

The Significance of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo's *Jinsei chirigaku* (Geography of Human Life) in the Intellectual History of Geography in Japan:
Commemorating the Centenary of Its Publication

Keiichi Takeuchi

THE recent focus of my research has been the intellectual history of geography in Japan. While the combination of the two Chinese characters (*chi* and *ri*) that are currently used to express the concept of “geography” can be found in Chinese classics that predate the Common Era, it was only in the 1760s that this term was incorporated into the Japanese language by researchers in Western sciences (Tsujita 1971; Takeuchi 2001). And it was not until the closing days of the Tokugawa Era (1603–1867), that geography gained acceptance as a field of academic research. Furthermore, it was only in the late 1880s that universities started offering lectures on geography or historical geography. However, every culture has developed ideas and ways of understanding such concepts as place, territory and the physical environment with or without a formal term such as geography, and Japan, too, had a stock of such ideas before importing the discipline of geography established in the West. The study of the intellectual history of geography includes the study of the development of such ideas within the larger context of the intellectual history of different societies.

In order to accurately determine the place of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871–1944) within the intellectual history of geography (in particular the teaching of geography) in Japan, we need to study not only his *Jinsei chirigaku* (Geography of Human Life) (1903) but also *Kyoju no togo chushin to shite no kyodoka kenkyu* (Research in Community Studies as the Integrating Focus of School Education) (1912) and *Chirikyoju no hoho oyobi naiyo no kenkyu* (Research in the Method and Content in the Teaching of Geography) (1916). Further, *Soka kyoikugaku taikai* (The System of Value-Creating Pedagogy) published in four volumes from 1930 needs to be examined. Today, however, we commemorate the centenary of the publication of the first edition of *Jinsei chirigaku*, so I

would like to limit my remarks to the significance of this book within the intellectual history of geography in Japan. In this context it should be noted that the final, 11th edition of *Jinsei chirigaku* was published in 1914, long before his reception of Nichiren Buddhism (Nichiren Shoshu) in 1928. Thus, I believe it would be somewhat strained to try to find direct links between *Jinsei chirigaku* and Makiguchi's later philosophy of value, rooted in his (post-conversion) religious outlook and described in the *Pedagogy* (1930–1934). Saito Shoji, who scrupulously edited, footnoted and provided background notes and commentary for the reprint of *Jinsei chirigaku* comprised in *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo zen-shu* (The Complete Works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi), has written as follows in his “Prolegomenon to the Study of Jinsei Chirigaku” in the closing pages of Volume 2: “When Makiguchi wrote the geography, he might have still belonged to the Echigo Monto school of the True Pure Land sect (Jodo Shinshu). Furthermore, based on his writings, we may assume he had no affiliation with any particular sect, and only expressed his interest in Saint Ren'nyo's *Gobunsho* (Writings) out of a lyrical sympathy with ideas expressed there. In any case, it is best to refrain unreasonable attempts to identify Makiguchi at the time he wrote *Jinsei chirigaku* with a specific religious faith.”

ASSESSMENT OF MAKIGUCHI TSUNESABURO'S WORK BY
ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHERS AND IN JOURNALISM

The significance of *Jinsei chirigaku* was recognized immediately after the publication of the first edition. For example, Ogawa Takuji of the Geological Research Institute of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce wrote a review in *Chigaku zasshi* (Journal of Geography) No. 181 (1904) of the Tokyo Geographical Society. In this review, Ogawa was on the one hand critical, questioning the appropriateness of the use of the term *jinsei chirigaku* in light of already existing terms such as anthropogeography (*jinrui chirigaku*), cultural geography (*bunka chirigaku*) and human geography (*jinmon chirigaku*). At the same time, he wrote, “I could not help but amaze by the sincere diligence of the author, Makiguchi Tsunesaburo, who has completed this voluminous work of one thousand pages. As I read through it, [I was impressed with] the scope of his knowledge gained through extensive reading, the originality of his ideas, the convincing nature of arguments...” Without making specific reference to the book's content, Ogawa offered his generally positive appraisal. (As is generally known, when Ogawa was professor at Kyoto University, he established the foundation for what has since

become the university's enormous collection of maps.)

Despite the fact that *Jinsei chirigaku* was, at two yen, an expensive book for its time, it was reprinted and reissued in new editions at a rapid pace right up until the final edition of 1914. While none of the editions I have been able to check list the number of copies printed for that edition, and it is thus impossible to ascertain the total number of copies published, it is certain that a considerable number were sold and read. Research undertaken in recent years by the Soka Education Research Center at Soka University has determined that approximately forty reviews of *Jinsei chirigaku* were carried in various newspapers and journals between 1903 and 1909, most of them offering favorable comments on its content (Shiobara 2003; Oki 2003). Among the newspapers carrying such reviews were the *Yorozu choho*, *Jiji shimpo*, *Tokyo asahi shimbun* and *Miyako shimbun*, all among the top seven newspapers in terms of circulation.

As mentioned, the term *chiri* (geography) first entered the Japanese language in the 1760s, rapidly gaining acceptance and becoming a term of daily use. The leading pre-Meiji thinker and educator Yoshida Shoin also used this term in the 1850s when he wrote the well-known maxim in his *Yushuroku*: "Man does not exist apart from the land; no matter of importance is separate from man. If you wish to discuss human affairs, you must first examine geography." Thus, even before geography was established as a course of study in institutions of higher learning and research, its importance had been recognized for its practical application in the fields of politics, administration, military matters and education. While, among today's government ministries, Kokudo Chiri In (Geographical Survey Institute) is the only agency that retains the word "geography" in its title, in the early years of the Meiji Era (1868–1912), four departments within the Ministry of Military Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Civil Affairs and Ministry of Education had titles that included this word. Against this background, it was only natural that Makiguchi's voluminous and comprehensive study of geography should attract the attention of many newspapers and journals.

Jinsei chirigaku was first published in 1903, shortly after the academic study of geography was established in universities and higher normal schools in Japan. The academic geographers of the time were virtually all graduates of Japanese or foreign universities and, with the exception noted above of Ogawa Takuji, paid no attention and made no reference to Makiguchi's work. This is probably in part because of the prejudice, typical of the status-conscious society of the time, they held against an author who had only completed a normal (teachers' training) school

education. The more fundamental reason, however, for their failure to appreciate Makiguchi book was that, preoccupied by traditional conceptualizations of geography, they were unable understand Makiguchi's groundbreaking ideas and approach to the subject. In contrast, Ogawa, like the agronomist and internationalist Nitobe Inazo, the pioneer of Japanese folklore studies Yanagita Kunio and other members of the *Kyodo-kai* (a voluntary, interdisciplinary group studying local communities) warmly welcomed Makiguchi into their midst.

In 1943, Yamaguchi Sadao at Osaka Second Normal School wrote a brief, not necessarily appropriate but still positive review of *Jinsei chirigaku* in which he commented that it was the first book of human geography that was based on the correlation between the land and its human inhabitants. In my view, however, the first example of an academic geographer paying serious attention to or reassessing the significance of *Jinsei chirigaku* was in 1971, when Ishida Ryujiro, then professor emeritus at Hitotsubashi University and former president of the Association of Japanese Geographers, gave a public lecture at an academic event commemorating the centenary of the birth of two of the first academic geographers in Japan, Ogawa Takuji and Yamasaki Naomasa of, respectively, Kyoto and Tokyo Imperial Universities. Ishida spoke on "Intellectual Trends in Geography in Japan in the Meiji and Taisho Eras," in the course of which he referred to Uchimura Kanzo's *Chijinron* (On the Relation Between the Land and Man) (originally published in 1894 as *Chirigaku-ko* (Considerations on Geography)), and Makiguchi's *Jinsei chirigaku* as "two unique books of geography in Meiji Era." Later in 1972 and 1973, Kunimatsu Hisaya, then at the Department of Literature, Senshu University, published two lengthy essays, which formed the basis for his *Jinsei chirigaku gairon* (Overview of Jinsei Chirigaku) in 1978. Additionally, Ishida commented on his impression of Makiguchi when he was introduced to him at a gathering of the reconstituted *Kyodo-kai* held in late 1935 at the Nitobe residence: "[Mr. Makiguchi] was indeed an earnest and taciturn man, with the air typical of an aged elementary school principal." While there is some difference in the nature of the *Kyodo-kai* meetings that started in 1910, lapsing into inactivity in 1920 when Nitobe moved to Geneva to take up his post as under-secretary-general of the League of Nations, and the gatherings that began again following Nitobe's return to Japan in 1928, the only geographers who consistently attended both rounds were Makiguchi and Odauchi Michitoshi, a graduate of a higher normal school. Odauchi, nevertheless, made no reference to Makiguchi in his writings. In this sense, it was not until the 1970s that academic geographers began in

earnest to appreciate *Jinsei chirigaku*. Likewise, it was not until the 1960s that the book came to be widely read among the membership of the Soka Gakkai, the postwar lay Buddhist group that grew out of the association of educators founded by Makiguchi around 1930.

The questions posed here are thus: who were the many readers of *Jinsei chirigaku* in the early years of the 20th century, how did they understand this book and what did they learn from it? In order to think about these questions, we will need to examine the social context against which *Jinsei chirigaku* was written, and particularly how geographical knowledge was understood and applied in the Japan of the Meiji and Taisho Eras, as well as the nature of geography education in Makiguchi's day.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF *JINSEI CHIRIGAKU*

In the early years of the school system initiated in 1872, the study of geography was a requirement in the last two years of the four-year compulsory elementary education. In Japan, as in other countries, compulsory national education played a key role in the process of nation-building, with special emphasis being placed on the teaching of the national language, history and geography, each of which was seen as vital to fostering national identity and a sense of citizenship. A national language ("standard" Japanese) was of course necessary in providing the people, many of whom only spoke and understood local dialects, with a commonly understood language in which legislation could be enacted and through which the will of the state on such matters as taxation and military service could be communicated and enforced. The study of history served to foster a sense of shared identity based on a common past, and geography, on a common land.

The new school system was initiated a mere four years after the Meiji Restoration. Efforts to develop textbooks and other study materials lagged behind and, with the start of the new system, the Ministry of Education had no choice but to order the normal schools in Tokyo to write textbooks. Schools also used commercially published books that they deemed appropriate. One extremely popular book for the teaching of geography was Fukuzawa Yukichi's 1869 *Sekai kunizukushi* (Countries of the World), demand for which was met in part with a pirated edition printed in Osaka. In this book, Fukuzawa divided the world into its civilized and uncivilized components and argued that Japan, being semi-civilized, needed to strive to Westernize under the banner of "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*).

By the 1880s, however, reaction against this type of Westernization was becoming more pronounced and when, in 1886, Minister of Education Mori Arinori enacted a series of ordinances on imperial universities, normal schools, elementary schools and middle schools, he also initiated a textbook inspection system that included those used in the elementary schools: “[The textbooks that can be used in elementary schools] are only those that have passed the inspection by the Minister of Education and ... have been inspected and passed by the governors of respective prefectures.” Gaining the widest possible adoption of textbooks in the schools became a matter of economic survival for publishers, and in 1902 the inspection system was at the heart of corruption scandal regarding the selection of textbooks. In the wake of this scandal, the Ministry of Education began the state-approved textbook system, in which only textbooks whose copyrights were held by the Ministry of Education could be used in the schools. This system continued until the reforms of the education system implemented after World War II.

Under the Meiji compulsory education system, elementary school teachers were chosen from among the graduates of the normal schools founded in each prefecture. These normal schools had dormitories for all the students to live and even provided them with a living allowance. In return, graduates were obliged to work as elementary school teachers for a certain minimum of years. Licenses to teach at normal schools and other middle schools (roughly equivalent, in terms of the age of students, to today’s high schools) were granted to the graduates of universities and then later to those of the higher normal schools as these were established. Until 1898, there was only one Imperial University, in Tokyo, and the only other institution that conferred university graduate degrees was the Sapporo College of Agriculture that had been established in 1876. Among the first graduates of this college was Nitobe Inazo, the author of *Nogyo honron* (Treatise on Agronomy) who later significantly impacted the development of Makiguchi’s ideas through their interactions in the *Kyodo-kai* gatherings organized by Yanagita and held at the Nitobe’s house. In the second graduating class was Uchimura Kanzo, whose works are frequently cited by Makiguchi in *Jinsei chiri-gaku*. Further, Shiga Shigetaka, the well-known author of *Nihon fukeiron* (On the Japanese Landscape) (1894), entered this college in 1880. In its early days the entire faculty of the college were Americans or British and, although it offered no formal instruction in geography, through the study of agriculture it fostered in the above figures, later regarded by Makiguchi as his academic mentors in geography, a keen awareness of the interrelationship between nature and humans, as well

as an expansive international outlook.

As the enrollment in middle schools increased, the fact that teaching licenses were conferred only on university and college graduates created a shortage of teachers. The response, from 1886, was a new system in which elementary school teachers who passed a Ministry of Education examination could be qualified to teach in middle schools. This examination system, which continued up until the school system reform immediately after World War II, was extremely competitive. For the license to teach geography, for example, only a small fraction of the examinees—perhaps 10 or 20 out of several hundred—passed. Many elementary school teachers ended up taking the exam repeatedly, sometimes for 10 or more years.

Makiguchi entered Hokkaido Normal School in 1889, after a period in which he worked as an errand boy in a police station while studying on his own. This was a time when efforts to encourage nationalist sentiment and institution-building were gaining momentum. Although the normal school was located in Sapporo, it did not have any particular affiliation with the elite Sapporo College of Agriculture or its graduates. More crucial is the fact that educational philosophies such as the developmental (*kaihatsushugi*) education movement and that of Johonot were still alive in provincial schools such as Hokkaido Normal School and the Fukushima and Nagano Normal Schools even after they had been repudiated at the Tokyo Normal School. The developmental education movement had grown out of Pestalozzi's educational philosophy and created new impetus to reform in the teaching of geography in Japan. Johonot's pedagogy sought to initiate learning from the child's immediate surroundings, expanding the scope of experience from which the child can extract principles as he or she grows; as a system it was principally adopted and transmitted to Japan by the educator Takamine Hideo through his studies at the teacher training college at Oswego, New York. As is widely known, Makiguchi's later writings on education rooted in the local community and his pedagogy of value-creating education drew importantly from the Japanese translation of the Johonot's pedagogy.

In 1893, Makiguchi graduated from the Hokkaido Normal School and became a teacher at its affiliated elementary school. Just three years later, he passed the Ministry of Education examination for the license to teach geography: in the following year he became an associate teacher at Hokkaido Normal School (presently the Faculty of Education at Hokkaido University). Although it is not known when he started writing the text of *Jinsei chirigaku*, it can be assumed that he started writing it because, while engaged in the kind of intense study that enabled him to

pass the Ministry of Education examination a mere three years after graduation from normal school, he experienced firsthand the lack of a book giving an academic overview of geography. At the same time, he must have experienced the reality that geography was treated as a collection of unrelated scraps of facts about place names and locations to be memorized, rather than as a systematized academic discipline. He no doubt became keenly aware of the need for a book that would offer a systematic approach to the study and teaching of geography.

In 1901, Makiguchi left his job at the Hokkaido Normal School and moved to Tokyo where he dedicated his time and efforts to the writing of such a book. While a direct causal relation cannot be identified, it seems plausible that the humanism that is a consistent feature of *Jinsei chirigaku* as well as his critical stance toward the ultra-nationalistic and imperialistic expansionism that had become an increasingly salient feature of Japanese education policies after the Sino-Japanese War were factors that undermined his will to continue to teach at the Normal School. With the exception of a brief stint editing geography textbooks for the Ministry of Education's publications section, Makiguchi spent most of the years from the 1903 publication of *Jinsei chirigaku* until 1932 working either as an elementary school teacher or principal. He appears to have preferred, in other words, engagement at the front lines of education, working with pupils and their teachers, to the training of teachers, where he would have been directly responsible for implementing an ever more stridently nationalistic educational agenda.

Although Makiguchi's life after moving to Tokyo in 1901 appears to have been marked by financial difficulties, he managed to focus on writing *Jinsei chirigaku*. In the spring of 1902, he visited Shiga Shigetaka, who was then teaching geography at Tokyo Senmon Gakko (now Waseda University) and was active as both a writer and a politician, showing Shiga the 2000-page initial manuscript of his geography book. With Shiga's editorial input and comments, Makiguchi's text was condensed considerably and published as *Jinsei chirigaku*. At the time there were only a few books available in Japan giving an overview of human geography, among them Uchimura Kanzo's *Chijinron* (On the Relation between Land and Man) and Shiga's *Chirigaku kogiroku* (Lectures on Geography), both of which depended more directly on already published foreign-language books and neither of which was as detailed or comprehensive as Makiguchi's. In three parts ("The Land as the Site of Humanity's Life Activities," "Nature as the Medium Between Humans and the Earth" and "The Phenomena of the Life of the Human Race on the Stage of the Earth") Makiguchi's book was groundbreaking in that it

was among the first to explain to a general readership the actual content of the discipline of geography. At the same time, this book, because it offered a systematic explanation of geography, was an ideal reference book for the hundreds of elementary school teachers who were preparing for the Ministry of Education examination to be licensed to teach in middle schools. Together, these factors help explain the popularity of book, its repeated reprinting in revised editions. It is also clear that, without the name of Shiga as editor, this book by an unknown school-teacher would never have been published.

Despite his busy schedule running in the House of Representatives election of that year, Shiga attentively read and edited the text and added a number of notes. Shiga, however, was heavily influenced by the man-nature paradigm of his day and tended to impose his own environmental-deterministic interpretation on Makiguchi's much more flexible approach. Moreover, Makiguchi's pioneering approach led him to deal with such concerns as economics, sociology and political science in Part 3 of *Jinsei chirigaku*—fields at the time considered unrelated to the actual study of geography. Limited to the more conventional understanding of geography then prevailing, Shiga appears to have failed entirely to understand the significance of this section—reflected in the fact that he offers far less annotation to this section than to the previous two, and that some of what he does provide conspicuously lack relevance. There are also, of course, many places in which Shiga supplemented Makiguchi's writings with comments on conditions in different countries and new trends in science and technology, reflecting his access to the latest English-language books from the Maruzen bookstore for whom he also worked. Although Shiga is often considered a nationalist, he was not the kind of extreme nationalist who would support Japan's imperialistic expansionist policy that came to prominence following the Japan-Russo War but was realistically conscious about the difficult international circumstance in which Japan was situated. He was a thinker and writer with a rich international sensibility. The appeals made in Shiga's *Nihon fukeiron* (On the Japanese Landscape) were not to ultra-nationalism, but rather to foster love for the land of Japan by encouraging recognition of the unique beauty of the Japanese landscape.

FEATURES OF *JINSEI CHIRIGAKU*:
PROGRESSIVE IDEAS ANTICIPATING CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHY

Works Cited by Makiguchi

As would be considered only natural given his educational background, it seems likely that Makiguchi was not able to read specialist texts in languages other than Japanese. One can only be impressed by how extensively and thoroughly he identified and read the available translations of books by foreign authors, reshaping the knowledge and concepts gleaned from these sources into his own language. Each chapter includes a list of works referenced, but on careful examination it becomes clear that his reading was not limited the works thus cited but included virtually all the research available in Japanese. In 1936, Ishabashi Goro, then professor at Kyoto Imperial University, wrote an essay “Wagakuni chirigakkai no kaiko” (Reflections on the World of Academic Geography in Japan). In it, he stated that Makiguchi’s *Jinsei chirigaku* could not be recognized as an introductory book to human geography because it only referred to books and papers written in or translated into Japanese. The attitude expressed in this essay reveals the severe limitations of Japanese academics of the time who believed that scholarship meant importing the work of foreign researchers.

The Title Jinsei chirigaku

This phrase, consisting of two Sino-Japanese characters meaning “life” or “daily living” (*jinsei*) together with three characters meaning the study (*gaku*) of geography (*chiri*), is not included in the title of any subsequently published book on the subject. As mentioned above, Ogawa Takuji criticized the use of this title rather than the more established alternatives of “human geography” (*jinmon chirigaku*) or “anthropogeography” (*jinrui chirigaku*). However, from the perspective of modern geography, it is clear that the title *Jinsei chirigaku* is closely related to the heading of Part 2 of the book, “Nature as the Medium Between Humans and the Earth.” In other words, Makiguchi emphasized the significance and meaning that human beings discover in and confer on nature, which varies from place to place and era to era, rather than the physical or material constraints and influence exerted by natural conditions on human activities. Makiguchi felt that this was the proper object of study for the science of geography and in this he anticipated by several decades the new direction geographic in studies. So long as “human life” is understood in terms of the concrete life activities of human

beings, and not as abstract or philosophical concept, this title is entirely appropriate.

Yi-Fu Tuan, a Chinese scholar who taught geography for many years at universities in the U.S., published a book (in 1974) by the title of *Topophilia*, a term derived from the Greek *topos*, place or location, and *philia*, love for or attachment to. He pointed out that human beings not only impart meaning to their surroundings—from their towns and villages to counties, prefectures and countries—but also develop love and attachment to these places, feelings that are intimately intertwined with their sense of identity and belonging. The implied inverse of this sense of belonging and identity is a sense of “otherness,” difference and exclusion. The recently deceased Palestinian-born scholar Edward W. Said for many years taught English and comparative literature at Columbia University in the U.S. His 1978 work *Orientalism* importantly influenced geography and other academic disciplines by demonstrating the manner in which Western/European society has historically ascribed such qualities as backwardness, indolence, despotism and irrationality to the “the Orient”—using this as a negative backdrop against which to develop a self-image of superiority that justified political and military domination.

A consistent theme running through Makiguchi’s *Jinsei chirigaku* is the way in which humans confer meaning on place, a process that takes places in a variety of proximities and scales—from the local community, to cities, countries and, eventually, Earth itself. While Makiguchi does not use the term “otherness,” he explores ideas of central importance to modern geography in first edition Chapter 30, “On the Land and Competition for Survival” where he describes changes in the spatial units, or scale, and modalities of competition. Over the past one hundred years, human awareness of otherness (and the identification of “other” with “enemy”) has been generated in many different ways, providing the conceptual basis for much war and slaughter. And since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a new sense of otherness has been generated around the idea of a “clash of civilizations”—giving rise to forms of human slaughter unimagined even a few years ago.

In this sense, Makiguchi’s choice of title, the geography of human life, is deeply relevant to our contemporary world. This is because he looks beyond the material and physical influence of place on humans; in a way that anticipates Said’s analysis of “Orientalism,” he describes the meaning that humans ascribe to place—the act of geographic imagination by which we develop a sense of identity attached to place, along with the converse generation of a sense of otherness (those places to

which we do not belong and those humans who do not belong to the place we have identified as “ours”).

Makiguchi's Progressiveness in Incorporating Location Theory into the System of Geographic Studies

Part 3 of *Jinsei chirigaku*, “The Phenomena of the Life of the Human Race on the Stage of the Earth,” deals with subject matter corresponding to such contemporary disciplines as social geography, cultural geography, economic geography and political geography. Here Makiguchi's concerns are no longer limited to traditional geography and the man-nature paradigm of his day. As various scholars have already pointed out, in writing this section of his book, Makiguchi does not reference any works on geography in the narrow sense of the word. Rather, he develops his own unique approach to geography based on his readings in sociology, economics and political science. The subject matter treated by Makiguchi in this section was considered entirely outside the realm of what was understood as “geography” in late 19th-century Europe and the United States (and thus Japan). From the 1930s, a very limited number of geographers (joined by many more from after the 1960s) began to discuss a new geography, one completely different from conventional geography, incorporating the insights of economics, sociology, political science, social theory and cultural studies. In this sense, Part 3 of *Jinsei chirigaku* was completely estranged from the approach to geography prevailing at the time it was when it was published. It only began to gain recognition in the 1970s when academic geographers such as Ishida Ryujiro and Kunimatsu Hisaya voiced the view that the essence of Makiguchi's work is found in Part 3.

As already mentioned, it is indeed remarkable that Makiguchi could develop an economic geography of such sophistication based solely on the study of materials then available in Japanese, without direct reference to foreign language materials. For Makiguchi the discovery and clarification of underlying explanatory principles was the crucial thing and this is revealed in his frequent reference to such terms as fundamental laws and rules, guiding or governing principles. In his pursuit of such principles, Makiguchi was attracted to and influenced by the work of J.H. von Thünen (1783–1850), who developed a location theory of agriculture in the 1820s while managing an estate in a region that would later be part of East Germany. In *Jinsei chirigaku* Makiguchi not only referred to and introduced the ideas of von Thünen's *Der Isolierte Staat* (The Isolated State), but also applied its principles to the work of explaining various phenomena—not only agriculture but also such dis-

parate industries as fisheries and transportation. Going further, he applied von Thünen's principles to the realm of political geography in order to explain the difference between primitive industrial societies and commercial-industrial societies. Kunimatsu Hisaya, however, points out (with some apparent hesitancy) the inaccuracy of Makiguchi's reception of von Thünen's theories.

This discrepancy, however, actually provides a window into the sources from which Makiguchi drew. Among the works listed as reference sources in *Jinsei chirigaku*, only three, including Nitobe's *Nogyo honron* (Treatise on Agronomy), make mention of von Thünen and his theories. Careful examination of Makiguchi's text, however, reveals that Makiguchi's analysis is not based on the books of Nitobe or other Sapporo College of Agriculture scholars—whose transmission of von Thünen's ideas was accurate and faithful to the original. Rather, it was based on the work of scholars at the College of Agriculture of the Imperial University (now University of Tokyo) in Komaba who had already introduced von Thünen's *The Isolated State* to Japanese readers in 1881 (Ohji 1980; 1982; 1983). For example, while von Thünen described the forestry industry as located immediately outside the agriculture zones nearest to urban areas, Makiguchi describes this as located in the zone most remote from the urban center. While this is based on Makiguchi's own view of forestry as the least intensive use of land, it is also clearly based on the misinterpretation of von Thünen's ideas by the Imperial University scholars. While the idea of forestry industry being located immediately outside the suburban agriculture zone may seem inapplicable to Japan, it should be remembered that for several centuries there was, in fact, an active forestry industry on the outskirts of Edo/Tokyo (presently the area from Tama New Town to Ome), which supplied the city with wood and charcoal.

Although we can only guess why Makiguchi failed to cite the actual Japanese sources from which his understanding of von Thünen was derived, this offers further evidence that his extensive reading covered the available translations of foreign authors' work, including those not explicitly cited. In addition, in the first edition version of Chapter 28, "The Land and the State," Makiguchi points out that, with the development of transportation systems, von Thünen's location theory can also be applied to the international division of labor. Whatever the substantive merits of this way of thinking, the fact is that it was not until 1950s that similar concepts found their way into the discipline of geography, indicating again the pioneering nature of Makiguchi's approach.

Another progressive aspect of Makiguchi's thought is found in the

field of economic geography. Well before Alfred Weber first presented in systematic form his theory of industrial location, Makiguchi demonstrated his excellent grasp of the relationship between the location of raw materials, centers of production and consumption, as these relate to the cost of transportation. He recognized that manufacturers that use localized sources of raw materials establish themselves in the areas where the materials are found, and that they are encouraged in this by the fact that raw materials tend to lose weight (reducing transportation costs) in the process of manufacturing. While Makiguchi did not develop his theory completely unaided, he in fact came to essentially the same understanding as Weber based solely on his extensive reading of Japanese translations of economic texts—sources that only dealt with spatial relations in a fragmentary manner. While Makiguchi never studied economics systemically, I believe he demonstrated a good grasp of the concept of marginal utility.

A Unique Approach to Political Geography

A significant portion of *Jinsei chirigaku* is devoted to the discussion of what would now be categorized as political geography or geopolitics. Political geography had long been considered to fall within the purview of geography and for much of the 19th century, questions such as the nature of national borders—whether they should be natural features, such as watersheds or rivers, or are simply artificial lines drawn on maps—dominated the field. Makiguchi himself devotes a considerable number of pages to the discussion of such matters. As the 19th century drew to a close, however, and competition among the Western Powers for territories and colonies intensified, political geography was looked to as a source of theory to explain conflicts among the Powers. One such explanation was offered in Friedrich Ratzel's *Politische Geographie* (Political Geography), in which he compares states to living organisms. He argued that, just as actual organisms require space in which to live, states naturally compete to expand their “living space” (Lebensraum) or territory. This organic theory of the state later formed the basis for Nazi geopolitics and its justification of aggressive, expansionist policies.

Another argument was put forward by Halford Mackinder, who made various policy proposals to the British government and played an important role in determining the national borders and territorial lines of division in the Balkan Peninsula and Middle and Near East after World War I based on his belief that foreign policy should take geographical conditions into consideration. Makiguchi, rooted in a cogent, realpolitik analysis of interstate competition, arrived at conclusions that accorded

with the emerging trends of political geography-ideas that had not yet been formally introduced in Japan. And while Makiguchi recognized the competition-driven reality of society, as a careful reading of Chapter 30, “On the Land and Competition for Survival,” demonstrates, he was critical of the idea that competition was or should be the sole principle guiding society; he described a shift from the logic of competition to one of a cooperation as the ultimate stage toward which progress was tending. In a passage that may be read as an expression of his humanistic ideals, Makiguchi wrote: “Although humanitarian competition is not yet visible in the international arena, persons who have gained some level of insight are beginning to realize that the ultimate winners in the competition for survival are not necessarily the winners of the economic race. It is not difficult, then, to imagine that the next form of competition will be humanitarian in nature.” The reality of the 20th century, regrettably, did not develop in accord with Makiguchi’s vision: this is attested to by the bloodshed of two world war, numerous regional conflicts, and, in the post-Cold War world, increasingly violent competition and slaughter conducted in the name of democracy and humanitarianism.

A Multi-layered Conceptualization of the Local Community

As pointed out in relation to the title of *Jinsei chirigaku*, the aspect of Makiguchi’s work that draws the most attention from contemporary students of geography is the degree to which he was ahead of his time in understanding that it is humans who confer meaning on place. In this connection, Makiguchi frequently uses the word *kyodo* (alternately translated as local community or homeland) in his book, starting with Chapter 2, “The Local Community as a Basis for Observation and Understanding.” As Makiguchi writes in this chapter, “What is one’s community or hometown? Its scope will vary depending on vantage point of the observer.” He clearly recognized that what we consider our community, the human identity attached to place will expand with the process of individual growth; the concept for him is thus inherently diverse and multi-layered.

Indeed, when asked the simple question, “Where are you from?” our answer will vary depending on the circumstances in which the question is posed. We might answer with the name of a town, or the train station nearest our home. In another situation we might give the name of a state or province. If asked in an international context, most of us would answer with the name of our country of origin. In this way, Makiguchi’s idea of education rooted in the local community as the basis for observation and understanding was clearly distinct from the Ministry of Educa-

tion-sponsored “homeland education” program, implemented from the latter half of the decade of the 1920s, which sought to engender ultranationalist sentiment by linking local tutelary deity worship to the emperor system—a nexus that later came to be referred to as state Shinto.

Yanagita Kunio clearly voiced his objection to the “homeland” policy of the Ministry of Education. In a 1932 public lecture in Yamagata, he stated that it is a mistake to “consider knowledge of divided and isolated homelands as of some value.” Rather, he emphasized that community studies should not be limited to research into local realities but should seek a larger understanding of Japanese culture, in particular folk culture. It is in this sense that Yanagita’s research into localities carried within it the seeds for the later systematic study of Japanese folklore. It should be noted here that Makiguchi’s concept of the local community, which shares some commonalities with Yanagita’s understanding, was already largely developed when he wrote *Jinsei chirigaku* years before he began attending the monthly study meetings held at Nitobe’s residence or engaged in research in local villages with Yanagita and other members of the *Kyodo-kai* group. While there were a number of academic geographers who maintained an interest in Japanese folklore and as a result ended up wearing two “hats”—one as a geographer, the other as an folklorist—Makiguchi’s concept of the local community bore within it the possibility of integrating these two fields. Because, however, his professional interest was always in geography education rather than in furthering geographic research per se, he never had the opportunity to concretely tackle the challenges of such an integration.

SOME LIMITATIONS SURROUNDING *JINSEI CHIRIGAKU*

I have so far described a number of aspects of *Jinsei chirigaku*, published one hundred years ago, that demonstrate a great foresightedness made clear by subsequent advances in the study of geography. At the same time, it is only natural that Makiguchi’s work should be limited by the historical conditions of the time. It is likely that future historians will describe the 20th century as a century of wars and revolutions, and in this sense the past hundred years have been witness to developments, both in Japan and the world, that could have not been imagined when Makiguchi was writing. Even the most brilliant minds can only grapple with those facts and issues that have already come into existence. For example, the development of transportation and communications technology has utterly transformed—and in certain cases eliminated—the importance of physical distance, so central to 19th-century geography,

and has done so in ways that Makiguchi could not have envisaged. In his time, energy sources could generally only be obtained by transporting such physically weighty resources as firewood or coal, and this reality shaped his ideas on the location of industries. (At the same time, he offered a visionary prospect of the possibilities of hydroelectric power.)

In contrast, the novelist Natsume Soseki was at this period living in London, enduring the smoke-filled air that tarred his phlegm black and the earsplitting screech of the underground railways. Soseki was dismayed by prevailing Japanese attitudes—which saw the 1902 alliance with Britain as proof of having joined the “civilized” countries, and which supported the rush to war to stop Russia’s southward expansion as Britain’s proxy. Soseki’s relatively privileged position (specifically, his knowledge of foreign languages and overseas travel) afforded him a better perspective from which to observe the negative aspects of industrial civilization, on the surface so alluring, and to perceive the essential nature of international relations. Unlike Soseki, Makiguchi was fully and inextricably immersed in the realities of Japan, then struggling to catch-up in the effort to industrialize. While we may be fated, as human beings, to be able to think only about those problems and issues that exist in reality, the mark of an outstanding intellect is the ability to grasp the essence and structure of reality, thus offering a framework for thinking about those issues that may emerge in the future. Makiguchi’s *Jinsei chirigaku* is a product of such robust intellect and thus continues to speak to us to this day.

There is one other limiting factor surrounding *Jinsei chirigaku* that must be addressed. While contemporary readers of *Jinsei chirigaku* could understand and absorb the geographical knowledge it contained, I do not believe that they were able to appreciate its pioneering perspectives that often anticipate the views of contemporary geography, or grasp its innovative analytical framework and structure. The most important factor here, in my view, is the increasingly tight state control over education and research in Makguchi’s time—symbolized by the government-edited elementary school textbooks published in the same year as *Jinsei chirigaku*. In the early Meiji era, geography had played an important practical role in national administration—that is, in making land registers and maps, and in determining the optimal location of such infrastructure developments as roads and harbors. In the beginning of the 20th century, however, geography was pressed into the service of the political, economic and military elite as a means of fostering loyal subjects of the state—rather than good citizens. It is my regretful conclusion that readers of the time—those seeking to understand geographic

realities as well as elementary school teachers preparing for the Ministry of Education examination—were largely unable to grasp Makiguchi's most innovative ideas. The truly revolutionary content of *Jinsei chirigaku* was simply too distant from the prevailing realities of the time.

There is, I believe, one final lesson to be learned here: when an entire society is rushing heedlessly in a particular direction, statements of critical warning that run contrary to that direction are misunderstood or ignored. In this sense, I believe it is crucial to learn not only from Makiguchi's wisdom and pioneering observations, but also to extend our thoughts to the life and fate of the author who died in prison in 1944 for his opposition to the religious policies of the wartime regime. In this way, we can fundamentally take stock of the direction in which we ourselves, and society as a whole, may be heedlessly careening. I believe this is another important lesson that we should learn from *Jinsei chirigaku* on the centenary of its publication.

Annotated Bibliography

The text of *Jinsei chirigaku* (Geography of Human Life) used as the primary reference for this paper is contained in Vols. 1 and 2 of *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo zenshu* (Complete Works of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo) published by Daisanbunmei-sha in 1981 and 1996. Based on the first edition, it has been painstakingly edited and copiously annotated by Saito Shoji, and thus provides the most reliable and complete source (and making it all the more regrettable that the Prof. Saito's supplementary notes end in the middle of Chapter 19). I have also consulted as many different editions and versions of the book as could be found in various libraries. Further, I have made reference to the Seikyo paperback version, which is based on the fifth edition of 1905. There are important differences between the first and fifth editions of the book, especially in Part 3.

Recently published research on *Jinsei chirigaku* include:

Shiohara Masayuki (2003): "Makiguchi Tsunesaburo-cho *Jinseichirigaku*: 41 no shohyo (Forty-one Book Reviews of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo's *Jinsei Chirigaku*)," *Soka kyōiku kenkyū* (Journal of Soka Education Research), 2.

Okii Keiko (2003): "Makiguchi Tsunesaburo-cho *Jinsei chirigaku* no dojidaihyō (Evaluations from Contemporaries of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo's *Jinsei Chirigaku*)," *Chiri kagaku* (Geographical Sciences), 58.

Reviews by academic geographers quoted or referred to in this article are as follows:

Ogawa Takuji (1904): "Jinsei ni oyobosu chirigakuteki eikyo: Makiguchi Tsunesaburo-cho *Jinsei chirigaku* hiho (Geographical Influences on Human Life: a Review of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi's *Jinsei Chirigaku*)," *Chigaku zasshi* (Journal of Geography), 181.

Ishibashi Goro (1936): "Wagakuni chirigakkai no kaiko (Reflections on the World of Academic Geography in Japan)," *Chirironso* (Geographical Debates), 8

Yamaguchi Sadao (1943): *Nihon o chushin to suru bankin chirigaku hattatsushi* (History of the Development of Modern Geography, mainly in Japan), Seibido.

Ishida Ryujiro (1971): “Meiji-Taishoki no Nihon no chirigakkai no shisoteki doko (Intellectual Trends in Geography in Japan in the Meiji and Taisho Eras),” *Chirigaku Hyoron* (Geographical Review of Japan) 44.

Kunimatsu Hisaya (1972 and 1973): “Makiguchi chirigaku to kindai chirigaku (Makiguchi’s Geography and Modern Geography) (1) and (2),” *Senshu Jinbunronshu* (Specialized Essays on Humanities of Senshu University), 10 and 11.

——— (1978) *Jinsei chirigaku gairon* (Overview of Jinsei Chirigaku) Daisanbunmei-sha.

The following article and book by geographers refer to *Jinsei chirigaku*:

Takeuchi Keiichi (1974): “The Origin of Human Geography in Japan,” *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 15. This is my earliest article that makes reference to Makiguchi’s *Jinsei chirigaku*. At the time, however, I had not yet developed a full understanding or appreciation of the originality of Makiguchi’s geographic theories, especially as demonstrated in Part 3.

Kuryu Ichiro (ed.) (1976): *Fukkoku Jinsei chirigaku kaidai* (Facsimile Reprint of Jinsei Chirigaku with Bibliographical Introduction), Daisanbunmei-sha. In addition to the contributions by several geographers there is a useful record of a discussion among four academic geographers including Hisaya Kunimatsu; contains what is probably the most accurate chronology of Makiguchi’s life and work.

The following three works of Ohji Toshiaki represent important research on Makiguchi’s acceptance of von Thünen’s ideas:

Ohji Toshiaki (1980): “The Adoption of H. von Thünen’s Location Theory in Japanese Geography,” Geography Institute, Kyoto University (ed.), *Geographical Languages in Different Times and Spaces*.

——— (1982): “Wagakuni chirigakkai eno Chunen *Koritsukoku no shokai*—Makiguchi Tsunesaburo-cho *Jinsei chirigaku* niokeru shokai o megutte (Introduction of von Thünen’s *Der Isolierte Staat* into the World of Japanese Geographic Studies—with a focus on references in Makiguchi Tsunesaburo’s *Jinsei Chirigaku*),” Department of Geography, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University (ed.), *Chiri no shiso* (Geographic Theory), Chijin Shobo.

——— (1983): “Wagakuni chirigaku eno Chunen *Koritsukoku no juyo katei*: sono gakusetsushi kenkyu (Reception of von Thünen’s *Der Isolierte Staat* in Japanese Geographic Studies—a Study of the History of the Theory),” Department of Geography, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University (ed.), *Kukan, Keikan, Imaji* (Space, Landscape and Image), Chijin Shobo.

Other works by academic geographers on Makiguchi include:

Takeuchi Keiichi (1984/85): “Strategies of Heterodox Researchers in the National School of Geography and Their Roles in Shifting Paradigms in Geography, *Organon* 20/21.

——— (1998): “Geography and Buddhism in Makiguchi Tsunesaburo,” in Warden-ga, Ute and Wilczynski, Witold J. (eds.) *Religion, Ideology and Geographical Thought* (WPS Kielce Studies in Geography 3).

——— (2000) “Makiguchi Tsunesaburo 1871–1944,” *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies* 20.

Okada Toshihiro (1994): “Makiguchi Tsunesaburo *Jinsei chirigaku* no chirigakushijo

no saihyoka (A Reappraisal of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo's Jinsei Chirigaku in the History of Geography in Japan)," *Chiri kagaku* (Geographical Sciences) 49.

The following are some of the books or papers on Makiguchi's ideas by scholars active in fields other than geography that focus on the contemporary significance of *Jinsei chirigaku* in relation, for example, to environmental issues and other global issues:

Murao Koichi (1997): "Jindoteki kyoso no susume: Makiguchi Tsunesaburo to *Jinsei chirigaku* no heiwa shiso (An Encouragement of Humanitarian Competition: The Peace Philosophy of Makiguchi Tsunesaburo Expressed in Jinsei Chirigaku)," *Ushio* 456.

——— (1993): "Kyosei ni taisuru *Jinsei chirigaku* no shiza (The Perspective of Jinsei Chirigaku on Coexistence)," *Toyo Gakujutsu Kenkyu* (The Journal of Oriental Studies), 32.

Miyata Koichi (1995): *Makiguchi Tsunesaburo no sekai bijon: Jinsei chirigaku no messeiji* (Makiguchi Tsunesaburo's World Vision: The Message of Jinsei Chirigaku), Daisanbunmei-sha.

Yamamoto Shuichi (1994): "*Jinsei chirigaku* to kankyo mondai: ningen seitaigaku no shiten kara (Jinsei Chirigaku and Environmental Issues: from the Perspective of Human Ecology)," *Toyo Gakujutsu Kenkyu* (The Journal of Oriental Studies)," 33.

The following is probably the most comprehensive English-language collection of papers giving an overview of Makiguchi's thought. It should be noted, however, that references to *Jinsei chirigaku* are limited and the emphasis is more on Makiguchi later career as educator and philosopher of value.

Miyata Koichi (ed.) (2002) "Ideas and Influence of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi" Special Issue *The Journal of Oriental Studies*, 10. Articles include: Miyata: "Tsunesaburo Makiguchi's Theory of the State"; Kumagai Kazunori: "Value-Creating Pedagogy and Japanese Education"; Sato Hiroo: "Nichiren Thought in Modern Japan: Two Perspectives" as well as a case study by Dilma de Melo Silva on the implementation of Makiguchi's educational ideas in Brazil.

The following are two of the many Japanese translations of the works of Yi Fu Tuan who I referenced in this paper.

Yi Fu Tuan, translation by Ono Yugo and Abe Hajime (1992): *Topophilia: Ningen to kankyo*, Serika Shobo. (Originally published as *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*, in 1974 from Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.)

———, translation by Yamamoto Hiroshi (1988): *Kukan no keiken:shintai kara toshi e*, Chikuma Shobo. (Originally published as *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*, in 1977 from University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.)

The role of location theory in geography is discussed in detail in:

Johnston, R. J., translation by Takeuchi Keiichi (2002): *Basho o meguru mondai: jinmon chirigaku no saikochiku no tameni*, Kokon Shoin. (Originally published as *A Question of Place: Exploring the Practice of Human Geography*, in 1991 from Blackwell Publishers, Oxford)

Lloyd, Peter E. and Dicken, Peter, translation by Ito Yoshie (Revised edition 2001): *Ricchi to kukan: keizai chirigaku no kiso riron*, Kokin Shoin. (Originally published as *Location in Space: Theoretical Perspectives in Economic Geography*, in 1990 from Harper & Row, New York.)

Books and articles by Edward Said are good references for understanding the phenomenon of Orientalism as well as for gaining a cultural studies perspective.

Said, Edward W., translation by Imazawa Noriko et al. (1986): *Orientalism*, Heibonsha. (Originally published as *Orientalism*, in 1978 from Vintage Books, New York.)

For understanding the concepts and terminology of modern geography, the following two books are good references:

Yamamoto Shozo et al (eds.) (1997): *Jinmon chirigaku jiten* (Dictionary of Human Geography), Asakura Shoten.

Ukita Tsuneyoshi (Revised edition 2003): *Saisin chirigaku yogo jiten* (Updated Dictionary of Geographical Terms), Daimeido.

Johnston, R.J., Gregory, Derek, Pratt, Geraldine and Watt, Michel (eds.) (2000) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th edition Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

The following two works represent excellent research into geography education as it was conducted in Japan prior introduction of the government-approved textbook system in 1902 as well as communities studies:

Nakagawa Koichi (1978): *Kindai chiri kyoiku no genryu* (The Origins of Modern Geography Education), Kokin Shoin.

Ito Junro (1998): *Kyodo kyoiku undo no kenkyu* (A Study of Homeland Education Movement), Shibunkaku Shuppan.

On indigenous philosophies of geography in early modern Japan, the following books are useful:

Tsujita Usao. (1971): *Nihon kinsei no chirigaku* (Japanese Geography in the Early Modern Period), Yanagihara Shoten, Kyoto.

Takeuchi (2001): "Reappraisal of the Indigenous Tradition of Geography by Academic Geographers in Modern Japan," *Annual Report of Research Center for Regional Geography* 10.