

Research Note

Nitobe's and Uchimura's Schools of Thought and Post-War Democratic Education: A Fault in Personality Development Education

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Abstract

It is now recognised that the followers of Inazō Nitobe and Kanzō Uchimura played a highly important role in the development of post-war democratic education in Japan. In particular, Tamon Maeda is considered to have determined the direction of post-war education. This article briefly reviews the achievements of the followers of Nitobe and Uchimura and then focuses on Tamon Maeda and his philosophy on education. Like the other followers, Maeda firmly believed that the development of individuality and personality was necessary for the establishment of a democracy. Nevertheless, Maeda's belief lacks the factor of 'otherness' that helps to achieve self-establishment. As a result, there is only the possibility of realising a self-sufficient self in an intimate relationship with the highest being. On this point there is a definite contradiction within Maeda's idea of self-establishment.

Keywords

education, Japan, Tamon Maeda, Shigeru Nanbara, Inazō Nitobe, Kōtarō Tanaka, Kanzō Uchimura.

Introduction

It is well known that Inazō Nitobe (1862–1933) and Kanzō Uchimura (1861–1930) nurtured a long-lasting friendship that began when they were in the same class at Sapporo Agricultural College. They were core members of the 'Sapporo Band',¹

1 The Sapporo Band, a Christian students group, is one of the origins of Japanese Protestant churches, together with the 'Kumamoto Band' and the 'Yokohama Band'.

a student group that had taken up the Christian principles introduced by William Smith Clark (1826–1886). Nitobe eventually became a Quaker and Uchimura founded the non-church movement (無教会). Abundant research on Nitobe and Uchimura is available, contrasting with the scarcity of research on their followers, such as Tamon Maeda (前田多門), Shigeru Nanbara (南原繁), Tatsuo Morito (森戸辰男) and Teiyū Amano (天野貞祐). However, since the 1980s, and especially since the start of the twenty-first century, it has been recognised that these followers of Nitobe and Uchimura played an important role in constructing the Japanese post-war educational system, especially in terms of the focus on the development of individuality and personality (or ‘character education’). For example, Shinichirō Matsui emphasised the importance of Nitobe’s and Uchimura’s followers, including Maeda, in the improvement or education of a society.² Hidefumi Kurosawa focused on Maeda, analysing his significant role in developing the base for post-war democratic education.³ Naoto Uehara studied Maeda and Tai Sekiguchi (関口泰),⁴ both of whom contributed greatly to the development of civics, and clarified the different characteristics of their approaches to civics education.⁵ There is other research on the followers of Nitobe and Uchimura,⁶ but little on their ideology.

Building on previous research on the followers of Nitobe and Uchimura, this article further clarifies the views on Japanese democracy advocated by these people who paved the way for post-war democratic education and examines the possibility of a problem in their educational framework for the development of individuality and personality. I focus on Tamon Maeda, a Quaker, who was the first Minister of Education after World War II and whose policy on education is said to have determined the subsequent post-war educational plan. In this article I first examine the relationship between Nitobe’s and Uchimura’s followers and post-war democratic education and then look into the hidden pitfalls of Maeda’s

2 Matsui, Shinichirō, ‘Nitobe · Uchimura Monka no Shakaiha-Kanryō nitsuite (Bureaucrats for Social Reformation Who Followed Nitobe and Uchimura)’, *A Journal of Japanese History* 494 (2003), pp. 29–55.

3 Kurosawa, Hidefumi, *Sengo-Kyōiku no Genryū wo Motomete – Maeda Tamon no Kyōiku-Rinen (In Search of the Origin of Post-War Education: Maeda Tamon’s Educational Philosophy)*, Tokyo: Naigai Publishing, 1982.

4 Tai Sekiguchi (1889–1956) was also one of Nitobe’s followers. He was a high official at the Ministry of Education and in 1951 became the first president of Yokohama City University.

5 Uehara, Naoto, ‘Sengo-Chokugo no Kōmin-Kyōiku ni kansuru Ichikōsatsu – Maeda Tamon no Kōmin-Kyōiku-Ron wo Chūshin-ni’ (‘Study of “The Plan of Civic Education” in the Early Postwar Period: Focused on Tamon Maeda’s Theory of Civic Education’), *Studies in Lifelong Learning and Adult Education* 26 (2001), pp. 11–20.

6 For example, Yamada, Norio, ‘Maeda Tamon no Kōmin – Kyoiku Shisō’ (‘Tamon Maeda’s Ideas of Civic Education’), *Studies In Sociology, Psychology and Education* 67 (2009), pp. 1–14; Yamaguchi, Shūzō, *Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo Minshu-Shugi (Shigeru Nanbara and Post-War Educational Reform, Analysed with Data)*, Tokyo: Tōshindō, 2009.

philosophy on education. What I show, especially in the case of Maeda, is that he strongly advocated the necessity of developing individuality and personality for the establishment of post-war democracy, while his idea of a democratic society itself did not promote the development of individuality, and further had the potential to prevent such development.

1. Nitobe's and Uchimura's Schools of Thought and Post-War Democratic Education

Inazō Nitobe worked as the principal of the first school of higher learning (第一高等学校: now part of the University of Tokyo) from 1906 to 1913. This was known as the most prestigious school in Japan, but was also notorious for its rough atmosphere or 'Bankara' (蛮カラ).⁷ Nitobe completely changed it into a very liberal establishment, and many students were deeply influenced by his idealistic personality as well as by his scholarship.⁸ He was revered by the students and was sometimes questioned about Christianity. However, instead of mentioning his Quaker faith, he sent those of his followers who wanted to know more about Christianity to his close friend, Uchimura.⁹ This was partly because Nitobe was one of the teaching staff at a secular state-run school¹⁰ and partly because he himself was not a person of orthodox faith, but rather of religious sentiment,¹¹ and thus probably considered Uchimura to be the best religious tutor.

Included among the students who gathered around Nitobe and Uchimura were Yoshishige Abe (安倍能成, 1883–1966), Tamon Maeda (前田多門, 1884–1962, Quaker), Shigeru Nanbara (南原繁, 1889–1974, member of the non-church), Yasaka Takagi (高木八尺, 1889–1984, Quaker),¹² Tatsuo Morito (森戸辰男, 1888–1984), Eijirō Kawai (河合榮治郎, 1891–1944), Kōtarō Tanaka (田中耕太郎, 1890–1974, follower of Uchimura, later became Catholic) and Yanaihara Tadao (矢内原忠雄, 1893–1961, member of the non-church). The student circles were called *Kashiwa-Kai* (柏会) or *Hakui-Kai* (白雨会). Many of the graduates became public officials for social reform

7 For more information on the first higher school, see Takeuchi, Yō, *Gakureki-Kizoku no Eikō to Zassetsu (The Glory and Failure of the Elite with Higher Education)*, Tokyo: Kōdan-Sha, 2011.

8 Takeda, Kiyoko, *Sengo-Minshushugi no Genryū (The Origin of Post-War Democracy)*, Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1995, pp. 85–88; Matsui, 'Bureaucrats for Social Reformation', pp. 30–33.

9 Matsui, 'Bureaucrats for Social Reformation', pp. 32–33.

10 Matsui, 'Bureaucrats for Social Reformation', p. 33.

11 Yanaihara, Tadao, *Uchimura Kanzō to Nitobe Inazō (Uchimura Kanzō and Nitobe Inazō)*, Tokyo: Nissan-Shobō, 1948, pp. 104–05.

12 Yasaka Takagi was a pioneer of American studies in Japan. He made secret efforts with Shigeru Nanbara, Kōtarō Tanaka and other professors to undertake the task of ending the war by conducting talks with influential politicians and naval officers. (Maruyamam Masao and Fukuda, Kan-ichi, eds, *Kikigaki Nanbara Shigeru Kaisō-Roku (Memoirs of Nanbara Shigeru, Based on Oral Recollections)*, Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1989, pp. 264–77).

in the Home Ministry¹³ and later returned to Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo¹⁴) as influential academic staff. These were the people who developed the foundation of the new democratic Japan through cooperative work with General Headquarters (GHQ) and its subordinate body, the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), especially in terms of the development of personality or individuality through education.¹⁵ Generally speaking, Nitobe's and Uchimura's followers believed that a lack of individuality or personality had led to totalitarianism or fascism in the recent war, and that there was an urgent need to raise the consciousness of individuality and personality for a post-war society.

Even today, most Japanese people believe that the post-war educational system as well as the constitution was forced upon them by GHQ, then the US,¹⁶ but such a view is mistaken. Rather, people such as those mentioned above gave serious thought, even under strong fascistic pressure during the war, to what democracy was and how it could work. Borrowing the words of renowned theologian Kiyoko Takeda, they helped prepare for the introduction of democracy and became 'an intrinsic root of it'.¹⁷ In particular, after the war, they started to realise the things that they believed constituted real democracy and astutely combined their efforts with GHQ to achieve democratisation and liberalisation. Three examples of this are described in the following section.

Nitobe's and Uchimura's Followers

Tamon Maeda

Tamon Maeda was the first Minister of Education after the war and was generally regarded as the earliest advocate for post-war education.¹⁸ He became a Quaker later in his life, in 1946,¹⁹ but had revered Professor Nitobe as his mentor since

13 The Home Ministry (内務省), which was the highest authoritative ministry in Japan, dealt with internal affairs, including police activities (Mizutani, Mitsuhiro, *Kanryō no Fūbō (The Real Faces of Bureaucrats)*, Tokyo: Chūō-Kōron-Sha, 2013, p. 187). It was subdivided into several ministries by GHQ in 1947.

14 Tokyo Imperial University was renamed the University of Tokyo in 1947. http://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gen03/b03_01_j.html (accessed 30 December 2015).

15 Takeda, *Sengo-Minshushugi no Genryū*, pp. 89–91.

16 Such a statement is known as 'Oshitsuke Kenpō-Ron (押し付け憲法論)', which literally means that the Japanese constitution was forced on Japan by GHQ, which often goes so far as to imply that the Japanese are not responsible for it (I will not discuss here the political implication of such a Japanese attitude). The post-war educational system is also accepted as such, but it was an outcome of Japan's cooperation with GHQ (Kimura, Hajime, *Gakkō no Sengo-Shi (The Post-War History of School System)*, Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 2015, pp. 59–60).

17 Takeda, Kiyoko, 'An Intrinsic Root in Democratic Education', *Asahi Evening News*, 2 May 1949.

18 Kurosawa, *In Search of the Origin of Post-War Education*, p. 2.

19 Koizumi, Ichirō and Ukaji, Kiyoshi, eds, *Seventy Years of Quakerism in Japan*, Tokyo: Japan Yearly Meeting, 1957, p. 63.

his college days and wished to walk the path paved by Nitobe in the field of social education.²⁰ Following Nitobe's advice that it would be useful to gain practical experience, Maeda became a public official at the Home Ministry²¹ and was posted as a subprefect in Tone, Gunma Prefecture and then in Miura, Kanazawa Prefecture.²² In 1915 he returned to the central office of the Ministry and served under the Home Secretary, renowned statesman Shinpei Gotō (後藤新平). Maeda was also appointed several times as a representative of the Japanese government to the International Labour Organisation for the preparation of labour legislation in Japan.²³ After retiring from the Home Ministry in 1928, Maeda went to work for the *Asahi News* as an editorial writer.²⁴ After moving from one executive position to another, in 1945 he became Minister of Education at the age of 61. All was set for Maeda to realise his long-cherished dream of social reform through education. Although it was a difficult time right after the war, he felt that 'it would be a meaningful job to construct a new educational system with the ideals that Professor Nitobe had told me about'.²⁵

Specifically, Maeda aspired to change the Japanese educational system especially in terms of the cultivation of individuality and the development of a scientific and democratic spirit; for Maeda, these matters converged into the total reformation of social studies.²⁶ Until the end of the war Japanese social studies, including history and ethics, had been tightly linked to mythical ideas such as an unbroken Imperial line and *Kōkoku-Shikan* (皇国史観: an emperor-centred historiography that was based on state Shinto, which justified expanding Imperial Japan).²⁷ That is, social studies during wartime played a role only in sustaining the ideology of Japanese ultranationalism. Maeda thought that the failure of the previous constitutional system (the Meiji Constitution) was due to Japanese citizens' lack of individuality, which led to apathy within society and finally to totalitarianism and fascism. Thus he strongly emphasised the necessity of social education, especially 'civics',

20 Horikiri, Zenjirō, ed., *Maeda Tamon: Sono-Bun Sono-Hito (Maeda Tamon: His Extracted Works and His Personality)*, Tokyo: Sankyū-Sha, 1963, pp. 11–14.

21 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, p. 14.

22 Kurosawa, Hidefumi, 'Maeda Tamon no Kyōiku-Rinen, sono1 – Haisen-Chokugo no Bunkyo-Sekinsha toshite' ('A Study on the Educational Idea of Tamon Maeda, Part 1'), *Ryutsu Keizai University Bulletin* 13–1 (1978), p. 33.

23 Kurosawa, 'A Study on the Educational Idea of Tamon Maeda, Part 1', p. 34.

24 Kurosawa, 'A Study on the Educational Idea of Tamon Maeda, Part 1', p. 35. The reason why he worked for the *Asahi News* was that he thought that 'A newspaper is the most powerful method of social education' (Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, p. 43).

25 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, pp. 55–56.

26 Kurosawa, 'A Study on the Educational Idea of Tamon Maeda, Part 1', p. 39. See also Kurosawa, Hidefumi, 'Maeda Tamon no Kyōiku-Rinen, sono2 – Haisen-Chokugo no Bunkyo-Sekinsha toshite' ('A Study on the Educational Idea of Tamon Maeda, Part 2'), *Ryutsu Keizai University Bulletin* 13–4 (1979), p. 35.

27 Nagahara, Keiji, *Kōkoku-Shikan (Emperor-Centered Historiography)*, Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1983, pp. 18–31.

which teaches horizontal relationships (social relationships) as well as vertical relationships (with a divine being) while utilising parts of the old national polity, and negotiated with GHQ (especially with Brigadier General Bonner Fellers²⁸) in terms of the post-war educational plan.²⁹ His passion for educational reform was apparent in *The Book of Civics* (『公民の書』), in which he wrote the following:

The point of the constitutional government is not that people regard politics as someone else's problem, but that they think of it as their own problem Although it has been about fifty years since the establishment of the constitutional government [in the Meiji era], it leaves much to be desired in terms of the exercise of the constitution ... I think it was totally because people lacked the political awareness, and they do not think of politics as their own matter. It is quite necessary to cultivate the political awareness by home teaching, and it is also desirable that the government should carry out politics to develop such awareness.³⁰

*The Education Reform Committee: Shigeru Nanbara*³¹

Shigeru Nanbara was the first president of Tokyo Imperial University after the war, and was the most influential opinion leader for a new democratic Japan.³² His speeches were published in newspapers to encourage the Japanese people who were unable to rise from the ashes.³³

Like Tamon Maeda, Nanbara was deeply attracted to Nitobe's personality and idealism when he was in the first higher learning school. He looked up to Nitobe, while he learned the Bible under the instruction of Uchimura, holding *Hakuu-Kai* with other followers.³⁴ After studying politics at Tokyo Imperial University,

28 Bonner Fellers, a Quaker, served in the army as a psychological warfare director; he was very knowledgeable about Japanese culture and his reports deeply influenced GHQ's occupation policy.

29 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, pp. 80–81 and 100–01.

30 Maeda, Tamon, *Kōmin no Sho (The Book of Civics)*, 2nd edn, Tokyo: Association of Social Education, 1946, pp. 21–2. The first edition was published in 1936, when the February 26 Incident (an attempted coup by a radical faction of the Imperial Japanese army) occurred.

31 I thank Mr Yoshihiro Funayama, a former student, on whose research this subsection is based. He analysed the nature of Nanbara's communitarianism under my instruction.

32 'Nanbara ... was the very person who placed a cornerstone of post-war Japan' (Tachibana, Takashi, *Nanbara Shigeru no Kotoba (The Speeches of Nanbara Shigeru)*, Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 2007, p. 168).

33 The most famous speech was delivered at Tokyo Imperial University in 1946. The title was 'The Establishment of a New Japanese Culture', and it addressed and encouraged people to think of defeat in war as an opportunity to realise liberty and spiritual revolution (Tachibana, Takashi, *Tennō to Tōdai—Dai-Nihon-Teikoku no Sei to Shi, Ge-Kan (Emperor and Tokyo University: The Life and Death of Imperial Japan, vol. 2)*, Tokyo: Bungei-Shunjū, 2005, pp. 648–52).

34 Maruyama and Fukuda, *Memoirs of Nanbara Shigeru*, pp. 4–9; Society for Nanbara Shigeru Studies, ed., *Mukyo-Kai Kirisuto-Kyo to Nanbara Shigeru (The Non-Church Movement and Nanbara Shigeru)*, Tokyo: Editex, 2013, pp. 33–34.

Nanbara entered the Home Ministry in the steps of his senior, Maeda,³⁵ he thought it better to become an official and spend some time with people at the grassroots before getting down to serious research on political philosophy.³⁶ In 1917 he started his career as a subprefect in Imizu, Toyama Prefecture and gave his full devotion to the people there by, for example, carrying out a river improvement project and establishing a farming civics school.³⁷ Two years later he went back to the Ministry to prepare the Trade Union Act.³⁸ In 1921 he was offered an academic position at the Faculty of Law at his alma mater, where he expended all his energy conducting research on Plato, Kant and Fichte, and systematised his political philosophy in *Kokka to Shūkyō* (『国家と宗教』: *The Nation and Religion*). There is no space here to discuss the details of his discussions, but his philosophy can be regarded as a pioneering version of communitarianism based on the Christian faith.³⁹

Regarding democratic education, Nanbara worked as Chair of the Education Reform Committee, founded in 1946.⁴⁰ The Potsdam Declaration was accepted on 14 August 1945, but this did not mean there was no leeway for Japan to do something about GHQ's occupation policy (Japanese politicians and bureaucrats tried to reflect their will by drafting a new constitution and policies).⁴¹ Initially, the Chair of the Committee was Yoshishige Abe, but the position was taken over by Nanbara.

It was Nanbara's opinion that since the Meiji era the old ideal of Japanese education was dominated by the concept of a nation-state symbolised by the Imperial family, and it was a Japanese duty to be a subject of the Imperial nation-state.⁴² The modernisation of Japan was successful, but at the same time it collapsed under this ideal.⁴³ This is because, Nanbara claimed, Japan did not discover and acquire an awareness of the sense of individuality and personality through which modernisation was achieved around the world.⁴⁴ Therefore, it was urgently necessary to develop individuality and personality above all in order for

35 Maruyama and Fukuda, *Memoirs of Nanbara Shigeru*, p. 33.

36 Maruyama and Fukuda, *Memoirs of Nanbara Shigeru*, p. 33.

37 Matsui, 'Bureaucrats for Social Reformation', pp. 39–43.

38 After the Japanese-Russo War (1904–05), Japanese society became unstable, resulting in the prevalence of socialism.

39 See Chapter 11 in Kobayashi, Masaya and Kikuchi, Masao, *Communitarianism no Frontier (The Frontier of Communitarianism)*, Tokyo: Keisō-Shobō, 2012.

40 The first Chair was Yoshishige Abe. When Abe was appointed as Minister of Education in 1946, the position of first chair was taken over by Nanbara. The committee was also attended by Setsuzō Sawada, chief director of Tokyo Friends School.

41 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, p. 100; The Reformation Committee of Education was one of the successful examples.

42 Nanbara, Shigeru, *Nanbara Shigeru Chosaku-Shū, Dai-Hachi-Kan (The Works of Nanbara Shigeru, Vol. 8)*, Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1973, p. 224.

43 Nanbara, *The Works of Nanbara Shigeru, Vol. 8*, p. 224.

44 Nanbara, *The Works of Nanbara Shigeru, Vol. 8*, p. 224.

Japan to understand the ideals of democracy or self-government.⁴⁵ For this reason, the Education Reform Committee set up a post-war school system, the 6-3-3 school system, on the initiative of Nanbara, while adopting the suggestions of the United States Education Mission to Japan. The primary aim of the educational reform was to cultivate well-educated people who cherished truth and peace and took responsibility for realising these values in a democratic society.⁴⁶

The Basic Act on Education: Kōtarō Tanaka

Kōtarō Tanaka, well known as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the 1950s, was also a major contributor to the Basic Act on Education (教育基本法), which states not only the necessity of human dignity but also the aspiration of truth and peace. Tanaka became a follower of Nitobe at the first higher school and studied law at Tokyo Imperial University. He worked at the Home Ministry, but left that job when he was offered the position of junior law professor at his alma mater, where he started reading the Bible with Uchimura. Several years later Tanaka departed from the non-church movement and converted to Catholicism, which was his wife's faith,⁴⁷ but he recollected that the influence of Nitobe and Uchimura would last a lifetime.⁴⁸ In 1946 he was appointed Minister of Education, succeeding Yoshishige Abe. As Minister, he worked hard to establish the Basic Act on Education (1947). According to researcher Shūzō Yamaguchi, 'It is not too much to say that it is due to the Constitution [of Japan] and the Basic Act on Education that we have been able to enjoy the benefits of daily life and a peaceful society.'⁴⁹

The Basic Act on Education was revised in 2006 with the addition of several phrases concerning public-mindedness and respect for tradition to correct extreme individualism, but the basic spirit of the law has hardly changed. The law (in the original version) declares the meaning and the aim of education in the preamble and the first article as follows:⁵⁰

45 Nanbara, *The Works of Nanbara Shigeru*, Vol. 8, p. 225.

46 Nanbara, *The Works of Nanbara Shigeru*, Vol. 8, p. 228.

47 Tanaka said that his conversion was also due to the troubled relationship with Uchimura, and the influence of Vladimir Solovyov's books (Tanaka, Kōtarō, 'Kōtarō Tanaka', in *My Autobiography*, Nikkei Inc. (ed.), Tokyo: Nikkei Inc., 1961, Vol. 13, pp. 348-51).

48 Especially about Nitobe Tanaka said 'Mr. Nitobe was a thoughtful and loving person. For this reason, all kinds of people were attracted to him ... This is why Mr. Nitobe will live on in our minds forever' (Tanaka, Kōtarō, *Kyōiku to Ken-i (Education and Authority)*, Tokyo: Iwanami-Shoten, 1946, pp. 146-47).

49 Society for Nanbara Shigeru Studies, ed., *Shoshin wo Wasuretaku – Nanbara Shigeru to Sengo-60-nen (Forget the Original Intention? Nanbara Shigeru and 60 Years after the War)*, Tokyo: Tobe-Shuppan, 2006, p. 83.

50 Comparison of the Revised (2006) and Original (1947) Versions of the Basic Act on Education, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm (accessed 30 December 2015); emphasis added.

Preamble:

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. *The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.* We shall esteem *individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace*, while *education which aims at the creation of culture, general and rich in individuality*, shall be spread far and wide. We hereby enact this Act, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, with a view to clarifying the aims of education and establishing the foundation of education for new Japan.

Article 1:

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving to nurture the citizens, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, *esteem individual value*, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of the peaceful state and society.

2. A Fault in Personality Development Education: The Case of Maeda

Maeda was in office as the Minister of Education for only five months, but his educational policy became the base of post-war education. On 15 September 1945, on his own initiative, Maeda held up the ‘Educational Policy for the Construction of a New Japan’ as the first public educational plan after the war (before the arrival of the United States Education Mission to Japan). This educational plan, which contained eleven articles, was so important that it determined the subsequent line of educational policies. Several extracts are provided below.⁵¹

1) New Educational Policy

... New educational policy *aims not only to maintain the national polity, but also to establish a peaceful state, sweeping away militaristic ideology and policies, by reflecting on our past conduct, deepening people’s education, cultivating their scientific intellect and peace-loving spirit*, and to raise the level of their education and morality, so that they would make a large contribution to the progress of the world ...

6) Scientific Education

It is certainly important to expect the development of scientific education, but what we hope for is to develop the sciences based upon not the spirit of utilitarianism or expediency, but upon genuine scientific thinking and a sense of longing for the eternal truth.

As to the administration of academic conferences, it helps to *promote academic research that can contribute to the establishment of a peaceful Japan and to the progress of the world.*

7) Social Education

As the improvement of morality and education of the people is the foundation for the establishment of a new Japan, the government makes specific plans to improve

51 Kurosawa, ‘A Study on the Educational Philosophy of Tamon Maeda, Part 1’, pp. 43–44; emphasis added.

social education as a whole including adult education, workers' education, home education and museums, and also to raise national cultures such as Art, music, cinema, musicals and publishing ...

As seen above, the goals of post-war educational policies were to maintain the national polity (in other words, the emperor system) and to create a peaceful and cultured state by sweeping away militarism. For Japanese people today the maintenance of the national polity may sound spine-chilling, but it should be noted that most intellectuals at that time (including followers of Nitobe and Uchimura) considered the national polity an urgent necessity for post-war Japan. For example, Michi Kawai (河井道), who was also one of Nitobe's followers, advised US Brigadier General Bonner Fellers to grant the Emperor immunity and to maintain the national polity, with the result that GHQ used the Imperial authority for the occupation of Japan.⁵² This article continues by exploring how Nitobe's and Uchimura's followers' ideas concerning the national polity were a factor in suffocating their dream of the development of individuality and personality.

One of Maeda's lectures, entitled 'Politics and Democracy' (1961),⁵³ mentioned the meaning of the development of individuality and personality, which Maeda considered essential factors for democracy.

... therefore I think that for remedying this [a weakness of democracy], it is necessary for people to have a mind to assume one's own responsibility of doing their jobs even if they are not actually looked at and seen by other people, and to have a kind of moralistic and religious mind to live in good conscience without being criticised by others Naturally, all humans have worldly thoughts, while they should do their own jobs with such moralistic and religious feelings on the subconscious level. *When people have a vertical relationship based upon a universal being such as God or Buddha, it will become the base on which they can behave properly in the horizontal relationships with others in a society ...*

If people have proper vertical and horizontal relations, they will come to feel that one person and another are precious and that they should show respect towards them. I think that *the fundamental ideas of democracy consist of such human dignity, and so we have to place great value on the personality and character of one another.* As to the evaluation of each personality, however, unfortunately we have not gone so far from feudalistic conventions, and there is still a lack of respect not only towards oneself, but also towards others. Rather we tend to feel that it is safer for us to adjust ourselves to the conventional system and to go with the time without thinking critically. In addition, we tend to think in uniformity because one of the Japanese characteristics is to follow the mode. But today, the Japanese political system allows complete liberty.

52 Okamoto, Shirō, *Heika wo Osukui-nasaimashi – Kawai Michi to Bonner Fellers (Save His Emperor Majesty: Michi Kawai and Bonner Fellers)*, Tokyo: Home-sha, 2002, pp. 202–05; see also Chapter 9 in Dower, John W., *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company/The New Press, 1999.

53 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, pp. 88–109.

In spite of the full allowance of liberty, we have not been taught how to use it, and so even if we have the right of freedom, we actually feel there are difficulties in speech and behaviour. Certainly it is better for us to think freely and make judgements by ourselves, but we will hesitate to express what we think about ourselves and the circumstances. We are inclined to think that it is best to conform to the common morality and behave as others do. I am sure that this kind of Japanese attitude is an obstacle to the establishment of democracy.⁵⁴

As seen above, Maeda insists that it is necessary to have horizontal relationships that are based upon the vertical relationship with the highest being and to develop individuality so that we can enjoy the system of democracy. Maeda learned about the idea of 'vertical and horizontal relationships' from Nitobe, but this idea appeared slightly different in quality in his philosophy on democratic education. That is to say, despite the fact that Maeda stressed the importance of people developing individuality and personality for post-war education, the social system he designed might have suffocated such development. An article published in the *Asahi News* in November 1945 covered the round-table discussion 'American Democracy', in which Maeda presented his idea of a suitable democracy for Japan:

The word democracy is derived from the Greek word *demos*. It means that the citizens carry out politics, people in general govern for themselves and they take responsibility for doing such things Namely, democracy mentioned here is the opposite word for aristocracy or plutocracy and I would like to make everyone realise that it does not contradict our national polity in any way.

Democracy in our national polity lies in the fact that *every person is equal under the emperor*. In early-modern history, as justice and righteousness marked the relationship between sovereign and subject, and as affection and sentiment marked the relationship between father and the child, sovereign and subject had an intimate and peaceful relationship with each other Once this distortion [militarism and super nationalism during the war] is removed, our democratic education will trace back to 'the Imperial Rescript on Education' and further to 'the Oath in Five Articles' [in the Meiji era]. I think that the Imperial Rescript on Education should be reevaluated, studied more and put into practice, because it is certain the rescript indicates a kind of democracy. What it intends to mean is that it is surely important for us to be citizens, and that we should be not only citizens but also human beings. Education hitherto had a fundamental defect in the lack of respect towards humans.

It is not a good thing to translate American democracy into Japanese democracy. Even GHQ understands this point. Japan should go on with a Japanese version of democracy. We have struggled to realise it, but in the meantime, for this purpose, we are thinking of *renewing and enlarging the subject of civics, which was ignored during wartime*. By teaching civics starting in elementary school, we make sure that *each person becomes involved in, and takes responsibility for politics*.⁵⁵

54 Horikiri, *Maeda Tamon*, pp. 104–06; emphasis added.

55 Maeda, Tamon et al. 'American Democracy', *Asahi News*, 4 October 1945; emphasis added.

Thus, Maeda presented his idea of a Japanese democracy that he thought was relevant after the war. Here, he talked about the problem of how to establish the new system of democracy while making efforts to maintain the national polity (he considered that there was no contradiction between the long-established national polity and democracy). The problem, for Maeda, would be partly solved by the renewal of civics education. In the long-established national polity, sovereign and subject were tightly connected with duty and sentiment and their vertical relationship was intimate. On the other hand, in the relationship between citizens and politics (a horizontal relationship) all the citizens take part or are involved in politics.⁵⁶ The role of civics is to teach people about the relationship between sovereign and subject and between citizens and politics. The structure of Maeda's idea of Japanese democracy is shown in the figure below.

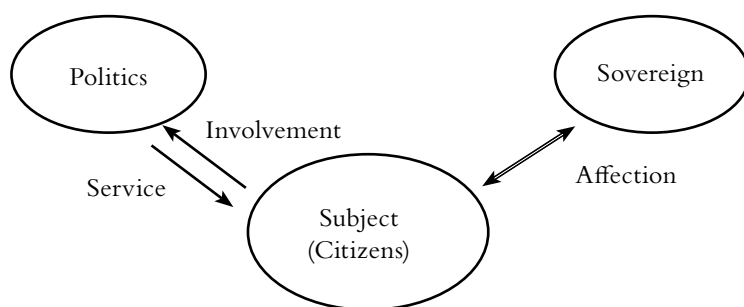


Fig. 1. Maeda's idea of Japanese democracy

As mentioned earlier, Maeda learned about the idea of vertical and horizontal relationships from Nitobe, but in Nitobe's case the vertical relationship is obviously with God. In this relationship people come face to face with the Absolute being, which leads them to realise their own selves—that is, the establishment of the self.⁵⁷ However, in Maeda's case the vertical relationship is with the sovereign, the emperor.⁵⁸ What matters here, aside from drawing down from God to the emperor, is the idea of the subject's intimacy (or identification) with the sovereign through affection and sentiment. As Nitobe's philosophy shows such a tendency, Quakerism in Japan had been deeply influenced by American and British liberal Quakerism since the twentieth century.⁵⁹ In Liberal Quakerism, the traditional

56 Maeda, *The Book of Civics*, p. 14; Kurosawa, *In Search of the Origin of Post-War Education*, p. 51.

57 Tamon Maeda, *Sansō-Seishi (Meditations in a Mountain Retreat)*, Tokyo: Hada-shoten, 1947, p. 273; Kurosawa, *In Search of the Origin of Post-War Education*, p. 30.

58 Maeda regarded the relationship with sovereign as the one with the Highest (a vertical relationship). See Maeda, *The Book of Civics*, p. 3.

59 Refer to Nitobe, Inazō, 'Nihon-jin no Quaker-Kan' ('Japanese Views of Quakerism'), in *Nitobe Inazō Chosaku-shu (The Works of Nitobe Inazō)*, Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1985, Vol. 18.

Christian concept of salvation is superseded by the concept of self-realisation, which means that someone's self will be fulfilled by the self's decision and be unified with the larger self.⁶⁰ There is no room for traditional Christian ideas such as 'sin', 'grace', 'redemption', 'providence', 'resurrection', etc. Negatively speaking, all that exists is the self-sufficient, enlarged self-consciousness, where the boundaries between self and others are somewhat obscured. In a strict sense, there is no 'self'.

For better or worse, self-establishment or self-realisation could be possible through the identification of other(s) as 'the other(s)'. Notwithstanding, Maeda insists that there is an urgent need to establish individuality and personality above all, while he also talks about identification with the highest being in a vertical relationship (or the intimacy of self with a larger self), in which there would be the possibility of preventing self-establishment. On this point, his talk about the vertical relationship is probably in contradiction with his insistence on self-establishment. Rather, such a system of education (especially post-war democratic education, for which Maeda paved the way) may have factors that suffocate self-establishment, leaving the old-fashioned Japanese group mentality.

Conclusion

As seen above, Maeda, who determined the direction of post-war democratic education, insisted that the development of individuality and personality was necessary for the establishment of a democratic society. In Maeda's opinion, civics education is what makes it possible to develop individuality and personality. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that Maeda's philosophy on education lacks the factor of otherness, which helps to achieve self-establishment. There is only the possibility of realising a self-sufficient, enlarged self in the vertical relationship with a sovereign intimacy (and the horizontal relationship with each self-sufficient self). In this sense, there is a contradiction in Maeda's philosophy concerning self-establishment.

Nanbara, a member of the non-church movement, and Tanaka, a Catholic, also learned about vertical and horizontal relationships from Nitobe.⁶¹ The vertical and horizontal relationships that they believe in are exactly what Nitobe conceived: that is, the establishment of self through the encounter with the Absolute and the cooperation between persons and persons who have developed individuality and personality. On this point, Nanbara and Tanaka differ from Maeda in their ideas. For instance, Nanbara mentions the development of personality:

60 See Chapter 2.2.4 in Nakano, Yasuharu, 'Self and Other in the Theology of Robert Barclay', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011.

61 Tanaka, *Education and Authority*, pp. 239–40; Tanaka, Kōtarō, *Kyōiku-Kihon-Hou no Riron (Theory of the Basic Act on Education)*, reprinted edn, Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1985, pp. 79, 83, 91–92.

... But what we have to take heed of is that the spirit of humanism cannot fully attain the true development of personality. This is because even if humans learn a lot and are highly cultivated, as long as humans are human, they have an innate problem which cannot be solved by their own intellectuality. This is the matter of human evilness. It is possible for them to conquer and be relieved from the evilness by having a faith in the Absolute or Eternal, which transcends human comprehension.⁶²

Thus, Nanbara and Tanaka fully understood that standing face to face with the Absolute is necessary for the development of individuality and personality. Despite this, the words about the necessity of facing the Absolute were not included in the Basic Act on Education, which was developed by Tanaka, or in the new educational system, to which Nanbara largely contributed, for such words might concern religious liberty. In the Basic Act on Education and the new educational system we can only find repeated words or phrases about the significance of developing individuality and personality; there is no hint about how to achieve this. Thus, none of these followers of Nitobe and Uchimura were able to fully realise their mentor's ideals in their political work for democratic education.

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62 Nanbara, *The Works of Nanbara Shiberu*, Vol. 8, p. 186.