reading, and his eloquence made him conspicuously unique among his peers.

According to the available materials when Enryō entered the school he had 124 classmates, but by the time he graduated as a fourth year student, there were forty-eight. There was fierce competition at the

prep school and at the end of each school year about twenty percent of the students failed the examinations. Only those that survived were allowed to pass through the narrow gateway to the undergraduate classes of the university (at that time there were four faculties: law, literature, science, and medicine).

When we look at Enryō's collection of poems, many of them talk about scenes from his travels, but it is difficult to get a picture of his prep school life. However, in one about parting with a friend, he writes, "I left my hometown and went from place to place before coming to Tokyo to study, simply hoping one day to make a name for myself." It is clear that he had something resting in his heart. However, the following poem shows there were people in his hometown that were critical of him.

> Unable to stay home and serve my father, I went to Tokyo to find new teachers and friends. The community could not understand the aspirations of a young man and politely warned me against moving so far to Tokyo.

This poem shows that there were people in Enryō's hometown who did not understand or approve of the idea of his going to Tokyo to study at the university. Enryō had turned twenty-one. In rural areas, in accordance with tradition, it was considered a virtue to take over the temple as early as possible and help one's father. This view remained until the end of the Second World War. We can easily see why Enryō would have lamented, "The community could not understand the aspirations of a young man." It must have been difficult to start learning subjects like Western physics from the beginning in a

time when they did not build up from elementary school like they do today. Moreover, the texts were in English so it took great effort to understand. When it came to people's attitude toward challengers like Enryō, lack of understanding and sympathy came with the territory. Regardless, receiving that unsympathetic warning against moving away must have been disappointing and disheartening.

Studying Philosophy in the Literature Department

The philosophy that was born in Greece was imported to Japan by NISHI Amane, a member of the gentry who studied at Leiden University in the Netherlands at the end of the Edo period. Nishi took the two parts of the Greek word, *philo* and *sophia*, "passionate pursuit" and "wisdom," and translated it as *tetsugaku*, "study of wisdom." *Tetsu* (哲) means "bright," "sagacious," and "wise," but it was not a character people were familiar with at the time.

In September 1881 philosophy had just become its own independent department at the university and Enryō was the only student to enter. He was twenty-three years old at the time.

In that era at the University of Tokyo, foreign teachers were hired to teach classes in English and other languages, and the students studied the latest Western ideas without Japanese translations. In this department, Enryō studied philosophy starting with logic and moving on to psychology, metaphysics, and ethics. The Western philosophy teachers included Ernest FENOLLOSA from Harvard University and TOYAMA Masakazu from the University of Michigan, who was given the nickname "Spencer's gatekeeper."

After studying logic in the first grade, Enryō began to study Western philosophy in earnest in the second year. From Fenollosa, Enryō took classes on sociology with Herbert SPENCER's *Principles of Sociology* and Lewis MORGAN's *Ancient Society* as reference works. In his classes on the history of early modern philosophy and Kantian philosophy, he used Albert SCHWEGLER's *History of Philosophy in Epitome* as a textbook. From the other lecturer, Toyama Masakazu, he took classes on psychology based on Alexander BAIN's *Elements of Mental and Moral Science*, William CARPENTER's *Principles of Mental Physiology*, and Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*.

In his third year Enryō took courses from Fenollosa on philosophy, from KANT to HEGEL, and on Hegel's logic via William WALLACE's English translation. In the fourth year, under Toyama Masakazu he studied the works of Charles DARWIN, Herbert Spencer, and John Stuart MILL. He received lectures from Fenollosa on ethics, politics, aesthetics, and religion based on the works of Hegel through to Spencer. We can assume that Fenollosa played a major role in nurturing what would become Enryō's great devotion to philosophy.

INOUE Tetsujirō, one of Enryō's teachers who had been in the first graduating class of the University of Tokyo, said of Fenollosa,

> When I was at university, it was Mr. Fenollosa who deepened my interest in philosophy and had a huge influence on my way of thinking… Mr. Fenollosa was twenty-six years old. Although he would have been considered a youth at the time, he lectured with great passion on the history of philosophy, from Descartes to Hegel. My experience studying under him is something I still hold dear today.

For his Japanese students, who hadn't heard of Western philosophy, Fenollosa gave concise summaries of various academic theories, making it easy for them to understand.

While taking lectures on Western thought, Enryō also studied the Eastern philosophies of Confucianism and Buddhism, in addition to studying other subjects such as English literature and sociology. In this way, Enryō transitioned from prep school to undergraduate studies. SAKATANI Yoshirō, a classmate, later talked about Enryō during his time as a student (Sakatani joined the Ministry of Finance, where he served as administrative vice-minister and then minister of finance, before serving as mayor of Tokyo).

> Dr. Enryō was in the philosophy department and I was in the department of political science and economics, but we lived in the same dormitory and Dr. Enryō and I were close. Dr. Enryō has been a man of extraordinary talent since his student days, and in all respects he stood out as superior.
>
> On the other hand, he was also an extremely perceptive person, and in the student athletic meets and speaking events at that time, which were the first of their kind in Japan, he applied himself with great finesse and left the people with their mouths agape. His speeches were very eloquent, and he was a consistently promising student. In addition, he always acted as the strategist in student group projects, taking care of various administrative matters and swiftly exercising his resourcefulness.
>
> While he was a brilliant and dynamic student, he was also an avid reader. Even in the noisy dormitory he would read alone in silence, and could always be seen in the library. Normally

> people who are quiet and interested in books have some unusual proclivities and are regarded as eccentric or strange, but Dr. Enryō was not like that at all. He was a very amicable and sociable person who was at the center of conversations at student discussion gatherings. I had many other close friends during my time at university, but it was Dr. Enryō who left the strongest impression.

As we can see, Enryō was a proactive person but also an avid reader—a person of rare concentration who could lose himself in quiet reading even in a noisy dormitory.

Enryō's notebooks from his university days are still preserved at Toyo University. The most conspicuous among them is a thick study notebook with the inscription, "Autumn, Meiji 16 [1883], Notebook, Third Year Humanities Student, Inoue Enryō." This notebook is a collection of extracts copied from Western literature, and from this we can learn about Enryō's interests at the time. According to German Inoue Enryō researcher Rainer SCHULZER, who analyzed this notebook, of the fifty-nine Western works quoted the majority were on Western philosophy, while the others covered a wide variety of subjects including biology and anthropology (evolutionary theory), geography, physics, lexography, chemistry, history, and literature.

During the Meiji 10s, 1877–1886, society was undergoing changes due to modernization and people's worldview was being shaken. They couldn't just go on holding all of their old ideas, but they weren't yet ready to believe that all of the new ideas were valid. When he found himself in that situation, as can be seen from his notebook,

Enryō went through a process of intellectually verifying things for himself through reading and contemplation.

Enryō came to understand the essence of Western philosophy, which had originated in Greece. For Enryō this was an investigation of the question "What is truth?" He arrived at the belief that philosophy is the standard for truth.

> I devoted all of my energy to the study of philosophy, and spent long years trying to discover the bright moon of truth in it. Then one day, I had a great realization. I realized that the truth I had been longing for and suffering over for more than a decade did not exist in Confucianism, Buddhism, or Christianity. The truth was only in the philosophy that is taught in the West. My joy at that moment was immeasurable. It was like when Columbus discovered land in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. It was as if the decade-long cloud of confusion opened up for the first time. I felt as though my brain had been refreshed and the inside of my head had been washed clean.

Enryō was the sort of person who would not accept anything unless he was personally convinced. Therefore, even though he learned about Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity as a young man, he did not hold any of them to be true. He learned that the truth was to be found only in Western philosophy. Long were the days he spent worried and suffering as if there were a cloud inside him, but one day, suddenly, it cleared and his doubts were dispersed.

Having discovered truth within philosophy, Enryō says that after reviewing the old religions from that perspective he found that only

Buddhist theory was consistent with the principles of modern philosophy. He further examined the Buddhist scriptures and concluded that Buddhism is the philosophy of the East, saying, "Why didn't I know that the truth obtained through thousands of years of study in Europe already existed in ancient times in the East three thousand years ago?" He had rediscovered Buddhism as a modern philosophy. He explained that this was in 1885 when he was in his fourth year at university. Thus, Enryō became convinced that "philosophy exists in both the East and the West." It is said that philosophy means "having the desire to learn." Enryō had challenged himself to achieve this goal and he never let go of philosophy throughout his life.

Consequently, in 1884 he founded Japan's first "Philosophical Society" while still a student along with forerunning leaders in philosopher such as NISHI Amane, KATŌ Hiroyuki, and INOUE Tetsujirō. The society, which also included senior students such as MIYAKE Setsurei and TANAHASHI Ichirō, still exists today as the University of Tokyo Society of Philosophy.

Reflecting on his own student days Enryō said, "In my whole life, nothing ever compared to the joy I felt during my time as a student. I cannot even begin to express in words that blessedness and joy."

The collection of Chinese-style writings from his school days was titled *Bent Caterpillar Poems*. According to a specialist, the characters for bent caterpillar (屈蠖), refer to an inchworm/looper caterpillar bending up its body. Caterpillars bend their bodies in preparation for extending forward. Persevering in the meantime before fulfilling one's aspirations means patiently looking forward to a day in the fu-

ture. Enryō's use of this name suggests he was attempting to encapsulate in poetry the spirit of a forceful and energetic will to action.

On the other hand, Enryō also wrote a series of poems showing his love for his father and mother back home.

> To take a solitary journey, I departed home for the first time. How many days must my parents have spent worrying about me on my trip? Letters from home are inscribed with the words of warning, "Remain steadfastly diligent and frugal."
>
> Despite having studied for several years, I am still yet to take up an official position, but I still have my elderly parents back home to worry about me.

Here Enryō expresses how he had his parents thinking of him, but on the other hand, he also expresses his own aspiration to be a leader in moving forward with the times.

> Ten years of studying these stuffy old books have gone past. Ten years wasted studying the sages of ancient times. Now I see there is no benefit to studying dead things of the past. It is time to try and see the living history of the changing world.

In this poem Enryō shows that he is moving away from the textual analysis of sages and wise people of the past and starting to mold himself into a challenger who is useful in a time of modernization. Convinced that philosophy was the right tool, Enryō would later publish *Epitome of Philosophy*, the first history of Western philosophy to be written by a Japanese person, and *An Evening of Philosophical*

Conversation, the first Japanese philosophical treatise. These books were widely read at the time and are still held in high regard today.

At a Crossroads after Graduation

In September 1884 Enryō became a fourth-year student at the university. He was twenty-six years old. He had to think about his future after graduation. One day his beloved previous teacher ISHIGURO Tadanori, who had become a senior officer of the army medical service, told him the following.

> You have good grades so I talked to Minister of Education Mori Arinori. I recommended to him that the Ministry make a special selection to employ you and he assented. What say you?

Enryō replied,

> I am very grateful that you would think of me, but since I have been studying at the university as a sponsored student of Honganji I am not able to take a government position. It has been my daily vow that in the future I will pour all of my energy into doing my best for the people of the world through religion and educational activities…

Thus, Enryō turned down Ishiguro's offer of a job at the Ministry of Education. At the time the final choice for elite students like him was to become a professor or a minister. Enryō declined because entering the Ministry would mean studying abroad and eventually be-

coming a university professor. He wanted to respect his debt to Higashi Honganji, but at the same time he expressed his hope to engage in educational projects in the future.

There was another reason why he had refused Ishiguro's kind offer of mediation. Immediately after becoming a fourth year student Enryō had actually submitted a proposal to Higashi Honganji concerning the establishment of a new school.

> We have entered an era in which Japan has ended its isolation and opened up the country, establishing systems not only for internal affairs but also for those external. In like manner, our religious organization has worked to enhance our own character internally, which equates to internal affairs, and conducted research into the various fields of Western learning and Christianity, which equates to external affairs. In order to further research and educate others on these external affairs, we must establish a center for Buddhist studies and a center for philosophy.

Enryō, who had studied various types of Western learning for seven years at the University of Tokyo, had a deep sense of crisis. The main action points of that are as follows.

First, to research the different Western philosophical subjects in order to harmonize them with Buddhist teachings; second, to study physical and biological sciences in order to harmonize the controversies between Buddhism and science; and, third, to investigate the nature of politics and morality and survey social conditions in order to develop practical ideas for spreading the Buddhist teachings.

> The school would be established in the seat of the emperor [i.e. the capital city], it would bring together those monks that have been seeking to educate themselves internally and externally, it would become the center of clerical learning by deeply studying the truths of the Buddhist religion, and it would set the standard for the Buddhist world in Japan.

For Enryō, the scholarship and knowledge that developed in the West were things he could not ignore. He saw the common challenge of the second generation of Meiji youth as integrating these developments with historical Japanese knowledge and culture.

At the time there were six Higashi Honganji students studying in Tokyo, including Enryō as the leader of the group. And, here we see Enryō appealing to Higashi Honganji for the establishment of a school that would respond to a new age. Rather than returning to the head temple, Enryō, who was in his twenties, was campaigning for the establishment of a school in Tokyo and expressing a sense of urgency. It is quite possible that those inside the organization saw this request as ignoring tradition and structure, which surely would have been surprising for them.

In October 1885 a ceremony for conferment of degrees was held at the University of Tokyo. Enryō acted as the chief representative of the forty-eight graduating students and addressed the following speech of thanks to university superintendent KATŌ Hiroyuki.

> In the future if we become public servants we will do our utmost for the nation and the people, and if we work in the private sector we will cooperate thoroughly with national policy

and strive for success in our individual fields. We will work our hardest to develop culture and civilization in our society and devote ourselves to serving the nation.

I believe that it is only when we demonstrate our abilities in our respective fields that we who have graduated from university and earned the title of bachelor fulfill our *noblesse oblige*. I also believe this is how we attempt to repay the kindness of those [parents and teachers] who have supported us through to graduation.

Higashi Honganji, who had dispatched Enryō to study in Tokyo, had not decided on a policy for responding to him and the prestigious role he had played. Attending the degree conferral ceremony was one NANJŌ Bunyu. Nanjō had been sent abroad by Higashi Honganji to study with Max MULLER, a scholar of religion at Oxford University in England. He had returned to Japan with a master's degree after compiling the *Nanjo Catalogue* of Buddhist scriptures. He had become a guarantor for Enryō during his time at university.

Nanjō attended the ceremony wearing a deep crimson graduation robe, which is said to have attracted a great deal of attention. Once the ceremony was over he took it upon himself to go straight to the leaders of Honganji and offer his advice.

Inoue has now graduated. He is the first from any school of Buddhism to graduate from university. Higashi Honganji must quickly plot out some advanced path for him. If not he will run off elsewhere.

Eventually Higashi Honganji simply issued an order for him to continue to work on studying Indian philosophy. This time Enryō became a government sponsored scholarship student and was chosen as one of five research students at the University of Tokyo. Eventually he would become one of seven graduate students when the school transitioned to become the Imperial University. However, it is said that Enryō's negotiations with Higashi Honganji concerning the establishment of a school were repeated three or four times after that.

"How Much Can I Achieve in One Life?"

Enryō, a young man who grew up in Nagaoka, gained a wealth of experienced in the University of Tokyo's prep school and undergraduate program. He was now able to think about Japan's problems as his own. It is said that knowledge is power, and it is through the power of education that people change and develop.

Almost twenty years had passed since the beginning of the Meiji era and Japan was facing major problems. Fukuzawa Yukichi said, "The world of tangible things, such as steamships and telegraphs, has advanced, but the world of intangible things—that of the heart—has not advanced at all." Enryō was thinking the same thing. His idea was to spread philosophy in society and, through the power of education, modernize the way Japanese people saw the world.

We know that Enryō, who had firmly refused the idea of entering the Ministry of Education offered by Ishiguro, was thinking of going on to establish a private school. His proposal to Higashi Honganji was still under negotiation. After graduating from university Enryō

was thinking, "I want to see how much I can accomplish in one lifetime without receiving a salary from outside." After Enryō's passing these are the words that were immediately recalled by MAEDA Eun (the second president of Toyo University). It was something that Enryō always used to say. This is probably a conclusion he arrived at as a philosophy for life after rejecting the offer of government work and thinking about what he should do in the future. Implementing this philosophy became Enryō's life work.

As a government-sponsored research student at the University of Tokyo, Enryō was able to act freely despite still being affiliated with the Higashi Honganji department of doctrinal studies. The first project he undertook was writing and publishing. Enryō had first started writing essays when he was in university. He was publishing essays in Honganji-affiliated newspapers and academic journals that had only recently begun publication. Around the time of his graduation from university, however, he began to devote himself to writing in earnest. He wanted to convey his new ideas about philosophy and religion to a wider public. The following is a summary of his writings.

Over a two year period he published a series of 120 essays comparing Christianity and Buddhism in the religious journal *Meikyō shinshi* (which were later compiled into the three-volume work *The Golden Compass of Truth*). In addition, in the magazine *Reichikai zasshi* he published a series of essays representing the first Japanese-written history of Western philosophy titled "Epitome of Philosophy" in fifteen instalments over a period of one year and four months. (Later these were compiled as the first part of the book *Epitome of Philosophy*, with the latter part being the first Western-style philosophical treatise

written by a Japanese person). These works received high praise not only from the Buddhist community but also from the general public, and Enryō came to be known as an up-and-coming commentator on intellectual matters.

Against the backdrop of this social recognition, Enryō went on to publish a number of monographs one after the other. His major works in his early years include *An Evening of Philosophical Conversation*, *Correspondence Course: Psychology*, *Fundamentals of Psychology*, *A Survey of Ethics*, and *Notes on the Philosophy Path*. All of these represented theories that were completely new to Japan at the time. It is because of these works that Enryō is referred to as an "enlightenment thinker of modern Japan." Miyake Setsurei, two years his senior in the philosophy department, commented as follows.

> The graduating Mr. Inoue worked twice as hard as others—no, several times more… During his time at school he loaded plenty of gunpowder [knowledge], and after graduating he fired off bullets [writings], so… after a few years he was in a position where no one could hold him back.

He went on thus publishing many important works. Philosopher KOSAKA Kunitsugu, who analyzed several of them comments as follows on the characteristics of Enryō's writing.

> The whistling arrow that signaled the start of metaphysics in the Meiji period was Inoue Enryō's *An Evening of Philosophical Conversation* (1886–1887). NISHIDA Kitarō reminisced about being deeply impressed after reading this book as a young man. It should be considered the prototype of Japanese idealism."

(Nishida later established the "Kyoto School of philosophy" and is still regarded as one of the world's greatest philosophers).

As mentioned above, Enryō's *An Evening of Philosophical Conversation* was the beginning of pure philosophy—that is, metaphysics—in the Meiji period. It is also an important work in the sense that it set the direction for Japanese idealism in the following years. In this work, Enryō employs his literary talent to take profound ideas based in Buddhist thought and work them into a highly entertaining piece of reading material. It was a widely read book at the time, and it made a significant contribution to the popularization of philosophy.

Taking up a later work by Enryō, he wrote,

> *New Proposal in Philosophy* should be seen as Enryō's master work, a systematic exposition of his own metaphysics. Enryō was a systematic thinker by nature, but it is surely in this work that his character is best expressed.

Enryō succeeded in the challenge of his first significant project and became an overnight celebrity. Around this time, on November first 1886 he married Kei, the daughter of YOSHIDA Junichirō, a former doctor of the Kanazawa fiefdom. Kei was a graduate of Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School for teacher training (now Ochanomizu University). Before marriage she had been a teacher at a private middle school. In January 1887 Enryō also established a publishing company called "Philosophical Publishing House" in order to popularize and promote books on philosophy.

Best Seller

Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism

In February 1887 Enryō published *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism*. As its title implies this book aimed at revitalizing Buddhism. At the beginning of the Meiji era, Buddhism had been a de facto national religion but due to the Meiji Restoration its position changed drastically. The policy of the new Meiji government was to build a nation centered on the emperor. Shinto, which was also related to the emperor, was to be the main religion. Thus, the world moved in the direction of excluding Buddhism and pushing Shinto to the center.

When the Meiji Restoration took place Enryō was ten years old. In today's school system he would be in the upper grade of elementary school. In the midst of the movement to abolish Buddhism that was sweeping through society at that time, Enryō, who came from a temple background, must have been forced to consider the fate of Buddhism. At one point he gave up on Buddhism, but after studying Western philosophy at the University of Tokyo and discovering what he understood as the truth, which has permeated East and West since ancient times, he took a second look at Buddhism. There he discovered that the truths he found in Western philosophy were also actually also there inside Buddhism. It was his *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* that inspired the Buddhist world at a time when it was suffering from stagnation.

The book consists of three parts. In the first part, "The State and Truth," he explains that as a scholar, the two ideas of protecting and developing the state and loving truth are compatible. It is Enryō's philosophical stance that "protecting nation and loving truth" is one

inseparable unit, and this is characteristic of his way of seeing the world. In the second part, "The State and Buddhism," Enryō raises the question of whether Christianity or Buddhism is the most appropriate religion for Japan, concluding that it is the latter. He argues that because Japan is the only country where Buddhism is still flourishing it should export it to the world. Furthermore, he states that Christianity is not compatible with Japanese culture. In the third part, "Buddhism and Truth," he outlines the philosophical and religious parts of Buddhism and explains that the philosophical part is consistent with the truths expounded by Western philosophy.

Thus, the central themes of *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* are nation, Buddhism, and truth—and the book argues that these are organically connected. The book argues that Buddhism is not only a teaching that benefits the nation of Japan but is also an excellent teaching in its own right that is consistent with the truths of Western philosophy. In the foreword Enryō is scathing in his criticism of the Buddhist world of his day.

> Today, Buddhism is practiced by ignorant people and handed down by uneducated monks so there are many bad practices and on a superficial level the teachings are barbaric. For this reason, Buddhism is decaying day by day. This is something I greatly lament, and I want to protect this teaching for the sake of the truth, and at minimum remedy its harmful effects for the sake of the nation.
>
> However, it would be a waste of time to try and preserve and improve it in collaboration with the monks of today. The majority of them have neither the knowledge nor the willpower

> to do so. Consequently, even if we tried to work together, we would inevitably fail to achieve our aspirations. Therefore, if there are any scholars or wise men in society who love the truth, even provisionally, and have the will to protect the nation, I am determined to do my best to work with them. I hope that they will all seek the truth of Buddhism outside of monasticism.

As we have already seen Enryō was born and raised in a temple, and it was Higashi Honganji that allowed him to study at the University of Tokyo. It is surprising to think that someone of that background would say "Buddhism is practiced by ignorant people and handed down by uneducated monks," criticizing devotees and temple families as stupid and ignorant. Something like this was considered heretical, and even if someone felt this way in their heart, no one would ever say it out loud—let alone put it down in writing, denouncing the degenerate reality of Buddhism to the world. Enryō liked to challenge the status quo. He broke this taboo knowing he was risking expulsion.

Despite this, when the book was published it became a best seller. Young people from the Buddhist establishment with bigger aspirations read the book and began to study Buddhist teachings on their own, with some later becoming advanced scholars. There were even some other challengers who risked grave danger to cross the sea in order to seek out the sutras of Shakyamuni Buddha in Tibet. Buddhist scholar TOKIWA Daijō evaluated Enryō's book highly and said that it were as if a savior had come down to earth to rescue Buddhism. He explained how this book was read not only by those in the

Buddhist world but also by larger society, and he showed how it became the starting point for the modernization of Buddhism.

Suffering Intractable Illness

Enryō wrote as many as sixteen books over a period of three years from 1885 when he was a fourth year university student. If we count this in sheets of Japanese manuscript paper, it numbers well over two thousand. It is thought that he must have gone straight to his reading and writing upon awakening, going back to sleep once exhausted, constantly working on his research day and night.

There is a phrase "take the horizontal and make it vertical," which in a negative sense refers to people taking horizontally-written Western literature, translating it into vertically-written Japanese, and claiming it as their own original work (in contrast to formally translated works). Enryō actively studied Western literature but we can see that rather than simply repackaging those ideas he actually digested the content and integrated it into his own theories.

Thus, his early writings were successful in gaining social recognition, but at great personal cost. According to Enryō's notes.

> "December 24, 1885, admitted to university hospital in Hongō for hemorrhoids. Discharged January 14, 1886."
> "April 14, 1886, underwent [hemorrhoid] removal."
> "Around May 20 of same year, developed throat catarrh [an illness causing throat inflammation and coughing]."
> "Around February and March, 1887, vomited bloody phlegm three or four times.

> "Night of October 2 of same year, coughed up blood [often suspected as being pulmonary tuberculosis]."

As time went by his condition worsened. He was forced to recuperate at hot springs and other places, but he was able to continue writing. (He declined to enter graduate school because of illness).

Pulmonary tuberculosis was considered an incurable disease. However, in the above mentioned *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* he writes,

> I will never retreat even if I encounter difficulties in the future. However, although I have plans for a large project, I was stricken with this illness before I was able to produce any results. How can I maintain a calm state of mind in this situation?... I now understand that a complete recovery seems unlikely, but I have learned that when it comes to my single-mindedness in protecting the Dharma and loving my country my resolve only grows stronger.

The "plans for a large project" refers to his establishment of a school, and we can see that Enryō was putting his life on the line challenging himself to carry out this new venture. He was a man of unwavering conviction.

III. The Philosophy Academy Era (1)

The Beginnings of Higher Education

Enryō gave up on negotiating with Higashi Honganji and decided to establish the school on his own. Before discussing that, however, it might be helpful if we look at the state of higher education in Japan at the time.

Japan's modern education system began in the Meiji era. Before that in the Edo period the gentry would study at the fief schools, but many ordinary people also had an interest in education. Therefore, there were many places that provided opportunities for learning such as temple elementary schools, schools at teachers' houses, and private academies (mostly run by Confucianists). Japan's literacy rate was said to have been the highest in the world. However, these were things that developed naturally throughout the course of Japan's history and did not constitute compulsory education.

The Meiji government introduced a French-style education system based on the principle that "all citizens should receive education uniformly, without distinction between the gentry and commoners." This was the result of the School System act that was promulgated in 1872. It called for the establishment of one elementary school for every six hundred people (total: 53,760 schools), one middle school for every 130,000 people (total: 256 schools), and eight universities nationwide (later revised to seven). However, due to the weak financial base of the government, it was extremely difficult for them to execute the plan and it took several decades to realize.

As mentioned above, the first university in Japan was the University of Tokyo. Before actually arriving at its establishment, however, there were many twists and turns. The Meiji government took over the academic institutions run by the Edo or "Tokugawa" shogunate and established the Main, South, and East schools of the university. But, these were divided after a struggle for control concerning whether education should be based on Chinese classics or on native Japanese works. The Ministry of Education was established at the same time as the promulgation of the School System act, and five years later in 1877 the Tokyo Kaisei School for Western studies and the Tokyo Medical School were finally merged to form the University of Tokyo, with a preparatory department and four undergraduate departments.

Up until Japan's defeat in 1945 the government's educational policy was that mainstream education should be provided through state schools. During the period when Enryō was attempting to establish a private school, the law that served as the basis was the General Rules for Various Schools. According to a document titled "List of Tokyo Schools" dated 1889—while they were all technically "private schools"—schools for things such as sewing were treated in the same way as university preparatory schools. Thus, the list was not necessarily limited to higher education and included a collection of "miscellaneous" items. The modern private universities we have today all originated here. In those days, however, any kind of school could be established simply by submitting a notification. The government, with its state school-centered education policy, did not recognize private schools as institutions of higher education and did not incorporate them into the system.

Founding Year	Founding Name	Present Name
1858 (Ansei 5)	Dutch Studies Academy 蘭学塾	Keio University
1872 (Meiji 5)	Institute of Teaching the Tenets 宗教院	Rissho University
1874 (Meiji 7)	School for Establishing the Teachings (ESL School) 立教学校	Rikkyo University
1875 (Meiji 8)	Sōtō School Vocational College 曹洞宗専門学校	Komazawa University
	Society of Shared Aspirations English Studies School 同志社英学校	Doshisha University
1879 (Meiji 12)	Great Teachings School (True Pure Land School Honganji Branch) 大教校（浄土真宗本願寺派）	Ryukoku University
1880 (Meiji 13)	Specialized Training School 専修学校	Senshu University
	Tokyo Jurisprudence Society 東京法学社	Hosei University
1881 (Meiji 14)	Meiji Law School 明治法律学校	Meiji University
	Medical Society Training Site 成医会講習所	Jikei University School of Medicine
1882 (Meiji 15)	True School University Dormitory 真宗大学寮	Otani University
	Research Institute for the Japanese Classics 皇典講究所	Kokugakuin University
	Tokyo Vocational College 東京専門学校	Waseda University
1885 (Meiji 18)	British Jurisprudence School 英吉利法律学校	Chuo University
1886 (Meiji 19)	Shingon Higher School of Philology 真言宗古義大学林	Koyasan University
	Kansai Law School 関西法律学校	Kansai University
1887 (Meiji 20)	The Philosophy Academy 哲学館	Toyo University
1889 (Meiji 22)	Japan Law School 日本法律学校	Nihon University
	Kansai College 関西学院	Kwansei Gakuin University
1891 (Meiji 24)	Special Education School Department of Agriculture 育英黌農業科	Tokyo University of Agriculture
1900 (Meiji 33)	Taiwan Association School 台湾協会学校	Takushoku University
	Kyoto School of Law and Politics 京都法政学校	Ritsumeikan University
1904 (Meiji 37)	Japan Medical School 日本医学校	Nippon Medical School
1911 (Meiji 44)	Sophia College 上智学院	Sophia University
1926 (Taishō 15)	Tendai School University/Buzan University/ University of Religion 天台宗大学・豊山大学・宗教大学	Taisho University

Figure 1: Twenty-five Old-system Private Universities that Transitioned to the New System

Therefore, although individuals were free to establish private schools as they liked, they did not receive any assistance from the government, nor did they receive any preferential treatment like the Imperial University (which evolved out the University of Tokyo, in 1886). If we look at it from the other way, though, the fact they were not integrated into the system meant they were not restricted by the state. The founders were free to shape their schools based on their own educational principles. Consequently, from the early part of the Meiji era onward, many private schools emerged with unique founding principles.

Figure 1 above shows twenty-five private schools (listed in order of the year of founding) that were established under the old university system during the Meiji period and continued under the new system after the war. From this table we can see that schools were established one after the other in the Meiji 10s, 1877–1886, a time when modern education was first beginning in Japan. It is especially interesting to note that it was during this time that the "five great law schools" were established, being today's Senshu University, Hosei University, Meiji University, Waseda University, and Chuo University. These were unique in that they were established to complement the role of the Imperial University in training lawyers. Outside of a one-time special subsidy of five hundred yen to these five schools, the government did nothing to subsidize private schools. The intention of private schools was to provide higher education in a non-governmental context, but their role in society gradually began to increase despite the lack of official recognition.

Classification	Universities (Old System)		Vocational Colleges (Old System)	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Schools	No. of Students
State-Run	1	738	4	439
Public	—	—	5	1,107
Private	—	—	34	7,736
Total	1	738	43	9,282

Source: Ministry of Education, *Hundredth Anniversary of the School System Act* (Jp. Data Ed.), 1972.

Figure 2: Number of Schools and Students by Founding Type (1888)

Figure 2 shows numbers for higher learning institutions and students in 1888, the year after the Philosophy Academy was established. Imperial University was the only university, along with nine state-run vocational colleges. In comparison there were as many as thirty-four private schools. Private schools were home to more than seventy-seven percent of the students, clearly showing how large their share in higher education had become.

When we divide up these private schools according to education type, they are split between schools teaching practical disciplines and schools centered on the religions of Christianity, Buddhism, and Shinto. The former can be further divided into: (1) social sciences, such as law and economics; (2) humanities, focused on the studies of languages such as English; and, (3) natural sciences, such as medicine and physics. As we can see here, there were no schools specializing in the field of philosophy, which meant the Philosophy Academy was very unique.

Objectives of Founding the Philosophy Academy

After giving up on negotiations with Higashi Honganji Enryō decided to establish his own school. Education would be a lifelong project, but as mentioned above there was always his battle with illness.

Helping Enryō in the founding of the school were KATŌ Hiroyuki and TERADA Fukuju. Together with KATSU Kaishū, they would later be known as the "three benefactors of the Philosophy Academy." Katō has already been introduced above, but Terada was a priest of Higashi Honganji—a member of the same True School sect as Enryō—and had studied at Keio University where he earned the deep trust of FUKUZAWA Yukichi. On Fukuzawa's recommendation, Terada joined the temple Shinjōji and gave his full support to Enryō.

Coming up to two years after graduation from university, Enryō consulted with supporters such as the above and moved toward the implementation phase of establishing the Philosophy Academy. In June 1887 he published "The Objective of Founding the Philosophy Academy" in newspapers and magazines. Summarily it said,

> Civilization is advanced mainly through the development of intellect. Development of the intellect is facilitated by education, and in order to attain to a higher intellect one must make use of an appropriate branch of learning—which is philosophy. Philosophy is learning that delves into the fundamental truths of the universe and establishes its principles. It is the "central government" for all learning, from politics and law, to science and industrials arts. It is the learning that unifies all learning. However, the only school that specializes in philosophy is the

> Imperial University, and while it is true that many works in translation have been released, it is difficult to understand the true meaning of the original text through those alone.
>
> Therefore, in consultation with university graduates of various fields, we have decided to establish an institute dedicated to philosophy and call it the Philosophy Academy. The school will provide a fast-track course in philosophy for those who are starting their studies later in life and want to improve their skills, those who do not have the resources to go on to university-level study, and those who do not have the time to read and fully understand the original texts. In one-to-three years, we will teach logic, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, religion, pedagogy, metaphysics, and Oriental studies. If education at the Philosophy Academy is successful, it will benefit society and the nation, and will greatly assist in the modernization of Japan.

Here, Enryō strongly emphasizes the importance of philosophy in human life and goes on to explain that the Philosophy Academy was "in a sense a special type of school." He states that "philosophy is the learning that unifies all learning." This educational principle lives on today at Toyo University in the form of the words: "The basis of all learning lies in philosophy."

This was his primary objective. The second concerned those that lacked resources or leisure time. In other words, the educational principles of the Philosophy Academy included opening up opportunities for those who wanted to learn but were unable to do so due to economic or social concerns. This was fitting as the founding spirit for a private university.

In order to enlist support for the school this message on his objectives was sent to acquaintances and prominent people as well as being published in magazines. This worked to appeal to a wide swath of the public and share Enryō's intentions for founding the school.

As we have already seen above all that was needed to establish a private school at the time was to notify the prefectural governor. There was no support from the government, but everyone was free to create their own school based on their own principles. On July twenty-second of the same year, an application for the establishment of the privately-run Philosophy Academy was submitted to the governor of Tokyo. The purpose of establishment was given as "teaching the various fields of philosophy, devoted to intensive training." The name was given as "Philosophy Academy," its location was "Tatsuokachō 31, Hongō ward," and the two full-time teachers were listed as Enryō and TOKUNAGA (a.k.a. KIYOZAWA) Manshi.

After the announcement of the opening of the Academy the recruitment of students began. The monthly tuition fee was one yen, and the school entrance fee was one and a half yen, with those applying before September first receiving half off the entrance fee. The number of students was set at fifty, but according to a newspaper report on September seventh, the full number was met but was then extended to allow for an additional fifteen students. Despite this, there was no end to the number of applicants, so a second campus was set up to accommodate an additional eighty students. According to newspapers the school was soon full to capacity and no more applicants were accepted.

The Philosophy Academy Opening Ceremony

Initially the Philosophy Academy did not have its own independent schoolhouse and rented a space for its classes near the University of Tokyo at Rinshōin, a temple of the Rinzai school of Zen-Buddhism (Myōshinji branch), located in Tatsuokachō, Hongō ward (present-day Yushima, Bunkyō ward). The opening ceremony was held on September sixteenth 1887 in the precincts of the temple.

The ceremony began at around one in the afternoon. First of all, Enryō, as academy director, took his place in front of the assembled guests and students and spoke on the objectives of opening the academy. Then, Toyama Masakazu, dean of the Liberal Arts College of the Imperial University, gave a congratulatory speech entitled "The Popularization of Philosophy." Following, TANAHASHI Ichirō gave a speech entitled "The Essentials of Philosophy" and TATSUMI Kojirō presented one entitled "The Benefits of Philosophy for the World." Apparently, many of the guests were graduates of the Imperial University and scholar monks from the various Buddhist schools. The ceremony was reported on at the time in the newspapers *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* and *Yubin Hochi Shimbun*.

The speech given by Inoue Enryō at the opening ceremony elaborated on "The Objective of Founding the Philosophy Academy." He summarized the three target audiences of education at the Academy as follows. First, those who were unable to learn when they were young and seek swift results; second, those unable to enter a university due to a lack of funds; and, third, those unfamiliar with the original texts and cannot understand Western languages.

Although the Philosophy Academy would teach philosophy to these types of people, its purpose was not to educate philosophers but rather to teach people how to philosophize. Since philosophy is the foundation of all studies, people who want to achieve something in particular in society, such as lawyers and industrialists, should be familiar with the various branches of philosophy. And, if educators or scholars of religion study it, it will help them to better understand their specializations. The Philosophy Academy would teach in Japanese about the wide range of applications for philosophy and work to expedite learning. What Enryō had in mind was that the Philosophy Academy should be an accelerated version of the department of philosophy at the University of Tokyo where he himself had studied.

Furthermore, Enryō said that the Philosophy Academy also had an important role to play in academia. First of all, philosophy is useful in understanding the relationship between the various fields of Western learning. In addition, the study of philosophy can revitalize and make up for the shortcomings of Eastern learning, especially its philosophy, which is fanciful and speculative. For this purpose it would be necessary to study both Western and Eastern philosophies at the same time, and a school like the Philosophy Academy is needed for this. Enryō concluded his speech by stating that the newly-opened Philosophy Academy was a "temporary schoolhouse" and that he intended to build a new school building in the future and make the Academy independent.

We might wonder what kind of expectations were placed on the creation of the Academy. In his congratulatory address Toyama Masakazu said the following about the importance of philosophy.

> The only institute of higher learning is the Imperial University, but the course takes many years to complete and tuition is expensive. Today, despite demand from society, with many people desiring to study, there are not enough schools so we now need vocational colleges. In the first place, we will not be able to achieve the goal of bringing modernization to the country if we only have one or two intellectuals. Therefore, we need to significantly increase the knowledge level of everyday citizens.
>
> In order to achieve this goal many fast-track schools (vocational colleges) for law, medicine, politics, and economics were established, but there were no schools of philosophy. The Philosophy Academy is intended to make up for this shortcoming. Although some people in society do not attach much importance to philosophical thought, there is nothing that can be done without it, whether it be writing about history, theorizing about religion, discussing the refinement of art, studying human ethics, or even planning for making the nation prosperous.

SASAKI Nobutsuna, who is widely known even today as a *tanka* poet and a scholar of Japanese *waka* poetry, attended this ceremony as a student of the first intake at the Philosophy Academy. Sasaki's interest in philosophy was aroused by works such as Enryō's *An Evening of Philosophical Conversation*, and he decided to attend the school while also studying at the Imperial University's Department of Classics and at the People's English Studies Society. Sasaki wrote about his experience as follows.

> On the day of the opening of the school, I went to Rinshōin to see what it was like and found many people in the main hall. My first impression was that there were many people like me who aspired to study philosophy, which surprised and delighted me.

As mentioned above, in order to enter the Imperial University (University of Tokyo), one had to first study languages at the prep school. Therefore, it took as long as seven years to graduate, and what's more, there was only a small number of graduates. It would have been impossible to develop the human resources necessary for modernization and to spread learning and knowledge if done in this manner.

In contrast, private schools took a fast-track approach and conducted classes in Japanese. ONO Azusa, one of the founders of Tokyo Vocational College (Waseda University), made a speech at its opening ceremony in 1882, saying that the school would aim for swift results and teach in Japanese. That would lead to academic independence and eventually to university status. This was the common sentiment among the founders of private schools at the time, and it was a stance that Enryō also took.

The Young Teaching Staff

Thus, the Philosophy Academy was opened and it was the teaching staff who supported the realization of Enryō's ideals. The lecturers and trustees at the time of opening (Figure 3) included many of the same people who had helped in the lead up to founding, but they shared two notable characteristics.

The first was that twelve of the eighteen instructors were graduates of the University of Tokyo. The second was their young age: Enryō was twenty-nine years old and most of the teachers were in their twenties or thirties. The oldest was OKAMOTO Kansuke, from whom Enryō received lessons at prep school but even in his case he was still only forty-eight years old. MURAKAMI Senshō was working as a lecturer in Buddhist studies while at the same time studying Western philosophy as a student. The Meiji period is said to have been an age of early maturity, but the driving force behind the newly established Philosophy Academy was the fresh intelligence and overflowing enthusiasm of these instructors.

In the early days of the school, there were no entrance exams, and other than attendance being limited to males aged sixteen or older, there were no special restrictions. Consequently, there was a wide range of students, from seventeen year-old youths to middle-aged forty to fifty year-old men, some with children and grandchildren.

SAKAINO Satoru/Satoshi (a.k.a. Kōyō), who entered the Philosophy Academy at age nineteen and later became its fourth president, wrote about his impressions of that time.

> It was a modern school in name only, and was in the style of a temple school from the Tokugawa [Edo] period, in a room borrowed from the Yushima temple. There were no regulations on student clothing. Some came in Western clothes, there were [traditional-style] split *hakama* skirts, and there were even people in the gold brocade robes and prayer beads [of a priest]. Looking back now, it was like some sort of costume party.

Name	Age	Education	Lectures	Roles
INOUE Enryō 井上円了	29	University of Tokyo	Psychology, Philosophy Theory	Educator, Philosopher, Philosophy Academy Founder
OKAMOTO Kansuke 岡本監輔	48		Confucian Studies	Lecturer at University of Tokyo Prep School
MURAKAMI Senshō 村上専精	36	Takakura Seminary	Buddhist Theory	Buddhist Studies Historian, University of Tokyo Lecturer
KIYONO Tsutomu 清野勉	34		Logic Studies	Philosopher, Logic Studies Teacher (Since School Founding)
UCHIDA Shūhei 内田周平	33	University of Tokyo	Confucian Studies	Chinese Philosophy Specialist, Aesthetics/Confucian Studies Teacher
KŌDERA Shinsaku 国府寺新作	32	University of Tokyo	Pedagogy	Higher Normal School Teacher, Diplomat
MATSUMOTO Aijū 松本愛重	30	University of Tokyo	Japanese Classics	Doctor of Letters
MATSUMOTO Gentarō 松本源太郎	30	University of Tokyo	Psychology	Educator
KANŌ Jigorō 嘉納治五郎	27	University of Tokyo	Ethics	Educator, Kōdōkan Judo School Founder
ODA Tokunō 織田得能	27	Takakura Seminary	Buddhist History	Buddhist Studies Scholar, True School Otani Branch Priest
TATSUMI Kojirō 辰巳小次郎	27	University of Tokyo	Social Studies	University of Tokyo Prep School Licensed Teacher
MIYAKE Yūjirō 三宅雄二郎	27	University of Tokyo	Philosophy History	Philosopher, Critic
KIYOZAWA Manshi 清沢満之	24	University of Tokyo	Psychology, Philosophy History	Philosopher, Priest, Higashi Honganji Reformer, Trustee
TANAHASHI Ichirō 棚橋一郎	24	University of Tokyo	Ethics	Educator, Ikubunkan Middle School Founder
OKADA Ryōhei 岡田良平	23	University of Tokyo		Bureaucrat, Politician, Trustee, Fifth President of Toyo University
HIDAKA Masane 日高真実	22	University of Tokyo	Essay Editing	Educator, University of Tokyo Student
KAGA Hidekazu 加賀秀一	22	University of Tokyo		Educator, Peers School Teacher, Trustee
ISOE Jun 礒江潤	21	Redemption School	Introduction to English Studies	Educator, Executive Secretary and Lecturer, Capital Academy Founder
SAKAKURA Ginnosuke 坂倉銀之助	—	University of Tokyo	Logic Studies	Philosopher, Kagoshima Upper Middle School's Academy Teacher
YANAGI Yūshin 柳祐信	—		Introduction to English Studies	Higashi Honganji Scholarship Student, Trustee

Figure 3: Teachers and Trustees at the Time of Founding (By Age)

Again, the academic ability of the students differed greatly from person to person, with some having specialized knowledge and others being completely blank slates. Most of the students did not, of course, know English and most had never even heard of subjects like psychology or ethics.

In the beginning there were only these sorts of in-house students, but later the school began to offer what is referred to today as a correspondence course. In 1888 the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* began publication and in January a system was established for students outside of the physical school. No qualifications were required to become an external student. In order to make things more convenient for those in the countryside, the school transcribed its in-house class lectures by hand and published them in the form of the above records. In this way educational opportunities were opened up for "those without resources and those without leisure time," concretely realizing the educational principles of the Academy. Lecture records were published three times a month, allowing a great number of people to learn about philosophy and other subjects. Statistics for the following year show that there was a total of more than 1,800 external students, based as far away as Hokkaidō in the north and the Korean peninsula in the south.

One of the students, KAWAGUCHI Ekai, was a Buddhist scholar and explorer known for having gone into Nepal and Tibet, which were closed to foreigners, and bringing back original Buddhist scriptures. When the school was founded he was twenty-two years old and at first he did not have any academic qualifications so he read the lecture records as an external student based in Ōsaka. Eventually, he

decided to devote himself to a stricter study regime so he moved to the capital and became an in-house student. But, his life there was not at all easy. He wrote, "It costs two yen a month for a rice soup and pickle dormitory, the fees for school are 1.10 yen a month, and the remaining 0.90 yen goes to various costs." In order to earn this four yen, he worked hard at part-time jobs and battled fatigue while studying. The passion for studying philosophy was something that all of the students at the time shared.

In those days the academic year started in September and finished in July of the following year, the same as at Western universities, and a day's worth of classes were from one in the afternoon until five. It is interesting to think what classes must have been like in those rooms with their tatami mat floors.

They did not use translated works as textbooks and the instructors gave classes interpreting the original works in real time as they taught. This was a period when many new Japanese words were still being created through the translation process, which meant that translated books were difficult to read. In some cases they were actually more difficult than the originals. That is not to say this method was without its problems. At times the instructor struggled to come up with the appropriate Japanese phrasing, and this confused the students even more. One noted that, "If the class lasted for an hour, we needed thirty minutes for questions." In the end one of the students came to be known as "Dr. Question" because he would always press the instructors with tough, direct questions, and another was called "Dr. Explanation" because he would reverse the roles and eloquently explain things to the instructors.

Another student retold a story of an instructor attempting to teach philosophy by beginning with the difficult philosophy of Kant. When he was asked how to write the characters for the philosophy term "object (客観)" he answered in English "o-bu-je-ku-to." Confusing scenes like this almost sound like something from a comedy show.

The early classes were less than perfect, with confusion between instructors and students, but both were full of enthusiasm, making it a truly lively place. The attitude toward learning was serious, and from the perspective of academic freedom it was outstanding.

Funding the Establishment of the Philosophy Academy

Although he was able to secure enrollments, Enryō needed funds to open the school. In the end he would establish the Academy using what we refer to today as "crowdfunding." The endowment fund for the school started with more than 780 yen from 280 founding donors. Unfortunately records do not mention any donations via the newspapers and journals that announced the opening. Even if Enryō appealed directly to all of his acquaintances, 280 donors goes beyond the scope he could have achieved on his own.

As a matter of fact, KITADA Kenji, curator of the Inoue Enryo Memorial Museum, recently found a hint in a catalog on the Internet and took a chance on ordering in some 130 year-old materials. The materials that arrived were undamaged and in their original condition—a very surprising find today—and were in the form of a supplement that had been inserted into a B4-sized magazine.

It contained the following information in large print: "The Objective of Founding the Philosophy Academy," "Supporters," "Regulations of the Philosophy Academy," and "List of Departments." On the all-important issue of donors, in the margin it said,

> Those gentlemen who agree with the objectives of founding this Academy and donate money or resources will become co-founders, the honor of their name will last on along with the Academy, and in the future their relatives will be given a privileged welcome when coming to the school.

Those who spoke openly about money were considered ignoble at the time but by using today's crowdsourcing methods Enryō was able to widely draw in donations from supporters. Soliciting in this way required a great deal of courage and it was something he would not have been able to do without deep faith in his educational principles.

In terms of other examples, newspapers reported that NIIJIMA Jō, the founder of Doshisha University, was also engaged in fundraising activities in the hopes of establishing a university. In January 1890 Niijima died of illness at the age of forty-eight while walking around canvassing to raise funds. Depending on the newspaper, supporters and donated amounts were publicly listed and there were many donations from the worlds of politics and industry. For example, ŌKUMA Shigenobu, who would go on to become prime minister, donated one thousand yen, industrialist SHIBUSAWA Eiichi donated six thousand yen, and IWASAKI Yanosuke, the president of Mitsubishi, donated five thousand yen—with a total of 31,000 yen from eleven individuals. Enryō wrote,

> When I founded the Philosophy Academy, I had no capital and received no special assistance or protection from outside so all founding expenses were covered by donations from like-minded individuals. At that time, there were 280 people who agreed with the objectives of the Academy and donated some money. Thus, it is appropriate to say that the Academy had 280 co-founders.

This was Enryō's management philosophy. Not receiving "special assistance or protection from outside" meant not relying on religious organizations or influential people from the worlds of politics or business. At the time Enryō was still young at twenty-nine years old, but he was an elite graduate of the University of Tokyo and was already famous. He surely would have been able to collect large donations if he had asked influential government or community members. However, Enryō was the sort of man who believed in trying to achieve as much as possible in one lifetime, in line with his philosophy of accomplishing things through his own efforts.

In January 1887 Enryō established the "Philosophical Publishing House" for the purpose of spreading philosophy. And, in February he published works such as his best-selling *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism*. From June he advanced efforts to establish his school by publishing "The Objective of Founding the Philosophy Academy" and in September he held the opening ceremony. One can only imagine how busy he must have been. Thus the long-awaited school was established, but Enryō's physical condition was far from ideal. In the October following the opening he could frequently be found vomiting up blood. Nevertheless, he pushed forward.

When someone tried to comfort him during a bout of this hemoptysis, Enryō just calmly said, "It's only a little buildup that came out so there is no need to worry. If something that wasn't there came out, that would be something to worry about!" He then let out a big laugh. He never forgot his humor even in the face of adversity.

Enryō's Philosophy

It was his encounter with Western philosophy that set the direction for Enryō's life. Thus, in order to understand how he saw philosophy it will be helpful to first look at the ancient Greek philosophical worldview. This is divisible into the following four categories.

(1) *doxa*: assumptions, prejudices, popular conceptions, etc. What we commonly refer to as "opinions."

(2) *episteme*: to analyze (dissect) and understand. Scientific knowledge, simply put, "knowledge." The Latin word for this is *scientia*, or in English, "science."

(3) *sophia*: "wisdom," as opposed to "knowledge," refers to comprehensive knowledge. The Latin word is *sapientia*, which is the *sapiens* we see in "homo sapiens."

(4) *nous*: intuition. This refers to those ephemeral, mysterious things we cannot explain in words.

If we explain "Enryō philosophy" from the perspective of this ancient Greek worldview it is as follows. First, is to remove the prejudices and assumptions of the early Meiji period, i.e. the *doxa*, and know the actual truth. Then, is to thoroughly analyze this truth—to

completely "dissect" and think. Enryō learned this from the empirical scholarship of the West. This equates to science. Going further, by taking the results of those individual dissections (knowledge) and working out how they fit together, we can obtain an overall understanding of what Enryō called philosophy. This was *episteme* and *sophia*, or *scientia* and *sapientia*—that is, knowledge and wisdom, or science and philosophy. It was Enryō's goal to combine these pairs.

When we speak of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle we think of them as philosophers of ancient Greece, but Aristotle, who was active in the fourth century before the Common Era, is known for leaving behind a large amount of scholarship. His achievements cover a multitude of disciplines, including logic (which is the methodology of scholarship), natural science, cosmology, ethics, and political science. His scholarship encompassed the natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences. It was Andronicus who, thirty years into the Common Era, organized Aristotle's theory of learning.

When Andronicus organized Aristotle's writings he thought that there was something "after" a complete investigation into nature—all of the phenomena in the universe, society, and nature—something that transcends nature (i.e. a *meta*). He gave the name *prōtē philosophia* (the first philosophy) to Aristotle's work, but he called the sort of scholarship that explores the root of things *ta meta ta physika*, "that after the physics." This is the field of study that is known as metaphysics today. Metaphysics means that without form, i.e. reason. We know things through sensation, perception, experience, and analysis. Then we search for principles and causes. Thus, metaphysics is following the path from physical phenomena to underlying essence.

The phrase "the basis of all learning lies in philosophy" is still handed down as the spirit of education at Toyo University. The philosopher SHIBATA Takayuki commented on this phrase saying that it is based in the scholarly methodology of Aristotle and represents the natural course of philosophy. He continued as follows.

> To put the phrase "the basis of all learning lies in philosophy" in simple terms, "the basis of any study is the desire to know." If we do not act like know-it-alls and we humbly desire knowledge in any and all situations, searching for and perhaps finding truth, we free ourselves from all kinds of constraints. In a book from his early period of writing, *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism*, Enryō said, "What I love is the truth, and what I hate is untruths." He also said "Is there any person that studies and does not love truth?" Even his championing of the idea of "protecting nation and loving truth" is very much due to the idea that "truth makes us free." Therefore, he believed that desire for knowledge—that is to say, philosophy—was the most important thing for human beings. Philosophy is not the conclusion, it is the starting point.

Enryō selected out four great sages from among the philosophers of the world. From the East there was Shakyamuni Buddha and Confucius, and from the West there was Socrates and Kant. He honored them by collectively referring to them as the "Four Sages." Considering this international perspective, drawing from both East and West, we can say that Enryō possessed the sort of global worldview we see in today's society. Shibata also said,

> The desire for knowledge presupposes an awareness of "not knowing." Therefore, it is said that philosophy began in conjunction with a sense of wonder.
>
> In my opinion, what Inoue Enryō learned from Western philosophy is the spirit and methodology of clarifying this "wonder" through logic and reason. In his *Introduction to the Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Inoue Enryō sums up and defines the usefulness of philosophy, explaining that it can be used in the following five ways: (1) to refine thought, (2) to heighten one's sensibilities, (3) to enhance one's imagination, (4) to broaden one's aspirations, and (5) to stabilize one's spirit. On its face, this appears to be a common sense theory aimed at beginners, but his uniqueness lies in concretizing that theory while simultaneously devoting his life to actually realizing it.

Wonder leads to the question "Why?" Perhaps it was in major works such as *Lectures on Mystery Studies* that Enryō succeeded in realizing these strengths that were gained through philosophy.

A One-Year World Trip

During the Meiji era, the government and the private sector were both actively engaged in overseas observation tours to study the expertise and knowledge of advanced Western countries. A not insignificant number of private school founders also traveled and studied abroad. FUKUZAWA Yukichi of Keio University studied in the U.S. and Europe, NIIJIMA Jō of Doshisha University studied in the U.S., ONO Azusa of Waseda University studied in China and England, and

KISHIMOTO Tatsuo of Meiji University studied in France. But, in the case of Enryō, he embarked on a year-long large-scale world tour.

Eight months after founding the Philosophy Academy and succeeding in creating a nationwide educational system with a total of two thousand in-house and correspondence students, Enryō "suddenly" left for his world tour. While he was away he would entrust the Philosophy Academy to TANAHASHI Ichirō. On June ninth 1888 he boarded the British ship "Gaelic" in Yokohama. He was thirty years old at the time. In modern times it only takes about ten hours to travel from Japan to the United States but in those days you had to cross the Pacific Ocean by boat. There were days when he couldn't even eat because the ship was being rocked so badly by heavy waves. All in all, it took fourteen days to arrive in San Francisco.

Enryō then took the transcontinental railroad, which had just seen the anniversary of its twentieth year of operation, and crossed the American continent. His impression at the time was,

> The great strides in growth made by America are owed to the topography of its mountains and rivers. Each and every plan made by Americans is vast and all-encompassing; there is nothing that is not big.

That is to say, the vastness of the rivers and the height of the mountains of the American continent mean that people are always thinking big. While on the trip, Enryō was always observing differences, in the sights, sounds, and foods. After staying in New York for one week, he went on to cross the Atlantic.

At the time there was a regular passenger ship service between New York and Liverpool, England. When Enryō arrived in London by train INOUE Tetsujirō, who had been studying abroad since 1884, was waiting for him. He immediately visited the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). One day he was looking for the entrance to the underground so he could take the train. Unable to find it, he asked a passerby. He couldn't help but chuckle wryly to himself when he was told "Right here!" For the next three months, he traveled around Scotland and southern England. During this time, he met Sanskrit scholar Max Muller of Oxford University, who first established the study of Buddhism and religion in Europe. At Cambridge University, he discussed Eastern philosophy with people such as Edward Byles COWELL (an Indologist), Thomas Francis WADE (a Sinologist), and John Robert SEELEY (a historian). He also dropped into the Asiatic Society to inquire about the current status of Indian philosophy.

In late December he left London for Paris. FUJISHIMA Ryōon, a priest of Nishi Honganji, happened to be in Paris as a foreign student working on his philosophical research. Fujishima translated *A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea* by the Chinese monk Yijing into French and introduced Buddhist philosophy to Western scholars. Inoue Enryō took lodgings next to Fujishima and together they discussed the dissemination of philosophy in Japan and plans for the Philosophy Academy after returning to Japan.

From Paris he went to Rome and then to Berlin, passing through Vienna. At that time the aforementioned Tetsujirō was studying philosophy at the University of Berlin (today's Humboldt University)

and teaching at its school for Asia studies. Fujishima joined them in Berlin and the three of them discussed methods for popularizing philosophy. They also visited philosopher Eduard von HARTMANN and received permission to copyright translations of his works. After that Enryō returned to Paris via Belgium, where he visited the International Exposition. This 1889 Paris Expo is famous for providing the occasion for the construction of the Eiffel Tower.

On his return trip he took a ship from Marseilles and arrived in Yokohama on June twenty-eighth 1889 after traveling via Egypt, Arabia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and China. More than a year had passed since his departure.

I have been surveying and researching the travel and accommodation expenses that would have been involved in a one-year trip around the world, but it is still unclear. In the Ministry of Education's regulations for studying abroad it states that round-trip expenses should be "450 yen in gold coins for the United States and 625 yen for European countries." In Enryō's case the cost of travel for the U.S. and Europe was 538 yen. The value of one yen in gold differed between the early and late Meiji periods, so it is difficult to estimate the modern value but it must have been a considerable amount.

A University of Japan-centrism and Universalism

After having completed his trip around the world Enryō came to the same conclusion as modern-day Major League Baseball player SUZUKI Ichirō. Ichirō said, "In today's age of social networking, you can get information from all over the world instantly, but to know the world, you have to actually go and experience it for yourself."

Enryō also spoke of the necessity of personally experiencing the world, saying, "What you see in Europe and America is very different from what you imagine sitting back comfortably in Japan." For him, no matter how minor the country was, its people all had a spirit of independence. In other words, America had its own particular American style and Britain had its own British style.

The first thing Enryō did after his return to Japan in July 1889 was publish his "An Opinion on the Objectives of Improving the Philosophy Academy." The content was divided into three parts.

The first discussed how in Western countries they actively specialized in those areas of scholarly learning and arts that had developed natively (for example, the study of linguistics, writing, history, and religion, etc.). The further development of studies unique to the given country was essential to their national independence.

The second asserted that, in addition to the study of native scholastics and arts, Western countries were also actively engaged in Eastern studies, and Japan also needed to promote such studies.

The third argued that Japan only placed importance on academic ability but in Western countries teachers employed teaching methods that sought to also cultivate people's personality, character, and morality. This could be seen in the case of the "British gentleman." Japanese education should improve in this area, where it was lacking.

In August Enryō expanded on this view and published "Future Objectives of the Philosophy Academy." Here he outlined the following plan for developing the Philosophy Academy into a university.

Enryō wanted the Philosophy Academy to become a "Japan-centric" university. It would specialize in studies particular to Japan

(Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, philosophy, history, and literature). In order to supplement this, the various fields of Western learning would be used with the objective of "Japanese sovereignty, the independence of Japanese people, and independence of Japan studies." That is to say, Enryō hoped it would allow Japanese people to live with autonomy. At that time Europeanization, i.e. the importing and imitation of Western things, was all-pervasive, but Enryō felt that Japan had its own unique positives and that those should be leveraged. As mentioned above all members of the second generation of Meiji youth were conscious of this problem.

In order to achieve this goal the basis of the Philosophy Academy's education would be a combination of an outward "Japan-centrism" and an undercurrent of "universalism." The Japan-centrism would form the spiritual foundation of Japan's independence and the universalism would allow for the pursuit of universal truths. The unification of these two approaches represents Enryō's unique principles. The school would cultivate a combination of intellectual strength and human character in educators, religious specialists, and philosophers. Through this the school could practice and apply scholarship to participate in the "improvement of Japan's spirit as a whole" and advance the modernization of Japanese society.

While putting together his vision for a newly structured Philosophy Academy he decided on building a new schoolhouse immediately after his return to Japan. Construction began on August first. He was thirty-one at the time. The new facility was to be located on leased land at Hōraichō 28, Komagome, Hongō ward (now Mukō-gaoka,

Bunkyō ward), and would include a new lecture hall, a dormitory, and a house for the director.

As a private school its only capital was derived from fees for entrance and classes. So, when taking on an initiative like building a new school Enryō would have to make a request for donations. He published "Future Objectives of the Philosophy Academy" and canvassed supporters for donations. One of the people he met at that time was KATSU Kaishū, a politician of the late Edo and Meiji periods. Incidentally, when Enryō and Kei married their matchmaker was Itsu, the third daughter of Kaishū, who was married to MEGATA Tanetarō. The story of Enryō's first encounter with Kaishū has been recounted as follows.

> When Mister Enryō ended his observation tour of Europe and the United States and returned home he decided he wanted to promote Asia studies so he distributed a letter of intent to his acquaintances. Of course, this was also sent to Mr. Katsu Kaishū. After reading he said, "Who is this greenhorn?" and tossed it in the trash. Mr. Megata just happened to be in attendance and he briefly stated that he greatly admired the character of Mr. Enryō. This grabbed Kaishū's interest so he told Megata of his willingness to meet with him. Megata passed this information on to Enryō. The latter hastened to visit Kaishū at his Akasaka Hikawa residence and shared the ideas about which he had been thinking… After Kaishū finished listening to Enryō's story he said, "That is interesting, you should go ahead with this. However, you will surely need to accumulate funds." "The shogunate fell because they didn't have money. Go out and collect

some." After parting ways he said he was impressed to find that Enryō had actually been so young.

At that time Kaishū was sixty-seven years old and Enryō was thirty-two. Since Kaishū also loved a challenge, there must have been a mutual resonance that transcended the thirty-five year age difference.

Construction of the New Schoolhouse and the "Storm Disaster"

On September eleventh, one week after his meeting with Kaishū, a massive typhoon hit Japan. Many people were killed, and the schoolhouse that was nearing completion was destroyed. At the time Enryō was on a tour of Buddhist organizations in Kyoto promoting the Movement for the Official Acknowledgment of Buddhism. After receiving the news via telegram he immediately headed for Tokyo. As the Tokkaidō train line was stopped, he had to travel by boat from the town of Yokkaichi to Yokohama in order to get to Tokyo. Enryō was forced to make a decision: move forward or retreat. Enryō called this calamity the "storm disaster." After making arrangements for the start of classes at the school he recommenced the construction project nine days later on the twentieth. A week later after hearing about the rebuilding, Kaishū called Enryō to his private residence.

Kaishū is said to have given earnest advice to Enryō on realizing the Philosophy Academy project, "If you concentrate your spirit and apply yourself there is nothing you cannot accomplish." During the turmoil at the end of the Edo period, Kaishū had saved Japan from political upheaval through his sincerity of heart, meaning his advice

to Enryō was very valuable. Kaishū then handed him a paper envelope, saying, "This is a small expression of my appreciation." After leaving Kaishū's residence, Enryō went outside and opened the package. Inside he was surprised to find one hundred yen—a large sum of money at the time. It is said that this unpretentious encouragement from Kaishū left an indelible mark on Enryō.

On October thirty-first the troubled new schoolhouse project was finally completed. Shortly after, a ceremony was held to commemorate relocation of the school from Rinshōin temple to Hōraichō. Two days before the ceremony Kaishū donated a wooden statue of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju Bosatsu), a symbol of wisdom (still kept at Toyo University), and a further fifteen yen as a congratulatory gift. Kaishū was known for showing his appreciation in an unassuming way.

Classes started in the new schoolhouse the following day. Due to the unexpected accident the cost of the new school was much higher than originally planned and they were left with a large debt when it was completed. The schoolhouse was a two-story structure with a classroom holding 150 students on the first floor and one holding fifty students on the second. In addition to the schoolhouse a two-story dormitory was also built with space for over forty people in twenty seven-mat (approx. thirteen square meter) rooms.

The schoolhouse was owned by the Academy, but as TANAHASHI Ichirō had just founded his Ikubunkan Academy (now Ikubunkan High School), it was rented to him in the mornings when there were no classes. Tanahashi's academy was a place for secondary education, but students of the Philosophy Academy were also allowed to take

English language classes there. Enryō was employed as an advisor at this school.

Enryō had been receiving letters from his father Engo since before this, as the latter was advancing in age as an abbot and he wanted Enryō to take over Jikōji. In response, in August 1889 Enryō sent a letter to his father explaining in detail the relationship between the current situation in Japan and the crisis in Buddhism. He said that he could not return to the temple immediately. In the end Enryō did not succeed to the post of abbot and his younger brother Enjō took up the role after their father's passing.

Educational Principles of the Philosophy Academy

The ceremony commemorating the relocation of the school from Rinshōin to Hōraichō was held on November thirteenth 1889. In addition to the students there were one hundred guests who included distinguished doctorate and bachelor degree holders, high-ranking clergy from the different schools of Buddhism, and prestigious figures such as senate councilor KATŌ Hiroyuki, education minister ENOMOTO Takeaki, and Tokyo governor TAKASAKI Goroku.

In his speech on this day Enryō introduced the objectives of the Academy and listed four points for improvement based on his experiences overseas. First, organizing the departments on the basis of traditional Japanese studies; second, promoting the creation of a unique Japanese academic style through a comparison of both Eastern and Western studies; third, cultivating men of balanced wisdom and virtue; and, fourth, turning Japan's religion and education specialists into men of consistent integrity in word and deed. He stated,

> In the future I hope the Academy will develop into a vocational school that will become a great vessel for ensuring national independence, with departments for history, languages, and religion, making it worthy of being called the University of Japan and securing both academic and national independence.

Here he made clear his ambition to turn the Philosophy Academy into a Japan-centric university that researches the language, history, and religion necessary in order to preserve the independence of the state. This proclamation, coming only three years after founding of the school, would seem to have been motivated by his personal experience visiting the world's earliest universities in the form of the University of Oxford and the University of Paris.

The expressions "University of Japan" and "Japan-centric university" were used in contrast to the idea of Western universities with their organizational structures and departments, as well as their Western instructors and texts on which Japanese schools had previously been based. These expressions did not imply not learning from the West. The basic idea was to improve what was unique to Japan. To do this he wanted to utilize the good points of Western learning. He also announced these policies in the form of "Improving the Philosophy Academy" in magazines and newspapers.

As an aside, in his speech at the ceremony for the relocation of the Philosophy Academy Enryō mentioned that he wanted to "cultivate men of balanced wisdom and virtue." In "Improving the Philosophy Academy," too, he said that no matter how much progress is made in intellectual education, it will not be effective unless moral education is provided in tandem. In other words, he believed that

education should not be limited to gaining knowledge. It should also be designed to enhance humanity because it is only when these two aspects are combined that people become truly intelligent. However, nurturing humanity is not as simple as intellectually educating people. Ultimately, it is important for people to realize this for themselves and put it into practice. For this reason Enryō's policy was to emphasize the principle of free independent development. He emphasized the cultivation of human nature and built the school's boarding house to help concretely achieve this goal.

Enryō considered people's student years to be "the springtime of a person's life," a time of freedom without social constraints when they could associate with any person regardless of social or financial status. It is common for schools to set up various rules and regulations to restrain students from their personal quests to explore freedom. However, the Philosophy Academy did not adopt these sorts of policies, and it was decided that even at the dormitory there would be no elaborate set of rules. The school would deal with students with magnanimous humanity. Judgement over right or wrong would be entrusted to the individual sense of morality and personal awareness of the students themselves. On no account would rules be applied to punish students.

This idea was furthered through the "tea talks" for dormitory students. These were inspired by Enryō's experience with "tea time" in England. At these talks he would chat with students and joke about in the belief it would help in cultivating humanity. The tea talks began on November fifteenth 1889 and were initially held twice a month but later they were held twice a day, in the morning and evening. The

following information is from a later date but it describes the atmosphere of the tea talks on Saturdays and Sundays.

> On Saturday evenings all of the dormitory students would go to Professor Inoue's house, sit in a circle in the eight-mat (approx. fifteen square meter) tatami room, and listen to him talk about various topics related to bettering oneself. On Sunday mornings at eight o'clock, he would always go to the dormitory to have quiet, concentrated discussions with all of the students. Before he arrived the students would all add their own floor cushion to a pile and wait for him. Mr. Inoue would take up his seat on the tall pile of cushions in a serious manner and would give talks on all sorts of topics related to studying and self-improvement in a kind and warm spirit like a loving father. These Saturday and Sunday meetings were the most prized and looked forward to events for all of the students.

The purpose of the tea talks was to cultivate humanity in the students and they were a good reflection of Enryō's basic attitude toward education. The basis for this was dialogue. Enryō would never force his ideas on others and even if he put out an opinion he left it up to the individual students to decide the merit of it for themselves.

There is a story that is symbolic of the importance he placed on dialogue. At that time students in many schools were dissatisfied with the content of the lectures and started movements to boycott their teachers. At the Philosophy Academy, too, complaints came up about the lectures on education studies and students appealed to Enryō as the director to cancel those lectures. In response, Enryō sat in on one

of the classes with the students. After it finished he held a debate session to clarify the opinions of both the teacher and the students in order to look for ways to improve things.

Enryō also discouraged his students from holding prejudiced ideas. In his classes he highlighted Buddhists as an example prone to dogmatic thinking, believing that "everything can be solved by Buddhism." He encouraged students to learn how to see and think from a broader perspective, as it was only narrow prejudice to think that no other theories were worthy of consideration.

He also valued willingness to proactively learn new things. At that time the theory of evolution was still a new idea and was being widely discussed. Enryō invited researchers who had just returned from studying in Europe and the United States as speakers and listened to their lectures together with the students.

In this way the teachers and the students interacted with each other and shared a mutual respect in the educational space for each other's humanity in the spirit of dialogue. As a way to refine his thought Enryō was realizing this spirit of dialogue through education rooted in philosophy.

An Existential Crisis at the Academy and Nationwide Lectures

In 1890 the first cohort of students graduated from the Academy. There was a total of twenty-three people. In those days all private schools had many enrolments but graduation was limited to a select few. The reason for this was the difficulty involved in continuing for the full three-year course of study. Incidentally, in January of that

year the undergraduate department of Keio University was born, making it the first private institution to be named a university.

As mentioned above, under the system at that time the Imperial University was the only university. So, in the case of Keio it was classified under the non-standard name "undergraduate university." It was composed of the three departments of literature, law, and economics. For private schools, this represented a historic first step.

In September Enryō revealed the specifics of his plan to turn the Philosophy Academy into a private liberal arts university. According to the "Prospectus for the Establishment of a Specialized Department at the Philosophy Academy," this plan called for the establishment of a three-year general education course, which would combine the present one year of general education with the upper two-year course. This would be in addition to a two-year specialized course made up of the four departments for the study of Japanese, Chinese, Buddhism, and Western studies. The full course would take five years.

Each of the four specialized departments was to have a regular and an auxiliary course, with the regular one based on Japanese scholarship and the auxiliary based on Western scholarship. The department of Western studies would first provide students with a course of study unique to Japan before moving on to specializations in Western philosophy, literature, and history.

Part of this plan was to solicit 100,000 yen in donations. When the money collected reached the level of fifty thousand yen the school would establish one specialized course (of two years) and would then gradually establish the other departments. If the donations surpassed

100,000 yen each of the specialized departments would offer its own full course as a major.

However, when this plan was announced the Philosophy Academy was experiencing a serious crisis. The cause was the abovementioned "storm disaster." Originally the Philosophy Academy was established through private donations totaling 780 yen from 280 like-minded people, "without capital," and not relying on the support of religious groups or influential people from the political or business worlds.

After that they began construction on the new schoolhouse, but according to Enryō's speech at the relocation ceremony, the total cost of the new building, its destruction, and its reconstruction amounted to as much as 4,100 yen. The total value of donations received by this time was about 1,500 yen, which meant that two-thirds of the amount remained as debt.

In July 1890 Enryō wrote the following in a letter to Katsu Kaishū about the plight of the Academy.

> In the case of the Philosophy Academy, too, we currently have no arrangement for maintaining the school. We are planning to start fundraising this autumn and we have explored various ideas for how we might carry this out. However, we have not yet arrived at anything feasible.

Enryō had already visited Kaishū twice, in April and May. It appears likely that Enryō was seeking his advice on how to solve this problem. The government's higher-education policy was one of "respect for governors and disregard for those governed" (a policy of demanding

respect for the government, its officials, and its projects—and disdain for ordinary private citizens and their projects). Therefore, private schools could not expect any governmental support. Tuition fees provided the basic operating funds for private schools, and consequently there was no way to fund large-scale projects such as the construction of the schoolhouse other than to rely on donations.

This letter mentions the imperial monetary gift granted to schools such as Keio University and the Research Institute for the Japanese Classics (today's Kokugakuin University), and Enryō asked Kaishū to mediate such a gift for the Philosophy Academy. It is possible he believed an imperial gift would have raised the perceived standing of the school and that he was planning to advertise in newspapers and magazines to solicit funds. However, Kaishū replied that it would be very difficult.

In September Kaishū called Enryō to his private residence in Akasaka. The first words out of Kaishū's mouth were, "Become naked." Enryō was trying to use his intellect to combat this crisis, but Kaishū rejected that approach and explained to him that the only way to face this crisis was through "sincerity of heart." This had also been Kaishū's philosophy in overcoming the confusing political crisis during the period at the end of the Edo shogunate's rule.

Then, on October sixteenth, Enryō visited Kaishū again. The fact that this day is mentioned in Kaishū's diary as "Inoue Enryō on donations to the Philosophy Academy," and the fact that this is the only entry that mentions it, indicates that Enryō informed him of the following plan.

Enryō's intended to travel all around the country giving lectures and speeches on academia, education, and religion tailored to the requirements of each location. From late December he would go to areas along the Tōkaidō train line, from January the next year to Shikoku and Kyūshū, from March to Chūgoku, from May along the Hokuriku line, and from July he would go to Ōu (Tōhoku) and Hokkaidō. The plan was to widely canvass the general public for donations when giving these lectures in order to open the specialized departments that would allow the Philosophy Academy to establish university-level courses. Kaishū approved of this entirely new approach to developing the school through donations on a nationwide scale rather than relying on contributions from private supporters as they had up until then. Kaishū gave Enryō works of calligraphy to give to donors in thanks. The plan for this nationwide tour was announced in the Philosophy Academy's lecture records and in the school journal *Law of Nature* in order to gain the cooperation of the Academy's correspondence students throughout the country.

Then on November second 1890 Enryō took on the challenge of journeying out to collect donations from strangers all over the country in order to overcome the crisis threatening the existence of the Academy. After completing his lecture or speech in each location he would appeal to the audience for support. Unfortunately the result of this fundraising campaign betrayed Enryō's hopes.

The *Report of the Academic Year Meiji 24 of the Philosophy Academy Specialized Courses* records the fundraising for the year from November 1890 to October 1891. Enryō toured eighteen prefectures and 119 cities, towns, and villages over a period of about two hundred

days, giving a total of 440 speeches/lectures. And, through the Philosophy Academy, more than three hundred committee members (fundraising staff) were dispatched to various locations to enlist supporters and ask for donations.

The response to his speeches around the country raised his hopes for donations, but the result was only 676.40 yen. Enryō was greatly disappointed, especially seeing as how the newspaper and magazine advertisements alone at the time of the founding ended up garnering more than three thousand yen donated by four hundred people.

When we look into the details we can see that this was because, despite the approximately 1,895 yen that had been promised, only one third, 676 yen, had actually been paid. This left a large amount outstanding. In that time period these sorts of outstanding payments were common and it was a problem for all of the private schools, although this is something Enryō had not known.

In the case of the Philosophy Academy only one major donor gave more than fifty yen and three gave more than ten, but most gave one yen or one half (i.e. fifty *sen*). Enryō was forced to painfully reflect on himself, saying, "At the time, I had just graduated from university and did not know anything about the world, so I was rather careless." As a consequence, in his introduction to the Meiji 24 Philosophy Academy report mentioned above he was forced to write, "I tearfully beg for help from any like-minded gentlemen around the country."

Kaishū continued to watch over Enryō. If we check the date of the meeting in Kaishū's diary we find that Enryō always met with Kaishū before leaving Tokyo for a lecture tour or after his return. Enryō describes his experience touring as follows.

One of the most common misconceptions is that philosophy is like the teachings of Zen Buddhism or mountain ascetics. They think that philosophy is a strange field that teaches outlandish ideas. Because of that I experienced these sorts of things.

Apparently they would say things like "Philosophers have long beards and skinny bodies, like hermits, and one of greats is coming from Tokyo soon to give a talk." Crowds of people would collect outside my lodgings to witness the spectacle. But, when someone like me, who didn't look like a hermit, turned up, I heard that people would accuse me, saying, "Some shyster faking that he is a philosopher has come here claiming the name Inoue Enryō."

In one place, some people referred to me as a "blacksmithing teacher." This was because they confused the "*tetsu*" in "*tetsugaku*" (philosophy) with the word "*testsu*," meaning "iron."

There were also many misunderstandings because people thought that if philosophy underlies all fields of study there must be nothing I did not know. People would ask me to correct their poetry and haiku poems, to appraise artworks and antiques, and in extreme cases, to evaluate their tea ceremony or flower arrangement skills. They would even ask me to read their fortune from their face or palms. I was perplexed by all of this.

On January twenty-first, 1892, Enryō once again set out on a nationwide lecture tour. One of the students at the time commented on how the Academy director continued to make these rounds.

> Teacher would sometimes say something to the effect, "Do not guide people with your mouth—lead them with your body." Frequently away on trips to canvas for funds for the school, when he carried his suntanned and somewhat travel-weary body to the teaching podium, he would tell utterly unpretentious stories of his trips. We could not help but be deeply impressed by more than just his travel stories.

Enryō's university classmate UCHIDA Shūhei was at a school in Kumamoto at the time. At the request of the Kumamoto prefectural governor Enryō gave a two-hour speech on "The Usefulness of Philosophy" to several thousand people gathered at a large theater. Uchida talked about this speech, which had moved the audience.

> What impressed me most was that, even though he was translating the original languages into Japanese, he did not actually use those languages. No one else would have been able to do that. At that time, we often used the original languages because we wanted to seem more sophisticated, but he did not and his interpretations were as plain as possible. His speeches were no exception to this. I think that shows his greatness. He was able to digest things in his own stomach.

Enryō's Lecture Tours

After setting out on a lecture tour it would be a hard schedule totaling more than half of the 365 days of the year and lasting for two or three months at a time. In terms of the total number of lecture days, he spoke on forty-four days in 1890, 153 days in 1891, 154 in 1892,

and thirty-nine in 1893, for a total of 390 days—as much as one year and one month's worth. During this period he lectured in thirty-six cities, three wards, and 230 towns and villages in thirty-two prefectures (the unvisited prefectures were mainly in the Kantō, Kōshin'etsu, and Hokuriku regions). In the end this painstaking tour of the country brought the attention of the wider public to the existence of the Philosophy Academy. And, with a final donation amount of 3,509.90 yen, Enryō was able to overcome the crisis.

Through his tour of the entire country over four years, from Hokkaidō in the north to Kyūshū in the south, Enryō learned many things. The foremost of these was his heightened awareness of his role as the proprietor of the Philosophy Academy. Secondly, twenty years of efforts toward developing the state and society under the slogan of civilization had passed since the Meiji Restoration, but there were still many places left where things did not differ all that much from the Edo period. Thirdly, he was able to conduct fieldwork to investigate stories of mysterious phenomena in various places. This research made him keenly aware once more that "mysteries" are at the foundation of how people see things. These mysteries are deeply rooted in daily life, menacing people and causing fear.

Year	Age	Travel Period	Days
1890	32	Nov. 2–Dec. 15	44
1891	33	Jan. 31–Apr. 1; May 11–Jun. 19; Jul. 17–Sep. 6	153
1892	34	Jan. 21–Mar. 6; Apr. 5–9; Apr. 20–Jun. 2; Jul. 19–Sep. 4; Dec. 21–Dec. 31	154
1893	35	Jan. 1–Feb. 8	39

Figure 4: Lecture Tour Days by Year

IV. The Philosophy Academy Era (2)

"Ghost Doc"

Today in Japan when people mention the pseudonym Yōkai Hakase, "Ghost Doc" (i.e. a specialist in *yōkai* mysterious phenomena and creatures), the man that usually comes to mind is manga artist MIZUKI Shigeru, who is famous for his series *GeGeGe no Kitarō*. However, it was Enryō who first took the country by storm as Ghost Doc in the Meiji era. In a TV program, Mizuki said the following.

> In Japan, it is Dr. Enryō Inoue who knew the most about *yōkai* mysteries. Even the folklorist Mr. YANAGIDA Kunio does not come close. I read books such as *Lectures on Mystery Studies* by Dr. Enryō and learned of *yōkai* about which I had not known, and at times I would make drawings of those.

It was while studying psychology at the University of Tokyo that Enryō first became interested in the study of *yōkai* mysteries. He realized that "Eighty or ninety percent of Japanese mysteries are issues of the mind." Thus, he established the Enigma Research Society at the university and canvassed for research samples by advertising in magazines and collected facts about *yōkai* from all around the country.

One of the characteristics of Enryō's research on *yōkai* was his understanding that "*yōkai*" actually means "enigma." For this reason he referred to himself as "Master of the Enigma Hermitage." He defined *yōkai* as "anything that combines enigma and abnormality," and from the time of its founding the Philosophy Academy formally taught classes in applied psychology and *yōkai* studies.

In May 1887 Enryō published *Mysterious Tales of Enigmas: Volume One, Table-Turning Séances*. At that time table-turning séances, which had been imported from the West and had taken on a unique Japanese flavor, were becoming so popular that people referred to the ghostly spirit of the practice as Lord Table-Turning. (Both the Western and Japanese variants involved calling upon spirits to divine the future. By searching for "狐狗狸" we can find videos online today showing how these rituals used to be conducted). Enryō explored this phenomenon, and through literature, collecting information, and conducting experiments, he explained that the true nature of Lord Table-Turning was not the spirit of a *kitsune* fox, a *tengu* goblin, or a *tanuki* raccoon dog. Rather, it was "the mind and body of a human being." Following that Enryō went on to become famous as an eccentric "*yōkai* researcher" who dealt with enigmatic phenomena.

In November 1893 Enryō systematized the results of his ten-plus years of research and published the collected contents of his lectures as "On Mystery Studies" in the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* (seventh academic year). The following are the materials related to *yōkai* that were used as the basis for these lecture records.

- First, reports on *yōkai* from contributors all over Japan (462 cases)
- Second, research from local fieldwork on phenomena such as table-turning, hypnotism, sorcery, and mythical white foxes, etc. (several dozen cases)
- Third, observations and collected anecdotes from all over Japan, from Hokkaidō to Kyūshū (from thirty-two prefectures)

- Fourth, research conducted over several years into literature on ancient and modern *yōkai* (five hundred items)

Employing the above materials Enryō established mystery studies as an academic discipline. With regard to the fourth category above, YAMAUCHI Eiichi's "Overview of Mystery Studies Reference Works" (in Japanese in *Inoue Enryō Selected Writing*, vol. 21) reveals that items Enryō directly or indirectly referenced, including magazines and newspapers from the Meiji period, number more than 1,640.

Next let's look at how Enryō was able to organize this vast number of materials and write up the lecture records. There are very few passages from that time that describe the writing process, but one of the people who took down oral dictation for Enryō, TANAKA Jiroku (a graduate of the Philosophy Academy), who oversaw the chapter "Part Five: Psychology Section" of *Lectures on Mystery Studies*, spoke about the process as follows.

> One of Mr. Enryō's unique qualities as a scholar was his remarkable talent for integrating concepts. His memory was so exceptional that [perhaps using some sort of technique] it was shockingly easy for him to remember the most difficult names of people and places. However, he was not merely someone with an encyclopedic memory [who is well-read and easily recalls works from East and West, old and new], and easily able to remember all sorts of random facts—his greatest skill was in his ability to integrate and organize this information to form new structures, as well as to produce original ideas…

> When I assisted him on *Lectures on Mystery Studies* I was particularly impressed by his great ability to structure concepts. The lectures were divided into various sections such as philosophy, religion, ethics, astronomy, and science, etc., and each section was further divided into a number of chapters and subsections. It was a very large work published over two years. The first thing he did was to organize the mountain of materials that he had collected over many years, then arrange them according to section, chapter, and subsection, and make notes about which individual material belonged to which part. Then he would orally present the content, starting with the opening passage of each section, and have us students copy it down. By inserting each material in the appropriate place it was perfectly ordered and systematic. Not only this, but he also kept the number of pages in the lecture record within a certain limit, making sure there were neither too many nor too few. I was very impressed by the fact he was able to write in such a consistent manner, not only because of his many years of experience in writing but also because of his great ability to integrate concepts.

If we are to summarize Tanaka's experience in modern terms, we might say he felt that Enryō excelled in his abilities of input (collecting and memorizing vast quantities of information) and output (systematically summarizing and communicating) in addition to his imaginative creativity.

The Buddhist scholar TAMURA Kōyū says, "Enryō was endowed with an outstanding memory." He took a vast quantity of materials and recorded them in a Japanese-style bound notepad before giving

the items codes and organizing them. The actual notepads are still at Toyo University. While referring to these, as Tanaka said, Enryō reproduced his memories for dictation and completed the more than two hundred pages that made up *Lectures on Mystery Studies*. It is said that when he organized and conceptually structured these materials he became completely absorbed in concentration.

> Mr. Enryō was particularly talented in his ability to concentrate and focus, but when he was single-mindedly thinking about a particular matter no amount of clatter nearby would disturb him. Even if someone tried to talk to him, he did not seem to hear and would not respond. Whenever his wife saw him in this state of concentration, she would say, "He has gone off into thinking mode again!"

What is "Mystery Studies"?

Enryō defines *yōkai* (a mystery) as "an abnormality, an aberration, a thing that cannot be understood by reason, a thing that can be classified as an "enigma." To put it another way, it is a combination of an enigma and an abnormality." Further, Enryō points out that *yōkai* differ depending on the person or society. That the existence or nonexistence of a *yōkai* is not to be found in a thing but rather in a person. It is people's own individual ideas that create the standard for defining something as a *yōkai*. Therefore, he says, "The purpose of mystery studies is to thoroughly investigate the nature of *yōkai* and provide explanations for them."

By adding elements centered on philosophy, but also including psychology, science, and even medicine, Enryō built up his explanations based on the theories and applications of those scholarly fields (i.e. through comprehensive science). The aim of these mystery studies was to support Enryō's principle of "protecting nation and loving truth." Based on the spirit of love for the truth, he argued that the principles of *yōkai* should be fully understood and applied in practice to heal the "delusions and sufferings" of the people of the world. Working to improve the doctrines of society should be seen as synonymous with protecting and further developing the nation state.

A portion of the scholars and intellectuals at the time dismissed *yōkai* as a problem of the lowly and poor, saying that it was only the ignorant who feared them. Enryō, however, felt that "despite the progress of modernization the influence of *yōkai* is actually growing, and this is a major problem that will affect many aspects of society." He tried to solve this problem by helping to illuminate people on the truth. In his mystery studies Enryō placed particular emphasis on education and religion. In order to eliminate the "weeds of the mind" of the people he positioned "mystery studies as a gateway to religion and a precursor to the advancement of education."

In his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* Enryō takes a historical view of the relationship between humans and *yōkai*. His view is divided into the following categories.

- First period: The age of the senses (lower intellectual level)
- Second period: The age of imagination
- Third period: The age of reasoning (higher intellectual level)

Enryō makes these historical distinctions and explains as follows.

Mystery studies did not exist at the beginning of the human race. This is because in ancient times people did not know what matter and mind were. They did not know a reason for fearing things when they looked out at the world. It was a time of "no-thought."

In the first period, the age of the senses, human beings first became aware of mysteries. This was because people's knowledge had finally advanced to the point where they knew the difference between mind and matter, between inside and outside. They began to look for causes by looking at results. They started to seek results through knowing their causes. It is from this that mystery studies began. To them, all phenomena were mysteries—the sun and the moon were mysteries, as were the other celestial bodies, the wind and rain, and mountains and rivers. For this reason they tried to work out causes and find explanations. When they couldn't find explanations they began to feel uneasy and thus the "study of all things" came about.

This was a time when the explanations for all phenomena were based only on those tangible traits that could be perceived by the human senses of vision and hearing. However, from our modern standpoint the explanations given in that era were nothing more than misunderstandings and delusions. We can't call these explanations "scholarly theories" but this was the origin of mystery studies.

In the second period, the age of imagination, as human knowledge advanced, people began to realize there were things that could not be explained only in terms of tangible traits, and they naturally started to imagine such traits. As the imaginative process progressed the "silhouette" of tangible traits changed further and became closer

to intangible traits. In the end they came to conceive of an intangible world beyond the realms of sense and experience. Thus, in the first period they believed in various tangible gods that were the spirits behind wind and rain, and mountains and rivers, but their imaginations eventually shifted. They began to think of the many gods as intangible. They then ultimately came to believe that there is one god above all others.

People came to believe that this one physical god ruled over both matter and mind. All changes occurring in all phenomena were either conceived or mediated by this god. Therefore, in this age all mysteries were explained as being due to divine intervention or revelation of truth. However, these explanations were based on imagination and this was a time when logical thought was not yet at work.

In the third period, the age of reasoning, the human intellect developed greatly and, through stable reasoning that did not factor in fiction and imagination, it now extended from near to far, from tangible to intangible, from within the senses to without. Their explanations were those of today's age of arts and sciences. They are based on the laws of the universe and explain all sorts of phenomena with precise and reliable logic. This has also forced a major change in the explanations of mysteries.

Enryō said, "My mystery studies are conducted in the style of this third period of explanation." There are three approaches to the explanation style of the third period, which give it its worth: first, a supra-rational or mystical approach; second, a spiritualistic or idealistic approach; and, third, an experiential or naturalistic approach.

In this way, Enryō takes a historical view of the relationship between human beings and mysteries. As the logical conclusion of this theory, Enryō classifies mysteries as follows.

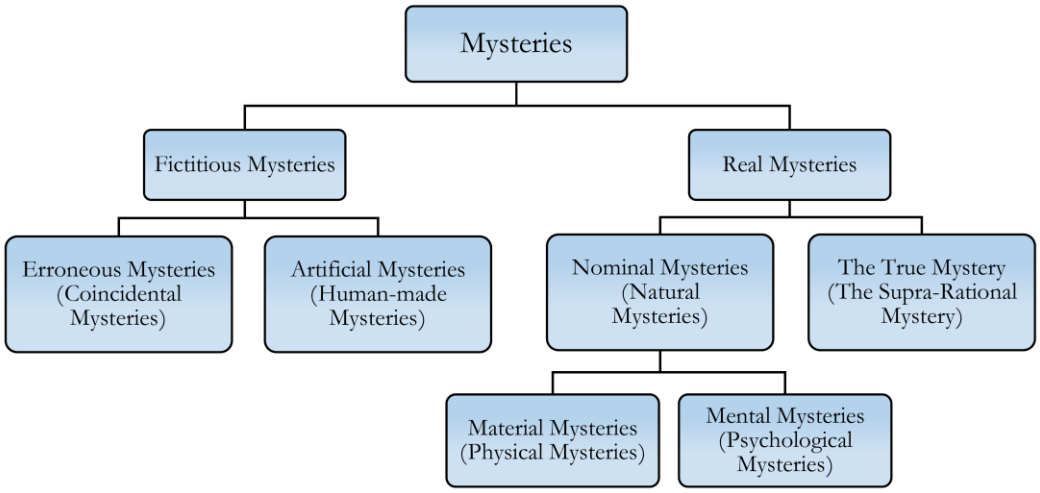


Figure 5: Enryō's Classification of Mysteries

"Artificial mysteries" are mysteries constructed or contrived through human intent or design (to terrorize people). They can be individual or societal. "Erroneous mysteries" are coincidences that are mistakenly viewed as mysteries. They are either outer worldly or inner worldly, and these are referred to as objective and subjective mysteries. These artificial and erroneous mysteries are "fictitious mysteries" and cannot be considered true. They are born from the fabrications and mistakes of humans.

What contrasts with these fictitious mysteries are "real mysteries." The first of these are "nominal mysteries." Nominal mysteries are neither man-made nor coincidental but occur spontaneously. Here there is a distinction between things that manifest as phenomena on a material level and things that manifest on a mental level. For this

reason one is called a "material mystery," i.e. something that physically manifests, and the other is called a "mental mystery," i.e. something that manifests in the psyche. Further, under the category of "real mysteries," in addition to "nominal mysteries" there are "true mysteries." True mysteries are real, actual mysteries that are considered a "physical manifestation of ultimate infinity."

Among the "real mysteries," when we explore the nominal mysteries and arrive at an understanding of their principles we can see that they are based on the same logic as ordinary general rules. We can expect that those things that are thought of as mysteries today will have their principles clearly explained by the people in the future. On the other hand, "true mysteries" are "things that can never be fully known no matter how advanced human knowledge becomes—these are the supernatural mysteries." These are the things that are unknowable and inconceivable. According to Enryō's research,

> Seventy percent of *yōkai* mysteries originate in China, and of the remaining thirty percent, twenty percent come from India and ten percent are indigenous to Japan. In terms of their classifications, fifty percent are "artificial mysteries," thirty percent are "erroneous mysteries," and twenty percent are "nominal mysteries."

The philosopher SHIBATA Takayuki describes the relationship between Enryō's philosophy and mystery studies as follows.

> If we put Inoue Enryō's own intentions in parentheses, his philosophy, although being academic in character, can surely be summed up by the term "mystery studies" when looked at from

the point of view of the average person In the Meiji era, people still believed that all kinds of *yōkai* mysteries and creatures existed, and Inoue Enryō sought to explain them scientifically.

When I say "scientifically," I do not mean to categorically dismiss *yōkai* mysteries as nothing more than superstition. Rather, I mean the systematic/logical analysis of their existence—or of the individual mind that believes in their existence—in order to clarify their origins. In other words, the goal of mystery studies is to enable those who believe in and fear the existence of *yōkai* to, at least, be individually convinced and look into it for themselves.

Next let's look at how Enryō's mystery studies were received. In February 1897, for example, the minister of education said the following.

> This work brings together a wealth of resource materials, and is very detailed in terms of its theoretical arguments and its citation of proofs. Superstitious beliefs are still prevalent among the people today and interfere with the progress of general education in many ways… however, this work provides scholarly explanations for all of these superstitions and I believe that it is extremely beneficial… If works such as this are made widely available to the public it will surely help to decrease old superstitious customs in the future.

On the twenty-second of the same month the minister of the imperial household presented a copy of *Lectures on Mystery Studies* to Emperor Meiji, and it is said that he greatly enjoyed reading it. Thus,

Enryō's mystery studies received recognition from society, and his fame spread so much that he became known as "Mystery Doc" and "Dr. Specter."

In modern times, *yōkai* are seen as "cute" monsters rather than as a threat, and the world of *yōkai* has become a popular subculture, the subject of anime, movies, and novels. Historically speaking, *yōkai* culture began to appear in paintings and writings during the Edo period (1603–1868). Some researchers argue that this indicates the establishment of this world. However, this is only the opinion of enthusiasts, and for most regular people, *yōkai* were things rooted in everyday life that caused feelings of fear and torment. They were not things to be spoken of openly in society. It was none other than Dr. Spector, Inoue Enryō, that stood unashamedly in front of people and discussed these shadowy *yōkai* in a scholarly way. Today, Enryō might only be talked about peripherally alongside "Ghostbusters," but in actuality he changed history by creating the platform for today's *yōkai* culture.

The "Fire Disaster" and Moving to New School Grounds

In January 1896 Enryō published an advertisement in the journal of the Philosophy Academy, *Oriental Philosophy*, asking for funds for the establishment of a new oriental studies department and an accompanying library. For this purpose Enryō purchased around eleven thousand square meters of land in Haramachi, Koishikawa ward (present-day Toyo University Hakusan campus) in 1895 and around fifteen hundred square meters in 1896, for a total of around twelve thousand square meters. This land was next to the home of Katsu

Kaishū's daughter and her husband Megata Tanetarō, and Enryō received their advice in selecting it. It cost 9,908 yen, half of which was covered by donations, leaving a shortfall of 5,305 yen.

Enryō revised the rules on donations to the Philosophy Academy and planned to collect five thousand yen over five years for the construction of the new building. Fifty-to-one hundred thousand yen would be collected over fifteen years for maintenance costs and the interest on the capital of those maintenance funds would be used to cover operating expenses.

At that time the high grounds were scrubland where pheasants would fly about crying out. The lowlands couldn't be described as either a rice field or a marsh. A student who saw the land was so surprised that he asked, "What are you planning to do after purchasing a place like this?" However, Enryō had a clear vision in his mind and replied with a laugh, "That's for you to find out."

Thus it came to be that the Philosophy Academy would have a new campus in addition to the schoolhouse in Hōraichō and it would go on to establish university courses. Kaishū, who was now seventy-four, agreed with this plan. Well known as a skilled calligrapher, he spearheaded the fundraising for the academy. His daughter commented, saying,

> Whenever he was given calligraphy that my father had written, Mr. Inoue would send it as a thank-you gift to those who donated to the Philosophy Academy, and my father hoped that creating calligraphy in this way would support Mr. Inoue's endeavors. So, at one time my father was the "loyal shadow writer."

Kaishū's calligraphy was used to show appreciation to donors, and the size varied depending on the amount of the donation, from five yen to one hundred yen, and would be delivered via the postal system. However, Kaishū was seventy-four years old at the time and was certainly no longer in good health. He wrote,

> I had been lying sick since August of the twenty-eighth year [1895]. It seemed as though death was almost upon me. I had no desire to remain in the world. Coming into December, I was cured of my illness and recovered my energy.

In March of 1896 Enryō changed his nationwide approach to lecture tours. He would now tour one prefecture at a time, and he departed for Nagano prefecture. During this time, in a letter addressed to Kaishū's steward and dated March thirtieth, Enryō wrote the following.

> I have been touring the counties of Shinshū, and many people are eager to obtain a piece of calligraphy. We are happy and thankful to have already collected over one hundred yen in donations. Almost all of the twenty or thirty pieces of calligraphy I brought with me are gone. In addition to those I requested previously I would like to humbly request calligraphy on the cards that have been newly delivered by my messenger.

Count Katsu Kaishu's calligraphy was greatly coveted. So much so that some of his works were forged, and the Philosophy Academy was forced to advertise that receipts for donations would be accompanied by a certificate of authenticity for the calligraphy.

Despite the fact that Enryō's lecture tour in 1896 lasted only forty-nine days, Kaishū's devoted support as a shadow calligrapher led to the collection of 1,375 yen in donations for the new buildings in that year alone. The prospect of establishing a university was starting to become a reality.

In June Enryō was awarded the degree of Doctor of Literature for his dissertation entitled "Genealogy of Buddhist Philosophy" after an examination by the Imperial University, and a grand celebration was held. In December Enryō finally announced his intention to establish a special course in Chinese classics studies, taking a step forward toward the founding of a university, but the Philosophy Academy then suffered an unforeseeable misfortune. The entire school was burned to the ground by a "fire disaster," as Enryō named it, that had spread from a neighboring structure.

December thirteenth was a Sunday, but Ikubunkan, which had been renting the schoolhouse of the Philosophy Academy, had hired a carpenter who was repairing desks and chairs in a shed. The fire started in this shed, so it is believed that the cause was a spark from a cigarette the carpenter had been smoking or from a room heater. The fire broke out at around ten thirty at night. When the students who had been sleeping soundly in the dormitory were roughly woken, the surrounding area was already as bright as daytime.

Since there was no police box nearby, word was late getting to the fire department, but a bell for emergencies was rung at Terada Fukuju's neighboring temple of Shinjōji. When neighbors rushed to the scene fire had just begun billowing out from the shed so they drew water from the well at Enryō's house to try and extinguish it. The fire,

however, grew even stronger and finally spread to the schoolhouse. It went on to spread to the dormitory, and although the students had managed to collect up their personal belongings in time they could only watch in shock as the school burned down. When the fire was extinguished about an hour later the school building and the dormitory had both been reduced to ashes. Most of the books and documents had also been lost.

When the school met with this disaster, Ikubunkan's director Tanahashi was extremely upset, but Enryō did not panic at all. When one of the students expressed his sympathy, saying, "This is so unthinkable. You must be devastated," Enryō remained calm as he sat on the porch of his house and simply replied, "We got most of the important things out." It is said that Enryō was always a rational, calm, and collected person, and this episode was a clear demonstration of that. The Philosophy Academy was in a crisis for the second time. However, they say Enryō kept looking toward the future.

Since the fire occurred in the middle of December, the school was immediately closed and temporary classes for January were held in a rental space at a temple. The school was then to be shifted from Horaichō to newly purchased land in Haramachi, Koishikawa ward, an area colloquially known as Keiseigakubo, "Rooster's-Cry Hollow," and construction began in April 1897.

Enryō did not give up on the idea of establishing a university. He opened the specialist department of Chinese classics studies in January and that of Buddhism in April. After pushing forward in this way something unexpected happened. One month after moving to the new location in Haramachi, the Department of the Imperial

Household gave the Academy a gift of three hundred yen on behalf of Emperor Meiji. Enryō carefully deliberated on the use of this imperial gift and decided to establish an ordinary middle school to advance the development of secondary education. From October construction began on a new schoolhouse.

This was to become the private Keihoku Ordinary Middle School, which opened in February 1899. Enryō became headmaster of the school and again went on a nationwide tour to raise funds. This school became the first step in realizing Enryō's concept of comprehensive integrated education. Next, in 1905, he founded the Keihoku Kindergarten. Enryō's ambitious attitude of "turning a tough situation into an opportunity" meant that out of ashes of the fire disaster the Philosophy Academy was redeveloped under a new concept.

When the new school year began in April Enryō himself stood at a lectern at Keihoku Middle School to deliver classes. The philosopher and literary critic ABE Jirō, known for works such as *Santarō's Diary*, was the first graduate. The school would go on to produce many other prominent figures in various fields and become a famous Tokyo private middle school.

In this way the Academy was able to make a fresh start after the fire thanks to the support of Katsu Kaishū and others. On the afternoon of January nineteenth 1899, however, Kaishū collapsed from angina and passed away peacefully as if he were falling asleep.

In July of the same year, Enryō set off on his second nationwide lecture tour. He lectured around the country in the name of social education. It was not until this time that he started to write his own calligraphy to give in appreciation for donations.

One newspaper made fun of him, saying, "Mr. Inoue Enryō's shoes make a 'gimme gimme' sound [when he walks]." His daughter was indignant when she read this and asked him why it was necessary for them to say such things. Her father replied:

> A university is not something you can make by yourself. If it is created through donations, those donors will lovingly think of it as their own school. That is why I ask people to give donations.

Apparently convinced, his daughter later said to her maid, "You can't create a school unless people hate you enough to write about it in the newspaper." Enryō's family understood him well.

V. The Philosophy Academy Era (3)

Conscription Deferment and the Issuance of Teacher Certification

In the ten years since Enryō founded the school he had met with the two disasters of storm and fire, but he remained steadfast in his goal of developing the Philosophy Academy from a private school into a university. And, despite shouldering many responsibilites, he continued to give lectures throughout Japan. Philosophy Academy instructor KANAE Gikyō spoke on Enryō's management of the school.

> He would only use the donations he collected to purchase land or construct new buildings, and he would never borrow any money. It was always his policy to carefully check his footing before taking a step.

There were some things that were necessary in order to turn the private school into a university.

The first of these was deferring military conscription. In order for the school to obtain permission to postpone conscription for currently-enrolled students it needed official authorization. The Philosophy Academy obtained the privilege of deferring conscription in 1900 but before this in 1889 the following schools obtained authorization: Tokyo Vocational College (today's Waseda University), Meiji Law School (Meiji University), Specialized Training School (Senshu University), Japanese and French Law School (Hosei University), and Japan Law School (Nihon University). Following in succession were Keiō Academy (Keio University) and Society of Shared Aspirations

(Doshisha University). Then, in 1901, was Taiwan Association School (Takushoku University) and Research Institute for the Japanese Classics (Kokugakuin University). In 1902 was Western Law School (Kansai University) and Kyoto School of Law and Politics (Ritsumeikan University). Receiving permission in 1900 meant the Philosophy Academy was one of the later schools.

The second was the issue of national certification. Due to the Ministry of Education's policy of "public institutions important and private not," there was a gap between government (national) and private schools. Only government school students were able to obtain a teaching license for middle schools without having to take the Ministry of Education's exams when graduating. Private schools teachers had to take the Ministry of Education's so-called "Literary Examination" for certification.

Since more than ten students of the Philosophy Academy had passed this exam, Enryō applied to the Ministry of Education twice, starting in 1890, for approval for authorization to certify middle school teachers without government examination. Both times his application was rejected but Enryō did not give up. He consulted with the Research Institute for the Japanese Classics and Tokyo Vocational College, and with Enryō as the representative they made a proposal to the Ministry of Education. In 1899 the Ministry of Education promulgated a ministerial ordinance regarding teaching licenses for graduates of private schools, which included a policy granting private schools the privilege of certification without further governmental examination. Thus, the Philosophy Academy, along with these two other schools, immediately submitted an application which

was approved on July tenth. This meant that first-class graduates of the faculty of education's ethics department would automatically be granted certification in either the field of "Cultivation of Character" or "Education" (ratified November seventh). First-class graduates of the faculty of education's Chinese classics department would be granted certification in the field of "Chinese classics." The internal certification of teachers would begin with the students graduating three years later in 1902. (It is thanks to Enryō's pioneering campaign at that time that students in Japan today can obtain a teaching license for junior high and high school without government examination).

As soon as the Academy received approval it changed its schooling system. From the new semester in September the preparatory course was made one year in duration and the central education course was made three years. Central education would be composed of the departments of education and philosophy, each offering two courses. The education department was divided into the ethics course (later, "Course One") and the Chinese classics course (later, "Course Two"). The specialist department of Chinese classics was merged into the Chinese classics course and the specialist department of Buddhist studies was merged into the philosophy department. Later, the scope of licenses was expanded and first-class graduates of the school of Chinese classics could be internally certified as teachers.

Teacher certification was not only a way to fulfil the goal of cultivating educators, it was also one of the prerequisites private schools needed in order to grow. As the main source of revenue was tuition fees, governmental recognition would mean they could attract more students and stabilize their finances. That recognition came in the

form of accreditation for internal certification of teachers and deferment of conscription.

Incidentally, Tokyo Vocational College and the Research Institute for the Japanese Classics obtained accreditation at the same time as the Philosophy Academy, with Keiō Academy and Japan Law School following. Thus, as of 1900, the Philosophy Academy had met both of the requirements for developing as a private school.

Establishing the Philosophy Academy University Course

On the other hand, in 1900 Enryō was appointed by the Ministry of Education as an examiner of textbooks for the cultivation of character, and in 1901 he accepted an appointment from the Cabinet as a member of the council for higher education. His activities in the public sphere had become even more visible.

In April 1902 when the necessary conditions for the development of the Philosophy Academy were in place, Enryō announced the opening of its university courses. From among the three departments of native studies (Shinto), Chinese classics (Confucianism), and Buddhist studies (Buddhism), those of Confucianism (Eastern ethics) and Buddhism (Eastern religious studies) were respectively established as the "Ethics" and "Education" courses. The entry requirement was scholarly ability equal to that of a middle school graduate, and it would take five years to graduate. Native studies was excluded because there were already other schools specializing in Shinto.

In the official announcement of the opening of the university Enryō mentions the schools Keio and Waseda, as "good friends and forerunning elders" of the Philosophy Academy. He notes that Keio

had already opened a university department and that Waseda had been preparing for it since the previous year. Enryō credits these universities as excellent examples for the Academy to follow. His decision to establish university courses was made in light of this growing momentum. Private schools were now fulfilling the conditions necessary for further development, and in 1902 Tokyo Vocational College became Waseda University, with a few provisos.

In an article "Overview of Meiji 35" published in *The Central Review* in December 1902 there was a section titled "The Sudden Rise of Private Universities." Toward the end it had the following.

> I would very much welcome it if the likes of Waseda, the Philosophy Academy, and Meiji Law School, in their track record and reputation, were to compete with the law and liberal arts schools of the Imperial University and, being found not inferior, took the small step of strengthening their base and increasing in size, thereby becoming universities. The sudden rise of private universities is a major turning point in Japanese education.

This was a time when private schools in general were growing in power and there emerged some, such as the Philosophy Academy, that had amassed so much strength they were able to rival the Imperial University.

Enryō was steady in his approach to management, but he was not passive and worked proactively. It is likely he saw things like accreditation for teacher certification as opportunities for proactively creating a new university and a comprehensive school system. Therefore, he decided to use the Haramachi site exclusively for Keihoku Middle

School and search for a new site for the relocation of the university. This would end up being around fifty thousand square meters in Tokyo's Ekoda in Nogatamura, Toyotama, known by locals as "Wadayama" (the location of today's Temple Garden of Philosophy in Matsugaoka, Nakano ward). In August, he signed a purchase agreement and bought the new school site. It was the first step on a new challenge for Enryō.

Following this Enryō wanted to explore new educational objectives so he planned an observational tour of Europe and the United States that would start in November. He discussed this as follows.

> It is not my intention to survey politics or education, but rather to visit countries in the West where private schools are flourishing, mainly to see how they are structured and how they approach administration. I feel there is a great deal of research to be done on improving private schools. The most urgent task is to cultivate capable people to be the lifeblood of our society.

At this time when private schools were growing in strength, the Philosophy Academy was aspiring to be one of the leading institutions by achieving the valuable goal of becoming a full-fledged university. But then the "Philosophy Academy Incident" happened.

Behind the Philosophy Academy Incident

The Philosophy Academy Incident was one of two great ideological incidents of the Meiji era. The first was a case of alleged disrespect of the Imperial Rescript on Education by UCHIMURA Kanzō, a teacher at the First Higher Middle School in 1890. The second, in

1902, was the Philosophy Academy Incident when an examination question written by Philosophy Academy teacher NAKAJIMA Tokuzō was seen as disrespecting the emperor. The incident was rooted in Nakajima's prior position in a Ministry of Education committee.

In 1900 Enryō was commissioned by the Ministry to be an examiner of textbooks for the cultivation of character. The term "cultivation of character" referred to what we call today "morals and ethics." At the time this was mainly based on the decree of Emperor Meiji—that is to say, on the Imperial Rescript on Education—but even though ten years had passed since its promulgation it had not taken root in society. There was also the problem of its incongruity with the general trend of changes around the world at the time. On the ground at elementary schools, it was normal to have students rote memorize the Rescript, but this was not helping them understand the value of good morals.

In 1900 the Ministry of Education asked Nakajima to become a member of the drafting committee for the cultivation of character textbooks but he refused. The Ministry continued to repeat its request and finally Nakajima was forced to accept. The drafting of textbooks was extremely difficult because of the relationship with the emperor's Rescript. This is probably why Nakajima repeatedly declined the request.

Six months after Nakajima took up the position he was suddenly directly accused by a right-wing journalist who said, "A certain Mr. Nakajima, a terribly blasphemous liberal, is making an argument for repealing the Imperial Rescript." Although this issue was raised in the

House of Representatives of the Imperial Diet, the Ministry of Education rejected the accusation, saying it was completely groundless. However, Nakajima resigned from his position shortly after.

Contemporary researchers believe there are two reasons why Nakajima was accused of advocating for the rejection of the words of the emperor in the form of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

The first was a sort of conspiracy among some bureaucrats and scholars of Chinese classics. At the time the Ministry of Education was trying to remove the study of Chinese classics from the middle school curriculum. The scholars who opposed this fabricated a story based on two separate articles from a certain newspaper to manufacture the following claim.

> Nakajima Tokuzō is an advocate of repealing the Imperial Rescript on Education, and the Ministry of Education's appointment of Nakajima as a member of the drafting committee for the cultivation of character textbooks equates to blasphemy against the Emperor.

The story was used in a campaign spearheaded by rightwing newspapers and magazines to use Nakajima as a weapon to attack the Ministry. In the end, the embattled Ministry made a deal and cancelled the removal of Chinese classics studies.

The second reason was a tip-off by someone who had heard Nakajima's draft proposals. Nakajima personally believed there was an easier way for children to understand cultivation of character and morality. He felt it would be more productive if elementary school textbooks were based on tasks and materials centered on the more

easily-understood "three virtues: wisdom, humanity, and courage" as opposed to simply forcing children to memorize the Rescript. His opinion was based on pedagogical usefulness. However, when Nakajima shared his idea with one of the committee members, a tip-off was made to people connected to the Ministry. They claimed that he supported revoking the Rescript and that he was contradicting the pious policy that, "Cultivation of character must be based on the intent of the Imperial Rescript on Education."

It is said this is why the Ministry of Education put a black mark next to the name Nakajima Tokuzō.

The Graduation Exam Answer

The graduation exams for the first-class students of Course One (Ethics) of the education department began on October twenty-fifth and lasted for a week until the thirty-first. It was the exam for ethics studies during this time that triggered the incident. The exam was held in the library of the Philosophy Academy, and there were four examinees. Two inspectors were dispatched along with their staffers by the Ministry of Education to proctor the exam, KUMAMOTO Aritaka and KUMAMOTO Shigekichi. The exam was held under the watchful eye of these men and conducted by the Philosophy Academy administrative staff.

The ethics studies instructor was Nakajima Tokuzō. After resigning from the Ministry of Education Nakajima had returned to the Philosophy Academy. The textbook he used for the class was the first edition of *The Elements of Ethics* written by John Henry MUIRHEAD and translated by KUWAKI Gen'yoku. Muirhead was a British neo-

Hegelian philosopher, and his work was used as a textbook in many schools at the time. It also formed the basis of the exam question that became an issue.

After the exam had ended inspector Kumamoto Aritaka picked out the answers of a student named KATŌ Mitsuo from among the exam papers. He asked Nakajima about one question in particular (Nakajima had given this paper the highest score of ninety points).

There had been four questions, with the last of them being, "Is there such thing as an evil act that is based on good motives?" Katō's answer to this was, "One should not judge good or evil by looking at the resultant act without considering the motive. If not, he who commits regicide in the name of freedom would be subject to punishment [for his evil]." The term "regicide" used here refers to a citizen killing his lord or a son killing his father. The following exchange between Kumamoto and Nakajima regarding this answer sparked the Philosophy Academy Incident.

When Kumamoto discovered this he asked Nakajima, "Did you add any critical commentary to this theory of Mr. Muirhead?"

Nakajima replied, "I selected the textbook as one suited to the level of my students so I did not add any particular critique."

Upon this Kumamoto brought up the terrorist incident in June of the previous year when HOSHI Tōru, an influential member of the Association of Friends of Constitutional Government, was assassinated by swordsman IBA Sōtarō in the office of the counselor at City Hall. The media at the time had widely decried Hoshi as corrupt.

"According to Iba, 'It was a pleasure to kill that guy for the sake of the nation.' Shouldn't that be considered a good motive?"

"No, that is not right. No, his motives were merely subjective and emotional so in that case they cannot be considered good."

"But, if the motive is good killing one's lord is not evil, no?"

Nakajima replied to this based on the theories of Muirhead.

"It is not the case that it is absolutely wrong to murder one's lord. If it is unavoidable and one's motives are good there are times when it may be acceptable. In Japan, there is no example of a lord being killed. In England Cromwell led a parliamentary army to defeat the king's army and executed King Charles I, thus creating a republic, but his actions are accepted by historians."

"Does [Thomas Hill] GREEN also explain it like this?"

Nakajima replied, "Yes, I believe so."

The exchange between Nakajima and Kumamoto was as brief as the above interaction. It was clear that Kumamoto was suggesting Nakajima was problematic from the viewpoint of Japanese national polity because the latter accepted the idea of killing a monarch under some circumstances. Nakajima could never have dreamed that this would later develop into a major incident.

Why Did It Become a Problem?

When the inspector asked Nakajima if he had supplemented Muirhead's theory with critical commentary, Nakajima replied that he had not added anything in particular. For the inspector, accepting this meant also accepting terrorism. That is to say, he considered it dangerous ideology. At the time in Japan terrorist attacks against politicians were rampant. Based on this he concluded that this must be considered dangerous ideology. In his defense Nakajima argued that

there was a fundamental difference between that sort of terrorism and the question at hand.

Let's explore this a little further. It is a problem of the relationship between motives (i.e. the mind) and actions. In its essence the study of ethics seeks to define what can be considered right and wrong, or "good" and "evil," in human beings. If we consider the concept of murder, when we only look at the resultant act, it is evil. Surely everyone accepts this. However, there must be cases when, depending on the motive, it wouldn't be considered outright evil. An example of this could be when a parent kills an attacker to save their child.

If we think about this on a governmental level, if someone killed a king who was oppressing his subjects it might not necessarily be considered evil because it was done in order to save the people. This is the stance of Muirhead, the British ethicist who wrote the textbook on ethics that Nakajima used in his class. Consequently, this is exactly what the student wrote on his exam paper. In other words, he reproduced the content of the textbook in his answers, and this is what caused the problem. In the eyes of the Ministry, Katō's answer—i.e. Muirhead's way of thinking—raised the question of whether political terrorism could be seen as acceptable given the right circumstances. Taken to extremes this logic could lead to the simplistic idea that it is not evil to murder the emperor if he were considered problematic.

Thus, a single answer to a graduation exam would lead to the suspension of accreditation privileges by the Ministry over the school's educational content.

On November seventh one week after the completion of the graduation exams a graduation ceremony was held for the four students

from Course One of the education department. In his commencement address Enryō drew the students' attention to the fact that they were the first graduates who were eligible for certification without government examination. He also cautioned them about applying Western scholarly ideas to a Japanese context.

In addition, Nakajima touched on the theory and application of Muirhead's theory of self-realization and explained that because "it is the latest and most incisiveness theory, it sometimes engenders danger." Therefore, he stated, in its application people must be careful they do not operate on an incomplete understanding. This way they can avoid causing real-world misunderstandings.

Katō Mitsuo, who wrote the problematic answer, gave the formal reply speech as the student body valedictorian.

Around November tenth Enryō, Nakajima, and YUMOTO Takehiko visited Kumamoto Aritaka and others at the Ministry of Education. Rumors had been circulating since just a few days after the exams that the Philosophy Academy might not be able to grant the teaching licenses without further governmental examination.

On the thirteenth Enryō visited OKADA Ryōhei, director-general of the Ministry. Okada told him about the problematic textbooks and examination questions. In response Enryō stated that, "Education in ethics at the Philosophy Academy, while allowing free investigation, has its foundation in loyalty and filial piety based on the Imperial Rescript on Education." In Enryō's view the Academy allowed free and open debate, but there was no problem as its education was based in piety and obedient loyalty to the emperor and the Rescript. At the time he did not foresee a large issue so two days later on the

fifteenth he departed on his second world trip. Later, on the seventeenth, the Ministry of Education asked the Philosophy Academy to give an explanation of "the relationship between motives and actions." On the nineteenth, the Academy gave its reply to the Ministry.

The Philosophy Academy Incident

On December thirteenth the Ministry of Education revoked the Academy's teacher certification accreditation. This was the beginning of the Philosophy Academy Incident.

In January 1903 Nakajima Tokuzō took responsibility and resigned from the Philosophy Academy. He then wrote a letter to four newspapers, including the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, about the unfairness of the disciplinary action taken against the Academy. It was from here that a debate involving the opinions of the public began. Nakajima published his article "Why I Appeal to the Public on the Philosophy Academy Incident" and criticized the Ministry, emphasizing the following four points.

1. Is a teacher careless if he does not critique passages in ethics textbooks on issues such as killing one's monarch?
2. Is the school guilty of criminal negligence?
3. Is it also necessary to revoke future graduates' certification?
4. Can the Ministry of Education immediately revoke accreditation without having conducted regularly scheduled investigations, based on only one on-the-spot investigation of a graduation exam where it found teacher negligence?

In response, on January twenty-ninth, the Ministry countered through Kumamoto in the form of "The Story of the Man Concerned, Inspector Kumamoto."

1. Academic theories must be critiqued as theories.
2. The teaching of Muirhead's inflammatory academic theory as a complete theory of ethics is problematic.

In February, on the third and fourth, Nakajima published rebuttals in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and on the sixteenth, the *News of Current Affairs* carried a story by an official of the Ministry on the Philosophy Academy Incident. In summary it said,

1. Since the Philosophy Academy taught dangerous content that was not in accordance with national polity (Japan as a nation state with the emperor at its center), there is no need to give it special privileges compared to other schools. Therefore, we revoked accreditation for internal certification.
2. If the Philosophy Academy continues to advocate theories that are dangerous to the state, we may unilaterally order closure of the school.

This debate was taken up by various newspapers and magazines, and was widely discussed by the general public, making it a major social issue in 1903. Figure 6 shows the number of essays and articles on the Incident.

From December 1902 to February 1904 there was a total of 570 essays and articles. Of these, 473—more than eighty percent of the total—were published during the period when Nakajima was publicly

highlighting the problem from January to June 1903. Fifty percent were from February to March and it is even said that "not a day goes by without a newspaper or magazine reporting on the Philosophy Academy Incident," showing that it had become a public issue overnight. Most of the essays and articles were about the "unfairness of the Ministry of Education's punishment," while only a few considered its actions valid.

December 1902–February 1904

Year/Month	02/12	03/01	03/02	03/03	03/04	03/05	03/06	03/07	03/08	03/09	03/10	03/11	03/12	04/01	04/02	Total
Magazine	0	1	34	63	51	32	34	9	12	20	5	5	5	9	5	285
Newspaper	6	24	106	80	12	27	7	2	11	4	0	0	0	2	0	281
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
Total	6	25	140	143	63	59	43	11	24	24	5	6	5	11	5	570

Note: Numbers given represent totals for known works only. "Other" refers to monographs and book chapters.

February 1903

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

Figure 6: Number of Essays and Articles on the Philosophy Academy Incident

This reaction to the punishment was probably related to the criticism the Ministry of Education had already been receiving from society at the time. In 1902 the "Textbook Bribery Scandal" came to light. This involved large-scale corruption surrounding a textbook sales war. A total of two hundred people were arrested, including the prefectural governor, the assembly chairman, school inspectors, and officials of the Ministry of Education. Among them was Kumamoto Shigekichi, who, along with Kumamoto Aritaka, had supervised the graduation exams that led to the Philosophy Academy Incident.

At the time of the Philosophy Academy Incident the Ministry had been receiving severe criticism from the public due to this major bribery scandal. Even the Minister of Education ended up being reprimanded. The Ministry of Education's association with yet another incident during this time period likely meant increased public scrutiny. In March the Ministry dispatched Kumamoto, the inspector who was involved in the incident, to Europe under the guise of having him research higher education.

On March tenth 1903 a group of ethics researchers called the "Teiyū Ethics Society" published "An Opinion on the Philosophy Academy Incident," which helped to bring the Incident to a close.

> In the case of the problem at hand, the Philosophy Academy Incident, we do not accept that Mr. M's [Muirhead's] theory of motive is dangerous from the standpoint of education, nor do we accept that, in the role of an instructor in ethics studies, Mr. Nakajima is guilty of negligence that should be considered particularly reprehensible due to his having provided quotations as they stand [without commentary].

Immediately after the incident, in the absence of its director, the Academy decided to "show restraint and be cautious." In January it simply posted a notice of the event, withholding any opinion. The revoking of accreditation was a problem that not only affected the graduates of the ethics studies course. It also applied to students of the Chinese classics course that had already graduated. It effected three academic years of the education department, in Course One (Cultivation of Character/Education) and Course Two (Japanese

Language/Chinese Classics), impacting the future of a total of eighty-three students. Administrators gathered the current students in the lecture hall where they announced that the school would lose its accreditation privileges and explained that it would be possible for students to transfer to another school to continue their education. A graduate from that time described the situation as follows.

> When we entered the school there were quite a few of us in our grade, but partway through because of that business with the Muirhead ethics paper problem, internal accreditation for teacher certification was revoked. In response a group of my friends transferred to schools such as Tea-Water Normal School [today's University of Tsukuba]. Due to this, student numbers dropped to around half.

Although media coverage of the incident effectively ended in September, the rumor spread by the Ministry of Education that "the Philosophy Academy is a school teaching dangerous ideas" remained. Enryō called the incident a "human disaster" caused by the Ministry of Education.

VI. The Era of Founding Toyo University

Second World Trip

On November fifteenth 1902, before the Ministry of Education handed down its punishment, Enryō departed Tokyo and boarded a ship from Kōbe to begin his second world trip. On the first trip he had circled the globe eastward, but this time he went westward, stopping in India on the way. There he was reunited with two graduates of the school, KAWAGUCHI Ekai, who had been exploring Tibet, and ŌMIYA Kōnin, who was studying Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures. The two men guided Enryō around, visiting Buddhist landmarks and other places. While there he also had a meeting with Chinese modern thinker KANG Youwei.

Departing India and passing through the Suez Canal he traveled around Spain from the Mediterranean Sea before arriving in London the following year on January twenty-fourth. It was here that he learned of the Philosophy Academy Incident. He wrote,

> On the thirtieth of last month [January] there was an urgent report from Tokyo. It said that there had been an official telegram from the Ministry of Education on the thirteenth of December stating there had been a case of negligence related to an instructor's use of textbooks in the ethics course at the Academy. Because of this they had ordered the revocation of our teacher certification accreditation. When I heard of this I expressed my feelings in a Japanese poem:

> Do not think that the morning snow damages the field;
> It strengthens the roots of the growing wheat.
> Do not worry; after the damage there will be a fine day.

For Enryō the punishment came as a surprise. SAWAYANAGI Masatarō, a friend from his university days happened to be in London at the time. Sawayanagi was the Director of the General Education Affairs Bureau of the Ministry, and Enryō was able to ask about what was happening internally. Sawayanagi made the following suggestion.

> Regardless of the validity of the Ministry of Education's actions, I believe they will try to prevent a loss of face now that the issue has been officially deliberated and announced. It will not reverse the decision or renew accreditation in the short term. However, if you practice restraint and wait for some time to pass, I believe you will be able to reapply for accreditation.

Based on Sawayanagi's advice Enryō wrote a letter to the secretary of the Philosophy Academy dated February first, instructing him to take urgent action. In the letter he wrote, "The revocation of accreditation is indeed a surprising event. It is the greatest misfortune the Academy has experienced since the fire disaster."

As a countermeasure, because the students would now have to take the external government certification exams, Enryō decided that the school would purchase exam preparation textbooks. In terms of the school's policy toward the Ministry of Education in the interim, on the surface they would show restraint and obediently accept their punishment. In the background they would ask elder statesmen and

senior figures with connections to the Ministry of Education for help in soliciting lenient treatment.

A week later Enryō sent a letter to people connected with the Academy thanking them for their diligence in dealing with the incident. He stated, "Putting aside the problems for the school, we cannot ignore the huge problem caused for students. Our only choice in saving them is to restore accreditation." As head of school one would have expected Enryō to return home straight away. But, having already traveled so far and only just arrived at his research location, he decided to go forward with his plans, albeit with a heavy heart.

Enryō was of the opinion that the incident "was not a natural disaster and could only be seen as man-made." On February twelfth Enryō moved to the village of Burley, on the outskirts of the northern city of Leeds, to observe the situation in rural England. Leeds was flourishing due to the wool industry, and in Burley Enryō investigated folk customs, habits, and religion. He stayed there for one month at the residence of Mr. Buckley, which had been arranged by Miss Arnold Foster, a member of a wealthy local family.

Enryō hadn't seen England for fifteen years and its economy had developed significantly. The annual income of a maid in Burley was the same as that of a civil servant in Japan. He wanted to learn why there was now such a disparity. He discovered the following.

> Every Sunday people from all walks of life, rich and poor, each according to his or her own beliefs gather at the churches in the east or west. There are four or five churches in the village and not one of them is without crowds of believers. The English people are proud of this. It is no exaggeration to say that the

> power of their Sunday practice of self cultivation has made them wealthy and strong. Consequently, I wrote that, "In the midst of ringing bells, people come and go without hurrying. Fine gentlemen and ladies fill the churches, lined up in various colors like flowers. They work on self-cultivation from Sunday morning until dusk, and this is making the country wealthy and the military strong." I would like to see this method of Sunday moral cultivation also practiced in temples all around Japan.

On March twelfth he left the village and headed for Ireland. While on the ship he wrote,

> Reflecting on the incidents at Philosophy Academy in the past, I experienced deep feelings and wrote the following poem in the seven-character-line [Chinese style]: "The lecture hall collapsed overnight due to the wind, and as soon as it was fully rebuilt, it caught fire and was reduced to ashes. Despite my unresolved resentment, the wellspring of misfortune had not yet run dry, and just when I thought the natural disasters had finally passed, a man-made disaster hit us again." I wonder if what happened this time should be called a "man-made disaster"? If so, it must be said that we encountered three disasters: storm, fire, and human.

Traveling alone it seems only natural he would feel this way. We can imagine him thinking "Again??" In the fifteen years since founding, the school had been struck by three disasters. Enryō had always worked hard to turn a difficult situation into an opportunity but this

time the disaster was created by human beings. This is almost certainly why Enryō wrote his poem of lament. He seems to have recognized that he had no choice but to accept his fate.

His second world trip took him around what is today the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) and the Republic of Ireland, then around Europe from France to Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. He then left from Liverpool to make the long journey to New York. On June twenty-fourth he attended a graduation ceremony at Harvard University in Boston where former students of the Philosophy Academy were studying. He described the progress in the United States as follows.

> Although little time has passed since it became independent, it has already built up a wealthy and strong foundation. The application of electricity is astonishing, and the ingenuity of their machines is novel and outstanding. In industry, it has already surpassed the rest of the world, and in literature and art, it easily outmatches its rivals. Its politics are based on rules of equality, and the people have equal rights with no disparity. In the locomotives there are no first, middle, or lower classes. There is not even any distinction between government, public, and private schools. Who can imagine what the future holds for this country? Perhaps there will be a time when it will shake the world.

He ended his eight-month trip after arriving in Japan from Seattle on July twenty-seventh 1903.

The Spirit of Independence and Self-reliance

The diaries of his second world trip were published together in the Philosophy Academy's journal *Oriental Philosophy* from the installments he had sent back (later to be published in book form as *Diaries of a Voyage West*). However, this did not contain any mention of the Philosophy Academy's policy following the incident. One person said of Enryō,

> Doctor used to say, "I will not deviate from my principles even if it kills me." Once he had made up his mind to do something, he had the steel-willed courage to keep moving forward, overcoming all difficulties.

Immediately after his return to Japan he was interviewed by a newspaper and it showed there had been no change to his principles.

Enryō stated that he had submitted a petition to the Ministry of Education and that he had done so on behalf of the students that had been punished, but there had not been any response. He took the consistently uncompromising stance that, unless the problem affecting these students was solved, the school would not accept reaccreditation even if it were offered. This approach of outright declining a compromise was taken in line with what he saw as the duty of an educational facility. That is to say, he did not accept the punishment for the incident.

Moreover, Nakajima Tokuzō had resigned to take responsibility for the incident, but as soon as Enryō returned to Japan he asked him to return to work. In Nakajima's diary entry for August thirty-first he writes, "I have enthusiastically agreed to once again become

one of the lecturers at the Philosophy Academy." It would seem that Enryō's efforts to reinstate him at this point were based on a desire to return things to how they were before the incident.

Before returning to Japan, on May thirtieth, Enryō sent a farewell address to be read at the school's thirteenth graduation ceremony. In it he stated that the future policy of the Philosophy Academy would be "to establish a purely private school with a spirit of independence and self-reliance." He did not, however, give any concrete examples of this policy.

On September fifth Enryō published "A Message to All Alumni" in which he clarified the future policy of the Philosophy Academy in detail. In the text he discussed the different characteristics of English and Japanese people. He argued that the reason for England becoming the most advanced country in the world was the character of its people. First of all, English people are rich in the spirit of independence and self-reliance. Secondly, they are a practical people. They master lofty theories but never forget practicality. This spirit is lacking in the Japanese people, and the aim of the Philosophy Academy in the future will be to cultivate such a spirit. He then described reforms to the Academy in the following six areas.

1. *Establishing university courses*. A university system will be established in accordance with the Vocational School Decree of 1903. There will be three courses: preparatory, specialized, and university. The specialized course will take three years. The university course will take five years and graduates will be awarded the title "Graduate" or "Master of Philosophy."

2. *The education department and teacher certification examinations*. As accreditation has been revoked, the school will focus their examinations on the cultivation of practical skills. The school will use a merit-based approach so that, depending on academic ability, students will be able to pass the examinations in one year or six months instead of three years.
3. *Philosophy department pragmatism*. The entire purpose of the philosophy department is to nurture specialists in religion. The school has educated students in the basics of Buddhism over three years and has taught further elective subjects, such as ethics, psychology, and law in order to give them broad perspectives and knowledge. However, the school will now focus on pragmatism by placing emphasis on teaching Chinese language (through Chinese classics) and English.
4. *Responding to internationalization*. The school has placed an emphasis on cultivating specialists in education and religion but in response to changing times the school will cultivate all types of human resources with a focus on internationalization. Because Japanese people are most active in America, China, and the Korean peninsula, in the future the school will provide language education centered on English and Chinese. The school will provide an elective course for this purpose.
5. *Construction of the "Philosophy Shrine" as a memorial*. Once basic funds have been collected construction will begin on the site of the new the university. The building commemorating the establishment of the university will be called the "Four Sages Hall" and will memorialize philosophers ancient and modern

from East and West. Further, a monument will be erected inscribed with the names of the eighty-three graduates and current students who had their certifications revoked due to the Philosophy Academy Incident.

6. *Promotion of applied philosophy*. The policy of the Philosophy Academy has been to encourage not only the study of theory but also the application of philosophy to society. Graduates have fully realized this goal, directly through education and religion, and indirectly through engaging in areas such as law and industry. However, after the founding of the university, the school will place even greater emphasis on this. Further, those who have not only made academic achievements but have also have meritorious acts to their name and have created prestige for themselves will be awarded titles such as "Accredited Graduate," "Lecturer," or "Honorary Lecturer" as is done at Harvard University in America. Application of these titles will be an expression of the emphasis on education at the Philosophy Academy.

Thus, the Philosophy Academy began its new journey.

Surrounding Reapplication

The Vocational School Decree promulgated in 1903 changed the nature of higher education in Japan. The definition of a vocational school was "a school for teaching advanced academic skills and techniques." Entities that had previously been categorized as private schools could now refer to themselves as universities. In 1903 three

public schools and thirteen private schools were approved, followed by one more public school and twenty-two private schools the next year. By 1905 a total of sixty-three (including technical colleges) had become vocational schools. (Today's vocational schools were certified by a new law following the end of World War Two. They are now officially referred to as "special vocational schools" and focus on profession-specific education).

Enryō applied after returning home and in October the school received certification as the new "Philosophy Academy University." The graduation diplomas could now carry the words "Philosophy Academy University Master of Philosophy." It had been about fourteen years since the announcement in 1890 of the establishment of specialized courses aimed at developing university departments. The school had overcome the hardships of rebuilding after the fire disaster and the Philosophy Academy Incident.

One of Enryō's goals from the very founding of the school had now been achieved. To commemorate the event the Philosophy Shrine (today's Four Sages Hall) was built on the new school grounds (today's Temple Garden of Philosophy), and an opening ceremony was held on the afternoon of April first 1904.

On the morning of that day the opening ceremony had been held for Philosophy Academy University but the school was in a difficult situation financially. It had been run based on small yen-amount donations from individuals without support from influential people in politics, business, or religion. In March of 1904, leading up to the university's opening ceremony, the alumni association sent out a letter of appeal to its alumni as a start to its proactive donation drive.

As president of the university Enryō also made efforts to solicit donations when he was traveling around the country giving lectures. For example, in the severe winter of January 1904 he toured the Kōshū region to report on the opening of the university and the establishment of his "Morality Church." The total amount of donations received at that time was about 488 yen.

In addition to donations an important source of funds for the university was revenue from fees for student examinations, admissions, and tuition. However, around the time of the opening of the Philosophy Academy University student numbers had decreased. Enryō cited three reasons for this.

The first was the impact of social conditions: the Russo-Japanese War had an economic impact on all areas of people's lives and the pressure on family budgets, in particular, temporarily reduced opportunities for students to pursue higher education.

The second was the development of the educational arms of Buddhist organizations. These schools had secured the privilege of conscription deferment and were reinvigorated by being recognized under the Vocational School Decree. As a result those that had previously attended the Academy began to think that a Buddhist university might provide them with better opportunities in the future.

The third was revocation of accreditation for certifying middle school teachers without government examination due to the Philosophy Academy Incident. Along with conscription deferment, accreditation was a distinctive feature of a private liberal arts university. As a result some of its students transferred to other schools, reducing the roll to about half.

The newly launched Philosophy Academy University was heavily burdened with sudden changes in society coupled with the effects of the Philosophy Academy Incident. In order to cope with the immediate decline in enrollment Enryō asked leaders such as the chief abbot of the Soto Zen school, one of the largest Buddhist orders, to certify graduates of his university as temple abbots. Enryō also took a variety of other measures aimed at encouraging admissions. However, this was not enough to address the underlying problem behind the dramatic drop in student numbers.

From the middle of October a new development emerged among lecturers and alumni who were worried about the situation. They wanted to reapply for teacher certification accreditation. On October twenty-first a group of thirty-four friends and supporters of the school who had heard about this submitted a petition to school president Inoue Enryō. It read, "We hope that on this occasion the Philosophy Academy University will reobtain accreditation for the sake of the greater educational community in Japan." The following day, on the twenty-second, the alumni association held an extraordinary meeting. They also approved the same proposal and a petition was handed to Enryō by two representatives of the association. Further, three lecturers at the center of the movement acted on behalf of the group and submitted a signed "Letter of Counsel" dated the twenty-eighth. Following this graduates that had been negatively affected also submitted a petition related to reapplication.

Despite being faced with these proposals and recommendations Enryō responded that, "I cannot bear to do this again because it always ends in misfortune." He refused to accept the petitions, saying he could not reapply unless the problems of the affected graduates and faculty were resolved.

At the bottom of this reapplication issue was a difference of opinion between Enryō and the lecturers and alumni regarding how the university should be structured. The latter believed they should aim at developing the university within the scope of the newly enacted Vocational School Decree's system for higher education. Their focus was on cultivating competent educators in the interests of researching and popularizing philosophy, as Philosophy Academy University was the only school in Japan specializing in the subject.

On the other hand, as was highlighted following the Incident, Enryō wanted to "establish a purely private school with a spirit of independence and self-reliance." He wanted to contribute to society and maintain and develop the university without losing the founding spirit of the school and without relying on the Ministry of Education.

It was based on this line of thinking that Enryō established Philosophy Academy University and Keihoku Middle School. This was also the thinking behind his proposal following the Incident regarding the Morality Church Movement as a form of social education. It also informed his establishment of the Keihoku Kindergarten in April 1905 in response to the need for preschool education.

However, due partly to the fact that Philosophy Academy University was born under the new system of the Vocational School Decree, differences in thinking on the school arose between the university

president and the lecturers and alumni. This went on to change the school atmosphere to one of internal conflict. The reapplication for the accreditation could not be realized without Enryō's consent. His attitude is said to have been "bull-headed," as was seen in his post-return rehiring of Nakajima Tokuzō.

The problem of the university's reapplication was initially something Enryō tried to deal with on his own. However, his inability to resolve it meant it also started to affect some teaching staff and other people close to Enryō. Now, the problem threatened to shake the structure of the alumni association.

Those in favor of reforming the association expressed the opinion that, "the president is taking an antagonistic stance against the Ministry of Education" and that, "Academy-graduate teaching staff have formed a kind of clique and are extremely dictatorial." They believed that this behavior was not only found within the alumni association but that it was extending to the running of the university. This movement, which came to be known as the "Philosophy Academy University Reformation Incident," saw the president being sandwiched in a conflict between opposing cliques of graduates.

When the side advocating for reform sought solidarity from alumni across the country it escalated to the point that the opposing faction in the school sued four prominent reformation movement members for forgery of private documents. The case was settled through mediation by the prosecutor but the internal issues, including this incident of alumni conflict, only became more problematic.

"Weakness of the Nerves"

One of Enryō's acquaintances at the time commented on his mind state as follows.

> In early December of Meiji 37 [1905] I was working as a newspaper reporter when I received a letter from Professor Enryō. It read, "In the near future, if there is anyone attacking the Academy, or if anyone tries to contribute articles about the school, please do not engage with them." I thought that for a man with such a large and generous heart he must have been psychologically hurting.

American *yōkai* researcher Lafcadio HEARN (a.k.a KOIZUMI Yakumo) wrote on his impressions of Enryō after having met and talked with him in Matsue, Shimane prefecture, saying, "He is a very gentlemanly person." Many people that knew Enryō said they had never seen him angry. He was a moderate man, but he knew he was at the center of the problem. In a group photo taken in 1904 at the Aichi Prefecture Philosophy Academy Alumni Association meeting his face appeared dark and depressed, unlike all of the other photographs of him. Enryō used the words "dark tide" to describe himself at this time. Perhaps he meant to say he was stuck in a sea of darkness. He had been driven into a corner, unable to move left or right, spending his days with a distressed and conflicted heart. It appears that his mental state eventually started to eat away at him physically.

From the summer of that year Enryō was already showing signs of physical and psychological illness. The extent of the problem was such that "half a day's work required half a day's rest, and just a little

school work during the day left me feeling very tired at night." It was a serious situation for a man who had devoted every spare moment of his life to keeping himself busy.

Enryō felt he had achieved the goal for which he had been aiming since the beginning and wanted to make a clean break. Once, he even suggested to acquaintances that it might be better for the school to be dissolved and turned into a center for seminars.

The problems surrounding the university led to the criticism that "the Philosophy Academy is not the private property of Inoue Enryō or the Inoue family," and even to mistaken claims that the university belonged to one particular branch of a Buddhist sect. Enryō did not even attempt to deal with all of the misunderstanding," and in April 1905 he established a kindergarten. In the summer he departed Tokyo to go on a lecture tour of prefectures of Shizuoka, Yamaguchi, Nagasaki, and Ibaraki, which was also intended as an effort to restore his physical and psychological health.

However, regarding those days Enryō said, "I felt a great deal of mental fatigue and often spent my days in a state of idleness, sometimes drifting into pessimism and feeling as though nothing was going my way." A doctor diagnosed him as having neurasthenia, "a weakness of the nerves," but around November he fell into a state where "the desire to avoid regular school duties grew stronger every day." Eventually, in December this progressed to the point that while out in the garden he twice felt that he was "about to have a stroke." His family began to worry that something might happen to him.

On December thirteenth the yearly Philosophy Academy Memorial Meeting took place at the Ueno Seiyoken banquet rooms. At this meeting there were speeches by ISHIGURO Chikanori, in whose private tutoring school Enryō had studied as a child, and ŌUCHI Seiran, who had played a major role in reforming Buddhism in the Meiji era. After listening to these speeches Enryō returned home and gave a great deal of thought to all that had transpired. Then, as a solution to the many problems he was facing, he made up his mind to retire from all of the schools.

Thus, Enryō brought to a close an era that had seen him creating the Philosophy Academy and the Philosophy Academy University.

Founding Toyo University and Retiring from the School

December thirteenth 1905 was the day Enryō decided to retire. His successor was tentatively decided within two weeks and on the twenty-eighth a contract was signed to hand over the office.

The contract covered, first, a timetable for the change of president (from January of the following year), second, the continuation and management of the private school culture, and third, the determination of Enryō's property holdings.

Regarding the first item of the contract, his successor was chosen from among the lecturers. MAEDA Eun was chosen as the second president of the university Maeda was a doctor of literature from the True Pure Land Honganji School (Nishi Honganji) who was known as the leading authority on Tendai Studies and who had also taught at Tokyo Imperial University.

The second was to decide how the university would be structured

1. It would promote and disseminate Eastern philosophy, which was the main purpose of the school's founding.
2. It would become a non-profit foundation.
3. In the future, should one of the graduates be particularly outstanding, they could succeed as president. In any other case the president should be chosen from among lecturers from outside the university.

On January eighth 1906 a notice was posted at the university announcing the retirement of President Inoue Enryō. As many were surprised by the suddenness of the announcement, Enryō gathered the faculty and students in the auditorium and explained his reasons. His four "Reasons for Retirement," illness, business, society, and family, were also published in journals.

In February, at the suggestion of the school's alumni, the teaching staff and students decided to contribute money to create a monument to commemorate the spirit of the founder for future generations. The amount of donations exceeded expectations so the school also decided to erect a bronze statue and commission an oil painting.

On June twenty-eighth, two months after the entrance ceremony in April, the new name for the school that had been chosen by Enryō, "Toyo University," was officially approved. The Philosophy Academy had been labeled by the Ministry of Education as a school teaching "dangerous ideas"—a reputation that had persisted. It is likely that Enryō wanted to wipe away any connection with the incident and

start again, using the name "Tōyō," which in English means "Eastern." This was fitting, as he had traditionally used the word in terms such as "popularization of Eastern philosophy," as seen in the school's curriculum and contracts.

On July fourth in accordance with the contract Toyo University was incorporated as a foundation. The university was thus transformed from a school that was established and run by a single individual to one that was run as a legal entity. The foundation was set up with two directors, one auditor, and seventeen trustee board members. Thus, the university was entrusted to a new generation.

As already mentioned the establishment of the Philosophy Academy in 1887 was made possible by a donation of more than 780 yen from 280 supporters who agreed with Enryō's aims. Thereafter, he shifted from personal donations from known supporters to general national donations, touring all over the country to collect the money he used as the basis for the development of the university. It is interesting to consider how many donations Enryō must have collected from people before he decided to withdraw from the school.

Enryō published details of these donations in the university's journal *Oriental Philosophy*, but the full story was not known until recently. Thanks to the research of IDENO Naoki, *List of Founding Donors of Toyo University* was published and the names of the donors and the amounts were revealed in detail. We now know that there were 24,049 donors who contributed a combined total of 44,943.40 yen.

Three quarters of the donations were less than one yen. Enryō wanted to start an enterprise "without any special assistance or protection from outside" and the result was that he implemented his

philosophy and founded a comprehensive school with a university, a middle school and a kindergarten (the establishment of a primary school was postponed until deemed necessary).

The incorporated foundation Toyo University was established with all its basic assets donated by Enryō. The total amount of basic assets of land and securities and the non-basic assets of buildings and movable assets was about 105,244 yen. Enryō was given the Philosophy Shrine building, two one-story buildings in Akebonochō, and a stock certificate with a par value of 230 yen as a bonus for his services since the founding of the school. Enryō also bought back from the university the land where the Philosophy Shrine stood, around fifty thousand square meters.

After his retirement Enryō became president emeritus and advisor to the foundation, but his relationship with the university did not extend beyond attending events such as graduation ceremonies and alumni meetings. He felt that he should never interfere in the running of the university, as he had entrusted everything to his successor by contract. In the spirit of social education he devoted himself to activities related to the Morality Church (i.e. his nationwide lecture tours) and construction at the Philosophy Shrine. On two occasions he was asked by alumni to return to the school but he firmly refused, saying that people would laugh at him, claiming they "saw a ghost."

Before retiring he made a public will in which he forbade the founder's descendants from inheriting the school, saying, "As I started the school as a project for society and the nation there is no reason and no need for the descendants of the Inoue family to inherit it or to have anything to do with it." In those days there was a

saying "Leave your offspring a fertile field," meaning it was a virtue to leave assets to your descendants, but Enryō had a different view: "I have left my descendants the bare minimum, such as the royalties from my books, and for the rest they should work for themselves." This is because his philosophy was that "schools are the common property of society."

The Philosophy Academy, which Enryō founded in 1887 and maintained and developed on his own for twenty years, thus became Toyo University in 1906. From there it started out on a new path as a collectively-run vocational school. In April of the year after Enryō's retirement, 1907, an application was made for reaccreditation for teacher certification and this was approved the following May.

VII. The Era of Nationwide Lecture Tours and the Philosophy Shrine

Life-long Learning and the "Morality Church" Movement

Today we are all well acquainted with the term "life-long learning." We are able to get an education at school but we also have wide range of options for continuing to learn in environments that suit our individual interests, regardless of gender or age.

It is no longer well known but it was actually Enryō, more than one hundred years ago, who first proposed implementing the concept of lifelong learning in Japan (or "social education" as it was called then). On his second trip around the world Enryō experienced Sunday school in the English village of Burley and became convinced that, "In Japan, schooling is the end, but in England there is a place for education from birth to death." Thus, after returning home he took on the challenge of promoting life-long learning around the country through what he called the "Morality Church."

YAGUCHI Etsuko, a researcher on lifelong learning, explains how Sunday schools became popular in Britain.

> There are several theories on the origins of Sunday schools, but there are records suggesting they were first implemented in West Wales at the end of the seventeenth century. They are generally believed to have developed as a result of the need for basic education in areas experiencing increased population due to the industrial revolution, in the form of places for educating

children who worked in factories on weekdays. A widely-known example is the Sunday School Movement, started by Robert Raikes in Gloucester in 1780, which spread to other parts of the country. From the beginning there were many cases in which adults also participated, but in some places children went during the day and adults attended at night. Records remain from 1789 for a school for adults in Nottingham, thought to be one of the oldest, which also began as a Sunday school.

Sunday schools mainly taught reading and writing, but the nineteenth century saw the creation of a variety of organized educational settings, such as the Bell-Lancaster system, which laid the foundations for the passage of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. This was similar to the way in which Edo period temple-based private schools supported the spread of compulsory education in Japan after it was introduced in 1872. However, Sunday schools in Britain differed from these temple schools in that adults also took part in a variety of educational activities. Sunday schools began as places for educating children but evolved into educational institutions for local people, including adults, as a supplement to the primary education system. They also acted as places where adults could cultivate themselves to become respected members of society. At the time of Professor Enryō's visit to a village near Leeds, Sunday school seems to have served as a place for educational and cultural activities for the parish community young and old. They would also provide communal mutual aid, especially to poor families.

After returning from his second world trip Enryō announced his "Morality Church Movement" modelled on the Sunday schools. (This is discussed here out of chronological order to avoid confusion). Gen'ichi, Enryō's eldest son, explains why his father looked to England as a model.

> On his second visit abroad, after carefully observing the English over two months while traveling around the country he came to admire their respect for individuality and freedom. Unusually, my father did not display the slightest nervousness that was characteristic of the Japanese, and his strong-willed nature and understated way of following through on his own convictions made his personality similar to that of the English. Although he was not there for long, he appears to have enjoyed his time in England. He was particularly envious of their freedom of speech, their respect for human character, and their developed sense of social morality.

In order to create this sort of ideal society he positioned the Morality Church as a new educational project that could be an alternative for university correspondence learning. From September 1903 he took on the mighty challenge of distributing his *Purpose of Establishing the Morality Church* to cabinet ministers, heads of towns and villages, and primary school principals throughout Japan.

In *Purpose of Establishing the Morality Church*, Enryō addressed the problem of the gap in development between Japan and the countries of Europe and the United States, especially in terms of "the strength of a country and its people." He felt that the difference in the

strength of the population was rooted in the cultivation of the people (i.e. morality). In the West Sunday schools cultivated morality and supported people's way of life.

For this reason he believed there was a need in Japan for Morality Churches so the Imperial Rescript on Education could be spread to the people and interpreted for them. Through this people could learn patience, diligence, benevolence, independence, and freedom. He thought the churches should be set up by supporters from towns and villages and held on Sundays in temples and schools, with teachers or priests as lecturers. The idea was to include not only lectures but also other activities such as singing. The *Morality Church Magazine* (later retitled *Morality*) was published the following year to launch this nationwide movement. However, the Russo-Japanese War broke out at the same time, and according to TAKASHIMA Beihō, a graduate of the Philosophy Academy, this meant the publication did not produce the results for which Enryō had hoped.

This, however, did not mean that Enryō gave up. As we have seen, he was only forty-eight years old when he retired from the school in 1906 after incorporating it as a foundation. This shows how early he retired, even in those days when it was believed that "a lifetime is sixty years." Returning to his role as a "simple educator," he began to dedicate himself fulltime to his nationwide lecture tours in order to promote the Morality Church movement on his own with the aim of shaping an ideal nation and society.

Transport Infrastructure as the Basis for Nationwide Lecture Tours

Since his days at the Philosophy Academy Enryō had an interest in the rural, mountain, and fishing villages that had been left behind as the cities modernized. Without the revitalization of the countryside Japan would not be able to catch up with the West. In order to improve the strength of a country and its people there needed to be a change in people's consciousness and way of life. They needed to understand, for example, the idea that time is money. Thus, Enryō tried to sow the seeds for this sort of education in local communities through his lectures. Incidentally, it was the development of transportation systems that made it possible for Enryō to travel around the country. Let's take a look at what transportation was like in Japan a hundred years ago.

The construction of a railway system began with the line between Shimbashi and Yokohama in 1872. Next was the line between Kōbe and Ōsaka in 1874. The laborious work on the Ōsaka-Kyoto line was advanced following that, but after the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 construction work was done between Kyoto-Ōtsu and Tsuruga-Ōgaki, and the Shimbashi-Kōbe line was completed in 1889. This is known as the Tōkaidō Main Line. During this period the construction of railways funded by private capital also began, but in 1892 the Railway Construction Act was officially announced, making it a national project. Thus, by 1900 we see the completion of a full national railroad network running through the whole Japanese archipelago from Asahikawa in Hokkaidō in the north to Kumamoto in Kyūshū in the south.

From the beginning of the Meiji period, national highways were constructed to encourage the development of rural areas, with Tokyo as the starting point, extending to the port cities of Yokohama, Ōsaka, Kōbe, Nagasaki, and Hakodate. Priority was given to these cities and to roads leading to prefectural government offices and military bases. However, under the Rules for Local Taxes announced in 1878 funding responsibility was shifted to the prefectures and municipalities, with subsidies from the state being small and few in number. Compared with the rail system the development of roads between local areas lagged behind. One of the likely reasons for this is that, unlike in the West where roads had developed out of paths for horse-drawn vehicles, carriageways had not developed in Japan during the Edo period.

Construction of a state-run telegraph system also began at an early stage, in 1868, and by 1881 an all-Japan trunk line network was almost complete. The telephone came much later than the telegraph in 1878, one year after its initial introduction to Japan. The first practical use of the telephone was made between the Ministry of Home Affairs and police headquarters. After that it was installed in various government, railway, and large company offices but the decision for it to become a state-run service was not made until 1888. The development of the telephone network was slow and it was not until 1907 that an expansion plan was drawn up. By 1912 almost the entire country was covered.

Further, in 1871, the government issued a Grand Council of State edict to establish a postal service, and from March the system began,

tying Tokyo, Kyoto, and Ōsaka together in thirty-nine hours. Initially charges were based on an increasing scale depending on distance. As for transporting, the weight of the cargo carried by one person was limited to about one kilogram, and the journey was set at about twenty kilometers in two hours, with an attendant at night to ensure safety. In July of the following year, with the exception of one part of Hokkaido, the system was implemented throughout almost the entirety of the country and in 1873 fees were made uniform.

Behind the nationwide development of Enryō's lecture tours was the creation of the national infrastructure above. The railroads were used as a baseline for his travels but once off the main lines he had to travel by light rail, horse-drawn tramway, or even mining cart. Sometimes he would just go as far as he could on an express messenger horse and then continue on foot or by rickshaw. For example, records show it could take as long as five days to get from Tokyo to Miyakonojō in Miyazaki prefecture, traveling by steam train, riverboat, and horse-drawn carriage. It was not unusual for him to have to leave before dawn or to be stranded on an island for two days because of ship cancellations.

As an example of how dangerous places traversed by rickshaw could be, Enryō described his journey along a four-kilometer cliff road from Katsuura to Kamogawa in Chiba prefecture. The road was known by the name "Osen Falling to Her Death" (a woman named Osen was thrown off the road by the wind, dying instantly after hitting the water below).

> The early dawn sky was wrapped in rain and dark smoky clouds, and the travelers on the path could hear the angry yell of the raging waves in the distance. At the edge of the precipice the wind grew ever more violent, just where the lady Osen once fell, our vehicle, too, was rolled.

Although the vehicle was badly damaged Enryō was not thrown from it and his life was saved. According to his journals he fell from rickshaws on several other occasions.

"Rural Scholarship"

Enryō referenced FUKUZAWA Yukichi, a descendant of the Edo period gentry class, in clearly stating his own position in society,

> I call society's scholars "aristocratic," and I call myself "peasant-like." In the past Master Fukuzawa appointed himself "a common scholar," but I am one step lower than that, of the poorest peasant class of scholars.

As a commoner, Enryō humbled himself to a point below Fukuzawa and described himself as an ordinary everyman scholar. He worked to create relationships with everyday people on a deeper level than Fukuzawa. He described his style as "rural scholarship," which he defines as follows.

> If a gentleman is in the countryside, he is called a "rural gentleman" [an unrefined man], and thus, if a scholar is in the countryside, he should be called a "rural scholar." On the other hand,

> if a scholar lives in the city, has an official rank, and is employed by the government, he should be called a "government scholar." Although official government learning is noble, rural learning should not be disparaged. Sea bream sashimi is served to the nobility but does not pass the lips of the poor. Rural scholarship is the same as the rural music and dance of the countryside. I will become like the music of the countryside; I will make it my duty to prepare the dishes and serve that sustenance of learning to noble and common, rich and poor, alike.

The idea of rural scholarship as opposed to official scholarship is the spirit in which the Philosophy Academy was founded. The Academy was meant to open up educational opportunities for those who had no money or leisure time. The social conditions were different then and education was yet to reach those places in the countryside that were Enryō's target. For this reason he shifted from school-based education to social education and returned to his roots.

The Morality Church movement aimed to stress the importance of education and improve Japanese society by raising morals, quality of thought, and business acumen to the level Enryō saw in the West. In order to do this he focused his rural scholarship initiatives on the general public in the so-called rural areas—the provincial cities, towns, and villages that acted as the foundation of Japan.

Fukuzawa once famously declined to receive an elite title from the government. A little known fact is that, in his later years, Enryō also declined the suggestion of his receiving a similar award not once but twice. He lived his life as a philosopher and educator in the common sector, without bending a knee to enter the gates of power.

"South by Boat, North on Horse"

Enryō published the diaries of his Japan-wide lecture tours as the fifteen-volume *"South-by-Boat North-on-Horse" Collection* (volume sixteen was left unfinished due to his death). According to these works he traveled to sixty cities and 2,198 towns and villages in Japan and gave 5,291 lectures in 2,831 locations during the thirteen years from 1906 to 1918. Audience members totaled as many as 1,306,895 (adding the results of the subsequent tour in 1919, totals for lectures and audience members would reach approximately 5,400 and 1,400,000, respectively—a truly epoch-making scale of social education activity for the time). On average, he gave lectures at 218 locations a year, with an audience averaging 247 people per lecture. It really was a constant rush, just like the famous phrase from Chinese literature, "south by boat, north on horse."

The table below shows the number of lecture tour days by year (1911 was an exception because it coincided with his third world trip). His diaries show that he kept to a tight schedule of lectures, rarely going on excursions. To ensure no time was lost he would do things like take night trains to and from Tokyo. The most days he spoke in a year was 284, and the least was 172 (the year showing ninety-two days is when he was returning from a world trip). In three separate years he spoke on more than 250 days, in four years on more than 200 days, and in another four years on more than 170 days.

Year	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	
Age	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	Total
Days	173	275	262	185	226	7	92	284	232	197	214	221	172	81	2621

Note: Lecture days while abroad are omitted. 1911 was the year of Enryō's third world trip

Figure 7: Days of Lecturing Per Year

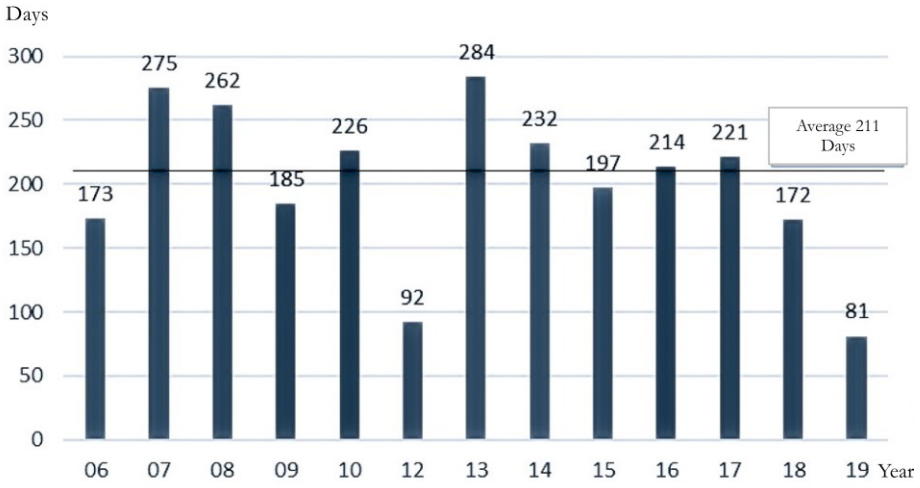


Figure 8: Yearly Lecture Days

Enryō spent the last thirteen years of his life promoting lifelong learning and giving lectures all over the country. As we can see above he gave lectures on more than 2,600 days and the average number of days per year exceeded two hundred. The breakdown of how he managed to accumulate such a large number of speaking days had not previously been investigated. Here I was able to learn something by looking at his diaries and categorizing the information according to the number of lecture days in one round.

Figure 9 below shows the aggregated results of Enryō's lecture tours by period (in months). In total there were forty-eight lecture rounds. This table reveals two things. The first is that there were ten long rounds of lecture tours of up to five months, and another twenty-five short rounds of one-to-two months. We can see that Enryō carried out his lecture tours around the country combining these two approaches. From an outsider's point of view, we can easily imagine doing a lecture tour that lasts up to around two weeks but a month or more would be beyond the imagination of most people. In

his journals Enryō wrote, "I saw a train for the first time in three months," indicating he had been traveling around remote, hard-to-access villages for that long.

Duration in Months	5	4	3.5	3	2.5	2	1.5	1	0.5	Total
Times Completed	2	1	1	2	4	8	16	11	3	48

Figure 9: Lecture Tour Lengths (in Months) and Frequency

It was a daily repetition, "In the morning I travel, in the afternoon I give a lecture, and in the evening I write with my brush." The places and audiences changed but day-to-day life was basically the same. There were six occasions when he spent more than three months on the road continuously lecturing. On two occasions he did not return home for over five months. Enryō would have said that was the only way he could cover the entire country. I remember one of my students looking at his diaries and saying, "Enryō-san really was always working hard toward big goals, wasn't he?"

In rural areas hotels were not available so it was not uncommon for Enryō to stay in the night watchman's room at a primary school or town hall. He refused to be seen off when departing and took only third-class train seats. He ate simple rice balls for lunch and kept his personal belongings, from clothes to bag and watch, simple and practical without pretension. The graduates of his school would say, "Even though he is so well respected he looks like nothing more than a village leader or a revenue officer from the mountains."

Apparently he always took his signature bag (which is still on display in the Toyo University Museum) with him on his tours.

> His bag was quite famous. It was two *shaku* long [approx. 50 cm] and looked like it belonged to a medical quack. It had been with him for decades, and he had never let it go. It was his classroom, his banquet party, his mosquito net (hanging in his bedroom to keep the mosquitos away), his boat and horse travel saddle… Inside were brushes, paper, ink stone, pocketbooks, stamps, sweet bean jelly—all of the many tools of the trade for a teacher. He never failed to make use of those tools, even if it were only for a short moment, such as when on the train. It was almost always during this time that he answered letters, wrote manuscripts for journals, and kept records of his travels. His diligence and penmanship have never been equaled.

His trips were often long and he spent little time at home, returning for a few days or a week at the most before setting off again.

During his many years of tours throughout Japan he only once cancelled his plans. On August twenty-fifth 1909 he received a telegram in Shizuoka prefecture while on his way to lecture in Shimane prefecture. It informed him that his mother was in critical condition. He took the midnight train in hope of arriving in time to see his mother, Iku, in her last moments, but she passed away two hours before he could reach her. Following this Enryō refused to attend all of his scheduled lectures and hid himself away in the Philosophy Shrine in mourning (it was during this period of mourning that he wrote *New Proposal in Philosophy*, a culmination of his philosophical writings, which he dedicated to the woman who had raised him).

Meeting with the People

The organizers and promoters of the lectures included local town and district education associations, Buddhist groups, youth groups, women's associations, business clubs, agricultural associations, and in remote areas, combined communities of three or four villages. There were also individuals such as heads of towns or villages, school principals, and groups of Philosophy Academy supporters. Each group was led by a school inspector of the respective prefecture and accompanied by former students of the Academy and old friends of Enryō based in those areas. They received cooperation everywhere from graduates of the Academy and Keihoku Middle School and the venues were always visited by graduates, illustrious guests (who had donated large sums of money), and correspondence students who had studied from the Lecture Records.

It is said that Enryō did not like to be welcomed or seen off but he was welcomed in elaborate ways everywhere he went. There were *taiko* drums booming, the flags of all nations flying on boats, children in line waving small Japanese flags, or lively trumpets to welcome him.

The audience (who Enryō referred to as "the people") was diverse and included men and women of all ages. Enryō did not restrict access and also spoke to toddlers and elementary school children. Although there were times when an audience did not come together due to the weather, the venues were often filled to capacity even when it clashed with a local sumo tournament. The lectures were almost always a great success and attracted many people. This was partly due to the cooperation of organizers from both the public and private spheres, but also because Enryō's presentations were so unusual.

Enryō divided his lecture into two sessions, each lasting about thirty minutes. It would have been just the right amount of time for the general public. The themes were divided into two categories, "Morality/Cultivation of Character" and "General," with about ten subtopics for each in the style of a menu. This "menu" would be announced in advance and the organizers in each region could choose the topics that took their interest. This was a device that Enryō used to ensure that people could easily understand the content.

Judging by the information he provided concerning his lectures the most popular topic was "Imperial Decrees and Morality," accounting for forty-one percent of the total. Given the purpose of the Morality Church movement it was only natural that many of the lectures focused on the Imperial Rescript on Education, cultivation of character, and ethics. This topic was followed by "Mysteries and Superstition," which accounted for twenty-four percent. The fact that Enryō was affectionately known as "Dr. Specter" or "Mystery Doc" was well known. "Philosophy and Religion" ranked third, at only fifteen percent and the fourth most popular topic was "Education" at eight percent. Fifth was "Business" at seven percent and sixth was "General Travel Stories" at five percent.

While he focused on the Rescript, Enryō also lectured on a variety of topics aimed at the general public. As we have already seen lectures on mystery studies were popular. SAIDA Kōyō, a graduate of the academy and the chief writer of the *Fukuoka Nichinichi Shimbun*, had this to say.

> Dr. Enryō, well known as a researcher in the field of mystery studies, is often called "Dr. Specter." The year before last, while on a tour of Miyazaki prefecture, people heard that a lecture would be held in the countryside and thousands of people came from far and wide, making it the most successful speech in a rural area almost since the beginning of time. He was so skilled that people would say, "Having so many gathered so enthusiastically for a speech on the path of the Morality Church, it appears that our road to the heavens has not yet been destroyed!" In any case, they went to witness the spectacle that was the speech, saying, "I heard a super famous professor of monsters is coming from Tokyo! I wanna go look at the monster prof. I wonder what he looks like. What will he be wearing?"

The descendants of those who actually attended Enryō's lecture during the Taishō era, in what is now Murayama city, Yamagata prefecture, spoke of his influence as follows.

> The first electric lights came on in Ōkubo in Taishō 7 or 8 [1918 or 1919], so in Taishō 5 there wouldn't have been any of that sort of lighting. It was probably natural for them to believe in superstitious things. I've never seen a specter, but my parents would say they are very frightening. After Professor Enryō's lecture their superstitions weakened. At that time there weren't even six hundred houses in the village, but the elementary school gymnasium they used as the venue had never been so full. There must have been six or seven hundred people there, with people coming in from the neighboring areas.

> I was in the fifth grade of elementary school and Professor Enryō's speech was quite unusual. My parents were very superstitious and it was gloomy in the evenings. It was scary when it got dark. Dr. Enryō taught us that stories of fen-fire, will-o'-the-wisps, and specters should never be feared. My young mind was put at ease.

Although Enryō's nationwide travel tours were based on a grand plan, he actively gave lectures in remote areas. We can assume that he went through many hardships but he rarely talked about difficult times. However, he was close friends with Philosophy Academy lecturer SHIMAJI Daitō and he told him about tough experiences from his travels, which Shimaji recalled as follows.

> Professor Enryō famously had three prohibitions: no drinking, no smoking, and no calligraphy… He spoke calmly about his great desire to travel throughout Japan and the methods and preparations for doing so. He said that if he wanted to ensure that the venerable intentions of the imperial decrees were properly spread even among people in remote areas deep in the mountains, where even horse-drawn carriages were not able to access, he could not complain about there being no vehicles or horses to ride, no inns, or [satisfactory] food. He usually spoke at the elementary school and also slept there. Sometimes he had to pull together classroom desks so he could sleep on top and he did not have any good food to eat. During those times if he wanted to hear about the local customs and manners from the head of the village or the schoolmaster there was no place for

commenting on a lack of basic necessities. He had to sit side by side with them, share a cup of their "village liquor," and smoke their homemade cigarettes. In this way he was able to fully achieve the purpose of his travels.

One of the graduates of the academy said, "When I was in school Professor Enryō was always coldly sullen, but after he retired and started giving lectures he was always warmly smiling." It appears that Enryō must have found meaning in life through spending time with everyday people.

Establishing the Philosophy Shrine

After retiring from the university Enryō decided to buy back around fifty thousand square meters of land where the university was to be relocated. At the time the land was home to the Philosophy Shrine (today's Temple Garden of Philosophy in Nakano ward, Tokyo). The only structure that had been built by 1904 was the Philosophy Shrine (today's Four Sages Hall), dedicated to the four sages: Shakyamuni, Confucius, Socrates, and Kant.

Enryō had begun his Morality Church movement in 1906, and for a year he observed the reactions of various audiences. Perhaps this was to test demand for a nationwide tour. He did not make local communities pay for the lectures and instead collected donations and gave pieces of calligraphy in return. He decided to leave half of the donations collected in the local area and bring half back to Tokyo so he could turn the Philosophy Shrine into a park. This is why Enryō's calligraphy can still be found in various places today.

As previously mentioned Enryō had professed to "calligraphy abstinence" during his time at the Philosophy Academy, so he used Kaishū's as a thank-you gift to donors. (Enryō did write commemorative messages for graduating students, but according to Takashima Beihō the penmanship was far from elegant). However, after Kaishū's death in 1899 Enryō began to write framed calligraphy and hanging scrolls in response to requests. It is said that "the best way to leave your name in this world is with calligraphy," but we can see that Enryō did not actually want to leave calligraphy for future generations. This is evidenced in his poetic inscription on a burial mound for discarded brushes in the Philosophy Shrine: "For now, I will take on shame, until the Philosophy Shrine is completed."

Today the Temple Garden of Philosophy has two baseball fields, six tennis courts, a children's park, offices, and the wooded areas of the Philosophy Shrine. It is conceivable that Enryō had drawn the basic blueprints himself when he bought this large tract of land. The Four Sages Hall was the first building. It was located in front of a flat area called The Hill of Time and Space and was the first thing one would see when entering the gate. Having seen parks in Japan and around the globe, Enryō had a unique park in mind, the only one of its kind in the world. In 2020 the Temple Garden of Philosophy was designated as an urban park of national scenic beauty. (You can learn about today's park at www.tetsugakudo.jp).

Enryō positioned the Philosophy Shrine as the head temple of the Morality Church but he also wanted to make the park a place useful for cultivation of character. This idea came from the West. Enryō said,

> In the West there are parks to cultivate the body and church halls to cultivate the mind. They spend half the day in a church hall and half the day in a park. They believe that through this both mind and body are cultivated.

In 1907 one year after the start of his nationwide travels, construction began on the park with a scope of around fifty thousand square meters. The Four Sages Hall dedicated to the world's sages had already been completed. Next to come were the Pagoda of the Six Wise Ones, dedicated to the sages of the East, and the Three Erudites Arbor, dedicated to the sages of Japan. The park is divided into flat spaces and sloped areas, with the river Myōshōjigawa running along the border. Enryō built a new path along the river so that people could walk around the wooded areas from end to end. The land at the bottom was divided into two areas named after philosophical ideas, the "Garden of Materialism" and the "Garden of Idealism." These spaces have seventy-seven features, including springs, caves, ponds, and sloping paths, all of which were named after philosophical theories, such as subjectivity, objectivity, monism, and dualism.

In addition to this the Three Founders Yard (the Yellow Emperor of China, Aksapāda of India, and Thales of Greece), the Cosmos Hall, and the Citadel of the Absolute (a library) were completed around 1915, making it the philosophy theme park that it is today. Eventually it was opened to the public and became a park for cultivation of spirit just as Enryō had intended. (Enryō forbade private ownership of the Temple Garden of Philosophy by the Inoue family in his last will and testament, and after his passing it became a nonprofit foundation. During the Second World War, in accordance with

his will, the park was donated to the Tokyo metropolitan government. It was later transferred to Nakano ward, and is now known as the ward-administered "Temple Garden of Philosophy." The park is popular for sports and is lovingly thought of as "a park for the mind," with 170,000 visitors a year from Tokyo and beyond).

Completing a Full World Journey

Enryō's domestic lecture tours were going well, but now let's take a look at his planning for a third world trip. Today Toyo University is home to a collection of Western language works that belonged to Enryō. In the collection there are several travel guidebooks for various countries around the world. For the previous five years Enryō had spent more than half of each year touring Japan and now he was taking a break and using these books to map out new countries to visit. He had already been around the world twice, once going east and once going west, but he had never traveled north-south. For that reason he departed for the southern hemisphere on his third international journey.

In 1911 Enryō set out for Australia and the southern hemisphere. He was already fifty-three years old. At the time it was believed that "a lifetime is sixty years" but Enryō's challenging spirit had not waned. This time he traveled on the Japanese ship Nikkō Maru. In his travel diary *50,000 Miles in the Southern Hemisphere* he wrote, "The twenty or so first-class passengers were all white people," suggesting that Japan's internationalization was progressing only gradually. He departed from Yokohama on April first.

Let's have a look at his itinerary for Australia from his diaries. Departing from Yokohama, the ship stopped at the ports of Kōbe, Moji, and Nagasaki before leaving Japan and stopping at Hong Kong and Guangzhou in China. Later, on the fifteenth, the ship arrived in Manila, Philippines. On the seventeenth he left port and crossed the equator, describing the event as follows.

> It has been fewer than thirty days since we departed Japan, and the ship has entered foreign lands where the natural scenery is new to my eyes. Traveling alone, I can't help but feel a little emotional, having found myself south of the equator for the first time.

On the twenty-fifth the ship passed through New Guinea and stopped at Australia's Thursday Island before arriving in Townsville on the twentieth. Twenty-eight days had passed since leaving Japan. It was springtime in April when he departed but the southern hemisphere was transitioning from autumn to winter. He traveled around from Brisbane to Sydney and then to Melbourne. (He learned that there were more than 150 female students at the University of Melbourne and twice as many at the University of Sydney. This is said to be why Toyo University later became the first co-educational school in Japan).

On May sixteenth he changed ships in Melbourne and headed for South Africa. As the ship was pulling away from Tasmania, he saw a pod of whales. He described reaching the edge of the southern hemisphere as follows.

> The seas of Australia are now far away and cannot be seen. From beyond the clouds the waves come one after another. Now, Antarctica is not far. I know because the southerly wind is cold as ice.

After traveling across the southern Indian Ocean, he arrived in Durban, South Africa on June eleventh, almost a month after leaving Australia. Then, after passing the Cape of Good Hope, the ship entered Cape Town. However, Enryō encountered something unexpected there.

> My plan was to stay in South Africa and visit the interior of the country. However, the cost of living was twice that of England and they tended to be hostile toward Japanese people, so I was forced to abandon my survey.

In search of a ship to South America Enryō headed to London, arriving there on July seventh. It was a month-long boat trip and was Enryō's third time in London.

> London has more than seven million people living in a city forty kilometers wide. The city has some buildings as tall as mountains, and the streets are filled with people coming and going like waves lapping back and forth. The subway is so bright at night it is like daytime, and inside the Crystal Palace [a huge structure built of steel and glass built for the first World's Fair in 1851] it feels like spring even though it is summer. Every day is new and civilization flourishes more every month. It is a city that nowhere in the world can rival.

On July twenty-first Enryō suddenly decided to board an Artic sightseeing boat. He had already been close to the Antarctic from Tasmania, Australia, and perhaps this is why. At six in the evening on August twenty-eighth he arrived at his destination, North Cape, Norway, the northernmost point of Europe. In his diary he wrote, "Looking out I can see as far as the Arctic." Enryō, greatly moved by the experience, "Shared champagne with fellow passengers and gave out a hurrah." He then watched the nighttime white-sky sun while returning to the harbor.

After that he surveyed Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in Northern Europe, and then passed through Germany, Switzerland, and France before returning to London on the eighteenth of August. On this trip Enryō experienced a modern ferry that could carry a train onboard, he saw "something like a boat above the clouds," i.e. a blimp, and he observed developments in scholarship and its application. Of this experience he said, "I roamed around the fields of Europe with joy and looked forward to returning home with both hands full of new knowledge."

On the twenty-seventh Enryō boarded a ship bound for South America and crossed the Atlantic Ocean via Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands, arriving in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on September fourteenth. In Brazil he surveyed the situation of Japanese immigrants in São Paulo, and arrived in Buenos Aires, Argentina from Montevideo, Uruguay on October second. He said the following about his impressions of the region.

> I sat in front of the window one night and deeply soaked in the fact that I was in a foreign land. A spring breeze was blowing on the night of the mid-autumn full moon, and the moonlight was shining on the fragrant plum blossoms.

He described Argentina's situation at the time as, "the largest power in South America, with the expansion of ranches, the development of transportation, and annual migration of 200,000 people from Europe just one hundred years after its independence." He boarded a ship again in Uruguay and crossed the Strait of Magellan, famous for its storms.

> Demented waves as high as the heavens crashed into us, and the wind came from between the Strait of Magellan as if it were trying to break the ship's mast. The people lying in their beds were all suffering from seasickness, and the sea birds kept sweeping back down just when we thought they would soar off.

On the twenty-first, he arrived in Punta Arenas, Chile, the southernmost city in the world. Enryō recalled his visit to the northernmost city of Hammerfest in Norway on his tour of the Arctic Ocean, and was again deeply moved by the experience. He arrived in Santiago, the capital of Chile, on October twenty-eighth. He took a train to the Andes Mountains and wrote,

> The train went up many steep places as if hanging from a cliff. The peaks of the stretched out mountains were covered with snow, as if the sea breeze had covered them with white waves.

On November fourteenth he boarded the Japanese ship Kiyō Maru bound for Peru. He arrived in the capital city of Lima on the twenty-eighth. There he surveyed the lifestyle and customs of Japanese immigrants. On December tenth, he entered the port of Salina Cruz, Mexico, where he stayed until December sixteenth when he headed for Hawaii. The ship arrived in Hawaii on the twenty-ninth and he departed on January fourth. He arrived at the port of Yokohama on the twenty-fourth. His third world trip had lasted eight months.

YOKOYAMA Gennosuke, who was a researcher on social issues in the Meiji era, said at the time in the article "Brazil Observer" in the *Osaka Asahi Newspaper* that, "Dr. Inoue Enryō, the Ghost Doc, also fluttered into the bay of Rio." The Japanese word for "flutter (飄然)" means "a relaxed, natural manner, as if flittering in softly on the wind." Enryō took an easy-going approach to his trip around the world, visiting wherever took his fancy. He was a man of endless curiosity.

During his three world trips Enryō visited near the North and South Poles, as well as traveling five continents by himself, completing his dream of traveling around the globe. He learned a great deal about education, politics, and religion in the developed countries of the West through first-hand observation. He also learned that there was a rich diversity of natural scenery and culture, from Northern Europe and Russia, to China and India, as well as Oceania, Africa, and South America. In this way, Enryō was able to gain valuable information through first-hand experience and internalize it as new knowledge. After returning to Japan, he put this knowledge to full use in conceiving of and implementing educational projects.

For Enryō, everything he took in through his eyes and ears during his travels became a sort of living textbook. This all provided updates to the knowledge and experience he had gained from the many Japanese and foreign books he had read up until graduating university. Enryō saw the real world as a living textbook from which to learn, and he worked to create living scholarship. He would refer to this as "living books, living learning." This was a personal philosophy that Enryō adopted while always taking on new challenges in a modernizing Japan.

It is said that today's Japan is right in the middle of globalization. However, this is not something that started recently. In the period in which Enryō lived, from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, Japan was being pummeled by waves of globalization that centered on the Western powers. The country was in a state of constant movement and change along with the rest of the world. In such an era if Enryō had stayed in Japan and relied only on information from the past written in books he might have quickly fallen behind others. Not only that, if he couldn't make up the shortfall he may have even lost his seat as one of the central figures in challenging the status quo. For this reason, in order to make the real world his living textbook and engage in living scholarship, he took three journeys around the world, spread out over a twenty-year period to observe the realities in different countries.

Today we live in an age of digitalization and internationalization. There are many ways we can learn about how the world is changing. In Enryō's case, more than a hundred years ago, he practiced a phi-

losophy of living books and living learning and was constantly researching the new directions in which the world was heading. He used this research to help guide his decisions in taking action. We can say that Enryō lived with a sense of the times that is very similar to the way we see our world today.

Legacy of the Nationwide Lecture Tours

In 1912, just after Japan shifted from the Meiji period into the Taishō, Enryō changed the name of the Morality Church to "Society for the Spread of Civic Morality." Although it was a "society" in name, Enryō was the only member.

His eldest son, Gen'ichi, described his father's tastes and hobbies as follows.

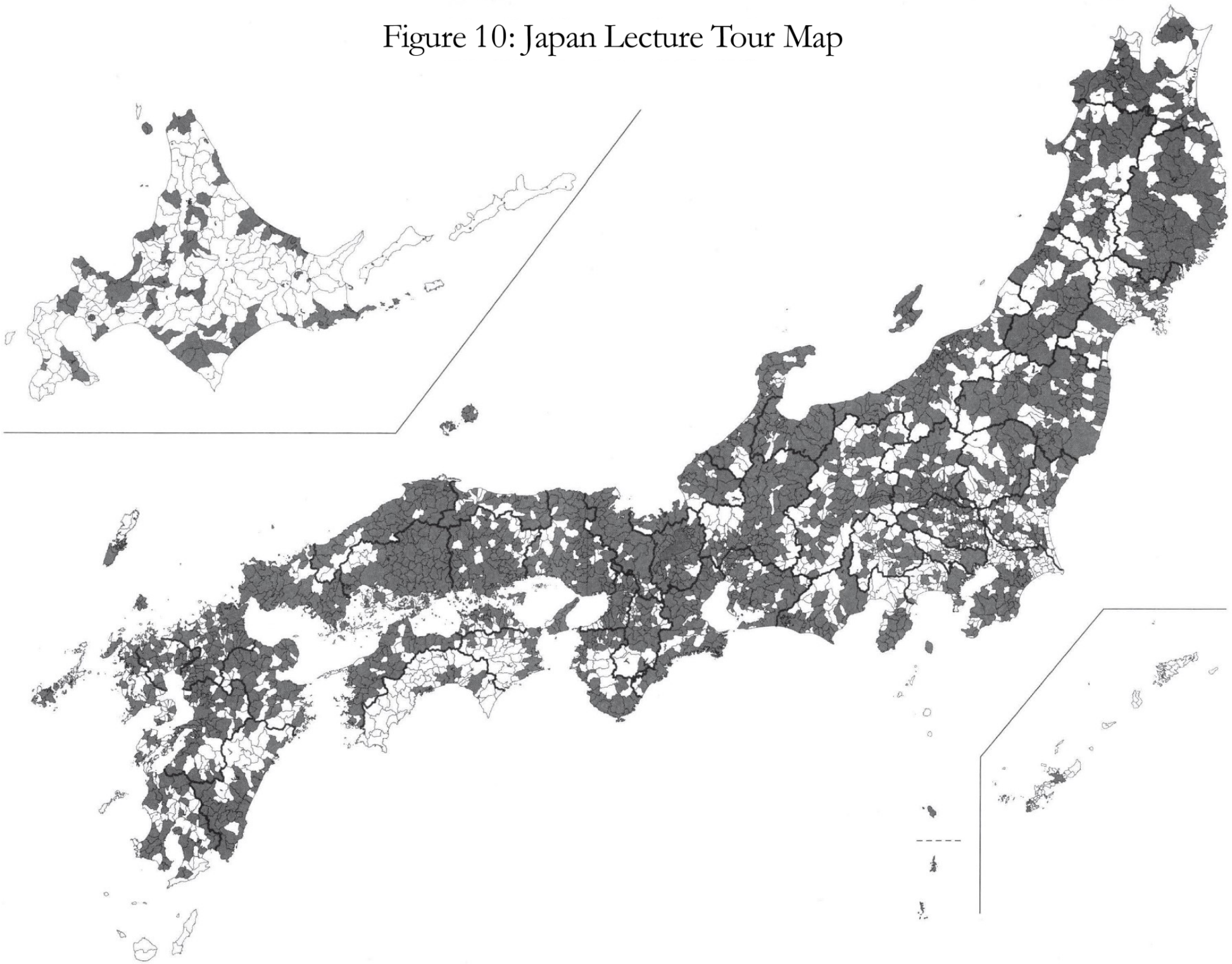
> My father Enryō had no hobbies. Work was his hobby… The only thing I can think of is his enjoyment of food, but even then it was not fine cuisine. You could tell from his business card, which read, "My favorites are tofu, deep-fried foods, and miso soup—or, whatever people eat." In his miso soup he liked tofu, and my mother loved being able to add gnomefish for him when it was in season. As for deep-fried foods, he liked vegetables, but grated yam soup was also a big favorite. He also enjoyed eating dried herring boiled in sweet soy sauce… He liked alcohol, but announced, "Never in the morning, a little during the day, and plenty at night, but I'm not really a heavy drinker." In his later years, he limited himself to just one cup with dinner, diluted with water to make two cups. I suppose this was because

his forefathers had all succumbed to stroke. However, he was so busy touring the country and writing that he often slept only two or three hours a night, and to clear his mind he relied on whiskey [often "Diamond" brand, the cheapest at the time]."

As we have already seen Enryō's nationwide tours can be divided into two periods. The first was the period of the Philosophy Academy, which lasted for fifteen years from 1890 to 1905, from the time he was thirty-two until he was forty-seven. The total number of touring lecture days numbered 966 (excluding any for which we lack details). The second period was that of the Morality Church and the Philosophy Shrine, which lasted fourteen years from 1906 to 1919, with a total of 2,621 days of lectures. When the two periods are combined it makes for a total twenty-nine years, with 3,587 days of lectures—equivalent to 10 years.

The locations of Enryō's lectures are recorded in the diaries he left behind. However, the 71,314 total municipalities that existed in 1888 were merged into a total of 15,859 with the great administrative consolidation of 1889. Because the names were changed, we carried out a survey in 1995 to determine where they would be located at that time when there was a total of 3,234 municipalities. On the map below, the coverage of Enryō's tours can be easily visualized, with the municipalities of today shaded to represent the places that were home to one or more lectures. The conspicuous blank spaces in areas such as Hokkaido represent land that was yet to be developed. Even still, visualizing the tours through a map clearly shows how they extended right around the country.

Figure 10: Japan Lecture Tour Map



Another large administrative merger was carried out in the Heisei era (1989–2019) resulting in a total of 1,720 municipalities. Many of the names of towns and villages were also changed during this time. So, in 2013 we took the data based on the old lecture tour locations and reorganized it according to prefecture and touring year. The results are shown in Figure 11 below. This shows that Enryō visited an average of approximately sixty percent of the municipalities in each prefecture (in today's terms). (See MIURA Setsuo, "Database of Inoue Enryō's Nationwide Lecture Tours," *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryo Center*, no. 22, 2013).

In 1918 Enryō turned sixty years old. When graduates of the Philosophy Academy suggested holding a party to celebrate Enryō said, "If I walk for another four or five years, I will have gone to every single part of Japan. Then, you can throw a party celebrating the completed nationwide tour. Save the celebrations." It appears that Enryō had a clear picture in his mind of where he had lectured and where he was yet to go.

1	Hokkaidō	29.6%
2	Aomori	57.5%
3	Iwate	78.8%
4	Miyagi	37.1%
5	Akita	92.0%
6	Yamagata	77.1%
7	Fukushima	67.8%
8	Ibaraki	61.4%
9	Tochigi	65.4%
10	Gunma	68.6%
11	Saitama	66.7%
12	Chiba	46.3%
13	Tōkyō	15.0%
14	Kanagawa	24.2%
15	Niigata	93.3%
16	Toyama	100%
17	Ishikawa	89.5%
18	Fukui	88.2%
19	Yamanashi	44.4%
20	Nagano	53.2%
21	Gifu	81.0%
22	Shizuoka	65.7%
23	Aichi	66.7%
24	Mie	79.3%

25	Shiga	94.7%
26	Kyōto	69.2%
27	Ōsaka	60.5%
28	Hyōgo	85.4%
29	Nara	43.6%
30	Wakayama	83.3%
31	Tottori	78.9%
32	Shimane	89.5%
33	Okayama	96.3%
34	Hiroshima	78.3%
35	Yamaguchi	89.5%
36	Tokushima	41.7%
37	Kagawa	82.4%
38	Ehime	70.0%
39	Kōchi	17.6%
40	Fukuoka	61.7%
41	Saga	70.0%
42	Nagasaki	66.7%
43	Kumamoto	68.9%
44	Ōita	88.9%
45	Miyazaki	57.7%
46	Kagoshima	46.5%
47	Okinawa	7.3%
	Nationwide	59.5%

Figure 11: Percentage of Municipalities Toured in Each Prefecture

The Final Lecture Tour

Enryō had lectured on more than two hundred days the previous year, as was his usual pattern, with 172 days touring domestically and fifty-nine days in the Korean peninsula. So, in December 1918 he was staying at the Yugawara Onsen hot springs in Kanagawa prefecture to recuperate from the fatigue and mental stress. On the twenty-fourth he returned to Tokyo and on January third 1919 he welcomed his first grandchild (Tamio). On New Year's Day, however, he was struck with a cold and couldn't stop coughing, so from the sixteenth he returned to concentrating solely on recuperation at Hayama in Kanagawa. On the twenty-second he departed Tokyo to give lectures around Shizuoka prefecture, returning to Tokyo by night train on March twenty-fourth to attend a graduation ceremony at Toyo University. That same evening at eleven he departed Tokyo by train and returned to his lecture tour of Shizuoka. Finishing that tour, he arrived back in Tokyo on May third.

When we look at the flyer for Enryō's tour of China we see March tenth listed as a date, telling us that the schedule had been arranged in advance. He took just two short days to prepare and on May fifth he departed from Tokyo station. Enryō's eldest son Gen'ichi made the following comments about this tour.

> The main objective of my father's journey to China was to spiritually unite the Japanese and Chinese peoples. The central locations he had decided on for the trip were Shanghai, Hankou, Beijing, Tianjin, Yingkou, and Dalian. He had been prepared to also venture into deeper areas of China, but unfortunately there

had been a sharp rise in anti-Japanese aggression. He felt it was too dangerous to enter the remote villages so he followed the advice of all the people dissuading him from going."

Enryō had apparently planned to return to Tokyo on the ninth after visiting his younger sister Shigeno at her husband's home in Fukuoka.

After arriving in Shanghai on the tenth, he went on to give lectures in Hangzhou, Suzhou, Zhenjiang, Nanjing, Wuhu, Jiujiang, Hankou, Beijing, and Tianjin. In a postcard to his family during this time he wrote:

> I want to come home as soon as possible because of the high cost of living, the growing anti-Japan movement [the "May Fourth Movement" in opposition to Japan's "Twenty-One Demands"], and the annoying bedbugs.

However, he managed to finish his tour and he headed for his final destination, Dalian. In a postcard home featuring a picture of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (Jp. Miroku) dated May twenty-sixth, he wrote, "I arrived safely in Beijing yesterday. Today I will be sightseeing all day. We will visit the Great Wall on the twenty-ninth and move to Tianjin on the thirty-first." In the beginning, he had planned to stay in Beijing for one week.

On June fifth Enryō was on his way to give a lecture in Dalian. The man who greeted Enryō in Dalian was NITTA Shinryō, a graduate of Philosophy Academy University. Nitta had established the Dalian branch of the Higashi Honganji temple of the True School Otani branch in 1910, and would end up running it for thirty years as its first-generation representative. Nitta received a postcard from

Enryō on the first of June saying he was planning to stay three or four nights in Dalian. Nitta had put together a schedule with lectures at: the Higashi Honganji branch temple kindergarten on "Living Buddhism" on the first evening after arrival; the next day at one in the afternoon at the branch temple on "The Buddhist View of Life"; and, at four at the head office of the South Manchurian Railway Company on "Theories on Specters." The next day they were to tour Port Arthur/Lüshun and then visit Japanese embassy secretary HAYASHI Gonsuke.

On the morning of the fifth Nitta met Enryō at the train in Dashiqiao and rode with him the rest of the way to Dalian. Nitta said, "When Professor Enryō saw me he grinned and said, 'Oh, you came to meet me. Now I feel at ease.'" The two of them had lunch together for about thirty minutes. We might imagine that their conversation was something like the following.

Enryō produced a bottle of wine he had brought with him and said, "Take a drink."

When Nitta said he had heard that the professor did not drink or smoke, Enryō replied, "No, I don't smoke, but in the last few years I have begun to drink more alcohol and it has been very good for my health."

Nitta explained the schedule for Dalian but then said, "Seeing you now Professor, you seem very tired. Please take a short rest at the Yamato Hotel on the way before we go to the venue." To this Enryō replied:

> I am used to going straight to the venue from the station and lecturing. I do not need to rest. I can rest at my leisure under my gravestone when I am dead. After the lecture I will do calligraphy for the attendees so please prepare plenty of ink.

Nitta said, "When we were students, you always strove to work your hardest and told us to 'carve our own unique destinies.'"

Enryō replied, "After turning fifty, I decided to allow destiny to take me where it wants."

Nitta said, "Does that mean you believe in the [True Pure Land School's idea of] absolute Other Power?"

Enryō, "Master Shinran [patriarch of the True School] is great. Wherever I am on the anniversary of his death, I always quietly pay homage to his great virtuousness."

After their meal Enryō read over Japanese newspapers and waited to arrive in Dalian. Nitta noted down the details of what happened that day. The following is a long quotation but I believe it is important to include it here.

> We arrived in Dalian at eight o'clock. Straight away we rode to the venue in a horse carriage with the people that came to meet us. There were over three hundred people in attendance. The lecture began at eight forty ["Results of Winning the War and Postwar Management"]. After about fifteen minutes his face suddenly changed color, he became dizzy and collapsed, so two or three people held him up. He told us that he would continue to speak after resting for a short while so we should make the audience wait. We showed him to the manager's room and he

took a seat. Three doctors in the audience, UENO, ITAYA, and WAKIYA, said that the Professor was likely showing sudden signs of fatigue from his long journey and that it was nothing serious. They took turns massaging his shoulders but gradually his appearance starting to change so they moved him to the adjacent tatami mat room and laid him on his side. After having them give him two injections his mind became clear and he talked about how the next day's lectures would be at the branch temple of Higashi Honganji and the head office of the South Manchurian Railway Company. However, he gradually fell into a coma-like state, counting down by folding the fingers on his right hand as if calculating numbers for something. Then, he let out a big sigh.

We requested that Dr. TOTANI Ginzaburō of the South Manchurian Railway Company Hospital come to examine him, but after finishing his checks we were told that the Professor had suffered an acute cerebral hemorrhage. There was nothing medically that could be done and there was absolutely no possibility for recovery. We were told that he would pass away in two or three hours and, in shock, tears suddenly came to my eyes. My wife and I watched over him by his side weeping, but the next morning at around two-forty, he completely severed ties with this life. I telephoned the disciples of the temple and we decided to move his remains to the branch temple. Then I immediately sent a long telegram to his home in Tokyo. We consecrated his remains in a drawing room at the branch temple

and dedicated sutra readings, with more than twenty people attending the all-night vigil.

At around eleven o'clock in the morning on the seventh I received a telegram back saying that three people were coming to Dalian. I consulted with Dr. Totani and had him administer an embalmment injection and we waited for the people from Tokyo. On the seventh and eight we held all-night vigils with a large number of temple followers. At eight in the evening on the tenth his son Gen'ichi, university representative MIWA Seiichi, and middle school representative ANDŌ Hiromu arrived at the temple. Before that dozens of people including Secretary Hayashi and the president of the South Manchurian Railway Company had come to offer their condolences. After consulting with the three visitors to Dalian, an interim funeral was held at the temple at two in the afternoon on the twelfth in the presence of over 180 government and private individuals. At three o'clock the Professor's remains were cremated at Dajiatun Great Cemetery. The next day on the thirteenth at nine a.m. his bones were interred, and I recited sutras for him weeping and endlessly heavy of heart.

With this, Enryō's sixty-one years of life came to an end.

Epilogue

We have looked at Enryō's life and his general philosophy. His writings over his sixty-one years number more than 180 items. He handed over the manuscript of his final work, *True Mystery*, before leaving for his last lecture tour. If we divide his writings up into different categories they cover several subjects: philosophy, religion/Buddhism, ethics, psychology, mystery studies, literary musings, and others.

Further, in terms of his initiatives, he founded Toyo University (the Philosophy Academy), Keihoku Middle School, and Keihoku Kindergarten. Enryō was an educator but he was not one to simply remain at the school. He traveled all around the country giving lectures and collecting donations. In addition, after his retirement as a part of his social education activities he gave lectures all over the country on his own. At the same time he promoted lifelong learning through initiatives such as the construction of the unique educational facility called the Philosophy Shrine, a theme park for philosophy (which Enryō described as a park for spiritual cultivation). Around his business schedule he made three world trips, completing a full journey around the globe.

Thinking of Enryō's achievements in combination they seem very multifaceted, but if we center in on Enryō's main life goal we can boil it down to one thing: to modernize the Japanese way of thinking. Japanese people had a desert-island mentality, ignorant of the West and the world. They were caught up in superstitions and their lives lacked scientific logic. They were a people that lived within the framework of small local communities. The government did not attempt

to improve the lives of these people, and in the rush to modernize in the realms of politics and economics they had left them behind.

Through the popularization of education in the somewhat unusual field of philosophy Enryō helped to open up new ways of thinking for Japanese people. He sought to reinvent and improve Japanese people, encouraging them to embrace ambition and vitality. He opened up new paths by teaching people the methods they needed in order to acquire rational wisdom when engaged in all sorts of enterprises. Taking up the challenge to expand from school education to social education was a grand initiative based on this sense of purpose. It was a path that would connect to today's internationalized and information-based society.

Many of the words Enryō left behind still ring true, but the maxim he frequently shared with his students, "Carve your own destiny," is especially memorable. Enryō frequently used the Japanese character for "living (活)," as can be seen in the kanji compounds for "living discussion," "living books," "living learning," and "living society." When we consider the meaning of this character, we can see Enryō's interpretation of it in other modern Japanese phrases, such as "job hunting," "looking for a marriage partner," and "making preparations for one's own death." Enryō, who lived through the period of new civilization and internationalization that was the Meiji, personally experienced the development of Japan and the world. Summarizing these developments as the world underwent aggressive advancement, Enryō described the age that would come next as that of a "living society" (while never forgetting that along with progress there would also be regression). One hundred years have passed since

that time, and the globalization of politics, economics, and culture has continued, bringing the world even closer, developing while going through dramatic ups and downs.

How can we best live our lives in the societies of today's world? The words "carve your own destiny" mean to think for yourself, make decisions for yourself, and challenge yourself to move forward. That is to say, mastership of oneself is what is most important—and, this is Enryō's philosophy. We live in an age where there are many possibilities for different lifestyles, be it in Japan or other countries around the world, in the city, or in the countryside. Between Enryō's generation and that of our own, we cannot deny that there are a great many differences, but in Enryō's ideas and actions there is something that transcends time, something that is still true for all of us.

Acknowledgements

This book is an extensively expanded and revised version of the Japanese work *The Educational Principles of Enryō Inoue* (titled by philosopher IIJIMA Munetaka, supervised by sociologist TAKAGI Hiroo, and authored by MIURA Setsuo), which was published in 1987 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the university's founding. The first edition was well received for tracing back to the roots of Toyo University and was distributed to incoming students for the following thirty years.

In 1990 university dean SHIOKAWA Masajūrō established the Inoue Enryo Memorial Center as a non-profit foundation, and concentrated research began on the history of Toyo University and its founder Inoue Enryō. The center went on to publish the Japanese works *One Hundred Year History of Toyo University*, *Inoue Enryō Selected Writings*, and *Chronological List of Inoue Enryō Related Literature*. The center also presented its research in various arenas, inside the school and externally, and brought clarity to previously unresearched issues. There was a need to update *The Educational Principles of Enryō Inoue* to reflect the new information but while we were waiting for the right timing the years flew past.

In 2014 the center was reorganized as a teaching and learning institute under the name Inoue Enryo Research Center. The first director of this center, SHIBATA Takayuki, made a proposal to revise the book to fully reflect the life and thought of Enryō, including his educational principles and from there we started work. In terms of

methodology we attempted to carefully avoid a hagiographic approach and create an objective picture of Enryō as a human being.

In the process of writing the book it brought us closer to a "new edition" rather than a revision, so we discussed the project and some parts of the draft with school president YAGUCHI Etsuko. We were grateful to receive her approval and encouragement to proceed with a change of direction. Thus, while also enjoying the full collaborative assistance of two researchers, SATŌ Atsushi and KITADA Kenji, we were able to complete this book. I would like to once again express my gratitude to these people.

On April first 2021 the three organizations, the previous Inoue Enryo Research Center, the Inoue Enryo Memorial Museum, and the center's office, were merged to become the new Inoue Enryo Philosophy Center, which now oversees the research projects. This book was published to commemorate this new institution.

The Japanese title of this book, featuring the English word "challenger," was based on an essay written by a student to whom I would like to extend my thanks. This English language edition was prepared by Stefan GRACE with support from Rainer SCHULZER. I offer them both my sincere thanks.

MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫
Researcher, Inoue Enryo Philosophy Center

Afterword

The year 2020 will be carved into people's memories as the year of the novel coronavirus pandemic. As we enter the year 2022 the pandemic is still ongoing, and people all over the world are affected by this unprecedented situation. Despite the danger to their own lives medical and welfare workers continue to respond with a strong sense of mission. And, those who provide the physical labor that is the foundation of everyone's lives continue their work without complaining. Protected by the efforts of these people we have also been challenging ourselves to do everything we can to help control infections and continue learning.

People around the world are challenging themselves to deal with the hardships they are facing. They are sharing their wisdom and experience to identify appropriate information, make decisions, and come up with new and effective ways to protect lives and livelihoods. This attitude of striving intersects in many ways with the ideas and educational principles of Dr. Enryō as discussed in this book. Below I would like to discuss three points in connection with this.

The first is the humanistic stance of "striving for the sake of others." This is precisely what people in the medical and welfare fields do—in addition to all the other people who contribute to sustaining other people's livelihoods by continuing to produce equipment and materials, as well as those who maintain medical systems and run welfare programs. I am sure there are many others who, seeing these people doing everything they can to help, felt inspired to emulate them. We can also say that the efforts of students to continue with

their lessons while in isolation are a form of striving to protect themselves and others from infection. The spirit of living life this way is also in line with aim of Toyo University's medium-term plan, "Toyo Grand Design 2020–2040": "Carving out a bright future for the global community: Improving oneself for the benefit of others."

The second is related to the phrase "correctly fear," which has become widely used in Japan. The thinking behind this is very similar to the sentiment that Dr. Enryō expressed in works such as *Lectures on Mystery Studies* and *True Mystery*, which was published three months before his death. Almost all of the strange things that scare people can be explained scientifically and there is no need to be confused. However, there are also some things that cannot be easily explained, and these things are what Dr. Enryō referred to as "true mysteries."

The information spread in the media and online contains a lot of one-sided data, quotations of baseless stories, and emotional commentary. In order for us to draw out accurate information and process it objectively we need to clearly discern what is correct. It goes without saying that we need to work on gaining scientific insight. However, we also need to follow Enryō's lead and be willing to face up to "true mysteries"—puzzles that cannot be easily solved. Investigating true mysteries, that is to say, philosophically exploring the essence of our lives as human beings, is indispensable for us in learning to "correctly fear." For Dr. Enryō, universities were places for determining this essence and researching more deeply into truth. That attitude has continued to be expressed in the educational principle of Toyo University: "The basis of all learning lies in philosophy."

The third is the idea that by bringing together the wisdom of the world we can start to understand our own position. Through his extensive reading and study since childhood Dr. Enryō came to deeply understand the difference between the Eastern and Western ways of learning. Continuing his comparative analysis throughout his life, he personally verified his understanding through three world journeys. In addition, he devoted the latter half of his life to social education in order to return the knowledge he gained to the people.

This is the sort of attitude that is required now in dealing with a pandemic: to seek a common truth that transcends differences in religion, geography, history, and culture. Clarifying the precise nature of the novel coronavirus is an issue shared by the world. I believe the world will also basically share the same treatment methods and countermeasures as a result of that clarification. However, differences will grow in how we perceive the situation, how we position our economic activities and cultural lives, and how we make use of that understanding in education. In terms of the mode of post-Covid societies, both similarities and differences will come about. We will come to question the differences in our values as human beings concerning how we want to live our lives and express our cultures. We will also come to consider what constitutes happiness for us personally. This will slowly seep into the way institutions, politics, and societies are organized. Therefore, we need to think deeply about our values as human beings. We need to consider the cultural norms behind our educations, which shaped us and solidified our "selves," and through this we can come to identify sources of joy.

In the thoughts, words, and actions of Dr. Enryō we have seen above there is much wisdom that we can take away in working to overcome the difficult situation in which we currently find ourselves. I hope that you, the reader, will also strive to find such wisdom in your own unique way.

Finally, let's once again look at the grand importance of education in the way that Dr. Enryō saw it.

> The world is indeed a vast and boundless educational space, a great school equipped with everything in creation. The stars and planets are teachers, and mountains and rivers are teachers. Birds, beasts, insects, fish, trees, bamboo, grass, and moss—there is nothing that is not a teacher. The scope is truly unlimited. (Inoue Enryō, "Outline of Education" in *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records*, published in 1892 and 1893, in *Inoue Enryō Selected Writing*, vol. 11)

In this book we have seen how, in the Meiji 20s (1887–1896), a modern education system was being built and how people were starting to see methods for a system that worked in tandem with home education. During this time Dr. Enryō took a deep interest in adult learning that went beyond the limited time people had for a school life. He gave 5,291 lectures all over Japan to a total audience of more than 1,400,000 people. We can read Dr. Enryō's life as an expression of a philosophy that sees "nature" as the endpoint of home and school education as well as social education. It is a philosophy of educating oneself through interaction with nature in the form of our vast and boundless world.

What Dr. Enryō is saying is that what we think we have learned and know only constitutes a tiny fraction when compared with the vastness of the world. The world is overflowing with unknown entities and phenomena, and we should listen with humility and always continue to learn with a sincere spirit of inquiry.

Let us continue our quest for knowledge and continue to challenge ourselves to improve so that we can contribute to world happiness and a bright future.

YAGUCHI Etsuko 矢口悦子
President, Toyo University

Abbreviated Chronology of Inoue Enryō's Life

1858 (*0yrs*)	March 18: Born as eldest son at Jikōji temple, Ōtani branch of True Pure Land school in Echigo province (today's Niigata prefecture)
1868 (*10yrs*)	March: Attends Ishiguro Tadanori's Chinese classics tutoring school (until April 1869)
1869 (*11yrs*)	August: Studies Chinese classics under Kimura Donsō, a samurai of the former Nagaoka fiefdom (until December 1872)
1871 (*13yrs*)	April 2: Ordained at Higashi Honganji temple
1873 (*15yrs*)	May 29: Starts Western studies at Takayama Rakugunsha
1874 (*16yrs*)	May 5: Enters Niigata First Branch School (formerly Nagaoka School for Western Studies) to study Western learning
1877 (*19yrs*)	September: Enters English education course of Higashi Honganji's teachers college in Kyoto
1878 (*20yrs*)	April 8: Travels to Tokyo as Higashi Honganji-sponsored student September: Enters University of Tokyo undergraduate prep school
1881 (*23yrs*)	September: Enters Philosophy course, Department of Letters, University of Tokyo

1884 (*26yrs*)	January 26: Establishes Philosophical Society in collaboration with INOUE Tetsujirō, KATŌ Hiroyuki, NISHI Amane, and MIYAKE Setsurei
	December: Submits letter of request to Higashi Honganji regarding the establishment of a new school. Rejects ISHIGURO Tadanori's offer of mediating employment at the Ministry of Education
1885 (*27yrs*)	July 10: Graduates Philosophy course, Department of Letters, University of Tokyo
	October: Is chosen as a government-sponsored research student and receives order from Higashi Honganji to continue with his study of Indian philosophy
	October 27: Holds first Philosophy Ceremony
1886 (*28yrs*)	January 24: Founds Enigma Research Society
	March: Becomes graduate student at Tokyo Imperial University
	Spring: Develops plan for establishing Philosophy Academy while recuperating from illness in Atami
	November 1: Marries Kei, daughter of Kanazawa clan doctor YOSHIDA Junichirō
1887 (*29yrs*)	January: Establishes Philosophical Publishing House
	February 5: Publishes *Journal of the Philosophical Society*
	June: Announces "The Objective of Founding the Philosophy Academy"

July 22: Submits application for the establishment of a private school to the Tokyo Prefectural Governor

September 16: Establishes Philosophy Academy. Holds opening ceremony at Rinshōin temple (in today's Bunkyō ward, Tokyo)

1888 (*30yrs*)

January 8: Publishes *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* and begins providing correspondence courses

April 3: Enryō participates in founding of Politics and Teaching Society, which publishes journal *The Japanese*

June 9: Departs on first international observation tour (Europe and U.S.)

1889 (*31yrs*)

June 28: Returns from overseas observation tour

August 28: Sends letter to father back home, refusing to return and take up abbotship of the family temple due to Buddhism being in an extreme state of crisis

August: Announces intention to found a Japan-centric university in the future in "Future Objectives of the Philosophy Academy"

September 11: New schoolhouse under construction completely destroyed due to typhoon

November 1: Transfers to new schoolhouse in Hōraichō, Komagome, Hongō ward and opens dormitory

November 13: Holds ceremony for newly-moved Philosophy Academy and opening of new buildings

1890 (*32yrs*)	March 10: Applies to Ministry of Education for accreditation to issue teacher certificates without governmental examination
	April 13: Holds Sunday lectures at Philosophy Academy
	July 6: Forms philosophy research group at Philosophy Academy
	November 2: Begins nationwide lecture tour to collect donations to establish specialized departments at the Philosophy Academy (continuing until February 1893)
1893 (*35yrs*)	November: Releases "Lectures on Mystery Studies" in *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* (7th academic year). Establishes mystery studies research group to combat superstitious beliefs
1894 (*36yrs*)	Reapplies for accreditation for issuing teacher certificates
1895 (*37yrs*)	Philosophy Academy adopts entrance exams
	School system is revised and two departments formed, Education and Religion
1896 (*38yrs*)	January: Announces intention to establish a new oriental studies department and construct an oriental studies library
	March 24: Begins second nationwide lecture tour (continuing until September 1902)
	June 8: Receives Doctor of Literature degree with thesis titled "Genealogy of Buddhist Philosophy"

	December 13: Accidental fire spreads from Ikubunkan and completely destroys the Philosophy Academy
1897 (*39yrs*)	January 10: Holds ceremony for opening of specialized course for Chinese classics studies
	April 8: Holds ceremony for opening of specialized course for Buddhist studies
	July 17: Philosophy Academy moves to Haramachi (today's Hakusan campus, Bunkyō ward)
	August 25: Receives a gift of three hundred yen from Department of the Imperial Household
1899 (*41yrs*)	February 26: Holds opening ceremony for Keihoku Middle School
	July 10: Philosophy Academy receives approval for internal teacher certification accreditation
	September: School system is revised, creating the education and philosophy departments. Chinese classics is merged with education department, and Buddhist studies is merged with philosophy department
1900 (*42yrs*)	April 2: Appointed by Ministry of Education as cultivation of character textbook examiner
1901 (*43yrs*)	September 16: School system is revised and prep school is divided into Course One and Course Two. Education department and philosophy department separated respectively into Course One and Course Two
	October 25: Appointed by the Cabinet as member of the council for higher education

1902 (*44yrs*)	April 1: Announces the opening of the Philosophy Academy university courses
	October 25: Philosophy Academy graduation exams inspected by officers from Ministry of Education
	November 15: Departs on second international observation tour (Europe, U.S., and India)
	December 13: Ministry of Education revokes Philosophy Academy's middle school teacher certification accreditation (the Philosophy Academy Incident)
1903 (*45yrs*)	February 1: Sends instructions related to Philosophy Academy Incident from London
	April 20: At Enryō's instruction Philosophy Academy submits petition to Ministry of Education regarding teacher certification accreditation
	July 27: Returns from overseas observation tour
	September 5: Publishes "A Message to All Alumni"
	September 14: Distributes nationwide a letter of intention to establish Morality Church
	October 1: School renamed Philosophy Academy University and receives accreditation under the Vocational School Decree. Subsequently, movement begins among staff wanting to reapply for no-examination teacher certification accreditation
1904 (*46yrs*)	January 15: Begins third nationwide lecture tour
	February 11: Publishes first number of *Journal of the Morality Church*

April 1: Holds Philosophy Academy University opening ceremony. Appointed as Philosophy Academy University president. Undergraduate department established

Holds opening ceremony for the Philosophy Shrine (today's Four Sages Hall in the Temple Garden of Philosophy, Nakano ward, Tokyo)

Summer: Begins to experience mental fatigue. Considers dissolving the school and converting it to a center for seminar series

October: Philosophy Academy University Reformation Incident (until December)

1905 (*47yrs*) April: Recurrence of mental fatigue, prompting desire to retire. Situation later improves

May 3: Holds opening ceremony for Keihoku Kindergarten

September: Considers retirement following plans to expand Philosophy Academy University and Keihoku Middle School

Early December: Almost collapses twice in his garden

December 13: Philosophy Academy Memorial Meeting held at Ueno Seiyoken. Decides on retirement after returning home

December 28: Concludes contract to transfer school to MAEDA Eun and YUMOTO Takehiko (until the 29th)

1906 (*48yrs*) January: Retires as president of Philosophy Academy University and Keihoku Middle School and becomes president emeritus at both

	Retreats to the Philosophy Shrine and works on expanding Morality Church
	April 2: Conducts nationwide lecture tour for Morality Church (until 1919)
	June 28: Approval received for Philosophy Academy University to be renamed Toyo University
	July 4: Approval received for Toyo University to become a foundation
1907 (*49yrs*)	May 13: Accreditation for no-examination certification of teachers returned by Ministry of Education
1909 (*51yrs*)	November: Gate of Philosophical Reason, Pagoda of the Six Wise Ones, and Three Erudites Arbor constructed at the Philosophy Shrine
1911 (*53yrs*)	Departs on third international observation tour (Australia, South Africa, Europe, and South America)
1912 (*54yrs*)	January 22: Returns from international observation tour
	August: Renames Morality Church as Society for the Spread of Civic Morality
1915 (*57yrs*)	October 24: Holds completion ceremony for Philosophy Shrine library (Citadel of the Absolute). Layout of the park now largely matches its form today as the Temple Garden of Philosophy
	October: Firmly rejects idea of receiving a governmental award (for the second time, following September 1912)

1919 (*61yrs*)	February 3: Publishes "Humble Opinion on Private School Pedagogy" in newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*
	Departs on lecture tour of China and northeast Manchuria
	June 6: Passes away at two-forty in the morning after experiencing cerebral hemorrhage the previous day while giving a lecture in Dalian
	June 22: Funeral held at Toyo University

Inoue Enryō's Major Works

Philosophy

An Evening of Philosophical Conversation, Vol. 1
Four Sages Hall, July 1886

An Evening of Philosophical Conversation, Vol. 2
Four Sages Hall, November 1886

An Evening of Philosophical Conversation, Vol. 3
Philosophical Publishing House, April 1887

Epitome of Philosophy, Vol. 1
Reichikai, September 1886

Epitome of Philosophy, Vol. 2
Philosophical Publishing House, April 1887

Genuine Philosophy (overview of philosophy and lecture records)
Philosophy Academy, February–September 1891

Quick Primer in Philosophy
Kaihatsusha, February 1899

New Proposal in Philosophy
Kōdōkan, December 1909

Philosophy of Struggle
Tōadō Shōbō, May 1917

Religion

Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism
Philosophical Publishing House, February 1887

Living Discourse on Buddhism, Vol. 1: Refuting the False
Philosophical Publishing House, December 1887

Living Discourse on Buddhism, Vol. 2: Disclosing the Right
Philosophical Publishing House, September 1890

Practical Religion Studies (lecture record)
Philosophy Academy, January–September 1890

Theoretical Religion Studies (lecture record)
Philosophy Academy, November 1891–October 1892

Philosophy of Religion (lecture record)
Philosophy Academy, November 1892–October 1893

Discourses on Education and Religion
Philosophical Publishing House, April 1893

Heterodox Religion (volume 1 of *Genealogy of Buddhist Philosophy*)
Philosophy Academy Lecture Record Publishing Department, February 1897

Outline of Indian Philosophy
Kinkōdō Shoseki, July 1898

Mahāyāna Philosophy (Buddhism course lecture record, part 14)
Philosophy Academy University, December 1905

Living Buddhism
Heigo Shuppansha, September 1912

Ethics

A Survey of Ethics, Vol. 1
Fukyūsha, February 1887

A Survey of Ethics, Vol. 2
Fukyūsha, April 1887

Proposal of Japanese Ethics
Philosophy Academy, January 1893

Living Discourse on Loyalty and Filial Piety
Philosophical Publishing House, July 1893

The Hidden Meaning of the Rescript
Philosophy Academy, October 1902

Psychology

Fundamentals of Psychology
Philosophical Publishing House, September 1887

Lecture on Memory Techniques
Philosophy Academy, February 1894

Lecture on the Art of Oblivion
Philosophy Academy, August 1895

Psychotherapy
Nankōdō Shoten, November 1904

Mystery Studies

Profound Mystery Stories, First Collection: On Table-turning
Philosophical Publishing House, May 1887

Lectures on Mystery Studies (lecture records, 6 vols.)
Philosophy Academy, June 1896

One Hundred Mysterious Stories
Four Sages Hall, February 1898

Immortality of the Soul
Nankōdō Shoten, April 1899

Illustrated Popular Work: One Hundred Mysterious Stories Continued
Philosophical Publishing House, April 1900

Philosophical Fortune Telling (Vol. 1 of Mysteries Series)
Philosophy Academy, December 1901

Dream of New Reform Devices (Vol. 2 of Mysteries Series)
Philosophy Academy, January 1904

Discourse on Goblins (Vol. 3 of Mysteries Series)
Philosophy Academy, December 1903

Analyzing Superstitions (Vol. 4 of Mysteries Series)
Philosophy Academy, September 1904

True Nature of Monsters
Heigo Shuppansha, July 1914

Superstition and Religion
Shiseidō Shoten, March 1916

The True Mystery
Heigo Shuppansha, March 1919

Other Works

Journal on Religion and State in the Western Countries, Vol. 1
Philosophical Publishing House, August 1889

Journal on Religion and State in the Western Countries, Vol. 2
Philosophical Publishing House, December 1889

Interstellar Travel Journal
Philosophical Publishing House, February 1890

Enryō's Tea Talks
Philosophy Academy, January 1902

Collection of Hosui's Discussions
Hakubunkan, April 1902

Journal of a Westward Journey
Keiseidō, January 1904

Enryō Lecture Collection
Kōmeisha, March 1904

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 1
Morality Church Expansion Office, December 1908

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 2
Morality Church Expansion Office, January 1909

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 3
Morality Church Expansion Office, January 1909

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection Vol. 4
Morality Church Expansion Office, January 1910

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 5
Morality Church Expansion Office, December 1910

50,000 Miles in the Southern Hemisphere
Heigo Shuppansha, March 1912

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 6
Morality Church Expansion Office, April 1912

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 7
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, June 1913

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 8
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, February 1914

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 9
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, July 1914

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 10
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, February 1915

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 11
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, December 1915

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 12
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, May 1916

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 13
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, June 1916

Tea Talks in the Philosophy Dormitory
Isobekōyōdō, May 1916

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 14
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, January 1918

"South-by-Boat, North-on-Horse" Collection, Vol. 15
Association for the Spread of Civic Morality, December 1918

English Translations of Inoue Enryō Works

"The Founding Documents of Toyo University," trans. by Rainer SCHULZER, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 2 (2014): 155–66

"Statement on Establishing the Personal Cultivation Church," trans. by Dylan LUERS TODA, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 3 (2015): 30–41

"My Philosophical Mission," trans. by Dylan LUERS TODA, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 3 (2015): 42–49

Yokai Studies and *On the Subject of Kokkuri*, trans. by YODA Hiroko and Matt ALT (Amazon Kindle, 2016)

An Evening Conversation about Philosophy, trans. by Ralf MÜLLER, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 6 (2018): 34–92

Outline of Mystery Studies (*Three Parts*), trans. by Dylan LUERS TODA, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 6–8 (2018–2020)

Guide to the Temple Garden of Philosophy, ed. by Rainer SCHULZER (Toyo University Press, 2019)

The Revitalization of Buddhism: Introduction, trans. by Kathleen M. STAGGS, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 10 (2022)

Imaginary Interstellar Travelogue, trans. by Stefan GRACE, *International Inoue Enryo Research* 10 (2022)

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