UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Politics, Work, Identity:

Educational Theories and Practices in Meiji Era Fukuoka,

1879-1918

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Moshe Nathaniel Lakser

2015

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Politics, Work, Identity:

Educational Theories and Practices in Meiji Era Fukuoka,

1879-1918

by

Moshe Nathaniel Lakser

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Herman Ooms, Chair

This dissertation is an examination of non-formal education during the Meiji (1868-1912) and early Taisho (1912-1926) periods in Japan, through the regional lens of Fukuoka prefecture in northern Kyushu. While most historical discussions of education in Japan have limited their analyses to the central education system and its expansion, I extend the field of educational inquiry to include sites and organizations that have been overlooked. In particular, I explore the explicit and implicit educational activities carried out by members of the Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights and by coal industrialists in the region. By comparing and contrasting these disparate areas of educational activity, I emphasize underlying themes that were implicated in both: region, identity, paternalism, and the possibility of liberation.

Utilizing an analytic framework that emphasizes the intellectual and institutional aspects of pedagogy, my dissertation explores the educational ideas or theories of both sets of actors – who, what, and how they wanted to teach – as well as the ways in which they attempted to implement those ideas. Neither popular rights activists nor coal industrialists showed much concern for educational content, instead emphasizing its perceived moral and social effects. Therefore, they attributed educational value to a variety of sites and settings, from public gatherings and the popular press to mutual-aid associations and home life itself, all of which had perceived socializing properties. Finally, I explore the role that educational theory and practice plays in the constitution of identity itself by analyzing an overlooked consequence of both sets of activities: the creation of the "people" and "coal miners" as enduring concepts in Japanese social and political discourse, both referring to constituencies that require the educational intervention of enlightened superiors.

The dissertation of Moshe Nathaniel Lakser is approved.

Jeffrey Prager

William Marotti

Herman Ooms, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

In Memory of Noam "Noni" Lakser

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In Japan, Hiro Ise has been my most supportive friend and intellectual mentor. Ever since he first helped through my struggles during Japanese lectures at Meiji University in 2006, Hiro has taken a keen interest in my scholarly development, and I have thoroughly enjoyed every meal and drink we have shared. I would also like to thank Yuriko Fukuhara, Fumi Kawakubo, Mayu Morimoto, Haruko Sekiya, and Anand Mohan, my longest standing friends in Japan. Finally, from Toronto, Noam, Avi, Joey, and Eli are my oldest and closest friends, and I am so excited that we have all been able to grow together as we have aged.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my family. My parents provided me with unending support, even if they did not completely understand my choice of topic. My love and appreciation for them is endless. My siblings, Oren, Gaby, and Adina – not to forget Jill, Sarah, and Hodaya – took an active role in raising a youngest-of-five, and they remain my closest confidantes to this day, even if I don't call enough. My nieces and nephews, thankfully too plentiful to name, were my first true loves and provided me with the strength to get through countless difficulties. My in-laws – Fred, Rena, Adira, Dan, Yardena, Ross, Marc, and Zev – have truly been a second family for me, with the added benefit of free babysitting. Last but furthest from least, my wife Tamara supported me throughout this process and showed the patience to deal with my peculiar personality. The completion of this dissertation is as much a testament to her resolve as to mine. I love you more than I can express.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my brother, Noam, who passed away during its conception and about whom I think about every day. My daughter, Nami, my salvation, got me through the final stages of this process, and fuels my desire to continue along this path – as long as the cuddles remain free.

VITA

2008	B.A., History and East Asian Studies York University Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2009-10, 2011-12	Teaching Assistant Department of History University of California, Los Angeles
2010-11	Certificate of Completion Inter-University Center Yokohama, Japan
2012	M.A. Department of History University of California, Los Angeles
2012-13	Aratani Field Experience Scholarship Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies University of California, Los Angeles
2013-14	Pre-Dissertation Fellowship Department of History University of California, Los Angeles
2014-15	Lecturer, Department of History York University Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2014	Paper presented at Expanding (East) Asia graduate symposium at Mcgill University in Montreal, Quebec Paper Title: "Resistance and Education in Japanese Coal Mines: The Creation of a Subclass"

Introduction
A New Approach to the History of Education

When Yoshida Kumaji, professor of education at Tokyo Imperial University, published

his *Outline of the History of Education in Our Country* (Honbō kyōikushi gaisetsu) in 1922, he

began with a very clear statement of the text's object of analysis: "this narrative will consist

solely of matters that have a direct relationship to the theory and reality of formal [school]

education (*gakkō kyōiku*)."[1] In choosing formal schools as the focal point of his analysis, Yoshida

asserted what he perceived to be the fundamental difference between pre-Meiji Restoration

(1868) and post-Meiji Restoration educational practice in Japan. Before the Meiji period, he

argued, formal education was rare and infrequent; consequently, the socialization practices of the

era should not be considered part of "educational history" (*kyōiku-shi*) but of "cultural history"

(*bunka-shi* or *bunkyō-shi*). Post-Restoration education, epitomized in the Fundamental Code on

Education (*gakusei*) of 1872, was characterized by the proliferation of schooling, a "miniature

reproduction" (*shukuzu*) of the history of early modern education that took place in Europe

(*ōshū*). Yoshida therefore deemed schooling to be of the utmost relevance to his audience

(aspiring educators) and the proper subject of the history of education.[2]

Yoshida had embedded his emphasis on formal schooling within a general theory of

education in an earlier work, published in 1909, titled *Systematic Pedagogy* (Keitō-teki kyōiku-

gaku). He was well aware of the complexity and diversity of educational practice, and

distinguished education in the "broad sense" (*kōgi*), which included all forms of socialization,

enculturation, and learning, from education in the "narrow sense" (*kyōgi*), those activities that

constituted intentional, directed acts of transmission. He further differentiated between situations

---

1   Yoshida Kumaji, *Honbō kyōikushi gaisetsu* (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1922), i. I was introduced to the work of
    Yoshida Kumaji through a short analysis of his scholarship by Katagiri Yoshio. Katagiri, "'Kodomo fuzai no
    kyōikushi'-kō," in *Kyōiku to rekishi, aruiwa sono ninshiki to kijutsu* (Yokohama: Seori Shobo, 2009), 103-108.
2   Yoshida, *Honbō kyōikushi gaisetsu*, ii-iii.

in which the targets of educational activity were unaware of their entrance into a pedagogical

situation – such as social reformation projects or the socialization process at home – from those

situations in which both parties entered the relationship aware of their positions as teachers and

learners. While the former were relegated to the periphery of educational practice, described as

"social education" (*shakai kyōiku*) or "household education" (*katei kyōiku*), the latter constituted

education "in the strictest sense" (*mottomo genkaku-naru igi*) and was embodied in schooling.[3]

By banishing non-formal pedagogical settings to the margins, Yoshida reinforced the primacy of

schooling in educational discourse, thus justifying the extensive attention he grants to classroom

interactions in these texts.

        Yoshida's ideas should not be considered representative of the "common" or "general"

understanding of education in Japan during the early-20th century. In fact, he dedicated the

majority of his intellectual rigor to the fields of moral and ethical education, with a particular

emphasis on spiritual cultivation and social harmony. However, his educational theory typifies

some of the underlying assumptions that permeated educational discourse by the late Meiji

period (1868-1912). In addition to his emphasis on schooling, Yoshida closely related the

education of the individual to the improvement of the nation. Unlike many of his contemporaries,

he was not concerned with the cultivation of imperial loyalty or jingoistic nationalism; rather, he

emphasized the mutual dependence of citizen and state, viewing them as comprising a "social

organism" that depended on their harmonious relations.[4] Still, the close correlation he draws

between education, schooling, and the nation-state is a common feature of Meiji educational

---

3   For this discussion, see Yoshida, *Keitō-teki kyōiku-gaku* (Tokyo: Kōdōkan, 1909), 84-96.

4   Yoshida, *Keitō-teki kyōiku-gaku*, 153-157. In fact, in the same work (pp. 13-14), Yoshida felt the need to
    defend himself from potential attacks of "lacking patriotism" or "forgetting his country" that may have resulted
    from his emphasis on educational models adopted from the West. A similar point is made in Motoyama
    Yukihiki, "Thought and Education in the Late Meiji Era," trans. by J. Dusenbury, in J.S.A Elonias and Richard
    Rubinger, eds., *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Education in the Meiji Era* (Honolulu:
    Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 389.

thought. More importantly, as implied by the title of his work, Yoshida viewed education *systematically*, referring to both classroom practice and the relationship between educational institutions themselves. He viewed the articulation of institutions, the course of study that took students through successive and interconnected primary, secondary, and tertiary (university) curricula, as the most natural and just (*seitō*) organization of educational practice.[5] Consequently, Yoshida did not only give primacy to schooling above other forms of educational practice, he further *justified* a scholarly and historical emphasis on the national school system, which he saw as an idealized model of educational articulation in the service of the nation.

Historians since the Second World War have, for the most part, maintained the underlying assumptions (though not the substance) of the Yoshida's theory. The primacy of schooling was apparent from the earliest works on Japanese education in English. R.P. Dore's *Education in Tokugawa Japan* and Richard Rubinger's *Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period* both examined the expansion of educational institutions during the Tokugawa period – domain schools, private academies, and popular "temple" schools – as preconditions for Japan's successful modernization during the Meiji period and the supposedly unimpeded implementation of the Meiji government's educational system.[6] Scholars of the Meiji period have also privileged schooling and the educational system, though from different perspectives. Institutional and intellectual historical accounts usually focus on transformations in government policy, placing agency in the hands of a select group of state politicians and influential intellectuals.[7] Early postwar historians traced a shift from an emphasis on Western academic subjects under the Fundamental Code of 1872, to a 'reverse-course' around 1880 in which imperial loyalism and

---

5   Yoshida, *Keitō-teki kyōiku-gaku*, 667-676
6   R.P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1965); Richard Rubinger, *Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982).
7   Benjamin Duke, *History of Modern Japanese Education* (New Jersey: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2008).

Confucian ethics came to predominate in the curriculum, transforming the educational system into a tool of nationalistic inculcation, codified in the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890.[8]

More recently, many scholars have challenged the portrayal of the educational system as an unimpeded and unilateral imposition from above, and have introduced dissenting voices into the narrative of modern Japanese education. Teruhisa Horio depicted a dramatic encounter between conservative nationalistic forces and proponents of liberal democracy in Meiji Japan, as manifested in the field of education. Unlike earlier accounts, however, he emphasized overlooked political actors and grassroots theorists, such as Ueki Emori, effectively replacing a framework that posited an opposition between conservative and liberal factions in the government with one that pitted agents of popular resistance against an oppressive state regime.[9] Mark Lincicome's work on the developmental education movement similarly introduced new actors, teachers, into Meiji educational discourse as active opponents to government hegemony. Developmental education not only consisted of new pedagogical methodologies, but also contributed to a growing professional consciousness amongst teachers as they attempted to assert their autonomy from state interests and intervention.[10] Most recently, Brian Platt engaged with Meiji educational policy through a regional lens, arguing that "local society played an active role in shaping the new educational system from below, variously resisting the government's policies, negotiating compromises, and resolutely pursuing alternative educational visions within the outlines of state policy."[11] Like Lincicome, Platt's work attributed an active and efficacious role

---

8   Warren W. Smith, *Confucianism in Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1959); Donald H. Shively, "Motoda Eifu: Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor" in David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, eds. *Confucianism in Action* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959): 302-333.
9   Teruhisa Horio, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom* (Tokyo: U. Tokyo Press, 1988).
10   Mark Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1995).
11   Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004), 2. For another work that embraces a similar methodological position, see Abigail Schweber,

to a new set of actors in the formation of the educational system: local elites.

All of the above scholars have contributed to the study of Japanese educational history in novel and important ways, but their scholarship reinforces a set of assumptions that date back to the Meiji period. Teruhisa and Lincicome introduced new voices into educational discourse, but those voices were still mostly confined to formal education, portraying the schools as sites of conflict over the future of the nation. Platt emphasized the importance of locality and the contentious process through which educational policy was determined at both the regional and national level, but the central education system remained the focal point and natural outcome of his narrative. While he effectively challenged a singular notion of "school" in modern Japan, and the degree to which the state successfully imposed its own definition, he examined no similar process for "education". Moreover, both Platt and Lincicome placed their primary actors in a narrative of (at least partial) 'failure,' as both emphasized the limitations of challenges to Meiji hegemony. Lincicome argued that the "prevailing discursive contexts" in which teachers acted limited their ability to challenge state policies, while Platt's focus on local leaders was confined to an analytical framework that reduced them to peripheral actors in a narrative that presupposed the *successful* establishment of the Meiji state and its educational system.[12] In both cases, alternative educational visions are introduced only to the extent that they concerned the expansion of formal schooling, while direct challenges to Meiji policy and attempts to influence its implementation are presented as the only mitigating factors to depictions of absolute state power and the unilateral imposition of a singular vision of education and schooling.

What happened to the diversity and complexity of educational practice that was acknowledged by Yoshida Kumaji and why has it been absent in historical analysis? What social

---

"Imposing Education: The Establishment of Japan's First National Education System, 1872-1879. PhD Dissertation, Harvard Univ., 2003.

12 Platt, *Burning and Building,* 16, 22

settings and *informal* educational contexts that comprise "education in the broad sense" have

been lost in the myopic emphasis on mass schooling, and how has our understanding of Japanese

educational history been obscured? This dissertation engages these questions by introducing

informal pedagogical settings and institutions into the analysis of modern Japanese education.

Utilizing a regional analytical lens, Fukuoka prefecture in northern Kyushu, I examine the

educational theory and practice of two broad social phenomena during the Meiji period: the

Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights (or Popular Rights Movement, *jiyū minken undō*)

and the social reform measures implemented by industrialists in Fukuoka's coal mining region. I

analyze these phenomena *as* educational movements, each representing particular visions of

educational thought and practice, sometimes conflicting with the central government directly and

sometimes indirectly. Thus, I argue that education in the Meiji period was contested terrain, that

the vision of the Meiji government (including its emphasis on schooling) was but one of many.

Each of these educational movements is discussed as dynamic and contested in its own right,

with divergent methods, theories, and practices being articulated by different parties with

different interests. Most importantly, my analysis places the *state* on the periphery, an

infrequently intervening force in the implementation of relatively autonomous efforts to inculcate

certain values, relationships, and identities in specific circumstances.

 For the remainder of the introduction, I elaborate upon the contours of my analysis and its

relevance to both historical and educational scholarship. I begin by expanding upon my approach

to educational history, starting with the concept of "education" itself as it has been utilized in

historical scholarship, which will facilitate the articulation of my own, flexible, use of the term. I

discuss the ways in which education has been treated historically, as well as some of the

assumptions and limitations I wish to overcome in this dissertation. In lieu of a focus on

educational effects or results, I place particular emphasis on the discursive and institutional construction of *pedagogical relationships* – an intellectual history of education of sorts. Next, I will introduce the Popular Rights Movement and coal mining industry that constitute the primary topics of this dissertation and situate my study within existing historical scholarship in order to stress the ways in which my approach to educational theory and practice can contribute to our understanding of these historical phenomena, and modern Japanese history in general. Finally, I will discuss the concepts of region and identity. While they are prone to fetishization and misuse, both concepts are indispensable components of local pedagogical programmes and were utilized liberally in order to articulate pedagogical relationships. They are thus crucial to the type of historical and educational analysis I will engage in. A brief overview of the structure of my dissertation will conclude this introductory chapter.

Education and Schooling in the Study of History

Educational historians of Japan have generally restricted their sites of analysis to the central government, the process of centralization, and the establishment of educational hegemony by the Meiji state. Even those works that have challenged a portrayal of educational centralization as a unilateral process have privileged formal schooling and adopted narrative trajectories that culminate in a system of universal education under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. In doing so, they have unconsciously internalized many assumptions about educational practice that are both political and historically contingent. In this section, I will identify three of the most common assumptions that have been implicitly maintained by the history of education *as* the history of schooling, before proposing a broader notion of educational thought and practice that can better account for the diversity of pedagogical activities while

7

maintaining a clear conception of their commonalities *as* educational processes.

Firstly, we must historically contextualize the creation and expansion of educational systems internationally during the 19th and 20th centuries. John Boli and other scholars of the new institutional sociology have emphasized the connection between mass education and nationalism. Boli traces the initial spread of mass education movements to the second half of the 19th century, where it was intricately connected to modern nations' attempts to develop a "new type of citizen" fit for participation in a new type of polity.[13] Central to Boli's analysis, however, is his assertion that the spread of mass schooling was not a natural or functional development inherent to modern nationalism, nor was this spread tied to mass education's "actual effects" in creating the desired citizenry; rather, this system spread due to its "*perceived institutional character*" within the context of competition between emerging nation states. Mass education became a necessary institution to "demonstrate the authority of their nation-building projects".[14] In other words, the promotion of mass education was "ideological": its "functional necessity" was merely one of the "widespread social *theories* of the modern societal project".[15] The Japanese educational system, conceptualized and established as such in the 1870s was undoubtedly a product of the international spread of similar systems in the second half of 19th century, an outgrowth of both the Meiji state's attempt to legitimize its modernization efforts and its desire to foster a strong, nationalistic citizenry.[16] By de-naturalizing mass schooling and presenting the efficacy of modern educational systems as a political conceit, Boli's work implicitly challenges a myopic concern with the central educational system, drawing attention to

---

13 John Boli, *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991), 44
14 Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli, "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization," *Sociology of Education* 60, no. 1 (Jan. 1987), 3
15 Boli, *New Citizens,* 47
16 See Duke, *History of Modern Japanese Education*, 61-95; and Platt, *Burning and Building*, chapter 4.

those educational movements that surely existed outside the purview of the central government and embraced different assumptions about educational practice and social change.

Secondly, the educational systems of the modern era are not only characterized by their centralization, but, as we saw in Yoshida's scholarship, also by their structural articulation, what Detlef Muller refers to as "systematization". Systematization for Muller emerges when "the various school forms or educational institutions are interconnected, when the parts of the system are related to each other and their functions interdefined".[17] For Muller, this was not a process of creation, but of reorganization and reclassification, a codified redefinition of the relationship between a diversity of existing educational institutions and thus a redefinition of those institutions themselves.[18] Moreover, this reorganization was intertwined with the occupational changes that accompanied industrialization. Regulated and sequential curricula, as well as vertically differentiated schools and qualifications closely reflected the division of labor in industrial society – which was also increasingly structured through formal accreditation.[19]

The incorporation of existing educational institutions and their redefinition in an articulated educational system can be easily identified in the case of the Meiji state and the Ministry of Education. When the nation was divided into elementary, secondary, and university level school districts under the Fundamental Code of 1872, the Ministry of Education integrated as many temple schools (*terakoya*) and private academies (*shijuku*) as they could into the system in order to meet the ambitious requirements of their own code, for they lacked the resources or teachers to initiate the program on their own.[20] The same process took place for secondary

---

17 Detlef K. Muller, "Systematization: The Case of German Secondary Education," in Muller, Fritz Ringer, and Brian Simon, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 16.
18 Muller, "Systematization," 17-18.
19 Muller, "Systematization," 22-24.
20 Duke, *History of Modern Japanese Education*, 134-140.

education, as Chinese studies (*kangaku*) academies and local private schools were increasingly registered as secondary institutions.[21] The regulation and eventual transformation of schools at all levels into institutions capable of implementing the articulated curriculum idealized by the Ministry was a gradual process that should not be taken for granted. Rather, the haphazard integration and articulation of schools that took place in the late-19th century accentuates the diversity of educational institutions that persisted throughout the Meiji period and the painful process that was required to impose new conceptions of "schooling" onto Edo period academies that had been created for very different purposes.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the centralization efforts of the Ministry of Education must be understood for their political and hegemonic function. Brian Platt has convincingly argued that the Meiji state's imposition of a modern, systematized, and differentiated notion of "schooling" constituted a hegemonic process, "a cultural strategy of representation in which the vision promoted by the state was made to appear commonsensical while competing ideas were branded as marginal."[22] There is no need, however, to restrict such insights to modern schooling, for the "autonomy" of the Ministry of Education itself, and its designation of a differentiated sphere of "education," also "depends on the construction of a political space which can only be the result of hegemonic articulation." The particular spheres of reality or fields of practice – the political, the economic, and the educational – are not *a priori* realities or natural "structural effects," but the products of "articulatory practices".[23] They therefore require not only active constitution, such as through official documentation, but recognition from both other

---

21 Margaret Mehl, *Private Academies of Chinese Learning in Meiji Japan: The Decline and Transformation of the* Kangaku Juku (Copenhagen: Nias Press, 2003), chapter 2.
22 Platt, *Burning and Building*, 6.
23 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso Books, 1985), 126-127. A similar point, specifically related to education and schooling, is made by Henry Giroux. Giroux, *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1981), 24.

autonomous fields as well from the larger society. The ordinances (the Fundamental Code of 1872, the Educational Ordinances of 1879 and 1880), rescripts (Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, and the Rescript on Education), and regulations (Assembly Ordinance of 1880, newspaper regulations, etc.) that the government drafted and implemented throughout the Meiji period were not merely control measures, or means of maintaining public order – though they surely fulfilled such functions – they also acted to enforce a differentiation between aspects of social reality. The realms of politics, education, and the military were not to formally interact, and members of one group were not to participate in the activities of the others. They functioned politically to legitimize and naturalize these divisions.

Read in this light, the confinement of education to schools, and, indirectly, the reduction of educational historical analysis to the study of (mass) schooling, should be understood as a product of political strategies. Within Meiji educational discourse, alternative sites of pedagogical interaction or socialization – the household, the factory, political gatherings – were marginalized or stripped of their "educational" significance.[24] Therefore, to assume a division between education and politics or economics, or to limit one's "educational" analysis to the school system or even schools in general, is to reproduce hegemonic articulations that have their own history, as well as a framework that obscures education's institutional diversity and interactivity. Moreover, it does violence to the object of analysis itself. A more expansive view is required to fully explore and understand the educative power attributed to non-formal settings.

---

24 Jane Roland Martin has emphasized the consequences of the conflation of schooling and education for women and the role of the household as a site of socialization, resulting in "a huge amount of human learning—the portion associated both historically and culturally with the world of the private home and family, and consequently with girls and women— [going] missing from educational thought". This should also be considered a product of the hegemonic articulation of the educational field. Jane Roland Martin, *Education Reconfigured: Culture, Encounter, and Change* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 1. In her third chapter, Martin discusses all of the social constituencies that have gone "missing" in educational narratives that privilege formal schooling, including: women, social minorities, and proponents of more holistic and action-oriented educational theories, which deny the separation of "mind" and "body".

Within educational historiography, the scholar that contributed the most to a more expansive treatment of educational institutions and practices was Lawrence Cremin, former professor at the Teacher's College at Columbia University. Cremin adopted a broad definition of education, including any "deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills or sensibilities, as well as the outcomes of that effort."[25] Cremin's emphasis on intentionality shifts the focus of analysis from normative notions of the "educational" to the ways in which specific individuals and groups articulate and attempt to implement pedagogical programmes. Furthermore, Cremin's concept of "educational configurations" promoted an "awareness of the multiplicity of institutions that educate," claiming that education takes place in a variety of interconnected institutions, all of which are responsible for the (explicit and implicit) transmission of social and political values and norms.[26] Schools, within Cremin's formulation, cannot be divorced from the institutional networks in which they are embedded, and constitute but one element of educational analysis in general.

Cremin's insights have been most prized amongst those discussing discrete sets of institutions at the local level, such as political socialization movements,[27] or, most prominently, the educational configurations of urban African-American communities. V.P. Franklin has described Cremin's theories as creating a sense of "liberation" for those approaching the topic of education, by treating the "rich and varied, formal and informal educational programs and activities sponsored by the social, cultural, and political organizations" of communities as legitimate sites of educational study.[28] But Cremin's approach is not without its limitations.

---

25   Lawrence A. Cremin, *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 27
26   Cremin, *Public Education*, 30-37.
27   Theodore Mitchell, *Political Education in the Southern Farmers' Alliance, 1887-1900* (Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1987).
28   V.P. Franklin, "Education in Urban Communities in the United States: Exploring the Legacy of Lawrence A. Cremin," *Paedagogica Historica* 39:1 (2003), 160-161.

While his work acknowledges the educative capacity of diverse institutions and settings, it fails to explore what, exactly, makes them educative. Their socializing effects are merely assumed. In other words, Cremin lacks a clear pedagogical theory in order to support his observations about the institutional complexity of education in general. It is in the hopes of circumventing this weakness in Cremin's formulation that I have adopted an approach that emphasizes the *discursive and institutional construction of pedagogical relationships*, instead of simply assuming the transmission of cultural norms or values.

Far too often, historians have treated schools as metaphorical black boxes through which the ideals of the state could be implemented and a new populace cultivated. Scholars of nationalism or ideology have frequently attributed great importance to the educational system in fostering nationalistic sympathies in modern Japan and assisting in the construction of the oppressive "emperor-state".[29] Similar power has been attributed to the school system by proponents of "correspondence" theories of social, economic, and cultural reproduction. They have implicated modern mass schooling in the perpetuation of class, race, and gender inequality, and the reproduction of capitalist labor relations.[30] However, scholars of social and cultural reproduction tend to look at the supposed *effects* of schooling without accounting for the actual process of transmission, the "cultural relay" itself, as Basil Bernstein termed it. By reducing "pedagogic discourse" to a "relay for power relations external to itself," reproduction theories constitute "theories of communication without a theory of communication".[31] Furthermore, if we

---

29 Teruhisa, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan*; Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), esp. 146-156.
30 For representative works that utilize correspondence reproduction theories, see Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basis Books, 1976); and Paul E. Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977). For an excellent critique of this approach, see Henry A. Giroux, "Beyond the Correspondence Theory: Notes on the Dynamics of Educational Reproduction and Transformation," in *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling*, 91-112.
31 Basil Bernstein, "The Social Construction of Pedagogic Discourse," in *Class, Codes, and Control, Volume IV:*

are to accept that the efficacy of mass schooling was as much *ideological* as it was an identifiable

reality, then we must be wary of any claims to a privileged understanding of the results of

educational practice. This is especially important in light of the precariousness of the act of

educational transmission itself, the reception of which is always in doubt and almost impossible

to verify.[32] In a classroom of 20 students, a public gathering of 500, or a television broadcast that

reaches a million homes, the responses to a given attempt at transmission will be varied and

unpredictable, making claims to the success of educational practice tenuous, at best.

      The discursive and institutional approach to pedagogical *relationships* constitutes an

attempt to circumvent the weaknesses of a results-based analysis of education in Japan by putting

greater emphasis on the construction and articulation of legitimate educational practice. As Pierre

Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron have argued, pedagogical communication is not an innocent

act of transmission, but is dependent upon the activation of legitimate modes of inculcation by

authorized transmitters that target authorized addressees.[33] Furthermore, following Bernstein, the

legitimacy of any given pedagogical relationship depends on a particular "theory of instruction"

that "regulates the orderings of pedagogic practice, constructs the model of the pedagogic subject

(the acquirer), the model of the transmitter, the model of pedagogic context," etc.[34] Consequently,

a focus on relationships shifts educational analysis from an emphasis on content to one on the

ways in which the act of transmission is legitimized and made effective, drawing our attention to

heterogeneous articulations of the need for pedagogical intervention by parties uniquely

endowed with the ability or responsibility to engage particular constituencies. Institutions, or

---

    The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse (London: Routledge, 1990), 148.

32 For an excellent discussion of the difficulties of educational analysis, in particular as it relates to the reception and internalization – the success – of pedagogical transmissions, see Raf Vanderstraeten, "Luhmann on Socialization and Education," *Educational Theory* 50:1 (Winter 2000): 1-23.

33 Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage Publications, 1977), 19-21, 26.

34 Bernstein, "Social Construction of Pedagogic Discourse," 163

"pedagogic contexts," are no less implicated in this process. The interactions that take place in a particular site or institution are framed by the same relationships expressed in theories of instruction, thus reinforcing them. The articulation of pedagogical relationships thus creates the possibility for the constitution and legitimization of those relationships themselves.

The Meiji state, or, more specifically, the Ministry of Education, had its own theory of instruction, typified by an emerging social-psychological approach to childhood development that coincided with the creation of a systematized educational system. The cultivation of a strong and loyal citizenry required both the assurance of children's natural development, as well as the inculcation of values at a young, impressionable age.[35] It is thus no surprise that schooling came to occupy such a prominent place in Meiji educational discourse, or that the state was so concerned with insulating children from the sullying effects of politics.[36] Popular rights activists and mining industrialists in Fukuoka, however, mobilized very different theories of instruction that reflected their attempts to construct pedagogical relationships with the objects of their educational projects – though they overlapped with government discourse at points. Viewed in this way, the Popular Rights Movement and coal mining both have important contributions to make to our understanding of education in modern Japan. Additionally, this educational analysis can contribute to the historiography of the Popular Rights Movement and coal mining in general.

Education in the Popular Rights Movement and Coal Mining

The Popular Rights Movement and the development of Fukuoka's coal mining communities represent divergent historical phenomena, sharing only a tangential overlap in terms of time frame, region, and participating individuals. While the Popular Rights Movement

---

35 Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform.*
36 Teruhisa, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan*, 57-59.

prospered between the late 1870s and late 1880s, the expansion of the coal mining industry only began in the late 1880s, and extended well into the early 20th century. While the Popular Rights Movement was most prominent amongst urban intellectuals in Fukuoka City, Ōmuta, and Yanagawa, the coal mining industry developed in the rural and relatively disadvantaged region of Chikuhō, the northernmost part of the prefecture. And while a number of former popular rights leaders would become prominent mine owners and industrialists, they were not the leading figures in the reform efforts at coal mining enterprises.

The Popular Rights Movement and coal mining thus make strange bedfellows for a single historical analysis, representing two distinct aspects of Japan's modern period. At the same time, each embraced a discrete educational dimension, and within each leading figures articulated a coherent theory of instruction. It is the delicate tension between their seeming incompatibility as historical phenomena and commonality as educational phenomena that makes them invaluable to the approach promoted in this dissertation, and the historiographical trends it engages. Examining these phenomena together accentuates the heterogeneity of concurrent educational practices that circulated through Fukuoka prefecture without trivializing them or treating them as marginal to the establishment of the central educational system. Moreover, by analyzing them in unison, I implicitly challenge the representation of these phenomena as "aberrations" or "curiosities" for the history of education. As disparate educational movements, they challenge us to formulate a general theory of pedagogy in order to account for the common ways in which they articulate educational goals and pedagogical relationships. Therefore, they must be understood as two of many educational phenomena that take place simultaneously during the Meiji period and are worthy of historical analysis in their own right. Let us look at each, in turn.

The Popular Rights Movement is frequently treated as a pivotal moment in Japan's

modern history, a microcosm of the 'failures' of the Meiji Restoration and the state's gradual shift

to domestic oppression and foreign expansion. Beginning with Itagaki Taisuke's resignation from

the young Meiji state in 1874 and his formal petition for the establishment of a national

assembly, the Popular Rights Movement grew into a nationwide network of political associations

calling for parliamentarianism, Western European notions of "people's rights," local autonomy,

and greater representation in the central government, eventually embracing people from all

backgrounds and social classes. It culminated in the establishment of the Jiyutō (Liberal Party)

and the 1881 imperial proclamation announcing the opening of a diet by 1889, before declining

in the face of increased government repression and the failure of popular rights uprisings in

eastern Japan in 1884.[37]

Many postwar historians, especially those celebrating the centennial of the movement in

the late 1970s, embedded it in a tragic narrative, a glimmer of hope for mass democracy before

the establishment of an oppressive imperialist state. However, this narrative has been challenged,

partially or completely, by a variety of alternative historiographical approaches. Proponents of

the "people's history" (*minshūshi*) shifted focus away from metropolitan intellectuals to the

movement in the countryside, where they identified a more radical, grass-roots democratic

spirit.[38] Others have adopted a more cynical tone, emphasizing the movement's nationalistic and

imperialistic tone, going so far as to challenge the authenticity of its populist and democratic

claims.[39] More recently, Kyu Hyun Kim has challenged the emphasis on the movement's 'failures'

by analyzing its cultural dimensions and its contributions to the development of a "national

public sphere," which "shaped the contours of the Japanese political system that came into

---

37 For the most accessible summary of the Popular Rights Movement, see Stephen Vlastos, "Opposition
    Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885" in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century*, ed.
    Marius Jansen (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988).
38 Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period* (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), chapter 3.
39 Tamura Yasuoki, *Nashonarizumu to jiyū minken* (Osaka: Seibundo, 2004), 3-4

being" in the late 19th century.[40] In all cases, however, the historiography of the Popular Rights Movement has been closely tied to concerns over the fate of democracy in Japan.

Coal mining also maintains a prominent place in Meiji historiography, commonly represented as the literal and figurative 'fuel' behind Japan's successful modernization and industrialization. For the most part, however, social and labor historians have concerned themselves with the dynamics of labor relations (*rōshi kankei*) in the mining industry. The expansion of mining in the mid-1880s and its intensification by conglomerates (*zaibatsu*) precipitated a massive influx of migrant workers into the Chikuhō region in Fukuoka – Japan's largest coal bed – most of whom travelled from mine to mine in search of work. In the face of this instability, recruitment and management became the focal point of mining discourse as companies intensified their control over the labor force. In particular, they attempted to limit the power of subcontracted managers and to prevent labor turnover. Meanwhile, mining regions and miner communities were often associated with violence, crime, and poor morality.[41]

The majority of post-war scholarship has explored various aspects of this centralization process, from technological developments and administrative reform, to the establishment of welfare facilities and the improvement of the miner "barrack" (*naya*) communities. A second stream of scholarship, most prominent in the 1960s and 1970s after the large miner strike at Miike and the decline of the mining industry in general, has emphasized its social effects. Scholars have documented the exploitative practices of mine owners, the derelict circumstances in which miners worked, and the violence that characterized both management practices and the

---

40 Kyu Hyun Kim, *The Age of Visions and Arguments: Pariliamentarianism and the National Public Sphere in Early Meiji Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007), 10
41 For a fine summary of the history of coal mining in Fukuoka, see Michael Lewis, "The Coalfield Riots: Riot as Labor Dispute," in *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1990), 192-201.

daily lives of the miners themselves.[42]

The Popular Rights Movement and reform efforts at Fukuoka's coal mines are, therefore, not only historically distinct, but grounded in very different types of historical narratives. It is this narrative dissonance that makes them an ideal union for the educational historical approach in this dissertation, since they both embraced implicit, easy overlooked, educational dimensions. The promotion of parliamentary democracy and the mobilization of the Japanese populace against the perceived oppression of the Meiji state necessitated the transformation of the people themselves, "from the receivers (*juyōsha*) of politics, into the agents (*shutaisha*) of politics".[43] Similarly, the looming threats that labor turnover and the violence of the miner communities posed to productivity stimulated not only administrative and coercive responses, but educative ones. Industrialists explored a variety of ways in which the customs of miners could be improved, replacing selfishness, debauchery, and violence with thrift, hard work, and company loyalty. The approach utilized in this dissertation stresses the *commonalities* in the articulation and implementation of these goals and the pedagogical relationships they inscribed. It thus bridges together two historical topics that have only been separated by the narrative tropes – be it the tragedy of Meiji democracy or the exploitative nature of modern capitalism – that have been imposed on them.

These educational dimensions have not been completely overlooked by historians, though they have usually been presented in ways that reflect the general historiographical privileging of formal education. Despite Nakauchi Toshio's assertion of the indivisibility of "education" and "politics" – or, in his words, the "educational character of politics" (*seiji no kyōikusei*) and vice

---

42 For excellent examples of the latter approach in English, see Mikiso Hane, "The Coal Miners," in *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003 [1982]), 226-245; and Matthew Allen, *Undermining the Japanese Miracle: Work and Conflict in a Coalmining Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994).
43 Katagiri Yoshio, *Jiyū minkenki kyōikushi kenkyū* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1990), 3.

versa – in popular rights discourse,[44] most educational accounts of the Popular Rights Movement have been limited to the private academies (schools) that proliferated along with political associations in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Katagari Yoshio's work attempted to overcome some of these limitations by examining the relationship between education and politics as well as the idealized political subject posited by popular rights activists, but his analysis mostly restricted itself to discussions of private academies, politically active teachers, and the role of activists in educational administration.[45] Scholarly accounts have, therefore, generally been concerned with the role of "education" (schooling) *within* the movement, and not the broader educational concerns that imbued the movement in general.

The educational dimension of coal mining reform is even more scant in historical scholarship. Hayashi Masato's work[46] introduced the topic of education in coal mining communities by discussing several private schools that were established by large companies, as well as the promotion of public school attendance in others. He mostly framed his work as a critique of Meiji period claims to universal education, implicitly portraying the children of the coal mines as unseen victims of the Ministry of Education's failure to realize its claims to universal schooling. Works dealing with changes in labor relations, including management reform and the attempt to improve the customs of miners, are far more common,[47] though they do not treat any of these measures as educational phenomena. Instead, company welfare policies are treated merely as "incentives," while management and community reforms are presented solely as efforts to prevent turnover – forms of indirect coercion. Little attempt has been made to unify these discrete phenomena in a single historical analysis or to engage the ways in which

---

44 Nakauchi Toshio, *Kindai Nihon kyōiku shisōshi* (Tokyo: Kokudosha, 1973), 272.
45 Katagiri, *Jiyū minkenki kyōikushi kenkyū.*
46 Hayashi Masato, *Yama no kodomo: gakkōshi* (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1983)
47 Ogino Yoshihiro, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi* (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993); Ichihara Hiroshi, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi* (Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1997).

they were framed, *pedagogically*, in the works of industrialists themselves.

The four chapters that comprise the body of this dissertation will reconceptualise the educational dimensions of these movements, arguing that both maintained coherent theories of instruction – in the sense used by Bernstein – and constituted educational efforts that traversed broad sets of institutions. In both cases, self-fashioned educators identified social ills and articulated a clear project of reform that was contingent upon their particular relationships with their constituencies. The educational theory of popular rights embraced an affective mode of transmission that imbued a variety of sites and settings with the power to "arouse" autonomy and independence in the Japanese populace through emotional appeals to their inclusion in a newly imagined "people". As politically awakened and active individuals, popular rights activists legitimized themselves as both the most appropriate cultivators and representatives of the people. Meanwhile, mining industrialists appropriated popular notions of social pathology to justify their intervention into the lives of their miners. The reformation of miner customs and culture required both direct moral suasion and financial guidance, as well as the indirect rectification of miner society through the education of children, the promotion of improved familial relations, and the prevention of exploitative management practices. Mine owners presented this intervention as a manifestation of a paternalistic master-servant (*oyabun-kobun*) relationship that characterized the mining industry in the late Edo and early Meiji periods, portraying themselves as morally (*tokugi*) responsible for the care of their workers.

Divergent pedagogical theories precipitated alternative institutional or educational configurations, each suited to the particular demands of the movement and the nature of the articulated pedagogical relationships. Popular rights activists utilized a diverse array of private institutions and popular media in order promote political and economic autonomy amongst the

21

populace. Private academies, local assemblies, industrial enterprises, newspapers, and public speech gatherings all provided opportunities to arouse political awakening and to foster a sense of mass identification as a "people". Similarly, mining industrialists initiated vast and multifaceted institutional reforms in their mines in order to foster improved morals and company loyalty. On the one hand, a network of welfare facilities that included schools, day cares, savings programs, and mutual-aid societies was constructed to introduce good customs and enforce financial literacy; on the other hand, the administrative structure of mining society was altered during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a means of re-inscribing social relationships in the community by embedding miners within a rationalized and differentiated corporate hierarchy. As such, the various sites and settings utilized by popular rights activists and industrialists were not only used to directly cultivate dispositions, their very structure reflected and reinforced the pedagogical relationships inscribed in their accompanying pedagogical theories.

Identity and Locality in Educational History

Finally, let us examine two other themes that are implicated in the concept of educational history utilized in this dissertation: identity and region. Insofar as the educational theories articulated by popular rights activists and mining industrialists posited legitimate relationships between transmitters/educators and receivers/addressees, the concept of identity was crucial to their formulation. Here, I do not refer to an enduring or essentialized notion of individual or communal identity, but the "construction of [a] principle of classification capable of producing [a] set of distinctive properties that characterize the set of members of [a] group."[48] On the one hand, this consisted of the articulation of the identities of transmitters and receivers – popular rights activists and the "people," "master" industrialists and "servant" miners – that legitimized

---

48 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 130.

the relationship itself. On the other hand, pedagogical discourses also constitute a "struggle to impose a legitimate principle of group construction," the composition of larger social classifications that facilitate the expansion of pedagogical pretension to large bodies of people and articulate the preconditions for intervention.

Social classification was crucial to the pedagogical relationships expressed in both cases. In order to intervene in the lives of the miners, industrialists had to understand them, resulting in theoretical examinations of the character of "coal miners" in order to initiate informed pedagogical measures, as well as the codification of miners as a discrete segment of Japanese society through government surveys that could trace the statistical success of mine reforms. Similarly, popular rights activists grounded their educational endeavors in a coherent theory of the relationship between the "people" and the "state". In doing so, they naturalized the category of the "people" as the binary opposite of the oppressive government and fostered a sense of national unity that transcended social, political, and economic differences. Both of these categories contained multiple potentialities. They could be used disparagingly to refer to a populace that could not act on its own, or workers of poor moral character – in both cases establishing the need for further intervention. But they could also be utilized for political or social mobilization, appropriated as positive shared identities by their constituencies. Either way, their repeated articulation and elaboration contributed to the tenacity, perhaps even the internalization, of these social identities.

A similar process applies to the concept of region, which occupies a muted but important place in this dissertation. In a historical examination that utilizes a regional scale of analysis, one eventually faces the necessity of justifying the choice of region. Furthermore, the very concept of engaging in a regional analysis is rife with potential pitfalls. The study of locality in Japanese

historiography, both by local historians (*kyōdoshi-ka*) and later regional historians (*chihōshi-ka*), has typically been tied to concerns about the relationship between the center and the periphery in Japan's modern period. But historians within both schools have met with criticism. The majority of this criticism has been related to local historians' somewhat problematic treatment of the relationship between the "localities" and the "state". Local historians often engaged in studies of their own region, showing more interest in its famous individuals and contributions to the development of the state than engaging with the complexity of local experience. Similarly, postwar regional historians looked to the countryside as a source of indigenous modernization and democratization, a critique of the postwar Japanese government and its ties to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. Their work often treated the "region" as being in a simplistically oppositional relationship with the center or the state, without accounting for the complexity of the relationship between the two – even the impossibility of drawing such a clear distinction.[49]

Amongst North American scholars, local analysis has experienced periods of popularity, but has often come under attack for its perceived inability to negotiate between the local as "exceptional" and the local as "representative" of larger national processes. Scholars have often treated the prefecture or the region as a useful way of exploring the dynamics of state-region relations during the Meiji period, especially in the implementation of Meiji government policies, including education. For example, Brian Platt attempted to "examine the process of educational reform at the local level in order to explore the dynamics of state formation in Japan". His work met with criticism from Abigail Schweber, however, for his failure to fully engage Nagano's "exceptionalism" or theorize the relationship between state and locality in his work. As a result, he "project[ed] the local onto the national, universalizing local idiosyncrasies and

---

49 For summaries, see Carol Gluck, "The People in History: Recent Trends in Japanese Historiography," *Journal of Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 25-50; Kimura Motoi, "Kyōdoshi, chihōshi, chiikishi kenkyū no rekishi to kadai," in *Nihon tsūshi, bekkan 2: chiikishi kenkyū no genjō to kadai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 3-31.

misrepresenting both the actions and the intent of the state."[50] The nature of state-region interactions thus remains a point of contention in North American historical scholarship.

Conversely, I treat the choice between the local as representative and the local as exceptional as a false dichotomy. No country, province, or village is completely unique from others, especially those in close proximity, nor would interactions with the central government be exactly the same for any two localities. If local historians have exhibited a particular theoretical weakness, it has been the maintenance of a strict emphasis on state-region relations. In this dissertation, however, I marginalize the center in order to emphasize the diversity of local educational practice. My narrative is not one of a confrontation between local practice and the incursion of the centralized state, but of the diversity of educational practice that existed – and still exists – but has been obscured by a narrow conflation of education and schooling, tied to concerns of Meiji state formation. As Platt implies, a narrower analytical lens can reveal processes or social contours that would not appear in a macro-analysis. The synchronous development of the Popular Rights Movement and the industrial sector is one such phenomenon, with the commonalities between the two pedagogical projects having emerged gradually out of my regional historical research. This project, which began as an analysis of a single academy in Fukuoka, underwent a number of transformations as new institutions, individuals, and educational theories emerged through readings of diverse primary documents at the regional level. The result, an educational analysis of two topics that have rarely, if ever, been discussed in unison, would be unlikely to emerge in a national-scale work.

The concept of region is as important for its substantive contributions to this dissertation as for its methodological implications. Sadly, debates over representativeness in Japanese

---

50 Platt, *Burning and Building*, 22. For the debate between Platt and Schweber about the challenges of local
    historical analysis, see Abigail Schweber's book review of Brian Platt's *Burning and Building* and the
    subsequent series of responses, all of which appear in *Journal of Social History* 42:1 (Fall 2008): 224-229.

historiography have tended to overlook and obscure the significance of local society as a focal

point of popular identification during the Meiji period (and later). As a number of scholars have

argued, region and locality are not *a priori* geographical or social realities but social constructs,

"a particular case of the different struggles over classifications... to impose the legitimate

definition of the divisions of the social world and, thereby, *make and unmake groups*."[51] Regions

are usually formulated based on some notion of unity, be it linguistic, ethnic, or geographical, but

these commonalities and the process of their articulation *as* regional identity must be treated as

historically contingent phenomena. Kären Wigen, one of the few to actively engage this topic,

emphasized the important role that notions of region and regional identity played in the process

of national integration in Nagano (Shinano) during the Meiji period.[52] According to Wigen, the

conflation of the modern prefecture with the pre-modern *kuni* (country) helped facilitate the

state's centralization and modernization projects, so much so that by the mid Meiji period,

"provincial identities were being trotted out to stir the sentiments and inspire the sacrifices of

residents across the country."[53]

　　Fukuoka prefecture provides a fascinating example of the varied articulations of local

identity that could co-exist simultaneously in a given region. Unlike many prefectures, which

were constructed along former provincial lines in order to foster integration and prevent

resistance, Fukuoka was originally conceived of as three prefectures – Fukuoka, Mizuma, and

Kokura – the border of which coincided with those of Edo period domains and ancient provinces.

However, between 1871 and 1876 the three were gradually combined into modern day Fukuoka

prefecture. Therefore, unlike Nagano, Fukuoka prefecture was a recent fabrication, the borders of

---

51　Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 221.
52　Kären Wigen, *A Malleable Map: Geographies of Restoration in Central Japan, 1600-1912* (Berkeley, UC Press, 2010).
53　Wigen, *A Malleable Map,* 18-19.

Figure 1: Map of Fukuoka Prefecture and Ancient Provinces, by Author.

which encompassed (most of) three ancient provinces: Chikugo, Chikuzen, and half of Buzen

(see figure 1).[54] The 'resurrection' of old domain identities thus played a prominent role in the

Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka as a form of implicit resistance to the oppression of the

central government. Both the Kōyōsha/Gen'yōsha and Chikuzen Kyōaikai, two of the most

powerful popular rights associations in late 1870s and early 1880s, heavily utilized the rhetoric

of Chikuzen identity, the ancient province that comprised the former Fukuoka domain, as a

signifier of martial strength and imperial loyalty. In fact, the Popular Rights Movement in

---

54   Kawazoe Shōji, et al., *Fukuoka-ken no rekishi* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997), 264-266

Fukuoka largely organized along old domainal lines, with activists from Chikugo (Mizuma) establishing their own, relatively autonomous branch of the movement in southwest Fukuoka.

But regional identity did not need to manifest itself as a rehabilitation of former identities. The Chikuhō coal mining region in northern Fukuoka was a modern concept, a product of the development of the coal industry itself and a portmanteau of the names of the two ancient provinces it traversed – Chikuzen and Buzen. Chikuho's coal deposits were generally located along the Onga River and had been excavated by both Fukuoka and Kokura domain during the Edo period. During the Meiji period, however, the concentration of mining enterprises and the mass influx of transient workers imbued the region with a reputation for uncouth and violent residents. The region only became codified as a concept, however, when it was appropriated by industrialists themselves, beginning with the establishment of the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association (Chikuhō Sekitan Kōgyō Kumiai) in 1885. Thereafter, the phrase appeared frequently in surveys and reports, transforming the region from an accident of industrial development into a verified social reality. The Fukuoka prefecture imagined by the Meiji state thus encompassed a number of possible loci of regional identification, none of which were mutually exclusive or necessarily divorced from identification with the prefecture itself. Region was one of many tools that could be utilized in the articulation of pedagogical relationships.

Overview of the Dissertation

The body of this dissertation consists of four substantive chapters, with two dedicated each to education in the Popular Rights Movement and in coal mining communities. While the dissertation is separated into two sets of two chapters, the structure of each set is similar, with the first chapters acting as intellectual histories or reconstructions of educational theories, and the

second chapters focusing on institutions. The relationship between institutions and ideas is a complex one, and my positioning of the theoretical chapters before the institutional chapters is not intended as a statement of primacy. Rather, I have found it easiest to first reconstruct a theory of education before identifying its manifestation in, and implicit reinforcement by institutions. At any rate, chapters one and three or two and four are perhaps more analogous in style and structure to each other than they are to their accompanying chapters on the same topic.

Chapters one and three similarly move from a reconstruction of an educational theory to a discussion about the pedagogical relationships embedded in educational discourse. Both identify key phrases – "the cultivation of ability" in the Popular Rights Movement and "manners and customs" in the coal mines – that exemplify the educational goals embraced by activists and mine owners. In both cases, I explore debates over these concepts and the multitude of institutional implementations they implied. Furthermore, both chapters emphasize the relationship between these pedagogical theories and other popular social and educational discourses, such as the use of popular notions of social pathology by mine owners in order to justify their interventions, or popular rights activists' adoption of an affective mode of transmission that contrasted sharply with the theories of developmental education. Finally, both chapters culminate with a discussion of the articulation of pedagogical relationships themselves, as well as their consequences. In chapter one, I emphasize the discursive limitations placed on the Popular Rights Movement by its treatment of the relationship between the idealized activist (the *minkenka*) and the "people," while in chapter three I explore the diverse ways in which industrialists characterized their activities as part of an harmonious relationship between mine owners and miners – constituting the latter as a group in the process.

Chapters two and four also develop along similar trajectories, analyzing the

implementation and manifestation of educational theories in institutions. These chapters place greater emphasis on historical change, as they explore transformations in the institutional configurations of the Popular Rights Movement and Fukuoka's coal mining enterprises. In both cases, I explore not only the active role that institutions played in promoting the educational goals of their respective programmes, but also the ways in which they *implicitly* supported those educational efforts by reinforcing pedagogical relationships. This is particularly evident in chapter four when I discuss minute transformations in the structure of coal mines in Chikuhō – a process with no explicit pedagogical value – as implicitly buttressing the companies' claims to paternalistic authority and responsibility. Both chapters also conclude with discussions that show the inherent tensions and limitations evident in the institutional manifestations of their pedagogical theories. In chapter two I argue that newspapers and public speech gatherings were crucial to the spread of popular rights thought, but embraced a number of potential meanings, some seemingly detrimental to the goals of the movement. Similarly, chapter four stresses the limitations of company pretensions to absolute rule by examining the ways in which miner identity was articulated by the miners themselves, both challenging company claims and reinforcing the reality of the identity itself. In each case, I emphasize the variety of meanings that can be embedded in any pedagogical encounter and the unintended consequences that can result.

The short concluding chapter will summarize the insights yielded from the rest of the dissertation while exploring issues of continuity and change. In it, I discuss some of the ways in which the educational ideas expressed above have endured both conceptually and institutionally. Thus, while neither the Popular Rights Movement or Meiji era industrial management methods persisted after the period covered in this dissertation, their long-term significance is considerable.

Chapter One
The Educational Discourse of Popular Rights in Fukuoka

Between 11/10/1880 and 11/30/1880 more than 60 representatives of popular rights associations from two cities and 22 prefectures gathered in the Tokyo branch office of the Aikokusha (Society of Patriots) for a series of meetings. Officially, this gathering was referred to as the second meeting of the Alliance for the Establishment of a National Assembly – the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei. The first gathering took place in March of that same year and resulted in the creation of a petition calling for the establishment of a national assembly, which was promptly submitted to the Dajōkan (Executive) in hopes of gaining the Emperor's ear. However, the petition was rejected, and with the promulgation of the highly restrictive Assembly Ordinance (*shūkai jōrei*) the following month, the Kisei Dōmei seemingly disbanded. Thus when the Alliance reconvened on 11/10 – as had been decided at the conclusion of the first meeting – there was disagreement on the purpose of the meeting, and its relationship to the March gathering.[1]

Kojima Tadasato, for example, asserted that though the Kisei Dōmei had been dissolved in the face of the Assembly Ordinance, its spirit (*seishin*) had not been extinguished. "Namely," he continued, "the fact that you have all gathered here and set the date to the tenth of this month is in observance of the agreement (*keiyaku*) made then [in which it was decided to meet in November, either to draft a constitutional draft or, in the case that the petition was denied, plan further action]." Odagiri Kenmei of Yamanashi and Katsuki Yukitsune of Fukuoka argued that there was no need to honor the agreements of the past conference. This meeting, Odagiri

---

1   This discussion of the second Kokkai Kisei Domei conference is primarily based on the official report from the conference, compiled by a secret government operative. "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," in *Meiji bunka zenshu, vol. 25: zasshi-hen*, ed., Kimura Ki (Tokyo, Meiji bunka kenkyukai, 1968), 159-188. For an alternative account of the last days of the conference by a Fukuoka representative see, Tachibana Chikanobu, "Dai ni-kai kokkai kisei domei-kai sanka nisshi," *Fukuoka-kenshi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, eds., Arima Manabu, Ishitaki Toyomi, Eshima Kaori, et all (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon bunka kyokai, 1996), 205-213. For a general overview of the conference see, Naito Seichu, *Jiyū minken undō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1964), 237-244.

claimed, was a meeting of "sympathizers" (*yūshi*) in the fight for the establishment of a national assembly. As evidence, Katsuki pointed out that the meeting included a large number of individuals who had not been present at the March gathering and had not been recruited during the Alliance's canvassing (*yūzei*) campaigns. After two days of debate, an informal conference was established to decide the issue, resulting in the meeting officially adopting a new title, The Greater Japan Assembly of Sympathizers (Dai-Nihon Yūshi Taikai), and formally distancing itself from first Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference.[2]

A second debate revolved around determining the most urgent concerns of the new Assembly of Sympathizers. Starting on 11/24, a number of proposals were put forward, questioning whether the Assembly should continue the tasks of its predecessor: the inspection of draft constitutions and, in particular, petitioning the government in hopes of expediting the creation of a national assembly. Some members promoted these activities, especially the latter, claiming that petitions remained an effective means of pressuring the government, and that "when the government does not recognize [these petitions], it can inspire the resistance (*handō-ryoku*) of the people. Thus, it may be effective in inspiring unity (*danketsu*)." Conversely, Fukuoka's Kōri Toshi argued that petitions had proven ineffective and were not worth wasting "time and expense" on. Similarly, Kuroiwa Yasunori argued that the drafting of petitions was not of primary importance; instead, the most "urgent matters" for the Popular Rights Movement were to "strengthen local unity" and to "cultivate sufficient ability (*jūbun ni jitsuryoku wo yashinai*), to break through the wall that is preventing the establishment of a national assembly."

---

2   "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 167-169, 174. The formal regulations created for the conference on 11/17, however, once again referred to it as the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei. Following the distribution of these regulations, one member questioned the change in title. The response given was that the current meeting was still to be referred to as the Assembly of Sympathizers (for the Establishment of a National Assembly), while the association to be founded after the meeting, which would culminate in a gathering in November of the following year, would be once again referred to as the Kisei Dōmei.

The assembled popular rights activists seemed to reach a consensus on the "urgent business" of the newly created organizations, encapsulated in two terms: "local unification" (*chihō no danketsu*) and the "cultivation of ability" (*jitsuryoku no yōsei*).[3]

Simply put, the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference represented a fundamental shift in the Popular Rights Movement at the highest levels. While the various conferences of the Aikokusha and the first Kokkai Kisei Dōmei had been primarily concerned with directly influencing the state of Japanese politics through petitions, the press, or rallies, the new discourse of "local unification" and "cultivating ability" represented a new orientation, a new emphasis on mass political mobilization. These terms implied a political project that reverberated at the individual level. According to one member of the assembly, "the most urgent task is to unify the nation's people and to increase the influence of our organization. The best way to do this is to publish newspapers and to dispatch public speakers... But, of the most vital importance at this time is to cultivate men prepared to die [for the cause] (*kesshi no shi wo yōsei-suru*)!"[4] The discourse of "local unification" and the "cultivation of ability" thus reflected an underlying educational process – the attempt to foster a new form of political subjectivity amongst the populace – within the movement's political goals, and its adoption at this conference represents the ascendency of that educational dimension.

Yet the genesis of these concepts is not to be found at the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conferences. The terms *chihō no danketsu* and *jitsuryoku no yōsei* had been freely circulating within popular rights discourse for over a year at the time of this meeting, and Fukuoka Prefecture, as we will see, represented one of their most prominent locales – though not, by any means, the only one. Thus, it is no surprise that amongst the advocates of these terms were a

---

3   "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 182-185.
4   "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 178

33

number of prominent Fukuoka activists: Katsuki Yukitsune, Tachibana Chikanobu, Hakoda Rokusuke, and Kōri Toshi, who acted as vice-president (*fuku-gichō*) of the meeting. In the wake of the Assembly of Sympathizers, c*hihō no danketsu* and *jitsuryoku no yōsei* became the banner words for the creation of a number of new political associations, and the proliferation of newspapers and speech rallies[5] in a variety of localities.[6]

Considering the role of this discourse in the expansion of the movement, and the eventual role this local mobilization would play in the creation of Japan's first political parties, it is perhaps surprising that the educational dimension of the Popular Rights Movement has remained under-examined in both English and Japanese scholarship. The Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights (*jiyū minken undō*) has attracted more than its fair share of scholarship over the years, both in English and in Japanese. The majority of these works have been concerned with the movement's explicit "political" dimensions: violent uprisings, anti-government activity, or the push for the creation of a parliament and expanded political participation. Japanese scholarship has presented a more diverse interpretive field, with scholars emphasizing the movement's cultural influence, its ideology (or ideologies), its use of media, and a large number of local studies that have emphasized its more particular manifestations throughout the country. In spite of historian Matsuoka Kiichi's characterization of the Popular Rights Movement's opposition to the state as an "opposition surrounding the image of the people (*minshū-zō*)" and his assertion that the most urgent project for the movement was "the need to form a citizenry (*jinmin* or *kokumin*) that could contribute to the independence and autonomy of the state,"[7] the

---

5 Watanabe Takaki attributes the proliferation of popular rights associations in Tochigi Prefecture, led by Tanaka Shozo, to the successful utilization of the press and speech rallies, inspired by the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei*. See Watanabe, *Nihon seitō seiritsu-shi josetsu* (Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyōronsha, 2007), 117-121

6 For an overview of the expansion of this discourse, see Naito, *Jiyu minken undō no kenkyū*, 249-256.

7 Matsuoka Kiichi, "Media to jiyū minken: Kōchi no baai," in *Jiyū minken to kindai shakai*, ed. Arai Katsuhiro (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 199-200.

majority of scholarship has failed to adequately explore the intricate relationship between education and politics within the movement. Instead, scholars in both Japan and North America have assumed an equivalency between "education" and "schooling," tending to limit their analysis to the creation of private academies by popular rights associations or popular rights activists' contributions to nationwide debates about educational policy.

Concerns about schooling within the Popular Rights Movement notwithstanding, the discourse of "local unification" and the "cultivation of ability" depicted above makes no mention of schooling or teachers. Institutionally, its proponents mostly discussed the new media of public speeches (*enzetsu*) and newspapers (*shinbun-shi*), and the cultivation of "men willing to die" was not attributed to any specific social setting or institutional context. To understand the educational discourse embedded within these terms and, to an extent, the Popular Rights Movement itself, we must therefore shed this *a priori* association of education with schooling and reconstruct a theory of education that better encapsulates the institutional and intellectual ideas articulated by the popular rights activists themselves. In this chapter, I will reconstruct the "language of education" of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka, its "distinguishable modes or modalities in thinking, talking, or writing about education,"[8] by engaging a number of fundamental questions that will allow us to access the movement's educational dimension in all of its peculiarity and diversity. What was the relationship between politics and the "cultivation" articulated by Fukuoka activists? What traits did these activists inscribe in their idealized citizenry? How were these traits to be cultivated institutionally?

The discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei*, I argue, promoted the cultivation of idealized popular rights activists (*minkenka*), men of "free and autonomous" (*fuki-dokuritsu*) or

---

8   Daniel Tröhler, *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (London: Routledge, 2011), 1.

"enterprising" (*shinshu*) dispositions, as the source of political change and as preparation for parliamentary government. This disposition was portrayed as a by-product of learning, economic enterprise, and political activity, all of which could "arouse" the independent nature of the people. [9] *Jitsuryoku no yōsei* thus embraced an affective mode of transmission, embedded both in individual charisma and everyday practice, that imbued a variety of social, political, and economic activities with educational power. Furthermore, affectivity was necessary to inspire new popular identifications, such as "the people" or even *minken* itself, that would provide unity to the movement and direct the "ability" of the *minkenka*. The analysis in this chapter will proceed in five stages. The first section will contextualize the educational discourse of popular rights that culminated at the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei within the broader history of the Popular Rights Movement, including its development in Fukuoka. The second conference and its discussions of mass mobilization were reflective of broader shifts in the movement, as its once primarily *shizoku* (ex-samurai) based leadership expanded to include broader social constituencies. This process precipitated not only attempts by ex-samurai to re-conceptualize their role in the movement, but a more active appropriation of the language of western parliamentarianism in order to articulate the ideals and demands of the movement. As a result, the Popular Rights Movement around 1880 was characterized by a number of tensions, between constituencies and between images of political change, which manifested in the utilization of multiple registers. The discourses of popular rights, *jitsuryoku no yōsei*, and arousal all reflected these tensions, producing a highly inclusive and flexible educational discourse.

---

9   These phrases were not products of the *jitsuryoku no yōsei* as it developed in the late 1870s, but were intrinsic to popular rights discourse from the inception of the movement. In Itagaki Taisuke, et al's Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly in 1874 they promoted the establishment of a popular assembly in order to "arouse in them [the people] a spirit of enterprise, and to enable them to comprehend the duty of participating in the burdens of the empire". For the full text of the memorial, see W.W. Mclaren, "Japanese Government Documents," *The Asiatic Society of Japan* 42:1 (1914):426-432.

The following two sections will discuss the educational theory of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka in detail, beginning with the concept of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* in section two. Fukuoka activists produced few theoretical treatises on popular rights, but the work of Murai Ichiei stands as the most coherent articulation of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* available. Utilizing his work as the focal point of the discussion, I identify *jitsuryoku no yōsei* as constituting a multifaceted concept of "ability" that implied the cultivation of politically, intellectually, and economically autonomous individuals. As a result, not only explicitly educational facilities like schools, but political and economic activities themselves were granted educational and pedagogical significance. The idealized subject of this discourse was the "real *minkenka*," a popular rights activist with the material means to participate in government, and the intellectual and social consciousness to represent the best interests of the people.

The third section expands on the discussion of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* by reconstructing the implicit mode of transmission that characterized all of the Popular Rights Movement's educational activities. Insofar as popular rights theory were portrayed as "natural rights" by activists, the cultivation of political subjectivity was not merely dependent on the transmission of information, but on the "arousal" of one's inherent autonomy. As such, popular rights activists embraced an *affective* mode of transmission, emphasizing those sites and settings that could best provide the emotional stimulus to rouse the free and independent dispositions of the "people". Also implicated in this section is the intimate relationship between the discourse of popular rights and the constitution of the "people" as a concept. The "people" represented the binary opposite of the oppressive state and "popular rights" served as the discursive focal point through which they could be unified. Popular rights activists in Fukuoka were not just concerned with the realization of political subjectivity amongst the citizenry, but in constructing a shared

identification as a "people" that could resist the incursions of the state.

In the fourth section, I discuss the popularity of the movement's educational discourse, its appropriation by a variety of associations and individuals, and the significant tensions it contained. This educational discourse was appropriated either in sum or partially by a variety of individuals and used to promote a plethora of activities, sometimes seemingly in conflict with each other. As such, debates occurred over the primacy of different settings, or over which aspect of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* was of the utmost importance. The same tensions emerged in discussions about the idealized "popular rights activist" himself. Creating an image of exemplary individuals was crucial to the movement, but this image could be articulated in a variety of ways, based on the particular values of the individual or association promoting it. Consequently, several oppositional depictions emerged.

Finally, I explore some of the implicit assumptions and contradictions that were contained in the articulation of the Popular Rights Movement's educational theory *as a pedagogical theory*. Despite the attempted universalization of the *minkenka* ideal, this discourse maintained a strict division between the leadership (activists or *minkenka*) and the "people," who became an object to be rescued or "enlightened". The paternalistic attitudes expressed by popular rights theorists and the privileged place implied for the movement's leadership threatened the underlying ideals of its political theory. Within this educational discourse, the "people," like all pedagogized subjects, were implicitly deprived of agency, and thus the potential for the autonomy idealized in *minken* political theories.

Emerging Tensions in Popular Rights Discourse: The Case of Fukuoka

When representatives of nation-wide popular rights associations gathered for the second

38

Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference in 1880, it was not only the culmination of a shift in the Popular

Rights Movement from an emphasis on direct agitation to one on mass mobilization, but also of

a broader shift in the social makeup of the movement. When Itagaki Taisuke called for the first

gathering of the Aikokusha in 1875, he "did not actively seek the support of commoners, for [he]

believed that former samurai, those with education and experience as administrators, were the

people worthy of political representation."[10] Those that gathered as representatives of political

associations were all members of the former samurai class, many of whom had actively

participated in the Meiji Restoration and felt that they had become excluded from helping

refashion the state by the ruling oligarchy. By the time representatives of political associations

gathered for the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference, however, the character of the

movement had undergone a considerable transformation. Representatives were sent from

associations all over the country, from a variety of social backgrounds.[11]

The turn of the 1880s thus represents a period of tension and uncertainty, as well as

increasing inclusiveness for the Popular Rights Movement, the consequences of which were

reflected in the very articulation of "popular rights" as concept and its corresponding educational

discourse. As the Popular Rights Movement expanded to include diverse social constituencies

and a heterogeneous leadership group, its political (and educational) discourse was characterized

by a number of emerging tensions: between *shizoku* and commoner, between ideas perceived to

be Western in origin and those derived from the Confucian and Nativist (*kokugaku*) traditions,

and between different focal points of popular identification. These tensions have often been

placed within simple dichotomies of modernism and traditionalism or liberalism and

conservatism. But, as used by popular rights activists, terms such as the "people's rights,"

---

10 Stephen Vlastos, "Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885" in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius Jansen (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 405-406.
11 Vlastos, "Opposition Movement," 406-407.

"national sovereignty," or "liberty" were capable of being imbued with both 'modern' and 'traditional' meanings, and were often used in conjunction with older political concepts. The meanings of terms like "freedom" and "rights" were not fixed, but constantly being negotiated in public discourse.[12] As popular rights activists, in Fukuoka and nationally, utilized these terms to encompass a greater diversity of interests and social constituencies, the educational discourse that accompanied this expansion also reflected its inclusiveness. Consequently, in order to understand the educational discourse of the Popular Rights Movement, we must clarify the circumstances out of which it grew.

The rejection of a strict division between 'liberalism' and 'conservatism' or 'modernism' and 'traditionalism' is especially relevant for the discussion of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka. In the few historical works in which they have been discussed, Fukuoka activists' commitment to popular rights has long been held in doubt. This is mostly a result of Fukuoka's most prominent association, the Gen'yōsha's support of Japanese expansionism and imperialism, as well as their role as political terrorists during the 1920s and 1930s. Consequently, the Gen'yōsha's – as well as its predecessor, the Kōyōsha's – endorsement of popular rights in the 1870s and 1880s has been alternatively referred to as "lip service"[13] or at least as secondary to their underlying concern with national strength (*kokken*) and overseas expansion.[14] The latter claim is founded on yet another false dichotomy, that between national strength (*kokken*) and popular rights (*minken*).The majority of popular rights associations, including the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei, did not treat the two as being in opposition to each other, but assumed a "causal

---

12 Douglas Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 3-5.
13 E. Herbert Norman, "The Genyosha: A Study of the Origins of Japanese Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs* 17:3 (Sept 1944): 267.
14 John Wayne Sabey, "The Gen'yōsha, The Kokuryūkai, and Japanese Expansionism" (PhD Diss., Univ. Michigan, 1972), 33-34. It is important to note that Sabey challenges the simplistic imposition of "Western" notions of "left" and "right" onto the Japanese political context.

relationship between the expansion of the people's right(s) and national stability, strength, and reputation."[15] The projection of the Gen'yōsha's activities in the 20th century onto the history of popular rights in Fukuoka has obscured the actions and motives of the Kōyōsha, while metaphorically erasing the activities of other associations in the region.

This chapter and the one that follows challenge these historical presuppositions in a number of ways. I introduce several associations, both connected to the later Gen'yōsha and not, that have been overlooked in most historical accounts, including: the Chitosekai in Kurume, the Yūmeikai in Yanagawa, and the Chikuzen Kyōaikai. Moreover, I do not treat these associations in isolation. By emphasizing the inclusiveness of popular rights discourse, and its accompanying educational theory, I allow the articulations of various associations to be analyzed synchronously, drawing attention to both the differences in their conceptualization of popular rights and, more importantly, their similarities. As a result, the Kōyōsha/Gen'yōsha becomes one voice amongst many within the discursive field of popular rights, both in Fukuoka and nationally. Finally, in treating these associations together, I can better explore the potential pitfalls of the Popular Rights Movement's educational discourse, without relying on appeals to notions of authenticity.

The late 1870s and early 1880s was a transformative period for the Popular Rights Movement across the nation. Before discussing the educational discourse that accompanied the shift to mass mobilization, however, I must contextualize its emergence in Fukuoka, as well as some of the tensions encompassed therein. The Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka followed

---

15 Howland, *Translating the West*, 135; Ishitaki Toyomi, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu: mō hitotsu no jiyū minken, zōhoban* (Fukuoka, Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1997), 139-141; Nakajima Takeshi, "Naze jiyū minken undō kara uyoku no genryū, Gen'yōsha ga umareta no ka," *Shio* 11 (Nov 2010): 324-335. Both Ishitaki and Nakajima do an excellent job of challenging the simplistic opposition between the concepts of national strength and people's rights. Ishitaki shows the ways in which the two concepts were intertwined, inseparable, within popular rights discourse, including that of the Gen'yōsha. Nakajima, on the other hand, places the conflation of *minken* and *kokken* within the context of nineteenth century imperialism and liberalism, showing that the assumptions made by the Gen'yōsha and other *minkenka* about the relationship between the nation and the individual were quite common during the time period.

the same general trajectory as it did throughout the country, shifting from a narrow *shizoku* leadership in the mid-1870s to a broader social base, and a much larger constituency, by the end of the decade.[16] In Fukuoka's case, this change was precipitated by the Hagi and Satsuma *shizoku* uprisings of 1876 and 1877, in which a considerable number of the Fukuoka activists participated, resulting in their arrest or execution. When the movement was reborn in 1878, some of the leadership remained the same, but its general orientation shifted to include broader efforts at mobilization. Moreover, a second branch of the movement developed in the former Chikugo province (southwestern Fukuoka), the leadership of which included a number of prominent local entrepreneurs and other commoners.

The movement's original leaders in Fukuoka were Ochi Hikoshirō and Takebe Koshirō, both of whom attended the first Aikokusha conference in 1875. Seemingly inspired by the conference, Takebe and Ochi returned to Fukuoka to establish their own political associations in the same style as the Itagaki's Risshisha or Saigo Takamori's Shigakkō in Kagoshima, which balanced group study and samurai rehabilitation efforts with a firm anti-government stance. Ochi and Takebe were drawn to the revolutionary image of the Meiji Restoration, so when tensions between the Meiji government and the *shizoku* intensified in the following years, they were committed to armed resistance. The group, however, split into two factions, one in support of Maebara Issei in Hagi, and one with close ties to Saigo Takamori in Kagoshima. The result was the same for both. Younger members of the movement, such as Hakoda Rokusuke and Tōyama Mitsuru, plotted with Maebara, though their plan to join his uprising in 1876 – supposedly including a plot to assassinate chief minister Okubo Toshimichi – was discovered and they were arrested. Takebe and Ochi's faction waited until the following year, when they rose up alongside

---

16   For excellent overviews of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka, see Shindō Toyōo, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō: Kyushu Kaishintō no shiteki kenkyū* (Fukuoka: Koga Shoten, 1982); and Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 17-130.

Saigo and attempted to overthrow the military garrison at Fukuoka Castle. Their efforts also ended in failure, and both Takebe and Ochi were executed shortly thereafter. The revolutionary phase of the Popular Rights Movement, in Fukuoka and elsewhere, was over.[17]

The second phase of popular rights activism was initiated when the remaining members of the movement were released from prison in 1877. Early the following year, Hakoda, Tōyama, Shindō Kiheita, and others organized the Kōyōsha (Sun Facing Society), which consisted of an academy (the Kōyō Gijuku), a legal bureau and a martial arts school. Following the first conference of the re-established Aikokusha in late 1878, their activities were once again reinvigorated through the influence of activists in Kōchi when Ueki Emori, the movement's leading theorist, toured the region. He attended Kōyōsha speeches, taught classes, and even wrote a new "prospectus" (*shuisho*) for the association. As part of its expanded operations, the Kōyōsha dispatched public speakers throughout the region to promote mobilization in smaller localities. It thus became a focal point of a network of political associations and began to take a leading role in the Kyushu Popular Rights Movement.

This leadership was nowhere more evident than in the role Kōyōsha members played in promoting collaboration between popular rights associations throughout the prefecture and the larger region. In 5/1879, the Kōyōsha hosted the first gathering of the Kyushu Rengōkai (Kyushu Alliance), which included members from the Nakatsu and Karatsu regions of Fukuoka Prefecture, as well as from Saga and Kumamoto Prefectures.[18] The Rengōkai promoted discussion and unity between political associations and emphasized the establishment of political associations at the local level. Kōyōsha members also established the Chikuzen Kyōaikai

---

17 For a full account of these uprising and the first phase of the movement in Fukuoka, see Gen'yōsha Shashi Hensankai, *Gen'yōsha shashi* (Tokyo: Gen'yōsha Shashi Hensankai, 1917), 103-149.
18 For the Kyushu Rengōkai, see Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 52-60.

(Chikuzen Fraternal Society) in late 12/1879.[19] Inspired by a similar enterprise undertaken by

Kōchi activists, the Kyōaikai was conceptualized as a private popular assembly (*shiritsu gikai*).

It consisted of a headquarters put in charge of co-ordinating popular rights activity throughout

the region and an elected assembly of representatives from each of the 15 counties (*gun*) of

Chikuzen province. Elections were open to all, regardless of status group or finances. In early

1880, the Kyōaikai sent representatives to Tokyo in order to submit two formal petitions to the

Dajōkan, one for treaty revision and one for the establishment of a national assembly. This was

followed by the composition of a national draft constitution later that year.[20]

The activities of the rejuvenated Fukuoka movement did not only represent a shift from

armed resistance to mass mobilization, but an attempt to expand the movement to establish a

broader social base. This process was reflected in a burgeoning movement in the Chikugo region

of Fukuoka Prefecture, where non-*shizoku* took on a more prominent leadership role. Though a

number of associations existed in the area surrounding present day Kurume, including the

Chitosekai and Chikusuikai, the largest Chikugo associations were established in Yanagawa, near

the border between Fukuoka and Saga. Heavily influenced by leading Saga theorists, the

Yanagawa associations often acted independently of their Chikuzen counterparts, representing a

separate branch of the movement.[21]

The earliest Yanagawa association was the Kōshinsha (Compatriot Society), founded in

early 1880, which changed its name to the Kōdōsha (Society of the Public) in April of that year.

Its leadership included a number of prominent local activists, such as Tachibana Chikanobu,

---

19 For discussions of the Kyōaikai, see Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 64-79, 104-120, and Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 10-11, 20-24.
20 Both petitions and the two constitutions drafted by the Kyōaikai are compiled in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 29-40 (for the petitions), and 53-77 (for the draft constitutions).
21 The most detailed overview of the Popular Rights Movement in Chikugo can be found in "kaidan," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken*, xlvii-lxxviii.

Totoki Ichirō, and Okada Kurō, as well as a large number of local teachers and municipal

officials, reflecting a diverse social base. Nowhere was this breadth more apparent than in the

leadership roles of Nagae Jun'ichi and, later, Noda Utarō, both of whom were local

entrepreneurs. The Kōdōsha sent representatives to the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei meeting and

carried out their own efforts at local mobilization, including creating county-level sub-

associations and assigning managers to assist with municipal administration, who were to be

elected by the local population. In 3/1881, the Kōdōsha ceased operations, to be replaced by the

Yūmeikai six months later. The latter association would play a leading role in the establishment

of the Kyushu Kaishintō (Kyushu Progressive Party) and, according to Shindō Toyōo, became

the most powerful popular rights association in the prefecture by 1882.[22]

The emergence of non-*shizoku* leaders and the expansion of the movement in Fukuoka

did not take place without a degree of tension. Nagae and Noda met considerable resistance from

the Kōdōsha's *shizoku* leadership during their rise to prominence in the association.[23] This

tension was an extension of the dissonant identity of the movement itself, which began as a

continuation of the Meiji Restoration's revolutionary programme before transforming into a

nation-wide effort at mass mobilization. The same tension is apparent in the Popular Rights

Movement's intellectual development, which simultaneously utilized a lexicon derived from

European political theories while depicting its leadership as *shishi* ("men of high spirit"), thus

analogizing their activities to those of the imperial loyalist leaders of the Restoration.[24]

Beyond the dislocation implied by the appropriation of a Western political lexicon, which

was inherently flexible in its meanings, the social diversification of the movement and the desire

22   Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 31.
23   Sakaguchi Jirō, *Noda Taikai-den* (Tokyo: Noda Taikai-den Kankōkai, 1929), 99-101.
24   For a discussion of the *shishi* in English, see Thomas Huber, "Men of High Purpose: and the Politics of Direct
     Action, 1862–1864," in *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, ed. Tetsuo Najita and
     Victor Koschmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 107–27.

45

for mass mobilization produced tensions in other aspects of popular rights discourse. On the one hand, a broader social base implied a re-articulation, perhaps even an abstraction, of *shizoku* identity. From the start, the Popular Rights Movement articulated the establishment of a national assembly largely as an "enlightenment theory of progress under samurai political tutelage". Most activists assumed the leading role of the ex-samurai, either as an extension of their paternalistic role in the Tokugawa polity, or as a result of their education and social prestige.[25] However, they also accepted that *shizoku* identity itself needed to be re-conceptualized to meet the demands of a new era. A few months after the first Aikokusha conference in 1875, there was considerable debate over how to situate the *shizoku* in the call for popular rights: were they to be teachers and exemplars, or were they simply another constituency in the movement? Was there even room for *shizoku* identity in the promotion of representative government at all?[26] As the movement expanded and new leadership groups emerged, any equivalence between the *minkenka* (the popular rights activist) and *shizoku* was no longer tenable. Consequently, the concept of political and educational leadership in the movement needed to be represented in new, inclusive ways.

A similar process took place with the concept of "local autonomy," which was crucial to the articulation of popular rights. Popular rights associations typically organized along provincial (referring to the provinces of Japan's original unified polity, the Ritsuryō) or domainal (referring to the semi-autonomous regional territories of the Edo period) boundaries. This was evident in Fukuoka, where Chikuzen (Fukuoka), Kurume, and Yanagawa – all former domains – were the focal points for popular rights mobilization. This articulation of regional identity reflected the original appropriation of popular rights rhetoric by Itagaki, which expressed a desire for greater participation in government by domains outside of the Chōshū-Satsuma clique. However, the

---

25 Howland, *Translating the West*, 164-168, quotation from p.165.
26 These debates are summarized and discussed in Matsuoka Kiichi, "Dai-ni-ji minsen giin ronsō: shizoku minkenka to wa nanika," *Atomi Gakuen Joshi Daigaku kiyo* 25 (3/1992): 35-57.

early 1880s witnessed the emergence of more complex forms of local mobilization that were modelled (at least partially) upon Western republican concepts. In Fukuoka, the Chikuzen Kyōaikai represents one such model, acting as a popular assembly through which the former Chikuzen province could realize a degree of autonomy. Moreover, Kōri Toshi of the Kyōaikai supposedly adopted American federalism as the model for his proposed structure of the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei, which granted a high degree of control to local associations.[27] The domainal and republican notions of locality, however, were not mutually exclusive; they were utilized inter-changeably, even simultaneously, in different contexts.

Popular rights discourse thus embraced multiple registers, reflecting the increasingly vast network of political ideas and interests it was expected to encompass. *Minkenka* utilized a shared lexicon of "popular rights," "national strength," "local autonomy," "national assemblies," and, of course, "the cultivation of ability". But the meanings of these terms were in flux, open to a variety of appropriations and interpretations, and constantly the topics of debate. The educational discourse that emerged in the Popular Rights Movement at the moment of its ascendency reflected its attempt to simultaneously mobilize and enlighten heterogeneous social constituencies while unifying them within the movement. Having provided an overview of the Popular Rights Movement c.1880, we can now investigate the educational theory that emerged around the time of the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei.

Cultivating Independence: Jitsuryoku no Yōsei and the True Popular Rights Activist

The Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka, as throughout the country, posited a direct correlation between the form of government (*seitai*) and the prosperity of a nation (*kokka no seiritsu*). During the second half of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s, the discourse of

---

27 Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 115-116.

popular rights was dominated by the call for the creation of a national assembly (*kokkai*), which, according to the theory, was one of the foundations of the strength of Western nations. The establishment of such an assembly would allow the nation to foster and mobilize the strength of all of its citizens. This correlation between mass participation in government, the formation of a national assembly, and the re-invigoration of the Japanese nation was perceived as central to the revision of the "unequal treaties" Japan was forced to sign with the Western nations in the years following Perry's arrival (1853). Thus, the relationship between "the people" and the government, and the former's role in strengthening the latter, was central to popular rights discourse. However, within this broad discourse there was a high degree of variation. The specific relationship between these components and the ways in which they promoted stronger government was open to debate and could be infused with different sets of cultural values.

The Fukuoka movement was not one of the more theoretically rigorous local incarnations of the Popular Rights Movement, and published works by Fukuoka activists failed to match the national prominence of those published by the metropolitan political associations or Kōchi activists. Nevertheless, Fukuoka activists were responsible for two prominent works of popular rights theory: Fukumoto Nichinan's *Futsū minken-ron* (1879) and Murai Ichiei's *Tsūzoku aikoku minken-ron* (1880).[28] Murai, listed as a member of the Gen'yosha in one of their registers[29] and as a local representative in the Chikuzen Kyōaikai,[30] seems to have been a prominent theoretician during the early years of the Popular Rights Movement. In addition to penning *Tsūzoku aikoku minken-ron*, he is listed as a speaker during at least one Gen'yosha speech rally.[31]

---

28 Murai Ichiei, *Tsūzoku aikoku minken-ron* (Tokyo: Koreisha, 1880), Fukumoto Nichinan's *Futsū minken-ron* is included in *Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 2: jiyū minken-hen*, 199-212.
29 Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 363, 401.
30 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-ni kikai ketsugiroku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 41.
31 "Gen'yōsha enzetsukai," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun,* 12/10/1880, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 428.

His status as a member of both groups – the primarily *shizoku*-based Gen'yosha and the more socially expansive Chikuzen Kyōaikai – may have contributed to his work's ability to provide a vision of popular rights thought that was open to the appropriation of its language by a variety of constituencies.

Murai's text is an ideal site for the discussion of the Popular Rights Movement's educational dimension because it has a unique structure for a popular rights treatise – one which emphasizes the educational underpinnings of the movement. Unlike Fukumoto's *Futsu minken-ron,* in which the ideal form of Japanese government (in this case, constitutional monarchy) was systematically presented through a detailed, comparative discussion of all forms of government, Murai's text was not a treatise on institutional politics, per se, nor did he attempt to contribute to the nation-wide debate on the nature of parliamentarianism. Instead, Murai took as his target audience the as-of-yet uninitiated general populace. In doing so, Murai's text transitioned from a general discussion of ideal institutional forms to a far more detailed analysis of the role of the individual in the effective proliferation of *minken* thought. In short, he identified as the primary concern of the Popular Rights Movement *not* the establishment of a specific form of government, but the *cultivation* of a new, active form of political subjectivity at all levels of society. Insofar as Murai equated the mission of "popular rights" with the fostering of a new set of political ideas, values and dispositions (his idealized *minkenka*, or popular rights activist) his notion of popular rights can, at its core, be understood as an educational or *educative* process.

The first two chapters of Murai's work consist of a general discussion of the people's natural rights (*tenpu no kenri*) and the role of government in protecting them. These rights – the equality of all as human beings, the right to liberty (*jiyū jizai*) as freedom from the interference of others, the protection of one's property and possessions, and the right to live in peace and

49

security – are prone to lead people along the path of selfish behavior, resulting in a 'beastial society' (*kinjū shakai*) lest they are regulated and protected by the state. Thus, Murai promoted a constitutional monarchy, with the emperor as head of state, and the creation of a constitution (*kenpō*) as a promise (*yakusoku*) between the people and the government to decide laws through mutual dialogue. This dialogue would take place in a national assembly, a meeting place for the government and the representatives of the people. Since the government functions in the service of the people, they have a responsibility to follow its laws and respect their rulers; however, if the government fails in its responsibilities or exhibits oppressive tendencies, it is left to the people to correct the actions of the state, or – should the state resort to violent coercion – overthrow their rulers.[32] This argument reflected the Chikuzen Kyōaikai's "Petition for the Establishment of a National Assembly" (*kokkai kaisetsu ni tsuki kengen*) when it asserted that "the people are the foundation (*daihon*) of the nation," and that the government is intended to "protect the rights (*kenri*) of its citizens (*jinmin*)," not vice versa.[33]

However, Murai's text took the establishment of a national assembly as an inevitability, based on a number of historical preconditions, detailed in his third chapter. The first, the Charter Oath of the Emperor upon the establishment of the Meiji state, announced the necessity for the state to rule in dialogue with the people, which Murai interpreted as constituting the establishment of a national assembly. In the years that followed, a series of events affirmed the Emperor's words: the imperial decree on constitutional government (*rikken seitai no shōsho*) in 1875, which guaranteed the opening of an assembly in gradual stages; the Aikokusha movement that same year, which symbolized the people's awakening to popular rights; and the legal establishment of popularly elected assemblies (*kōsen giin*) at the prefectural and local levels

---

32 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 7-12
33 "Kokkai kaisetsu ni tsuki kengen," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 34.

starting in 1879, which functioned as training sites for a later, national, assembly. Thus, Murai

concluded, the establishment of an assembly was nearing (*kokkai mo mata chikaku naru nari*).[34]

For Murai, the primary concern for the extension of popular rights was not the creation of

a national assembly, but the liberation of the Japanese people from the "illusion of feudalism," a

complacent mentality in which the people expect no active role in their own governance and are

content to simply complain about the poor conduct of government officials. "Even if the

government wanted to impart rights (*kenri*) upon the people," Murai argued, "they are in no

condition to accept them." Thus, the crisis that *minken* discourse seeks to overcome, in this

context, is not an institutional crisis but a spiritual crisis, the battleground of which is not the

form of government but the nature of the populace. In many ways, Murai's work reflected the

gradualist position towards popular representation embraced by a more conservative element in

Japanese society. The majority of government leaders and influential intellectuals accepted the

inevitability of a national assembly; it was, rather, the imminence of its creation and the degree

to which the people of the country were prepared for participation that was subject to debate.[35]

While Murai's position shared the gradualist suspicion of the people's capacity for self-

government, the idealized individual at the center of his thesis most likely diverged significantly

from that of the state.

Murai's idealized political subject – what he called the *real* popular rights activist (*shin no*

minkenka) – displayed an "enterprising disposition," embodied by one who will "take it upon

himself to study, to cultivate the ability (*jitsuryoku wo yashinau*) to become a representative

(*giin*) who can, in place of the people, ascend to the place of assembly and tirelessly debate

---

34 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 21-32.
35 Douglas Howland, *Translating the West,* 131. See also, Kyu Hyun Kim, *The Age of Visions and Arguments: Parliamentarianism and the National Public Sphere in Early Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 2007), 116-119; and Matsuoka Kiichi, "Dai-ni-ji minsen giin ronsō," 40, 45-57.

national interests and the people's benefit (*kokueki minri*)."[36] This concept of political agency

was, in another context, called *jiaishin* (literally, "self-love") by Nagae Jun'ichi. Nagae's *jiai* was

not the selfish concern with one's own property, possessions, wealth or desires, but the trait of

"tak[ing] the work of serving the nation (*kokka*) upon oneself (*mizukara futan shite*), without

delegating to others."[37] The question, for Murai, was not whether a national assembly will be

formed, but whether *minken* ideas will permeate its discussions, allowing it to truly represent the

interests of the people. Only "enterprising" individuals would be able to ensure the establishment

of a national assembly, not as a gift from the state but "by taking it willingly (*susunde toru beki*

mono nari)."[38]

It is within the context of fostering *minkenka* that Murai appropriated the discourse of

"cultivating ability." According to Murai, "If one wishes to take our unique theory (*tokuron*)

[referring to *minken* theory] and put it into practice, one must fully cultivate the ability to carry it

out."[39] He located "ability" in what he calls the "foundation of independence" (*dokuritu no kiso*)

and breaks it down into four primary elements: "conduct," to "inspire the trust (*shin'i*) of the

people"; "learning" (*gakumon*), specifically knowledge of popular rights and world affairs;

property (*kasan*), which provides the economic basis to participate in government; and "health"

(*yōjō*), or physical strength.[40] He thus identified the "cultivation" of his idealized *minkenka* at the

intersection of intellectual (conduct and learning) and material (industry and health) concerns, all

of which must be fostered for the "extension of popular rights" (*minken no kōchō*) to succeed.

Or, put in broader terms, this "cultivation" includes an educational (narrowly defined as study or

learning), a political, and an economic dimension.

---

36 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 44-45.
37 Nagae Jun'ichi, "Jiaisetsu," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 159.
38 "Kokkai kaisetsu ni tsuki kengen," 37.
39 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 45-46.
40 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 47-60.

Murai's choice of terms was also interesting, and reflected his underlying political ideals. What he called *gakumon*, or "learning" coincided most closely with what we call "education," or, in his words, to "expand one's knowledge and experience (*gakushiki-kenbun*)."[41] However, following Kōchi Prefecture's Kitagawa Sadahiko, it is important to differentiate between "learning" (*gakumon*) and "education" (*kyōiku*) in the modern setting. "Education," Kitagawa argued, comes from without, it is ideas or knowledge acquired through the aid and leadership of another person, usually one who educates professionally. "Learning," on the other hand, "emanates from our endowed nature (*hinsei*), and thus possesses an undeniable autonomy." It consists of "utilizing our senses (*waga-kannen*) to advance ourselves and to progress ourselves."[42] In other words, the choice of "learning" instead of "education" was intended to identify the acquisition of knowledge and skills as a product of individual endeavor and motivation. Just as one's "natural rights" were conceived as a universalized basis for autonomy and independence, the term *gakumon* reflected a universalized notion of knowledge as embedded within the senses. Consequently, Murai's utilization of *gakumon* should be taken as an accentuation of the *minkenka*'s volitional pursuit of knowledge, in opposition to the passive receptiveness of the people under feudalism.

This exclusive use of *gakumon* also differentiates Murai's notion of knowledge acquisition from that promoted within the formal education system. The Ministry of Education's Fundamental Code (1872) similarly acknowledged that it was only through "learning," or "by building up his character, developing his mind, and cultivating his talents that man may make his way in the world, employ his wealth wisely, make his business prosper, and thus attain the goal of life." However, it went on to say that "man cannot build up his character, develop his mind, or

---

41 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 47.
42 Tōjō Saisuke (Kitagawa Sadahiko), "Kyōiku shinron," *Kōchi shinbun*, 3/26/1881 and 4/7/1881, in *Tosa jiyū minken shiryōshu*, ed. Sotozaki Mitsuhiro (Kōchi-shi: Kōchi-shi Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan, 1987), 200-201.

cultivate his talents without education – that is the reason for the establishment of schools."[43]

Schooling was here assumed as a necessity for successful learning, and the term "education" (*kyōiku*) was primarily used to refer to the educational task of schools.[44] According to Murai, it was up to all people, whether commoner or ex-samurai, to "partake in learning, to refine their ability and intelligence (*saichi*), to acquaint themselves with the state of the world, [and] to become [men] of talent (*jinsai*)." This included literacy, the reading of books and newspapers (to stay informed), and a clear understanding of the meaning of *jiyū minken*. Only then could they become "good and independent citizens" (*dokuritsu no ryōmin*). Throughout this discussion, Murai made no mention of schooling or any other institutional context for this "learning," nor did he accept the government's vision of compulsory education; rather, he argued that if such study does "not emanate from the peasants and tradesman (*hyakushō-chōnin*) that are the basis for the establishment of the nation (*rikkoku no motozuki*), the true extension of popular rights will not be possible."[45] For Murai, the promotion of volitional study was inseparable from the reformation of the people and political change.

Murai's choice of terms for "industry," *kagyō,* was also noteworthy. To Murai, money represented the "means for independence" (*dokuritsu no chikara*), if for no other reason than to meet the property requirements for voting or nomination rights in the prefectural assemblies:

> In short, if one does not make his family business (*kagyō*) prosper and accumulate wealth, to earn his own way and be autonomous (*jichi jikatsu*), to become a free and independent (*fuki dokuritsu*) citizen, then the theory of popular rights (*minken-ron*) we rattle off today will be nothing but idle talk (*kūdan*). We will not be fit to carry it out in practice.[46]

---

43 "Preamble to the Fundamental Code on Education," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume 2: 1600 to 2000*, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur Tiedemann eds. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000), 765-766.

44 It is important to point out that Kitagawa was similarly concerned with the necessity of "education" - including schooling – as were many other prominent popular rights thinkers. The difference between *gakumon* and *kyōiku* remains an invaluable lens through which to read Murai's text. Furthermore, as we will see, schooling was for most *minkenka*, merely one of many potential educative sites.

45 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 48-50.

46 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 52-53.

Thus, money and industry was presented as a practical necessity for political participation. However, in choosing the word "family business" (*kagyō*) as opposed to the more general phrase for "industry," *sangyō*, Murai shifted the discussion of economy from the national scale – which was usually discussed in conjunction with calls for the revision of the unequal treaties – to an individual locus. Furthermore, by directly associating economic "autonomy" and self-sufficiency with broader *minken* ideal of "freedom and independence," Murai blurred the line between the economic realm and the political realm, gradually slipping from economic autonomy to political autonomy and self-governance.[47]

Other *minkenka* writings of the period were even more direct in asserting self-sufficiency and economic autonomy as a prerequisite for political participation. A contributor to the *Chikushi shinpō* in 1879 promoted "simple customs and good conduct" (*fūzoku-junboku hinkō-zenryō*) as the primary concern of the people. For this writer, only a "spirit of perseverance" (*nintai no kiryoku*), fostered through a combination of frugality and industriousness, would provide the people with the disposition necessary to promote popular rights:

> People! People! Break through the fog! Endeavor in industry and increase production! Improve your conduct (*hinkō*) and make your customs simple (*junboku*)! Turn our empire (*waga teikoku*) into a truly civilized country. The extension of popular rights and the demonstration of national sovereignty come after the refinement of ourselves (*waga-mi wo osamari*).[48]

For this contributor, industry and economic responsibility were not only practical requirements for political participation, they were firmly connected to the reformation and re-education of the

---

47 The Chikuzen Shimeikai depicted a similar concept of "industry" in their sumptuary regulations, published in 5/1881: "establish a foundation for wealth in a single household (*ikke fuyu no kiso*)... increasingly, through great effort and encouragement (*funrei shinki*), support the wealth and strength of the country and fulfill a bit of your duty as citizens (*kokumin-taru no gimu wo tsukusu*)." "Shimeikai Ito-gun kaiin shukai sekkenhō gian," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 88.

48 "Fuzoku taihai no nageki," *Fukuryo shinpō*, 9/29/1879.

Japanese people. Industriousness was an important means of liberation from the spell of feudalism as well as paving the way for the assertion of popular rights.

Learning and industry were thus not merely material pursuits, but spiritual-intellectual pursuits. They provided the material underpinnings of political practice, but were framed in such a way that emphasized their volitional dimensions and role in self-cultivation. The acquisition of capital or the passive reception of knowledge would not be "effective" (*kōnō wo nasazaru*) on their own, they were to be realized through appropriate "conduct" (*hinkō*) or "behavior" (*gyōjō*). Regarding "conduct," Murai stated:

> Even if one has learning and wealth (*gakumon zaisan*), if he is only lacking 'conduct' he will not inspire trust/confidence (*shin'i wo kitasazu*). And, because his words will also not be believed, if one wishes to take initiative, to persist in the promotion of *minken* and to move the hearts of the people (*jinshin wo shite, kanpatsu-seshime*), then naturally he must refine his conduct.[49]

Conduct was deemed necessary to inspire the faith of the people and establish one's effectiveness in politics, especially in a constitutional system of government where trust corresponds to votes. Therefore, conduct became the prerequisite that activated both "learning" (*gakumon*) and "wealth" (*zaisan*). The latter was not simply subordinated to the former. Learning and industry were themselves means for the cultivation of an "enterprising disposition" and the refinement of conduct. Thus, at the core of his thesis, Murai posited an indivisible relationship between learning, industry and conduct, all of which were encapsulated in the concept of *jitsuryoku no yōsei*, the "cultivation of ability".

The concept of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* is crucial for understanding the substantive core of the Fukuoka Popular Rights Movement's educational theory. The resulting discourse of "cultivation" had two primary distinguishing features. First, as a "horticultural" educational metaphor – which

---

49 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 56/

analogizes the individual to a "field that has been lying fallow"[50] – *yōsei* ("cultivation") constituted a holistic educational programme that transcended the mere transmission of a specific body of knowledge. It targeted the individual as a whole and, like other educational discourses that utilize the language of "cultivation," presented this programme as a nurturing of some innate human characteristic – in this case, one's "natural rights" (*tenpu no kenri*). Therefore, Murai placed particular emphasis on the importance of volition in the cultivation of these traits. Second, as a result of this holism, this discourse transcended any clear demarcation between "education" and other forms of human activity, such as industry, politics, and ethics. Not only is each type of activity deemed necessary to "cultivate ability" in the narrow sense – allowing for political participation – but each could contribute to the refinement of one's conduct, and thus "disposition" itself. The result is an educational theory that transcends the narrow confines of purely educational institutions and allows us to view the self-consciously educative effects of different types of *minken* activities.

As we will see in the following chapter, a number of institutions – schools and otherwise – utilized this rhetoric of "cultivation" and thus can be analyzed educationally. However, first we must discuss an as-of-yet unmentioned aspect of this educational theory: transmission. If we are to take Kitagawa and Murai's differentiation between "learning" and "education" seriously, the latter requires outside influence and is therefore transmissive. So, if the concept of "cultivation" placed primary emphasis on individual volition and the nurturing of innate capacities, where can we find the "educational" project of the Popular Rights Movement, that which attempted to promote this cultivation and to influence the populace? In other words, how could the leaders of the movement promote the "extension of popular rights" and stimulate the desire to "refine

---

50   Tasos Kazepides, "'Assembling Reminders for a Particular Purpose': The Nature and Dimensions of Educational Theory," *Canadian Journal of Education* 19:4 (Autumn 1994), 459.

oneself"? Furthermore, how can we identify an institution as having an educative function? To answer these questions, we must discern the second component of the Popular Rights Movement's educational theory: its mode of transmission, here conceptualized as "affectivity".

Arousing Independence: Affectivity and the Creation of a New Political Identity

In order to discern what I have labelled an affective mode of educational transmission, we must first expand our discussion of the intimate relationship between politics and education within the Popular Rights Movement. We've established that Fukuoka writers argued that the most urgent matter for the movement was the reformation of the character of the Japanese people and the promotion of a new, active political subjectivity. They called this an "enterprising disposition," the embodiment of a "free and independent spirit" and the primary characteristic of the idealized *minkenka,* or popular rights activist. To actualize this new political subjectivity one must foster an intellectual, economic and ethical basis for effective political activity, called "the cultivation of ability". This intellectual, economic and moral foundation not only provided the material and practical means for obtaining political influence in a parliamentary system, but also a means for moral refinement and the realization of an enterprising disposition.

At the same time, the substantive matter of cultivating ability is missing a key component: the movement itself. Enterprising dispositions and the ability to participate in a parliamentary system were, as Murai stressed, only valuable if they came to embody, represent and extend the rights of people. While he stressed the importance of *minken* theory in his discussion of "learning," the cultivation of ability as the result of individual volition provides little unity in terms of political and social identification. In other words, the prosperity of the movement and the promotion of its political agenda required the cultivation of not only a new

political subjectivity within individuals – a subjectivity that, theoretically, could be effectively applied in the service of a variety of political agendas – but of a broader political unity between them. Therefore, included in the movement's educational programme was the creation of a new, populist form of political identification, embodied in the common phrase, "the people" (*jinmin*). Utilizing Murai's text, amongst others, we can identify the rhetorical construction of this new political identity. Doing so will elucidate a key substantive component to popular rights education, and will allow us to discern the *affective* mode of transmission that not only characterized the promotion of this popular identify, but was applied to a wide variety of social settings and activities, including those associated with the "cultivation of ability".

　　While Murai's discussion of popular rights emphasized the cultivation of the individual and the promotion of a new form of subjectivity, his theory embraced an important rhetorical dimension represented by the term *minken* itself. Murai's desire, in short,

> is that the theory of popular rights will, in the end, become this society's way of talking (*kono shakai no kuchiburi*), that the people of this society will take it upon themselves to be advocates of popular rights (*minkenron-sha*)... that in newspapers and public speeches, in debates and discussions, when one opens his mouth, the topic will always be that of popular rights (*minken no dan ni arazaru wa nashi*).[51]

Here, the term *minken* becomes an end in of itself, an idealized common sense of an imagined "people". It is not merely the recognition of rights that Murai desired, but the inscription of a new vocabulary upon Japan's social and political reality. The internalization of this new vocabulary was, in everyday life or in the confines of the national assembly, the most crucial element of Murai's theory.

　　This rhetorical dimension should not surprise us. As both Pierre Bourdieu and Ernesto

---

51　Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 40.

Laclau have argued, social classes and collective identities are "made";[52] they are "discursive constructions" resulting from a process of "inscription," as opposed to being the result of a natural convergence of interests.[53] Both Bourdieu and Laclau have emphasized the importance of articulation, what Bourdieu called the "labour of enunciation," in the formation of these identities. "Enunciation," in this context, does not only articulate and label a given group, but also attempts to make people "discover within themselves common properties that lie beyond the diversity of particular situations."[54] According to Laclau,

> the popular symbol or identity, being a surface of inscription, does not *passively express* what is inscribed in it, but actually *constitutes* what it expresses through the very process of its expression... the popular subject does not simply *express* a unity of demands constituted outside and before itself, but is the decisive moment in establishing that unity.[55]

In this case, the concept of *minken,* and the idealized *minkenka*, became "empty signifiers," a focal point utilized to appropriate and unify a disparate set of demands and concerns and to situate them within a simplified political identification. With *minken* positioned as its ideal, Murai's text did not simply attempt to mobilize "the people," it, together with similar texts, actively attempted to constitute "the people" as a political and social reality.

Consequently, Murai's text was structured around a binary opposition between "liberal society" (*jiyū no sekai*) and "feudal society" (*hōken-shakai*). It drew a clear dividing line between the "oppressive" state, whose attitudes represented a remnant of feudal society, and the "people," the true foundation of sovereignty and national strength.[56] While the complacent

---

52 Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990), 129.
53 Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London: Verso, 2005), 98.
54 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 130.
55 Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 99.
56 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 1-3, 15-19. Laclau discusses the importance of what he calls the "antagonistic frontier" to the formation of popular identities. According to Laclau, most populist discourses are characterized by the construction of a binary opposition between 'us' and 'them,' resulting in the shared identity being defined

60

personality promoted by feudalism permeated the people, making them into nothing more than "caged birds," *minkenka* were to act as protagonists in the arousal of the populace to their natural sovereignty, with "popular rights" as its unifying concept. Murai's text thus functioned as an enunciation itself by using an elocutionary style intended to inscribe a new form of political identification, and to draw the reader into this imagined identity through a frequent use of evocative phrases, such as "we the people" (*ware ware jinmin* or *waga-hai jinmin*) or "my compatriot brothers!" (*waga dōhō no kyōdai yo*). Furthermore, popular rights theorists constructed what Laclau calls an "equivalential chain" of demands. The call for "popular rights" came to encompass a diverse set of social demands and grievances – the desire for parliamentary representation and a constitution, the disenfranchisement of the ex-samurai class, rural demand for the retraction of "enlightenment" measures such as mass schooling or conscription, etc. – that most likely would have targeted diverse segments of Japanese society, from government officials or regional administrators, to local merchants. Within this discourse, a multitude of concerns were unified as the plight of the "people," constructed as part of the call for "popular rights," and placed within a simplified dichotomy that made the "oppressive government" the sole source of social ills. Consequently, the common phrase *minken no kōchō*, typically translated as the "extension of popular rights" as a reference to the acquisition of formal (legal) rights and representation, could also be rendered "the extension of '*minken,*'" or the promotion and inculcation of a new political vocabulary and identification. The extension of this *minken* discourse was one of the primary educational tasks of the popular rights activist.

It is, therefore, no surprise that "conduct" was given primacy within the "cultivation of ability". Conduct provided an important foundation for the acquisition of political influence: it

---

more by exclusion or difference from the enemy than by any positive content. See Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 83-93.

would allow one to utilize their mental and material resources by establishing a relationship of

"trust" (*shin'yō*) with the people, and assist in the "promotion of *minken*".[57] Regarding conduct,

which he formalized as the correspondence of one's "words and action" (*genkō*), Murai stated,

> if one's actions do not correspond to his words, he will not only fail to move the hearts of
> the people (*jinshin wo kanpatsu-seshimuru atawazaru*), but, in the end, he will not be
> able to avoid a reputation of [promoting] 'false' *minken* (*nise-minken*), 'grumbling' *minken*
> (*fuhei minken*), or 'pseudo-' *minken* (*kasei minken*), etc.[58]

Once again, the responsibility of the *minkenka* was not placed within terms of any explicit body

of knowledge or political agenda. The validity of his claims to represent "popular rights" and

thus his ability to "move the hearts of the people" and make them internalize this discourse was

dependant as much on the quality of his actions and behavior as the content of his words. In

doing so, Murai contrasted his ideal *minkenka* to the lazy drunkards, gamblers, and playboys

who sully the movement by appropriating its discourse.[59]

Equally important is the prominent role Murai attributed to the emotional nature of

political suasion.[60] Political and social movement theorists have, in recent years, frequently

identified the centrality of emotion or affectivity in the formation of collective identities.[61] For

Laclau, affect – or investment – is the most important element in the inscription of popular

identifications, for such formulations cannot be derived from rational, substantive claims.[62] For

Bourdieu, this resonance is structural, with any popular identification or association being most

likely to draw people in the "same sector of [social, economic, or political] space," or those that

---

57 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 56.
58 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 41.
59 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 43.
60 See also the quote above from Murai, 56 (note 53).
61 Examples include Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001) and Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996).
62 Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 110-117.

share similar underlying dispositions – implying that this resonance is instinctual, not rational.[63]

Thus, it is no surprise that the spread of popular rights was not, for Murai, the result of convincing argumentation or of political manoeuvring, but of inspiration - "mov[ing] the hearts of the people". In order to unify their audience as a "people" and to invoke the latter's investment in the shared ideal of "popular rights" their words had to inspire emotional investment and "confidence" (*shin'yō*). *Minken* literature, therefore, embraced a vast repertoire of terminology intended to reflect this emphasis on affectivity. One finds numerous references to "arousal" in popular rights treatises – "to arouse a spirit of independence" (*dokuritsu no seishin wo funpatsu-seshimuru*), "to inspire to the hearts of the people" (*jinshin wo kobu-suru*), "to arouse the spirit" (*seishin wo bokkō-seshime*) – always used in the causative form to emphasize external stimulation, and implying educational significance. These phrases were not only used to refer to the extension of the popular rights discourse, but to the cultivation of "free and autonomous" or "enterprising" dispositions, and thus the cultivation of ability itself. The ideal of affective transmission thus imbued all of the Popular Rights Movement's activities.

Emotionally connecting with people and promoting popular rights was a prominent theme in *minken* texts across institutional contexts. During a regular meeting of the Shisuikai (a small political association in Chikuzen) in 12/1881, for example, it was argued that the association wasn't prospering because "it [wasn't] moving the hearts of the people" (*jinshin no kandō-sezaru ni yoru*). To remedy this problem, Shisuikai leadership recommended the establishment of small committees (*sho-shūkai*) "to lead the people, [and] to encourage rousing ideas (*shinki no iso wo kodō-shi*)."[64] Similarly, Kōchi's Baba Tatsui placed *kandō*, meaning "persuasion" or "moving the heart," at the center of his *Yūbenhō* (Method of Oratory). Baba attested to the historical role of

---

63 Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 129.
64 "Dai-jūichi-ki Shisuikai gijiroku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 103.

orators who had "with eloquence (*ichijō no yūben motte*) aroused (*funki-seshime*) many patriots."[65] For Baba, the purpose of oratory was "none other than to move (*kandō-saseru*) other people" by appealing to their intellect (*chiryoku*) and their emotion (*kanjō*), which he saw as intertwined (*micchaku*).[66] To this end, he discussed the organization, words, gestures and rhetorical devices that one could use to inspire those emotions.

Affectivity was not limited to modes of direct persuasion, but was embedded in practices themselves, especially those that allowed people to directly experience self-governance and political discussion. Specifically, a number of *minkenka* asserted the implicit pedagogical function of local and regional assemblies – both public and private – using the language of affectivity. "If we want to rouse a spirit of patriotism (*aikoku no kokoro*) [amongst the people]," began Ueno Raihachi of Kurume, "we must let those people participate in government."[67] The Chikuzen Kyōaikai, in their "Petition for the Establishment of a National Assembly," utilized the same reasoning. If one wants to learn how to swim, they argued, he must simply jump in the water and try. Since the people had already begun participating in prefectural assemblies (*fukenkai*), they continued, "the hearts of our people (*waga-minshin*) have already developed (*kaihatsu*) rapidly."[68] It is no surprise, then, that Murai described the prefectural assemblies as being sites of "mutual study" (*o-tagai no benkyō*)[69] in preparation for the inevitable national assembly. Freedom was not merely to be granted, it was to be actualized through positive engagement with politics.

---

65 Baba Tatsui, *Yūbenhō* (Tokyo, Chōya Shinbunsha, 1885), ii. For a general discussion of Baba Tatsui, with a
     particular emphasis on his introduction of Western political and social theories to Japan, see Eugene Soviak,
     "The Case of Baba Tatsui: Western Enlightenment, Social Change, and the Early Meiji Intellectual,"
     Monumenta Nipponica 18:1 (1963): 191-235. For Baba's contributions to oratory and public speaking in Japan,
     see pp. 198-202.
66 Tatsui, *Yūbenhō*, 67.
67 "Omeisha setsuritsu no shishu," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 143.
68 "Kokkai kaisetsu ni tsuki kengen," 35-36.
69 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 31.

Similar reasoning can account for the popularity of the concept of *shinboku,* "friendship," and the proliferation of "friendship societies" (*shinboku-kai*) through the mid-1880s. On the one hand, the private nature of *shinboku-kai* placed them outside the purview of the 1880 Assembly Ordinance and thus provided a useful means of organizing political associations or politically-motivated gatherings without incurring state intervention. On the other hand, these *shinboku-kai* and other political associations proclaimed to "establish co-operation and friendship (*kyōdō-shinboku*), and to arouse (*hakki*) a spirit of autonomy in each."[70] Nagae Jun'ichi, in a speech to a friendship society in 1882, argued that a proper *shinboku-kai* was not concerned with drinking, music and friendly conversation, but with the discussion of difficult and important issues. "Thus," he concluded, "[when] you have come together and co-operated, have aroused [in yourselves] a spirit that considers the nation your own, have ensured [your] freedom and rights (*jiyū kenri*), for the first time you can be said to be free and independent people (*fuki dokuritsu no hito*)."[71] When like-minded people come together to debate and discuss as friends, it facilitates a spiritual "arousal" and the actualization of freedom and autonomy.

In all of these cases, emotional resonance, or affectivity, acted as a conceptual bridge between activities intended to promote the extension of popular rights and their desired outcome; it functioned as the "black box" through which an awakened, autonomous populace would be born. This affective mode of transmission stood in opposition to the educational theories concurrently circulating amongst teachers in the central education system. Within the emerging field of developmental education, teachers became increasingly concerned with establishing a "science of education" with a "common emphasis on sensory experience as the fundamental

---

70 "Kyōdō Kiseikai kisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 107.
71 "Enzetsukai sōkō," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 161.

source of knowledge."[72] Embracing the field of "faculty psychology," educators increasingly thought of education in terms of the child's natural mental development, and attempted to create methods and curricula intended to foster children "systematically and symmetrically".[73] The field of developmental education, Mark Lincicome argues, was closely tied to the classroom setting and to the rapid professionalization of the teaching profession in the 1870s and 1880s.[74]

The case of developmental education effectively accentuates the particularities of the popular rights discourse as an educational discourse. In contrast to the narrow, professionalized conception of pedagogy increasingly embraced by teachers in the 1880s, popular rights discourse had no clear institutional bounds nor cadre of legitimate transmitters. Furthermore, while teachers embraced a highly articulated and rational theory of educational transmission, the affective mode of transmission discussed in *minken* texts remained ambiguous. Thus, as we will see in detail in the following chapter, while the lexicon of affectivity does not constitute a formalized educational theory, it provides us with a means to identify the sites, institutions and individuals that claimed pedagogical significance. This could include explicitly educational sites (schools, speeches, texts like Murai's) through which the *minkenka* or association directly attempted to influence individuals and cultivate dispositions, or implicitly educational sites, where the associations provided opportunities for self-cultivation and political awakening indirectly – such as industrial enterprises or private deliberative assemblies. In both cases, any discussion of Popular Rights "education" that limits itself to schools or academies obscures not only the underlying concept of education embraced by *minkenka*, which varied considerably from that of the central education system, but the dynamic institutional configurations burdened

---

72 Mark Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 49.
73 Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform*, 73.
74 Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform*, 69.

with the expansion of the movement.

To summarize, I have stressed two fundamental, yet flexible elements that made up the concept of education – the formation of a "free and independent" populace – within the Popular Rights Movement. I have attempted to discuss each of these elements as being intricately connected to the political goals undertaken by popular rights activists: the establishment of parliamentary government and the transformation of the Japanese masses into a unified "people". First, I analyzed the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei*, the "cultivation of ability". This discourse emphasized learning, industry, and conduct as the foundations needed for participation in a parliamentary system, and asserted the "cultivation" of these foundations as the basis of the "enterprising disposition" required by all *minkenka*. Second, I argued that underlying this discourse of cultivation was the implicit assumption of an "affective" mode of transmission. Affectivity complemented "cultivation" in two ways. It provided the means to foster a shared identity amongst "the people" through the unified discourse of "popular rights," and it provided the means to transform the accumulation of knowledge and wealth into educative processes. Such actions were determined to arouse a "spirit of independence," and thus were educational in of themselves. In the following section, I will explore the various meanings, values, and activities that could be associated with this malleable discourse and some of the tensions that resulted from its conceptual flexibility.

Conflict and Cohesion in Popular Rights Discourse

If the educational discourse of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka has come across as generalized and pragmatic in its formulation, it should not come as a surprise. Generality and pragmatism are necessary if one is to unify various demands, interests, and values into a "stable

system of signification" capable of fostering a collective identity.[75] Furthermore, collective identities and their signifiers are inherently "negative," lacking any clear conceptual unity or definition[76] – "the people" or *minken* become increasingly void of specific content and instead function merely to unify disparate demands. In fact, the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* seems to have appealed to the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei members because of that very ambiguity. A number of members seemed aware of the potentially divisive effect of adopting a clear and fixed ideological position through the creation of a political party."[77]

Consequently, *minken* educational discourse was burdened with internal and external tensions relevant to our discussion. A wide variety of, often contradictory, values could be ascribed relevance through the appropriation of the above terminology, resulting in tensions over the specific traits to be allocated to "free and independent" dispositions.[78] Furthermore, the extension of *minken* and the formation of "the people" were, themselves, highly contested processes, with the potential sites of their actualization, as well as the prioritization of those sites, provoking implicit and explicit disagreement amongst the movement's leaders. Finally, the discourse itself, its flexibility in particular, was challenged externally by proponents of a more explicit ideological stance. Schisms over content could (and did) easily develop into schisms within the movement, especially in the mid-to-late 1880s. This section explores these tensions and the diversity of meanings identified within "popular rights" while placing them in the context of prominent *minken* debates during the early 1880s.

While *jitsuryoku no yōsei* maintained a privileged position within national popular rights

---

75 Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 74.
76 Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 96.
77 "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 179-180.
78 cf. Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 108-109, 118. Laclau also argues that "empty signifiers," those concepts used to unify a diverse set of demands, can be infused with a variety of meanings or values, which come to identify themselves increasingly with the overarching signifier.

discourse following the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei, the phrase seems to have an enjoyed an early and extensive popularity amongst Fukuoka *minkenka*, even preceding the conference. When the Chikuzen Kyōaikai drafted its three foundational principles (*kaiken*) on 12/10/1879, nearly a full year before the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei's second gathering, the third principle promised to "take it upon oneself, with reflection, to *cultivate the ability (jitsuryoku wo yashinau beshi)* that is the basis of the nation."[79] Similarly, the Kurume Chitosekai's second principle, established on 8/30/1880, was to "*cultivate the ability (jitsuryoku wo yōsei-shi)* that is the basis of the nation, and to extend national sovereignty (*kokken wo kōchō su-beshi*)."[80] Even after the Kisei Dōmei conference, when the discourse achieved its most prominent place in the movement, the only associations to use this terminology when reporting their activities to the Alliance's central offices were from Fukuoka."[81] Together with Murai's text, which was published in 3/1880, we can discern the prominence of this discourse in Fukuoka from a relatively early date.

Murai's interpretation of the concept – both in its individual emphasis and its fusion of political, economic, and intellectual elements – however, was in no way indicative of its use by others. The term could be used to refer to "ability" at various levels of society, and could also be used in a more circumscribed conceptual sense. Kōri Toshi, in his initial circular calling for the establishment of what would become the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, described "public will" (*teiron*) as consisting of the "real power" (*jitsuryoku*) of a state's independence (*ikkoku seifu dokuritsu*).[82] Later, in a presidential address to the Kyōaikai, he described "education" (*kyōiku*) and the "encouragement of industry" (*shokusan*) as providing the "ability" (*jitsuryoku*) to "master

---

79 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-ichi kikai ketsugiroku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 23.
80 "Chitosekai kaiken kari-kisoku oyobi giji kisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 117.
81 "'Omeisha kenpō sōan' no kakutei oyobi 'Kokkai Kisei Dōmei Honbuhō' no shōkai," *Shichō* 110/111 (1972), 51-53.
82 "Chikuzen-no-Kuni dōhō shokun ni utsusu geki," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 19.

oneself" and to achieve the movement's goal of a national assembly and treaty revision.[83] Thus,

he effectively connected Murai's individualized *jitsuryoku* to a national conception of "ability".

Alternatively, the Chikugo-no-Kuni Shinboku-kai (Chikugo Friendship Society) asserted that by

providing a means of regional unity, it would nurture mutual moral rectification, the exchange of

knowledge, and cooperation in industry in order to "cultivate the ability of the region" (*chihō no*

jitsuryoku wo yashinai),[84] emphasizing a regional concept of "ability". These texts, rather than

challenging Murai's use, extended the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* and made it into a

conceptual bridge between the individual, regional and national loci emphasized by the Popular

Rights Movement, merging these three sites into one shared concept of "cultivation". In doing

so, they risked subordinating the individual notion of "cultivation" to one which emphasized

state power, thus shifting the focus of the discourse.

We can perhaps see the consequences of that slippage in later accounts that seemingly

privileged the economic dimension of the discourse or restricted its use to the "cultivation" of

economic power. In a speech at the opening ceremony of the Gen'yosha's *Fukuryō shinpō*

newspaper (8/7/1887), for example, editor-in-chief Kawamura Jun emphasized the paper's

rejection of any formal ideology (*shugi*) and promoted *jitsuryoku yōsei* as one of Japan's most

pressing concerns. Kawamura asserted that *Jitsuryoku yōsei*, here equated with "making trade

and industry (*shōbai-kōgyō*) prosper, to develop the source of wealth (*fugen*), [and] to obtain

overlooked profits (*iri*)," was the key to achieving equality with the West.[85] Although he

maintained that the "bravery" (*yūki*) and "vitality" (*genki*) of the people was crucial to this

process, and though it retained the concern with national prosperity, Kawamura's statement

functioned to limit the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* to a national and economic focus. Despite

---

83 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-ni kikai ketsugiroku," 43.
84 "Chikugo-no-Kuni shinboku-kai kisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 125.
85 Editorial, *Fukuryō shinpō*, 8/11/1887.

70

an enduring political subtext, the concept of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* was de-politicized within

Kawamura's text and stripped of its educational significance. Consequently, the flexibility that

allowed the discourse to encompass a variety of demands also risked its appropriation and use in

ways that did not necessarily share its supposed ideals.

      The inclusive nature of the discourse could also be the source of tension even when its

underlying meaning was shared, resulting in debates over the limits of educational activity and

their prioritization. An excellent example of this tension can be found in a series of debates that

took place in the Fukuoka prefectural assembly (*Fukuoka kenkai*) on 5/17/1881. When one

member proposed that a portion of the "local taxes" (*chihō-zei*) be used to assist small villages in

the construction and maintenance of schools, it sparked an intense debate over the limits and

responsibilities of the assembly. A number of attendees, amongst them Tada Sakubei and

Nakamura Kōsuke, two prominent *minkenka*, argued that to offer help to localities would be in

breach of the prefectual assembly's, and thus the state's, power. Under the current taxation

system, primary schools were to be funded through *kyōgi-hi* ("consultative" or "municipal"

taxes) determined through local assemblies, while the prefectural assembly was responsible for

the prefectural budget based on "local taxes" (*chihō-zei*).[86] The use of government money to

supplement the municipal budget was an act of intervention (*kanshō*), a breach of the crucial

divide between the *kan* and the *min* – the government and the people.[87] More importantly, it

compromised the underlying educative function of self-government, for, according to Kuratomi

Taneatsu, "private schools must be established purely through municipal taxes, so that the people

(*jinmin*) can arouse [in themselves] the spirit of self-government". If the assembly were to

---

86 The best discussion of "municipal taxes" can be found in Oshima Mitsuko, *Meiji kokka to chiiki shakai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 132-136. See also, James C. Baxter, *The Meiji Unification Through the Lens of Ishikawa Prefecture* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), 190-193.

87 For a discussion of the *kan/min* divide, see Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), 60-67.

interfere in that process, Tada concluded, it would "betray its spirit" (*seishin wo ushinau*).[88]

This debate was not, therefore, merely about jurisdiction, but about the relationship between two distinct forms of educational activity. Earlier that same day, it had been proposed that the assembly fund the creation of a local museum as a "place of learning (*kyōjō*), that opens up knowledge (*chishiki*) and broadens experience (*kenbun*)," which garnered Tada's support. Underlying this proposition was the assumption that the assembly had the responsibility to "lead and enlighten" (*yūdō keihatsu*) the people and to help raise their level of knowledge.[89] Thus, if we return to the case of primary school assistance, the debate is quite different. On the one hand, those promoting supplemental funds appealed to the assembly's role in the enlightenment of the people, in which the provision of proper schooling was of considerable importance.[90] On the other hand, Tada and Nakamura challenged this "interference" on the grounds that it disrupted the implicit educational function attributed to self-government: to "arouse autonomous dispositions" amongst the people. Furthermore, this debate also touched upon one of the underlying tensions within the educational discourse of the Popular Rights Movement: the role of the *minkenka* as enlightened and enlightening agent, and the implied enlightening qualities of political discourse itself. Was the *minkenka* to take an active role in "leading and enlightening" the people, even if it threatened to interfere with the very autonomy they were attempting to cultivate? Or, was the *minkenka* to maintain his distance and allow the people to retain their autonomy, even if their limitations threatened to banish them to the realm of ignorance and

---

88 "Fukuoka-kenkai giroku, dai-san-hen," 5/17/1879, National Diet Library, 19-20.
89 "Fukuoka-kenkai giroku, dai-san-hen," 5-9
90 While formal schooling has been marginalized in my own narrative, its important role in the Popular Rights Movement should not be disregarded. The Kyōaikai, for example, showed considerable interest in schooling – as we will see in more detail in the following chapter – and actively promoted increased attendance rates, especially in economically depressed regions (see, for example, "Kama, Kaho ryō-gun yuaikai dai-go kikai," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun,* 4/8/1881, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 445). Nagae Jun'ichi was also a frequent contributor to local schools and was invited to give speeches at a number of opening ceremonies. Rather, the goal in this general discussion has been to discern the broader concept of education in which knowledge acquisition – the primary function of schools – was but a single, often subordinated, element.

poverty? In this case, the most prominent *minkenka* at the meeting all stood firm in their support

of popular self-governance, even within the proscribed context of local assemblies responsible

for annual budgets. As we will see in the following section, however, the tenuous position of the

minkenka remained an important theme in the Popular Rights Movement.

A similar dynamic tension can be identified more broadly in popular rights discourse by

looking at the variety of ideals or values that could be promoted within the larger process of

jitsuryoku no yōsei. One of the most enduring themes in discussions about the Popular Rights

Movement, especially in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and one of its most controversial

elements, was the prominent role of ex-samurai in the organization and expansion of popular

rights associations. Both Naitō Seichū and Douglas Howland have identified the paternalistic

attitude many *shizoku* held towards the "common people" (*heimin*) and their often dismissive

approach to the idea of mass mobilization without their leadership.[91] There are, furthermore, a

number of examples that can be used to infer a re-inscription of idealized samurai values within

the movement, and a conflation of samurai and *minkenka* identity.

The idealized *kesshi no shi* ("men willing to die") that was promoted at the second

Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference undoubtedly overlaps with the idealized image of the *shishi*

("men of high purpose") that led the Meiji Restoration, and many *minkenka* referred to

themselves as the latter.[92] It is therefore no surprise that some leading Fukuoka *minkenka* –

many of whom had participated in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 and openly idolized Saigo

Takamori as the prototypical *shishi* – infused popular rights discourse with a particular samurai

tinge. The Kōyōsha (of Chikuzen), in the second of its prospectuses, openly lamented the decline

---

91 Naito, *Jiyū minken undō no kenkyū*, 119-120; Howland, *Translating the West*, 166-167. See also, Matsuoka, "Dai-ni-ji minsen giin ronsō," 44-45.
92 Naito, *Jiyū minken undō no kenkyū*, 243. Kojima, for example, drew an explicit connection between the concept of *kesshi no shi* and the Restoration era *shishi*.

of the samurai's "refined disposition" (*kōshō-naru kifū*), the loss of their "upright and sincere

principled character" (*renketsu tokujitsu-naru shisō seishitsu*), the destruction of their "morality"

(*dōtoku*) and the loss of their vigor (*kiryoku*), claiming that instead of raising up the people, ex-

samurai had been lowered to the level of the masses.[93] Thus, the Kōyōsha's calls for the people to

"respect yourselves, value yourselves, help yourselves, and refine yourselves" in the service of

arousing (*funshin*) an "independent disposition" cannot be separated from its adoption of these

"samurai" ideals. Similarly, in an article promoting the establishment of a national assembly, one

minkenka argued for the compatibility of Japan's enduring "chivalrous spirit" (*gishin*), and thus

the "Japanese spirit" (*yamato-damashi*), with parliamentary government. This spirit, which the

author admitted could degenerate into rash violence, was, at its core, the embodiment of imperial

reverence and patriotism (*kinnō hōkoku*).[94] In both these cases, *shishi* ideals were abstracted from

the context of oppressive Tokugawa rule and promoted as being reconcilable with the modern,

Western-influenced, ideal of *jiyū minken*.

At the same time, "commoner" *minkenka* from Chikugo, specifically the Yanagawa

Yūmeikai, chose a different metaphor through which to depict the extension of popular rights

that reflected a different set of values. In fact, Nagae Jun'ichi critiqued the *shishi* ideal, likening

Saigo Takamori to a peasant rebel and denouncing those that establish radical political

associations and think nothing of throwing their lives away.[95] Instead, he likened the ideal of

jiaishin – a sense of responsibility towards the governance and state of the nation to be

internalized by all within a parliamentary system – to the practice of a shareholder (*kabushu*) in a

company. Thus, he argued, like a shareholder the people have the right to watch over the

---

93 "Nihon Teikoku Kōyōsha shuisho," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 3-5.
94 "Kokkai hirakazaru bekarazu," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 12/26/1880, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 433-434.
95 Nagae Jun'ichi, "Shuku Ginsui Chugaku kaikō narabi tei yushi shokun," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 153.

74

government and prevent transgressions. "Not only do they have the right," he continued, "they *must* investigate and supervise (*kensa kantoku*) [the affairs of the government]."[96] A certain degree of tension did exist between "commoner" *minkenka* and their *shizoku* associates, but their divergent metaphors could co-exist within the same discourse of popular rights. Like the *shizoku*-centric *minkenka* discussed above, Nagae's Yūmeikai took "enterprise" (*shinshu*) as its ideal, and the "correction of arrogant customs, namely, the cultivation of a brave and discerning vigor (*yu-kaei no kiryoku wo yashinau*)"[97] and the "attainment of independence by all" as its goals.

These internal tensions regarding the values to be embraced by popular rights discourse were exacerbated by external tensions, especially around the time of the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei meeting. The educational vision of the Fukuoka activists was, as emphasized in our initial discussion of *jitsuryoku no yōsei*, tightly intertwined with their idealized vision of the *minkenka* as an exemplary figure. While different leaders and organizations within the movement were willing to infuse this ideal with disparate values, they all seemingly embraced a highly pragmatic understanding of the *minkenka*'s general traits and actions. They all, as will be emphasized further in the following chapter, promoted a variety of industrial enterprises in order to support political campaigns and provide "the people" with both a livelihood and the potential for awakening to independence – often through capital provided by the state or through the assistance of wealthy entrepreneurs, both of whom were usually represented as antagonists of the movement. Furthermore, they were almost all willing to put aside personal disagreements and accept a broad spectrum of ideological positions, hence the adoption of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* and *chihō no danketsu* as goals. Most Fukuoka leaders were, above all, concerned with the expansion of the movement and the extension of the discourse.

---

96 Nagae, "Jiaisetsu," 159.
97 "Kyōyōsha kitei," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 189.

However, in the months leading up to the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei there was a more vocal call for ideological formalization and unity within the movement. In particular, two articles in the *Aikoku shirin* and *Aikoku shinshi* – official journals of the Aikokusha whose editorial and writing staff mostly consisted of Risshisha members from Kōchi[98] – attempted to provide authoritative statements on the ideal character to be embodied by *minkenka*, in many ways challenging the broad perspective depicted in Fukuoka popular rights texts. In a May article simply titled "Minkenka,"[99] Ueki Emori lamented what he perceived to be a reactive tendency in popular rights thought. Most self-proclaimed *minkenka,* he argued, were merely reacting to social plight or economic suffering, which would never inspire long-lasting change. Conversely, the *pure minkenka (shinjun no minkenka)* should base his actions on "law" (*hō*) or "principle" (*ri*). If the government's rule is in line with law and principle, they should be followed regardless of individual suffering; otherwise, the government should not be obeyed even if individual needs are met. Consequently, he viewed the parliamentary discourse within popular rights thought as a positive shift from an emphasis on individual rights (*shiken*) to an emphasis on rights as citizens (*kokumin-taru no kenri*). Even within this context, parliamentarianism was not to be promoted in the interest of national strength, but on *principle*, regardless of the state of the nation. Ueki thus rejected all forms of popular rights activism and parliamentary discourse that subordinated their ideals to immediate demands – be it the strengthening of the nation or individual enlightenment – as "misunderstanding" (*ayamaru*) the concept of *minken*.

Several months later, Sakamoto Namio (Naohiro) provided an even more forceful indictment, albeit indirectly, of the type of popular rights discourse represented by Fukuoka

---

98 Nishida Taketoshi, "'kaidan' for 'Aikoku shirin' and 'Aikoku shinshi'," in *Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 14: jiyū minken-hen (zoku)* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1968), iii-iv.

99 Ueki Emori, "Minkenka," *Aikoku shirin*, 6/7/1880, in *Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 14: jiyū minken-hen (zoku)*, 35-38.

activists.[100] In it, he denounced all forms of compromise with the government as the actions of

"superficial" (*kamen*) or "false" (*nise*) *minkenka*, whom he accused of using popular rights

activism as a means (*hōben*) for personal gain. These false *minkenka* included those in the press

that took a conciliatory stance with the government while supposedly promoting popular rights,

those that co-operated with eminent individuals (*kiken shinshi*) in the establishment of banks or

enterprises, and those that, while threatening the government publicly, utilized its funds to

encourage industry. To Sakamoto, the pure *minkenka* (*shinjun no minkenka*) "is unwavering in

his thought (*shisō wo henzuru koto-naku*), is not enticed by immediate personal gain (*shiri*),

[and] always enterprises (*shinshu-suru*) through his own power (*jiriki*)". Sakamoto identified

unwavering and uncompromising opposition to both the government and the Meiji bourgeoisie

as the fundamental orientation of popular rights activism. Thus, he implicitly challenged the

pragmatic approach to political influence expressed by Murai and put into practice by a large

number of Fukuoka *minkenka*. Furthermore, he dismissed the inclusive attitude towards popular

mobilization that was the bedrock of the *jitsuryoku no yōsei* and *chihō no danketsu* discourses. In

doing so, he broached a discussion over the "purity" of popular rights activism that resonated

with concurrent debates over ideological unity.[101]

    These tensions were manifest at the second Kokkai Kisei Domei conference and the

gradual shift to party politics that took place during the following year. When, on 11/26/1880,

Sugita Tei'ichi called for the establishment of a "great political party (*daiseitō*) with liberalism as

its ideology (*jiyushugi*),"[102] he made no clear statement about what he conceived this party to be

in any organizational or structural terms. Rather, his statement was an extension of an earlier call

---

100 Sakamoto Namio, "Minkenka no kōi wo ronzu," *Aikoku shinshi*, 10/5/1880, in *Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 14: jiyū minken-hen (zoku)*, 89-91.
101 For an interesting analysis of debates over the role of *shizoku* in the movement and the concept of *minkenka*, see Matsuoka, "Dai-ni-ji minsen giin ronsō".
102 "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 186.

for ideological clarity within the Alliance. On 11/23, Sugita, Kusama Tokiyoshi and Matsuzawa

Kyusaku all asserted the necessity of establishing "liberalism" or "freedom" (*jiyu*) as the

Alliance's ideology. Kusama, stating the case most clearly, argued that the establishment of a

national assembly was not enough; after all, "would we be satisfied and disband [the Alliance]

even if the government unilaterally issued a constitution (*ippen kanrei kenpō wo motte*) and

established a national assembly?"[103] Thus, he asserted the importance of maintaining the

Alliance, with a clear ideological focus, regardless of present circumstances (*genji jijō*),

reflecting the demand for ideological clarity and conviction promoted by Ueki and Sakamoto.

The challenge to this position was that ideological fixity narrowed the conception of the

Alliance itself, and thus risked the alienation of "those that disagree with that ideology (*sono*

shugi ni fudōi no mono)". If the goal is to "unite the hearts of the nation's people," Kuroiwa

Yasunori asserted, then the Alliance should maintain its exclusive focus on the establishment of a

national assembly – the goal that had, to this point, provided unity even across ideological

frontiers. Kōri Toshi of Fukuoka provided perhaps the most illuminating representation of this

position, utilizing language that should be familiar to us:

> How about, instead of calling it 'liberalism' (*jiyū-shugi*) or 'parliamentarianism' (*kokkai*
> *kisei*), we take the name Friendship Society of Japanese Men of Influence (*nihon yūshi*
> *shinboku-kai*) and take as our great purpose (*dai-shishu*) the fulfilment of our duties
> (*honbun wo tsukusu*) as the people (*jinmin*), as citizens (*kokumin*). If we do, our purview
> will be broad [so], even if a national assembly is established, *because* our purpose is the
> fulfilment of duty as citizens, we will not disband, and we will not concern ourselves with
> the question of ideology.[104]

Within this statement, Kōri, leading representative of the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, provides a

comprehensive example of popular rights discourse as it has been discussed it in this chapter.

Here, he promoted the unifying power of "friendship" (*shinboku*), the establishment of an

---

103 "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 179-180.
104 "Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho," 180.

ideologically fluid and structurally flexible organization, and shared identification as "the people" or "citizens" as a salve for emerging ideological tension. In order to ensure the perpetuity of the movement and the extension of popular rights in the face of changing circumstances (the inevitable establishment of a national assembly) and ideological conflicts (the adoption of 'liberalism'), Kōri adopted a position that eschewed difference and embraced the overlapping discourses of nationalism, "the people," and popular rights.

While these debates over values or ideology within the Popular Rights Movement made no explicit reference to education or educational institutions, they have significant relevance to our discussion, for political and educational concerns were intertwined within the movement. While all of the discussed activists and authors embraced the necessity of popular mobilization, the values they promoted could have effects on the ways in which they attempted to extend the discourse and the idealized notion of political subjectivity they attempted to "cultivate". The Fukuoka activists embraced an inclusive notion of "cultivating ability" and "local unification," which was manifest in both their political and educational activities. Politically, these activists rejected ideological orthodoxy and embraced a fluid notion of political organization, described as "immaterial," that championed a high degree of "local autonomy" (*chihō jichi*) amongst its constituent organizations. Educationally, this fluid popular mobilization was reflected in an emphasis on popular rights as a collective demand, to be internalized by a newly conceived "people" or "citizenry". They thus promoted an equally flexible notion of "cultivating ability" that placed less emphasis on ideology – for example, "conduct" in Fukuoka referred to behavior that could inspire trust, while in the works of Ueki and Sakamoto it implied ideological conviction – in favor of an emphasis on the "ability" to gain influence within a parliamentary system. As a result, positions expressed by Fukuoka activists at the Kokkai Kisei Dōmei

conference reflected not only their ideals of political organization, but were closely related to the questions of what kind of "people" they wanted to foster and how they idealized doing so. As we will see in the following chapter, this inclusive take on education was not limited to the intellectual and political realms, but also manifested institutionally.

Pedagogy and the People

Having established the broad contours of the educational dimension of popular rights thought in Fukuoka, both its content and its mode of transmission, I have placed particular emphasis on the flexibility of the discourse, which naturally resulted from the inherent tensions between diverse subject positions within the movement itself. Of all the tensions encapsulated within the educational discourse associated with popular rights in Fukuoka, however, perhaps the most notable one was external to the substantive content of that discourse, embedded in its underlying pedagogical pretensions themselves. Specifically, the educational relationship posited between the "true *minkenka*" and "the people" encompassed tensions and ambiguities that are implicit in all pedagogical discourses, and must be taken into account in order to explore the potential consequences of the Fukuoka activists' articulation of educational goals. Before concluding this chapter, let us explore some of the limitations imposed on the movement by the pedagogical relationships it posited.

As discussed throughout this chapter, popular rights thought took "the people" (*jinmin*) to be the "foundation (*daihon*) of the country"[105] and, therefore, took the cultivation of the people's "ability" to be the basis for parliamentary government and national strength. This cultivation – as with all uses of such a metaphor – was not presented as an imposition from without, but a fostering of one's innate rights and responsibilities. In cultivating this new political subjectivity,

---

105 "Kokkai kaisetsu ni tsuki kengen," 34.

80

popular rights activists had both direct and indirect means. On the one hand, popular speeches, newspapers and explanatory texts intended for the public (like Murai's) provided means of direct exhortation. On the other hand, sites that promoted discourse and deliberation – friendship societies, public debates, local and prefectural assemblies – had implicit educational value. The very act of participating in political discourse could arouse an awareness of one's "natural rights" and promote participation in the movement. Similarly, the provision of work itself could provide the "people" with a chance to realize their own independence. The *minkenka* thus played a crucial, mobilizing role within the movement, for only they could convert their social, economic and cultural resources into the direct and indirect means of "lead[ing] and "enlighten[ing] the people," of "awaken[ing] (*jitei wo odorokasazaru-bekarazu*) those that sleep pleasantly".[106]

However, as the last quote implies, the self-proclaimed *minkenka*, or "liberal theorist" (*jiyūron-sha*), maintained an ambivalent relationship with the "people". Frequently, *minkenka* represented themselves as guides or leaders for the people, awakened "men of influence" (*yūshi*) who could provide the people with enlightenment and self-realization. Conversely, a large portion of *minken* rhetoric displayed a certain disdain for those "people" (*jinmin*) who had become "base" (*hikutsu*) from years under Tokugawa oppression and were "blind to their duty as citizens".[107] Tachibana Chikanobu expressed this negative view of the people most poignantly after hearing a "Westerner" (*seiyōjin*) comment on the "servility" (*doboku*) of the Japanese people:

> Upon hearing this, I could not bear the grief and indignation. Ah, was this not, in the end, because our people have yet to reach [the Westerners'] level of knowledge (*chido*), and that we cannot avoid base thoughts (*hikutsu no kokoro*). Though our country is small, internationally, it has the appearance of an independent empire. However, how can I not say I was indignant to receive this kind of shame (*shujoku*), to have been looked down

---

106 Murai, *Aikoku minken-ron*, 40-41.
107 Police report from a speech by Takarabe Masanosuke on 11/29/1885, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 390.

upon (*dobokushi*) in this way? Thus, I think the most urgent business (*kyūmu*) for us 'men of influence' (*yūshi*) is to really arouse in each of the people a spirit that will take responsibility for our country (*hōka wo futan-suru seishin*).[108]

In this passage, the educational mission of the movement – the arousal of the people – is placed in the context of national indignation and a negative view of the state of the "people". The *minkenka* – the 'men of influence' (*yūshi*) or the popular representative (*gi'in*) – thus conceived of themselves as a "self-appointed spokesmen for the people (*min*)"[109] and walked a tenuous tight rope between the "officials" (*kan*) and their constituents, opposed to the former yet separated from the latter by their enlightened intellectual and political state.[110]

This attitude was not only the result of ingrained *shizoku* paternalism. It was intrinsic to the concept of the "people" itself. As discussed above, one of the primary educational goals of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka was the inscription of a new popular identity, "the people," unified through a shared sense of purpose – the demand for "popular rights". The concept of the "the people" was a rhetorical construction used to unify a diverse population, both as a nation and as active agents of political sovereignty.[111] As a conceit of statesmen, intellectuals, and popular rights activists, "the people" did not reflect a pre-given social or political reality, but was an attempt to create that very reality and establish authority over its representation.[112] Within this discourse, the people were implicitly characterized by their

---

108 Tachibana, "Dai ni-kai kokkai kisei domei-kai sanka nisshi," 219.
109 Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 60.
110 Carol Gluck (*Japan's Modern Myths*) has made a similar point about the emergence of professional politicians and popular representatives in the 1890s, these "embryonic figure[s] who took on new substance with the advent of elections and a national parliament" (p. 50). These politicians, especially at the local level, blurred the line between *kan* and *min*: to the government, they were representatives of the "people," yet to the local population, they were agents of the state (pp. 61-62).
111 For a discussion of the intimate connection between nationalism and the concept of "the people" (*kokumin*), see Kevin M. Doak, *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan: Placing the People* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 5-11, 32-35.
112 Pierre Bourdieu has emphasized that "the 'people' or the 'popular'... is first of all one of the things at stake in the struggle between intellectuals. The fact of being or feeling authorized to speak about the 'people' or of speaking *for* (in both senses of the word) the 'people' may constitute, in itself, a force in the struggles within different

incompleteness as citizens; it was *because* they were still "base" and lacking in knowledge that

the "people" needed to be "led" and "enlightened," and it was *because* they lacked a voice of

their own that they needed to be "represented," both in the sense of being spoken for, and in the

sense of being articulated as a cohesive group.[113] The very act of "gaining access to the role of

spokesperson" would thus imply a "break with the 'people'".[114]

  The relationship of the *minkenka* to the imagined "people" was, therefore, an expression

of the "myth of pedagogy" itself, "the parable of a world divided into knowing minds and

ignorant ones, right minds and immature ones, the capable and the incapable, the intelligent and

the stupid."[115] The *minkenka*, recognizing the veil of ignorance hanging over the people,

"appoints himself to the task of lifting it" – of awakening them. The educational vision of the

popular rights activist thus reflects the idea of "progress" itself, "the representation of inequality

as a *retard* in one's development...so one can put oneself in the position of curing it."[116] But, the

notion of the voiceless people itself implies that this will never happen; once someone

establishes a voice he departs from his status as one of the "people," instead becoming a

minkenka, a popular representative, an intellectual, or a man of influence. This, Ranciere notes, is

not a matter of malevolence, but a legitimate desire "to liberate minds and promote the abilities

fields..." Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 150.

113 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, in her seminal "Can the Subaltern Speak?," effectively distinguishes between the two uses   of the word 'representation,' which can be used to refer to substitution (such as political representation in a parliament) or signification (through text and discourse). While these two concepts must be differentiated from each other, they must also be analyzed in their complicity. We must "note how the staging of the world in representation – its scene of writing... – dissimulates the choice of and need for 'heroes,' paternal proxies, agents of power..." Both of these senses of the word 'representation' are present in Popular Rights discourse, and thus they render the imagined 'people' "voiceless". Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman eds. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994), 70-74.

114 Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 152.

115 Jacques Ranciere, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lesson in Intellectual Emancipation*, trans. Kristin Ross (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991), 6.

116 Ranciere, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, 119.

of the masses".[117] And yet, by placing pedagogical agency in the hands of the activist, through

both direct and indirect means, the "people" are reduced to the very passivity that supposedly

characterized them under the Tokugawa regime. The pedagogical relationship inherent to the

concepts of the *minkenka* and the "people" reflects a fundamental tension between the two

concepts that constituted the educational vision of the Popular Rights Movement itself: the

fostering of "the people" as a collective identity and the "cultivation of ability" defined as the

material and intellectual means for political participation. On the one hand, they attempted to

cultivate "the people," and, on the other hand, they attempted to cultivate the means of

representing the "people". As we will see in the following chapter, this ambiguity resulted in an

institutional configuration that could, most likely unintentionally, functioned to the benefit of the

minkenka as much as it did in the interest of cultivating "independence" amongst "the people".

Conclusion

In this chapter I have taken the first step in a re-conceptualization of education in the

Popular Rights Movement by foregrounding language, both analytically and substantively.

Analytically, I have represented a number of prominent discourses within the movement as being

educational in nature, and have identified key phrases and terms that will allow us to identify the

ways in which popular rights activists conceived of their movement pedagogically. As early as

1879, Fukuoka activists utilized the term *jitsuryoku no yōsei* to signify the importance of local

mobilization for the prosperity of the movement. In contrast to the emphasis on direct agitation

aimed at the central government that is often portrayed as characterizing the movement – and

which was prominent in Fukuoka as well – the discourse of *jitsuryoku no yōsei* reflects an

underlying assumption that in order to establish a national assembly, and in order to strengthen

---

117 Ranciere, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, 121.

the country, a new political subjectivity must be "cultivated" amongst the citizenry. Within this

discourse, politics, economics, and education were merged, and each field was granted

pedagogical significance. The unifying principle of this pedagogical discourse was the efficacy

of emotion, what I have termed an *affective* mode of transmission, which was reflected in a

diverse lexicon that referred to "arousing" or "moving the hearts" of the people. Thus, I argue

that these lexical choices are closely intertwined with the political and educational assumptions

embraced by Fukuoka activists.

Substantively, Fukuoka *minkenka* seemed keenly aware of the power of language. Words,

they realized, had the power to persuade the masses and to initiate them into the movement's

demands. Consequently, *minkenka* utilized a wide variety of literate and non-literate methods of

directly appealing to the masses – newspapers, books, and public speeches – all which embraced

an evocative rhetorical style. Furthermore, Fukuoka activists also acknowledged the power of

language to unify, to evoke popular identification amongst the people. "Popular rights" was not

only a demand for the legal affirmation of popular sovereignty and the establishment of a

national assembly, it was also utilized as a rhetorical means of unifying the Japanese populace as

a "people," united in their demand for political change. Within this discourse, all social and

political demands became subsumed in the concept of *minken*, and all people ideally represented

as "the people". However, there was also an unstated tension between the concept of "the

people" and the "popular rights activist" assigned the task of enlightening the former and making

them aware of their new identification. This tension is intrinsic to the pedagogical relationship

and, and we will see, had long term effects on the movement.

The educational discourse of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka is identifiable by

its flexibility and inclusiveness. *Jitsuryoku no yōsei* and the language of affectivity were used to

inscribe pedagogical significance on a wide variety of settings and practices aside from formal

educational institutions: work, political deliberation, and social intercourse could all be used to

"cultivate" the new political subjectivity. Thus, the popular rights activist had a wide variety of

direct and indirect means of "arousing" the populace. He could start an academy, make public

speeches, and publish editorials in the local paper, or help establish a private popular assembly,

friendship society, or simply provide employment opportunities for the downtrodden masses.

Fukuoka *minkenka* were equally flexible in terms of values. They explicitly shunned the

adoption of a clear ideological position, portraying it as a potential source of disunity, and

utilized the shared discourses of "cultivating ability" and parliamentary politics to foster co-

operation between people of different social backgrounds or ideological leanings. It was with this

broad conception of unity in mind that, in the early 1880s, many Fukuoka *minkenka* actively

challenged the establishment of a political party – at least one with a clear political ideology.

The issue of founding a political party did not cease after the second Kokkai Kisei Domei

conference, during which it was decided to postpone the issue of party formation. After a year's

worth of discussions and negotiations and the promulgation (on 10/12/1881) of the imperial edict

promising the establishment of a national assembly within ten years, the Liberal Party (Jiyutõ)

was established on 10/29. The following year the party movement took root in Kyushu,

culminating in the establishment of the Kyushu Progressive Party (Kyushu Kaishintõ) on

3/12/1882. While the Progressive Party was established as a Kyushu branch of the Liberal Party

– reflected, for example, in its adoption of the Liberal Party's platform (*kōryō*) and regulations –

both Shindo Toyõo and Ishitaki Toyomi have argued that the structure of the party closely

resembled that of the earlier Kyushu Rengõkai (Kyushu Alliance).[118] It consisted of a large

number of local political parties (most of which were political associations that altered their

---

118 Shindõ, *Jiyū minken undõ to Kyushu chihõ*, 74; Ishitaki, *Gen'yõsha hakkutsu*, 121-122.

names to reflect their new status as "branch" (*bu*) parties)[119] that gathered for bi-annual meetings at an alternating headquarters. Though the party would only ever gather for five general meetings, each took place in a different locale: Kumamoto, Nagasaki, Kagoshima, Fukuoka, and Kurume. Thus, it is argued, the Kyushu Progressive Party maintained many of the distinguishing features of popular rights activism in Kyushu, particularly Fukuoka.

When, following the dissolution of the Liberal Party in 1884, the Kyushu Progressive Party also chose to disband on 5/10/1885, they rejected the notion that this was a sign of defeat. The Progressive Party, they argued, was simply a material (*keijika*) unity, a "temporary measure" (*ichiji no shudan*). "A genuine party (*shinsei seito*)," they argued, "is an immaterial unity (*keijijō no ketsugō*). In short... because our path is the same and our will is the same, it no longer requires the restrictions of material unification."[120] Thus, "because we must achieve our aim of co-operating with the country's 'men of high purpose' (*shishi*), and create a great nation-wide organization," the Progressive Party leadership ceased as a party and took the form of a "great friendship society" (*dai-shinboku-kai*).[121] And yet, in spite of this familiar formulation, by the mid-1880s the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka had experienced a significant rift along ideological lines. By 1887, there were separate newspapers established for pro-government and anti-government camps – the *Fukuryo shinpō* and *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* respectively. Tensions between these factions became increasingly volatile before culminating in open conflict during the Second General Election of 1892, in which former comrades took to the streets against one another. In many ways, the ideal of a non-ideological unity had faltered, though many of its underlying assumptions and rhetorical expressions would persist.

---

119 For example, the Yūmeikai changed its name to the Yanagawa Kaishintō, though they decided not to adopt the proper title of Kyushu Progressive Party: Yanagawa Branch (*Kyushu kaishintō Yanagawa-bu*)
120 "Kyushu Kaishintō kaidan," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 5/12/1885, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 509.
121 Quoted in Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 77

Chapter Two
The Institutional Implementation of Popular Rights Education

In chapter one, I rhetorically reconstructed an underlying theory of educational transmission and pedagogical activity within the discourse of popular rights in Fukuoka during the late 1870s and early 1880s. In this chapter, I will examine changes in the way this educational theory was explicitly and implicitly embedded in institutions. Most institutional analyses of education in the Popular Rights Movement have focused on the private academies (*shijuku*) that many political associations maintained for the purpose of political education. As a result, they created a fragmented representation of the relationship between various institutions within the movement, ignoring the pedagogical significance of other institutions and settings. Moreover, they have naturalized a differentiation between "political," "economic," and "educational" activity that is itself the result of a politicized articulation of social reality, embodied in government ministries, laws, and ordinances that delineated the confines of each field. However, in light of the flexible, inclusive, and multifaceted educational theory presented in the previous chapter, private academies are not a sufficient locus for an institutional analysis.

Instead of isolating these academies and assuming these *a priori* divisions, this chapter will analyze the various institutional configurations adopted by *minken* activists and will show that they were often unified by an underlying, pedagogical discourse. In fact, earlier popular rights associations articulated no coherent separation between their political, educational, and economic functions, often unifying the three within singular institutions. In the face of increasing government intervention, popular rights associations attempted to maintain their unified conception of institutions and utilized a number of techniques to circumvent the state's attempts at categorization and regulation. Some associations avoided the use of terms like "academy" (*(gi)juku*) or "school" (*gakkō* or *gakusha*) while maintaining educational activities. Others

accepted the imposed divisions between political, educational, and industrial institutions, but adopted informal means of retaining conceptual unity, either through overlapping management groups across institutions or the utilization of the shared educational discourse itself.

This chapter will analyze the educational configuration of the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka in four stages. The first two sections will organize the institutional configurations of popular rights associations into two broad typologies. The first consists of popular rights associations inspired by the model of the private academies of the pre-Restoration period, with the most prominent being the Kōyōsha. Such associations often absorbed a variety of institutional functions – politics, industry, education, martial arts training, legal aid – into a single, unified whole. The Kōyōsha exhibited notable continuity with Bakumatsu (1853-1868) and early Meiji *shizoku* associations while maintaining a clear, liberal, popular rights agenda. Furthermore, while the Kōyōsha had an "educational wing," the Kōyō Gijuku, the sources imply that the two were not actually differentiated by their members. The second institutional configuration, more reflective of the movement's expansion in the early 1880s, saw the political association redefined as a co-ordinating node in a broader institutional network. Throughout Fukuoka Prefecture, the leaders of *minken* associations came to play prominent roles in independent, but discursively unified, schools and industrial enterprises. These associations varied in constituency and function, but all utilized the educational language of the Popular Rights Movement to bridge diverse, and seemingly unrelated activities. It is also important to emphasize that these two configurations were not mutually exclusive and that there was no 'natural' development from the former to the latter. Institutions of both varieties often existed simultaneously and many individuals participated in both. However, the second model provides an excellent example of the ways in which *minkenka* indirectly challenged state hegemony.

The third and fourth sections shift to a focus on the implicit pedagogical dimension of popular rights institutions, emphasizing the variety of (often conflicting) meanings that could be embedded in and transmitted through practices. The third section consists of a detailed discursive analysis of the two most prominent media utilized by popular rights activists: public speech gatherings and newspapers. I will discuss the educational value attributed to these media, the ways in which they were utilized to rhetorically and experientially reinforce identities and subject positions, and the ways in which these media interacted with each other. I will also look at some of the meanings embedded in these settings that could be considered inimical to the ideals of the movement, reinforcing the kinds of paternalistic attitudes described in the previous chapter. In the fourth section, I will extend this critique to some other popular rights institutions, in particular the government-funded samurai rehabilitation (*shizoku jusan*) programs, in an attempt to illuminate some of the unintended consequences and conceptual shifts that took place within *minken* educational discourse. The discussion of *shizoku jusan* enterprises will act as an effective bridge between the educational analysis of the Popular Rights Movement and that of the coal mining communities that make up the second half of this dissertation.

A Unified Model of Educational Practice: The Kōyō-jukusha

The majority of scholarship about education in the Popular Rights Movement has tended to emphasize the central role of the educational institutions connected with political associations, often referred to as the latter's "educational wing" or "educational organ" (*kyōiku kikan*).[1] The representative example of this relationship is the Risshisha in Kōchi and its associated academy,

---

[1] Motoyama Yukihiko refers to the Risshi Gakusha in Kōchi as the "educational arm" of the Risshisha. Motoyama Yukihiko, "Local Politcs and the Development of Secondary Education in the Early Meiji Period," trans. Albert M. Craig, in *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Eduation in the Meiji Era*, J.S.A Elisonas and Richard Rubinger, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 168.

the Risshi Gakusha. The subordinate relationship of the academy to the association is reflected in the title of the school itself, which is derivative of the former. The Kōyōsha and the Kōyō Gijuku – inspired by and modelled upon the Risshisha and Risshi Gakusha – seems to reflect this established relationship as well as an *a priori differentiation* between "political" (the association) and "educational" (the academy) institutions.[2] However, this is a misrepresentation of the relationship between the "political" and "educational" aspects of the Kōyōsha as they were depicted in its foundational documents and contemporary accounts, in which the Kōyōsha and Kōyō Gijuku are treated in an undifferentiated, perhaps interchangeable manner. In order to understand the educational dimension of the Popular Rights Movement within earlier political associations, such as the Kōyōsha, we need to discuss the nature of the association and the historical lineage in which it situated itself.

The Kōyōsha was created in late 1878 before undergoing an immediate restructuring in early 1879 during the visit of Ueki Emori from Kōchi. Ueki, the leading theoretician of the Risshisha, attended Kōyōsha speeches, taught classes, and even published his first version of his *Minken jiyū-ron* while staying in Fukuoka. On 1/25/1879, the Kōyō Gijuku was formally established by the Kōyōsha leadership at a ceremony attended by a number of local notables, as well as Ueki. The formation of the Kōyōsha is usually described as a merger between two earlier associations, the Kaikonsha and the Seibi Gijuku. The former was a political association and academy operated by the same core of individuals as the Kōyōsha, while the latter was the academy of Yoshida Toshiyuki, which fell into financial insolvency and was acquired by the Kaikonsha leadership before being renamed the Kōyō Gijuku. Under Ueki's tutelage, the Kōyōsha was reinvigorated as a prototypical popular rights association and, in addition to the

---

2   Gen'yōsha Shashi Hensankai, *Gen'yōsha shashi* (Tokyo: Gen'yosha Shashi Hensankai, 1917), 207-212; Shindō Toyōo, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō: Kyushu Kaishintō no shiteki kenkyū* (Fukuoka: Koga Shoten, 1982), 18.

academy, undertook a variety of activities and practices commonly attributed to political

associations: the establishment of a legal aid office (*daigen-kyoku*), public speech gatherings

(*enzetsukai*), regional speaking tours (*yūzei*), a martial arts academy, etc. Thus, the Kōyōsha was

a focal point of a complex institutional apparatus.[3]

How is one to best characterize the Kōyōsha as a political association, and what were its

primary functions? As one can most likely discern from the list of activities above, the Kōyōsha's

political goal of "extending popular rights and restoring national sovereignty" was imbued with a

thick pedagogical hue. Externally, this pedagogical emphasis manifested itself as a concern with

local mobilization (*chihō no danketsu*) and the promotion of smaller associations in – and thus,

the enlightenment of – smaller localities. According to one source, public speech gatherings in

the Karatsu region of Fukuoka had resulted in the "awakening" of "the people" and the

establishment of a local political association.[4] Within this account, the "highly-charged"

character of speeches becomes the catalyst for the awareness of innate rights and responsibilities,

thus reflecting the general traits of affective transmission described in the previous chapter while

accentuating the important role played by the Kōyōsha in the mobilization of the populace. This

emphasis on local mobilization is equally reflected by the Kōyōsha's leading role in the

establishment of the Kyushu Rengōkai (Kyushu Alliance) in 5/1879, which included members

---

3   Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 18-19; Ishitaki Toyomi, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu: mō hitotsu no jiyū minken, zōhoban* (Fukuoka, Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1997), 22-26, 54-56. For a contemporary account, see "Fukuoka Kōyōsha jikkyō," *Kinji hyōron*, 2/13/1880, in *Fukuoka-kenshi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, eds., Arima Manabu, Ishitaki Toyomi, Eshima Kaori, et all (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon bunka kyokai, 1996), xxxi-xxxiii.
4   The Kōyōsha's activities in Karatsu are supported by an article from the *Chikushi shinpo* (a Fukuoka newspaper) from 10/12/1879, which claims that the Kōyōsha sent representatives to Karatsu and hosted two speech gatherings in 9/1879. The first gathering, it reports, was incredibly popular, requiring hundreds to be sent home and causing the floor to collapse (though none were injured). The second meeting, on the following day, was more controversial. The Kōyōsha applied for a change of setting to meet the demands of the large audience, but faced suspicion from the local authorities. The meeting took place, anyways, and there were supposedly stories of open conflicts between the people and the authorities – though there are no extant copies of the following day's paper, in which these conflicts were supposedly detailed. "Kōyō Gijuku shōsoku, Kōyōsha-in Karatsu enzetsukai," *Chikushi shinpō*, 10/12/1879, in *Fukuoka-kenshi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 426-427.

from the Nakatsu and Karatsu regions of Fukuoka Prefecture, as well as from Saga and

Kumamoto Prefectures. The Rengōkai promoted discussion and unity between political

associations and emphasized the establishment of new associations at the local level.[5]

Furthermore, it is often credited with having laid the groundwork for the establishment of the

Kyushu Kaishintō (Kyushu Progressive Party) in 1882, by promoting regional unity from an

early stage.

In addition to the outward orientation of the association as a means of a mass

mobilization, the Kōyōsha was equally concerned with the cultivation of similar traits amongst

its membership. It was conceived as a "place for the unification of Chikuzen 'men of high

purpose' (*shishi*),"[6] with the Kōyō Gijuku being devoted "solely to the education of youth, to

instill a spirit of loyalty and fidelity (*setsugi-chūretsu no ki*), while, on the other hand,

inculcating them in the ideology of Freedom and Popular Rights (*jiyūminken-shugi*)".[7] The

martial arts academy and legal bureau are reflections of this internal orientation, and the affairs

of the association were determined by a deliberative council (*kaigi*) that was generally restricted

to formal members. However, while the above passage clearly associated the Gijuku with the

education of "youth" (*seinen*), contemporary sources provide no clear differentiation between the

internally oriented education attributed to the academy and the externally oriented pedagogy of

the association itself.

The attempt to characterize the activities of the Kōyōsha is made more difficult by the

nature of Meiji era "political associations," which could include a variety of functions and

internal structures. In fact, Fukui Atsushi's effort to categorize political associations

unintentionally accentuates the arbitrary nature of the term itself, since it encompassed a

---

5   Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 52.
6   "Fukuoka Kōyōsha jikkyō," xxxi.
7   "Gen'yōsha sōsetu no zengo," *Gen'yō* 97 (6/30/1943).

diversity of popular gatherings, private organizations, schools, newspapers, and other

institutions.[8] We must not assume that the common description of the Kōyōsha as a political

association implies a fixed meaning or content. Instead, we must conceive of the association in

its own terms in order to discern its relationship to the Kōyō Gijuku. The prospectus (*shuisho*) of

the Kōyōsha provides a clear articulation of the association's goals and accentuates its unique

institutional configuration. I have reproduced it here with minimal omissions:[9]

> Created with [a sense of] obligation, we have called this [establishment] a *gijuku*. In short, a *gijuku* is a place where the people's rights are cultivated (*baiyō*) through education (*kyōiku*). Once people are wise and discerning in carrying out their obligations, then they can begin to anticipate reviving the nation together. At this time, we like-minded people (*waga-hai dōshi*) have established this association and opened this school with the future of the nation in mind. The promise we make here is, in particular, to implement the way of utility and public welfare (*kosei riyō*) [based] on the principle of universal benevolence (*kōdō hakuai no shugi*). Those older and more advanced should guide the younger and less advanced. The younger should aid the older in accomplishing their tasks. That is, the revival of the nation is ensured through the collaboration of young and old. Together, refine your knowledge, apply yourself in your work! Together, reproach neglect! Together, admonish extravagance! In the end, we wish to cultivate the vitality of independence (*dokuritsu no genki*), and thus will have nothing to be ashamed of before heaven or earth (*fugyō tenchi ni hajizaran to hossu*)... He who has truly set his heart on the nation must also be wise regarding the mutual obligations of society, and when the time comes (*toki ni kirite*) devote oneself to this association. And through our combined efforts (*kyoshin dōryoku*), we will rouse the spirit of autonomy (*jichi no seishin*) in each, and we will hope to aid in the revival of the nation...
> 4/25/1879
> Kōyō Jukusha

The first thing that stands out in this prospectus in the overwhelming usage of affective

terminology in line with the movement's educational discourse. "Education" (*kyōiku*) is here

construed as a process of "cultivating" popular rights through the co-operation and mutual

refinement of its members. The so-called "principle of universal benevolence" is notable for both

its Confucian undertones, reflecting the sense of social responsibility embraced by Fukuoka

---

8   Fukui Atsushi, "Toshi minken kessha no tanjō to tenkai no mekanizumu," in Emura Eiichi, ed., *Jiyū minken to Meiji kenpō* (Yoshikawa Kobukan, 1995), 51-92.
9   "Kōyōsha shogen," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: Jiyū minken undō*, 5-6.

shizoku, as well as its inclusiveness, allowing the discourse of popular rights to be extended to the populace in general. However, there is no denying the paternalistic attitude that permeates the text: the elder are to lead the younger, and social responsibility is put in terms of "public welfare". All of the inherent tensions of popular rights discourse are on display. Popular rights and the "vitality of independence" are presented as intrinsic to human nature, to be "roused," not transmitted, through mutual interaction reminiscent of the *shinboku* ideal discussed in the previous chapter. And yet, the public seems incapable of arousing itself without the intervention of the association. The text's frequent shifts between the liberal lexicon of natural rights and *shizoku* paternalism provides an excellent example of the ambivalence experienced by many ex-samurai *minkenka*.

Most importantly, the text frequently shifts between the goals of the "association" and those of the "academy". Despite beginning with a discussion of the ideals of the academy, the text asserts that it established two institutions and burdens both with the responsibility of promoting a sense of mutual obligation and the cultivation of popular rights. It is, in fact, very difficult to differentiate between the function of the two institutions. This ambiguity is reflected in an article from the Taiei Shinpō newspaper on 4/9/1879 ostensibly about the Kōyō Gijuku. However, the article utilizes a variety of referents that imply it might also be speaking about a political association. It claims that the academy consisted of five or six hundred "association members" (*sha-in*), but that the academy's "students" (*seitō*) were suspected of planning violent activity the night before a national holiday. Typically, these two words would be used to describe members of different institutions, but no clear differentiation is made here. It even attributes the organization of public speech meetings, usually carried by political associations, to this Kōyō

Gijuku. In fact, the article makes no mention of the Kōyōsha at all.[10] Thus, these documents imply what Shin'ya Yasuaki has called an "indivisible" (*hyōri ittai*) relationship between the Kōyōsha and Kōyō Gijuku. He asserts that Kōyōsha members may not have recognized any difference between the two at all, and doubts their existence as separate institutional entities.[11] Shin'ya's argument seems to be supported by the unique title given to the institution in many of its early documents and regulations – including the one cited above – the Kōyō Jukusha, or the "Kōyō Academy and Association".[12] We must therefore be very careful when we impose artificial divisions between the movement's "educational" and "political" dimensions, since they may have been indistinguishable even to its members.

The relationship between the Kōyōsha and Kōyō Gijuku is best understood as a modification of the institutional model offered by the pre-Restoration private academies. Umihara Tōru has emphasized the diverse nature of pre-Meiji private academies in terms of form, content, organization and pedagogy. Particularly relevant for this discussion are the Bakumatsu era *juku* with a "political tinge" (*seiji-teki shikisai*), especially the Shōka Sonjuku of Yoshida Shōin, which tended to be the least systematic in terms of curriculum, teaching style, attendance, etc.[13] Yoshida's academy was notable for the intimate relationship between teacher and student fostered at the school, its student body made up of young, radical personalities, and for promoting political action in the service of the nation. Umihara's label for these institutions, *seiji kessha-teki shijuku*, or "private academy in the style of a political association," reflects the

---

10 "Untitled," *Taiei Shinpō*, 4/9/1879, in *Meiji nyūsu jiten*.
11 Shin'ya Yasuaki, *Jinjō chūgakkō no seiritsu* (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997), 225-230.
12 The regulations for the Kōyōsha utilized the same portmanteau. Their subheading states: "That which concerns educational matters (*gakuji*) is called an 'academy' (*juku*), that which concerns collaboration (*kyōdō*) is called an 'association' (*sha*), they are commonly referred (*tsūshō*) to as *jukusha*." See, "Kōyō jukusha teiki," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 15.
13 Umihara Tōru, *Kinsei shijuku no kenkyū* (Kokubunkaku Shuppan, 1972), 40.

degree to which it integrated both "political" and "educational" functions.[14] This term adequately reflects the institutional relationship between the Kōyōsha and the Kōyō Gijuku.

Fukuoka popular rights academies, including the Kōyō Gijuku and its predecessor, the Seibi Gijuku, were similarly ambiguous in the structure of their educational programmes. We know that the Seibi Gijuku had a "curriculum (*gakka*) [that] ended with Chinese and Nativist texts and [that its] teaching method (*kyōiku no hōhō*) was inadequate".[15] Details about the Kōyō Gijuku are similarly scarce. Classes in law and English were supposedly taught by two Westerners, but it is unclear how long these teachers remained at the school and the degree to which these classes actually took place, though scholars doubt that they had a significant role in the institution.[16] Chinese Studies, on the other hand, had a comparatively large teaching staff, comprised of Takaba Osamu, Kamei Kijurō, Sakamaki Shūtarō, and Usui Asao, and seems to have represented the focal point of study at the Kōyō Gijuku.[17] At the same time, there is no evidence of a specified curriculum, expected term of attendance, examinations, classroom protocol, or even an indication of the academy's targeted age group, all of which are crucial elements to the modern conception of schooling. All we can say with any certainty, as per the association's regulations, is that a number of students supposedly boarded at the school and at least one teacher (*kyōin*) was on staff.[18]

The similarities between the Kōyōsha and Restoration era private academies does not end at their loose organizational structures. The Fukuoka *minkenka* were greatly influenced by the revolutionary character of the Meiji Restoration and its leading figures, as represented in

---

14   For Umihara's general discussion of the Shōka Sonjuku, see *Kinsei shijuku no kenkyū*, 477-512. Umihara has since published a number of books on Yoshida Shōin and education at this academy. See *Shōka Sonjuku no hitobito: kinsei shijuku no ningen keisei* (Mineruva Shobo, 1993).
15   "Fukuoka Kōyōsha jikkyō," xxxii.
16   Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 48-51; Shin'ya*, Jinjō chūgakkō*, 238.
17   Shin'ya, *Jinjō chūgakkō*, 237-238; Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 52-54.
18   "Kōyō jukusha teiki," 17.

Fukuoka activists' participation in the *shizoku* uprisings of the mid-1870s. Yoshida Shōin and Saigo Takamori remained revered figures within the movement, as models of conduct and the ideal of imperial reverence. At the same time, Fukuoka activists identified a 'native,' regional history of the Restoration based on a number of local heroes, such as Hirano Kuniomi, Maki Izumi-no-kami, and Nomura Motoni.[19] The Kōyōsha constructed a similar genealogy of revolutionary education by tracing a lineage back to the Kamei school of Confucianism, to which they attributed the genesis of their own political attitudes. Though Kamei Nanmei, progenitor of the Kamei school and founder of one of the two domain schools in Chikuzen during the 18th century, was primarily concerned with the cultivation of responsible samurai administrators, his ideas were depicted as precursors to those of Chikuzen *shishi* and *minkenka*. Kamei asserted the indivisibility of "political affairs" (*seiji*) and "learning" (*gakumon*) and promoted a highly individualized notion of morality. In directing the actions of his students, Nanmei turned to the senses, to intuition cultivated through the study of the Analects, as the key to virtuous behavior.[20] Fukuoka *minkenka* appropriated these general ideas, describing him as the leader of that generation's pro-Imperial faction (*kinnō-tō*) and crediting him with "greatly inspiring (*kosui*) a positive and *enterprising* spirit (*sekkyoku shinshū no seishin*)".[21] The lineage between the Kōyōsha and Kamei Nanmei was mediated by the instructors at the Kōyō Gijuku: Kamei Kikujirō and, especially, Takaba Osamu. In fact, the Kōyōsha's (and later Gen'yōsha's) leadership

---

19 All three of these personalities are given discussions in Toyama Mitsuru's *Eiyū wo kataru*. Hirano, the most revered and prominent of these figures, was also the lone subject of the incomplete *Chikuzen shishi-den*, placing him at the forefront of this effort to regionalize the Restoration. Nomura, a nun at the time of the Restoration, was emphasized as a maternal figure amongst Fukuoka *shishi* by providing safety for Hirano and Chōshū's Takasugi Shinsaku during the Resostoration. Through Takasugi, one of the most famous of the Restoration's leaders, Fukuoka activists bridged their local genealogy of the Restoration with its most well-known counterpart, thus further legitimizing its claims to revolutionary leadership – what we might term "revolutionary capital".

20 For the best discussion of Kamei Nanmei's educational theories, see Tsujimoto Masashi, *Kinsei kyōiku shisōshi no kenkyū: Nihon ni okeru "kōkyōiku" shisō no genryū* (Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1990), esp. 126-157.

21 Fujimoto Naonori, *Kyojin Toyama Mitsuru-ō* (Taniguchi Shoten 1991 [1942]), 39. Emphasis added.

had been educated and had forged their personal bonds at Takaba's private academy, the

Kōshijuku.[22]

Therefore, while we have no means of recounting the internal educational activities of the

Kōyōsha or the Kōyō Gijuku, its members' recollections of Takaba's academy provides us with

insights into the educational ideals it embodied, as well as the type of setting that might have

been reproduced within the intimate confines of the Kōyōsha.[23] Takaba's Kōshijuku (also called

Ninjinbatake-juku after the area of Fukuoka in which it was located) is a prototypical *juku* in the

academy-qua-political association style identified by Umihara. It was small in scale, lacked a

clearly prescribed curriculum (though we do have copies of her regulations for students), was

focused on a charismatic central figure and became a focal point of radical political activity, with

Tōyama Mitsuru retrospectively referring to it as a "secret anti-government association" (*han-

seifu-teki himitsu kessha*).[24]

The Kōshijuku placed emphasis on character, not content, in its education, with Takaba

fostering an atmosphere that appealed to a particular personality type. Tōyama Mitsuru recalled

being attracted to the energetic (*genki-sō*) atmosphere he overheard at the school upon visiting

Takaba for medical attention. Like many *kangaku juku*, Takaba stressed group study, and the

environment was characterized by a high degree of self-regulation. Takaba, according to

Tōyama, had no illusions of being able to control her students and described them as "the types

---

22   Her epitaph, commissioned by the Gen'yosha and written by Katsu Kaishu, clearly establishes this connection.
     Takaba, who practised as an eye doctor and studied in the evening, came down with an illness. She decided to
     pass on the practice to her nephew and moved to the Ninjinbatake area of Fukuoka where, "[a]t that time, there
     were many strong and chivalrous (*gokyo*) young men. Sensei [Takaba] took them on as students, and taught
     them to act with righteousness (*giho*). In the end, they founded an association and called it Kōyō[sha]. Later,
     they changed it to Gen'yo[sha]. They invited Sensei and made her their teacher." See Katsu Kaishu, "Takaba
     Osamu hi," in Arai Norio, ed., *Fukuoka-ken hishi: Chikuzen no bu* (Fukuoka, Daitō Gakkan Shuppanbu: 1929),
     415-418. As a result of this connection, Takaba was often reverently referred to as the "birth mother of the
     Gen'yōsha" (*Gen'yōsha no umi no haha*).
23   For the best biographical accounts of Takaba and her academy, see the various works by Ishitaki Toyomi:
     "Takaba Osamu shōden: Gen'yōsha wo sodateta joketsu," in *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 189-257; "Joketsu Takaba
     Osamu to deshi-tachi," *Gen'yōsha kinenkan kanhō*, pts. 1-21, vol. 1-21.
24   Nishio Yotarō. *Toyama Mitsuru-ō shōden: miteikō* (Fukuoka, Ashi Shobo, 1981), 41.

99

who will quickly beat someone to within an inch of his life (*hangoroshi ni shitari*) or end up

getting exiled to an island".[25] But as a teacher, Takaba demanded respect, providing the

"guidance and exhortation (*kyōkai*)" needed to prevent them from giving into their violent

impulses or "falling into the serious error of unrighteous behavior (*higi taika*)".[26] She did not

attempt to repress their natural aggressiveness and energy, but to channel it towards focused

political (especially anti-government) activity.[27] When Takaba lectured, the students sat silently

and listened, "as if they were in the presence of a feudal lord," dispelling the raucous atmosphere

that typified the school.[28] Her words came "quickly and smoothly" (*tōtō kenga no ben*),

sometimes she would speak as if in discussion (*danron-fu wo hasshi*), and sometimes she would

speak violently and passionately (*gekiyō*), with tears streaming (*seirui-tomo ni kudaru*) down her

face. The result was as if the figures from history on whom she was lecturing – heroes and

warriors from the Chinese classics – had appeared before the students, rousing their spirits and

inspiring their actions.[29] It was here, asserts Ishitaki Toyomi, that these compatriots "ate and slept

together, fostered their anti-government dispositions, [and] extended the Takaba-juku

[Kōshijuku] network."[30]

Takaba's Kōshijuku is an example par excellence of the affective pedagogical mode and

is startling in its conceptual continuity with the educational vision embraced by the Kōyōsha. At

the Koshijuku, education was an emotional, inspiring process, in which personal bonds were

formed and identities were forged. Notice Takaba's ambivalent position vis-a-vis the students.

Her lectures did not emphasize content – it was not a process of explanation – they embedded

---

25 Nishio, *Toyama Mitsuru-ō shōden*, 43. For a similar account of Toyama's arrival at the Kōshijuku, see Toyama, *Eiyū wo kataru* (Tokyo: Jidaisha, 1943), 327-328.
26 Transcription of speech by Hakoda Rokusuke, 5/1886, in "Takaba-juku wo shinobu: egataki bunken," *Gen'yō*, 6 (11/1/1936).
27 Ishitaki, "Takaba Osamu shōden," 236, 244.
28 "Joju Takaba Osamu," *Chikushi shidan* 46 (April 1930), 44.
29 *Gen'yōsha shashi*, 155.
30 Ishitaki, "Takaba Osamu shōden," 244.

historical narratives within charged emotional registers in order to "arouse" and activate the innate sentiments of the students, and thus inspire action. Her relationship with the students was not one of direct inculcation but was, like that of the *minkenka* to the "people," that of a guide, helping to channel their natural impulses. Placed within a different register, violent impulses and feelings of patriotism can become grounded in a theory of "people's rights," and anti-government sentiments can be transformed from a manifestation of *shizoku* outrage to the desire for political participation. Consequently, the pedagogical vision expressed in recollections of the Kōshijuku resonate closely with those manifest in the prospectus of the Kōyōsha. In that text, the same sense of national resentment and the same belief in the transformative power of association and mutual moral refinement is utilized in the interest of "cultivating the people's rights" and the "vitality of independence". In place of the undercurrent of *shizoku* identity, the Kōyōsha posited a unity of "like-minded people" and transformed *shizoku* paternalism into the ideals of "public welfare" and "universal benevolence". It is not the content that unites these two academies, but their shared assumptions about the means of personal and social change.

Before concluding this discussion, there is one more element in the pedagogical project of the Popular Rights Movement that needs to be discussed in relation to the Kōyōsha: industriousness and economic independence. As outlined previously, the educational configuration of the Popular Rights Movement included an economic component which, in the earliest years of the movement, manifested itself through a variety of relief and aid efforts for struggling ex-samurai – usually referred to as "samurai rehabilitation projects" (*shizoku jusan jigyō*). While the Kōyōsha did not operate a *shizoku jusan* enterprise, its successor organization, the Gen'yōsha, did. According to retrospective newspaper articles, from 1879 or 1880 the Gen'yosha (or perhaps, Kōyōsha, considering the dates given) began a clearing and cultivation

(*sanrin kaikon*) operation in Hirao village, and started planting mulberry trees in hopes of producing silk. By 1886 (the year in which the articles were published), they had managed to produce high quality silk and begun distributing and selling their product throughout the country, as far as Tokyo. Furthermore, it seems as if a number of Gen'yōsha youth lived at the Hirao residence for extended periods of time, their activities consisting of study and the cultivation of the land.[31]

The inclusion of economic enterprises within the institutional configuration of Fukuoka political associations goes back as far as the movement itself. The original "three associations" (*sansha*) in Fukuoka founded by Ochi Hikoshirō and Takebe Koshirō – the Kyōshisha, the Keishisha and the Kyōninsha – each reflected a different focal point of the movement. While the three associations nominally existed as separate entities, there was significant overlap in their membership, especially amongst their leadership;[32] thus, it has been asserted that "their substance (*jitsu*) was one, and their will (*kokorozashi*) was one".[33] Inspired by the development of the Risshisha in Kōchi and the Shigakkō in Satsuma, the Kyōshisha functioned as a rallying point for anti-government *shishi* and promoted the extension of popular rights and national sovereignty. The Keishisha, organized by Narahara Itaru and led by Hakoda Rokusuke, functioned as a youth group (*seinen danketsu* or *seinentō*) in which the teenage members of the Kyōshisha "debated current affairs (*jimu*) and refined (*shirei*) their spirit and commitment (*shiki*) [to political action]".[34] Finally, the Kyōninsha was specifically devoted to the clearing and cultivation of a

---

31 Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 306-307. For Toyama's recollection of the *shizoku jusan* operation, see Nishio, *Toyama Mitsuru-ō*, 129-131.
32 Ochi (of the Kyōninsha) and Takebe (of the Kyōshisha) were longtime collaborators and led the Fukuoka Rebellion together in 1877, Hakoda was an active member in both the Kyōshisha and the Kenshisha, and Hiraoka Kotaro was a leading member of both the Kyōshisha and the Kyōninsha (though his major influence in the latter came after it merged into the Kaikonsha). A listing of the major members of each association is found in *Gen'yōsha shashi*, 104-106.
33 *Gen'yōsha shashi*, 104.
34 "Kojin chokuwa roku (7)," *Gen'yō*, 98 (7/19/1943)

section of land in Kanatake village to the north of Fukuoka city; it was founded by a number of *shizoku* with popular rights sentiments who approached Ochi to lead the association in hopes of building a connection to the local *shishi* community.[35] However, the land never came under cultivation before the outbreak of anti-government hostilities in 1877.

The Kaikonsha (Reclamation Society), the immediate predecessor of the Kōyōsha, was founded by Tōyama, Shindō, Narahara and the rest of the core leadership of the Kyōshisha, following their release from prison (in 11/1877). It nominally consisted of two components, the main political association, and the Mukōhama-juku, its associated academy. Together, they advocated (*kosui*) "freedom and popular rights" and promoted government reform. In the morning, students and association members would cut trees and work on clearing the forest land in the Mukōhama area, which was obtained for cultivation purposes with government permission from Yamazaki Shugo, who also owned the land in Kanatake that the Kyōninsha had hoped to cultivate. The wood obtained through this process was sold in Fukuoka city and used to fund the school, though it did not mitigate the school's financial troubles. In the afternoon, students focused on study, which simultaneously promoted a "loyal and principled disposition" (*setsugi chūretsu no kishō*) and advocated "autonomous and independent discussion" (*jishu dokuritsu no giron*). Finally, swordsmanship and hand-to-hand combat techniques were taught so that students were "diligent in the training of both mind and body".[36]

This training of mind and body was not limited to the afternoon activities at the Mukōhama-juku. Both the Kyōninsha and the Kaikonsha were presented as embodying an implicit mode of self-cultivation and were thus indirectly pedagogical in their own right. In a prospectus from the Kyōninsha, its founders asserted that "to rouse (*funki*) the vitality of

---

35 The letter from the Kyōninsha to Ochi is reprinted in Meidōkan Sōritsu 80-shūnen Kinenkai, *Meidōkan-shi* (Fukuoka, Meidōkan, 1984), 16-17.
36 *Meidōkan-shi*, 23.

independence (*dokuritsu no kiryoku*) in each [shizoku], they must establish a firm and stable

occupation (*eisei fubaku no kōsan*)." This "independent vitality" had a strong moralistic

character, for they argued that *shizoku* that rely on stipends would succumb to the illusion of

unearned money (*furi*) and would bring ruin upon their families. Thus, the labor of self-

sufficiency and the study of practical occupation was not promoted as mere economic necessity,

but was imbued with the same language of "cultivation" and affectivity as the associations and

academies. In this case, the "cultivation" of land precipitated the "cultivation" of an

"independent disposition".[37] In all of these examples, it is very difficult to conceptually or

discursively divorce the pedagogical function of land reclamation projects from that of the

academy or the association. Institutionally, the three were often presented as one, even when they

were given separate titles. Discursively, the same language of affective transmission, and the

same underlying assumption that action – be it political, economic, or scholastic – could arouse

the independence of the individual and the nation was shared across institutions. In the Kōyōsha

and its predecessors, we find a prototype of the revived popular rights associations of the late

1870s, in which the political, economic, and educational were indivisible in their institutional

manifestation.

However, between late 1879 and early 1881, there is evidence of increased institutional

differentiation between the Kōyōsha and Kōyō Gijuku. While the Kōyōsha formally became the

Gen'yōsha in mid-1880,[38] the recollections of Gen'yōsha members trace its founding to a split

---

37 This document is reproduced in *Meidōkan-shi*, 16-17.
38 The proper date to be assigned to this change of name, as well as its circumstances, is the topic of some debate
    in scholarship on the Gen'yōsha. Ishitaki Toyomi, in his initial publication of *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, challenged
    the *Gen'yōsha shashi*'s claim that the Gen'yōsha was founded in early 1881, instead claiming that the split took
    place in late 1879 and thus also dated the founding of the Gen'yōsha to the same time. However, Moriyama
    Seiichi challenged Ishitaki's position using the formal petition for registration that the Gen'yōsha submitted to
    the government in 5/1880 (they were authorized to organize in 8/1880). Ishitaki later presented the 1879 split in
    the association as a "spiritual" division, while accepting mid-1880 as the official starting point for the
    Gen'yōsha. For Ishitaki's summary of the debate, see *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 296-311. See also, Moriyama Seichi,

between the political and educational elements within the association. According to Kōri Toshi, "around late 1879, the Kōyōsha dedicated itself completely to education, while a faction called the Gen'yōsha developed within the association and dedicated itself solely to politics".[39] An article from the *Tokyo Yokohama mainichi shinbun* shortly after the Gen'yōsha received approval from the government confirms that, around that time, it was decided that the Gen'yōsha would concern itself solely with political affairs while the Kōyōsha would take charge of the education of youth.[40] The shift to an educational focus in the Kōyōsha was manifested through the Gijuku, resulting in the latter's transformation into the Tōunkan, a formally registered educational institution, in early 1881.

While the process remains unclear, a number of sources attest to the Kōyō Gijuku's gradual divergence from its parent association. According to a pair of articles from the *Chikushi shinpō* in 9/1879 (around the time the internal conflict developed within the association), the Kōyō Gijuku was re-commencing classes after a summer recess and was offering free tuition to its students. They also claim that textbooks (the first mention of such texts) would be offered free of charge, that a new swordsmanship *dōjō* was being constructed, and that they would begin hosting public speeches (*enzetsukai*).[41] Together, these articles provide the first tangible evidence for a clear distinction between the Kōyōsha and the Kōyō Gijuku. Furthermore, it was at this time – in fact, one day before the publication of the first article – that the Kōyō Gijuku drafted a prospectus separate from the Kōyōsha, though the content was almost identical to the Kōyōsha's

---

"Gen'yōsha no seiritsu jiki ni tsuite," *Kanazawa Keizai Daigaku ronshū* 25(1), 82-111.

39 Quoted in Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 297. This period also represents Toyama Mitsuru's rapid rise through the ranks of the Gen'yōsha, eventually images as its charismatic leading figure in the mid-1880s. Toyama's rise to power and the Gen'yōsha's shift in emphasis from internal politics to external expansionism is a central theme in most major works on the association. However, the purposes of our discussion, Toyama remains a somewhat marginal personality.

40 Reproduced in Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 297-298.

41 "Fukuoka honmachi Kōyō Gijuku ga jugyō wo saikai," *Chikushi shinpō*, 9/5/1879, and "Kōyō Gijuku shōsoku, Kōyōsha-in Karatsu enzetsukai," *Chikushi shinpō,* 10/21/1879, both included in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 425-427.

prospectus of 4/1879. At the end of the year, the Kōyō Gijuku also appeared on the annual

education report (*gakuji nenpō*) for the Ministry of Education for the first time, categorized as a

"middle school". Interestingly, this document also provides a statistical representation of the

school that differs with the claims of other texts. According to the report, the school was operated

by Yoshida Tomojirō,[42] had one teacher (as opposed to the large staff described above), and 120

students. In this case, the production of knowledge about the academy is reflective of its

recognition as a "school," separate from its political association.

This transition was expedited, perhaps initiated, by the central government and its

creation of classificatory and delineating regulations. The Kōyō Gijuku, for example, would have

only appeared on the Education Ministry's annual report under the more lenient regulations of

the *Kyōiku-rei* (Education Ordinance), promulgated in late 1879. This edict was notable for

placing considerable discretion in the hands of local authorities when formulating educational

policy, standards and measures. Under these regulations, a "private school" (*shiritsu gakkō*) –

which would include private academies – was required only to inform the prefectural governor of

its existence and provide statistical information; there was no requirement to secure official

authorization or meet the specific educational standards of the Ministry.[43] Under these

circumstances, it is probable that a greater number of academies were willing to report to their

local government, since it required no alteration of their practices and avoided suspicion.[44] Such

regulations, as Brian Platt has very effectively argued, did not simply coerce educators into

---

42 Yoshida was a friend of Hakoda Rokusuke and member of the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, but is not found on Kōyōsha
    or Gen'yosha registers. Yoshida's relationship to the Kōyōsha and Gen'yosha is, in of itself, a point of interest.
    He was involved in many of the early *minken* enterprises in Fukuoka, such as the Kaikonsha, where he
    collaborated with many future Kōyōsha members. However, by 1892, he found himself on the opposite side as
    the Gen'yosha in the violence that surrounded the second general election.
43 "Kyōiku-rei," in *Gauksei hyakunen shi: shiryōhen*
44 Considering this desire to avoid suspicion and the violent reputation of the Kōyōsha members, it is also possible
    that Yoshida was used as a nominal head of the school for survey purposes. Furthermore, it is also quite possible
    that the remainder of the statistics were altered or inaccurately reported, considering the disinterest in such
    regulations regularly exhibited by *minkenka*.

recognizing government authority, they were also crucial in discursively asserting a narrow and specified conception of "school," represented by the fixed term *gakkō*. By acknowledging and consenting to these regulations, educators were required to "conceive of their school, if only for a moment, as one component of a network of hierarchically organized institutions".[45]

The same process can be identified in the political realm. Moriyama Seiichi has convincingly argued that the establishment of the Gen'yōsha was *primarily* a response to the Assembly Ordinance (*shūkai jōrei*) promulgated by the government in 4/1880.[46] The Assembly Ordinance required any group involved in "political" activity to register as a formal "political association". In addition, all meetings, including speech gatherings, by the association had to be reported in advance and were subject to police surveillance, with any activities "injurious" to public stability being grounds for dispersal. The Assembly Ordinance also placed limitations on political participation itself. Military personnel, police officers, teachers, students, farmers, and factory workers were all restricted from participating in "political" gatherings.[47] This law did not function merely to prevent the infiltration of radical ideas into important institutions, such as schools or the army, it also rhetorically ascribed strict boundaries between different aspects of daily life. Within this text, "politics" was strictly separated from "education," which was deemed to take place in "schools," and institutions had to define themselves within these guidelines. Thus, the Gen'yōsha became a "political" association when it formally registered itself with the government in 5/1880, and the Kōyō Gijuku became an "educational" institution. In other words, the gradual separation between the two was not merely a result of internal disintegration but of

---

45 Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004), 138.
46 Moriyama, "Gen'yōsha no seiritsu," 102-103.
47 The text of the Assembly Ordinance is reproduced in Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 166-168. For the most complete account of the creation of the Assembly Ordinance and its implementation, see Nakahara Hidenori, "'Shūkai Jōrei' rippō enkaku josetsu," in *Meiji keisatsu shi ronshū* (Tokyo, Ryosho Fukyukai, 1980), 115-234.

government measures that enforced clear divisions between their functions. The Education Ordinance began the work of integrating and identifying private academies as formal educational institutions, while the Assembly Ordinance formally separated political institutions and activities from explicitly educational activity.

However, it is important to clarify that *formal* separation does not necessarily imply *actual* separation. Within any law or formal regulation, there is always room for rhetorical flexibility and resistance. The Gen'yōsha is an excellent example of this rhetorical resistance because, as in the case of their land reclamation work in Hirao, they were never solely concerned with "political" activities. It also did not take long for the Gen'yōsha to once again embrace its educational dimension under a new name. In 1886 (some sources say 1888), the Gen'yosha formed the Fukuoka United Youth Association (*Fukuoka rengō seinen-kai*), in which youth studied and trained with the aim of "inspiring a spirit of commitment" (*shiki wo kobu-shi*) and "cultivating determination" (*shisō no renma*)".[48] Katsuki Yukitsune, one of the primary organizers of the youth association, was also placed in charge of "education" within the Gen'yōsha, with classes consisting of lively and intense debates under his guidance.[49] Thus, though the Gen'yōsha was formally recognized as a "political" association, one should not necessarily assume the internalization of government-prescribed categories. By referring to their martial arts academy and school as a "youth association," the Gen'yōsha circumvented formal categories, and by making "education" an unstructured and informal affair, they were able to maintain an internal institutional configuration quite similar to that of the Kōyōsha.

---

48 Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 395-396.
49 *Meidōkan-shi*, 40.

The Differentiated Model of Educational Practice: The New Political Associations

Although they left space for resistance, the various regulations, ordinances, and laws promulgated by the Meiji state had a considerable effect on the institutional structure of the Popular Rights Movement. In the face of these laws, political associations were forced to redefine themselves, and educational or industrial institutions were forced to adhere to separate, normalizing regulations. The unified institutional model of the Kōyōsha gave way, from the turn of the 1880s, to a new conception of the *minken* association as the central node in a network of institutions that often shared the same leadership group. However, the educational lexicon connected with popular rights acted as a unifying undercurrent between these associations and provided them with an enduring sense of continuity. In other words, in spite of the state's attempts to define and regulate the activities of particular institutions, the persistence of the movement's educational discourse implies that "political" or "economic" activities were still imbued with pedagogical significance, and that its pedagogical dimension provided unity for the movement. In this section, I discuss the new political associations and schools created by popular rights activists and explore the relationship between them. As these associations emerged along regional boundaries, and as this was a period of rapid expansion for the Popular Rights Movement, it will also provide an opportunity to look at the role played by these institutions in the construction of regional identity.

This period is characterized by the emergence of three large political associations, with each one rising to prominence in a different region of Fukuoka Prefecture. The Chitosekai in Kurume and the Yūmekai in Yanagawa are both representative of the expansion of popular rights activity in the prefecture, as both were established in the growing municipalities of southwest

Fukuoka – the former Chikugo province.[50] Kurume activists, led by Kuratomi Tsunejirō and

Sugimoto Keisuke, established the Chitosekai in 8/1880 and became the major association in the

region.[51] They sent representatives to the second Kokkai Kisei Dōmei conference and hosted

regular speech gatherings throughout the region, often in collaboration with the Gen'yōsha.[52] In

late 1881, the Chitosekai changed its name to the Chikusuikai, though its leadership and

regulations remained intact. The Yūmeikai was originally established as the Kōshinsha

(Compatriot Society) in early 1880, but changed its name to the Kōdōsha (Society of the Public)

in April of that year. The leadership of the Kōshinsha and Kōdōsha included a number of

prominent local activists, such as Tachibana Chikanobu, Totoki Ichirō, and Okada Kurō. These

associations' broad social base was also reflected in the leadership roles of Nagae Jun'ichi and,

later, Noda Utarō, both of whom were local entrepreneurs. In 3/1881, the Kōdōsha ceased

operations, only to be replaced by the Yūmeikai six months later. The latter association would

play a leading role in the establishment of the Kyushu Kaishintō, becoming the most powerful

popular rights association in the prefecture in 1882.[53] Together with the Chikuzen Kyōaikai,

which was established in 12/1879 as a "private assembly," or a "union of the people of

Chikuzen" (*Chikuzen jinmin kōshu no ketsugō*) regardless of wealth or social status,[54] these

associations became the vanguard of the Fukuoka Popular Rights Movement, and, unlike the

Kyōaikai (which dissolved in 1881), remained influential until the middle of the decade.

All three of these associations retained the Kōyōsha's emphasis on local mobilization,

though they lacked the latter's internal educational orientation, represented by the Kōyō Gijuku.

50 For the best overall summary of these associations, see "Kaidan," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, xlvii-lxxviii.
51 Though Shindō Toyōo claimed that the Chitosekai functioned as a private assembly like the Kyōaikai, the sources present is as a more typical political association. Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 10-11.
52 For example, "Gen'yosha shain, Chitosekai shain no Mizuma enzetsukai," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 6/14/1881, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 450-451.
53 Shindō, *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō*, 31.
54 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-ni kikai ketsugiroku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 43.

Instead, all three took the expansion of the movement and the integration of new constituencies as the focal point of their activities. Popular publications, public speech gatherings, and local campaigns made up the bulk of their outreach efforts. The Kyōaikai, in particular, was active in promoting the creation of political associations in small and depressed localities. In late 1880, they embarked on region-wide speaking tours and Kyōaikai members acted as leading figures in a number of associations and friendship societies.[55] In 12/1880, Hakoda Rokusuke went to speak to the Onga district Shinboku-kai, while Yamanaka Tachigi was the leader of the Yūaikai in Chikuhō, and Nakamura Kōsuke and Minamikawa Seiyu were the leaders of another local association, the Shimeikai – all were Kyōaikai members. All of these associations, as well as the Shisuikai and the Kyōdō Kisei-sha (both in Chikuhō), were promoted by the Kyōaikai and functioned as local branches of the larger assembly. These efforts were crucial to the realization of their "private assembly," which was intended to represent the 15 counties (*gun*) and 933 municipalities (*chōson*) of Chikuzen Province (*chikuzen ikkoku*). Similarly, the Yūmeikai established county-level sub-associations throughout the region, and assigned managers, elected by the local population, to assist with municipal administration.[56] As a result of these speaking tours, dozens of new associations were established while the movement engaged with the concerns of a more diverse social base.

The Kyōaikai also provides an excellent example of the dynamic ways in which local identity and autonomy were promoted during this period. The choice of Chikuzen province, not Fukuoka prefecture, as its area of mobilization represented a dual challenge to the hegemonic authority of the Meiji state. In mobilizing a regional identity based on an ancient imperial province that also acted as the boundaries for the Fukuoka-Kuroda domain during the Edo

---

55 A number of reports from these tours were serialized in *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* between 12/9 and 12/11/1880.
56 "Nibunai shinboku-kaisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 156.

period, Kyōaikai members implicitly challenged the arbitrary nature of Fukuoka prefecture itself, which combined the territories of two-and-a-half ancient provinces. Doing so implied an appeal to an older, enduring form of local identification. The nature of Kyōaikai activities added a political dimension to this critique of the state. As a functioning parliamentary body, the Kyōaikai challenged the authority of the Fukuoka prefectural assembly (*Fukuoka-kenkai*), established under the Prefectural Assembly Regulations (*fu-kenkai kisoku*) of 1878. While the formal prefectural assemblies were limited to a consultative role in the creation of the prefectural budget and placed heavy financial restrictions on participation, the Chikuzen Kyōaikai promoted political discussions, as well as various enterprises, all while aiming to provide a voice for all the citizens of the region.[57] The Kyōaikai therefore combined an appeal to an alternative form of local identity while attempting to realize that identity institutionally by promoting a more legitimate form of regional parliamentary politics.

Considering this emphasis on mobilization and political education, it is no surprise that these associations' regulations and prospectuses were interspersed with pedagogical referents. Both the Kyōaikai and the Chitosekai placed the "cultivation of ability" in their foundational principles, while the Chikusuikai promoted the "arousal of a spirit of autonomy" in theirs. Meanwhile, Nagae's Yūmeikai took "enterprise" (*shinshū*) as its ideal, and proclaimed its goal to be the "correction of arrogant customs, namely, the cultivation of a brave and discerning vigor (*yū-kaei no kiryoku wo yashinau*)"[58] and the "attainment of independence by all".[59] In order to achieve these goals, all of these associations stressed "education and the promotion of industry" (*kyōiku shokusan*) as the focal point of their activities. The former, according to the Kyōaikai's Kōri Toshi, provided the intellectual foundation for the establishment of a national assembly,

---

57 Ishitaki, *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu*, 71-73.
58 "Kyōyōsha kitei," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 189.
59 "Yūmeikai kisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 220.

while the latter precipitated the revision of the unequal treaties. However, unlike the Kōyōsha, these associations were unable to directly establish educational institutions or economic enterprises; they could only assist in their conceptualization. Thus, Kōri conceived of the Kyōaikai as "being like a governor (*chisha*) that encourages [education and industry], with local notables (*yūshisha*) carrying out these activities directly".[60] In other words, Kōri saw the Kyōaikai as a site for deliberation, decision and direction, for the effective coordination of the *minken undō*'s educational and economic goals throughout the Chikuzen region. Even though his declaration preceded the promulgation of the Assembly Ordinance by two months, it was an example of the ways in which political associations reinvented themselves in the wake of increased government regulation. Despite institutional disaggregation, the Popular Rights Movement in Fukuoka retained a pedagogical dimension that transcended singular institutional boundaries.

The leadership of these associations were therefore not prevented from establishing or participating in other educational or industrial enterprises, as long as they were formally separate from the political associations. Looking at these other institutional contexts will show that not only did the same educational preconceptions continue to imbue their activities, but that they remained closely intertwined. A number of activists participated in educational affairs individually, acting as authors or publishers of textbooks, as teachers, or as members of local educational committees (*kyōiku-kai*).[61] Nagae Jun'ichi of the Yūmeikai was a regular speaker at the openings of various private schools throughout Chikugo province. The Ōmeisha,[62] a private

---

60 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-ni kikai ketsugiroku," 43.
61 For example, Nagae Jun'ichi of the Yūmeikai was a prominent member of the Fukuoka Educational Committee, even establishing a branch office in Yanagawa.
62 Not to be confused with the political association founded in Tokyo in 1878. which was responsible for one of the earliest and most-progressive draft constitutions of the period. For a discussion of the Tokyo Ōmeisha, see Kyu Hyun Kim, *The Age of Visions and Arguments: Pariliamentarianism and the National Public Sphere in Early Meiji Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007), 163-173.

academy established by Kurume's Ueno Raihachi in 1881,[63] emphasized "friendship" (*shinboku*)

and "knowledge" (*chishiki*) as the source of "civilization" (*bunmei*) and thus considered his

school to be a "place for like-minded people (*dōshi*) to gather, and to pursue their studies

(*gakujutsu*) through mutual encouragement (*sessa takuma*)". Ueno promoted the school as a

place that functioned both as a site for practical study, as well as gathering site for like-minded

individuals, imbued, in his words, with a "patriotic spirit" (*aikoku no seishin*) and a "sincere

concern for their country" (*yūkoku no shisei*).[64] For him, the restoration of national sovereignty

implied the establishment of a national assembly, for which study and refinement of knowledge

was a necessary prerequisite. Ueno thus utilized a familiar vocabulary that stressed the affective

qualities of academy education while rhetorically linking his school to the broader interests of

the *minken undō*.

The most prominent private school established by popular rights activists in Fukuoka

during this period was the Tōunkan, founded in 1/1881. The Tōunkan has typically been

discussed as a transitional institution in the establishment of secondary schools in Fukuoka, or

for its contributions to the field of law in the region.[65] I will instead emphasize its continuities

with the educational ideals of the Popular Rights Movement and its close connection to the

Kyōaikai. As mentioned above, over the course of 1879-1880, the Kōyō Gijuku seemingly

underwent a process of gradual differentiation and separation from the Kōyōsha. From the

middle of 1880, Hakoda Rokusuke, leading figure of the Kōyōsha's educational faction and

---

63 While Ueno is not listed on any of the remaining membership registers from the Chitosekai, his activity
    overlapped considerably with that of Chitosekai leadership, as evidenced by his active participation in various
    Kurume friendship societies, as well as the Kyushu Progressive Party the following year.
64 "Ōmeisha setsuritsu no shishu," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō,* 142-145.
65 Shin'ya Yasuaki emphasizes the Tōunkan as a bridge between private academies like the Kōyō Gijuku (its
    predecessor) and the Shūyūkan Secondary School (its successor). Kaneda Heiichiro's article is the classic work
    on the Tōunkan, but places particular emphasis on its role in the development of legal education. Shin'ya, *Jinjō
    chugakkō*, 221-244. Kaneda, "Tōunkan shokō," in *Kyushu Senmon Gakkō kaikō kinen ronbunshū* (Tokyo:
    Shimizu Shoten, 1940): 201-221.

member of the Kyōaikai,[66] began lobbying for the creation of a new private school in Fukuoka, having obtained financial aid from the former *daimyō* of Fukuoka (the lord of Fukuoka domain), Kuroda Nagashige. Endowing the school with the goal of "extending popular rights,"[67] Hakoda proposed a curriculum based on "Western studies" (*yōgaku*), emphasizing law and English, with a sub-focus on traditional "Chinese studies" (*kangaku*). At a special meeting (*rinjikai*) between 7/18 and 7/21, the Kyōaikai showed interest in Hakoda's effort to unify a number of private academies (*juku*) and establish an "'irregular' specialized (vocational) school" (*hensoku senmon gakko*). "If this assembly were to take charge of this process," the Kyōaikai argued, "the establishment of the school would be expedited, and its influence (*ikioi*) would extend across Kyushu".[68] The assembly agreed. In 1/7/1881, Yoshida Tomojirō notified the prefectural authorities of the Kōyō Gijuku's closure, while Higuchi Sō and Okazawa Sanchū notified the governor of the establishment of a "vocational school," the Tōunkan.[69]

The Tōunkan was designed to unify and formalize the educational activities of the four most influential *juku* from the Honmachi district of Fukuoka city, one of which was the Kōyō

---

66 Hakoda served a variety of functions within the Kyōaikai. During the first meeting, he was put in charge of the consultative committee for the "petitions" (*kengen*) calling for the creation of a national assembly and the revision of the unequal treaty. He was, in 1/1880, sent to Tokyo to submit the petition to the government, along with Hayashi Onosuke. At the same time, he was elected head (*gichō*) of the Kyōaikai assembly (later he acted as assistant-head) and acted as elected representative of Torikai village in Sawara county.

67 *Tokyo Yokohama mainichi* shinbun, 5/23/1880. This article, the first statement of Hakoda's plan to form a new school was later withdrawn by the author. According to Moriyama Seiichi, it was a result of the potential political implications of explicitly claiming such a goal; therefore, the phrase "people's rights" does not appear in any later Tōunkan sources. This is an excellent example of the effects of the Meiji government's educational and political regulations: in order to create a new school within the categories prescribed by the regime, a formal renunciation of "political" aims was required (Moriyama, "Gen'yōsha no seiritsu," 85).

68 "Chikuzen Kyōaikai dai-yon ki rinjikai ketsugiroku bekkan," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 52.

69 Shin'ya, *Jinjō* chūgakkō, 230-231. Under both the Educational Ordiance (in effect at the time of the schools original conception) and the Revised Educational Ordinance (*kyoiku-rei kaisei*) which took effect in late 1880, "specialized" or "vocational" schools (*senmon gakko*) were identifiable by their emphasis on a single subject matter. The term *hensoku gakko*, or "irregular" school, referred to any school that did not fit into the standards set for "regular" (*jinjo*) schools, but was still registered with the ministry. The role of the Kyōaikai in this process and the successful establishment of the school is confirmed by a report from the Kyōaikai to the Kokkai Kisei Domei in early 1881. See "'Omeisha kenpō sōan' no kakutei oyobi 'Kokkai Kisei Dōmei Honbuhō' no shōkai," *Shichō* 110/111 (1972), 50-51.

Gijuku. It therefore targeted the same demographic that often attended private academies by providing an advanced educational course for those above the age of admission to public secondary schools or those lacking the necessary requirements to enter the public system (e.g. an elementary degree, finances, etc.). In doing so, it aimed at the "cultivation and development (*yōsei kaishin*) of [the people's] knowledge and virtue (*chitoku*)".[70] Unlike the Kōyōsha, the Tōunkan fully articulated its curriculum and regulations. It separated its classes into two streams, one emphasizing the study of English language and society (*eigaku*) and the other emphasizing the study of law (*hōritsu*), with supplemental classes in Japanese history, literary composition and Chinese studies. Each course was to be completed within three years and each year was split into two semesters, with a clearly elaborated study plan.[71] The Tōunkan employed between nine and twelve instructors, and its enrolment numbers increased from 300 to 410 before it was incorporated into the prefectural educational structure as the Shūyūkan English School (later Shūyūkan Secondary School) in 1884.

Despite its more formal curriculum, the foundational documents of the Tōunkan reproduce many of the discursive markers of the *minken* educational discourse. According to the Tōunkan's founders, the welfare of the people relied not only on "enlightened knowledge" (*jinchi no kaimei*) but also on "sympathy and compassion of the heart" (*jinshin no tontoku*). In other words, the "cultivation" of character remained a central, if implicit (since there were no courses in ethics or morality), focus of the school. According to the Tōunkan's informal prospectus, published in *Tokyo Yokohama mainichi shinbun* in late 1880,[72]

---

70 Shin'ya, *Jinjō chūgakkō*, 230-231.
71 Shin'ya, *Jinjō chūgakkō*, 239-242. This curriculum is conveniently articulated as a table on page 241.
72 Quoted in Moriyama, "Gen'yōsha no seiritsu," 82-84. While it is likely that this prospectus was distributed in Fukuoka as well, its presence in a Tokyo-based national newspaper requires explanation. In addition to the support of the Kuroda family and a prefectural disbursement, the school was heavily funded by a Chikuzen diaspora, former member of the province and domain who had establishment themselves in Tokyo – usually in positions of economic or political power. See, Shin'ya, *Jinjō chūgakkō*, 233-237.

Here, we will rouse the sentiments (*jinshin*) of our Chikuzen neighbors, and will bind [them through] the power of co-operation and mutual affection (*kyōdō-kōai no chikara*). We ask of you, compatriots of this country (*dōkoku dōhō*) [here referring to Chikuzen Province], if you are a person who shares sympathy with our cause, and if you are touched (*kan-zuru*) that our friendship (*kyūgi*) with Lord Kuroda persists today, then come together and lend us your combined strength (*chikara wo soe*), and thus bring about our goal!...We truly believe that if you enrol your children in this school to form this knowledge and skill, it will have the effect of endowing them with the power (*jitsuryoku*) of co-operation and mutual affection.

Here, the concept of "co-operation and mutual affection" effectively bridges the activities of the Tōunkan and those of Kyōaikai, since it also acted as one of the latter's foundational principles. It also resonates with the Kōyōsha's declaration of "the principle of love for all people" (*kōdō hakuai no shugi*), showing a continuity in movement's emphasis on benevolence and affective modes of cultivation. While the acquisition of "knowledge and skills" constituted the content of the school's curriculum, its goals lay in the well-being (*kōfuku*) of the students and the cultivation of a sense of regional unity. At the same time, in targeting its discourse towards the general populace and its education towards their *children*, the Tōunkan claimed a narrower constituency than the Kōyōsha or Kōyō Gijuku. The Kōyōsha may have ostensibly been concerned with the education of "youth" (*seinen*) – a concept imposed on it retrospectively – but there is no evidence that it targeted a specific age group in practice. After all, Tōyama Mitsuru entered Takaba's Koshijuku in his late teens, and the majority of her students were even older than him. So, if the Kōyōsha inherited the educational mode of Takaba's academy, it is likely that it was equally uninterested in the age of its students. However, as we have seen with the establishment of the Fukuoka United Youth Association by the Gen'yōsha, "education" came increasingly to be associated with an explicit focus on the fostering, training, and inculcation of children and teens. Thus, the power of the Ministry of Education's ordinances was not limited to the demarcation of a specified "educational" sphere, but extended to the very notion that the

117

training of youth was a powerful means of social change.

More importantly, the Tōunkan suggests some ways in which popular rights activists imbued even a formal and modern educational institution with a subversive notion of identity, grounded in the region or province (*kuni*). As discussed in relation to the Kyōaikai, the adoption of Chikuzen as its site of mobilization attempted to transform Edo period identifications with one's domain (*han*) into modern notions of local autonomy and federalism. By addressing itself to "our Chikuzen neighbors" and "compatriots of this country," the Tōunkan's prospectus conflated this pre-Meiji locus of identity with the modern invocation of the "people" as citizens. In this regard, the financial assistance provided by the Kuroda family was essential.[73] It allowed them to imbue their enterprise with the legitimacy of an accepted authority figure by transforming the economic capital invested by Kuroda into an expression of paternal benevolence mediated through the founders of the school. Hence, the school's founders were legitimized as proxies for the old domainal authority, while the fealty previously expected of samurai vassals was abstracted to the "people" of Chikuzen, who were called upon to express their appreciation to the lord through support of the school.[74] As a result, the Tounkan asserted a relationship of benevolence and fealty between themselves and this newly imagined "people". As opposed to the Kōyōsha's appropriation of a locally based revolutionary genealogy, the Tōunkan invoked a new, almost nationalistic form of popular identification that reflected the Popular Rights Movement's general shift to an emphasis on broad local mobilization.

---

73 In addition to providing funding, the relationship between the former domain lord and the school was reinforced reflected the name of the school itself, which was derived from the family seal (*kamon*) of the Kuroda house, and by the fact that until the construction of a new campus in Fukuoka city, the Tōunkan used one of the former *daimyo*'s residences to hold its classes (*Meidōkan-shi*, 37).

74 Shin'ya Yasuaki emphasizes this reconstructed "domain" identity as one of the identifying features of secondary education in Fukuoka. During this period (1880), government regulation over education was at its weakest point, and the result was a formulation of secondary education that was supported by and embraced regional identity – in particular that represented by the former domain lord. This embedded identity persisted with the establishment of the Shuyukan in 1884, which borrowed its name from the for domain school (*hanko*) of Fukuoka domain, where the Kuroda family vassals were educated.

Together with the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, the Tōunkan came to embody a complete

inversion, a grotesque reflection of the institutional structure of the state itself. In the Kyōaikai,

the citizens of Chikuzen found administrative leadership, a popularly elected assembly, and a

focal point for political discourse, which was intended to circumvent the limitations of the

formally prescribed prefectual assembly. In the Tōunkan, they established an educational

institution that, while registered with the state, emphasized educational achievement in terms of

its contributions to regional prosperity. Kären Wigen has discussed the ways in which provincial

identities were revived during the Meiji period as "objects of veneration and figures of rhetoric"

in Nagano,[75] but while she emphasized provincial identification as facilitating the establishment

of modern prefectures,[76] the case of Fukuoka was far more contentious. Fukuoka Prefecture of

the 1880s traversed multiple old provinces, and the articulation of Chikuzen identity challenged

the prefectural notion of region itself, "aim[ing] to impose as legitimate a new definition of the

frontiers and to get people to know and recognize the *region* that is thus delimited in opposition

to the dominant definition".[77] The argument here is not that utilization of Chikuzen as spatial

marker was an attempt to revive pre-modern identities. Rather, the invocation of Chikuzen

identity is best understood as an attempt to construct a new, resistant mode of popular

identification through the appropriation of familiar markers of identity – provincial names,

domainal lords, etc. In doing so, they merged the *minken* notions of local autonomy and popular

representation with a notion of locality that was grounded in a supposedly natural, eternal

provincialism. Both of these institutions were thus framed as sites for the arousal and cultivation

of one's innate ability and sense of unity, with Chikuzen as its naturalized focal point.

---

75 Kären Wigen, *A Malleable Map: Geographies of Restoration in Central Japan, 1600-1912* (Berkeley, UC Press, 2010), 14.
76 Wigen, *A Malleable Map*, 130-131.
77 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 223. Italics in original.

Thus far, I have attempted to trace a number of shifts in popular rights education as it was manifest through institutions. On the one hand, early popular rights associations were characterized by an undifferentiated institutional structure, in which political, educational, and economic dimensions were intertwined within a single institutional body. These institutions were inspired by the political academies of the late Tokugawa period and were structured around intimate student-teacher relationships and a tightly knit membership. On the other hand, later associations underwent a process of escalating differentiation as a result of government intervention. These later associations and schools were also created during a period of rapid expansion for the movement and thus embraced a far more inclusive membership structure. In place of the idealized image of a small band of radicals united in a single cause – as was embraced by the Kōyōsha – these later associations appropriated a notion of region based on pre-modern provinces, thus equating the cause of popular rights with that of local identity. However, in both cases these institutions were expressed through a shared lexicon that imbued all of these sites with educational value. The intersection of political, economic, and educational activities remained a constant theme in the later political associations, and the sense of identity they attempted to cultivate was to be activated affectively. In all of these cases, the activities of the Popular Rights Movement should be understood as being pedagogically oriented, with the extension of the movement and its ideals often taking precedence over direct political agitation.

Newspapers and Public Speeches as Educational Media

While we can easily account for the pedagogical meaning attributed to a wide variety of institutions and social settings, it is far more different to explore the function of those institutions themselves. Sadly, we have no personal accounts from within the classrooms of the Kōyōsha or

the Tōunkan, or from the deliberative assembly of the Chikuzen Kyōaikai. While we have analyzed some of the pedagogical assumptions, as well as the limitations of the movement's educational theory – its paternalism and the ambiguous relationship between the *minkenka* and his "people" – we have far fewer means of exploring these pedagogical relationships in context. For this reason, we must shift our discussion to a more narrow analysis of the two most prominent media associated with the Popular Rights Movement, as well as those that left us the most detailed documentary records: newspapers and public speeches (*enzetsukai*). As popular media that blossomed in Japan around the same time, newspapers and public speeches were closely connected – a connection acknowledged both by Japanese scholars and by the *minkenka* themselves. Both have been depicted as media particularly suited to the populist and democratic ideals of the movement, as well as indispensable conduits for the extension of popular rights thought during the Meiji period. However, neither of these media were exclusive to the Popular Rights Movement itself, since the press and public speeches were utilized just as frequently by pro-government and state organizations. In other words, these media produced highly ambivalent educational spaces, capable of producing diverse meanings, and thus became sites of struggle for authority over that meaning. Consequently, they provide with ideal settings for an analysis of the ways in which popular rights activists attempted to actualize their educational ideals, as well as the explicit and implicit challenges they faced in doing so.

A number of Japanese and English-language scholars have identified the popular press and public speech gatherings as two of the primary backbones of the Popular Rights Movement. Despite existing within a diverse field of *minken* institutions, newspapers and public speeches have remained the most iconic and representative media of the Popular Rights Movement for scholars, not only because they were cherished by activists at the time, but because they

121

represent Japan's first 'mass media,' aimed at the educational and mobilization of the Japanese population in its entirety – and thus implicitly reflect democratic ideals. Inada Masahiro, in his *Jiyū minken no bunkashi* (A Cultural History of Freedom and Popular Rights), identified these two sites as producing a new "political culture" (*seiji bunka*) in the Meiji period, going so far as to claim that they "played the role of a popular assembly" during the late-1870s.[78]

Both newspapers and public speeches were new to Meiji Japan, though neither was the product of the Popular Rights Movement itself.[79] Japan's first newspapers were shogunate-sponsored translations of Dutch newspapers in the 1860s, followed by commercial papers in Yokohama a few years later. The earliest political newspapers were published during the war following the Meiji Restoration, in which pro-shogunate authors often directly criticized the new regime. It was not until the mid-1870s, however, in the controversy surrounding Itagaki Taisuke's departure from the government and the earliest calls for a national assembly, that the mass press took on a populist and political tone, tying their development to the nascent Popular Rights Movement. Similarly, public speeches and their primary mode of speech, oratory (*yūben*), were first practised in Tokyo by Fukuzawa Yukichi and other Meirokusha members in the mid-1870s. Adopted from Western manuals, the earliest speeches were intended to transmit Western knowledge to urban elites. Under the auspices of the Popular Rights Movement, however, the character of *enzetsukai* gradually shifted, first from lectures that took place internally in political associations to public gatherings in localities intended to spread Popular Rights ideas, and then to

---

78 Inada Masahiro, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi: atarashii seiji bunka no tanjō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2000), 152. Inada makes this claim specifically regarding newspapers, but his discussion of *enzetsukai* similarly emphasizes the role of public speeches in creating sites wherein the people shifted from passive subjects to active political subjects.

79 For a discussion of early newspapers, see James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: Univ. Of Hawai'i Press, 1997), esp. 12-67. In Japanese, see Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 3-159.

122

mass political performances that often included thousands of spectators.[80] This shift precipitated

a more performative rhetorical style, intended to appeal to larger, diverse audiences.[81] Thus,

while neither was the product of the Popular Rights Movement itself, both newspapers and

public speeches formed a symbiotic relationship with the movement. While the media

popularized and expanded popular rights thought, the movement politicized the media.

In many ways, the educational function of the popular press and public speeches is

obvious, implicit in the "enlightenment" purpose for which they were initiated. Both are

fundamentally concerned with the transmission of knowledge, with speeches targeting an

immediate audience, and the press reaching a larger, literate readership. Regulations (*kisoku*) for

public speeches in Nagoya hoped that "by gathering like-minded individuals together, pursuing

their studies, and developing their knowledge," they could "assist in the enlightenment of society

and benefit the people".[82] Similarly, the Meiji government's first newspaper ordinance (*shinbun-*

shi jōrei) claimed that "[n]ewspapers take as their goal the expansion of knowledge," to "destroy

obstinate and prejudiced minds and lead them to land of 'civilization and enlightenment'".[83]

However, the educational function of public speeches and newspapers goes beyond their

content. Both included a secondary educative function, found at the intersection of their roles as

"framing" media and methods of identity construction.[84] Framing analysis, often utilized by

social movement theorists, helps move beyond explicit pedagogy to the more implicit

pedagogical function of apparently neutral representations of reality. These media do "not only

---

80   This process is traced in Matsuzaki Minoru, "Chiiki kessha to enzetsu, toron" in *Jiyū minken no saihakken* , eds. Anzai Kunio and Tasaki Kimitsukasa (Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2006): 29-56.
81   See Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi,* 283-297.
82   Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 254.
83   Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 95. For a similar emphasis, see Huffman, *Creating a Public*, 6.
84   Scott A. Hunt, Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow, "Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities," in Enrique Laraña, et al, eds. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 186.

focus and punctuate 'reality' [but] also serve as modes of attribution and articulation".[85] In other words, each constructs a representation of reality, which functions to attribute roles – protagonist, antagonist, and audience – and to articulate problems and solutions. At the same time, they attempt to construct identities built around these roles and representations of reality, and to inculcate those identities within the target audience. Thus, a proper educational analysis must go beyond the mere transmission of information. We must examine the nature of these media more closely in order to discern some of the implicit educational meanings embedded within them as well as the ways in which skilled rhetoricians attempted to use them. Doing so will also illuminate some of the inherent tensions that made these media contested pedagogical sites.

First, I will analyze a series of speeches by a Nagasaki *minkenka* named Takarabe Masanosuke in Kurume during late 1885 in order to explore *enzetsukai* as pedagogical sites.[86] It is important to note that Takarabe's speeches, which gathered small audiences of 50-100 people, took place well after the height of public speaking as a form of political activity, which began its decline in 1883.[87] This decline was at least partially precipitated by the promulgation of a new Assembly Ordinance in 1882 that significantly tightened restrictions on political activity and increased punishments for transgressions. Furthermore, as most of these speeches are transcriptions by on-site police officers, many are incomplete, while all are prone to misrepresentation. Still, these documents represent the best-available accounts of *enzetsukai* in Fukuoka Prefecture.

Takarabe was quite explicit about the educational purpose behind his speeches, and described that purpose in a lexicon representative of the Popular Rights Movement. In discussing

---

85   Scott A. Hunt, Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow, "Identity Fields," 190.
86   These speeches can be found in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 349-414.
87   Yasumaru Yoshio, "Minshū undō ni okeru 'kindai'," in Yasumaru Yoshio and Fukaya Katsumi, eds., *Minshū undō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 461.

his role as speaker, he claimed that "I rise to this podium and attempt to speak, in order to arouse (*funki-seshime*) political thought within the people (*jinmin*), in order to make them know that they should cherish and value freedom (*jiyū*), and in order to plant the seeds of popular rights and freedom (*minken jiyū*) [in preparation] for the national assembly of 1890".[88] Here, Takarabe utilized a familiar rhetoric that places himself as a mediator between "the people" and their own freedom. A significant part of this process involved awakening "the people" to their status as such, and to invert the theoretical power relationship between the state and its citizens. In another speech, Takarabe asserted that there was a natural division in society between "superiors" (*yūsha*) and "inferiors" (*ressha*), with the latter being none other than "we the people" (*ware ware jinmin*). However, he asserted, even though this natural relationship was predicated on the latter following the laws and regulations of the former, "superiors" were not sanctioned to abuse this power. "What is it that regulates the state?," he asked, "it is, namely, the trust (*shin'yō*) of the countless 'people'!".[89] On the one hand, Takarabe's usage of "the people" serves "to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity"[90] and to "unite his audience into a single interest group by replacing differences in origin, profession, class and life-style" with a singular, coherent identity.[91] On the other hand, he performs a narrative inversion of those power relations, asserting "the people" to be the source of political legitimacy and establishing a basis for political participation and mobilization.

But the public speech was not only a site for the formation of the "people's" identity, it also provided the speaker with an opportunity to formulate his, or the *minkenka*'s, own

---

88   Report from speech on 11/29/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 390.
89   Report from speech on 12/11/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 401.
90   Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, "Introduction: Themes and Principles in the Analysis of Political Discourse," in Chilton and Schäffner, eds., *Politics as Talk and Text: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002), 30.
91   Ruth Wodak, "Fragmented Identities: Redefining and Recontextualizing National Identity," in Chilton and Schäffner, eds., *Politics as Talk and Text*, 156.

relationship with the audience and the state, to rhetorically reconstruct the political world in such

a way as to privilege his own position. "We the people must know the direction (*hōkō*) of

politics," Takarabe began a speech on 12/19/1885, "and thus the government must be informed

about the inclinations of the people". Takarabe thus laid the groundwork for an argument that

positioned the *minkenka* between the populace and the state. He continued,

> However, amongst those people that oppose our arguments, there are factions (*tōha*) that
> think the people are completely lacking in vitality (*museishin*), and that even if there are
> those amongst the people who dislike the government officials, none would speak up. It is
> we activists (*wagahai ronshi*) that act as agents (*toritsugi*) of public opinion (*kōgi*)[92]
> today. And it is we activists who, from the podium, transmit the inclinations of the
> people to the Meiji government... Thus, our pilgrimage-like tours to give speeches in
> every part of the Japanese country are intended to carry public opinion through to the
> government, and to carry out the imperial order of our August Emperor (*waga seimei-
> naru tennō heika*) from the first year of Meiji [referring to the Charter Oath]...And when
> we hear you call "Here! Here!" and "No! No!" in response to our speeches, we know the
> public opinion... We do not travel to all regions to beguile [you] (*hana no shita wo
> yashinau*), or to blandish (*chōchō nan-nan*) [you], we wander (*haikai*) for the sake of the
> people (*jinmin*).[93]

This passage is primarily concerned with positioning, placing the *minkenka*, here referred

to as an "activist," as an arbiter between the state and the "people," for whom he acts as "agent".

Despite raising the common critique of the people as lacking political volition or "vitality,"

---

92 The term *kōgi*, here rendered "public opinion" but also frequently translated as "public discussion," has a long
   history as a concept of political legitimization in Japan, and therefore no fixed meaning. In the Warring States
   and Edo periods, *kōgi* ("public rites" or "public authority") was used to signify legitimate authority and buttress
   military might by juxtaposing concern with "public" affairs against "private," selfish interests. It was therefore
   often used to represent domainal, and more importantly shogunal authority itself. *Kōgi*'s more modern meanings
   of "public opinion" and "public discussion" emerged in the middle of the 19th century as challenges to
   Tokugawa efforts at centralization (and Tokugawa power in general) and later the perceived autocracy of the
   Meiji state. The meaning of the word, however, remained in the flux. The "public" could be used to refer solely
   daimyō outside of the ruling parties, the samurai class regardless of rank, or the Japanese populace in general.
   While not restricted to the Popular Rights Movement, *minken* activists took the call for *kōgi* in the Emperor's
   Charter Oath of 1868 as a demand for the establishment of a popular assembly through the power of the
   people's "opinion" could be mobilized. Even in the latter case, the "public" could be restricted based on socio-
   economic class, race, gender, or ethnicity. The claim to *kōgi*, however, was consistently used a claim to political
   legitimacy and the interests of the nation. For an excellent general discussion, see Kim, *The Age of Visions and
   Arguments*, 48-66, 114-119; for the pre-modern concept, see Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs,
   1570-1680* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), 26-29.
93 Report from speech on 12/19/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 412-413.

Takarabe does not directly dispute this claim; instead he asserts the necessity of the *minkenka* in not only speaking for the people, but also in bringing out the realization of the imperial will. Yet, within the setting of this immediate interaction between speaker and audience, between *minkenka* and his "people," Takarabe provides the listeners with a positive role. It is through their responses to the statements of the speaker that the popular will can be known, and that the opponents of popular rights – the state and pro-government factions alike – can become aware of it. Takarabe builds on the inversion inherent in the idea of the "people" as the source of political legitimacy, and indirectly turns the *minkenka* into the director and arbitrator of popular political agency. He conflates the activist's power to speak with his right to *represent*, and, perhaps unintentionally, reduces the voice of the "people" to simple calls of "Here! Here!" and "No! No!" In reconstructing the site of the public speech as such, Takarabe establishes the relationship between the *minkenka* and the "people" and forms an implicit contract with the latter, a power of attorney of sorts.

The setting of the public speech gathering itself was also uniquely endowed to demonstrate the relationship between the "people" and the state in practice, because of the proximity in which it placed the actors of this political drama. As Yasumaru Yoshio has emphasized, *enzetsukai* were made up of a "dynamic correlation" of three primary subject positions: the speaker; the audience, or the "people;" and the police, who were "an embodiment of authority".[94] In other words, public speeches had a prominent performative dimension that allowed the speaker to negotiate the relationship between himself and the audience, as well as between the audience and the on-site policeman. This explains the particular emphasis that Takarabe and others placed on the creation of an "excited atmosphere" (*nekkyō no kūkan*) through their rhetoric and interactions. As Suehiro Shigeyasu of Tokyo's *Choya shinbun*

94   Yasumaru, "Minshū undō ni okeru 'kindai'," 467.

proclaimed, "[t]he more heated and the more dangerous [my speech] is, the louder and rapid the applause".[95] And according to Inada Masahiro, the interaction between speaker and audience fostered an environment in which the audience became active members in the spectacle.[96] *Enzetsukai* not only came to reflect the Popular Rights Movement's emphasis on popular inclusion and mobilization, it also became a site through which activists could temporarily bring their "people" into political discourse, and to demonstrate the power of a unified people against the oppressive state. At the same time, as we have seen, the participation of the people did not necessarily mean that their voices became any clearer. Popular rights activists often used the setting to reinforce their own relationship with the populace, in addition to that between the people and the state.

However, these mass spectacles could not proceed without obstruction, and the state maintained a permeating presence at these gatherings. Under article 5 of the 1880 Assembly Ordinance, a uniformed police officer was to be present at all political *enzetsukai*, where he would inspect the speakers' letter of authorization – all political speeches needed to be authorized by the local police department (article 1) – and oversee the proceedings. Furthermore, the officer had the right to disperse any meeting wherein speeches or behavior were deemed to "disturb public peace" (*kokuan ni bōgai*) (article 6).[97] Smaller gatherings were watched over by a single officer, while at larger meetings, especially those in which controversial figures or orators known for inciting violence were present, numerous police officers were stationed to maintain order. The meaning attached to these officers, however, was in flux. For skilled orators, *enzetsukai* provided invaluable pedagogical opportunities to rhetorically construct police presence as a reflection of state oppression and government interference (*kanshō*). On multiple occasions,

---

95 "Genron no shinshuku," in Yasumaru and Fukaya, *Minshū undō*, 187.
96 Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 290-293
97 Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 166-168

Takarabe attempted to foster tensions between audience and police, and to utilize that tension to draw parallels between the *content* of the speech to its oppressive *context*. This was important because speeches were not permitted to comment on contemporary political events. It was thus up to the speaker to metaphorically relate their abstract content to lived realities.

For example, during his 11/29 speech, Takarabe announced that he had intended to follow his "political speech" (*seidan enzetsukai*) with an "academic speech" (*gakujutsu enzetsukai*). Just in case,[98] Takarabe filed an application with the police department, which had been declined.[99] Fearing punishment if he reported to the station as ordered, Takarabe postponed the academic lecture. Thus, the presence of the state loomed over the meeting as an obstruction to Takarabe's free expression. His speech on interventionist politics (*kanshō seiji*) also took on a more aggressive tone:

> If [the government's] wisdom has gradually increased to this day, then we must also say that the people (*jinmin*) have evolved similarly. But, why then does today's government levy high taxes and show a preference for interventionist politics? It must be because the government thinks we people are stupid (*baka*)! Because they see us as stupid, they must interfere...[100]

Here, the police department's present intervention provides an important backdrop for Takarabe's speech, and provides his rhetoric with added passion. The "interventionist politics" abstractly alluded in the speech is juxtaposed to the police's local interference with the *enzetsukai*. He frames the denied application – an immediate reality about which limited information is revealed – as an extension of the dualistic relationship between protagonist ("*minkenka*") and antagonist ("government"), and attempts to draw the audience into a positive identification as a member of

---

98 Under the 1880 Assembly Ordinance, "academic" (*gakujutsu*) speeches were not required to be registered with the local police department. However, with the 1882 addition to the ordinance, all speeches had to be reported.
99 According to an amendment to the police report, permission was denied do to some "unclear things" (*fumei no koto*) in the application.
100 Report from speech on 11/29/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 391.

an oppressed "people". Takarabe then entered into a second tirade regarding his denied

application, before returning to the topic of intervention with even greater intensity. His frequent

shifts between general content and its illustration through the behavior of the authorities served

merely to incite the audience, forcing the officer to disperse the meeting and to portray it as an

attempt to inspire doubt and distrust towards the government.

At the same time, this pedagogical space was highly contested, and ambiguous in its

meaning. While the event provided the speaker with an important opportunity to rhetorically

create, transmit, and demonstrate his desired representation of reality, it also provided, as a

strictly regulated site, important opportunities for the authorities to impose social order. A

number of Takarabe's speeches began not with impassioned rhetoric, but with the request that,

"following article 7 of the Assembly Ordinance, if there are any among us that are teachers or

students at national, public, or private schools, soldiers, or civilian employees, we regretfully ask

you to leave".[101] This type of self-regulation in accordance with law, lamented by other

prominent *minkenka* as well,[102] not only reflected recognition of state power, but also acted as an

acquiescence to the principles of division enforced by the state – the strict separation of

"political" speeches from its potential effects on the realms of the school or military. Police

presence itself thus cultivated a recognition and affirmation of state authority.

However, police presence at *enzetsukai* simultaneously risked arousing the passions of

the audience and pushing them towards a *minken* identification. There are, after all, numerous

examples of these tensions boiling over into physical altercations between the police and

---

101 For example, see the report from his speech on 9/24/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 373.

102 A *Chōya shinbun* article in 1881 similarly lamented the self-regulation that the Assembly Ordinance inspired ("Genron no shinshuku," 188-190).

outraged audiences.[103] Policemen were thus concerned with diffusing potentially explosive situations from the outset. During a speech on 9/21/1885, Takarabe was seemingly shocked to find no police officer present. Since we have an account of the speech, there clearly was an attending officer, either unnoticed by Takarabe or undercover,[104] but the absence of a clear authority figure seemingly inhibited Takarabe's aggressive rhetoric. "If I have no opponent (*aite*)," he lamented, "it is not really worth speaking (*en-zuru hari-ai ga nai*). Perhaps [a policeman] will be dispatched tomorrow evening..." The apparent lack of an authority figure diffused the tense atmosphere and, according to the police report, the meeting disbanded quietly shortly thereafter. To the officer, "[i]t seems like the people only listened with the hope of an argument developing between the speaker (*benshi*) and a police officer".[105] In these cases, the police seemingly recognized their role as a mobilizing element and hid their presence. The authorities were thus left with the difficult choice of imposing their power at the risk of inciting violence, or to veil their presence while allowing the speaker free reign. Similarly, speakers were increasingly trapped between the Scylla of direct state intervention, and the Charybdis of audience malaise.

For popular rights activists, public speech gatherings provided a powerful site for the cultivation of a new political subjectivity amongst the populace. They allowed the speaker to rhetorically invite the listeners into the imagined "people" of the nation, to provide direct experiences of state repression, and to interact directly with the objects of the movement's pedagogical discourse. Newspapers, on the other hand, sacrificed the immediacy of the

---

103 The Kōyōsha speech gathering in Karatsu in 10/1879 ended is skirmishes between police and audience members. "Kōyō Gijuku shōsoku, Kōyōshain Karatsu enzetsukai" 427.

104 Nakahara Hidenori has provided examples in which police officers infiltrated illegal speech gatherings in order to report events to the government and to intervene if necessary ("'Shūkai Jōrei' rippō enkaku josetsu," 214-215). However, I have found few examples of policemen covertly infiltrating speeches that had been formally registered with the police department, and thus were required to have an officer on site.

105 Report from speech on 9/24/1885, *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 373

enzetsukai for a larger potential audience. Fukuoka's first mass newspaper[106] with a political hue

was the *Mesamashi shinbun*, founded in 12/1878, which changed its name to *Chikushi shinpō* in

1879, before becoming Fukuoka's first daily paper, the *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, in early

1880. As such, the *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* became one of the primary outlets for the

expansion of popular rights activities and ideas in Fukuoka, and was closely associated with

leading Fukuoka *minkenka* well into the 1890s.[107] In 1887, Tōyama Mitsuru and the Gen'yōsha

founded the prefecture's second daily newspaper, the *Fukuryō shinpō* in support of the pro-

government party (disparagingly referred to as *ritō*, or the "party of officials" by *minkenka*).

Thus, in the latter half of the 1880s, Fukuoka newspapers congregated along party lines,

reflecting an intensified split amongst former *minkenka*, who populated both sides of the divide.

Through its news reports and, especially, its political editorials, the popular rights press in

Fukuoka retained a pedagogical function, a continuation of the enlightenment ideals that

precipitated the adoption of the media in the early 1870s. The *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*

purported to promote the advancement of local culture and public edification,[108] while the

Fukuryō shinpō promised to "broadly debate benefit and harm, both domestic and external, to

develop the eyes and ears of the masses (*kōshū*)," and to "endeavor to cultivate the knowledge

and benefits of all fields of learning (*kakkyō*)". Tōyama Mitsuru later claimed that the paper was

created to cultivate (*yōsei*) self-sacrificing people (*gisei-teki na jinbutsu*), who would work in the

interest of the nation".[109] This enlightenment project was not limited to the text itself.

Throughout the prefectures, including Fukuoka, reading rooms and reading groups were

---

106 For the best overview of Fukuoka newspapers in the Meiji period, see *Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi* (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1978).
107 Its founding president, Suwa Tatehiro, was a Kyōaikai member and founder of the Chikuyōsha. Later presidents included Kōri Toshi, Okata Koroku, Yoshida Tomojirō and Kurotomi Tsunejirō, all of whom were prominent *minkenka*
108 *Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi*, 39, 56.
109 Quoted in *Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi*, 77-78.

established to assist in providing access to newspapers for a larger audience. Moreover, the proliferation of "correspondence" (*tōsho*) pages allowed the papers to retain a degree of direct interaction with their readership. Together, these features have led Inada Masahiro to describe newspapers as the "schools of civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika no gakkō*) during the Meiji period.[110]

Newspapers also retained an implicit pedagogical dimension, represented by its most mundane and representative function: reportage. Reportage was initially conceived as embodying the primary function of the press. All of the government press regulations specified the right and privilege of the newspapers to report on a variety of events, from the weather, business and the market, to foreign affairs. Conversely, political argumentation was highly restricted, with heavy punishments (fine or imprisonment) being prescribed for any article intended to incite the masses or challenge the authority of the government.[111] This separation between reportage and argumentation was reflected in the layout of the papers themselves. The editorial and correspondence pages became the primary battleground for political debates and were often the identifying works of a given paper. News reports (*zappō*) were, on the other hand, presented in an unimposing, simple, and straightforward fashion, in order to present the information in the most neutral (*chūsei*) fashion. The various newspaper edicts thus imposed a division between the "political" and other fields, analogous to the function of the Assembly Ordinance. And, like public speakers, newspaper editors self-regulated and adopted this separation.

Following Bourdieu's analysis of the journalistic field, however, we must acknowledge the importance of reportage in the legitimation of these papers and the field itself. While fiery

---

110 Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 136.
111 For the regulations, see Inada, *Jiyū minken no bunkashi*, 175-179. See also Huffman, *Creating a Public*, 81-85.

editorials could result in the fining or banning of a given paper, news reports were a source of

legitimacy both within the field and in the larger public sphere. Despite the assertion of its

political allegiances by Tōyama and later historians, the *Fukuryō shinpō* made impartiality and

party neutrality its first formal principle upon publication, establishing the basis of its legitimacy

as a daily paper,[112] and its path-breaking accounts of the exploitation of miners at the Takashima

Coal Mine in Nagasaki (to be discussed again in the next chapter) garnered the paper a great deal

of publicity, popularizing the topic for larger, more powerful papers. This emphasis on neutrality

represented one of the most important "presuppositions that [was] constitutive of the very

functioning of the [journalistic field]".[113] To present stories in a neutral fashion, without apparent

partiality, was an essential requirement for the press in its reportage-qua-educational function.

Neutral reporting thus became a potentially powerful means for the imposition of

"visions and divisions of social reality," a key feature of both political and educational activity. If

public speeches used the tense atmosphere and immediate experience of its setting as the raw

material of its rhetorical and pedagogical project, newspapers utilized local and national events,

including *enzetsukai*. As William Gamson has emphasized, the facts articulated in news reports

"take on their meaning by being embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives

them coherence".[114] The selection (and omission) of facts, the causal statements used to connect

them, the larger narratives in which they are placed, and even the very words used to identify

different actors, groups, or actions are all part of this framing process.[115] They act, in other

words, as what Pierre Bourdieu calls "authorized accounts" that assert "what people really have

---

112 *Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi*, 77.
113 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Political Field, the Social Science Field, and the Journalistic Field," in Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu, eds., *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2005), 36.
114 William A. Gamson, "News as Framing: Comments on Graber," *American Behavioral Science* 33:2 (Nov/Dec 1989), 157.
115 For the best formulation of this process, see Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse," *Political Communication* 10: 55-75.

done".[116] By articulating events in the disinterested register considered to be appropriate for a newspaper, these reports facilitated the "neutralization" – the objectification – of their "arbitrary" representations, thus providing them with the legitimacy required for any pedagogical relationship.[117] For example, when the *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* reported on a local peasant uprising (*nōmin ikki*) in the Chikugo region in late 1880, it functioned to impose "formal coherence on a virtual chaos of 'events'".[118] In doing so, this account reflects the pedagogical function of reportage, and the way in which it could impose new classificatory schemes on events that risked tapping into a negative cultural memory.

According to the report,[119] peasant violence broke out in south Mizuma County on 10/21/1880, seemingly as a response to the attempted introduction of new extermination methods for moth infestations, and the police were called in to suppress the riots.

> If one looks at this violence superficially (*hiso wo mite*), it would appear that government officials in charge of promoting industry (*kangyō kanri*) repeatedly admonished [the farmers] to improve their agriculture, [but] the ignorant peasants (*shungu nōmin*) stubbornly loathed the application of logic. Finally, in the face of this ardent encouragement (*shōrei no setsu-naru*) they resorted only to reckless violence.

Contrary to this popular image, the article asserts that the "application [of new farming techniques] was not a result of the officials' encouragement, but of the *people's* (*jinmin*) self-inspiration (*jifun*)" (emphasis added). The article recounts the initial proposals for the adoption of new techniques by local notables (*yūshi*), the establishment of local associations (*rengō-kai*) to discuss their implementation, and the creation of training centers (*yōiku-jo*) for instruction in Kozuma, Shimotsuma, and Mizuma counties. Consequently, when the surrounding counties

---

116 Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990), 136.
117 Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1977), 11-13, 108.
118 Hayden White, "The Narrativization of Real Events," in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago: Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1981), 251.
119 *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 12/10/1880 and 12/11/1880.

decided against adopting such measures (via popular assembly), the people of Mizuma came to resent the economic burden imposed by the program and wanted to appeal for leniency, but were denied by the county head (*gun-chō*) since it had been agreed upon by the local association. The result was increased frustration and a violent encounter with local authorities.

What makes this article pedagogical? On a number of occasions, the article conjures a collective memory of early Meiji peasant uprisings that rejected the modernizing policies of the Meiji state (such as conscription, compulsory schooling, land tax reforms and the 'liberation' of the Japanese outcaste, or *tokushu buraku,* community),[120] and summarily rejects that reading by attempting to inscribe new meanings upon these events. In contrast to the "violent behavior" (*ranbō rōseki*) of "outlaws" (*kyōto*) depicted in accounts of the Chikuzen uprising in Fukuoka in 1873,[121] all of which marginalized the peasantry as uncivilized others, this article includes the peasants in "the people" (*jinmin*). While regretting the violent behavior of the peasants, it emphasizes that the state was not the active element in this scenario, that this was not a narrative of resistance against enlightenment. Rather, the people's attempts to co-operate and take initiative in improving their living standards had resulted in heightened tensions, so this violence was "brought about by the people themselves (*jinmin kakuji*)". The author thus inverts the typical narrative of peasant revolt to clear them of a "dirty name" (that of backwards reactionaries), claiming that to look at the events in this way, "I believe, has the incredible effect [of showing] the improvement of agriculture and the extension of popular rights (*minken*)" in Mizuma. It thus

---

120 For a general discussion of peasant uprisings in the early Meiji period, see Stephen Vlastos, "Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885," in Marius B. Jansen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), 368-382.

121 Ishitaki Toyomi, *Chikuzen takeyari ikki kenkyū nōto* (Fukuoka: Karansha, 2012), 93, 101. The Chikuzen Takeyari Ikki (Bamboo Spear Uprising), which took place in 6/1873, was the largest and mode well-known peasant uprising in Fukuoka during the Meiji period. Violence spread from the north part of the prefecture to the southwest corner. Over 300,000 peasants rose up and even burned down the prefectural office. Many future *minkenka* were recruited as a make shift military force in order to quell the uprising, were others were supporters of the peasantry.

picks up the pieces of a "chaotic" event and inverts the commonsensical way in which it would have been read, turning it instead into an articulation of local self-governance and the enterprising spirit of the country's people. It also, therefore, contributes to a re-articulation of the "people" itself, replacing a conception of peasants as objects to be "civilized" or "enlightened" with one of farmers as already realized political agents. By altering the narrative frame through which the event is presented, this account repositions its literate, relatively wealthy leadership alongside the peasantry. It implicitly likens police involvement in the affair to the reactive behavior of officers at public speeches, ineffective and oppressive agents who obstruct the autonomy of the "people". All of these elements are intended to reconstruct the way in which the reader conceives of such events, and to thereby assist in the extension of popular rights discourse.

The pedagogical function of popular media was not limited to the works of popular rights activists, making both the media itself and their representations highly contested. Accordingly, while press reports of speeches emphasized size, attendance, the inefficacy of police repression, and the emotional response of the audience, police reports, at least those from Takarabe's speeches, often interjected comments into the transcription of speeches that disputed such claims. In addition to linguistic markers that imply summarization ("etc, etc.," "and so forth"), and thus the irrelevance of the content, the reports regularly assert the small number of audience members and their low social status (*katō-shakai*). They frequently assert that "the logic was scattered and the point of the speech difficult to grasp," or that "because they were nothing more than deluded and impractical arguments (*mōsō-kūron*)" the people were not moved, and did not applaud.[122]

While police reports were intended for internal circulation and surveillance purposes, opposing newspapers, in this case the *Fukuryō shinpō*, constituted a more direct challenge to the

---

122 Report from speech on 9/26/1885, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō*, 382

interpretive frames of the Popular Rights Movement. When violence broke out during a speech

gathering in 1892, both the *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* and the *Fukuryō shinpō* attempted to

impose their own interpretations. This event took place in the context of escalating tensions

between popular rights party (*mintō*) associations and those in support of the pro-government

parties (*ritō*), leading up to the violent second general election of the national assembly.

"Because it happened [in the mists of] a packed audience," began the *Fukuryō shinpō* account,

acknowledging the chaos, "it is impossible to know what really caused this disorder (*konzatsu*

wo hikiokosu)". "When we asked afterwards," it continued, "there was a rumor that the *mintō*

faction used three hundred *yen* to recruit over 100 ruffians (*buraikan*) from Kurume, Saga, Kama

(Country), and Kaho (County) [all surrounding locales], and used their violent prowess (*bōi*) to

abuse just people (*seigi no hitobito*)".[123] Under the veil of disinterested reportage, the *Shinpō*

account conjured up images of the *sōshi*, ruffians and "violence specialists" that wreaked havoc

on the political world leading up to the election,[124] and embedded its narrative within a very

simple framework of *mintō* aggression. Between formal government accounts and opposing

papers, the popular rights press faced frequent competition over its representation of reality, as

each attempted to impose order on chaotic events, and to reinforce the basic assumptions of their

political positions.

One must also acknowledge the tensions between educational media even within the

same institutional configuration. In most cases, Fukuoka newspapers refrained from publishing

the complete text of speeches, perhaps because they lacked the space or proper stenographic

---

123 "Hiramatsu enzetsukai no dai konzatsu," *Fukuryō shinpō*, 2/3/92. Unfortunately, there are no remaining copies
of Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbun from this time period, so only the pro-government side is available for this
incident.
124 For an overview of the Sōshi and their connection to the second general election in English, see Eiko Maruko
Siniawer, *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan, 1860-1960* (Ithaca: Cornell
Univ. Press, 2008), 42-73. In Japanese, see Kawanishi Hidemichi, "Meiji seinen to nashonarizumu," in Iwai
Tadakuma, ed., *Kindai Nihon shakai to tennōsei* (Tokyo, Kashiwa Shobo, 1988): 137-166.

skills, or possibly because the content of these speeches generally overlapped with the kinds of topics discussed in the correspondence and editorial pages. Thus, as in Takarabe's case, we have to turn to other accounts, such as police reports, that often obscure the content in favor of their own framing narratives. At the same time, the newspaper reports impose their own frames and obscure the content of the speeches themselves. These reports rarely acknowledge the words, arguments, and gestures that comprise the speaker's pedagogical repertoire. Thus, in the case of the violent *enzetsukai* in 1892, the motives, words or actions connected to the explosion of violence – known or not by the author – are muted in favor of an "attributive" frame that may or may not reflect the intentions or actions of the participants. As Gamson has emphasized, even political spectacles like *enzetsukai* were dependent on the media to represent their actions favorably and faithfully.[125] However, regardless of the accuracy of that representation, the events were undoubtedly re-articulated to fit the pedagogical mode of a different medium.

More importantly, as forms of pedagogical communication, both *enzetsukai* and newspapers are embedded with unequal power relationships and thus entail unilateral modes of communication. *Enzetsukai* reflected many of the structural and rhetorical features common to all forms of public or academic speech. During these speeches, the orator stood at a podium (*endan*), "the focal point on which all gazes converge,"[126] through which he maintained a spatial distance from his audience necessary for the effective transmission from "teacher" to "student". His ability to determine the tempo, topic, and the direction of discourse equated to an ability to dictate the relevance of material, influence audience response, and reinforce certain visions of social reality. The role of the audience in *enzetsukai* was equally constrained, allowing the speaker to "call for participation or objection without fear, [because] the answers ["Here! Here!";

---

125 See William A. Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld, "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (July 1993): 114-125.
126 Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*, 109.

"No! No!"]... are generally no more than *responses*" activated by cues on the part of the speaker (pauses, rhetorical questions, etc.).[127] In fact, popular participation seems to have been most clearly actualized in the disruption of these supposedly participatory events. The only way of confirming the arousal of anti-authority emotions was in their manifestation through mob violence, which simultaneously disrupted the pedagogic communication and often left the event outside of the control of the speaker. But even in such chaotic circumstances, the press, as we have seen, remained a vital source for the imposition of order and meaning.

Similarly, within newspaper reports, editorial staffs were given primacy in determining the representation of events, and it was contingent upon the reader to acclimate him or herself to the mode of discourse imposed by the press. Thus, while the claims of scholars like Inada Masahiro that these media were vital components of the public sphere – that the press acted as a national assembly, or that the audience became conscious political actors during *enzetsukai* – provide valuable insights into the centrality of these media for the proliferation of popular rights thought, there is a limit to this representation. Correspondence pages, through which readers could participate in the political debates of the day, were an editorial prerogative, allowing the staff to not only select the works of most interest to them, but to intervene in the presentation of the popular submissions themselves.[128] Therefore, in spite of, or perhaps *because of* their "enlightenment" ideals, these media were embedded within unequal power relationships and served to reinforce the authority of the speaker. Despite the ideal of popular political participation they expressed, these media endowed only the speaker with the ability to enunciate

127 Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*, 109.
128 This was the case with a public submission in the 10/30/1879 issue of the *Chikushi shinpō* that promoted increased government intervention in local schools, seemingly as a critique of the Education Ordinance that had recently been promulgated. The editors of the paper, who were generally critically of government intervention, prefaced the article with a statement that they did not agree with the argument stated therein, and would present a counter-argument in a future issue. In this case, the editors presented a diverging opinion but attempted to use their editorial power to delegitimize its statements, and to guide the reader's opinion before even reading the piece.

those ideals and to establish their own identity, in addition to those of the "people" and the state.

Education and Economic Productivity in the 1880s: Changes and Consequences

A prominent theme throughout this chapter has been emphasis on educational activity as a process of articulating identities and relationships. In assuming a leadership role vis-a-vis the Japanese populace, popular rights activists engaged in a process of defining themselves, the "people" whom they were to lead, and the nature of the relationship between them. In doing so, they hoped to cultivate a new political subjectivity amongst the people, and to channel it towards a greater interest in political participation – even indirect participation. However, as the case of newspapers and public speeches illustrated, this was a highly ambivalent process. In assuming a leadership position towards their "people," *minkenka* risked precluding the populace from having a voice. There is no better example of the limitations and potential consequences of the educational discourse of popular rights than the various industrial enterprises created by *minkenka,* especially the new samurai rehabilitation programs of the 1880s. It is for this reason that I have separated these institutions from their contexts as part of the differentiated educational configuration described above in order to present them as the culmination of some of this chapter's darker underlying themes.

As explained in chapter one, the "economic" dimension of the Fukuoka Popular Rights Movement's educational theory embraced two tenuously balanced meanings. On the one hand, it promoted private enterprise as a means of establishing economic self-sufficiency and the financial prerequisites for direct participation in parliamentary politics. On the other hand, industriousness and frugality had a moral component, refining the body and soul, and cultivating the "spirit of independence" required of all citizens. The balance of these two strands can be seen

clearly in their implementation through a variety of early *shizoku jusan* enterprises, such as the

"three associations" (*sansha*), the Kaikonsha, and the Gen'yōsha, each of which treated economic

activity as a material and spiritual prerequisite for political efficacy. Starting in 1878, the central

government itself began disbursing low interest loans to private entrepreneurs and associations

attempting to provide employment opportunities to former samurai, including provisions under

which the interest or loans would be forgiven after a fixed number of years.[129] Just as the

Assembly and Education Ordinances helped differentiate the "political" and "educational"

realms, *shizoku jusan* laws were regulated by the state and emphasized a differentiated

"economic" rehabilitation. In fact, they were created to aid samurai industry for the specific

purpose of quelling *shizoku* unrest and *de*-politicizing this element of Japanese society.[130] These

enterprises included a broad range of activities, including land reclamation, textile production,

cottage industry, and coal or charcoal production, amongst others. Formally registered samurai

rehabilitation projects proliferated in Fukuoka during the 1880s, with the three largest being the

Chikuyōsha (in Chikuzen), the Akamatsu-sha (in Kurume), and the Shisekisha (in Yanagawa).

Members of popular rights associations played prominent roles in all three of these enterprises.

All three associations shared a similar historical trajectory, as well as an emphasis on

textile production. The Chikuyōsha was established in 1880 with the intention promoting

mulberry field cultivation, sericulture, and the silk industry in order to provide employment for

shizoku, but did not begin operation until it received a government disbursement in 1885. The

founding party and leadership core of the Chikuyōsha included a number of Kyōaikai members:

---

129 For an overview of the Meiji state's *shizoku jusan* policies, see Okamoto Yukio, *Shizoku jusan to keiei: Fukuoka ni okeru shizoku jusan no keieishi-teki kōsatsu* (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006), 5-13. A more detailed discussion, including primary sources, can be found in the introduction to Okamoto's edited volume of the *Fukuoka-ken shi*. See, "Kaisetsu," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, xiii-xxix. For the classic work in the field, see Kikkawa Hidezo, *Shizoku jusan no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1935).
130 Okamoto, *Shizoku jusan to keiei*, 8. State *shizoku jusan* regulations for first initiated the year following the largest *shizoku* uprising, the Seinan War in 1877.

Suwa Tatehiro, Nakamura Kōsuke, and Minamikawa Seiyū.[131] The Akamatsu-sha in Kurume was formally established in 1883, though sources related to a previous, similar enterprise date back to 1880. The leading figure in the Akamatsu-sha was Miya Arinosuke, who was also an influential member of the Chitosekai and its successor, the Chikusuikai.[132] The association started with the promotion of kimono and umbrella production, both of which were chosen because they had traditionally been produced in the area, before also incorporating leather production and mulberry field cultivation with state *shizoku jusan* support in 1885. The Shisekisha was established in 1885 and also emphasized silk manufacture, justifying its enterprise on the basis of a tradition of silk production in the region, thus making it a "suitable" (*tekitō*) industry for its *shizoku*. Its founding members and leadership core included a number of *minkenka*, specifically those affiliated with the Yanagawa Yūmeikai. All three associations made textile production, one of the driving forces behind Japanese industrialization,[133] their focal point, and were organized around the same regional identities that were appropriated by the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, the Chitosekai, and the Yanagawa Yūmeikai.

On the surface, these *shizoku jusan* enterprises seem to fit the mold of the movement's differentiated institutional configuration. Not only did the leadership overlap considerably with the political associations, but *shizoku jusan* administrators made liberal use of the core concepts from the Popular Rights Movement's educational discourse. The speeches at the opening ceremony of the Chikuyōsha, for example, borrowed heavily from *minken* rhetoric. The governor of Fukuoka Prefecture, perhaps knowing his audience, prayed that the association would,

---

131 Of the 32 influential members listed by Okamoto, 15 had also been members of the Kyōaikai, 23 were members of the Prefectural Assembly, and three would go on to hold a seat in the national diet (Okamoto, *Shizoku jusan to keiei*, 105-109).

132 Other influential Chitosekai members or Kurume *minkenka* involed with the Akamatsu-sha include: Naitō Hanjirō, Honjō Takehachirō, Sasa Osamu, and others. All but one of the founding executive (*yakuin*) members was politically active in the Popular Rights Movement (Okamoto, *Shizoku jusan to keiei*, 162-165)

133 Janet Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market in Japan's Industrializing Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 1-2

"without yielding in the face of difficulty, arouse a spirit of independence and self-motivation (*jifun jiritsu no seishin*), and extend it to all of their brethren [*shizoku*] (*hiroku dōzoku ni fukyū-sen*)". In the following speech, Suwa Tatehiro, president of the Chikuyōsha, reinforced this emphasis. The strength of the nation, he stated, is not only to be found in military might, but comes from the "spirit of the people" (*jinmin no seishin*).[134] However, in myopically pursuing the "cultivation" (*yōsei*) of this "spirit," people are prone to making poor choices in the face of hardship. Instead, Suwa argued, the cultivation of this spirit was dependent on the "liveliness" (*kappatsu*) of trade.[135] While maintaining the importance of the individual in national strength and asserting the necessity of affectively arousing a "spirit of independence," Suwa performed a subtle causative inversion of typical *minken* argumentation. He privileged national economic prosperity as a means of cultivating the individual "spirit," with the association's founders ensconced as the agents of this prosperity. By giving primacy to commerce – the export and sale of goods – Suwa's speech subordinated the spiritual dimension of industry to its productive function. Here, the cultivation of the spirit is a bi-product of general economic prosperity, not the process of procuring that prosperity, at least for the *shizoku* employees of the association. It was, as one critique put it, up to the leaders of the association to exhibit *their* "enterprising disposition" by establishing work centers (*jusanjō*), providing employment opportunities for the people of Chikuzen, and increasing exports.[136]

The shift towards a focus on productivity is reflected in the structure of the associations

---

134 A similar sentiment was displayed at the opening ceremony for the Shisekisha the following year, when Totoki Takashi, president of the association, proclaimed that in order to "cultivate an independent disposition (*jiritsu no kishō*), an independent and autonomous gentleman (*fuki dokuritsu no shi*)," the promotion of industry is indispensable. "Shisekisha kaigyōshiki," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 6/4/1886, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 468.

135 "Chikuyōsha kaigyōshiki gaikyō," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 11/22/1885, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 368-369.

136 "Chikuyōsha-shain ni tsugu," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 6/18/1885, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 367.

themselves. During the first few years of their operation, manufacture was usually separated into two streams. On the one hand, they provided raw materials to be produced by employees at home (*jitaku eigyō*), with wages being based on quality of production. On the other hand, they operated "model" (*mohan*) factories where employees boarded and were supervised, working in return for hourly wages.[137] All three established sales and distribution networks in order to profit from their goods nationally and, potentially, internationally. It is no surprise, then, that by the mid-1890s factory production far out-scaled cottage industry in all three cases, with the Chikuyōsha in particular being described as taking the "typical form of time-extensive labor". From the outset, these associations wavered precariously between two different ideals of productivity. Home production was promoted in order to provide former samurai with the means to sustain themselves, while wage labor subordinated the establishment of self-supportive households to the profits of the company. As the latter model became more prominent and the associations grew in productivity with the aid of steam powered machinery, their workforce came to consist mostly of young *shizoku* women, thus reflecting the gendered division of labor that characterized the textile industry in general.

In fact, these samurai rehabilitation enterprises employed strategies of labor management and on-site training that were virtually indistinguishable from those increasingly found in factories throughout the country.[138] All three associations regularly recruited women "interested in sericulture" through ads in the local newspapers, with most being employed on three year contracts. They also promoted the acquisition of practical knowledge. The Shisekisha hired teachers and provided a hands-on education in silk-spinning to local applicants,[139] the

---

137 Okamoto, *Shizoku jusan to keiei*, 168-169. Here, I have used the Akamatsu-sha to illustrate this point, thought the two other associations had similar structures.
138 See Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market*, chapter 5, especially 121-141.
139 "Shizoku jusan kisoku, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 83.

Chikuyōsha sent supervisors to oversee silk production and established six "sericulture training centers" (*yōsan kōshu-jō*) throughout Chikuzen province in order to provide technical training,[140] and the Akamatsu-sha employed six full-time "instructors" (*kyōshi*) in charge of teaching the workers, supervising production, and ensuring the quality of goods.[141] This vocational training was supplemented with yearly examinations, in which the women would be tested in nearly a dozen practical techniques and placed in a 5-level ranking system. The top scorers were rewarded by the companies, and wages were correlated to the one's rank in the system.[142] Moreover, in addition to providing dorms for the laborers, the Akamatsu-sha made a request of the regional branch of the prefectural education committee (*kyōiku-kai*) to have teachers sent to the factory to instruct the girls during their free time (*hongyō no hima*).[143] All of these methods were intended to promote productivity, though it is unclear how structured and regulated these various training initiatives were.

Most importantly, these samurai rehabilitation programs reflect a vital shift in the way *minkenka* engaged in economic activity. Starting in the mid-1880s, an increasing number of popular rights leaders became involved in various industrial and commercial enterprises. Nagae Jun'ichi of Yanagawa was a founding member of Miike Bank (*Miike ginkō*) in 1887, and acted as a manager (*torishimari*), along with Noda Utarō, at the Mitsui-owned Miike Spinning Company (*Miike bōseki gaisha*) starting in 1889.[144] Tōyama Mitsuru, leading member of the Gen'yōsha, purchased a number of coal mines in northern Fukuoka – including the Yamano, Ōtō, and Shimo-Yamada mines – in order to fund the Gen'yōsha's activities when they faced financial difficulties

---

140 "Shizoku kigyō naiki kaki-utsushi," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 240.
141 "Akamatsu-sha kisoku," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 98.
142 Okamoto, *Shizoku jusan to keiei*, 119-120.
143 "Akamatsu-sha jokō no kyōiku," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 2/19/1887, in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan*, 411
144 "kaidan," *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken*, lvii-lviii. For a general discussion of the spinning industry in Fukuoka, much of which was established using Nagae Jun'ichi's archival sources, see "kaisetsu," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: menshi bōseki gyō*, ix-xxxvii.

in the mid-1880s.[145] Tōyama's compatriot in the Gen'yōsha, Hiraoka Kotarō, became even more

influential in the coal mining industry, also in the interest of supporting his political activities.

Hiraoka was a partner in the purchase of the Akaike and Bukoku mines, both of which were later

absorbed into Yasukawa Keiichirō's Meiji Mining Company (*Meiji kōgyō*).[146]

Hiraoka's investment in coal mining is not only significant because it signifies a desire for

capital accumulation in spite of contributing to the growing number of exploited industrial

laborers, it also shows us the degree to which his educational ideals remained intact, if in a

transformed state. According to his son-in-law, Uchida Ryōhei, Hiraoka invested significant time

and capital into the education of managers for his mining operations. In addition to emphasizing

the acquisition of practical knowledge, Hiraoka maintained a close relationship with his students:

he worked with them, boarded with them, gave them significant responsibilities, and even

cooked for them on occasion. He did not view these young men as laborers, but as future leaders,

and thus was concerned with "character building" (*jinbutsu yōsei*) that went beyond a mere

professional relationship. In many ways, his relationship with these students came close to

embodying the educational ideals that Hiraoka, and others, promoted as members of the

Kōyōsha. After all, in the process of becoming professionals, they were also cultivating a "spirit

of independence". However, while the Kōyōsha aimed to raise the masses up to the level of the

ex-samurai, to turn them into active political subjects, Hiraoka's efforts in the mining industry

was concerned with the identity construction of a narrow elite, in which the miners themselves

were marginalized as governed objects. In any case, the educational ideals of the popular rights

movement could transform in order to meet new demands and new interests.[147]

---

145 Nishio, *Toyama Mitsuru-ō shōden*, 130-131.
146 Toyama and Hiraoka's entry into the coal mining industry is discussed in, Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō banka: tankō no shakaishi* (Fukuoka: San-ichi Shobo, 1993), 107-115.
147 For a general discussion of Hiraoka's "character building activities," see Uchida Ryōhei, *Hiraoka Kotarō-den*,

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have engaged with two primary themes through an institutional analysis of education in the Popular Rights Movement. Firstly, I have challenged scholarship that has tended to conflate "education" with "schooling" and thus limited discussions of education in the movement to the analysis of private academies. As a result of this tendency, scholars have not only failed to engage the pedagogical function of a variety of institutions within the movement, but have also imposed a division between "educational" and "political" institutions that is not reflected in the writings of Fukuoka *minkenka* themselves. In tracing changes in the institutional structure of the movement, I have identified two broad educational configurations. The first, represented by the Kōyōsha, took its inspiration from the private academies of the late Edo period, in which political activity, study, and land cultivation were incorporated into a single institution and treated as inseparable components of a singular notion of character formation. The Kōyōsha and its successor, the Gen'yōsha, were small-scale, *shizoku*-based associations that cultivated an intimate and often violent atmosphere in which its members attempted to refine themselves into leaders of the Popular Rights Movement. The second configuration took on more fragmented and differentiated structure. Most likely resulting from increased state infringement and regulation, later popular rights associations generally maintain a looser network between institutions. The political associations focused on local mobilization, the co-ordination of efforts, and, in the case of the Chikuzen Kyōaikai, functioned as popular assemblies, while promoting immediate educational interests through contributions to a variety of local schools and programs. At the same time, all of these institutions maintained an implicit pedagogical function, represented by their mutual appropriation of the Popular Rights Movement's educational lexicon.

---

chapter 7. Uchida's biography of his father in law was most likely written in 1906, shortly after Hiraoka's death, but was never published. It is available on microfilm in the Constitutional Reading Room at the National Diet Library in Tokyo.

By establishing and participating in a broad spectrum of institutions, the movement's leading figures expanded their base of influence and forced conceptual coherence across institutional contexts.

Secondly, throughout this chapter I have emphasized the important roles that identification and the formation of relationships played throughout the movement, as well as the implicit pedagogical quality of those efforts. The Popular Rights Movement shared general ideals such as the promotion of a national assembly and representative government, but within the movement there was no want for diversity. Different associations and different activists could fill the empty concept of the "people" with a unifying identity of their choice, and they could legitimize their own position as leaders in a variety of registers. While the Kōyōsha established a lineage of regionally-based political radicalism, and promoted themselves as exemplars of samurai ideals, the Kyōaikai and Tōunkan reconstructed Chikuzen province, the former Kuroda family domain, as a focal point for local autonomy, and positioned themselves as representatives of a new regional "people". The close relationship Kyōaikai members retained with the former domain lord allowed them to embed this relationship in notions of paternalism and fealty. It is no surprise that a number of Kyōaikai members, as well as those from the Chitosekai and the Yūmeikai, found prominent roles in the prefectural assembly and, later, the Imperial Diet.

Through an analysis of public speech gatherings and the popular press, which were the movement's most prominent media and mode of mass mobilization, I showed the way in which these processes of identity inscription and positioning took place in practice. Public speeches were large, often raucous spectacles, in which underlying tensions – between the people and state, or between political factions – often boiled over. Speeches thus became an ideal site for popular rights activists to establish their relationship to the audience, to provide the audience

with an embodied experience as members of an imagined "people," and to use police

surveillance as an object lesson in state oppression. The press found a similar relationship with

the people. Newspapers were sites of persistent political debate, and established themselves as

arbiters of political enlightenment for the "people". But papers simultaneously fulfilled the role

of providing the populace with unbiased, unmediated information. In conflating these two roles,

newspapers had the ability to impose order on chaotic events, to foster a sense of identification

with the "people" and to attribute blame when necessary. It is no surprise that these two media,

the country's first "mass" media, are often represented as providing the populace with a taste of

political participation, of bringing them into the discourse of the nation, and of awakening them

to popular rights. However, this ability to impose meaning and to mediate reality often precluded

that very idea of popular participation. Editorials and correspondence pages were closely

regulated, and, in public speeches, only the speaker truly had a voice. Thus, in attempting to

foster a notion of the "people," and to channel popular sentiments, *minkenka* often positioned

themselves as the exclusive mediators between state and society, as the voices of the people.

The mid-1880s saw significant changes in the Japanese political landscape. With the

imperial promise for the creation of a national assembly by 1890, promulgated in 1881, one of

the major unifying goals of the Popular Rights Movement was fulfilled. And with the expansion

of Japanese industry, the possibility of treaty revision seemed near. Within this context the

movement itself had to change, and old conceptions transformed to embrace a new reality. At the

end of this, I analyzed a shift in samurai rehabilitation programs in order to not only illustrate a

shift in the movement, but to show the ways in which some of the paternalistic tendencies within

the movement could transform within changed circumstances. In consistently positioning

themselves as mediators of the "people's" agency, popular rights discourse had the danger of

subordinating the "cultivation of ability" of the populace to that of the *minkenka* themselves. In the samurai rehabilitation enterprises and other industries, the educational quality of labor came to be restricted to the leaders themselves, with the same desire to cultivate a "spirit of independence" being appropriated for the establishment of industrial manufacturing. By the early 1890s, the leading popular rights activists were influential educators, industrial capitalists, party leaders, and parliamentary representatives. They had undoubtedly cultivated the ability for political participation in the era of the national assembly.

Chapter Three
The Education of Miners in the Coal Fields of Fukuoka

In 11/1887, a few months after it began publication, the Gen'yōsha's *Fukuryō shinpō*

published a series of reports about the "abuse of coal miners" (*kōfu no gyakutai*) that would

constitute the paper's most enduring legacy. *Fukuryō shinpō* dispatched a number of undercover

informants to the mine on Takashima island in Nagasaki Prefecture and detailed many of the

abuses carried out by both managers and on-site supervisors that made the mine into a "veritable

prison" (*kangoku heya*) for the miners. At first, few showed interest in the plight of the miners

but, by the same time in 1888, correspondents had been dispatched by a number of papers in the

Kansai region of Honshu and, most notably, the journal *Nipponjin* in Tokyo. A series of articles

published by *Nipponjin* writers, especially Matsuoka Yoshikazu, finally struck a chord with the

general public, and sparked an outrage that resulted in the government dispatching an inspector

to investigate behavior at the mine, and a hasty series of reform efforts by the mine owners – the

Mitsubishi company.[1]

The *Nipponjin* articles severely criticized the practices of the Mitsubishi company at

Takashima, accusing them of fostering slave-like conditions for miners and turning the mine into

"hell, another world" (*jigoku, i-sekai*). There, miners worked 12-hour shifts in hot, dangerous

conditions underground. Their living standards were poor and disease was rampant in the

community. Due to the deplorable working conditions, it was difficult to recruit laborers,

especially from nearby areas. Therefore, the *naya seido*, or barrack system, was adopted, in

which barrack chiefs (*naya gashira*) would recruit poor peasants or those struggling to find work

and would house them in poorly-constructed and overcrowded residences, unfit for human

---

1   *Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi* (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1978), 79-80. Sadly, none of the issues
    containing the original *Fukuryō shinpō* articles have been found, though the paper printed a series of
    retrospective accounts in September of 1888.

habitation. The barrack chiefs, who were responsible for the distribution of wages, pocketed a percentage (ostensibly in return for housing, food, and work equipment) and lent money to miners for gambling or alcohol, which promoted debt and kept miners dependent on barrack chief support. Barrack chiefs were granted full punitive authority, and regularly "disciplined" lazy or disobedient miners through severe public beatings (*miseshime*). Worst of all, Matsuoka argued, the company prevented miners from returning home, or even making contact with their home villages or families, with the chiefs placed in charge of preventing desertion.[2]

The reports in *Nipponjin* provided the Japanese populace with its first exposure to the dark realities of the coal mining industry – an industry that was perceived as indispensable to the modernizing efforts of the Meiji state – but their significance did not end there. In a later article, the staff of *Nipponjin* recommended a series of reforms in order to improve the lives of the miners, including: government regulation of labor management practices; shortened work hours; more vacation days and festivals; better living conditions; a regular pay schedule; the promotion of morally beneficial recreational activities; direct recruitment by the company instead of *naya gashira*; and the creation of savings programs. The article asserted that "the way in which miners are treated at the Takashima Coal Mine is far from humane," and that "if the mine dares to not take our good advice (*chūgen*), we will use the power of the government to make [them] put it into practice."[3] *Nipponjin* set an important precedence for coal mining discourse in the 19th and 20th centuries, not only by asserting the necessity of governmental, civilian, or company intervention into the lives of miners to alleviate their plight, but also by placing particular emphasis on the improvement of labor management in the coal mining industry. Moreover,

---

2   Matsuoka Yoshiyasu, "Takashima Tankō no sanjō," in *Meiji bunka zenshū, dai-6 kan: shakai-hen* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967), 3-6.

3   "Yoron wa nani ga yue ni Takashima Tankō no sanjō wo reiganshi suru ya," in *Meiji bunka zenshū, dai-6 kan: shakai-hen*, 17-21, esp. 18-20.

though miner propensity towards violence, gambling, and alcoholism was depicted as a by-product of institutional exploitation, the reformation of the culture and habits of the miners themselves was an underlying theme in the proposals of *Nipponjin*'s writers.[4] In other words, the reformation of labor management practices and the improvement of working conditions were promoted for their perceived pedagogical effects – the transformation of miners' culture and customs – not just as means of increasing efficiency or rationalizing production.

Coincidentally, the same month that *Nipponjin* published its first influential article on the treatment of miners at Takashima, another important event in the history of Japanese coal mining took place hundreds of miles away, in Kurate County in Fukuoka Prefecture. There, on 9/10/1888, Kaijima Tasuke, president of the Kaijima Mining Company, formally applied to establish a private elementary school at his Ōnoura colliery, which commenced with a small ceremony two months later. Kaijima's school, the first private school established at a coal mine in Japan, was conceived as a means to combat poor habits and customs in the mining community, and to promote a more stable, dependable, and productive workforce. More importantly, it was presented as a benevolent offering from a mine owner – who had been a miner himself in his youth – to his employees, in order to provide them with the education he never received.[5] Like the controversy at Takashima, discourse surrounding the establishment and significance of the school identified its *raison d'etre* at the intersection of labor management and the lifestyle of coal miners. As an embodiment of Kaijima's concern for his workers, the school

---

4   This position was also clearly reflected in a series of articles in *Chōya shinbun* (reproduced in *Tokyo nichi nichi shinbun*) that were critical of the sensationalistic reports from *Nipponjin*. Inukai Tsuyoshi (member of Okuma Shigenobu's Constitutional Reform Party, and future Prime Minister) engaged in a series of public debates with Matsuoka about the reality of the situation at Takashima, in which he mostly claimed that the situation had already vastly improved and that the abuses were overstated. However, he even went so far as to justify the violent behavior of *naya gashira* on the grounds of the "barbarity" (*yaban*) of the miners themselves, claiming that Matsuoka could not understand the difficulty of trying to control "three thousand ruffians (*burai no to*) who, day after day, fight and quarrel, and beat each other". "Gyakutai no hōkoku (3)," *Tokyo nichi nichi shinbun,* 9/13/1888, in *Meiji nyūsu jiten, vol. 4*, 416.

5   *Kaijima Shōgakkō kyōikushi* (Miyata: Miyata-chō Kyōiku Iinkai, 2004 [1948])

was perceived as an effective means of forestalling debauchery amongst the miners and ensuring profits to the mine. Therefore, primary emphasis was not placed on the school's curriculum, which met the standards of the Primary School Ordinance of 1886, but on its potential to alleviate the natural tensions between industry and labor. In short, Kaijima's school was motivated by the same moral outrage over miner culture and its effects on productivity as the labor management reformers that were stimulated by the events at Takashima. And it similarly, if implicitly, placed the onus of reform on the managers and owner of the mine.

Historical studies of education in Japan's coal mining communities, though few and far between, have tended to overlook the intimate connection between labor management and education as embodied in the schools. The most notable book in the field, Hayashi Masato's *Yama no kodomo: gakkōshi* (Children of the Mines: A History of Schooling), placed a dual emphasis on children and schooling. While Hayashi discussed the dangers and poor working conditions endemic to coal mining, the particular threat mining posed to children – many of whom died in mining accidents – and the often self-serving motivations behind the establishment of schools (namely, miner retention), Hayashi placed these schools firmly within a narrative of the modern education system. For him, the late development (mostly after 1900) and poor quality of schools and educational programs in mining communities represented a metaphorical black eye for the enlightenment pretensions of the Meiji state's educational system, a failure to ensure mining children's natural right to an education.[6] Other references to schooling in coal mining communities, generally relegated to city histories, similarly situate such discusses under the rubric of "education," not mining.[7]

---

6   Hayashi Masato, *Yama no kodomo: gakkōshi* (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1983), 2-3, and especially chapter 3.
7   Eg. Miyata-chōshi Hensan Iinkai, *Miyata-chōshi, gekan* (Miyata: Miyata, 1990); *Ōmuta-shishi, gekan* (Ōmuta: Ōmuta Shiyakusho, 1968); Tagawa-shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Tagawa-shishi, gekan* (Tagawa: Tagawa Shiyakusho, 1979).

155

Even works that have acknowledged the connection between schooling and changes in labor management strategies during the late Meiji period have tended to do so anecdotally, without much detail or emphasis.[8] Instead, they have utilized enrolment rates or curricula to measure the penetration of the central educational system in coal mining regions, without paying sufficient attention to the underlying motivations and assumptions behind the promotion of education in these communities. In short, by assuming a discrete, differentiated notion of schools as educational institutions, scholars have failed to acknowledge the close relationship between schooling and broader concerns of labor management in coal mining, nor have they effectively situated these schools in their institutional contexts. However, the promotion of schooling was more closely related to the concerns of labor management represented by the Takashima mine scandal than to the expansion of the educational system. The formalization of these educational institutions, sometimes initiated by government intervention, was, in sum, less important than their perceived social effects.

In this chapter, I argue that schools like Kaijima's were part and parcel of a wide-ranging pedagogical movement within Fukuoka's coal mining communities during the late Meiji period, which traversed a broad spectrum of nascent welfare institutions. More than simply acting as part of the educational system's expansion, schools in coal mining communities were one segment of a re-imagining of owner-miner relations as one that was fundamentally pedagogical, with industrialists and managers being responsible for the moral and spiritual guidance of their employees. In the face of increased labor unrest and astronomical employee turnover rates, schools and other welfare facilities were posited as a means of reforming a decrepit miner culture and instilling the values of thrift, hard work, and company loyalty in the workforce, all of which

---

8   Ichihara Hiroshi, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi* (Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1997), 86-87. Ichihara briefly mentions the improvement in enrolment rates in coal mining communities during the early 20th century, as well as the claims that schooling positively contributed to cultivating a younger, more diligent labor force.

were assumed to contribute to a more stable, dependable, and productive enterprise. Moreover, as an unintended by-product of this shift to paternalistic labor management, industrialists and commentators not only re-conceptualized the mine owner as father and teacher, but also constructed the miner as object of discourse. In order to understand their plight, miners (*kōfu*) were increasingly identified as a unique subset of "workers" (*rōdōsha*), whose dangerous work environment made them particularly prone to moral degeneracy, and therefore as requiring extensive pedagogical intervention. The discourse of coal miners as pedagogical subjects reinforced and perpetuated existing discriminatory attitudes towards the trade, and created an archetype of the miner that persists today.

My argument will proceed in five stages. First, I will contextualize the establishment of schools by discussing the growth of the mining industry at the end of the nineteenth century. Particular emphasis will be placed on the administrative and technical innovations that promoted the creation of large-scale mining operations that required thousands of able-bodied miners in order to meet demand. It was in this context that companies witnessed a rapid increase in mining accidents, as well as the violence and debauchery that came to characterize the large hamlets of transient miners, both of which stimulated the intervention of the mine administration.

Sections two and three will investigate the various institutional measures that resulted from the increased interest of mine owners in the lives and conduct of their miners. First, I will discuss the promotion of elementary education in Fukuoka's coal mining communities, exemplified by the establishment of three private schools, as a way to explore the significance of schooling outside the narrative of the modern educational system. Fukuoka's mine owners promoted schooling as a means of indirectly improving the customs and habits of coal miners, and of therefore preventing labor turnover. Furthermore, these schools introduced a modern

157

notion of 'childhood' to the mines by removing children from their role as supplemental labor, in order to protect them from the adverse effects of mining society. In section three, I show that the concern with miner customs and labor turnover was not restricted to schools, but was also reflected in a wide variety of welfare facilities created during the same time period – day cares, religious institutions, savings programs, mutual-aid associations – all of which utilized the same pedagogical language and concepts as the private schools.

Sections four and five extend the discussion of education further, focusing not merely on the content or desired effects of *educative* welfare institutions, but also on the rhetorical construction of pedagogical relationships themselves. First, the early twentieth century witnessed the circulation of an explicit paternalistic discourse and ideology, which transformed welfare facilities from measures intended to promote productivity, into expressions of owners' parental responsibility to their workers. In turn, this paternalism was extended to the officials that regularly interacted with miners, and proliferated in the advanced mining schools that produced the lowest ranks of management. Finally, the articulation of a pedagogical relationship required a firm understanding of miners themselves, resulting in the rhetorical and statistical cataloguing of 'miners' as a discrete occupational class in Japanese society. Throughout this chapter, I make liberal use of institutional documentation, published monographs, statistical surveys, and, most prominently, the official journal of the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association (*Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppō*), which regularly published articles related to the challenges faced in coal mining communities.[9]

---

[9] The *Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppō* (hereafter: *Geppō*) began publication in 1904 and, despite a name change, continued until the end of the Pacific War in 1945. In addition to articles on labor problems, the journal regularly discussed mining technology, reported on foreign developments in the industry, and published extensive statistical surveys.

The Expansion of Coal Mining in the Meiji Period

To understand the creation of educational and welfare institutions within the coal mining industry starting at the end of the 19th century, we must first contextualize them within the development of the industry itself and the emergence of crises brought about by its expansion. Coal mining has often been depicted as the "motive force" (*gendō-ryoku*) behind Japan's modernization in the Meiji period. Coal was not only one of Japan's most lucrative export industries; it was the literal fuel that powered Japan's much-heralded naval fleet (especially after the defeat of Qing China in 1895) and factories. The Japanese archipelago included a number of coal fields in Hokkaidō, the Jōban region of northeastern Honshu, and northern Kyushu (Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, and Fukuoka prefectures). Among those regions, Kyushu was the most productive during the Meiji period, and within Kyushu, the Chikuhō region in northern Fukuoka alone contributed well over 50% of Japanese coal during the second half of the Meiji period. The fertile coal deposits along the Onga River straddled the former Chikuzen and Buzen provinces[10] – hence the name Chikuhō (筑豊), which is an amalgam of the characters for Chikuzen (**筑**前) and Buzen (**豊**前) – and was the latest and most haphazard in its development, originally consisting of thousands of small-scale mines. However, by the end of the 19th century, Chikuhō's mines had been largely conglomerated, resulting in several of Japan's largest operations. While this chapter will occasionally discuss Fukuoka's other prominent mining region, Miike in the southwest of the prefecture, Chikuhō will act as the focal point of the analysis.

Though there are scattered accounts of coal being mined on a small scale as early as the mid-17th century, the coal industry did not begin to prosper until about 100 years later.[11]

---

10 The Chikuhō region is usually presented as consisting of five counties along the Onga River: Kurate, Onga, Kaho, and Kiku (all in Chikuzen), as well as Tagawa (in Buzen).

11 For the classic discussion of pre-Meiji mining in Chikuhō, see Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō: sekitan no chiikishi*

Originally, mining constituted supplemental and off-season labor for local peasants, with coal

functioning as an alternative energy source for household use in response to deforestation during

the early 18th century. Coal achieved growing popularity in the castle towns, especially Fukuoka-

Hakata, and was also used as fuel in the salt pans surrounding the Seto Inland Sea (*Seto naikai*),

which connects Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku. As a result of growing demand, and in the

interest of maintaining ample coal for the city, Fukuoka domain initiated its first regulations on

the mining of coal in 1788. In the early 19th century, facing increased environmental damage

from poorly managed coal mines, as well as increased domainal debt, Fukuoka domain

established a monopoly on coal with particular emphasis on export. They established three

ishizumi kaijo (coal offices)[12] in 1816, each of which was given full control over coal production

in the Onga River region, including granting approval to local mining enterprises and shipping

crews (coal was transported along the Onga River and its tributaries to the ports at Wakamatsu

and Ashio), and full control over the maintenance of an administrative surveillance network to

ensure stable production. By the end of the Edo period, there was little room for independent

mining operations.

While there was a clear trend towards centralization and regulation during the Edo period,

it provided little foundation for the growth of the industry in the Meiji period. Coal mining in

Fukuoka remained relatively small-scale, with limited mining and transportation technology and

few uses for coal outside of urban dwellings and the salt industry. Furthermore, the *ishizumi*

kaijo system was completely deconstructed at the beginning of the Meiji period, requiring a

renewed process of centralization and state regulation. If the Edo period mines contributed to the

---

(Tokyo: NHK Books, 1973), 17-52. For a more recent analysis, though with a similar emphasis, see Kudō
Seiya, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito, bōkyō no omoi: kindai hen* (Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 2008), 31-64.

12 While, starting with the Meiji restoration, it has become standard to read the characters for coal (石炭) as
sekitan, during the Edo period, these same characters were pronounced *ishitaki*, though the meaning was the
same.

long-term growth of the industry, it was through its labor structure. Both before and after the establishment of the domainal monopoly, mining operations were run by local wealthy peasants, typically referred to as *yamamoto* (mountain owner). Although mines began as off-season labor for struggling peasants, the *yamamoto* increasingly recruited poor and disenfranchised peasants from surrounding areas and housed them in small communities outside of the main village. Since the *yamamoto* rarely had personal mining experience, they subcontracted the operation of the mine and the recruitment of labor to *yamamoto mikajime* (mine managers) – later referred as *tōryō* (chief or boss) – who frequently maintained their groups of miners through hierarchical bonds of loyalty and obligation (*oyabun-kobun*). The importation of labor, the subcontracting of recruitment, the (often abusive) bonds of loyalty between boss and miner, and the housing of miners in shabby residences would all be adopted en masse during the expansion of the mining industry in the late 1880s and 1890s. Furthermore, the abuses attributed to these relationships, and the resulting association of coal mining with violence and impoverishment, informed the image of mining society well into the 20th century.

Despite the size and high degree of organization evident in Chikuhō's mines during the Edo period, the region was not the beneficiary of the Meiji state's patronage during the early Meiji period. Unlike the Takashima and Miike mines, which were nationalized, modernized, and operated by the government before being sold off to large companies in the 1880s (the former to Gōtō Shōjirō and then Mitsubishi in 1881, the latter to Mitsui in 1889), the Chikuhō region was 'liberated' under the Japan Mining Law (*Nihon kōhō*) of 1873. Under the Mining Law, mining concessions (*kōku*, which could also be rendered 'mining districts') were granted freely based on applications, as long as they were approved by relevant village authorities. As a result, concessions were most frequently granted to local elites (or those with prominent local

connections) and mines were both established haphazardly (*ranritsu*) and carelessly operated (*rankutsu*). By 1880, more than 600 concessions had been granted, less than an acre in size on average, with many failing to even begin operations. The owners knew little about mining, lacked the funds or technical expertise to introduce new technologies, and actively used their local connections to prevent the influx of large mining corporations. While Takashima and Miike flourished, the adventurous Chikuhō mine owners were disparaged as *yamashi*, a term that meant "mine master," but were frequently rendered as "speculator" or "swindler".[13]

Two broad developments, one legal, one technical, stimulated the improvement of this situation and initiated the growth of the mining industry in Chikuhō. Firstly, local and national pressures forced the reformation of the concession system and the growth of large-scale mining operations in the region. From the early 1880s, large national conglomerates – Mitsui, Sumitomo, Mitsubishi, Furukawa, etc. – attempted to acquire concessions and to enter the mining fray. In Chikuhō itself, wealthy regional industrialists established the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association (Chikuho Sekitan Kōgyō Kumiai) in 1885 in order to push for legal reform and to prevent the creation of small, scattered mines. Finally, in 1888, the government established 24 "selected concessions" (*sentei kōku*) in Chikuhō (though this number would increase considerably in the years following), each of which had to be at least 155 acres in size and required applicants to demonstrate sufficient capital and expertise for operation. Furthermore, under the Mine Ordinance (*Kōgyō jōrei*) of 1890, which went into effect in 1892, permission from local village councils was no longer required. Consequently, the late 1880s and

---

13 Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 54-58. Nimura Kazuo, as translated by Andrew Gordon and Terry Boardman, translates *yamashi* as "mine master" and uses the term generically to refer to fully subcontracted mine operators during the Meiji period (See Nimura, *The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan*, 167-169). Nagasue, reflecting the use in Meiji era sources, implies the conflation of *yamashi*'s signification of mine owners with its signification of aggressive, often dishonest, speculators and prspectors. For a prewar discussion of the two senses of *yamashi*, see Hokkaidō Kōgyō Tsūshinsha, *Shinkei-naru kōgyōka* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Kōgyō Tsūshinsha, 1935), 16-18.

early 1890s saw the rapid influx of national conglomerates to the region – Mitsubishi in 1889, Sumitomo and Furukawa in 1894, and Mitsui in 1900 (in 1889 at Miike) – as well as the growth of regional conglomerates (*chihō zaibatsu*) like Kaijima, Aso, and Yasukawa/Matsumoto, all of whom were leading members of the Mining Association.[14]

Secondly, these legal reforms and the influx of large capital stimulated the introduction of new technologies during the last 15 years of the 19th century, which facilitated increased coal production in a variety of ways. The introduction of steam-powered pumps in the mid-1880s (though they did not become common until the 1890s) allowed the excavation of deeper mine shafts by facilitating water removal. Pumps were assisted by ventilation systems, which provided quality air, dispersed gas, and lowered the temperature in the mine shafts, and by conveyer rail systems. The latter, called an "endless rope" haulage system, allowed coal to be moved from the bottom of the main mine shaft to the top much faster than before, and alleviated the need for manpower in transporting coal to the surface.[15] Industrialists also put considerable effort into the creation of a railway network in northern Kyushu, mostly in the interest of coal transportation. Up to that point, coal had been shipped along the Onga River and its tributaries by special boats called *kawahirata*, which were created to navigate the shallow, narrow waters of the river. However, with the increase in coal production (spurred by conglomeration), even considerable growth in *kawahirata* guilds were unable to keep up with demand, and most companies were unable to procure private vessels for shipping.[16] Therefore, the industrialists united to establish railways between the newly designated coal port at Moji (present day Kita-Kyushu) and various

---

14   For the best general discussion of these legal changes and the emergence of large mining operations, see Kudō, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito*, 92-104; see also, Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 63-74.
15   Kudō, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito*, 81-92; Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 58-63.
16   *Kawahirata* had been 'nationalized' by the domains, along with the coal mines themselves, during the late Edo period, and maintained a high degree of autonomy into the Meiji period. Like labor, they were often subcontracted through "boat chiefs" (*funagashira*), who maintained their own employees and owned the boats themselves.

parts of the region. Three lines – Kyushu Railways, Chikuhō Railways, and Bushū Railways – were separately created during these years, though they were increasingly connected in the mid-1890s, before being nationalized in 1907.[17]

Together, the conglomeration and modernization of the coal industry between 1885 and 1895 (when the industry would experience its first major boom during the Sino-Japanese War), laid the foundation for the emergence of a particular set of social crises, all of which contributed to the adoption of educative institutions in the mines at the turn of the century. Most significantly, the rapid expansion of the mining industry required an equally rapid acquisition of labor. The introduction of new technologies may have facilitated transportation of coal to the ports and up the primary mine shaft, and may have allowed deeper excavation, but they were mostly limited to the peripheral elements of mining; the process of mining at the coal face remained largely unchanged until the 1920s, when drilling technology ("coal-cutters") was first introduced. Coal face mining consisted of two tasks: *sakiyama* (hewers) would use a pickaxe to dislodge the coal, often in a crouching or lying down position; and *atoyama* (haulers) would gather the coal and either cart or carry it to the primary mine shaft, where it could be mechanically transported to the surface. The organization of these roles changed by mine and region: at Miike, units were organized in groups of four, two *atoyama* and two *sakiyama*, while at Takashima, they mined in groups of ten. Most Chikuhō mines utilized teams of two, and often depended on the close relationship between *sakiyama* and *atoyama*. In most cases, they were either a married couple, a parent and a young child, or siblings, with the stronger, more experienced party acting as hewer, and the trainee acting as hauler. As a result, mining remained a labor intensive process and the recruitment of suitable workers remained a significant concern for miner owners.

---

17 Kudō, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito*, 104-111; Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 75-90.

To meet the demand for labor, industrialists could not rely on the seasonal work often provided by local farmers, many of whom despised the trade, thus finding themselves in an increasingly competitive environment for regional surplus labor. They therefore followed the example of late Edo period mines and subcontracted the recruitment of labor to *tōryō*, initially sending them to various parts of Kyushu, and gradually expanding the network to all of western Japan. Workers were recruited, brought to the mine (sometimes at their own expense through a 'loan' from the recruiter, and directly by the company) where they lived in large, poorly built "sheds" (*naya*) under the surveillance of their recruiters, who came to be known as "barrack chiefs" (*naya gashira*). Since most *sakiyama-atoyama* teams in the region were constructed on the basis of familial relations, whole families were often recruited and were provided with separate living quarters from their single counterparts, who lived communally in "large barracks" (*ō-naya*) or "lodges" (*hanba*). *Naya gashira*, as depicted in the Takashima reports, were often gamblers or gangsters, and could "manage" or "encourage" (*shōrei*) their miners with impunity. As the mines grew and small cities developed around them, concern about the violent and uncontrollable atmosphere of the barrack communities was one of the most common topics of debate amongst owners and mining experts. This barrack system (*naya seido*) will receive more attention in the next chapter.

These concerns with labor management were exacerbated by the dislocations and dangers that accompanied large-scale, mechanized industry, resulting in new, unequivocally modern challenges. Although steam- and electric-powered pumps and gas lamps had improved the work environment, the flooding of mine shafts or gas explosions could claim dozens, if not hundreds, of victims. Of the more than 200 incidents during 1896 and 1897, many happened in Chikuhō's largest and most prominent mines, such as Kaijima (three times) and Mitsui Tagawa (five times).

165

Beginning with the gas explosion at the Bukoku colliery in Tagawa in 1899, which claimed over

200 lives (including 18 people under the age of 15), gas explosions, floods, and mine shaft

collapses occurred with increasing frequency. After 1900, mining accidents only became larger:

almost 350 people were killed in another gas explosion at Bukoku in 1907, and over 250 died at

the Kajima Amino colliery in 1911.[18] Equally disconcerting to mine owners was a rapid increase

in miner unrest during that period. Starting in 1907, at least 14 major strikes and violent labor

struggles erupted at mines throughout the country, with the largest being the riots at the Ashio

Copper Mine in 2/1907.[19] Miner demands varied considerably, from better "treatment" (*taigū*) or

wage increases, to the desire for better safety protocols and medical treatment. Though few of

these disputes took place in Fukuoka prefecture, and even fewer in Chikuhō, mine owners

throughout the country were startled by these developments, and discussed preventative

measures.[20] Together, mining accidents and labor unrest created an environment of heightened

unpredictability in Chikuhō coal mines, with labor management emerging as its underlying cause

and as its potential solution. Only by providing safer working conditions and appeasing miner

dissatisfaction could the companies ensure stability, efficiency, and profit.

The organization of labor, the prevention of industrial accidents, and the suppression of

labor unrest all functioned to accentuate the importance of industrial relations (*rōshi kankei*),

while placing particular emphasis on the intellectual and moral qualities of the miners

themselves. As we will see throughout this chapter, the struggle of labor retention was often

ascribed to the questionable moral qualities of miners, while accidents were often attributed to

worker error, such as the failure to operate equipment properly, leaving kerosene lamps

---

18 Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 116-126.
19 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakai shi*, 69-71
20 For example, the 1907 issues of the *Chikuhō Sekitan Kōgyō Kumiai geppō* featured countless articles on labor unrest and, in particular, the events at Ashio. In fact, issues 37 and 38 (July and August) deal almost exclusively with concerns inspired by the outbreak at Ashio, featuring debates over the necessity of increased police presence, and the positive or negative effects of allowing the miners to unionize.

unattended, or other unhygienic practices. The challenge of preventing unrest and ensuring the safety of miners, and thus the productivity of the mine, was increasingly perceived to be met through incentivization and, more importantly, the moral and intellectual *re-education* of the miners themselves. At the intersection of social, technological, and managerial challenges lay the potential benefits of improving both the skills and the character of the mining population. It is therefore not surprising that education in coal mining communities, as best represented by the establishment of private schools and the promotion of public school attendance, was a prominent theme in mining discourse at the end of the 19th century.

Schooling and the Transformation of Mining Society

The promotion of school attendance, through both private educational facilities and the public system, is the most logical place to begin the discussion of education in Fukuoka's coal mining communities. The proliferation of educational concerns and policies intended to promote school enrolment amongst the children of coal miners culminated in the creation of private elementary schools at three of Fukuoka's largest and most prominent mines: Kaijima Tasuke's mine at Ōnoura, and the Mitsui Company's Tagawa and Miike mines. Considering the general tendency to conflate education with schooling, most scholars have made the establishment of these schools and the coinciding promotion of public school attendance the focal point of the analysis of education within the mining regions of northern Kyushu. While I begin my analysis from a familiar starting point, the goal of this section is to shift the discussion of these schools away from their curricula and enrolment rates, to one of motives that places their establishment within a broader social and intellectual context. Instead of treating these schools as products of the inevitable, if delayed, expansion of the education system in the Meiji period, my analysis will link them to the concerns of industrial relations described above. In addition, I will unpack the

167

assumptions that constituted the conception of schooling appropriated by mine owners, and some

of their potential consequences for the organization of labor and daily life in Fukuoka's mining

hamlets. This analysis will demonstrate that these schools were established with the concerns of

labor retention and the moral re-education of coal miners at the forefront, and were informed by

a modern notion of childhood that assumed the pathological qualities of coal mining

communities themselves: the education of children as an indirect means to initiate social reform.

I will begin by providing the historical background of the schools at each of the three

mines and their processes of establishment, each of which was created at a different point in

time, by different parties vis-a-vis the governing company, and with divergent institutional

characteristics. In doing so, I emphasize these schools as responses to local conditions, not part

of the general promotion of elementary schooling during the mid-to-late Meiji period.

Furthermore, the government played a peripheral, somewhat ambiguous role in the constitution

of these schools, since they were all eventually registered as private schools with the

administration but at different times, with more or less state intervention. However, all three

mines were unified in their concern for the retention of a transient labor force and the

reformation of the poor customs and lifestyle associated with coal miners. Moreover, they all

embraced a notion of labor relations that placed the onus for this social reformation on the mine

owners and mining companies, implying a naturalized pedagogical relationship between

employer and employee that was an enduring theme in the early 20th century. The motives and

pedagogical assumptions that characterized the promotion of primary education in Fukuoka's

coal mining communities allow us to situate these institutions within a broader context of the

adoption of welfare measures by mining companies in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, and

provide a rhetorical entry point for a discussion of pedagogy that transcends the confines of

discrete educational institutions.

Concern over school enrolment and quality of life for children in coal mining communities emerged shortly after the conglomeration of the mines themselves in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The most concrete available example of this concern is a report on education in Fukuoka Prefecture to the Tokyo Meikeikai magazine from 1890.[21] The report lamented the "frequent absence (*kesseki*) of students and teachers, the flippancy (*fuhaku-naru*) of the students, and the disorder of things (*jibutsu ranzatsu*)" in schools located near coal mines or mining towns. Moreover, the report attributed these shortcomings to the moral degradation of those communities at all levels. In the rush to procure mining rights and achieve wealth in the 1880s, respectable farmers and local officials "fancifully bustled about (*keihon hakuto*), and abandoned stable work (*chakujitsu no shigoto*) without a second thought" transforming quiet, respectable mountain villages into havens of debauchery and indolence. The article thus called for immediate attention to be paid to the promotion of schooling in mining regions.

Contemporary statistics seem to support the report's hypothesis. Through the early 1890s, enrolment rates in mining regions remained consistent with the prefectural average, with only Miike and Tagawa counties lagging behind marginally. However, those rates had fallen well behind by the mid-1890s, coinciding with consolidation of large mines and the establishment of (regional and national) conglomerates. Compared to the prefectural enrolment rate of 70%, the prominent mining regions lagged behind: Kurate, Kaho, and Kasuya counties had a recorded rate closer to 65%, while Tagawa and Miike were in the mid-50% range.[22] These numbers might even overestimate the rates of those counties, since miners, as transient workers, were often not

---

21 Ōkubo Takaaki, "Fukuoka-ken gakuji keikyō," *Tokyo Meikeikai Zasshi*, 86 (4/1890): 6-8.
22 Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunenshi, tsūshihen: Meiji* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977-1982), 735.

registered, meaning their children were not accounted for in local statistics.[23] In attributing the poor state of schooling in the region primarily to the action of the mine *owners*, and depicting the flippant attitude of students to the moral degradation of their environment, the Tokyo Meikeikai report reflects the emerging attitude of most mine owners and commentators during the period. Despite the report's concerns, large scale promotion of schooling in mining communities would wait until the next decade.

That said, individual mines did begin engaging with the problem of mass schooling from a relatively early date, with the Kaijima, Mitsui Tagawa, and Mitsui Miike mines all establishing private schools between the late 1880s and the end of the Meiji period. Kaijima's school, discussed briefly above, was the earliest and most famous of these private educational institutions. The Kaijima school was closely intertwined with the character of Tasuke himself, and thus experienced remarkable continuity in structure and organization that would not be reflected in efforts at other mines. Kaijima, himself a former coal miner and uneducated (and supposedly illiterate), made the education of his own children, and the children of his employees, a top priority. He promoted attendance at public schools shortly after purchasing, modernizing, and expanding the Ōnoura mine in 1886, but with poor results. Parents claimed an inability to pay tuition, to afford textbooks and other school supplies, or even to provide suitable clothing for their children. Consequently, Kaijima established the Ōnoura Private Simplified Elementary School (*Shiritsu Ōnoura shōgaku kan'ika*) on 10/8/1888, ten years before the next such school would appear, and placed his brother Kasō in charge. He furnished the children an education free of tuition, while providing all of the necessary implements: books, paper, writing utensils, etc. Additionally, Kaijima offered the families of the children five *sen* per day to encourage (*shōrei*)

---

23 See, for example, the 1911 report from Kurate County in Fukuoka. *Fukuoka-ken Kurate-gunze* (Kurate: Kurate Gunyakusho, 1911), 197-198.

attendance, roughly equivalent to one day's wages for a child.[24] A mere two years after

establishing his mining enterprise, and during a period of economic strife for the mining

industry, Kaijima invested considerable capital into the education of his company's youth.

Despite his initiative in founding the school, however, attendance remained low through the

1890s, before increasing tenfold in the early years of the 20th century (at which time a second

school was built), reflecting the development of the Mitsui schools.[25] During this time, its name

was changed to the Ōnoura Private Elementary School (*Shiritsu Ōnoura jinjō shōgakkō*).

The Mitsui Tagawa school traced its origins to the '*terakoya*-style' school (*terakoya-shiki

gakkō*) established by Taneda Kakuun in 1896, when the mine was operated by the Tagawa

Mining Company (*Tagawa saitan gaisha*).[26] Like Kaijima's school, its foundation is associated

with a single individual, though in this case, it was someone outside of the purview of the

companies that operated the mine. The most significant portion of the Tagawa region was

originally designated as a coal supply field by the navy in 1885, but was "liberated" (*kaihō*) in

1888/89 in the face of resistance by small and large mining companies. In 1888, the Tagawa

Mining Company purchased an extremely large district near Yugeda (later Gotōji City) and Ita

Village and began operations. When it was purchased by Mitsui in early 1900, new mine shafts

were excavated, and the operation was modernized, rationalized, and expanded significantly,

tripling its production within three years.[27] With both with the establishment of the Tagawa

Mining Company, and the Mitsui purchase, came increased centralization of mining in the region

---

24 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 20 (3/1999), 151-152.
25 *Kaijima Shōgakkō kyōiku-shi*, 44-45 for Meiji era enrolment figures.
26 The term *terakoya* ("temple school") was a derisive label that the Mitsui Company used to identify Taneda's school with the small, informal, and unstructured village-level educational institutions of the Edo Period. In portraying Taneda's early academy in this manner, Mitsui company representatives and those managing the private school most likely attempted to delegitimize Taneda's school in order to promote the larger, formally registered institution that took its place. However, as we will see, the motivations behind the establishment of both schools were similar.
27 For this process, see *Tagawa-shishi*, 861-903; Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 70-74, 99-101.

and the rapid growth of miner hamlets.

Taneda, a young monk at the Nishi Hongan-ji temple in Kyoto, was returning to his native Chikujō County in eastern Fukuoka when he passed through the Tagawa mine in Gotōji. Disturbed by the low quality of life and poor customs of the miners, he was granted permission by the company to create a mission (*fukyō-jo*), where he gave sermons twice per month, and a school (*kyōiku-jo*) to exhort and enlighten both the miners and their children. The school, which was located in the midst of the miner barracks, began with only three students, but by 1899, that number increased to 172, with a second school being established near the secondary mine shaft. Taneda was granted a monthly stipend by the company, with the accompanying title "propagation and education official" (*fukyō kyōiku-kakari*).[28] When Mitsui purchased the mine from the Tagawa Mining Group (*Mitsui saitan gumi*) – who had only obtained the mining rights six months earlier – in 1900, they replaced Taneda's "incomplete" (*fu-kanzen*)[29] or "makeshift" (*kosoku*)[30] academy with a new campus. While Taneda was retained as an instructor at the school, Mitsui formalized the curriculum to meet the requirements of the Ministry of Education and registered with the prefecture in 1902, renaming the school the Mitsui Tagawa Private Elementary School (*Shiritsu Mitsui Tagawa jinjō shōgakkō*).

The schools at Miike followed a similar course of development, though without the outside influence represented by Taneda. As early as 1892, Hayashi Eikichi, an administrator at Miike, proposed the creation of a barrack school (*naya gakkō*) to the Mitsui Mining Company's head office, at a point when only 50 families and tens of children lived in the barracks.[31] This

---

28 Hayashi, *Yama no kodomo*, 56-63; Mitsui Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-8-kan (rōmu 2)" (Unpublished Manuscript, Mitsui Bussan, c.1942), 741-743

29 Yamada Fumitarō, "Shiritsu shōgakkō setsuritsu no koto ni tsuki fukushin," in Hayashi Masato, ed., *Santanchi kodomo kyōikushi shiryōshū* (Munakata: Self-Published, 1990), 23.

30 "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō shiritsu jinjō shōgakkō no kinkyō," *Geppō*, 5 (11/1904), 55.

31 For the complete letter from Hayashi to the company, see "Naya gakkō secchi ni kansuru jōshin," in *Hayashi, ed., Santanchi kodomo kyōikushi shiryōshū*, 1-2.

suggestion would be rejected by the mine administration, most likely due to the expense,[32] but by 1900 a number of so-called "babysitting schools" (*komori gakkō*) and "night schools" (*yagakkai*) had developed in the barrack communities, seemingly initiated by the company itself. Teachers were hired from Ōmuta City to teach two-hour classes every day, though they were unreliable and often absent. To improve the situation, *naya gakkō* were finally established in 1902 in four locations as branch classrooms (*kyōshitsu*) of the Ōmuta (Public) Elementary School. Teachers were recruited and paid a monthly salary, with classes in the formal curriculum (*jinjō katei*) offered for two hours (later three hours) per day. By 1907, 390 students, or over 80% of the children in the four barrack communities, were enrolled in classes at the barrack schools.[33] The transformation of these large barrack schools into formally registered educational institutions was not initiated by the company, but by the prefectural government. The government asserted that the barrack and night schools were "doing the work of schools" (*gakkō no jigyō wo itonamu*) and (forcefully) suggested that they be run in accordance with the Primary School Ordinance (*shōgakkō-rei*). In 1909, the mine thus established two primary schools, at their Nanoura and Manda (in Kumamoto Prefecture) collieries, and a number of branch schools, where they maintained a permanent teaching staff, and offered a standard six-year curriculum.[34]

Despite the fact that their formal registrations took place several years apart, both the Tagawa and Miike schools were initially established at the turn of the 20th century, and as a response to similar socio-economic circumstances. Tagawa and Miike were two of the largest mines in the country by the end of the Meiji period, and both experienced substantial growth in their resident labor forces. Unlike Tagawa, Miike, which was nationalized in 1873 and was

---

32 Hayashi, *Yama no kodomo*, 12-13.
33 *Ōmuta-shishi*, 536-540
34 For the prefectural government's letter to the mine regarding the school, and the application for the establishment of the Mitsui Miike private schools, see "Fukuoka-ken tsūtatsu" and "Shiritsu jinjō shōgakkō secchi shinsei" in Hayashi, ed., *Santanchi kodomo kyōikushi shiryōshū*, 2-11.

operated by the Meiji government until its sale to Mitsui in 1889, was centralized from the start. However, around 1900 the company initiated a swift and jarring shift from a labor force comprised of convicts stationed at a number of local prisons, which had existed since the mine's inception, to a labor force made up of recruited miners with families.[35] Unlike the majority of Chikuhō mines, Miike was large, centralized, and faced little competition from other mining operations, especially in its immediate area.[36] Therefore, most miners – especially those recruited locally – commuted to work, resulting in a smaller percentage of laborers living in company barracks.[37] This commuting explains why the combined enrolment of the five Miike schools at the end of the Meiji period was only roughly equivalent to the enrolment at Tagawa. Regardless of these differences, the emergence of schools at Tagawa and Miike correlated to the growth of the labor force and the expanding barrack communities that both mines experienced at the turn of the century.

The creation of these schools cannot be attributed to the promotion of schooling at the national level, nor to an inevitable expansion of the education system during the late Meiji period, though general enrolment rates were increasing at the time. After all, the state played an inconsistent and ambiguous role in the promotion of elementary education in coal mining communities during the Meiji period. Both the Kaijima school and the Tagawa school registered

---

35 The best account of convict labor in Miike is Tanaka, *Kindai Nihon tankō rōdōshi kenkyū*, 240-269. See also, Shindō, *Akai botayama no hi*, 136-181. For the classic account, see Hashimoto, "Miike Kōzan to shūjin rōdō," *Shakai keizai shigaku* 32:4 (1966), 398-418. In the late 1890s, the various prefectural governments began closing the prisons that provided labor to mine, thus necessitating the shift to regular labor. The shift to family recruitment also signified a significant increase in the female labor force at Miike. Since all convict laborers were men, most women miners did supplemental jobs (coal sorting, miner coal transportation, etc.) as members of commuting families.

36 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 28-29. Though its relative isolation was a major contributor to Miike's low turnover rate and stable labor market, this phenomenon must be further contextualized. In 1905, the various Mitsui mines (Miike, Tagawa, Yamano, Hondō) signed an agreement to formally distribute shared and exclusive recruiting areas, in order to avoid conflict over labor. Therefore, Miike was protected from incursion by other Mitsui collieries.

37 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 26. A similar point is made by Shindō, *Akai botayama no hi*, 121-122. While 85% of the 44,000 Chikuhō miners lived in company housing in 1906, only 27% of Miike's 8,600 miners did, with the remainder owning or renting their own houses

with the prefecture without intervention, the latter beginning as an informal academy, and though

the Miike school was eventually forced to register, its initial establishment was undertaken

without state involvement. Furthermore, the concern with schooling was not limited to those few

coal mines that created their own private educational institutions. During the first decade of the

20th century, the majority of mines in the region attempted to promote education in the mining

community by assisting with the financial burden that accompanied formal schooling.[38] This

included covering the costs of tuition and textbooks for the students, as well as providing

considerable funds to the local public schools in order to offset the cost of educating hundreds of

extra students. In some cases, local and prefectural administrations pressured the companies to

provide these contributions, but the personal assistance offered to individual students seems to

have been undertaken without coercion.[39] Schooling, both public and private, was a response to

internal developments within the mining communities and reflected the particular concerns of

late-Meiji mine owners.

These schools developed concurrently with the centralization and mechanization of

Japan's collieries and a rapidly expanding population of miners living in company-run barracks.

Schooling was portrayed as an effective means to counteract the deleterious effects of these

changes in the structure of mining life, and was embraced for its salutary moral effects over its

intellectual benefits, with little mention being made of classroom content or the pedagogical

methods utilized therein. In short, mine owners emphasized the power of the schools to forestall

labor turnover and to reform the poor habits and customs that they identified as corrupting the

---

38 *Kōfu taigū jirei* (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1908), 147-149.
39 For the best example of a company's promotion of public schooling, see the report from the Furukuawa Nishibu Mine: "Furukawa Kōgyō Gaisha Nishibu Kōgyōjo kōfu jidō shūgaku shōrei no seiseki," *Geppō*, 13 (7/1905), 73-78. Hayashi Masato has emphasized the role of governmental pressure in stimulating greater contributions to local schools by mining companies. In addition to local mining taxes, which were used to offset the social and environments burdens imposed by mining, companies gave annual aid to local schools. However, it was typically insufficient to do anything more than expand the school physically in order to accommodate more students. See Hayashi, *Yama no kodomo*, 71-81.

barrack communities.

While Chikuhō was not unique in its struggle to prevent labor turnover, the hundreds of

coal mines populating the region made it prone to high turnover rates, which were double that of

Hokkaidō's mines and triple that of Miike.[40] Chikuhō mines struggled with miner abduction and

abandonment, especially during periods of market growth and high demand, such as after the

Sino-Japanese (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese (1904-05) wars. Schools were depicted as an

effective means of preventing turnover and providing a positive incentive for long-term

residency. Kaijima's school was intended to promote the well-being of the children and to

"ground (*ashi wo tome*) their parents, who were incapable of being satisfied in one place".[41]

Similarly, in justifying the establishment of the school to the Mitsui head office, Yamada

Fumitarō, head of the Mitsui Tagawa Company, made reference to the company's struggles in

procuring a stable labor force. Yamada asserted that labor turnover (*idō*) was rampant at the

mine. With so many mines being established throughout the Chikuhō region, miners could move

from place to place at their whim, which put pressure on the company to constantly recruit and

train new miners, resulting in an increased financial burden as well. He insisted that direct and

indirect means were necessary to combat those evils (*heigai*) and to "anchor" (*keiryū*) the miners

to the company, one of the most effective such methods being to provide an education for the

children of the miners, which would "foster a desire to stay permanently (*eijū no nen*)".[42] Even

in Miike, where the turnover rate was significantly lower, the establishment of barrack schools

was connected to a desire that children would "succeed their fathers and engage in the work of

coal mining".[43] It was implied in all three cases that should the children attend school, the

---

40 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 21.
41 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 151.
42 Yamada, "Shiritsu shōgakkō setsuritsu no koto ni tsuki fukushin," 23.
43 "Naya gakkō secchi ni kansuru jōshin," 1.

176

parents would be less likely to uproot their families and move to another mine.

The fostering of a "desire to stay" was not simply a product of incentivization, but also of character formation. Mining communities during the Meiji period were notorious for violence, and miners were reviled for their crude customs.[44] Kaijima identified what he called "slavish customs" (*dorei no shūkan*) that permeated every aspect of coal mining society, from their living conditions to their clothing and eating habits.[45] The Miners hamlets, we are told, "were made up of many profligates and rogues (*hōtō burai no to*), violent and ferocious men (*dōaku kyōbō no hai*), with gambling here, fighting there, extortion and bloodshed (*kyōsei sasshō*) were common occurrences".[46] Similarly, Taneda recalled that when he came to Tagawa, "[t]he majority of the residents were uneducated (*mukyōiku*), they were morally corrupt (*fūki ranjite*), they tended towards laziness and idleness (*taida an'itsu*), they were devoted to bloodshed, [and] they caused trouble for managers and officials (*kanri kakari'in*)".[47] Over time, these crude customs became ingrained in the youth of the community, who, "having been raised in lower class, uneducated households (*katō-shakai mukyōiku no katei*), had course customs (*fūgi akuretsu*) and knew only to make noise and to hit (*kensō ōda*)".[48] Schooling was viewed as a means of improving those customs and rescuing the children from the ill effects of their communities; however, these children rarely found acceptance in the local public schools. Kaijima claimed that the mine's youth, having been treated with contempt (*bubetsu*) by local children, would not be willing to attend the public schools. Similarly, Yamada Fumitarō justified the establishment of a private school on the grounds that the children had no desire to enter the public system, since the locals

---

44 According to a police survey from 1904, violent crimes – namely murders (*sashō*) and woundings (*sōshō*) – and gambling (*bakuto*) were particularly common in coal mining regions, especially Chikuhō (Iizuka and Nōgata city police departments). See, "Fukuoka-ken no hanzai oyobi kyōiku tōkei," *Geppō*, 34 (4/1906), 40-41.
45 *Kaijima Shōgakkō kyōiku-shi*, 26.
46 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 155.
47 Taneda Kakuun. "Taneda Kakuun nikki, gekan." In the care of the Taneda Family, Hiramatsu Seijin Temple, Tagawa City. The pages in the diary are not numbered.
48 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 153.

"despise" (*besshi*) the miners and contemptuously referred to their children as "*ishizumi-tō*" – *ishizumi* being the pre-Meiji word for "coal," and *tō* referring to a group or faction.[49]

The promotion of schooling as a salve for the moral disintegration of coal mining communities must be understood within the context of an emerging social conception of childhood during the Meiji period, especially as it relates to industrialization. During the early Meiji period, the status of youth became an increasing concern for Japan's national leadership, as well as the nascent middle class intellectuals, all of whom correlated "the infantile body with the Japanese national/imperial body".[50] Within this discourse, the child's body became a microcosm of the national body (*kokutai*) and the state of Japan's youth acted as a litmus test for the strength of the nation. At the same time, childhood was distinguished by "vulnerability," and was "extremely sensitive to outside influences," which made the assurance of children's safety, health, hygiene, and proper physical and mental development "possible site[s] of public concern and scrutiny".[51] This notion of childhood was particularly important for those raised amongst the lower classes or as children of day laborers and industrial workers, for their "delinquency" came to symbolize "all of the pathologies of urban lower class life that threatened to drag down the nation".[52] As such, "[t]hose children had to be rescued from their environments and those environments themselves had to be reformed".[53] If this fear of "juvenile delinquency" existed in the urban centers of Japan, it was just as prominent in the mining communities of northern Kyushu, where the poor customs of the young were seen as a reflection of the depraved environment in which they were raised. If schools acted as a means of removing children from

---

49   Yamada, "Shiritsu gakkō setsuritsu no koto ni tsuki fukushin," 23.
50   Sabine Fruhstuck, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2003), 8.
51   Brian Platt, "Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, The School, and 19th Century Globalization," *Journal of Social History* 38:4 (Summer, 2005), 974-975.
52   David R. Ambaras, *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2006), 38.
53   Ambaras, *Bad Youth*, 31.

their poor home lives and correcting their moral shortcomings in the cities, then we can see the same process taking place in the mining communities, where schools would not only contribute to the well-being (*kōfuku*) of the children, but would fix the "evil customs" (*aku-fūzoku*) of "mining society" (*kōfu shakai*) itself.[54]

Moreover, the creation of schools and their concomitant notion of childhood implied fundamental changes for the structure of the coal mining communities by imposing new divisions and new identities. Childhood is not an *a priori* reality, but can be infused with different boundaries, meanings, and social significance. Childhood, as embraced by public schools and embodied in such terms as *jidō* (children), *shōnen* (boys), and *shōjo* (girls), was identified as a particular stage in human mental and social development, generally occurring between the ages of 6 and 12 (which coincided with the six years of elementary schooling).[55] The abstraction of children from the general coal mining community and the identification of childhood as a locus of social reform thus implied a significant rupture in the life cycle of most mining families. It was not uncommon for children (especially boys) to first enter the mines at age seven or eight, where they would either assist their parents at the coal face or be given supplementary jobs in transport (*unpan*) or coal sorting (*sentan*).[56] Whether as suppliers of

---

54 "Naya gakkō secchi ni kansuru jōshin," 1.

55 Lincicome, *Principle, Practice, and the Politics of Educational Reform*, 33-34. Until 1908, all children were only required to attend four years of elementary schooling, but the Ministry of Education and the prefectural governments encouraged all students to attend two years of "higher elementary" (*kōtō shōgaku*) schooling. Starting with the revision of the Elementary School Ordinance (*shōgakkō-rei*) in 1900, "common upper elementary schools" (*jinjō kōtō shōgakkō*) generally combined a four year elementary program with a two year upper elementary course. The age range attributed to "childhood," however, was not fixed across time, region, or social field, and was the topic of considerable debate during the period. For example, under the Elementary School Ordinance, "school aged children" (*gakurei jidō*) were between the ages of 6 and 14. See *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunenshi, tsūshi-hen: Meiji*, 679-681, 704-709; Fruhstuck, *Colonizing Sex*, 60-61.

56 Information regarding child labor in mines is anecdotal. Yamamoto Sakubei claims to have first entered the mines at age seven, while Hayashi Masato has collected personal accounts from others that entered between the ages of 8 and 12. Furthermore, records from various accidents at mines include children of school age amongst their casualties (in addition to infants). Noyori Tomoko has also found that a significant number of *atoyama* (luggers) at mines were between the ages of 10 and 24. See Yamamoto Sakubei, *Yama ni ikiru: chi no soko no jinrei kiroku, shinsōhan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2011), 24-28; Hayashi, *Yama no kodomo*, 89-99; Noyori Tomoko,

supplemental income – which explains why many parents resisted sending their children to school – or as providers of child care for their younger siblings at home, young people were fully integrated as productive members of the family. As "school aged children" (*gakurei jidō*), however, they were defined as incomplete individuals, separate from the adult "coal miners," and susceptible to the corrupting influence of the larger mining community. The creation of schools accompanied an implicit differentiation within mining society between miners and their children.

Conversely, schooling was equally complicit in the formation of ideas about "miners" and "mining society," for if delinquent children were the product of poor social environments, then the source of delinquency was to be found in the character of the mining communities. As sites where hundreds or thousands of violent and disreputable people lived in close proximity, the coal mining communities were often depicted as a "world apart" (*betsu-tenchi*), and imbued with socially malignant qualities. Miners were thus the objects of stigmatization, disparaged as "*gezainin*" (bottom-dwellers or criminals) by locals, and portrayed as being even lower in status than other laborers. Such claims were not mere critiques of individual deeds, but pointed to a fundamental depravity separate from the moral conduct of its constituent parts. "Even if one was a good-natured person (*zenryō no hito*)," claimed one account, "if he enters this society once, he will immediately be influenced by its bad habits and evil customs (*akuheki rōshū*), and, typically, he will be unable to leave this world of darkness (*ankoku-kai*) for the rest of his life".[57] However, these communities were not without the potential for redemption. While a community with "evil customs" could overwhelm good people, the infusion of "good customs" (*zenryō fūki*), achieved through the employment of hardworking men with families and children, or by the promotion of

Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2011), 44-46.
57 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 155.

improvement measures (*kaisei no saku*), could resist the deleterious influence of the miners.[58]

Schools may have been concerned with the education of children, but, indirectly (*kansetsu ni*),

they acted as such an "improvement measure" by "inspir[ing] obedience and the desire to stay

(*jūjun eijū no nen*) in [the children's] parents, and, gradually, teach[ing] good customs to those

without children and single miners (*dokushin kōfu*)".[59] Simply put, the promotion of schooling in

Fukuoka's coal mining communities, both public and private, was situated at the intersection

between emerging and mutually reinforcing concepts of "childhood" and "mining society" that

attempted to protect children from the negative effects of their environment while asserting their

crucial role in its reformation.

Schooling was therefore not promoted in coal mining communities for its curricular

content or its intellectual benefits, but for its perceived social effects. In justifying their creation,

the founders of private schools appealed to schooling as a means of ameliorating two of the most

pressing challenges faced by coal mine managers during the late Meiji period: labor turnover and

the moral degradation of the miners' hamlets. Both of these goals required a fundamental re-

education of coal miners' customs and habits, with children being identified as a potential

medium for effecting change. Insofar as mine owners and managers conceived of education as an

holistic reformation of coal mining life – from children, all the way to unmarried adults – schools

cannot be analyzed in isolation, for they were typically posited as one node within an extensive

network of welfare institutions (*fukushi shisetsu*) that were established during the late Meiji

period with similar goals in mind. Together, these institutions were crucial in identifying the

moral pitfalls of mining life, and establishing a new type of pedagogical relationship between

---

58 This is a summary of an argument made in a site report of the Mitsui Tagawa Mine by a mining student from
    Tokyo Imperial University. See, Nagao Tsutomu, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo
    Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1907), 18-20.
59 "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō shiritsu jinjō shōgakkō no kinkyō," 56

owners and coal miners. Therefore, the next step is to analyze the motivations and desired effects embodied in these other welfare facilities, and their consequences for our understanding of education within Fukuoka's coal mining regions.

Welfare Facilities and Mining Society

The promotion of schooling by mine owners and industrialists first achieved prominence during the first decade of the 20th century when schools were established at the two Mitsui mines and enrolment began to increase at both private and public institutions in mining regions.[60] During the first two decades of the 20th century, mine owners across the region initiated overarching institutional reforms in an attempt to promote efficiency, productivity, and stability in the workplace, and as a response to increasing accidents and miner unrest. These reforms ranged from improved safety measures and the reconstruction of miner residences, to the establishment of a complex web of welfare institutions that were intended to assist miners in the their times of need, stimulate productivity, and to inculcate values of hard work and thrift. Insofar as they were designed to improve the customs and habits of coal miners, many welfare facilities had an implicit pedagogical purpose. In fact, many of them were justified in the same terms, and with the same social effects in mind, as the schools themselves. Like the schools, the reformation of miner customs was portrayed as an effective measure against labor turnover, as well as a means of maintaining social stability. Furthermore, like schools, welfare measures were increasingly justified in terms of assumptions about "mining society" and its effects on vulnerable members of the community, namely, women and children. Finally, all of the welfare

---

60   Even though the Kaijima school was established in the late 1880s, its enrolment did not exceed 100 students until 1899, when its student body more than doubled from two years prior. A second boom in enrolment took place around 1905, when the number of students doubled from 175 to 349, and to 742 two years later. The first years of the 1900s were also the first time that enrolment rates in coal mining regions matched those of the rest of the prefecture. *Kaijima shōgakkō kyōikushi*, 45; *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunenshi, tsūshi-hen: Meiji*, 735.

institutions that proliferated during the early 20th century assumed the responsibility of mine

owners and industrialists in initiating reforms, and thus presupposed a pedagogical relationship

between owner and miner. Therefore, welfare facilities constitute an indispensable component of

any analysis of education within the coal mining communities. To illustrate their pedagogical

function, this section discusses some of the most prominent welfare programs of the period:

religious sermons and organizations, day care centers, savings programs, and mutual-aid

associations.

The first decade of the 20th century was a period of wholesale institutional reform within

Fukuoka's coal mining companies, largely in the interest of ensuring the safety of miners and

ameliorating unrest. In order to prevent mining accidents, greater emphasis was placed on safe

and hygienic practice within the mines. At Mitsubishi's Namazuta mine, managers were told to

thoroughly inspect the mining areas before allowing entry and to ensure that all equipment –

especially gas lanterns, which often caused explosions – were used safely and properly.[61] At the

same time, the Kaijima Mining Company initiated new safety precautions throughout the first

decade of the 1900s. Kerosene lamps were replaced with "safety lamps" (*anzen-tō*) to prevent

gas leakages, drainage pipes were installed to avoid flooding, fans and other machines were

introduced in order to increase ventilation, and pressurized taps were installed throughout the

mines to prevent the outbreak of fire. They even established fire-fighting brigades (*shōbōtai*) in

order to protect the mines and the surrounding areas after a construction fire burned down a

building, and another destroyed more than 20 barracks in 1906.[62] Companies also attempted to

quell potential labor disputes. They promoted increased production and diligence in the work

---

61 "Namazuta Tankō kōnai kakari-in no kokore (1)," *Geppō*, 6 (12/1904), 19-21

62 *Miyata-chō shi*, 1031-1048. It is important to note that these efforts met with only modest success. In 1909, the
    company met with one of its most tragic accidents, as a gas explosion at the second Amino mine claimed the
    lives of more than 250 men, women, and children.

place through incentives, such as by providing on-site training for new employees, shortened

hours for coal face miners, and various rewards programs.[63] These rewards included

performance-based bonuses, correlating to production (*seiseki*) or consistent attendance (*seikin*),

increased wages or awards for staying at a given mine for extended periods of time, and the

formal recognition of "model" employees, who could be used as exemplars for the rest of the

workforce.[64] Together, all of these programs and facilities promoted a safe and productive work

environment for miners, and were intended to maintain a motivated labor force.

Most industrialists during the Meiji period recognized, however, that improved working

conditions were not efficacious on their own, but had to be accompanied by an improvement of

the workers' home environment as well.[65] During the early years of the 20th century, medical

bureaus and hospitals were established in all of the region's major mining communities, which

provided free medical care to employees of the company.[66] More importantly, mine owners in

Fukuoka paid particular attention to the living conditions of the miners, namely, the barracks and

the surrounding areas. The earliest barracks, as implied by the term *naya*, which literally

translates to "shed" or "barn", were rustic and crowded. They had thatch roofs, if any roofing at

all, and lacked proper flooring or tatami mats, leaving the miners to sleep on the dirt surface or

straw bedding. While families were given small rooms in which to live together, single miners

---

63   Mitsui Tagawa Mine, for example, published a pamphlet for their recruiters that emphasized the particular
     benefits connected to the mine: free private schooling, free medical care, superior daily wages, limited working
     hours (eight hours per day), cash payments (as opposed to internally circulated money), and performance-based
     bonuses. Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku," pamphlet is inserted between pages 302 and 303 of the site report.
     For a general discussion on welfare institutions as incentives, see Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 119-
     124.
64   *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 103-133, for a general summary of rewards and "encouragement" (*shōrei*) programs throughout
     the country; *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō* (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō, 1913), 271-292 for example from several Chikuhō mines.
     In the 1919, the Mitsui Tagawa Mine even published a collective biography of miners that had been rewarded in
     order to offer them as exemplars for others, and to show the success of their welfare policies. See *Mitsui
     Tagawa Kōgyōjo hyōshō ryakuden* (Shibayama Kaneshichi, 1919).
65   For an example of this emphasis in relation to textile industries see Doi Teppei, "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten,"
     Enerugii shi kenkyū 19 (3/2004), 122-124.
66   As with schools, many mines chose to provide funding for local public hospitals instead of founding their own.
     For a complete list of mines with medical facilities as of 1913, see *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 421-426.

were gathered into larger rooms, with eight or more individuals living in very close proximity. Changes to miners' living quarters were gradual, but around the turn of the century all of the large mining companies began rebuilding the barracks with tile roofs, walls between units, and straw tatami mats. Most rooms now came with a closet and a charcoal brazier to provide heat.[67] Furthermore, efforts were made to improve the surrounding areas. The companies provided healthy drinking water, and in some cases even built small gardens around the community in order to make it more habitable.[68] In order to improve hygiene, baths were constructed (which were maintained through small deductions from salaries) and many mines assigned "hygiene officers" (*eisei kakari-in*) to ensure the cleanliness of the barracks by assigning tasks to residents.[69] Health and hygiene were thus promoted as vital to the creation of safe and productive work environments, through the prevention of illness and creation of a more positive living environment. Nevertheless, hygiene was not merely an institutional concern, for, as one doctor serving at the Mitsubishi Shin'nyū Coal Mine argued, the preponderance of illness and disease in coal mining communities was not "because the structures of the *naya* are bad, but rather result

---

67 The process of barrack improvement took place at different rates and at different points in time, depending on the size of the mine, the ownership of the company, and the relative increase in the mining population. However, for the most part, the late 1800s and early 1900s represent the turning point in miner living standards, beginning a process that that would see the barracks turn into formal "company housing" (*shataku*) communities during the 1910s and 1920s. For an overview of this process, see Honda Akishi and Yamashita Ryōji, "'Kōfu naya' kara 'kōfu shataku' e no hatten katei ni tsuite: tankō jūtaku keikaku ni kansuru shiteki kenkyu (1)," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun hōkokushū* 375 (5/1987): 76-86. For mine-specific accounts of this process, see *Miyata-chō shi*, 814-816; *Nōgata-shi shi, hokan: sekitan kōgyō-hen*, 423-429; Kudo, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito*, 173-174; Hashimoto Tetsuya, "1900-1910-nendai no Miike Tankō: sekitan sangyō no sangyō shihon kakuritsu wo megutte." *Mitsui bunko ronsō* 5 (1971), 59-63; and "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-9-kan (rōmu 3)," 1120-1128. For a personal account, which supports this general timeline, see Yamamoto, *Yama ni ikiru*, 17-21.
68 Kurate County, which contained over a dozen large coal mines, recommended the creation of vegetable gardens (*sosai-en*) in the coal mining communities as a means of ensuring the health (*kenkō*) of the miners and providing them with practical gardening knowledge. Furthermore, it was posited as a means of diverting (*ten'yō*) the free time of the miners away from alcohol towards more beneficial practices. Similarly, the Miike Coal Mine codified strict regulations for anyone wishing to plant a vegetable garden, in order to prevent conflict between miners and to promote the care of surrounding wildlife. *Kurate-gunze*, 236; Hashimoto, "1900-1910-nendai no Miike Tankō," 65.
69 For example, at the Kaneda Coal Mine in Tagawa county, the *eisei kakari-in* was in charge of assigning 18 "hygiene managers" (*eisei sewakakari*) to distribute cleaning tasks across the barracks. The mine had more than 3000 residents living in over 700 households. "Kaneda Tankō kinjō," *Geppō* 43 (1/1908), 25.

from the residents' (*jūkyōsha*) lack of hygienic awareness".[70] Consequently, welfare discourse shifted naturally from institutions to the habits and customs of the miners themselves, with an increased emphasis on the moral and financial sensibilities of laborers.

Reforms in working conditions and the environment of the miner barracks was accompanied by the establishment of welfare institutions that reflected a shift in emphasis to the character of the miners. In a 1907 speech to the Chikuhō Mining Association (Chikuhō Sekitan Kōgyō Kumiai),[71] local police inspector Tanaka Hideo showed concern for the "evils" (*heigai*) that accompanied the prosperity of coal mining. In particular, he emphasized the fear that the "vulgar customs" (*fūzoku yahi*) of the coal miners would "pollute" (*osen*) the surrounding region, and that the preponderance of crime in coal mining communities would stimulate similar activities in society in general. He asserted that violent crime in Fukuoka was concentrated in coal mining regions, and that both the perpetrators and their victims were most often miners or those associated with mining communities. "The majority," he continued, "become murderously enraged from the most trifling quarrels while in a drunken stupor (*ransui*), so they grab a knife and wound or kill (*sasshō*) someone." In order to lower the crime rate, Tanaka demanded that the mine owners "improve the morals (*fūgi*) of the miners, and endeavor to prevent crimes (*hanzai no yohō*)" before they happen. He proposed a series of institutional measures that could assist in improving the culture of the miners: compulsory savings programs and insurance in case of accidents or illness; the abolishment of the "barrack system" and the assertion of direct company control over the mining community; the establishment of schools; and the sponsoring of speeches, sermons, public gatherings, concerts, and other recreational activities (*ian goraku*) that would make the miners "correct their evil ways (*akufū*) of violence and barbarity (*kyōbō*

---

70 Shitara Hajime, "Tankō eisei ippan," *Geppō* 35 (5/1907), 4.
71 Reprinted as Tanaka Hideo, "Sekitan Kōgyōsha ni tai-suru kibō," *Geppō*, 32 (2/1907): 31-35.

satsubatsu), vulgarity and negligence (*yahi taiman*), and to replace them with a culture of goodness and diligence (*zenryō kinben*)."

Several years later, Satō Minayoshi, a regular contributor to the Coal Mining Association's journal, proposed a similar set of institutional reforms.[72] Writing in response to increased labor tensions and a general engagement with "labor problems" (*rōdō mondai*) throughout the country, Satō asserted the need to "make the lowliest of workers (*sai-teidō no rōdōsha*) work diligently (*seikin-seshime*) in a state of enlightenment (*anshin ritsumei*), to discipline their spirits (*seishin*), to provide solace (*ian*), to improve their working conditions (*rōdō jōtai*), and to try and improve their well-being (*kōfuku zōshin*)".[73] Satō's argument was based on a recognition of the challenges faced by both sides of the labor-management relationship, the former working in difficult conditions with few future prospects, and the latter balancing a concern for their workers with a desire for profit. His institutional solutions to the crisis reflect this desire to appease both sides. He proposed an increase in wages, a simplified management structure,[74] the schooling of youth, and the promotion of practical training for the miners themselves. The latter would provide employees with a means to pursue their labor of choice, and would "cultivate ideal miners (*risō-teki kōfu*)" that would "observe their duties with enthusiasm (*nesshin*) and care (*chūi*)".[75] Satō also suggested the creation of savings programs, mutual-aid (*kyōsai*) associations, pension plans, the provision of health insurance, and even the establishment of labor unions in order to improve the character (*hin'i*) of the miners and promote their economic well-being. The majority of the institutional reforms prescribed by Tanaka and Satō – religious propagation and entertainment, savings programs, schooling, and mutual-aid

---

72 Satō Minayoshi, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (1-2)," *Geppō*, 112 (10/1913): 51-55; 113 (11/1913): 46-50.
73 Satō, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (1)," 53.
74 Satō, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (1)," 54-55.
75 Satō, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (2)," 47.

associations – were already being adopted either wholesale or piecemeal by the majority of Fukuoka's largest mining operations.

These particular welfare facilities also had precedents in both Japan and the western world. Similar institutions were established by large corporations across the country, with the two most famous examples being those of Mutō Sanji and Suzuki Tsunesaburō. Mutō first introduced a variety of welfare measures to the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company (Kanegafuchi Bōseki Gaisha, or Kanebō), starting in 1902. He renovated the employee dorms, established schools and hospitals, created savings programs and pension plans, and chartered a "mutual benefit association".[76] Beginning in 1911, Suzuki was responsible for institutional reforms at the Nikkō Electric Copper Smelting Company (Nikkō Denki Seidō Jo). He expanded the employees' living quarters, promoted improved hygiene, shortened working hours, built a hospital, improved safety measures in the factory, built schools and kindergartens, and even organized public outings for workers.[77] Both Mutō and Suzuki were also inspired by their experiences in the West and the examples of similar facilities at European factories. Mutō took his inspiration from the Krupp Company in Prussia, where a number of welfare facilities were established between the 1850s and 1870s.[78] Suzuki was seemingly influenced by several theories of labor management from Europe, though he was most directly stimulated by his experience with Edward Cadbury in England.[79] Both sets of welfare institutions were widely publicized and praised at the time, and

---

76 William Tsutsui, "Rethinking the Paternalist Paradigm in Japanese Management," *Business and Economic History* 26:2 (Winter 1997), 566-567. See also, Elyssa Faison, *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2007), 17-19. For general summaries of Mutō's welfare facilities in Japanese, see Hazama Hiroshi, *Nihon rōmu kanri shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 1978), 310-321; Uematsu Tadahiro, "Mutō Sanji to Nihon-teki keiei no genten," *Kokumin keizai zasshi* 168:2 (8/1993): 31-38.
77 Hazama, *Nihon rōmu kanri shi kenkyū*, 477-482; Doi, "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten," 120-124.
78 These facilities included mutual aid societies, living quarters for employees, health and life insurace, retirement plans, and schools. For the best discussion of the Krupp's welfare system, see Eugene C. McCreary, "Social Welfare and Business: The Krupp Welfare Program, 1860-1914," *This Business History Review* 42:1 (Spring 1968), esp. 27-38.
79 Tsutsui, "Rethinking the Paternalist Paradigm," 568; Doi, "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten," 126-130.

both men worked for large conglomerates (Mutō at Mitsui, and Suzuki at Furukawa) that also owned large coal mines in Fukuoka, so it is no surprise that these efforts were emulated by mine owners and operators.

More important than their origins and influences was the perceived role these institutions played in a larger process of "lifestyle guidance" (*seikatsu shidō*) or "enlightenment activities" (*kyōka undō*) promoted by Fukuoka's industrialists. Mine owners in the early 20th century assumed that productivity, efficiency, and the prevention of labor unrest was dependent upon the "enlightenment" of their employees, which was not limited to the miners themselves, but inevitably extended to their families as well.[80] Consequently, all of these institutions maintained explicit and implicit educational dimensions.   On the one hand, they were adopted in order to promote the economic (*keizai-teki*) and spiritual (*seishin-teki*) well-being of the miners, to foster new economic sensibilities and "good customs" (*bifū*) in miners' daily lives, and to cultivate dedication to the company. On the other hand, as with schools, these institutions played a role in formulating and inculcating identities of and within the coal mining community, of dividing, classifying, and attributing roles to a previously undifferentiated whole. They were thus crucial in creating a narrowly conceived notion of "coal miners" with distinct traits and tendencies, which would become the basis for discussions about the coal mining community for years to come. Some of these welfare measures are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs, with an emphasis on the moral or economic values they promoted, and the specific components of mining society they targeted.

Religious sermons, which usually took place in social halls or religious lecture halls (*sekkyō-jo*), are unique in that they aimed at the enlightenment of the whole coal mining community. The earliest examples of religious institutions for coal mines are found at the Miike

---

80 This specific formulation can be found in "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-7-kan (rōmu 1)," 107-108.

and Tagawa mines, both of which eventually came under the authority of the Mitsui Company. At Miike, a Buddhist association called the Chionsha was established in 1883, specifically to provide religious services in cases of death. A lecture hall was built, where speakers were invited on a weekly basis. Around 1905, a Shintō shrine was also established, supposedly funded primarily by the miners themselves, where small weekly and large bi-annual festivals were held.[81] In 1896, Taneda Kakuun established a lecture hall at Tagawa along with his school and held bi-monthly (later increased to four times per month) speeches to provide guidance for the miners. The lecture hall was later integrated into the company structure once the mine was purchased by Mitsui.[82] For the most part, however, religious lecture halls did not become a common element in coal mining communities until the first decade of the 20th century.[83] Lecture halls were often constructed along with larger social halls (*shūkai-jo*), which became gathering sites for the whole community. In addition to acting as sites for speeches and lectures, social halls hosted festivals, sumō tournaments, and, in some cases, kabuki theater or other forms of popular entertainment. Such gatherings were rare, and limited to a few mines, but were extremely popular events that provided recreational (*ian*) opportunities in the otherwise monotonous routine of mining life.[84]

Religious gatherings were crucial for fostering a larger communal identity and promoting loyalty to the company. Unity was the common focal point of this identity and was promoted as a bi-product of religious instruction. One commentator even critiqued the adoption of Buddhism in the mines because it was perceived as being inherently divisive and prone to factionalism;

---

81 Shindō, *Akai botayama no hi*, 92-94; Kōzuma Yukihide, *Miike tankō shi* (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1980), 117-118.
82 "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-8-kan (rōmu 2)," 729-730.
83 The total numbers are not clear, but in the 1907 survey of Japanese mining communities only five Fukuoka coal mines are listed as having religious and social halls, while by the time of the 1913 survey, that number had doubled to ten. It is also likely that some institutions were unaccounted for. See *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 101-102; K*ōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 302-306.
84 K*ōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 302.

instead, he promoted Shintō as unitary, and thus best suited to "give comfort to our miners (*waga-kōfu*) and still instill them with religious ideas".[85] For the most part, however, Buddhism remained the most prominent religious presence in the coal mining communities, with the Honganji sect organizing several lecture tours in Chikuhō at the end of the Meiji period (starting in 1911). These speeches included a variety of topics, from the improvement of customs to the relationship between Buddhism and hygiene, with perhaps the most interesting topic being "familial labor" (*kazoku-teki rōdō*).[86] According to one speech, coal mining differed from textiles or other heavy industries, in which only men or only women worked, because the men, women, and children of families all worked simultaneously in a given enterprise. The co-operative work of all family members in the mining industry was depicted as an embodiment of "the family system (*kazoku seido*) [that] is a beautiful custom (*bizoku*) of our empire and the source of the Japanese spirit (*yamato-damashii*)".[87] This speech thus promoted the ideals of "duty and loyalty" (*jingi chūkō*) as connecting the miners to their ancestors, their descendants, their company, and their nation. This familial representation of work and religious belief (*shinkō*) were reinforced by the construction of commemorative towers (*kuyō-tō*) by many companies to honour the dead, and the hosting of annual remembrance ceremonies. Similar ceremonies were also hosted after mining accidents, in which large numbers of lives were lost at once.[88] At Miike, it was even prescribed that every miner barrack should have a Buddhist alter set up for worshipping ancestors.[89] For Fukuoka's mine owners, religion provided a vital medium through which they could impose a spatial and temporal sense of unity on the community. Large

---

85 "Kōzan bōdō yobō sōdan," *Geppō* 37 (7/1907), 52.
86 Short listings of visited mines, turnouts, and lecture topics appear regularly on the page of the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association's journal starting in June, 1911. In many cases, they include short summaries of one or more of the lecture topics from the past month.
87 "Honganji Chikuhō tanzan fukyō geppō," *Geppō* 85 (7/1911), 64.
88 *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 302; for a specific example, see "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-8-kan (rōmu 2)," 736-739.
89 Hashimoto, "1900-1910-nendai no Miike Tankō," 65.

gatherings and memorial events transformed the travails of mining life into shared experiences, while reinforcing a familial atmosphere in which membership was defined by company identification. Furthermore, in projecting this identity into the past through commemorations, and towards the future through sermons, religious institutions acted as stable sites through which to combat the persistent problem of labor turnover and to promote the reproduction of the workforce.

While religious institutions promoted moral improvement and unity indiscriminately across coal mining society, the rest of the welfare institutions were established with more narrow constituencies and values in mind. Day care centers were amongst the most discrete institutions, only engaging with concerns about women and children within the community. Even in the late Meiji period, childcare remained a persistent worry for mine owners and miners alike. Once ready to return to work, mothers with newborn or pre-elementary aged children had but a few options to ensure the care of their children. If they had older children or elderly relatives living with them, family provided free childcare and allowed the mother to return to the mine with little difficulty. Alternatively, elderly members of the community often provided baby-sitting services for several children, usually in a barrack located close to the mine shaft. In both cases, it was typical for the mother to return from the coal face throughout the day in order to nurse her child. But if such informal measures were lacking, it was not uncommon for women to take their newborn children into the mines with them, and to attempt to care for the children while working.[90] It was in this context that company-operated day cares proliferated during the first two decades of the 20th century. Day cares were constructed for children of a variety of pre-

---

90   Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 44-50. Noyori's book remains the most comprehensive and complex analysis of day care centers in coal mines, especially in the first two chapters. For an earlier article on day care institutions, see Hirata Munefumi and Hirata Toshiko, "Waga-kuni no tankō fusetsu hoikujo ni tsuite: Meiji-ki wo chūshin to shite," *Fukuoka Kyōiku Daigaku kiyō* 43:4 (1994): 183-195.

school ages, some beginning with three year olds and others accepting newborns, though they all provided milk and food for the children, so that nursing visits from mothers were no longer necessary. Some were free, while others charged a nominal fee, no more expensive than what was generally requested from community babysitters. As they grew in size and enrolment, their curricula became more complex, including a variety of indoor or outdoor activities, and lessons in academic subjects – with a coinciding emphasis on the training of day care staff.[91] By the end of the Meiji period, as many as 20 day care centers existed at 14 different mines in the region.[92]

As with most welfare institutions, day cares were established with a combination of productive and moral goals in mind. On the one hand, the demands of child care were seen as inhibiting the productivity of the women working in the mines. Considerable time was spent moving between the coal face and the babysitting service and, in many cases, women with young children were known to be absent from work on a regular basis.[93] Unattended young children thus posed a threat to both the individual production of women miners, whose wages as *atoyama* were crucial to maintaining households, and to the company, where lost labor power had to be supplemented. Consequently, day care centers included a variety of regulations intended to maximize efficiency and ensure that their utilization was contributing to company productivity. For example, families often had to work for the company for a given amount of time before their children could quality for day care service, and children could often only attend the day care for the same number of days as their parents worked in the mines. Careful records were kept to prevent abuse of the institution, and day cares were construed as an effective means of curtailing labor turnover, since they both required long term residency and promoted commitment.[94] At the

---

91 Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 92-95.
92 Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 69.
93 Hirata and Hirata, "Tankō fusetsu hoikujo ni tsuite, 187-188.
94 Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 78-87.

same time, the day care centers, like the schools, were intended to protect children from the negative effects of the coal mining communities. As the prospectus for the Furukawa Nishibu Mine's day care center argued, because children were often left in the care of youth, "children gather in the neighborhood and indulge in mischief (*itazura*). As a result, they receive a variety a bad influences (*furyō no kanka*)... and many fall into misfortune". Day cares were thus a means of "preventing their infection (*kansen*) by bad habits".[95]

Underlying the promotion of productivity and good customs, however, was a more fundamental process of division and classification within the broader coal mining community, and the attribution of specific traits and roles to different constituencies. Day care centers appropriated the same discourse of childhood (*yōshō*) as was found in the creation of schools during the same period, presenting childhood as the "most cherished (*sonchō*) stage in one's life".[96] Day cares removed children from the possibility of entering the mines with their parents and prevented them from idling their time away in the corrupting miner hamlets. More importantly, as Noyori Tomoko has argued, the creation of day care centers had significant consequences for the notions of "womanhood" and "motherhood" (*bosei*) in coal mining society. In bringing their children into the mines, or regularly visiting them during the work day, women coal miners acted simultaneously as mothers and as miners, with an undifferentiated (*mibunka*) relationship existing between the two roles. By establishing day cares, promoting their use, and restricting mothers from visiting during the day, mine owners indirectly asserted that the two roles could not fulfilled simultaneously.[97] By the end of the 1920s, mine owners and miners alike would generally emphasize the maternal role of women laborers, culminating in the government ban on women and children entering the mines in 1928. However, during the Meiji period, it was

---

95 "Furukawa Nishibu Kōgyōjo, oyobi Miike Tankō yōji hoikujo gaikyō," *Geppō* 57 (3/1909), 11.
96 "Furukawa Nishibu Kōgyōjo, oyobi Miike Tankō yōji hoikujo gaikyō," *Geppō* 57 (3/1909), 11.
97 Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 72-74.

the *productive* capacity of women that was emphasized, for they were indispensable members of the primary unit of labor in the coal mines: the familial, two-person mining team. Regardless of the role emphasized, day cares helped lay the groundwork for a formal and accepted separation between "women" and "miners" – in particular, underground (*kōnai*) miners.[98] To engage in the activities of one constituted an implicit exclusion from the other.

The last two welfare facilities, savings programs and mutual-aid associations, most directly targeted the workforce of the coal mines, and posited a direct correlation between financial habits and moral behavior. One of the earliest savings programs was established at the Kaneda Coal Mine in 1900 and began operations in 1902; however, these programs rapidly proliferated and could be found in most major coal mines by the end of the decade. These programs are generally divided into two varieties: compulsory (*kyōsei*) and voluntary (*nin'i*). For the most part, however, they shared the same defining characteristics. Typically, a portion of the miners' wages (usually 5%) was withheld from salary and deposited into a savings account, managed directly by the company or through a local bank or post office. Even in the case of voluntary programs, where miners nominally invested independently, the mining company often took responsibility for the program or acted as mediator between the miners and the banks. In most cases, the miners received a standard interest rate and could only redeem the money after a fixed interval (usually three years), except in the case of injury or emergency.[99] At the Aida Coal Mine, chief operator Nakano Tokujirō offered to double miners' funds if they remained with the company for five consecutive years; however, if they fled or quit before the allotted time period, the miners forfeited their savings, which would be redistributed to the rest of the community or

---

98   In fact, above ground miners (*kōgai-fu*), many of whom were women, were often not granted permission to send their children to the day care centers until the early 1920s. Noyori, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku*, 102-103.

99   For overviews of the savings programs, see *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 135-146; *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 237-259. Mines with compulsory programs included Kaijima, Meiji, Furukawa Nishibu, Namazuta and Kaneda; voluntary programs included those at Mitsubishi Shin'nyū, Mitsui Hondō, Mitsui Tagawa, and Bukoku.

the mutual-aid association.[100] Consequently, cynical interpretations often portrayed savings programs as indirect means of coercion that withheld funds in order to maintain the services of the miners, or as an attempt to have the miners 'repay' the money spent on their recruitment.[101] For Fukuoka's mine owners, it represented a positive incentive for coal miners and a useful defence against rapid labor turnover.

Mutual-aid associations appeared at roughly the same time as savings programs, with a few emerging at the turn of the century, then becoming a major staple of mining communities by the end of the Meiji period. Mutual-aid associations were promoted by mining companies as an extension of miner assistance regulations (*kōfu kyūjutsu kisoku*) that were first instituted in 1892. According to these regulations, all mines had to provide assistance for miners – typically calculated at 1/3 their monthly wages – injured in mining accidents that were deemed to not be a result of their negligence (*kashitsu*). While 1/3 wages were sufficient for food and housing for an individual, it was not enough to sustain a family, and the assistance regulations did not account for other potential emergencies, such as non-work related accidents, deaths in the family, illness, or maladies affecting non-working family members. As a result, mines promoted mutual-aid associations to supplement company aid in the case of mining accidents, or to provide for miners and families in situations outside those prescribed by the assistance regulations. While the company typically initiated the establishment of these associations, and the company president or chief administrator often acted as formal head, direct management was left to the miners themselves. All non-administrative employees were generally required to become members of mutual-aid associations, and they were funded through monthly contributions by the miners,

---

100 "Aida Tankō baika chokin no kō-seiseki," *Geppō* 33 (3/1907), 51.
101 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 119-121. According to Ogino, the price per recruitment averaged 5 *yen* per miner. Based on the typical piece rates at major Chikuhō mines, it would take between half a year and 2 years for the amount of money in the savings account to reach 5 *yen*, thus breaking even and making the departure of the miner less of a concern. For a surprisingly cynical appraisal of the savings programs from the Meiji period, see *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 237.

based on their production, supplemented with donations by the company and administrators. Decisions were made by a deliberative assembly (*hyōgi-kai*), which was made up of prominent members from the coal mining community, usually (former) barrack chiefs and other influential or high ranking employees. Administrators were sometimes invited to join as "special" (*tokubetsu*) or "participating" (*sansei*) members, though without any deliberative power.[102] By the end of the period, mutual-aid associations were treated as an indispensable component of mining life, and thus necessary for retaining and maintaining miners.

Together, savings programs and mutual-aid associations constituted perhaps the most important incentives used to attract and retain miners, and each maintained an important pedagogical dimension. According to one commentator, all people are, by nature, responsible for their own economic, spiritual, and physical well-being; but miners, due to the nature of their work and the scarcity of their wages, do not have any room for savings (*chochiku*) nor the means to prevent disease. They thus require the "intervention" (*kanshō*) of the company.[103] Building on a common image of miners as having little self-control and draining all surplus funds into gambling and alcohol, saving programs were not only intended to protect miners from themselves, but to "cultivate thoughts of savings ... and to encourage the beautiful custom of thrift (*kinken no bifū*)".[104] Similarly, the Kaneda Coal Mine's mutual-aid society aimed to "together foster the beautiful custom of thrift, to reform evil ways, to celebrate auspicious occasions (*kichiji*) and to lament misfortune (*kyōji*), to offer money and goods and to show compassion [for each other]".[105] No longer fearing poverty in the face of illness or accidents,

---

102 This summary of the mutual-aid associations in based on Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankei shi*, 94-98. Both the 1907 and 1913 surveys of Japanese miners include extensive sections on the mutual-aid associations, but mostly consist of regulations from the associations of mines across the country. See *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 168-242; and *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 328-420.
103 Takanoe Mototarō, "Tankō eisei gairon," *Geppō* 2 (8/1904), 5.
104 "Chikuhō kaku-tankō kinkyō: Bukoku Tankō," *Geppō* 48 (6/1908), 39.
105 "Kaneda Tankō kinkyō," 22.

miners were expected to "naturally correct their violent and barbarous habits."[106] But these

institutions were not meant simply to prevent misfortune. The financial stability provided by

savings and mutual-aid was designed to cultivate and promote desires (*shushu no kibō*), to

inspire the desire for "stability, to obtain a suitable livelihood, to grow old, to educate their

children, to save a little money, and, one day, to return to their home villages and live out the rest

of their days".[107] Mine owners were not only selling a welfare policy, they were fostering a new

outlook on life. By providing miners with stability and promoting a concern for the future, which

miners were perceived to lack, mine owners attempted to foster a familial environment at the

mine, to make the miners think of it as their own and form a desire to reside there permanently.

In examining a variety of welfare institutions established in Fukuoka's coal mines during

the first decade of the twentieth century (and some earlier), I have emphasized three different

pedagogical dimensions of their conception. First, these facilities were posited as a means of

combating rampant labor turnover, of fostering long-term residence in the mine both as forms of

implicit coercion (withholding money through savings programs) and as positive incentives that

rewarded loyalty. Second, mine owners attempted to articulate a new system of values and

customs for their companies' coal miners, to replace a culture of violence, alcoholism, and

gambling, with one of hard work, thrift, and communal company identification. Third, and most

importantly, initiating such a culture change required a re-articulation of roles and identities

within the mining community in order to separate the cause of the social contagion from its

victims. In doing so, mine owners rhetorically parsed and divided coal mining society, positing

women and especially children as a potential medium for reformation. Prone individuals could

thus be removed from the mines and communities, re-educated, and re-inserted in order to

---

106 Tanaka, "Sekitan Kōgyōsha ni tai-suru kibō," 34.
107 "Kaneda Tankō kōfu chokin seido no raireki," *Geppō* 6 (12/1904), 24.

stimulate change. Meanwhile, commentators promoted direct methods of influencing the habits

of the miners themselves, based on the perceived reasons for their discontent: financial instability

and precarious work conditions. Consequently, mine owners intervened at key sites in the mining

community it order to initiate their desired changes, and in doing so established new,

fundamentally pedagogical relationships with their miners. The remainder of this chapter will

explore the nature and consequences of these pedagogical relationships, both for the mine

owners and the mining community itself.

Paternalism and Pedagogy: The Construction of Industrialist Identity

Thus far, we have analyzed the establishment of schools and other welfare facilities in the

coal mining communities of Fukuoka from the perspective of the mine owners, stressing their

motivations and the perceived effects of these various measures. In doing so, I have treated

corporate welfare as a pedagogical project, and have emphasized common themes present across

institutional contexts. As with all pedagogical relationships, welfare facilities promoted the

imposition and reproduction of a set of values and meanings within a socially subordinated group

of people.[108] In representing mining society as rife with violence, alcoholism, debauchery, and

gambling, mine owners and commentators de-legitimized the lifestyles of their laborers, and

presumed to liberate miners by cultivating values and traits that reflected their own cultural

norms and social mores – such as hard work, thrift, moderation, and a corporate communal

identity.[109] This cultural reproduction implied a social reproduction, for in declaring the

necessity of their intervention and promoting welfare facilities as a preventative measure against

turnover, industrialists attempted to assuage miner unrest, and to ensure the stability and

---

108 Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage
    Publications, 1977), 4-5.
109 Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*, 23-24.

continuity of an unequal, exploitative labor relationship. Mine owners were concerned with maintaining and reproducing a productive workforce. However, all "relations of pedagogic communication" also require the mutual recognition of the pedagogical authority of the transmitters and their relationship to both the content and target of education. In other words, the assumption of a pedagogical relationship between industrialists and miners required an articulation of not only a legitimate "mode" of transmission (schools and other welfare facilities), but also of the legitimacy of the relationship itself. In the late Meiji period, the welfare activities of Fukuoka's mine owners were buttressed by a re-articulation of the owner-miner relationship that justified – even necessitated – the intervention of mine owners into the daily lives of their employees, and their leadership role in reforming coal mining society. Owners and commentators based this legitimate relationship around the paternalistic notions of *shujū no jōgi* (the "close relationship between master and servant") and, most prominently, *onjō shugi* ("the principle of compassion," but often translated as "paternalism").[110]

I have delayed the discussion of the paternalism until the final part of this chapter so as to prevent the assumption of a simplified causal relationship between paternalism (specifically, *onjō shugi*) and the creation of welfare facilities. In the 1910s, the two were generally treated as being intimately connected, with both Suzuki Tsunesaburō's *Rōdō Mondai to Onjō Shugi* (The Labor Problem and Paternalism) and Hayashi Kimio's *Onjō Shugi-teki Shisetsu* (Paternalistic Facilities) placing particular emphasis on the establishment of the kinds of facilities discussed in this chapter. However, as we have seen, many welfare facilities were created for their perceived

---

110 *Onjō shugi* can, alternatively, be translated as the "principle of warmth," implying an idealized emotional connection between superior and inferior. Meiji era sources alternate between two renderings of the term *onjō*, the first (温情) signifying warmth, and the second (恩情) signifying compassion. These two character combinations were used interchangeably by many pre-Pacific War writers. Though the term *onjō shugi* is often used to describe paternalistic practices in general during this period, it did not come into popular use until the middle of the 1910s. According to most accounts, the term was invented by Suzuku Tsunesaburō – who I discussed previously as an early adopter of welfare facilities – in his 1915 work, *Rōdō mondai to onjō shugi*. For this attribution, see Hayashi Kimio, *Onjō shugi-teki shisetsu* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1919), 1-2.

social *effects*, not on any preconceived notion of the responsibility of owners to their employees.

In fact, many welfare institutions were established simultaneous with or prior to the articulation of industrial paternalism as a coherent ideology. Instead, the discourse of paternalism developed in the face of increasing government regulation and intervention,[111] which culminated in the restrictive Factory Law (*Kōjō-hō*) of 1911 (implemented in 1916). Even as late as 1912, the Fukuoka prefectural government set a list of "requests", which functioned as demands, to the Chikuhō Mining Association that called for various improvements in miner management and the standardization of welfare practices at all mines in the region. The government's demands included many typical institutional changes, such as the abolition of the barrack system, the establishment of savings programs, and the improvement of hygiene and safety practices. They also included less common reforms, such as the strict regulation of alcohol consumption and forcing miners to wear company uniforms when underground instead of entering the mines naked or in loincloths.[112] Despite the fact that larger mines had already adopted many of these measures, the government's request reflects a desire for standardization, and the extent to which outside forces felt the need to intervene in the practices of industrialists. In contrast, paternalistic discourse naturalized the relationship between mine owner and miner, and promoted the former as the sole legitimate agents of reform in coal mining society.

While scholars have engaged with paternalism in its relationship to state intervention and unionization, or its role and persistence in Japanese modes of labor management, few have discussed the way paternalism functions pedagogically, outside of references to educational institutions as welfare facilities. However, the pedagogy of paternalism is apparent in the

---

111 Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1990), 45-46;

112 For the complete document submitted to the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association, which included detailed statistics on crime and industrial accidents in Fukuoka, see "Taishō gan-nen ju-ni gatsu ju-hachi nichi teiretsu jōgi-in kai," in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō hen: Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai (1)*, 481-498, especially 481-485. For a draft of the Mining Association's response, which mostly consisted of their acquiescence to the government's demands and the promotion of their implementation, see pp. 499-501.

fundamental formulation of *onjō shugi* itself. According to Hayashi Kimio, writing in 1919,

> Needless to say, the goal of *onjō shugi* is to promote the welfare (*fukuri zōshin*) of employees (*hiyōsha*). If we were to divide it up, it encompasses all of the institutions that contribute to the advancement of employees' well-being and benefit, [by providing] a comfortable lifestyle, improving their character (*hin'i no kaizen*), maintaining their health, providing spiritual comfort, advancing their knowledge, refining their tastes (*shumi no jun'ka*), preventing disasters, rescuing them from poverty (*kon'kyū no kyūsai*), etc.[113]

There are three primary dimensions to the concept of *onjō shugi* as elaborated by Hayashi and others. Firstly, the concept itself implies *intervention*. Workers cannot "rescue" themselves from their bad habits, so the onus of agency is placed firmly on the shoulders of the industrialist, who intervenes through the creation of facilities. Secondly, as implied by the passage above, *onjō shugi* connoted not only the desire to maintain the workforce physically or improve its efficiency, but to guide it morally (character and tastes), spiritually, and intellectually (knowledge). Finally, and most importantly, *onjō shugi* implies proper *motivation*. The initiation of welfare policies should not be stimulated by legal obligations (*gimu*) or outside influences, but should derive from the "free will of the employer" (*yōshu no nin'i*), as an expression of an ideal familial relationship in which "the employer looks upon his employee as his own child (*jiko no kotei no gotoku*)".[114] Accordingly, *onjō shugi* naturalized the employer-employee relationship by analogizing it to the bond between family members, and, in doing so, asserted a socializing and guiding role for the mine owner akin to that of a father.

The language of paternalism and the intimacy of familial relationships invoked notions of historical continuity, embodied in the so-called "family system" (*kazoku seido*). Late Meiji and Taishō documents from industrialists and commentators are rife with references to the ideals of

---

113 Hayashi Kimio, *Onjō shugi-teki shisetsu*, 6.
114 Hayashi Kimio, *Onjō shugi-teki shisetsu*, 4-5; Uno Chūjin, *Shihonka to rōdō mondai* (Tokyo: Funezawa Kometarō, 1919), 87. Hayashi also recognized the pragmatism of paternal relationships. While he critiqued the use of welfare facilities as a "means to improve productivity" (*nōritsu zōshin no shudan*), claiming that productive benefits will only be apparent in the short term, he also admitted that even the most honest of paternalistic practices would only be adopted as long as they produced a profit. Hayashi, *Onjō shugi-teki shisetsu*, 7-14.

benevolence and loyalty, or the mutual support that characterized Japan's traditional family structure and imbued the nation's inherently harmonious labor relations.[115] Considering the claims of pre-war authors, and the perceived success of 'Japanese-style' management practices starting in the 1960s, it is not surprising that much post-war scholarship on industrial paternalism has accepted a degree of continuity with pre-Meiji social relationships and has used terms like *onjō shugi* to represent indigenous patterns of labor management.[116] However, as I have emphasized, Japanese industrialists like Mutō Sanji and Suzuki Tsunesaburō, as well as coal mine owners in Fukuoka, were significantly influenced by Western management techniques. Suzuki's concept of *onjō shugi* was even supposedly named for the "warm (*atatakaki*) master-servant relationship (*shujū kankei*)" that he discovered in European factories.[117] Moreover, it is difficult to maintain notions of Japanese particularity in the face of homologous intellectual developments throughout Europe and North America at the same time. The concern with the moral decline of the working class family, the necessity of intervention, the emphasis on children

---

115 For a good example, see Uno, *Shihonka to rōdō mondai*, 86-87. For discussions of the assertion of harmonious labor relations in Japan, often as an attempt to quell worker unrest or prevent government intervention, see Andrew Gordon, "The Invention of Japanese-Style Labor Management," in Stephen Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1998), 21; and Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, ch. 1.

116 The classic example of this tendency is the work of Hazama Hiroshi, one of the most prominent and influential labor historians of the post-war period. See Hazama, *Nihon rōmu kanri shi kenkyū*, esp. 14-47. For a less-detailed and stultified translation of some of Hazama's general ideas, see Hazama, "Formation of the Management System in Meiji Japan: Personnel Management in Large Corporations," *The Developing Economies* 15:4 (Dec 1977): 402-419. For a similar emphasis on the "native sources" of Japanese labor practice, see Thomas C. Smith, "The Right to Benevolence: Dignity and Japanese Workers, 1890-1920", in *Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization: 1750-1920* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1988), 236-270. Despite their tendency to over-emphasize the continuity of ideas in modern Japanese industry, both works are far more detailed and nuanced than the essentialist of paternalistic ideologues themselves. In both cases, paternalism and other elements of Meiji industrial practice are not direct continuations of pre-modern patterns, but transformations (*henkei*) of early modern ideas adapted to new historical contexts. Hazama acknowledges the importance of formal models of labor practice, but emphasizes (along with many Meiji writers) the personal and emotional dimensions of Japanese paternalism – informed by Edo period commercial families and trade guilds – in contrast to Western labor relationships that are purely economic. Smith, on the other hand, argues for greater agency to be attributed to workers in the adoption of modern labor practices, based on their demand for "character" (*jinkaku*) recognition by industrialists. This demand for the owners to fulfil their responsibilities as paternal managers and the promotion of merit-based treatment were, according to Smith, heavily influenced by Edo period peasant protests. In both cases, however, global trends in labor management are skirted in favor of an emphasis on indigenous practices.

117 Doi, "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten," 126.

as conduits for social reform, and the promotion of hard work and thrift as transformative values,

were all central elements in American philanthropic thought during the 19th century.[118] Similar

paternalistic ideals, welfare institutions, and institutional reforms were even initiated in mining

communities in Mexico at the same time, with no references to Japanese management

theories.[119] Therefore, one should approach the portrayal of Japanese labor relationships as

"warm" and "harmonious" as a product of Meiji and Taisho era discourse, not as a manifestation

of indigenous culture.[120] Nevertheless, the constructed quality of the discourse does not preclude

its rhetorical efficacy, nor did it prevent Meiji industrialists from appropriating various

'traditional' concepts in its service. As Doi Teppei has argued, paternalism was not merely

window dressing on imported welfare facilities; it was a vital source of legitimacy for those

measures added to their effectiveness.[121] Paternalism provided a diverse rhetorical repertoire

through which to naturalize the pedagogical relationship between industry and labor.

While the specific concept of *onjō shugi* did not develop until the 1910s, earlier texts

articulate a similar relationship between mine owner (and manager) and miner, premised on the

same notions of intervention, moral guidance, and owner responsibility. At the turn of the

century the term *tokugi-shin*, "morality" or "moral sense," circulated freely in coal mining

publications in Fukuoka. In its most prominent formulation, the concept of *tokugi* was used to

elaborate an idealization of industrial character and etiquette. According to Matsuda Takeichirō,

---

118 Andrew J. Polsky, *The Rise of the Therapeutic State* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991), chapter 1, esp. 29-36.

119 William E. French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque: Univ. New Mexico Press, 1996), chapters 2 and 3.

120 Gordon, "The Invention of Japanese-Style Labor Management," 19.   William Tsutsui has also challenged the popular representation of a coherent 'Japanese-style' labor management. In particular, he has argued that paternalism co-existed with American Taylorist discourse (scientific management) that was introduced to Japan in 1911, resulting a merger between an ideological emphasis on "warmth" with a promotion of efficiency and productivity. Tsutsui, "Rethinking the Paternalist Paradigm in Japanese Management"; and Tsutsui, *Manufacturing Ideology: Scientific Management in Twentieth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998), 49-57.

121 Doi, "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten," 133-134.

industrial prosperity, be it individual or national, was dependent upon a variety of preconditions: new knowledge, judgement (*kenshiki*), foresight, and character (*hinkaku*). The "true industrialist" (*shinsei no kōgyōsha*), Matsuda claimed, "has a deep sense of morals (*tokugi no kannen*), and is a refined person worthy of esteem (*sonkei-subeki*). While valuing his own family business (*jika no jigyō*), he does not interfere in the business of others [because] he desires the prosperity of his industry nationally".[122] Within Matsuda's text, the notion of *tokugi* had a primarily *horizontal* orientation. He promoted respect and co-operation between mine owners, embodied in the word "trust" (*shin'yō*). They should not poach miners from each other or drive up wages in the interest of harming another company, and they should establish clear and respected boundaries between mining districts (*kōku*) in order to prevent illegal excavations or the appropriation of another's profits. Just as popular rights theorists in Fukuoka (and elsewhere) fostered unity through the evocation of an idealized activist – a "true" *minkenka,* with shared values and traits – the concept of the "true" industrialist was not only an idealization of proper business ethics, but was itself used to articulate a unified professional identity, with concomitant relationships and responsibilities.

The same notion of morality, implying respect, responsibility, and trust, was also invoked along a *vertical* axis, that between mine owners and their workers. According to this morality, the services provided by employees demanded proper compensation, both moral and material, on the part of the owner. According to one commentator,

> Because wealth (*tomi*) cannot be acquired on one's own, even though one's fortune is a private possession, [industrialists] cannot, morally (*dōtoku-jō*), be granted the right (*kenri*) to abuse (*ran'yō*) [their wealth] for self-interested or selfish (*shiyoku shishin*) purposes. [Industrialists] must realize that the wealth that remains after they manage their own family finances (*jika no keizai*) is entrusted to them by society (*shakai*), and they must be prepared to fulfil the accompanying obligations (*gimu*) that they have towards private wealth ... Laborers (*rōdōsha*) do not have the money to spare (*shikin-nado no*

---

122 Matsuda Takeichirō, "Kōgyōka no tokugi," *Geppō* 1 (7/1904), 17.

yoryoku nashi) for their old age or the education of their children. Thus, the capitalist (*shihonka*) obviously has an obligation to provide them [workers] with protection (*hogo*), [and] as a necessity, he must try to give his workers amusement and solace.[123]

Consequently, despite the claims of later paternalist ideologues that labor relationships in Japan were personal, as opposed to their purely economic basis in the West, the capitalistic relationship between producer and benefactor could also be construed as implying moral responsibility on the part of the owner. Welfare institutions in the interest of "improving and enlightening" (*kairyō kanka*) miners were thus presented as "moral" (*tokugi-jō*) and "charitable" (*jizen-teki*) enterprises capable of raising the "character" (*hinsei*) of the capitalist himself, through the fulfillment of his social responsibilities.[124]

Appeals to the professional and economic responsibility of mine owners, an invocation that acknowledged the nature of modern capitalist relationships, was not devoid of references to indigenous, pre-modern forms of morality. In fact, the discourse of *tokugi* was inseparable from a portrayal of industry as being bound by the same *bushidō* ("way of the warrior") that applied to samurai during the Edo period. The *tokugi* between industrialists was presented as a "peaceful *bushidō*" (*heiwa-teki bushidō*), which was contrasted to the "typical conduct of bandits" (*bazoku ippan no shogyō*) represented by the abduction (*yūkai*) of miners or the infringement on the territory of others.[125] The same analogy was used to articulate the relationship between mine owners and their employees. "The spirit of *bushidō*," it was argued, "which has been practised in our country since antiquity, must be moved and adapted to the world of industry (*jitsugyō-kai*), with the capitalists and labor supervisors (*rōdō kantoku-sha*), the 'officers' (*shōkō*), caring for their workers, their soldiers (*heisotsu*), just as it is in the army".[126] The concept of *bushidō* and

---

123 Ukita Kazutami, "Rōdō mondai no zento*,*" *Geppō* 38 (8/1907), 47.
124 Tanaka, "Sekitan Kōgyōsha ni tai-suru kibō," 34.
125 Matsuda, "Kōgyōka no tokugi," 21.
126 Ukita, "Rōdō mondai no zento," 47.

206

its adaptation to the modern industrial context embraced several thematic undertones. It emphasized peace and harmony in labor relations, both between owners – with the image of the "bandit" equating to the early Meiji stereotype of the reckless *yamashi*, or prospector – and between capitalists and laborers. The use of *bushidō* itself and the appeal to Japanese antiquity asserted historical continuity, portraying harmonious labor relations as an extension of Japan's national heritage, thus connecting this discourse to contemporary celebrations of Japan's unbroken imperial line. This nationalization of social relationships was reflected in the analogy drawn between the operation of a mine and that of the army, implying that the same principles of benevolence and loyalty applied to both. Most importantly, *bushidō* implied reciprocity between superior and inferior, manifested through the obligations of the former and the obedience of the latter, which transformed the capitalist-laborer relationship from one of economic convenience into one of familial co-dependence.

In spite of frequent references to indigenous labor relations, the promotion of industrial paternalism and the establishment of modern welfare institutions was occasionally justified as a rejection of traditional, backwards "master-follower" (*oyakata-kokata* or *oyabun-kobun*) relationships. The modelling of all relationships on that of a master and a follower was depicted as a "vestige of the feudal era" (*hōken jidai yori no denrai*), and as an "old custom" (*kyūshū*) that lacked recognition of the inherent rights (*kenri*) of laborers, relying only on violence in order to maintain order.[127] The juxtaposition of corporate management to *oyakata* management was a dubious one, for they were expressed in similar relational terms. *Oyakata*, embodied in the barrack chiefs, had a sense of responsibility towards their miners, and were often the providers of

---

127 "Meishi danpen," *Geppō* 33 (3/1907), 37-38. For a later, and more detailed example of this type of discourse, see Kita Shūichirō, *Chika rōdō: sekai-teki rōshi funsō shōten* (Tokyo: Umezu Shoten, 1919), 21-22, 27-28.

aid or assistance in times of need before the establishment of welfare facilities.[128] For mine

owners, welfare paternalism came to be an embodiment of the same sense of responsibility

towards their miners, and the expression of the relationship through the notion of *bushidō* drew

on similar, pre-Meiji conceptions of personal relationships.

Kaijima Tasuke, founder and president of the Kaijima Mining Company, provides the

most notable example of the ways in which industrialists utilized the image of the *oyakata* to

construe capital relationships as personal bonds. Kaijima, often referred to as the "Coal Mining

King of Chikuhō" (*Chikuhō tankō-ō*), was often treated as a model of Meiji meritocracy and

"success" (*seikō*) in business. Kaijima, who was a coal miner in his youth, worked his way up the

industrial hierarchy, acting as a *tōryō*, and later became a protegé of prominent local mine

owners. In 1886, he made the transition to mine owner when he founded the Kaijima Ōnoura

Mine with the financial aid of his brothers.[129] As a result of his experiences, Kaijima was "more

familiar with conditions inside a mine shaft (*kōnai no jōkyō*) and the circumstances of miners

(*kōfu no kyōgū*) than other mine owners," resulting in a high level of respect and appreciation for

their work.[130] According to one account, "Tasuke's relationship with clerical employees, from

executives on down, was that of a master and servant (*shujū*), and his relationship with his

miners was that between a parent and a child (*oyako*)."[131] He was therefore supposedly referred

to as *oyakata* by his employees, and not by any corporate title. When recruiting or promoting, he

interviewed candidates personally, without relying on resumes. He regularly visited the miners'

residences, sometimes merely out of respect, but most frequently in the wake of sickness or

---

128 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakai shi*, 38-41. For the classic account of *oyakata-kokata* relationships in Japan's mines, see Ōyama Shikitarō, *Kōgyō rōdō to oyakata seido* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1964), esp. 22-33.
129 For a succinct biography of Kaijima, see Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō sanka* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1977), 26-34. The portrayal of Kaijima as a model of hard work, perseverance and "success" in modern industry is the focal point of a Meiji era biography of him, which referred to itself as a "success story" (*seikōdan*). See Takahashi Mitsutake, *Tankō-ō: Kaijima Tasuke-ō seikōdan* (Tokyo, Hakubunkan, 1903).
130 "Ōnoura tankō shisatsu shoken," *Geppō* 67 (1/1910), 52
131 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 202.

injury. In the early years of the mine, he even frequently met the miners at the mine shaft in order to distribute duties and to establish a personal connection with them. Kaijima rejected formal divisions or discrimination, treating all miners equally, regardless of background, and would consult with and take recommendations from even the lowliest of workers.[132] In order to create this kind of relationship, Kaijima asserted that management could not be dependent upon rules and regulations, but must treat miners with affection (*aibu*), and "unify their hearts" (*kokoro no ketsugō*).[133] Put simply, Kaijima's paternalism stressed physical and social proximity between mine owners and their miners, while asserting the responsibility of the former to guide, protect, and ensure the profits of their employees. Kaijima's depiction as an *oyakata* exemplified the idealization of pre-modern, intimate labor relations in his mines.

By the turn of the century, however, with the emergence of large scale operations, the conglomeration of mines, and the mass recruitment of laborers through the barrack – and later direct rule – system, interaction between owner and miner was unrealistic, even for Kaijima. In some cases, welfare facilities were presented as a means of maintaining the veneer of proximity and as expressions of the owner's sense of obligation towards the miners.[134] But labor management became the responsibility of an expansive and multilayered bureaucratic structure, with primary surveillance falling to officers (*kakari-in*) in the mines and residences.

---

132 The relationship between Kaijima and his employees (*shiyōnin*) is detailed in "Kaijima Tasuke-den," in a section titled "Kare to shiyōnin" (pp. 202-206). Chapter 12 of this biography provides a detailed account of Kaijima's personality, as well as relationships with families and employees. It is an excellent starting point for any discussion of his management philosophy. Interestingly, while Kaijima's biography traces his paternalism to pre-modern *oyakata-kokata* relationships, Ogino Yoshihiro describes it as a product of the 1910s, in which Kaijima shifted away from welfare institutions that imposed economic sanctions (such as savings programs and mutual-aid associations) and instead promoted direct company insurance as a "blessing" (*onkei*) from the company. For the purposes of our discussion, however, Kaijima's attitudes seem to have been evident in the first decade of the 20th century and in his school, which was established in the 1880s. See Ogino Yoshihiro, "Dai-chi-ji taisen zengo ni okeru Kaijima Kōgyō no rōshi kankei," in Ogino, ed., *Senzen Chikuhō tankōgyō no keiei to rōdō* (Tokyo: Keibunsha, 1990), esp. 85-97.

133 "Kaijima Tasuke kunkai," reproduced in Hatakenaka Shigeo, "'Kaijima-ke kaken' kankei shiryō," *Osaka Daigaku keizaigaku* 42:3-4 (March 1993), 314.

134 "Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)," 206.

Consequently, concern over the relationship between industrialists and laborers accompanied a sub-discourse regarding the relationship between officers, most of whom were trained at one of the many growing technical colleges and university engineering programs, and their subordinates. Many contemporary accounts lamented the excessive theoretical focus of these schools, one commentator going so far as to claim that youth go from school to school and "expend great effort and time in order to acquire sophisticated knowledge (*kōshō-naru gakumon*), but when they engage in work firsthand (*jicchi*), few of them are of any use!" He asserted that "work itself (*jigyō sono mono*) is, in fact, valuable education," and that industrialists would best be served to "make youth engage in industrial work, accumulate experience, and get a taste for [mining life]."[135] Implicit in this critique was the failure to effectively promote proximity and warmth between on-site managers and laborers, which only exacerbated the tensions between company and employee. Therefore, during the first two decades of the 20th century, several engineering schools were established by prominent mine owners or companies that claimed a proper balance between theoretical and practical study, including three in Fukuoka: the Mitsui School of Industry (Mitsui Kōgyō Gakkō) in 1907; the Meiji Vocational School (Meiji Senmon Gakkō) in 1909; and the Chikuhō Mining School (Chikuhō Kōzan Gakkō), created by the Coal Mining Association in 1917 solely to train on-site officers.[136]

---

135 Suenaga Michinari, "Meishi danpen," *Geppō* 35 (5/1907), 32-33

136 Of the three, the Mitsui School of Industry and Chikuhō Mining School placed the most direct emphasis on on-site training. While the Mitsui school offered courses in both metal and coal mining, as well as factory work, it was established at the Miike Coal Mine in Ōmuta in order to take advantage of its facilities and provide students with immediate exposure to factory and mining life. The Chikuhō Mining School was established in Nōgata City, where the Mining Association kept its headquarters, which was surrounded by a number of coal mines owned by association members. In their second year of study, students spent the vast majority of their time (33 of 36 hours/week) engaging in practical study at the surrounding mines. The Meiji Vocational School had the broadest curriculum of the three, including a variety of engineering and industrial programs. Located in Kita-Kyushu City, it had comprehensive training facilities for all of its programs, allowing it promote the same dual emphasis on technical and intellectual training. For the regulations of each school, see: "Shiritsu Chikuhō Kōzan Gakkō gakusoku," in *Shōryō 70-nen: Chikuhō Kōgyō Kōtō 70-nen no ayumi* (Nōgata: Fukuoka Kenritsu Chikuhō Kōgyō Kōtō Gakkō, 1988), 50-52, 54-56; "Shiritsu Mitsui Kōgyō Gakkō setsuritsu shinsei no koto," in *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunen shi, dai-ni kan: shiryō hen, Meiji (2)* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai,

When mine owners and analysts condemned the lack of "practical" experience in mine officers, they were not merely referring to the acquisition of technical skills, but to the particular challenges faced in managing coal miners. According to Ishiwata Nobutarō, one of the founding members of the Chikuhō Mining School, the most lacking aspect of mine administration in the region was the training of "underground officers" (*kōnai kakari-in*), especially those that "come in direct contact with miners". Ishiwata blamed the outbreak of labor unrest on the poor training of the underground officers, and chastised the emphasis on study (*gakumon*) above practice at the national and prefectural vocational schools. He promoted the Mining School as a "special type of school" (*dokutoku isshu no gakkō*) that would attempt to meet the particular demand for on-site officers.[137] Matsumoto Kenjirō, the head of the school's founding committee, expressed a similar sentiment at the first entrance ceremony for the students in May, 1919:

> Because you will be entrusted with a job in which you must ceaselessly be in contact with many miners, it is of the utmost importance that you desire to be a person of character (*jinkakusha*) with firm resolve (*kenjitsu-naru shisō*) and sufficient skill (*giryō*), [so that] you will not be inadequate as a proper *guide* (*shidōsha*) for them.[138]

Their role as "guide" encompassed both a technical and moral dimension for underground officers, so that the "heightening of their moral sense (*dōgishin*)" was given equal weight to their acquisition of technical knowledge.[139] Both commentators and mining companies stressed the unique characteristics required to effectively manage miners, all of which were paternalistic in tone and encouraged the kind of proximity lacking in the owners themselves. According to

---

1978), 915-922; "Shiritsu Meiji Senmon Gakkō gakusoku," in *Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen* (Kita-Kyushu: Meisenkai, 2009), 44-53.

137 Ishiwata Nobutarō, "Kōgyō kumiai kōzan gakkō setsuritsu ni kansuru shiken," in *Shōryō 70-nen*, 34-35. At an emergency meeting of the Coal Mining Association in 12/1917, the members agreed that they "felt the need for the cultivation of officers that have technical knowledge (*senmon no gakushiki*), have on-site experience (*jicchi wo shiri*), and are of a suitable age," specifically to meet demand of provide on-site surveillance (*kantoku*) as *kogashira* (the common name for those that were directly responsible for managing miners at the coal face). "Taishō 6-nen 12-gatsu tsuitachi rinji sōkai ketsugiroku," in *Shōryō 70-nen*, 36-37.

138 "Matsumoto sōchō kunji no taiyō," in *Shōryō 70-nen*, 65. Emphasis added.

139 "Matsumoto sōchō kunji no taiyō," 66.

Tejima Seiichi, principal of the Tokyo Higher Industrial School (Tokyo Kōtō Kōgyō Gakkō), officers were required to demonstrate "character, truth, bravery, [and] a passion for work," as well as protectiveness (*hogoshin*), kindness (*shinsetsu*), fairness (*kōhei*), and sympathy (*dōjō*) towards the weak.[140] Similarly, the Furukawa Mining Company stressed a particular disposition (*seishitsu*) that young industrial school graduates needed when "com[ing] into contact with miners," which included physical fortitude, simplicity, patience (*nintai-ryoku*), and sympathy. Simply put, mines were no place for those who enjoy luxury (*kabi*), were used to comfortable city living, or would not be able to handle the unique personalities of coal miners.[141]

The importance of the officer-miner relationship was further reinforced in formal regulations. At the Namazuta Coal Mine, the regulations for underground officers concluded with the assertion that "the moral and upright (*hinkō hōsei*) officer maintains his dignity (*igen*), and will receive the respect (*sonkei*) of miners, who will be content and follow his orders; but, conversely, if he tries to employ his miners through coercion (*iatsu*), he will not be able to establish (*risshin*) himself well."[142] Within this discourse, the role and responsibilities of the mine owner were reproduced and embedded within the relationship between officers and miners. Just as the management techniques of mining companies were blamed for the instability of the labor force, officers were now blamed for labor unrest, and their success in maintaining order and efficiency was predicated upon their proper treatment, and guidance, of the miners. Therefore, young would-be officers were held to the same moral standards as the mine owners themselves, with industrial schools promoting loyalty (*chūkō*), care with words (*genseki*), honor (*renchi*), chivalry (*yūki*), propriety (*reigi*), and thrift (*sekken*) as the moral educational (*tokuiku*)

---

140 Tejima Seiichi, "Jidai yōbō no jinbutsu," *Geppō* 55 (1/1909), 40.
141 Nakata Takanori, "Furukawa Kōgyō Gaisha no yōkyū-suru jinbutsu," *Geppō* 38 (8/1907), 47.
142 "Namazuta Tankō kōnai kakari-in no kokore (cont'd)," *Geppō* 9 (3/1905), 21.

requirements for the "cultivation of *gentlemen* that have mastered technical skills".[143]

Just as industrial schools attempted to foster vertical, paternalistic relationships homologous to those idealized by industrialists, they also functioned to foster horizontal relationships in the form of collective identity and group solidarity amongst officers. In addition to promoting a shared set of values and responsibilities, the industrial schools required that all students live in the dormitories (*kijukusha*) in order to promote a "family lifestyle" (*kazoku seikatsu*).[144] At the Mitsui School of Industry, recreational rooms (*hikaejo*) were established that provided books, newspapers, and other items, in which students could "become accustomed to co-operative activities (*kyōdō-teki dōsa*)" and "cultivate feelings of friendship (*shinboku no jō*)." Together with the dorms, they fostered self-study, cleanliness, a "love for work" (*rōdō wo ai-suru*), and order (*chitsujo*) all without requiring the direct intervention of teachers.[145] In general, student dormitories were given a high degree of autonomy in order to provide the students with opportunities to interact with each other, govern together, and to nurture a sense of shared identity as future officers in a variety of industries.[146] In many ways, dormitories and other student facilities functioned analogously to the corporate industrial contexts where these students would eventually work, requiring co-operation, self-organization, and self-regulation within a strictly hierarchical environment.

By the end of the Meiji period, coal mining society had undergone a revolution of

---

143 Yamakawa Kenjirō, "Kunji (kyōiku no hōshin)," in *Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen*, 24-34. The Mitsui School of Industry also emphasized the "cultivation of character" (*hinsei no tōya*) by fostering "reflection and self-restraint" (*kokki hansei*) among its students. See "Mitsui Kōgyō setsuritsu jōkyō," in "Gakuji kankei shorui: Meiji 43-nen" (Unpublished, property of Mitsui Bunko), 4. This document is included as an insert in the compiled educational documents for Mitsui Miike Coal Mine in 1910, with its pages being independently numbered.

144 Tadokoro Yoshiharu, "Shukuji," in *Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen*, 40.

145 "Mitsui Kōgyō setsuritsu jōkyō," 7-11.

146 The dormitories at the Meiji Vocational School were almost completely self-governing, consisting of student councils that were responsible for everything from food plans and distribution, to drawing up internal regulations. Of course, all councils remained under formal school supervision. For complete dormitory regulations, see "Gakuryō kitei," in *Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen*, 96-102.

representation, as commentators, officials, and industrialists rearticulated the fundamental relationship between owner and miner as a paternalistic and pedagogical one between father and children. At the core of this re-articulation was the assertion that Japanese labor relationships were inherently familial and harmonious, unlike those in the West that were mere economic contracts between employer and employee. Within coal mining companies, the owner was not simply responsible for the provision of a livelihood and the protection of his workers, he was expected to guide them, to foster reliability, work ethic, economic responsibility, and a sense of company community. In doing so, many appropriated a language of pre-modern Japanese social relationships, emphasizing the mutual responsibilities of masters and servants. However, in order to actualize this role, they were dependent on an emerging class of professionalized mining managers and officials, who were educated in technical and engineering schools and who would be in frequent, direct contact with miners. Consequently, owners and commentators reproduced and embedded the same paternalistic ideals in the officer-miner relationship, assigning the former with a responsibility to guide the latter and to foster good habits. At the same time, mine owners, as founders of Fukuoka's industrial schools, presented themselves as "fathers" to the young officers-to-be, and the students were expected to do their best in order to "repay the kindness" (*kōshi wo mukuir*) of the owners.[147] Industrialists were expected to guide young officers through industrial schools and miners through welfare institutions and policies, while the officers were burdened with the task of implementing and realizing those pedagogical goals.

Pedagogy and Pathology: Constructing Coal Miner Identity

　　Throughout this chapter, we have seen countless representations of coal mining society's

---

147 For examples of this emphasis on the teacher-student relationship, see the speeches by Yasukawa Keiichirō (p.23) and Yamakawa Kenjirō (p. 32) from the school's commencement ceremony. For the reference to "repaying kindness," see the speech by the student delegate from that same ceremony (pp. 43-44), all of which are recorded in *Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen*.

"evil customs" or "bad habits" – alcoholism, violence, financial irresponsibility, and lack of a proper hygiene – all of which were used to connect morality to the problems of labor instability during the early 20th century. However, just as early welfare institutions were promoted based on perceived *social effects*, and not on any comprehensive theory of the relationship between industrialist and laborer, early accounts made few attempts to understand the underlying reasons for those habits or why they were occurring in mining communities, only showing interest in *effects.* Together with a general concern for labor problems, and with the emergence of a paternalistic discourse that attempted to clearly articulate the qualities and responsibilities of industrialists, coal miners themselves increasingly became the subject of social discourse in Fukuoka at the end of the Meiji period. If educational and social reform measures appropriated popular notions of "childhood" and "motherhood," and promoted their separation from the "coal miners" (*kōfu*) that were the source of moral degradation, at the end of the Meiji period, commentators and mine owners began to fill the empty "miner" identity with content to explain mining society's moral failings and to explore the potential for its redemption. Experts achieved this task by psychologically and statistically profiling miners in order to draw connections between mining work and miner personality, and thus portrayed them as deviants in need of moral and social education. They also, unintentionally, created representations of coal miners that threatened to reproduce the latter's position as a discriminated occupational subclass.

Negative representations of coal miners were evident at the local level well before the expansion of the industry in the late 19th/early 20th century. There are records of violent encounters between locals and coal miners as early as 1832, when three miners partook in a brawl with villagers in Akaike (in Tagawa County).[148] When the Fukuoka and Kokura domains

---

148 For an overview of this incident, which includes one of the miner's testimonies, see Aso Tatsuo, "Bakuhan jidai no Tagawa ni okeru sekitan saikutsu to hisabetsu buraku," *Buraku kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979), 64-68. Aso

monopolized the coal trade in the early 19th century, mining work became increasingly

dependent on itinerant or migrant labor (*watari-fu*). Unlike the Meiji period, which saw

recruitment cross prefectural and regional boundaries, Edo period migrants were typically from

other parts of the region, such as surrounding villages or counties. These migrants were no less

stigmatized as "outsiders" (*yosomono*) by the locals, and were legally forced to live in small

hamlets outside of the main village.[149] This spatial separation was reinforced by supposed

cultural representations of mining as the work of poor peasants – since it was initially

supplemental labor for struggling villagers – or as inherently dirty.[150] Even Meiji era denigration

of miners as *ishizumi-tō*, which was used as a justification for establishing the Tagawa

elementary school, or as *gezainin* (criminals, bottom-dwellers) are typically interpreted as

vestiges of early modern discriminatory attitudes, though Nagasue Toshio has argued that the

latter, at least, actually proliferated after the Restoration.[151]

Late Meiji and early Taisho attempts to systematically analyze coal miners and mining

society should not be taken as a continuation of pre- or early-Meiji assumptions about miners, or

as an attempt to reinforce divisions in local society. In fact, late Meiji commentators often

directly challenged the *a priori* denigration of miners. Watanabe Wataru, in his short piece titled

---

also provides several other examples of conflicts between miners and villages, though in less detail.

149 Formal separation was promoted both as a deterrent to squabbles between miners and locals, as well as way of
maintaining a division between registered inhabitants and the miners, who were never formally placed on local
village registers. Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 39. As Aso has pointed out, there are a number of records of coal miners
renting homes in the villages or even marrying local women, interaction which frequently took place without
incident. Therefore, this formal separation should not be confused with actual separation, and should not, in of
itself, be taken as evidence of discriminatory practices. Aso, "Bakuhan jidai no Tagawa," 76.

150 Nagasue Toshio claims that discrimination of coal miners was at least partially influenced by Shintō
conceptions of purity. Within Shintō, he argues, there is a differentiation between "pure" (*seijō*) and "impure"
(*fujō*) fire. Most early miners used unrefined charcoal or slag as sources of heat during the winter months, with
emanated noxious fumes and was thus perceived as impure, and sullied the act of mining itself. This argument is
very surprising, considering that Nagasue typically emphasizes the socio-economic basis of discrimination and
challenges cultural stereotypes in his explanations. He provides no textual support to back up this claim, so it
should be taken as a secondary, even questionable, assertion. Nagasue Toshio, "Chikuhō wo chūshin to shita
shihon shugi no hattatsu to buraku mondai: Chikuhō ni okeru sekitan sangyō to buraku mondai," *Buraku
kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979), 96.

151 For his discussion of the term *gezainin*, see Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō banka: tankō no shakaishi* (Tokyo:
San'ichi Shobo, 1996), 203-206.

the "Mentality and Natural Tendencies of Miners" (Kōzan Kōfu no Shinri to Seiheki), claimed a

certain "charm" (*kawaige*) to coal mining society:

> If one mentions miners (*kōfu*), one thinks of them as hoodlums (*bōkan*), wild people who
> have no conception of duty or human feelings (*giri ninjō*), but that is completely
> mistaken. They have [a sense of] obligation, they have feelings, they obey the rules
> (*kiritsu wo mamotte*) well, and follow the instructions of their superiors. Between them,
> they really seem to share a particular type of social morality (*shakai dōtoku*).[152]

Satō Minayoshi expressed similar sentiments a few months later, claiming that portrayals of

miners as nothing but violent ruffians was a "grand fallacy (*ō-naru byūken*), nothing more than a

superficial presumption (*hisō no suisoku*), [for] they are a quiet people (*onryō no tami*), a

peaceful people (*heiwa no tami*)".[153] While neither commentator was satisfied with the culture or

productive capacity of the existing body of labor, they both asserted the underlying respectability

of miners and challenged the kind of preconceptions that had marginalized mining society.[154]

Instead, early 20th century observers attributed many of the moral shortcomings and poor

customs of the mining hamlets to the deleterious effects of mining itself. As early as 1897,

Takanoe Mototarō argued that miners "engage in the most difficult work in the most dangerous

setting," and, even though they become accustomed to such work, "even simple, rurally raised,

good people have their temperament (*kishitsu*) gradually changed completely and acquire a fierce

nature (*hyōkan no sei*)".[155] Watanabe emphasized both active and passive dimensions to the poor

---

152 Watanabe Wataru, "Kōzan kōfu no shinri to seiheki," *Geppō* 109 (7/1913), 37.
153 Satō, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (1)," 52.
154 Watanabe's concerns about miners were a reflection of his general trepidation about the state of Japanese
industry in general. He argued that miners were lazy compared to their Western counterparts, but that this
laziness extended to all fields of levels of industry (Watanabe, "Kōzan kōfu no shinri to seiheki," 38). Satō
lamented the tendency of mines to attract poor, disenfranchised workers, many of whom were merely
attempting to escape from troubles in their home villages and provide for their families. Such workers were
unable to elevate themselves in companies or escape their poor social position, resulting in tensions with
exploitative mine owners (Satō, "Kōgyō rōdōsha ni tsuite (1)," 53).
155 Takanoe Mototarō, "Baien yomatsu [1898]," *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 9 (3/1988), 90. "Baien yomatsu" was
originally serialized in the *Moji Shinpō* newspaper in 156 instalments between July, 1897 and March, 1898. It
consists of reports, comments, interviews, and biographies compiled by Takanoe during his travels in Chikuhō,
and would provide the foundation upon which he published his groundbreaking *Chikuhō Tankō Shi* in 1898. It
was compiled by the scholars at the Kyushu University Center for Coal Mining Research and Data and

state of coal miners, which he saw reflected in their expected life-span of 25 years – half the national average at the time. One the one hand, mine owners employed children from a young age, initially as transporters or coal sorters, before they became socialized into coal face miners in their late teens. The result was considerable damage to young people's physical development. On the other hand, though indirectly affected by the strenuous work and lack of education of their youth, coal miners perpetuated high mortality rates through their "self-indulgent" (*hōitsu*) lifestyle, which promoted the spread of disease.

The most detailed, if somewhat late, examination of coal miners and the tribulations of mining labor was provided by Kita Shūichirō in his aptly-titled *Chika Rōdō* (Underground Labor) of 1919. Kita argued that the dangers of underground mining, including floods and gas explosions, made it different than other forms of heavy labor, and that their distance and seclusion from major urban centers made Japan's 500,000 miners (half of which were Chikuhō coal miners) essentially invisible to the general populace.[156] He acknowledge the "hedonism" (*kyōraku shugi*) that still prevailed in Japan's mines – identified as alcohol, women, and gambling – despite improvements in educational standards. But, more than any other commentator, he mocked the general idea that miners were inherently immoral or that the industry attracted depraved individuals: "that there are a large number of alcoholics (*shugō*) amongst miners is not [a result] of [people] becoming miners because they like alcohol. It is because they [work as] miners that they come to like alcohol."[157] After spending days and nights in a dark, hot, unsanitary work environment, Kita argued, miners had little refuge other than alcohol and women, and little time or education to enjoy refined hobbies (reading, board games,

published in their annual compilation of primary sources as a single work.
156 Kita, *Chika rōdō*, 14-15.
157 Kita, *Chika rōdō*, 72.

etc.).[158] Writers and scholars like Kita and Watanabe attempted to strip away the social layers that constituted the poor customs and violent habits of the nation's miners. They attempted to humanize the miners, to portray their conduct as the product of a dangerous occupation that permeated every facet of an individual's being and altered his fundamental character.

In spite of these attempts to humanize miners and contextualize their plight, commentators implicitly assumed an *a priori* differentiation between mining work and other forms of labor. The result of this discourse was a new archetype of the miner that rejected the hasty denigrations of the past, while maintaining "miners" (*kōfu*) as an explicit and unique occupational category. If the particular customs of miners were a product of underground labor, then "underground miners" (*kōnai-fu*) became the focal point of mine reform, with all other jobs obtaining a subordinate and supplemental role in the industry. This normative distinction was inscribed in the proliferation of surveys that specifically targeted miners, starting with the *Kōfu taigū jirei* (Examples of the Working Condition of Miners) in 1907. In addition to differentiating between coal miners and metal miners, these surveys typically subdivided "miners" (*kōfu* 鉱夫) by occupation – transporters (*unpan-fu*), demolition experts (*kafu*), support beam experts (*shichū-fu*), coal sorters (*sentan-fu*), etc. – but rarely distinguished between the *sakiyama* and *atoyama* that constituted the most important component of the operation, simply referring to them together as *kōfu* (坑夫), literally "shaft miners," but homophonous to the general term.[159] However, these surveys, together with the social-psychological discourse that was intended to *explain* miner culture, actually obscured the socioeconomic foundations of that culture.

---

158 Kita, *Chika rōdō*, 72-73.

159 In addition to the *Kōfu taigū jirei* and *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō* (1913), both of which I have used extensively in this chapter, various Japanese governmental and non-governmental associations published further surveys regularly in the years that followed. See *Kōfu taigū chō* (1919), which is reproduced in volume nine of *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho*, and *Chikuhō tanzan rōdō jijō* (Osaka Chihō Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku, 1926). In some cases, coal face miners were referred as *saitan-fu*, miners or diggers of coal.

Economic exploitation was rarely treated as such.[160] Instead, academic accounts and surveys classified miners, documented their histories, characterized their work and family environment, and organized the data in the interest of re-educating and rehabilitating a "deviant" element within Japanese society. They re-articulated miners as a "quasi-natural class," exemplified by Satō's frequent depiction of miners as a "people" (*tami*), "endowed with its own characteristics and requiring a specific treatment".[161]

The naturalization of coal face miners as an occupational and even cultural subclass may have directly rejected the baseless discriminatory attitudes that many held towards miners, but these two representations of coal mining society should not be treated as mutually exclusive. As Herman Ooms has convincingly exhibited through the *kawata/eta* of the Edo period, socio-economic (occupational), legal, and cultural modes of discrimination often overlap and contribute to the naturalization of the social category itself. The *kawata/eta* were associated with polluted and polluting occupations. Originally granted monopolies over the leather trade, their tasks came to include care for dead animal and human bodies, assistance in executions, and emergency policing, amongst others. While discrimination towards *kawata/eta* has traditionally been depicted as a product of Buddhist and Shintō notions of purity, Ooms argued that the relationship between religious purity and occupation varied by region, and was often reinforced through the legal ascription of impure social status by regional administrations. Social and

---

160 It is important to note that wages remained a prominent theme in works dealing with "labor problems" (*rōdō mondai*) and coal mining, especially in periods of labor unrest. Following the Ashio Riot of 1907, a number of commentators asserted that the desire for improved wages was the dominant motivation before unionization and mass mobilization, and Kita, writing in 1919, argued that the desire for proper living wages a contributing factor to miner participation in the rice riots of 1918. However, wage increases were rarely presented as an effective solution to the general problems of mining society and tended to be subordinated to an emphasis on institutional reform and social education. For a number of reports that promoted wage increases after the Ashio Riot, see, "Kōzan bōdō yobō sōdan," *Geppō* 37 (7/1907), 51-52.

161 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 251-253. Insofar as welfare facilities were promoted as solutions to the institutional and individual maladies of the mining community, all of the surveys were structured around the familiar topics of education, savings programs, mutual-aid societies, living conditions, medical facilities, etc., in order to assess the effects of welfare measures in improving mining society.

religious denigration was also expressed in racialized terms by scholars who traced the origins of *kawata/eta* to alternative ethnic groups, thus removing them from the national community and "transform[ing] originally political, economic, and legal objectives [discrimination and differentiation] into the 'natural' order of things."[162]

Coal miners were never attributed the same racial or religious characteristics as the *kawata/eta* of the Edo period, but their socio-economic marginalization, their denigrated status in the popular imaginary, and their emergence as a sociologically verifiable subclass were no less intertwined. The "miners" that were the object of this classificatory regime and whose potential moral rectification was defended by mine owners retained many of the moral and social traits as the coal miners of popular imagination, and were similarly identifiable by their social and spatial separation from mainstream society. As we have seen, popular discrimination towards coal miners was no less prominent in the late Meiji period, and the miners' sense of marginalization from the rest of society was a crucial factor in the establishment of private schools at both the Tagawa and Kaijima mines. The specific content of the "miner" designation and the relationship of miner culture to mining work – whether mining attracted unsavory individuals or was itself the source of moral deterioration – was a contested topic during the late Meiji period, but whether one viewed miners as dirty outsiders or as deviant occupational subclass requiring intervention, the association of miners with poor customs and violent behavior remained firmly embedded within Meiji discourse. The social-psychological examination of miners and statistical analysis of mining society reinforced popular perceptions of their difference.

It is also important to note that coal face miners were not the only social groups implicated in the categorization and examination of mining society. By formally relating mining

---

162 Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Village Practice: Class, Status, Power, Law* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1996), 310. For Ooms full discussion on the inter-relationship between occupational, legal, and cultural forms of discrimination, see pp. 272-305.

work to miner customs, commentators provided a theoretical justification for the separation of women and children from underground work, in order to protect them from the source of moral deterioration.[163] More importantly, the differentiation between underground and above-ground mining, and the preeminent position of the former, overlapped with other social and economic divisions within the coal mines, and reinforced the subordination of various subclasses within Japanese society. From the early Meiji period (if not earlier), a considerable contingent of above-ground transporters and coal sorters was made up of *burakumin*, a discriminated segment of the Japanese population that were so named in the Meiji period because they traced their lineage to the hamlets (*buraku*) formally occupied by *kawata/eta* during the Edo period. The "special hamlets" (*tokushu buraku*) of *burakumin* were separate from the rest of society, and their social stigmatization was imbued with and reinforced by religious notions of purity. The early Meiji period saw the rapid expansion of *burakumin* communities in Fukuoka, where they were utilized as a crucial supplemental labor force.[164] At Miike, a similar position was occupied by immigrants from Yoronjima, a small island to the north of Okinawa. Laborers from Yoronjima were initially introduced into the region in 1899, when Mitsui brought in 400 people in order to transport coal at one of their ports in Nagasaki prefecture. In 1909, most of the contingent was

---

163 As discussed above, women remained prominent underground miners until 1928, when they were legally restricted from entering the mines, though anecdotal evidence implies that they still frequently worked at the coal face, especially in war time, when a larger labor force was needed (see Shindō Toyōo, *Chikuhō no onna kōfu-tachi*, 128-152). However, even in the 1910s, protection of women from mining work was a growing concern. Satō (pp. 46-47) admitted that underground work would have a negative impact on women and the physical development of children, but asserted that both were indispensable to the mining industry at the time. Kita (p. 15), taking a firmer stance, claimed the entry of women into the mines was having a negative effect on miner households and was a source of corruption of mining society.

164 Nagasue, "Chikuhō ni okeru sekitan sangyō to buraku mondai," 103-109. The presence of *burakumin* within mining communities remains a somewhat amorphous dimension of modern coal mining history. As Nagasue has pointed out, *burakumin* were rarely recorded as such in employee registers (since their subordinated status had been formally abolished in 1871), making it difficult to discern how many were employed at any given time. However, personal accounts from former coal miners attest to the presence of considerable *burakumin* and their subordinated status within the community, and Nagasue personally interviewed a number of former miner *burakumin* as part of a special of a regional journal. For his interviews, see "Sabetsu no naka, kōnai rōdō wo ikinuite" (pp. 157-180) and "Tankō-nai de no umakata rōdō" (pp. 181-195) in *Buraku kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979).

moved to the port at Miike Harbor, which was connected to the Miike Coal Mine, where their

job was to load coal onto ships for transport.[165] In both cases, mine owners maintained a strict

system of separation and differentiation; *Burakumin* and workers from Yoronjima were housed

in separate barracks from the rest of the miners, and even had their own baths. Furthermore, they

were regularly the victims of discriminatory treatment by other miners. Consequently, within

coal mining communities, various forms of classification and discrimination overlapped:

subordinated and colonized subclasses only worked above-ground at the mines, jobs that were

less valued both culturally and economically, which reinforced the privileged position of coal

face mining and reproduced the economic deprivation of those subclasses.[166]

The depiction of miners as requiring social, economic, and moral intervention cannot be

divorced from the discrete elaboration of the responsibilities of benevolent industrialists. After

all, if the particular circumstances of underground labor yielded the poor moral character of

miners, who else but the mine owners should be burdened with the responsibility of protecting

and enlightening those workers? The discourses of paternalistic labor management and of coal

miner identity functioned to legitimize the privileged position of the mine owner in the

improvement of labor relations, while challenging the unwelcomed intervention of governmental

(and other) parties. As we have discussed, prefectural and national administrations made several

attempts to impose standard practices and to assert their authority in dictating the institutional

---

165 Shindō, *Akai botayama no hi*, 185-200.
166 Both Nagasue Toshio and Shindō Toyōo have emphasized the correlation between discrimination and
    exploitation in coal mining communities. Nagasue, in particular, stresses the economic and productive
    underpinnings of cultural or religious discrimination, both of which were manifested in the recruitment of
    burakumin by mine owners. *Burakumin*, as a stigmatized subclass, could be hired for reduced wages (thus also
    keeping other wages low), and given culturally devalued positions within the company, both of which
    reproduced existing social hierarchies. Similar strategies would be employed with the introduction of laborers
    from colonized Korea, starting in the mid-1910s and expanding considerably in the early 1920s. As with
    burakumin and miners from Yoronjima, Koreans were generally utilized as supplemental labor and assigned
    above-ground tasks, only entering the mines in periods when increased productivity was required. Nagasue,
    "Chikuhō ni okeru sekitan sangyō to buraku mondai," 98-100, 107-109; Shindō, *Akai boyayama no hi*, 182-184,
    188-191; Shindō, "Zainichi Chōsenjin mondai to Chikuhō tankō chitei," in *Buraku kaihō undō no shiteki tenkai:
    Kyushu chihō wo chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1981): 303-329.

structure of labor relations, as expressed in the list of government requests issued to the Coal

Mining Association in 1912. In the late Meiji and early Taisho periods, this conflict over

legitimate intervention was a frequent topic in the pages of the Coal Mining Association's

journal, especially during periods of labor unrest. In 1907, a number of newspapers argued for

increased police intervention in order to ensure the stability of Japan's mines. Hōchi Shinbun

(Newspaper) promoted the expansion of police presence in the mines, which should extend to

both on-site surveillance and to the everyday lives of the miners, so as to promote better labor

relations. Kokumin Shinbun even claimed that the Home Ministry (Naimushō) was promoting

the establishment of police departments in close proximity to the mining communities and

wished to mimic the lifestyle of miners at the stations in order to "make [the officers] well

acquainted" (*chishitsu-seshime*) with the views and desires of miners.[167]

The claim to a privileged pedagogical relationship with coal miners, based on a unique

understanding of coal mining society, was a primary weapon utilized by Fukuoka's mine owners

in opposition to state incursion. To counter the promotion of an increased police presence, one

commentator claimed that the relationship between mine owners and miners in Japan is "unlike

that in the West, in that is like that of a master and servant (*shujū*), or that of a family". As such,

the oppressive measures represented by the police would only exacerbate the tensions in coal

mining communities. Instead, only the "benevolent and strict" (*on'i*) treatment of miners by their

employers could improve the customs of the mining community.[168]

Similarly, when the Meiji government consulted with Fukuoka's industrialists over the

regulations of the Factory Law in 1916, the Coal Mining Association utilized its privileged

knowledge of mining society to challenge the imposition of age or gender restrictions on

---

167 For a summary of these articles, see "Kōzan bōdō yobō sōdan," 51-52.
168 "Kōzan bōdō yobō sōdan," 52

224

underground labor. The Mining Association dismissed the government's attempt to prevent women and children under the age of 15 from working at night on the grounds that it threatened both the productive and spiritual stability of the community: "To work as a family in one place," they argued, "provides spiritual comfort (*seishin-jō no ian*) for [the miners]," and to leave children on their own (they typically attended school until the age of 14) would "be more harmful to their upbrinding (*yōiku-jō*) than engaging in labor." Regarding the restriction of women, the Assocation claimed that, "underground mining is carried out by a husband, who acts as the hewer (*sakiyama*), and a wife, who acts as a hauler (*atoyama*)" and that "working cooperatively as a husband and wife is necessary for both the livelihood and the well-being of a family." The limitation of women's labor to daylight hours would disrupt the natural productive unit and would be "most disadvantageous for their manners and customs (*fŭzoku*)".[169] In both cases, Fukuoka's mine owners invoked the particular qualities of coal miners and their own unique understanding of mining life in order to challenge attempts at increased state regulation. Furthermore, they asserted the negative *cultural* consequences of state interference – the perpetuation of poor miner customs and labor unrest – implying that the mine owners did not only maintain a unique vantage point of mining society, but held a privileged position in its improvement. The proximity idealized in paternalistic and pedagogic discourse was therefore a vital form of symbolic capital in maintaining legitimate authority vis-a-vis the region's miners.

Insofar as the classification and examination of coal miners was intended to facilitate their rehabilitation and therefore, their redemption, this emerging discourse completed the pedagogical loop initiated by the paternalistic claims of mine owners. In all of these commentaries, the presentation of miner culture as a product of occupational and institutional

---

169 The Coal Mining Association's response to the Meiji state's proposed regulations can be found in *Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō hen: Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai (2)*, 8-13.

context placed the onus of reformation in the hands of the industrialists and capitalists,

reinforcing the idea that owners and their officials worked in close proximity to the miners and

understood their strife. Furthermore, by asserting that miners were fundamentally redeemable but

predisposed towards moral corruption, owners and commentators placed miners within a

narrative of "progress" (*kōjō*), with all of the concomitant pedagogical tensions inherent to that

discourse: on the one hand, owners were to promote desires and ambitions in their miners, to

provide them with the foundations for social advancement and to circumscribe the negative

effects of mining work itself; on the other hand, the educational configuration promoted by the

owners – schools and welfare facilities – was motivated by the desire to maintain and stabilize an

increasingly unpredictable workforce, to improve working conditions, and to enlighten the

miners in order to preserve the labor that was supposedly the source of their depravity. The very

formulation of "miners" within industrial and academic discourse assumed their need for

guidance and intervention, thus precluding the recognition of their equality without dissolving

the relationship between owner and miner itself. This pedagogical relationship therefore

embodied the fundamental fallacy of progressive discourse; that, by presuming "to *reduce*

inequality indefinitely," the relationship instead paradoxically functions to preserve, through

gradual amelioration, an unequal, even exploitative, relationship.[170]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed the educational dimension of the introduction of welfare

facilities into the coal mining communities of Fukuoka during the late 19th and early 20th

centuries. While the few existing accounts of education in Fukuoka's coal mines have restricted

their analysis to formal schooling, the treatment of welfare facilities has been tied to the

---

[170] Jacques Ranciere, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, Kristin Ross, trans. (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991), 133. Emphasis in original.

historical study of labor management, emphasizing their role in promoting more stable labor

relations (*rōshi kankei*) between industrialists and miners. In this chapter, I have combined these

two perspectives, showing the ways in which schooling was imbued with the same potential

benefits as other welfare facilities, such as the prevention of labor turnover, while emphasizing

the underlying pedagogical goals underlying all of these institutions: the cultivation of new

dispositions, new values, and new relationships amongst a mining population that had come to be

associated with violence, debauchery, and crime.

There were two dimensions to this pedagogical project. On the one hand, welfare

institutions were explicitly and implicitly intended to promote positive values, habits, and

customs in the miners: hard work, thrift, company loyalty, hygiene, etc. Religious sermons were

introduced to promote moral reformation; schools and day cares separated children from the

dangers of mining life and promoted higher productivity; while savings programs and mutual-aid

associations fostered financial literacy. All of these measures were also intended to contribute to

the larger goal of limiting labor turnover and improving productivity. On the other hand, the

educational discourse of mining industrialists articulated new relationships, all of which

legitimized the pedagogical intervention of mine owners (and their representatives) into the lives

of the miners. Based on a combination of mine owners' intimate knowledge of mining life and an

appeal to a variety of pre-modern, indigenous notions of paternalistic social relationships

(*bushido*, *oyabun-kobun*, etc.), industrialists claimed a privileged position vis-à-vis the miners,

which justified their unique claims to intervention. At the same time, the articulation of a

paternalistic pedagogical discourse also constituted the identity of the miner as such: in order to

help the miner, he had to be understood, requiring thorough investigations of the peculiar nature

of his plight. The result was an extensive discourse on "coal miners" as a unique subset of labor.

What were the consequences of this educational project? On the surface, they seem to have been quite successful at stabilizing the workforce. Returning to the issue of educational statistics with which I began my discussion in this chapter, enrolment rates increased considerably during the early 20th century. In 1904, the Tagawa Private Elementary School claimed more than 88% (560 out of 632) of *naya* children attended classes,[171] and, in 1909, the Kaijima school claimed a similar number (85%, or 1234 out of 1448).[172] The private schools founded at the Mitsui Miike Coal Mine, for which we have the most comprehensive data, claimed enrolment rates of roughly 98% by the end of the period, even though overall student numbers remained in considerable flux. Furthermore, Miike is the only mine to provide monthly attendance data, revealing that, on average, between 92% and 94% of students were actively attending classes, with rates at the two larger schools hovering around 90% and those at the three smaller campuses often approaching perfect attendance.[173] By the end of the period, enrolment rates at Miike – and most likely other mines as well – were well in line with the prefectural average (98.42% in 1912), implying that the concerns over miner education expressed 20 years prior had been alleviated.[174]

More significantly for mine owners, the proliferation of welfare facilities seemed to have achieved its primary goal of reducing miner turnover. According to the survey of 1913, turnover

---

171 "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō shiritsu jinjō shōgakkō no kinkyō," 56.

172 Mikawa, Ōnoura Tankō chōsa hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1909), 133.

173 This data was accumulated from the monthly "Miike kōfu geppō," unpublished records currently in the possession of Mitsui Bunko in Tokyo. Statistics reveal considerable variation even between the schools, not limited to monthly attendance. Typically, classes were held anywhere between 17 and 26 days per month, though during any given month that number could be quite different at separate campuses. There is no recorded reason for these inconsistencies, but they attest to the significant gradations that most likely characterized all private schools in coal mining communities.

174 For prefectural enrolment rates, see the table in *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunen shi, tsūshihen: Meiji*, 735. According to a reporting in the Chikuhō Mining Association's journal, even the areas with the lowest enrolment rates (Moji, which was not a mining area, and Kahō) were above 90% (93% and 95% respectively) by 1906. While it is possible that miners still constituted a large proportion of those not attending school, especially since many miners were often unaccounted for in local registers and surveys, the numbers from individual mines support high rates within the mining communities themselves. "Fukuoka-ken no hanzai oyobi kyōiku tōkei," *Geppō* 34 (4/1907), 41-42.

in coal mines dropped by roughly 14% since 1907, from about 140% per year to 120% (implying

that about 10% of the workforce turned over each month).[175] Many of Chikuhō's largest mines,

often those with the most comprehensive welfare facilities, experienced even greater drops in

turnover rate: 30% at Kaijima Ōnoura, 54% at the government-run Futase Coal Mine, 48% at

Mitsui Tagawa, 32% at Mitsui Hondō, 54% at Akaike, etc.[176] It is therefore no surprise that mine

owners and commentators frequently celebrated other "positive results" (*kō-seiseki*) yielded by

various welfare institutions. When Kodama Otomatsu visited Chikuhō in 1909, he was

apparently startled by the morals (*fūki*) of the miners and the improved culture of the mining

towns. He commented that the violence and bloodshed that once characterized the streets of

Iizuka city was no longer evident, and that the people were relatively well-behaved, even when

going to shows. He credited the mine owners with inspiring this change through the promotion of

wholesome entertainment "far from the vice of drunkenness" (*ranshu no akufū*), through the

creation of savings programs, and, most importantly, through the establishment of educational

and religious institutions to "enlighten" (*kanka*) the miners.[177]

    If mine owners maintained any illusions that the miners had been effectively

domesticated, such fantasies were quashed with the outbreak of protests and violence during the

---

175 *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 41-43; cf. *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 13-15.
176 *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō*, 56-57; *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 19-20. The *Kōfu taigū jirei* recorded its numbers based on monthly averages, while the *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō* recorded complete numbers for the year. The discrepancy between the two is slightly larger if one only calculates departed miners in turnover rates, and not newly acquired miners. However, since mine owners were interested in retaining labor in part to alleviate the considerable costs of recruitment, it is relevant that the number of miners hired decreased at a similar rate to those retained. Of course, not all mines experienced such positive results. Mitsubishi Namazuta and the Meiji Coal Mine showed similar turnover rates, even mild increases between the two surveys. Furthermore, the difference between the turnover rates in real numbers between mines, even those of similar size, was considerable. For example, the Mitsui Hondō and Furukawa Nishibu mines both had about 2500 miners and experienced a similar drop in turnover *rates*, but the number of departed miners relative to the mining population at Furukawa (185%) was double that of Hondō (90%). Therefore, the retention of labor continued to be of vital concern for many operations in the region.
177 Quoted in *Miyata-choshi*, 1100-1101. This characterization stands in stark contrast to his depiction of the miners in his *Chikuhō kōgyō tōryō-den* of 1902, in which he specifically critiqued their violent tendencies and their lack of thrift. Kodama, "Chikuhō kōgyō tōryō-den," in Ueno Eishin, ed., *Minshū no kiroku, 2: kōfu*, 37.

rice riots of 1918. Beginning on August 17 in Ube (in Yamaguchi Prefecture) and at the Mineji

Mine in Tagawa, protests and riots spread throughout the region, resulting in the destruction of

company stores, official residences, and mining offices, as well as looting and violent encounters

with the police and army, who had been called to quell the protests.[178] Though they were

inspired by the rampant increase in rice prices at the end of the First World War, as were other

riots throughout the country, the protests at coal mines were notable for their degree of

organization and comprehensive sets of demands. Led by young, radical miners, the protesters

met publicly, attempted to go through proper channels to make pleas to the companies, held

negotiations with officials, and submitted formal petitions. They called for wage increases of

between 30% and 50%, lowering of rice prices, and the improvement of miner-company

relations – generally portrayed as a demand for proper respect and better treatment (*taigū*). As a

result of these demands, and the more structured character of the protests, Michael Lewis and

others have portrayed these riots as labor disputes, as opposed to more spontaneous outbursts of

popular unrest, such as peasant uprisings, and have placed them in a broader narrative of labor

relations in Japanese industry.[179] While Chikuhō mines had experienced escalating labor tensions

in the months leading up to the rice riots, the latter protests were notable for their frequency and

geographical extent (over 20 mines in two months), resulting in destruction, thousands of arrests,

and several deaths.

      If anything, the rice riots indicate that the real success of the educational efforts of mining

industrialists was the legitimization of the pedagogical relationships it proposed.[180] In memorials

discussing the causes of the riots and preventative measures that could have been taken, the

---

178 Michael Lewis provides an excellent account of the rice riots in Fukuoka. Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens*, 192-241.
    For the classic account in Japanese, see Hayashi Eidai, *Chikuhō kome sōdōki* (Tokyo: Aki Shobō, 1986.
    Newspaper reports and retrospective oral accounts from participants have been transcribed and compiled in
    Hayashi Eidai, ed., *Kita Kyūshū no kome sōdō: kikigaki shakaishi* (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1988).
179 Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens*, 192. For a similar characterization, see Hayashi, *Kita Kyūshū no kome sōdō*, 12-13
180 These opinions are summarized in Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakai shi*, 93-98.

emphasis was placed almost solely on the relationship between the miners and their managers. This relationship, it was decided, had been strained, with managers ill-equipped to deal with the particular challenges posed by miners. Particular blame was placed on the barrack system itself, which, according to most, had become a rallying point for miner dissent. While mine owners and their employees were critiqued for failing to fulfil their roles of stabilizing the labor force, post-rice riot discourse still recognized the existence of the unique mine owner-miner relationship. Discussion was not centered upon the need for increased police intervention or the creation of new industrial policies, but on the need for mine owners to improve their relationships with the miners. Consequently, their pedagogical role was legitimized through the very criticism of their failure to uphold it.

Chapter Four
Implicit Education in the Coal Mines: Management Reform and Miner Resistance

In chapter three, I treated the establishment of schools and other welfare institutions in the coal mining communities of Fukuoka prefecture as constituting a broad and multifaceted pedagogical movement. Mine owners identified the fundamental intellectual and moral shortcomings of coal miners and posited a connection between the character of the miners and the emergence of a variety of labor problems in the mines: accidents resulting from human error, strikes or other forms of unrest, and a high rate of labor turnover. Welfare facilities thus acted as incentives to ameliorate the miners, as well as means of reforming the perceived poor customs of miners – alcoholism, debauchery, violence, etc. - by promoting the values of thrift, hard work, and company loyalty. Furthermore, these institutions were reinforced by an emerging paternalistic discourse that was crucial to constituting and legitimizing a 'natural' pedagogical relationship between mine owners and laborers. As a result, industrialist identity was articulated at the same time as coal miners themselves appeared as a coherent subclass of labor with its own unique traits, tied to the particular conditions of mining, and in particular need of intervention.

While chapter three attempted to bridge intellectual and institutional developments and link them as constituent parts of a larger pedagogical programme, the analysis of education in coal mining communities cannot be limited to welfare paternalism in the late Meiji period. Welfare facilities and their accompanying discourse constituted only the most visible innovation during a period in which the whole structure of mining society was altered, with both the administration and labor process becoming increasingly centralized and compartmentalized. In this chapter, I argue that the creation of new management structures and the reorganization of labor at Chikuhō coal mines incorporated an implicit pedagogical dimension that reinforced the idealized company relations represented by welfare institutions. Through a detailed analysis of

changes in the labor process and the relationships between the various institutional branches of coal mining enterprises, I will show the ways in which daily life and work at the mines was significantly transformed during the early 20th century. As the company structure became increasingly segmented and articulated, personal relations between laborers were turned into relations between different positions in the company hierarchy, as miners negotiated a bureaucratic management structure that included dozens of specialized administrators. As a result, company employment comprised the sole unifying element in the labor structure, and the broad relationship between the company and a uniform body of "miners" was institutionally actualized. This reorganization was intended to increase productivity and to break up existing bonds between miners and managers that risked challenging the authority of the companies. The success of these measures, however, should not be presupposed.

In this chapter, I will emphasize the institutional transformation of the mines, the restructuring of labor and society along corporate lines that acted as a prerequisite for welfare paternalism. As Ogino Yoshihiro has argued, the particular structure of the worksite at coal mines during the Meiji period, especially in Chikuhō, was ill-suited to centralized regulation or consistent observation by managers. Until the mid-1920s, Chikuhō's mines were made up of an expansive maze of narrow coal faces, extending from the central mine shaft, in which two-person units worked in relative isolation. Under such circumstances, the few on-site supervisors (there was generally a 20:1 ratio of miners to supervisors) could never maintain the conceit of complete control or observation of the workforce. As a result, on-site supervisors relied on a series of peripheral mechanisms in order to control the work force and inspire higher levels of productivity, such as the close regulation of wage calculation and attendance, and the attempt to

streamline the miners' movements between home, work, and other sites.[1] Unable to reach into the deepest crevices of the workplace, and lacking the means to directly inculcate a desired set of values, the implicit pedagogy of mining companies became embedded in the transformation of their institutional structures and the re-inscription of relationships in the community.

The implicit pedagogical dimension of labor is a prominent undercurrent in a variety of social theories, all of which shape the conceptualization of education within this chapter. Firstly, Foucault asserted the way in which penal labor is a "principle of order and regularity; through the demands that it imposes... it bends bodies to regular movements, it excludes agitation and distraction, it imposes a hierarchy and a surveillance that are all the more accepted, and which will be inscribed... in the behavior of the convicts". Labor thus produces "habits of order and obedience" and "transforms the violent, agitated, unreflective convict into a part that plays its role with perfect regularity".[2] For Foucault, the habits, regularities, and hierarchical structure imposed by an organized labor process was itself educative, and could be used to reform deviant behavior – a primary motivation behind the welfare measures initiated by mine owners.[3] Bourdieu and Passeron similarly identified what they termed "implicit pedagogy," or the "unconscious inculcation of principles which manifest themselves only in their practical state, within the practice that is imposed".[4] While more abstract in their formulation, they placed equal emphasis on the pedagogical function of *practice* within non-school settings. The theoretical constructs articulated by Foucault and Bourdieu are also analogous to the popular concept of

---

1   Ogino Yoshihiro, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi* (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993), 64-65.
2   Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 242.
3   The similarities between Foucault's representation of penal laborers and Japanese mine owners' attitude towards their miners should not come as a surprise. Not only were both presented as deviants requiring "re-education" (to use Foucault's term), but attribution of criminal behavior to miners themselves has often been argued to be a result of the occupation's association with convict labor in the early Meiji period, leading, for example, to the common term for miners, *gezainin*, being rendered "criminal" (下罪人) instead of "outsider" (see Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō banka*, 205).
4   Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1977), 47.

234

"hidden curriculum" within educational scholarship, the "unstated norms, values and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both the formal content as well as the social relations of school and classroom life".[5] A number of scholars in the 1970s and 1980s explored the ways in which the rhetorical framing of content as well as the spatial and linguistic interaction between teachers and students contribute to the reproduction of social, cultural, and economic inequality, with a teacher acting as a child's first "boss" before they enter the workforce.[6] However, as Michael Apple and Jane R. Martin have emphasized, hidden curricula are not limited to school settings, but are embedded in all social environments, including industrial labor contexts.[7] All three of the above approaches share the assumption that pedagogy transcends the overt and explicit intentions of educators, requiring an educational analysis of broader social practices.

This chapter will consist of five sections, comprising three general arguments. First, I will situate my argument and my pedagogical analytical framework within existing historical scholarship about Japanese coal mining. Most Japanese and English language works have limited their discussions of labor relations and management within Japanese coal mines to an emphasis on the so-called *naya seido*, or barrack system. Most likely as response to the disproportionate emphasis on the barrack system in Meiji and Taisho era discourse, historians have narrowly identified changes in the management of miner housing communities as the primary site through

---

5   Henry A. Giroux and Anthony Penna, "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 7:1 (Spring 1979), 22. For the original formulation of "hidden curriculum," see Philip W. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Teacher's College, 1990 [1968]).
6   Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum: Third Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004 [1979]), 79.
7   Michael W. Apple, "The Other Side of the Hidden Curriculum: Correspondence Theories and the Labor Process," *Interchange* 11:3 (1980-81): 5-22; Jane R. Martin, "What Should We Do with a Hidden Curriculum When We Find One?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 6:2 (1976): 135-151. Apple's work, heavily influenced by Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, explores the hidden curriculum and resistance to its imposition in the industrial context in order to challenge an overemphasis on schooling in reproducing unequal social relationships. Martin, on the other hand, takes a broad approach to the concept of "hidden curriculum," arguing that it cannot only be found in almost all social contexts, but that it is also highly contingent historically, temporally, and subjectively. For her, there is no singular hidden curriculum for any social setting, only a fluctuating set of embedded meaning that are undergoing a constant process of transformation.

which industrialists attempted to control the labor force and maintain productivity; however, in doing so, historians have tended to place changes in labor management in a simplistic narrative of centralization – from a subcontracting system to a one of direct control (*chokkatsu seido*) – and have given insufficient attention to changes in other aspects of the mines' institutional structures. Through my broad educational approach, I will illuminate some the minute aspects of institutional "centralization" and will discuss the ways in which they implicitly contributed to the cultivation of a corporate communal identity in Fukuoka's coal mines.

The remainder of the chapter will consist of two broad arguments. The first argument will consists of three sub-sections where I analyze the ways in which coal mining society was reconfigured spatially, with most large mining companies centralizing the various institutional components of their operations into veritable company towns, separate from the rest of Japanese society. The late 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed a revolution in corporate administration that effectively segmented the enterprise into a series of bureaucratic sub-sections, while integrating them within a coherent company structure. As a result, on-site and at-home labor management were absorbed into separate branches of the corporate hierarchy and came under the control of an expanding network of task-specific officers, thus undermining the power of former barrack chiefs (*naya gashira*) and dividing up their once-unified functions. Therefore, by the mid-1910s, life in Fukuoka's mines consisted of the movement between disparate institutional contexts and personal relationships, unified solely by their shared company identity. I will discuss, in turn, the transformation of on-site management and correlated changes in off-site management, before appending a discussion of the contribution of technical schools to the hierarchical reformation of mine management.

Finally, in order to mitigate the somewhat deterministic tone that inevitably accompanies

236

any discussion of implicit pedagogy, the second argument will consist of an analysis of identity

formation through a limited selection of oral accounts and artistic works from former coal

miners. One the one hand, these representations of mining life de-emphasize and marginalize the

institutions created by the companies, giving primacy to the informal relationships formed

between miners at work and at home. On the other hand, notions of identity were embedded in

the accounts themselves. Within these accounts and artistic works, miners acted upon the very

distance between officers and workers that company institutions failed to bridge, cultivating a

discourse that expressed the inaccessibility of mining society to the average reader. Accounts

speak of a world of darkness and intimacy – quite in contrast to the bureaucratic structure of the

companies themselves – in which miners fostered unity through a shared culture and shared

fears. At the same time, the identity articulated within this community buttressed many of the

formal divisions within mining society and reinforced the notion of mining communities as a

"world apart". In the end, miner accounts accentuate the unpredictability of educational

meanings and the mutually constitutive process that fostered the formation of miner identity in

the Meiji period.

The Barrack System in the Historiography of Japanese Coal Mining

Within postwar scholarship, the "history of labor relations" (*rōshi kankeishi*) of Japanese

mining has typically made the barrack system (*naya seido*) its analytical focal point. In fact, most

have treated it as the distinguishing feature of labor management in Japanese mining.[8] As briefly

introduced in the previous chapter, the *naya seido* refers to a semi-subcontracted system of labor

---

8   Works that place considerable emphasis on the barrack system as an identifying feature of coal mining in Japan
     include: Oyama Shikitarō, *Kōgyō rōdō to oyakata seido* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1964); Sumiya Mikio, *Nihon sekitan
     sangyō bunseki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968); Sumiya, *Nihon chinrōdō no shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo:
     Ochanomizu Shobō, 1976); Murakushi Nisaburō, *Nihon tankō chinrōdō shiron* (Tokyo: Jichōsha, 1976); Tanaka
     Naoki, *Kindai Nihon tankō rōdōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1984); Ogino Yoshihiro, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi
     kankeishi*; and Ichihara Hiroshi, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi* (Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1997).

recruitment and management, adopted by coal mining companies in the 1890s and early 1900s in order to meet the manpower demands of the rapidly growing industry. Under this system, prominent local miners or former mine managers were hired as barrack chiefs (*naya gashira*) by companies and given the responsibility of recruiting laborers from the local area or other regions, forwarding money to recruits to cover the cost of relocation, providing the necessary tools for pit work, distributing wages, and providing financial and medical aid to their miners. Miners were housed in large *naya* (barracks or sheds) owned by the company, where the barrack chief was expected to maintain order, ensure work attendance, and, if necessary, dispense disciplinary measures.[9] During the first decade of the 20th century, the major Fukuoka mines gradually integrated the barrack chiefs and their miners into the corporate structure, establishing what most historians have referred to as direct (*chokkatsu*) control or direct management. However, the system was not completely abolished until after the Pacific War.

Why have historians been so fixated on the barrack system, and what have the consequences of this myopia been for the field in general? On the one hand, the barrack system acts as a useful locus of differentiation between mining and the other modern industries that emerged in the late-19th century, such as mechanized textile production. For the most part, the various elements of the industrial sector experienced a shared trajectory in the structure of their labor relations, including the creation of welfare institutions, the adoption of paternalistic rhetoric, and the gradual centralization of management.[10] The systems of labor recruitment and management, however, were noticeably different in the textile and mining industries.

---

9   General description found in *Kōfu taigū jirei* (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1908), 254-255. The barrack chief regulations and responsibilities at Kaneda Coal Mine were almost identical to the ideal-type presented in the *Kōfu taigū jirei*. These regulations are reproduced in Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 54.

10 For these developments in the textile industry, see Elyssa Faison, *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2007), chapter 1; and Janet Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market in Japan's Industrializing Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 114-120.

Recruitment at Japan's silk and cotton factories was typically carried out by intermediaries between the localities and the companies, who focused solely on the acquisition of labor without any responsibilities for on- or off-site management, as was the case in the barrack system.[11] And, while textile factories similarly maintained housing complexes for their workers – typically unmarried women – management of the dormitories was completely separated from recruitment or the workplace.[12] Thus, the close relationship between recruitment and management that characterized the barrack system contrasts sharply with the otherwise analogous practices in the textile industry.[13] However, the tendency to attribute the poor character of miners and the harsh living conditions to which they were subjected to the inherent iniquities of labor management persisted across industrial sectors. Textile industrialists critiqued existing recruitment and management practices, and promoted the necessity of paternalistic intervention in much the same way as mining industrialists. The uniqueness of the barrack system should therefore not be overstated.

More importantly, the concerns of historians have reflected the disproportionate emphasis on the barrack system by Meiji industrialists and commentators. When outrage erupted about the abuse of miners at the Takashima Coal Mine in the late 1880s, which was the first time labor relations in coal mining became a topic of general discourse, it was the barrack system that drew the brunt of journalists' ire. Critiques focused almost exclusively on exploitative practices of the

---

11 Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market*, 72-76.
12 Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market*, 103-110; for a better description of the abusive practices that took place in textile dormitories, see Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Factory Girls* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990), ch. 8.
13 Heavy industry (shipbuilding, metal manufacturing, engineering, etc.) as described by Andrew Gordon perhaps provides a better comparison for the mining industry. Before establishing direct control, these industrialists depended heavily on labor bosses (*oyakata*) in order to recruit and manage labor. While they were diverse in their functions and their relationship to the company, many bosses acted simultaneously as recruiters, on-site managers, technical trainers, and providers of housing. Gordon, however, does not provide a detailed discussion of off-site management that would allow a more useful comparison for Fukuoka's coal mines. Andrew Gordon, *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853-1955* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1985), 36-46.

barrack chiefs, while defenders of the system asserted its necessity for the recruitment and

management of the perverse labor force.[14] It is unsurprising that the barrack system at Takashima

was reconfigured shortly thereafter and became one of the first to be abolished. As we have seen,

however, the oppressiveness attributed to barrack chiefs and their authority remained a consistent

theme in the 1900s and 1910s.[15] Despite the fact that by 1913 only 9% of mines were recorded as

maintaining a strict *naya seido*, with the remainder having completely centralized (43%) or

retaining barrack chiefs in a limited capacity (40%),[16] Kita Shūichirō still dedicated a section of

his *Chika rōdō* (1919) to a critique of the system as a "vestige" (*ishū*) of the "feudal era" (*hōken

jidai*).[17] In many ways, the barrack system maintained a prominent place in mining discourse

long after its relevance in practical mining administration had been significantly reduced.

Meiji era concern with the barrack system and its social effects have influenced the

modern historical framing of the system in several ways. Postwar scholars have typically

emphasized the violent and exploitative nature of control under the barrack system, arguing that

it was maintained by a "violent structure" (*bōryoku-teki kikō*),[18] and was governed by a "strict

rule (*tessoku*) of labor and lifestyle management through [physical] coercion (*iatsu*)".[19] Around

this image of oppression, historians have formed a narrative of a gradual, progressive shift from

decentralized *naya gashira* management to direct control of employees by mining companies.

Though scholars since the 1970s have treated the barrack system as an identifiably modern

---

14 For these debates, as they were presented in *Tokyo nichi nichi shinbun*, see the series of articles reproduced in *Meiji nyūsu jiten, vol. 4*, 413-416.

15 See, for example, the article by Tanaka Hideo, discussed in detail in chapter three. Tanaka critiques the "poor character" (*seikō furyō*) of the *naya gashira* as well as their tyrannical (*bōi*) methods of control and exploitation. Tanaka Hideo, "Sekitan Kōgyōsha ni tai-suru kibō," *Geppō* 32 (2/1907): 31-35.

16 *Kōfu chōsa gaiyō* (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1913), 100.

17 Kita Shūichirō, *Chika rōdō: sekai-teki rōshi funsō shōten* (Tokyo: Umezu Shoten, 1919), 21. For his full critique, see pp. 21-28.

18 Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō: sekitan no chiikishi* (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1973), 111.

19 Kudo Seiya, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito: bōkyō no omoi: kindai hen* (Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 2008), 159.

phenomenon tied to the demands of capitalism and mechanized industry,[20] most have adopted the developmental model of labor relations formulated by Sumiya Mikio in the 1960s, which also traced the system to an earlier, semi-feudal labor structure. Sumiya elaborated changes in labor management in four stages: (1) the complete subcontracting of on-site and underground management to bosses, or *tōryō* (*tōryō* system); (2) the subcontracting of only off-site miner management and control to barrack chiefs (*naya* system); (3) the gradual integration of barrack chiefs into the corporate structure as "managers" (*sewayaku*); and (4) the eventual abolition of the barrack system and its replacement by direct company rule.[21] Implicit in Sumiya's narrative is a shift from semi-feudal rule under the "bosses," in which companies relied on older, abusive networks of personal relationships, to a system in which the company could safely ensure the interests of laborers without mediation. The *naya seido* was thus portrayed as a transitional phase between pre-modern social relations and modern industrial relations under stable, corporate authority.[22]

---

20 Many have even explicitly critiqued earlier scholars for representing the mining system as a "remnant system" (*zanson seido*) of Japanese feudalism because such an approach obscures the modernity of the system. Murakushi Nisaburō critiqued Oyama Shikitarō's groundbreaking postwar research on the barrack system, claiming that in portraying the *naya seido* as an extension of "feudal" *oyabun-kobun* (master-follower) relationships, Oyama failed to account for the emergence of Japanese capitalism and the particular process of development and change undergone by the barrack system. In a similar fashion, Ichihara Hiroshi asserted that Oyama's emphasis on continuity between pre-modern and modern forms of labor management obscured the fundamental differences between the barrack system and earlier forms of labor organization, as well as the diversity of forms embraced by *naya seido* itself. Murakushi, *Nihon tankō chinrōdō shiron*, 2; Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 5-6. For a compilation of Oyama's articles on labor relations in Japanese coal mining, see Oyama, *Kōgyō rōdō to oyakata seido*.

21 This process was originally theorized in Sumiya, "Naya seido no seiritsu to hōkai," *shisō* 434 (1960), 100-110. For a recent work that traces the development of the *naya seido* in almost the exact same series of steps, see Kudo, *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito*, 142-166. Elements of this process have not been immune to critique. The nature of the *tōryō* system, such as whether the mining process was ever fully subcontracted in the Meiji period or whether *tōryō* were actually in charge of both on- and off-site management, has been a particularly prominent topic of discussion, with ambiguous results. Similarly, a number of scholars (Murakushi and Ogino, in particular) have attempted alternative typologies of the *naya* system in order to account for regional variation, while maintaining the broad trajectory outlined by Sumiya. For an overview of these debates, see Tanaka, *Kindai Nihon tankō rōdōshi kenkyū*, 20-24.

22 Though English-language scholarship on Japanese coal mining and the *naya* system is fragmentary and limited, Yukio Yamashita (in translation) provides an excellent example of this narrative structure when he presents the *naya seido* as having "help[ed] smooth the way to that which followed it, in the sense that it functioned as a

The naturalizing and isolating tendencies in this narrative have obscured the realities of both the barrack system and the process of centralization itself. Sumiya embeds the barrack system in a simplified progressive narrative that presupposes a gradual shift from indirect to direct rule and thus fails to adequately acknowledge the *active* process of institutional transformation of which the abolition of the barrack system was but one part. Consequently, the barrack system is isolated from its broader institutional context and is treated as the sole locus of labor relations during the Meiji period. Moreover, this narrative has emphasized the *moral* qualities of the *naya seido* and its contributions to poor miner customs, at the expense of its *institutional* characteristics. Sumiya and others have thus restricted the power of the barrack chiefs to the miner residences and have treated centralization as the gradual process of integrating the chiefs into the company hierarchy. In doing so, they have misrepresented the realities of *naya gashira* power, which was equally dependent upon influence over the workplace as it was on off-site management, and have divorced changes in off-site management from the minute transformations that were simultaneously occurring across the myriad institutions of mining enterprises. Scholars have eschewed discussions of changes in wage distribution, the allocation of coal faces, recruitment practices, or even company hierarchy, in favor of restating the abusive practices attributed to *naya gashira* and the need for reformation. Reintegrating the barrack system, and its abolition, into its broader institutional context not only illuminates the realities of *naya gashira* power, but also represents its abolition as part of an *active* process of institutional change, not just a *passive* response to the iniquities of barrack chief rule.

In recent years, Ogino Yoshihiro and Ichihara Hiroshi have attempted to ameliorate these shortcomings in the historical representation of the barrack system. Ogino's work has challenged

---

bridge between indirect control and direct control by the owners over the work force." Yamashita, "The Inside Contract System in Japan: With Particular Reference to the Coal Mining Industry," trans. by Stephen W. McCallion, *Japanese Yearbook in Business History* 4 (1987), 17.

naturalizing trends in Japanese mining historiography by emphasizing *control* as a primary

function of mine administration, thus granting a higher degree of agency to mine owners and

their companies. He has interpreted administrative and structural reforms initiated by

industrialists as means of maintaining the labor force, reducing wages, promoting efficiency, and

preventing unrest. In doing so, he has placed emphasis on social, geographical, and technological

determinants in the creation of management systems, as well as regional variation and historical

change.[23] Furthermore, he has been attentive to changes in other aspects of company

administration, such as the wage distribution system and the mining process, in order to draw

correlations to changes in miner management.[24] Ichihara, on the other hand, has characterized the

naya system as the first stage in a larger process of corporate integration (continuing through the

1930s) and the "employee-ization" (*jūgyōin-ka*) of miners through the fostering of company

identifications. In doing so, he has not only placed greater emphasis on centralization as an

active process of corporate re-inscription of popular identities – a contentious process of

replacing old social relationships with new ones – but has also challenged the oppressive image

of the *naya seido* by portraying barrack chief rule as an extension of a larger coal mining culture,

in which the personal relationship between chief and miner predominated.[25] Together, these

scholars have challenged the simplified, moralistic narrative of labor centralization while

discussing changes in the barrack system in relation to broader transformations in mining society

and mine management.

---

23 For example, he has characterized the split between the management of miners at work and in the barracks as a
    result of concerns over control and productivity during the rapid growth of the worker population during the
    1890s. Ballooning wages and competition for labor perpetuated increases in turnover, requiring a greater
    emphasis on the surveillance of miners during non-work hours, and promoted the intensification of company
    control over barrack chiefs. Ogino's representation of the *naya* system presents this division of work and home
    as a contingent and historical phenomenon, not a natural one, which should not be presupposed by historians.
    Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 43-51.
24 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 2-9, 14, 61-65.
25 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, iii-vi, 31-44, 78-83

Ogino and Ichihara thus provide valuable insights for my analysis of coal mine administration, which also emphasizes broad changes in the structure of mining communities and company hierarchy, the pedagogical inscription of company identity, and the cultivation of a distinct coal mining culture.[26] But their works are not without limitations. Ogino may place greater emphasis on institutional reform outside of the barrack system, but he has a tendency only to discuss them through the narrow framework of "control," viewing them merely as *reactive* measures against the unreliability of the workforce. Within his analysis, changes in the mining process and on-site administration lack their *positive*, constructive dimension, and are reduced to peripheral factors in the transformation of labor relations.[27] The process of corporate integration depicted by Ichihara similarly restricts itself to institutional innovations in off-site miner management. "Employee-ization" for Ichihara consists of those structures that were explicitly committed to fostering company loyalty and identification amongst the miners, such as granting the control of welfare facilities and the barracks to autonomous "employee associations" (*jūgyōin dantai*) in the 1920s. While he acknowledges the positivity of labor management reform, he rarely discusses changes in the organization of the workplace itself, making only infrequent references to the effects of technological innovation on the industry. In both cases, off-site labor management retains its primacy in Japanese coal mining historiography, with broader changes in the structure and organization of mining enterprises relegated to the background.

The minute transformations in management and administration in coal mining enterprises

---

26 Ichihara (in chapter 5 of his work) has emphasized the abolition of the barrack system as one of the first stages of in the long-term creation a distinct "mining society" (*tankō shakai*) following the Pacific War. Of course, the discursive construction of mining society in the Meiji period is a central component of my discussion in chapter three.

27 For example, in discussing changes in the mode of wage calculation and administrative measures intended to enforce higher productivity and attendance within the mines, Ogino fails to discuss these new administrative apparatuses in detail. The specific regulatory policies, such as strict record keeping for attendance purposes, or their significance are ignored in favor of a discussion of how they were intended to maintain the labor force. Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 64-65.

during the late Meiji and early Taisho periods, especially as they relate to mining work itself, should not be reduced to passive determinants for changes in labor relations. If we are to better understand the process of corporate centralization and its implicit educational significance, our discussion must transcend the confines of the barrack system, without dismissing its role entirely. We must analyze the way in which company identity was promoted across institutional boundaries, and new social relationships were articulated organizationally. It is here that the theoretical insights of "implicit pedagogy" or "hidden curriculum" are invaluable. These concepts emphasize the ways in which relationships and identities are fostered in everyday practice. Moreover, they allow us to identify the potential meanings embedded in the "hidden curriculum" of a variety of sites and settings, to find commonalities between them, and to connect them to broader social and intellectual currents. In the following two sections, I will apply this approach to the administrative and institutional reforms that took place in Fukuoka's largest mining operations during the late 19th/early 20th century. I will analyze the way in which companies created a rationalized, specialized, and high segmented institutional structure that incorporated miners into a network of social positions defined by their relative locations in the company hierarchy. These structural transformations should be understood as contributing to the realization of the pedagogical ideals discussed in the previous chapter.

Re-Articulating the Workplace: Company Hierarchy and Changes in Pit Management

Starting in the 1890s, with the influx of national conglomerates to Fukuoka's coal beds and the rapid accumulation of mining concessions by a select few, the majority of the region's mining enterprises underwent a series of administrative restructurings, one of which was the creation and gradual integration of the barrack system. These changes ranged from the re-articulation and rationalization of administrative structures and their incorporation of officers in

245

charge of on-site and off-site surveillance, to the mundane bureaucratic procedures that took the miner from the barrack to the coal face each day and ensured his fair remuneration. While changes in company organization and the centralization of management have been granted considerable historical attention, the procedures that made up the most mundane aspects of mining enterprises have been overlooked despite being crucial to the cohesion of centralized institutional configurations, and despite functioning pedagogically to embed the notion of company unity within quotidian affairs. Together, these changes altered the fundamental relationship between company and miner by dissolving the unifying authority of barrack chiefs and, instead, embedding miners within a complex network of bureaucratic interactions in which authority rested solely on the basis of relative position in the company hierarchy. These reforms constituted the material basis on which the paternalistic re-imagining of owner-miner relations discussed in chapter three could be realized in practice, and must therefore be treated as educative phenomena.

These institutional and administrative reforms also indirectly contributed to the formation and perpetuation of coal mining communities as "another world" (*i-sekai*) or a "world apart" (*betsu-tenchi*). By the onset of the First World War, Fukuoka's largest mines had been completely integrated, with each company controlling a vast institutional apparatus. Therefore, while Fukuoka's mines lacked the planned qualities that came to characterize American company towns at the turn of the 20th century,[28] its coal mining towns developed in a way that was co-extensive with the authority of their governing companies. Spatially, most large mining enterprises constituted self-sufficient social systems, in which schools, hospitals, stores, public halls, as well as the welfare facilities discussed previously, existed in close proximity to the barracks and mine

---

28 For the best discussion of company towns in the United States, and the prominent role of the architectural field in their planning, see Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London: Verso, 1995), especially chapters four and five.

shafts that made up the productive core of the operation. Furthermore, mines were located in regions far removed from Fukuoka's major cities, which only exacerbated their real and conceptual distance from society in general. Just as Edo period discrimination against coal miners was facilitated by their administrative separation from the rest of society, the conception of Meiji era coal mines as a "world apart" was as much influenced by spatial distance and physical separation as it was by enduring stereotypes about the poor moral qualities of miners. While this separation was to some degree a natural result of the technological and geographical demands of the mining industry,[29] it must also be understood as a product of company administrative strategies. The burgeoning organizational structure of large coal mining operations did not merely foster new inter-relations within the mine, they contributed to the articulation of miner identity itself.

During the 1890s and early 1900s, the organizational structures of Fukuoka's largest coal mining companies and operations transformed considerably, reflecting technological advances and increased productivity demands. The Kaijima Mining Company, for example, underwent an administrative overhaul between 1891 and 1904. Kaijima's mines were initially operated and managed as an extended family enterprise, with key positions being granted to those with close personal connections to Kaijima Tasuke, founder and president of the company. As such, the structure of the company in 1891 (figure 2), five years after its establishment, was relatively decentralized, with the actual operation of the Ōnoura and Sugamuta collieries being left to

---

29 Charles Vaught and David L. Smith similarly depicted the notion of miners as a "breed apart" to the social and physical conditions created by the work itself. Vaught, who worked and researched at an Appalachian coal mine in the 1970s, tried to trace the formation of a Durkheimian "mechanical solidarity" amongst miners based on the dangers and isolation inherent to the mining industry, and fostered through a series of bonding/hazing rituals. However, in placing particular emphasis on solidarity and identity construction from below, Vaught and Smith tend to obscure the structuring effects of company hierarchy and administration, transforming cultural representations into inevitable outgrowths of the particular traits of mining work. In this chapter, I instead focus on the crucial role of company administration and the conglomeration of mining facilities as reinforcing spatial distance and popular stereotype. Vaught and Smith, "Incorporation and Mechanical Solidarity in an Underground Coal Mine," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 7:2 (May 1980): 159-187.

"mining subcontractors" (*kōgyō ukeoi-nin*), all of whom were relatives of Tasuke. Underneath

the subcontractors were the main mining offices (*jimusho*) and a variety of managers and

officials, including underground bosses (*kōnai tōryō*), technicians (*kiki-kata*), transport officers

(*unpan-kakari*), etc. The subcontractor could hire managers and specialists autonomously, and

was paid monthly based on the mine's production. For the most part, however, the mine's

managers and officers were made up of family members and prominent members of local society

(*jimoto no yũryoku-sha*). In addition to the subcontracting of the mining operation, Kaijima's

Ōnoura colliery maintained separate, directly administered, offices, including the sales

department (located at Wakamatsu port), the company store, and the private school. The barrack

chiefs, responsible for recruitment (and acting as guarantors for employees) and the off-site

surveillance of miners, were positioned outside of this structure and were paid based on the

production of their subordinates.[30]

By comparison, the structure of Kaijima's mining administration in 1904 (figure 3) was

more integrated and displayed a more complex division of labor. Each mine (Ōnoura, Man-no-

ura, and Ōtsugi) was organized into three departments (*ka*): mining (*saikō*), management (*keiri*),

and manufacturing (*seisaku*). The mining department was generally concerned with on-site

administration, and included an operations section (*jigyō-kakari*)[31] and a security section (*hoan-

kakari*), which was responsible for preventing accidents and ensuring the proper use of safety

equipment. The management department was far more diverse in its function, and included the

personnel section (*jinji-kakari*) and the general affairs section (*shomu-kakari*), to which the other

sections reported. It is no surprise that this structure represents a considerable departure from that

---

30 Miyata-chōshi Hensan Iinkai, *Miyata-chōshi, gekan* (Miyata: Miyata Chōyakusho, 1990), 663-668.

31 The word *kakari* in Japanese documents can refer both to a section or office of administration, as well as a person in charge of said office or task. For the most part, the use of the word in company documents reflects the former meaning, with most sections also having a "section chief" (*kakari-chō*) put in charge of its management. Hence I have generally translation *kakari* as "section" or "office," with some exceptions.
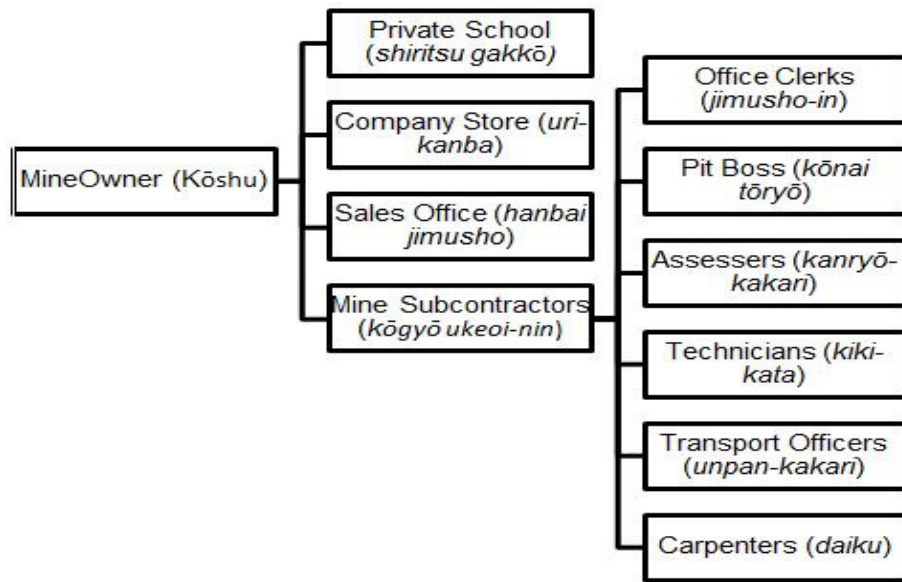
Figure 2: Administrative Structure at Kaijima Mining Company (1891). Modified from diagram in *Miyata-chōshi: gekan*, 664.
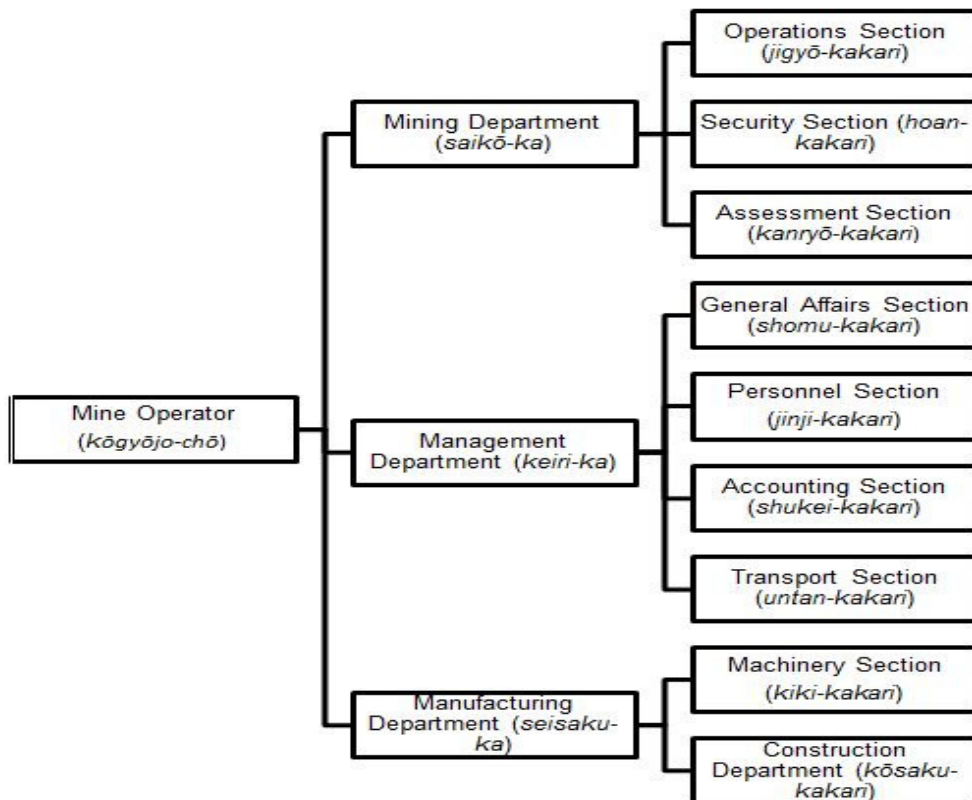
Figure 3: Administrative Structure at Kaijima Mining Company (1904). Modified from diagram in *Miyata-chōshi: gekan*, 847.

of 1891, since the subcontracting system of mine management was completely abolished in

1903/04 – though many family members and relatives maintained important positions in the new

departments and sections. Not only were on-site (through the mining department) and off-site

through the management department) operations formally separated in this management

structure, but it also represents the full integration of miner, or "personnel," management into the

company hierarchy, to be carried by *naya gashira* and other off-site supervisors.[32]

     The administrative structure of the Kaijima company and its mines in 1904 was quite

similar to that of other large mining companies at the turn of the century, such as Mitsui's Tagawa

Mine (figure 4) and Yasukawa Keiichirō's Meiji Coal Mine. At Mitsui Tagawa, the mining

section (*saitan-kakari*), which included on-site surveillance, was placed under the pit-mining

section (*kōnai-kakari*) or pit chief (*kōnai shunin*) in charge of the general administration of each

mine shaft. The aptly titled policing section (*keimu-kakari*, later renamed *kōfu-kakari*, or miner

section), responsible for off-site labor management, was placed under the power of the "chief of

management" (*keiri-shunin*, later *kōfu-shunin*, chief of miners) who answered directly to the

office of the mine operator.[33] Like Kaijima, Tagawa included schools and medical facilities as

separate branches of its organizational structure. At the Meiji Coal Mine, the policing section

(*keimu-kakari*) was one of twelve functioning departments under the operator of each colliery.[34]

At all three mines we can identify a similar division in the administration of the mining

32 *Miyata-chōshi, gekan*, 845-848. This same organization structure can be found in a draft of the Kaijima
    company's business regulations (*eigyō kisoku*) from 1903. See the record from the Kaijima company general
    meeting held on 1/30/1903, in Kaijima Kōgyō Gōmei Gaisha, "Ketsugiroku, Meiji 31/7-Meiji 40/3"
    (Unpublished Record, Miyawaka-shi Sekitan Kinenkan).
33 Mitsui Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-9-kan (rōmu 3)" (Unpublished Manuscript,
    Mitsui Bussan, c.1942), 1151; Nagao Tsutomu, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo Teikoku
    Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1907), 299; Kamishima Manzoku, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku" (Unpublished
    Thesis, Kyushu Teikoku Daigaku, Kōgakubu, 1916), 52-53. The official Tagawa history claims that the *keimu-
    kakari* was replaced with the *kōfu-kakari* around 1915, though both of the site reports by mining students list the
    latter as the office title as early as 1907.
34 Miyake Yosuke, "Meiji Tankō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Kyushu Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1916), 12-
    14.
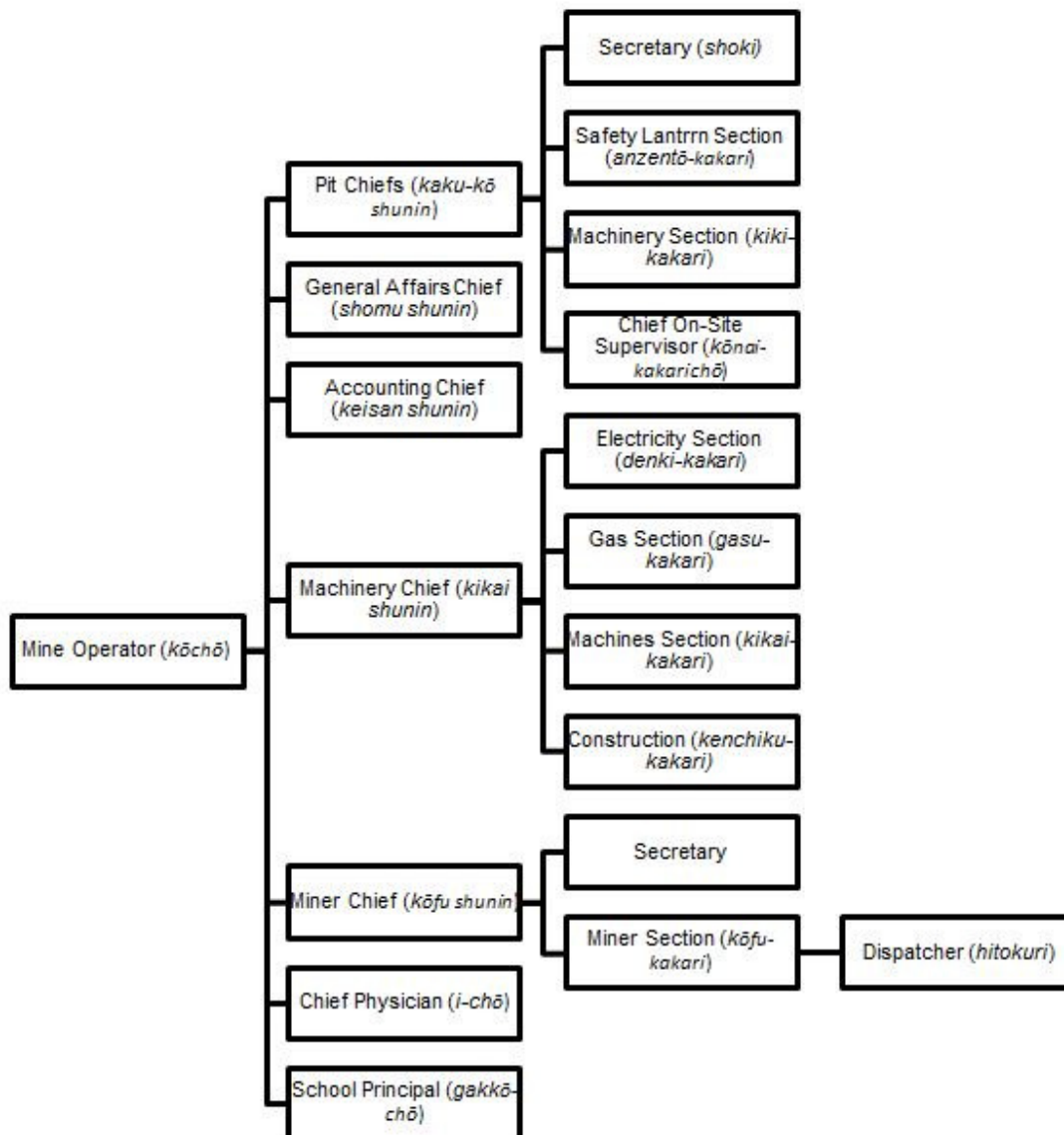
Figure 4: Administrative Structure at Mitsui Tagawa Mine (1916). Modified from the diagram in Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 52-53.

operation, both in terms of the separation of on-site and off-site management, and in terms of the

autonomy granted to a variety of specialities within the enterprise: accounting (*keisan*),

machinery (*kiki*), safety (*hoan*), and medical and educational facilities.

The complex organization of administration and labor at Fukuoka's largest mines

contained both a *constructive* and a *de-constructive* dimension. The mechanization of parts of the

mining process required the recruitment of technical experts and the introduction of sub-

divisions that could efficiently manage and maintain new technologies. Similarly, the rapid

expansion of the industry in the late 1890s, as well the accumulation of vast numbers of laborers,

precluded the dual management of on-site and off-site labor that is generally attributed to early

Meiji mine bosses (*tōryō*). The influx of miners and the constant demand for further recruitment

in the face of labor turnover precipitated the creation of administrative departments that could

focus exclusively on off-site labor management, embodied in the "personnel" and "miner"

sections that appear in the above diagrams. The *naya seido* was also a specific response to the

demand for specialized labor management and thus was usually formally placed under the

authority of the off-site labor section, although barrack chiefs maintained a high degree of

autonomy vis-a-vis the company.[35] Therefore, the expansion, rationalization, and segmentation of

mining administrations was a constructive response to the challenges of modern mine

management.

The bureaucratization of administrative structures also had an important de-constructive

purpose, functioning as a means to neutralize existing social relations and alternative loyalties

that persisted within the mining communities. It is here that the barrack system is crucial to our

discussion. Though the barrack system was a product of the expansion of the mining industry in

the Meiji period, by the turn of the century large mining enterprises were slowly phasing them

out. The Meiji Mining Company was the first in Chikuhō to integrate the *naya gashira* and limit

their powers when they shifted to a system of direct management in 1899. In 1900, six months

after buying the rights to the Tagawa mine, Mitsui similarly dissolved the barrack system. Even

Kaijima, one of the latest of the large companies to adopt direct rule, had almost completely

abolished the barrack system by 1905. What led to the rapid transition from indirect to direct

miner management in Fukuoka's coal mines?

---

35 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 49-57; Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 48-52.

In addition to their recruitment and miner management functions, the barrack chiefs, most of whom were former *tōryō* or prominent miners themselves, were employed for their perceived ability to facilitate stable relations between the mining company and the workforce – to promote "understanding" (*sotsū*) between the two parties, as it was typically phrased. *Naya gashira* were seen as indispensable because they were well acquainted with the "feelings" (*shinjō*) and "customs" (*shūkan*) of the miners. According to one account, barrack chiefs were expected to be intelligent (*rikō*) and attentive to detail (*kayui tokoro ni te ga tadaku*) in management, to have authority (*nirami no kiku koto*) over their workers, and have the ability to control them (*tōgyo no sai*). Furthermore, *naya gashira* needed to be brave (*tokyō*) in order to appeal to the sensibilities of miners: they must "not be domineering or extravagant" (*iharazu ogorazu*), and should be easygoing people (*kudaketaru hito*) who can hold their liquor (*sake wo nomiuru*).[36] It is therefore unsurprising that some commentators were resistant to the abolition of the barrack system, and feared the considerable personnel demands direct rule would place on the company in order to appropriate the responsibilities of the *naya gashira,* or if such measures would even be effective.[37] The same intimate relationship between miners and *naya gashira* was also a source of great trepidation to mine owners. While critiques of the barrack system included the concern that chiefs were ill-suited to the more regulated mining process adopted by most large enterprises, many saw them as a generally destabilizing force. At Mitsui Tagawa, the abolition of the barrack system was stimulated by violent conflicts between chiefs over potential subordinates, which

---

36 Chūo Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku, *Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto kaku-kenka ni okeru rōdō jijō* (Tokyo: Chūo Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku, 1925), 150-151. Despite the late date of its compilation and publication, this report describes mining circumstances that are reminiscent of those of the Meiji period. It does not specify which mines were visited during the author's tour of Kyushu, but it was most likely a smaller mine in which the *naya* system was still utilized.

37 For an example of such a critique, see Sengoku Makoto, "Tanaka-kenjisei sokka ni kotau," *Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppō* 33 (3/1907), 2-3. This article was a response to a piece by chief public prosecutor Tanaka Hideo, discussed in detail in chapter three, in which Tanaka proposed a number of reforms to the Chikuhō Coal Mining Association, one of which was the abolition of the barrack system.

resulted in the murder of one chief and the arrest of another.[38] Moreover, administrators at

Tagawa and elsewhere were apprehensive about the ramifications of the barrack system for

company loyalty. To them, the *naya gashira* represented an alternative locus of commitment and

identification, which could potentially be used to organize large numbers of miners in order to

challenge the authority of the company.[39] The gradual dissolution of the system and its

replacement with direct company rule was a prominent theme in Japanese mining from the

1890s, for it implied the formation of more stable labor relations.

The hierarchical re-articulation of the mining company was thus de-constructive in its

attempts to refashion the relationship between the company and its miners with minimal

dependence on the power of *naya gashira*. The various departments and sections appropriated

many of the tasks previously delegated to barrack chiefs and assigned them to company

personnel. Furthermore, many of the new institutions created by companies during the late Meiji

period were developed with this de-constructive purpose in mind. In fact, the welfare facilities

discussed in the previous chapter, nominally established to promote improved customs and

productivity in the workforce, also served to subvert the authority of *naya gashira*, who were

typically responsible for the welfare of their miners. The savings programs and mutual-aid

associations implicitly undermined the relationship between barrack chief and miner by reducing

the latter's economic dependence on the former while buttressing the paternalistic claims of the

company.[40] Together with the administrative integration of off-site managers into the company

hierarchy, welfare facilities represented the most direct challenges to the role of barrack chiefs in

Chikuhō's (and other) mining enterprises.

---

38 "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-7-kan (rōmu 1)," 223.
39 Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 74; *Kōfu taigū jirei*, 256. For simiar sentiments, see *Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto kaku-kenka ni okeru rōdō jijō*, 151; Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 67.
40 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 119-124; Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 37-40, 83-88.

But the abolition of the *naya gashira* authority was not simply a matter of administrative integration or the appropriation of their paternalistic responsibilities. Though the barrack chiefs' off-site authority was immense, their power was actually derived from their indirect influence on the labor process itself.[41] Specifically, barrack chiefs were put in charge of coal-face allocation and wage distribution, granting them considerable power over the livelihood of the miners. The company typically assigned large sections of the pit to specific *naya gashira* and paid them based on the production of that allocation. It was up to the barrack chief to assign specific coal faces to miners (a process called *aritsuke*, or "settling"), and to distribute the lump-sum wages evenly to the miners. As a result, competition for less dangerous or highly productive coal faces was intense amongst miners, and authority over both work site and pay could be used as an effective means of extortion by unscrupulous barrack chiefs.[42] Additionally, *naya gashira* were expected to provide miners with equipment, "dispatch" (*kurikomi*) them to work each day, and provide occasional on-site surveillance (*junkai*, or "patrol") to ensure productivity. Thus, the work site often indirectly reinforced barrack chief authority and their relationship with miners, despite the formal separation of work and home within the company structure.

It is, therefore, unsurprising that the dissolution of the barrack system and the establishment of direct company authority began with the reformation of workplace protocol in order to constrict the power of *naya gashira*, divide up their tasks, and redistribute them amongst a network of company employees – often trained specialists. With the centralization and growth of mining operations in the 1890s, on-site surveillance was mostly carried out by *kogashira*, or foremen. Many were former *tōryō* or experienced miners, since the position required technical knowledge of mining operations in order to ensure safety and productivity. However, large

---

41 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 64.
42 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 69.

mining operations made direct surveillance at the coal face difficult. The "room and pillar" (*zanchuku-shiki*) method of mining utilized at most operations involved digging narrow tunnels ("rooms") in the hard coal surrounding the main shaft, while relying on strategic pillaring and the integrity of the coal bed for structural support.[43] These rooms were only large enough to fit a single mining unit (one *sakiyama*, or hewer, and one *atoyama*, or hauler), and could extend a considerable distance from the main shaft depending on the size of the coal deposit. Moreover, *kogashira* were usually burdened with the surveillance of 20 to 40 units, implying a very low frequency of direct contact with their miners. As a result, *kogashira* generally had a poor reputation amongst the miners, often being portrayed as lazy or loners in relation to the rest of the workforce.[44] Even though foremen were company employees accountable to the pit mining section, they were ill-suited to disrupt the authority of *naya gashira*, or to prevent the fostering of alternative loyalties.

Instead of relying solely on the direct authority of the foremen, the abolition of the *naya seido* involved the creation of coherent procedures across different departments, for the allocation of coal faces, the distribution of equipment, entrance into the pits, and wages dispensation.[45] At Mitsui Tagawa, coal face allocation was assigned to the pit mining office (*kōnai-kakari*). Coal miners were required to inform the miners office (*kōfu jimusho*) of their intention to enter the mine at least 12 hours prior to the beginning of the desired shift. In return,

---

43 For an excellent introductory discussion of coal mining methods in Chikuhō, see Tagawa-shishi Hensan Iinkai, *Tagawa-shishi, chūkan* (Tagawa: Tagawa Shiyakusho, 1976), 1018-1055. In English, see Richard L. Bullock, "Room-and-Pillar Method of Open-Stope Mining," in Richard E. Gertsch and Richard L. Bullock, eds., *Techniques in Underground Mining: Selections from Underground Mining Methods Handbook* (Littleton: Society for Mining, Metallurgy, and Exploration, 1998), 159-170.

44 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 57-60.

45 Few historical accounts have provided detailed discussions of these elements in on-site mine management, and company documents provide only vague descriptions. Therefore, in discussing these procedures, I rely heavily on the site reports submitted by students of the mining and engineering departments at Tokyo Imperial and Kyushu Imperial universities, which acted as doctoral dissertations. These reports include in-depth descriptions of all aspects of the mining process (often with excellent illustrations) and are an invaluable source of information for changes in mine operation during the Meiji period (and beyond).

they would receive a mining permit (*saitan-shō*), which listed personal information as well as

their assigned coal face, and a safety lamp permit (*anzentō-shōmeishō*) to be brought to the mine

shaft at the start of the shift.[46] Upon arrival, they were to exchange their lamp permit for a safety

lamp, and to submit their mining permit to an officer stationed at the guard house (*mihari-jo*) at

the mine's entrance, where they would receive a stack of 10 coal cards, each with a matching

number. The name of the miner, their coal face, and the number listed on the coal card would all

be recorded at the guard house and the miner would be permitted to enter the shaft.[47] At their

assigned section of the pit, miners would receive instructions from the *kogashira*, as well as their

expected yield for the day (measured in boxes), based on the difficulty of the coal face and its

distance from the main shaft.[48]

While working the coal face, miners were to transport their coal to a rail cart in the

primary mine shaft, and, upon filling a cart, were to attach one of their numbered mine cards to it

as a sign of identification. The cart would then be sent to the coal sorting section (*sentan-kakari*),

where its quality could be assessed and the 'actual' number of boxes mined was determined. This

number would be reported to the pit mining section, where the final wage could be calculated.

The miners, when leaving the mine, would have their estimated yield and wages listed on their

mining permits by the *kogashira*, and would return the permits (along with their remaining mine

cards) to the officer at the guard house to have the data recorded. According to the 1907 report

from Tagawa, bonuses were calculated by the *kōnai-kakari*, based on the number of boxed

produced beyond the expected yield, and distributed with wages. By 1916, however, it seems

---

46   Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 59.
47   Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku," 308.
48   Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 59; Furuya Kaneichirō, "Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1911), 187.

that bonuses were dispensed by the officer at the guard house during the miner's departure.[49] At

any rate, wages were calculated by the pit mining section, with deductions made for bath and

house maintenance, and reported to the accounting (*kaikei*) department. The pit mining section

would then distribute pay slips to the miners, which could be redeemed for cash from the

accounting department or the "cash dispensation officer" (*genkin suitō-kakari*).[50] Depending on

the mine and the year, cash payments were made on a daily (Meiji Coal Mine, Tagawa in 1907)

or monthly (Tagawa in 1911 and 1916) basis.[51] The above procedures were similar at all of

Chikuhō's large mining enterprises by the end of the Meiji period.[52]

    There are several distinguishing features to this mining process. To begin with, the

process is characterized by *clarity* and *rationality*. All expectations and responsibilities, both of

the miners and the officers, were made explicit by the administration. Production standards were

clarified and calculated consistently, and specific tasks, from the distribution of permits to the

recording of specific information, were assigned to narrowly defined positions within the

company hierarchy – such as the "arrival officer" (*chakutō-kakari*), who was responsible only for

record keeping at the guard house. Moreover, procedures were reinforced and stabilized through

---

49 Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku," 309; Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 59.

50 Payment in cash represented a direct challenge to the practice, common at the turn of the century, of issuing company scrip – called "mine notes" (*tankō-satsu*) or "tickets" (*kippu* or *ken*) – in lieu of cash remuneration. Scrip has often been depicted as a form of company-based exploitation, seemingly contributing to the general desire to prevent labor turnover, by making the miners economically dependent on their employer. By the early 1900s, however, this practice became increasingly unpopular. In 1904, Takanoe Mototarō severely criticized the use of company scrip, claiming that while it served as a convenience (*benpō*) for the companies, it was harmful to employees. Reflecting these concerns, by the early 1900s Mitsui and other companies offered cash payments as a sign of benevolence, though deductions for housing and welfare programs persisted. See Takanoe Mototarō, "Tankō kippu ni tsuite," *Geppō* 4 (10/1904): 5-10; Lewis, "The Coalfield Riots," 204-205.

51 Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku," 307; Miyake, "Meiji Tankō hōkoku," 157; Furuya, "Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 187; Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 71. At those mines that dispensed wages on a daily basis, time was required for the company to calculate and record the wages. Therefore, payment was staggered by one (Meiji) or three (Tagawa) days, with the miner receiving remuneration for prior work. In the case of Tagawa, this staggering was offset by the company forwarding three days average pay to the miner upon recruitment.

52 Miyake, "Meiji Tankō hōkoku," 153-157. For the same process at Kaijima Ōnoura, see Narazaki Kazue, "Ōnoura Tankō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1909), 105-107.

an extensive system of *documentation* and paper transactions: every officer was expected to maintain records related to productivity – miner attendance, wages, aid requirements, bonuses, etc. – and to report to the head of their section. Every day, the "general mine officer" (*saitan zenbu-kakari*) tabulated a results table (*seiseki-hyō*) and submitted it to the General Affairs Office, while the arrival officer would forward his data to the mine secretary (also at the General Affairs Office).[53] Documentation not only provided a means of ensuring high productivity, it also produced knowledge about the miners themselves and embedded them in a network of social transactions with company personnel. As a result, these procedures implied a process of *individualization*, realized through the simultaneous exercises of surveillance and incentivization, and facilitated by careful documentation.[54] Individualized procedures removed the miner from the supposedly exploitative authority of the *naya gashira*, who could no longer wield economic and social power over his subordinates. Liberated from oppressive anonymity, in which individual identity was absorbed in barrack chief authority, mine owners offered their employees both short-term (immediate bonuses for high productivity) and long-term (schooling, medical care, and other welfare facilities) rewards for their commitment and efforts. These procedures, however, also increasingly placed miners under the unwavering gaze of company officers, which facilitated increased company intervention in their daily lives.

The abolition of on-site *naya gashira* authority and the individualized surveillance of the miners was facilitated by two further regulatory and technological innovations in the late Meiji period. With the adoption of various underground technologies, such as safety lamps (*anzentō*), explosives, mechanized rails, and large scale ventilation systems, the mine shaft became increasingly populated by an equally diverse set of technicians and special supervisors. Safety

---

53 Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 63-66. For the significance of documentation as a regulatory apparatus and as a means of knowledge production, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 250-251.
54 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 192-193.

officers (*hoan-kakari*), explosives officers (*kayaku-kakari*), and machinists (*kiki-kakari*) complemented the supplemental miner occupations, such as pillaring experts, dynamite experts, and workmen, and were responsible for ensuring the safe and regulated use of equipment.[55] The employment of these experts was stipulated in the government's Mining Police Regulations (*Kōgyō keisatsu kisoku*) of 1892 (revised and expanded in 1916 with the promulgation of the Factory Law), which set the regulatory standards for Japan's mines and clearly delineated the responsibilities of mine owners.[56] However, these officers remained company employees, and their contact with coal face miners acted as an infrequent reminder of company authority.

This increased regulation culminated in the adoption of "longwall mining" (*chōheki-shiki*) in select mines during the late Meiji period, most notably at Tagawa in 1907. Longwall mining consists of the synchronous extraction of a single, large (usually 200m in length) coal face by anywhere between 20 and 40 mining units.[57] By 1916, Tagawa was even experimenting with group mining as a means of preventing uneven extraction, resulting in the breaking up the typical two-person units that had predominated until then.[58] Longwall mining made the simultaneous surveillance of large numbers of miners possible and brought officers into closer proximity with the workforce. Together, these innovations effectively removed the remnants of *naya gashira* control in the coal pits, or that of off-site managers in general, and firmly embedded miners in an expansive network of company officials, through whom daily professional interaction came to take place.

---

55 A set of regulations for these underground officers (*kōnai-kakari'in*) from the Mitsubishi Mining Company was reprinted in the early issues of the Chikuhō Coal Mining Associations journal. See "Kōnai kakari'in no kokore," in *Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppo*, issues 6-9.

56 The original regulations of 1892 can be found reprinted in *Kōzan hōrei* (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1892), 55-59. The more detailed regulations of 1916, in which the responsibilities of these on-site officers are delineated clear, is reprinted in *Waga kuni ni okeru sangyō saigai yobō no gaikyō* (Tokyo: Shakaikyoku Rōdōbu, 1928), 89-115.

57 For a general discussion of longwall mining, see Hans Hamrin, "Choosing an Underground Mining Technique," in *Techniques in Underground Mining,* 57-65.

58 Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 60-63.

Re-Articulating Off-Site Management: The Dissolution of Naya Gashira *Power*

The decline of *naya gashira* authority in the coal pits, and the dissemination of their

powers across a broad network of company administrators constituted a vital precondition for the

limitation of barrack chief authority in general. Unlike in the coal pits, however, *naya gashira*

retained considerable power over the daily lives of their subordinates within the barracks, a more

durable authority. Even as the barrack system was abolished and the responsibilities of the chiefs

absorbed into "personnel sections" or "miner sections," the basic social relationships that

characterized the *naya seido* remained firmly ingrained. In some cases, former *naya gashira*

were retained as managers by the company. But even when they were not, the preservation of

stability and good conduct in the barracks was dependent upon prominent miners who could

mediate between the company and the communities, constituting what Ichihara Hiroshi has

referred to as the enduring "sub-system" of mine management.[59] Unlike the *naya gashira*,

however, these representatives were assigned a restricted set of responsibilities and were subject

to substantial company intervention. We can therefore see a similar process of the division and

dissemination of *naya gashira* tasks in the communities themselves.

The organization of off-site management varied considerably by mine. At most mines,

off-site managers reported directly to the personnel or miner sections and went under a number

of titles: for example, "managers" (*hitoguri* or *sewanin*) at Mitsui Tagawa and "miner officials"

(*kōfu-kakari*) at Kaijima's mines. At the Meiji Coal Mine, the barracks were divided into groups

(*kumi*) and houses (*ka*), with group heads (*kumi-gashira*) usually being assigned a row of family

residences, and house heads (*kachō*) managing large barracks for single miners. Direct miner

management also took on a more progressive tone in the 1910s. In 1919, Mitsui Tagawa

abolished the *sewanin* system and adopted its own version of the *ku/kumi* system practiced at the

59 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 82-83

Meiji mine. Within this system, large numbers of barracks were lumped into single divisions (*ku*), usually co-equivalent with a row of houses, with the miner section (*kōfu-kakari*) selecting a prominent member of each division as division head (*kuchō*) in order to ease communication between the company and the miners. Additionally, single rows of barracks democratically selected a row head (*jūchō*) every year during elections that took place at the miner office (*kōfu jimusho*). Voting was limited to heads of families, and nominees had to be males of at least 25 years of age, employed at the mine for over a year, and have families.[60] The row head was expected to assist the division heads and other officials in managing and maintaining the barracks. Despite this diversity, managers, groups heads, and division heads shared a similar set of obligations: hiring and firing employees for the company, maintaining proper moral behavior and customs in the barracks, ensuring miner attendance at work, daily rounds of the pit, and dispensing punishments.[61] Moreover, all of these management systems – especially the latter – brought the miners and their interests into closer proximity to the company, allowing for more streamlined communication between the two parties.

As with on-site surveillance, the authority of the managers that replaced *naya gashira* in the barrack communities was proscribed, with many of their responsibilities being distributed to specialized company officers. The most crucial appropriation by the companies was that of labor recruitment. *Naya gashira* often despised the financial burden of recruiting workers,[62] which included their own travel expenses as well as those of their new subordinates, but utilized it as a crucial means of cultivating initial bonds between miner and chief. When recruiting, barrack chiefs forwarded money to their wards, and provided them with daily necessities and work supplies upon arrival. Consequently, their relationship with the miners was characterized by a

---

60 "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-9-kan (rōmu 3)," 1125-1128.
61 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 78-82.
62 Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 115.

combination of paternal benevolence through welfare or aid, and financial exploitation through loans or wage manipulation – both reinforced by *naya gashira* power in the mines.[63] For the companies, direct recruitment constituted a means of intervening in the formation of barrack chief authority, as well as a mechanism through which company-employee relations could be actively fostered.

In most companies, recruitment consisted of two primary methods: direct application (*shigan*) to the company and the stationing of agents (*shūsen-jin*) in distant localities. While the former required minimal investment by the company, dispatching agents incurred considerable costs, though agents procured more than half of most mine's employees. Agents were often former miners living in different regions, or those with local networks that could assist in identifying potential workers. They would typically either set up a recruiting station or tour a given region in hopes of attracting surplus labor. Regulation and documentation were notable characteristics of the recruitment process, with the company clearly delineating the roles and responsibilities of each party. Recruiters were increasingly subject to explicit procedures and regulations, while potential employees were provided with the company's miner regulations before undergoing a thorough examination process.[64] Applicants were required to confirm their identity, place of residence, educational background, and work experience, followed by a physical examination to assess suitability for work in the mines. All of these efforts were recorded and filed in the company offices, and were part of the same process of individualization

---

63 Nagasue, *Chikuhō*, 106-107. According to Ichihara, the *naya gashira*-miner relationship was often so ingrained that many barrack chiefs would be accompanied by all their subordinates when moving from one company to another, even though miners to technically contracted to the company itself. This relationship was initially fostered through the direct recruitment by *naya gashira*, in which miners would become both economically and socially dependant on their guarantors. Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 37-38.

64 For recruiter regulations at the Meiji Coal Mine, see Miyake, "Meiji Tankō hōkoku," 345. A series of more detailed regulations from the Miike Coal Mine in southern Fukuoka prefecture are reproduced in Hashimoto Tetsuya, "1900-1910-nendai no Miike Tankō: sekitan sangyō no sangyō shihon kakuritsu wo megutte," *Mitsui bunko ronsō* 5 (1971), 40-49.

that was achieved in the coal pits.[65]

Before initiating the hiring process, recruiters at Tagawa distributed a pamphlet that listed a number of perquisites guaranteed by the company, including:[66] provision of travel funds, paid training, free housing, the sale of work equipment at wholesale price, free schooling and medical care, eight hour work days, performance-based rewards, and cash payments. All of these benefits and their mode of articulation are representative of the de-constructive and re-constructive processes that characterized direct labor management. Many of the articles constitute a direct undermining of the authority previously held by barrack chiefs, which now fell under the purview of the company itself. Travel expenses, medical care, training, and work supplies were all originally provided by barrack chiefs, and came to be associated with their social and economic exploitation of miners. Now, they were absorbed into the structure of the mining company and presented as incentives. More importantly, the pamphlet marginalized the recruiter vis-à-vis the miners and the company: "Because the agent will receive adequate compensation from this company, the recruited miner should not provide any additional remuneration (*reikin*) to [the agent]". This statement, the only one to acknowledge the presence of the agent at all, prohibits the creation of an independent relationship with the miner, and functions to turn the recruiter into a passive middleman whose responsibility consists only of facilitating a dialogue between the company and a prospective employee. In place of the *naya gashira*, who acted as recruiter, guarantor, and provider for miners, the recruiting agent was a mere representative of the company, an anonymous employee in an all-encompassing bureaucracy.

The dual process of bureaucratic differentiation and dissemination exemplified by the

---

65 For complete descriptions of the recruitment process at various mines, many of which include reproductions of employee regulations, see Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku," 302-305; Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 75-76; Miyake, "Meiji Tankō hōkoku," 345-351. For a general overview, see Ogino, *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi*, 112-115.
66 Pamphlet is inserted between pages 302 and 303 of Nagao, "Tagawa Tankō hōkoku".

recruiting system also took place in the barracks themselves. While the *kumi-gashira* and

hitoguri retained effective control over daily life in the housing communities, as managers and as

representatives of miner interest, various responsibilities related to off-site management

increasingly came under the jurisdiction of specialized officers. The most prominent official

introduced under direct rule was the hygiene officer (*eisei kakari'in*), who was responsible for

ensuring clean and hygienic living conditions for the miners. Typically, these officers were

placed in charge of distributing cleaning tasks to resident miners, though they often delegated

much of this responsibility to prominent barrack residents. At the Kaneda Coal Mine, for

example, the hygiene officer assigned a hygiene manager (*eisei sewakakari*) to each barrack, in

charge of setting up the cleaning schedule.[67]

Yasukawa Keiichirō's Akaike Coal Mine had a more complex structure. A single hygiene

official for the whole mine was placed under the authority of the head of off-site management

(*kōgai torishimari kakari-chō*). He was assigned the tasks of "surveying (*kanshi*) general

hygiene" and quickly implementing sanitation (*shōdoku*) measures to prevent the spread of

infectious diseases.[68] The regular sanitary maintenance of the living quarters, however, was left

to the "barrack miners hygiene association" (*naya kōfu eisei kumiai*), which split the community

into 5 large wards (*ku*), each administered by an assigned section chief (*kumi gashira*). The

section chief, himself a miner in the community, promoted cleanliness in the barracks, including

a monthly "large cleaning" (*ō-sōji*) in which all of the barracks were to participate.[69] For the most

part, hygiene managers were expected to ensure a healthy supply of drinking water, prevent the

irresponsible use of fire or braziers, and to stem the spread of disease, leaving daily practice to a

---

67 "Kaneda Tankō kinjō," *Geppō* 43 (1/1908), 25.
68 "Akaike tankō shiryō," *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 14 (3/1993), 18-19.
69 The regulations for the hygiene association are included in "Akaike tankō shiryō," 34.

"sub-system" homologous to the one that governed the barracks themselves.[70] Even though most miners rarely came into contact with the hygiene officials themselves, the frequent, regulated cleaning activities and the presence of lower-level hygiene representatives acted as a constant reminder of the miners' relationship to the company.

Another official post that limited the power of off-site supervisors (former *naya gashira,* and prominent miners) while reinforcing company authority was the *seigan junsa*, or the "petitioned officer". Starting in the 1890s, an increasing number of mines retained one or more contracted police officers to enforce law and order in the communities. This number only increased with the abolition of the *naya seido*. Under the Meiji government's "petitioned officer regulations," enacted in 1881 and supplemented by a set of regulations in Fukuoka prefecture in 1883, private enterprises or local assemblies could petition the prefectural government to station policemen under their jurisdiction for a limited amount of time.[71] The petitioner was required to pay, house, and equip the officer. At the mines, petitioned officers were typically posted in a guardhouse at the mine entrance or at the outskirts of the miner residence areas. The *seigan junsa* brought with him the symbolic power of the Meiji state and acted as an alternative source of law and order in the communities.[72] Petitioned officers thus represented a more regulated form of order than the barrack chiefs or managers, although both were expected to patrol the communities and maintain stability.

---

70 Furuya, "Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 192; "Akaike tankō shiryō," 34.
71 The *seigan junsa* remains an under-examined component of Meiji era policing, with few historical accounts available. For a discussion of the system as it was set up in Fukuoka, mostly consisting of the prefectural regulations themselves, see *Fukuoka-ken keisatsu shi, Meiji Taisho-hen* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Keisatsu Honbu, 1978), 814-818.
72 Under the national and prefectural regulations, the officer's primary loyalty remained with the department, and he could be withdrawn from his petitioned post unilaterally in times of need (*Fukuoka-ken keisatsu shi*, 815). Therefore, he represented a less arbitrary form of justice than that wielded by *naya gashira*. The recruitment pamphlet distributed by the Mitsui Tagawa Coal Mine channels this stable authority by stating that order in the mine is enforced by a "resident officer" (*chūzai junsa*), which reinforces its implicit attempt to present the mine as devoid of the corrupting influence of *naya gashira.*

It is therefore no surprise that the two – managers and petitioned officers – co-existed with a degree of tension. This tension is explicit in the daily accounts (*nisshi*) of the "miner manager" (*kōfu torishimari*) at Aso Takichi's Kamimio Coal Mine from 1898. Kamimio had abolished the barrack system earlier in 1898, and had placed two *kōfu torishimari* in charge of managing the communities, with the foremen, dispatchers, and other officers placed under their authority. For the most part, however, direct management was delegated to former *naya gashira* and other prominent miners, as was the case at most mines, and the *torishimari* occupied himself with hiring and firing miners, preventing escape, and dispensing punishments – simply put, policing.[73] At the same time, petitioned policemen regularly patrolled the barrack communities to prevent illegal gambling, excessive drinking, and violent outbursts. For example, when the patrolling policeman discovered a case of illegal gambling on 8/17/1898 and attempted to take the miscreants into custody (*inchi-suru*), the miner manager intervened and pleaded that the situation be left to him (*torishimari ni makase*) "just this once" with the promise that he would thwart further misconduct. The same negotiation over authority took place later that same day when another case of illegal gambling was discovered, with similar results.[74] This scenario is demonstrative of both the tensions and the cohesion of the relationship between *seigan junsa* and other mine managers. On the one hand, there was clear competition, a repeated negotiation over the legitimate intervention in the barracks; the policemen attempted to parlay their public authority into the communities, while off-site managers implicitly appealed to a tradition of informal rule in the barracks, the type of rule previously embodied by the *naya gashira*. On the

---

73 Ichihara Hiroshi provides a detailed background discussion of these records and the structure of administration at Kamimio, though he mostly uses the diaries to juxtapose the harsh nature of punishments under the direct rule system to the more humane practices of *naya gashira*. Here, my focus is on the relationship with stationed police officers, another prominent theme in the daily records. Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 75-78.

74 Imano Takashi, "Aso-ke bunsho shiryō shōkai (sono-yon): 'Kōfu torishimari nisshi' (1)," *Enerugii-shi kenkyū nōto* 9 (12/1977), 85.

other hand, despite the apparent conflict between the two, they were unified as representatives of

the *company's* desire for stability in the mines. Their competition took place within the context of

their legitimized roles within the company, and thus only served to reinforce the concept of direct

rule. As with the hygiene officers, the deployment of police officers facilitated the reduction and

division of authority within the coal mining community, while embedding those disseminated

powers within an articulated administrative structure.

The Implicit Pedagogy of Coal Mining Society

Together, the gradual decline of *naya gashira* power and the creation of a vast network of

specialized company posts constituted the institutional bedrock of the *re-educative* project

explored in chapter three, in which mine owners attempted to reform miner conduct and replace

the depraved customs of the barrack communities with a culture of thrift, hard work, and

company loyalty. In doing so, the reformation of the institutional framework of mining

enterprises represented a de-constructive and re-constructive process, or what Pierre Bourdieu

has called de-culturation and re-culturation,[75] intrinsic to all implicit pedagogies that "obtai[n]

the respect for form and forms of respect which constitute the most visible and at the same time

the best-hidden... manifestation of submission to the established order".[76] The re-education of

subjects through the mundane – clothing, etiquette, basic procedures, simple protocols – acts as

both an effective means of transmitting a series of underlying values or assumptions and of

legitimizing the authority of one party to do so (here, the mine owner and managers as

representatives of the company). The assertion of direct company control at the mines took place,

ironically, through indirect means: not through violent exploitation or displays of company

---

75 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977), 94-95; Bourdieu
    and Passeron, *Reproduction*, 44-45
76 Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 95.

authority, but through the gradual transformation of the very relationships that constituted the quotidian in the mining communities.

Furthermore, as with formal pedagogical settings, mining companies placed their workers within a *sequenced* and *evaluative* framework.[77] To elaborate, the administrative structures and regulations implemented at most major mining companies during the Meiji period allow for the reconstruction of the typical labor process that seemingly emerged in the early 20th century. Under the barrack system of management the daily life and work of miners was characterized by a continuity of personal interactions with the barrack chief. In contrast, direct management was distinguished by impersonal interactions, in which an association with the company often constituted the sole commonality between two employees. Miners would be recruited by a company agent, but relocated at the expense of the company and enticed with company benefits. The houses they lived in were owned by the company and managed by an official, who would typically only show his face in extreme situations, while their daily lives were supervised by prominent miners endowed with temporary authority, contingent upon company recognition.

Every morning they were awakened and rallied to work by one person, received their lantern from another, registered at the mine through a third, before receiving final instructions from the foreman. Despite working in small, intimate units (until longwall mining became more prominent), specialists were needed for dynamite use, pillaring, or the inspection of work. Miners were assessed immediately by the foremen, but did not receive a formal pay stub until they exited the mine, and usually went to a completely different section of the company to obtain their pay. At smaller mines, gate officers or foremen would be the same each day, but at larger mines the faces likely changed quite frequently, and few personal bonds could be formed with

---

77 Basil Bernstein has emphasized sequencing and evaluation as two features of any pedagogic process or medium ("pedagogic device"). Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Pedagogic Practice," in *Class, Codes, and Control, Volume IV: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (London: Routledge, 1990), 57-61.

one's superiors. It was this impersonal structure, together with individualized evaluation

practices, that allowed the company to inculcate its desired mode of work and daily life without

risking the creation of alternative loyalties. For miners, daily work would have been a constant

lesson in the importance of order and productivity, punctuated by exercises of pedagogical

authority (exhortation, explanation, correction, and evaluation) by low-level managers whose

power was derived solely from their relative positions in the company administration.

As with all pedagogical relationships, interactions between miners and managers, or

miners and the company in general, were characterized by "asymmetry".[78] Miners were located

near the bottom of the company hierarchy and interacted with all officers as subordinates. By the

mid-1910s, the implicit pedagogical authority attributed to members of the hierarchy was

increasingly reinforced by *explicit* educational accreditation, mostly through the burgeoning

technical schools and engineering programs of the late Meiji period. Even with the introduction

of new technologies, formally-acquired technical knowledge took time to find acceptance in the

mines of Fukuoka. Trained specialists were perceived as lacking practical experience and being

unable to relate to the average laborer; hence, more and more schools began to emphasize on-site

training, as discussed in chapter three.[79] At some mines, the rejection of technical school

graduates was more tenacious. Kaijima Tasuke, for example, tended to promote based on

personal connection or seniority, reflecting an emphasis on company loyalty.[80] However, in

conjunction with the rationalization and division of administrative duties at Fukuoka's coal

mines, there was a general trend towards the employment of specialists trained at the technical

---

78 Bernstein, "Social Class and Pedagogic Practice," 57.
79 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 55-56.
80 *Miyata-chōshi*, 853. As late as 1909, a report from the Kaijima Ōnoura Mine critiqued the quality of technical experts at the mine, referring to their lack of technical knowledge and the tendency to promote internally. Mikawa Kazuichi, "Ōnoura Tankō chōsa hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1909), 134-135.

schools and imperial universities.

At a few mines, a coherent hierarchy of schools was internally articulated, resulting, at least in theory, in a high correlation between one's schooling and one's position in the company.[81] Mitsui's mines at Miike and Tagawa provide the best example of this process. The Mitsui School of Industry (Mitsui Kōgyō Gakkō), which was founded on the grounds of the Miike mine, was established in 1907 and provided a full science and engineering education. Applicants were required to have completed an upper elementary (*kōtō shōgaku*) degree or two years of a secondary (*chūgaku*) school program (or to have passed an equivalency test), with priority being granted to Mitsui employees. Successful graduates would be hired (or promoted) as *kōshu* (technician), the highest rank of on-site managers.[82] Formalized training programs for specialists and managers were also created within individual mines to spur internal promotion. Both Miike and Tagawa established night schools (*yagakkai*) to train young officers internally. The Miike school, which began as an informal study group in 1904, was moved to the grounds of the School of Industry in 1908. Tagawa's program, which was established at the mine's elementary school, did not commence until 1913, but maintained the same general structure as the former. Students could only enroll through the recommendation of a department chief (*shunin*) and were expected to complete an entry examination. Classes met 2-3 times per week, with most students receiving certification in about three years, though the course duration was not fixed. The curriculum, which was split into a general (*futsū-ka*) and practical (*jikka*) course, consisted of a general education at the secondary school level, as well as technical training. Graduates of the

---

81 This gradual articulation of educational institutions, both within single enterprises and within industries, was not limited to (coal) mining. Yukiko Fukasaku has examined a similar process in the ship-building industry through a discussion of the Mitsubishi Nagasaki shipyards. Fukasaku, *Technology and Industrial Development in Pre-War Japan: Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard, 1884-1934* (London: Routledge, 1992), 57-78.

82 "Shiritsu Mitsui Kōgyō Gakkō setsuritsu shinsei no koto," in *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunen shi, dai-ni kan: shiryō hen, Meiji (2)* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1978), 915-922

programs were promoted to the rank of *minarai* (on-the-job learners), the lowest rank of on-site supervisors.[83] The night schools were intended to produce skilled employees and managers internally, and offered students the ability to circumvent the typical application process for certain posts.[84]

The establishment of training programs in the mining industry had a profound effect on the structure of mining companies. In an analogous process to the "educationalization of the occupational structure" that Fritz Ringer identified in the formation of European educational systems during the 19th century,[85] positions within Japanese mining companies were increasingly determined by the social capital bestowed by educational accreditation. To once again use Mitsui Tagawa as an example, by 1916 the management structure of the mine was increasingly articulated in terms of educational background. The mine's chief operator was typically a doctorate, or the holder of an engineering degree from one of the imperial universities. Section chiefs, such as the individual in charge of the pit mining section, also generally held engineering degrees, though promotion based on exemplary work at lower levels of management persisted. Graduates of industrial and technical schools (including the Mitsui School of Industry) started with a rank of technician, while *minarai* were recruited internally through examination or the *yagakkai*. Moreover, promotion was restricted, based on one's *starting* position. Foremen, who

---

83 For the history and regulations of the Miike night school during the Meiji period, see Mitsui Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha, "Miike Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-2-kan (hishoka 11)" (Unpublished Manuscript, Mitsui Bussan, c.1942), 4903-4916. For the similar regulations from Tagawa, see "Mitsui Tagawa Kōgyōjo," in Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, *Kaisha kōjo-nado ni okeru jitsugyō hoshū kyōiku shisetsu no jōkyō* (Tokyo: Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, 1919), 287-292. At both schools, the "practical" course consisted of an advanced training program offered to *minarai* on an as-needed basis.
84 The Miike Coal Mine also established an apprenticeship (*totei*) program for elementary school graduates (miners or factory workers) with a desire to work in the mine's machine production factory (*seisaku kōjō*). After the three year training course, apprentices would be promoted to the status of workman (*shokkō*) and would be employed full time at the factory. Nakajima Yūzō, "Miike Tankō manda-kō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Kyushu Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1915), 11; Shimizu Susumu, "Miike Tankō manda-kō hōkoku" (Unpublished Thesis, Kyushu Teikoku Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1922), 5.
85 Fritz Ringer, "Introduction," in Muller, Ringer, and Simon, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 7.

were hired based on experience and their personal relationships with miners and workers, could only reach the rank of technician, while *minarai* could be promoted to chief technician (*kōshu-chō*). Those with formal degrees, even from industrial schools, could theoretically become chief operator at the mine.[86] Accreditation through training programs thus placed strict limitations on the chance of promotion for those lacking formal training. For miners, many of whom had only recently been exposed to mandatory schooling, these limitations precluded social mobility.[87]

Most importantly, the determination of status based on accreditation reinforced the pre-eminent role of the company as a unifying force in mining society. On the one hand, the companies themselves – especially larger corporations like Mitsui – operated their own schools and sponsored their own students at the larger industrial schools and universities. As discussed in chapter three, this was often depicted as an extension of the paternalistic ideal embodied in the promotion of primary education.[88] On the other hand, accreditation provided companies with increased control over the allocation of individuals, or at least the rules of allocation, within their

---

86 Kamishima, "Mitsui Tagawa Tankō honkō hōkoku," 53-54.
87 The emergence of a system of industrial schools that influenced the articulation of hierarchy within mining enterprises was not a unique phenomenon to Japan. In fact, the German school system seemingly had a considerable influence on the eventual Japanese approach. According to a laudatory report by Watanabe Toshio, an engineering professor at Kyoto Imperial University, the German system was characterized by its intimate development with the mines themselves. Many schools were established in close proximity to mines and factories, and with the support of owners, in order to facilitate a better practical education. Furthermore, in Germany, one's starting point in the company hierarchy was similarly determined by schooling. Foremen (*kogashira*, nachsteiger) generally underwent a combination of an apprenticeship program with several years of mining experience, while section chiefs (*saikō-kata*, abtheilung steiger) within the mines and general mine managers (*saikō torishimari*, fahr steiger) required different quantities of training at industrial schools (*jitsugyō gakkō*). Those from industrial schools and the universities often became operators or even owners of small mines. The similarities with the structure at the Mitsui mines is evident. See "Watanabe-kōgakushi no doitsu-koku kōgyō kyōiku chōsa hōkoku," *Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppō* 16 (10/1905), 39-43.
88 The Kaijima Mining Company is notable in this regard, since its management was sceptical of the quality of managers with higher educational degrees. In 1912, the Kaijima company established an apprenticeship school (*totei yōseijo*) for training technicians, specifically in the fields of machinery and electricity. The program was two years in length and included both an academic and practical component. Furthermore, in 1917, Kaijima created the Ikuei-kai (scholarship association), in order to provide financial assistance for Kaijima employees (or their children) attending industrial schools or the imperial universities. Both of these programs were restricted to Kaijima employees, and reflected the family's concern with rewarding long-term service and loyalty to the company. *Kaijima shōgakkō kyōikushi*, 152-155; *Miyata-chōshi*, 401-403. For a more detailed discussion of the various schools run by Kaijima, see the education section of the unpublished 70-year history of the Kaijima company. "Kajima-ke no kyōiku jigyō, ryakki," Unpublished Manuscript, Miyawaka-shi Sekitan Kinenkan, A-10 2-4, c.1955.

administrations. As an attempt to further deconstruct and reconstruct relationships in the mining

community, the requirement of technical training minimized the influence of informal, non-

rational methods of promotion that predominated earlier. This rationalization of company

hierarchies implied the legitimation of both a hierarchic principle (position based on formal

schooling) and a body of knowledge (technical and scientific knowledge). And since these

standards were implemented and enforced by the company, they served to further distinguish it

as the locus of authority within the mining industry. If the refinement of administrative structures

emphasized company authority horizontally, formal schooling accentuated the pre-eminence of

the company vertically and hierarchically.

Finally, the company unity articulated through the reformed work process and the

promotion of formal degrees was accompanied by the increased spatial cohesion of mining

enterprises.[89] The mine shaft was always the focal point of mining operations, with company

housing complexes generally located in close proximity to the pit in order to facilitate easy

access for employees. However, with an increase in the miner population, the development of

welfare facilities, and the expansion of company offices, the areas surrounding the mine shafts

became dense assemblages of the myriad institutions required for life in the mines. The stations

most relevant to the mining process, such as coal sorting and the offices of technicians, occupied

the space in closest proximity to the mine shaft. Nearby were the company offices, from which

the process was co-ordinated, as well as the company hospital and, often, the company store. If

the mine operated a school or nursery, it was also typically located here, to facilitate drop offs on

the way to work. The remainder of the area was dedicated to staff (*shokuin*) and miner

---

[89] This discussion is derived from Yasutake Atsuko and Kikuchi Shigetomo, "Chikuhō Yamada ni okeru ōte kigyō no tankō shūraku kensetsu katei," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun-shū* 540 (2/2001): 105-110; and Honda Akishi and Yamashita Ryōji, "'Kōfu naya' kara 'kōfu shataku' e no hatten katei ni tsuite: tankō jūtaku keikaku ni kansuru shiteki kenkyū (1)," *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun hōkokushū* 375 (5/1987): 76-86

residences, all of which were subsumed under the broad category of "company housing" (*shataku*), and which varied in size and design based on the rank of the tenants as well as when they were constructed. Interspersed between the residences were bath houses, social halls, and local shrines. Additionally, most mines included an open field (*gurando*), used for sports, large gatherings, and general recreation. All of these facilities were owned and operated by the company, and together they were intended to meet the daily requirements of the miners, both physically and spiritually. Miners did not only move between a complex network of company officials, work and leisure took them from one company-operated facility to the next, each reinforcing their role as employees, and each subjected to the same kind of regulations and procedures that progressively characterized the labor process itself. By the early 20th century, many mining communities had truly become a "world apart," both socially and spatially, with all of its features coinciding with the extent of the company.

Miner Identity: Counter-Narratives

The educational function of the institutional reforms and detailed regulations that characterized mine management in the early 20th century could be seen as a potentially all-encompassing, intrusive ruling apparatus, with miners appearing as passive subjects as their old social relationships were dissolved and they became embedded in a complex, rationalized corporate structure. The means of individualization, assessment, and employee-ization presented thus far have come together to constitute a seemingly restrictive, dominating re-education process. Furthermore, the common portrayal of mines as enclosed enclaves, cut off from the rest of the world, conjures up images of Goffman's 'total institution,' or Foucault's 'complete and austere institution,' which "must assume responsibility for all aspects of the individual, his physical training, his aptitude to work, his everyday conduct, his moral attitude, his state of

275

mind... an unceasing discipline".[90] Mine companies' claims of success in their reform efforts and the gradually declining turnover rates may also leave the impression that these efforts were successful, that the values, identities, and social relationships endorsed by the company were internalized by the workforce. Such a conclusion, however, would be premature.

The success or failure of any educational venture is difficult to ascertain, since one has few means of discerning whether values or identities have been actively embraced by subjects. It is also unlikely "coal miners," as a heterogeneous occupational class (in terms of background, home region, sex, etc.), experienced uniform responses to the pedagogical efforts of the companies. Moreover, even if the mining communities experienced less turnover, and coal miners persisted as a discrete social category with particular attributed traits and characteristics, such developments should not be presumed to be a product of the companies' disciplinary apparatus. In this section, I analyze two separate ways in which the all-encompassing institutional structure of the mines may have been challenged by miners, directly and indirectly. First, I will discuss the existence of informal social organizations or institutions within the mining community that also served as pedagogical media, often marginalizing or de-emphasizing the company institutions. Second, I will use oral accounts from coal miners and a series of paintings by Yamamoto Sakubei, a former miner who produced hundreds of depictions of mining life in Chikuhō, in order to provide a tentative account of how miner identity was constructed discursively from below. The goal is not to provide a comprehensive account of such an

---

90 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 235-236. Bourdieu has emphasized the "deculturing and reculturing" effects of total institutions (Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction*, 44), which inculcate conformity to the dominant culture by "demanding complete, mechanical identification of the 'functionary' with his function, and with strict, literal application of law, regulations, directives, circulars, etc." As with all reculturation processes, it is control over the mundane that gives total institutions their power. Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1997), 158; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 94. For Goffman's original formulation of this concept, as applied to asylums, see Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institution," in *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), 1-124.

idealized identity, but to explore ways in which the pedagogical efforts of the company were resisted, or their discourse appropriated by miners and imbued with alternative social meanings. What common experiences of being a "coal miner" emerge from diverse personal accounts?

This section emphasizes both the limitations of the pedagogical pretensions of mine owners and managers, as well as the way in which those working in the mines discursively formulated occupational identities and expressed experiences in a shared lexicon. The majority of scholarship has tended to treat Japanese coal mining as an exploitative, often violent, enterprise, and portrays the experiences of miners as consisting of only suffering and oppression.[91] Even when historians have acknowledged the personal bonds that characterized coal miners apart from the company, they have assumed the long-term *success* of company centralization efforts.[92] Those that *have* granted agency to miners tend to limit their discussions to labor disputes and strikes (i.e. open conflicts between labor and capital).[93] I challenge both of these assumptions by exploring the ways in which miners constructed their own institutions and articulated their own experiences in ways that contributed to the continuity of their communities during the 20th century. But, following Bourdieu, we must be wary of a false dichotomy of 'resistance' and 'submission' when discussing the self-representation of miners, or any "stigmatized groups [who] claim the stigma as the basis of their identity," since the exoneration of a dominated discourse or identity entails both a challenge to oppressors, as well as an implicit recognition of the unequal social relations that produced the identity in the first place.[94] The

---

91 For an example of this approach in English, see Mikiso Hane, "The Coal Miners," in *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003 [1982]), 226-245.
92 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi* is the best example of this argument.
93 W. Donald Smith, "The 1932 Aso Coal Strike: Korean-Japanese Solidarity and Conflict," *Korean Studies* 20 (1996): 94-122; Michael Lewis, "The Coalfield Riots: Riot as Labor Dispute," in *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1990), 192-241.
94 Pierre Bourdieu, "Did You Say Popular?" in *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), 95; Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction*, 23-24.

assertion of a unique identity by the coal miners cannot be separated from the discourse of miner identity that circulated amongst the region's industrialists, even if the content differed.

Timothy Amos has effectively demonstrated this ambivalence through an analysis of *burakumin*, Japanese outcastes who have been subject to considerable discrimination based on their connection to pre-modern 'defiled' occupations. Amos stresses the "ideational aspects" of modern *buraku* identity by focusing on the ways *burakumin* "narrate their experiences in the present and the kinds of identities they assume for the purpose of achieving future liberation from discrimination."[95] For him, the "discourse of difference" surrounding *burakumin* has perpetuated and reinforced discriminatory attitudes when utilized by oppressors, while also being mobilized as a "discourse of political resistance," a positive form of identification, by activists seeking equality.[96] We must be cognizant of the same ambivalence in the articulation of coal miner identity. While mine owners often treated coal miners as the epitome of social deviance, and therefore requiring social and moral intervention, miners developed their own modes of self-conceptualization based on similar notions of occupational uniqueness, which could be utilized to foster comradery and community.

A natural starting point for any discussion of resistance to the pedagogical apparatus employed by mining companies during the late Meiji period is an exploration of the informal institutions and contexts in which miners interacted without direct company intervention. In the historiography of Japanese mining, particular emphasis has been placed on the *tomoko dōmei*, the "mining brotherhoods," that wielded considerable influence in the metal mines of northeast Honshu (the Tohoku area).[97] The *tomoko dōmei* functioned like craft guilds, and fulfilled three

---

95 Timothy D. Amos, *Embodying Difference: The Making of Burakumin in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 14-15.
96 Amos, *Embodying Difference*, 22-23.
97 The *tomoko dōmei* played a leading role in the large labor dispute and riot at the Ashio Copper Mine in 1907,

general purposes: training, mutual-aid, and self-governance. Prospective miners would be adopted into the guild as apprentices and would undergo a three year, three month, one day training program before achieving full status as *tomoko* members. Upon joining the brotherhood, however, miners were granted mutual-aid benefits both at their home mine, and from brotherhoods at other mines. The former included medical care and financial aid, and the latter consisted of temporary housing or introductions to potential employers. Brotherhoods were established on a single mine or single dormitory (*hanba*) basis, but maintained a nationwide network of co-operation and mutual assistance. Each brotherhood was led by a deliberative council that was used to determine regulations or funding, as well as represent miners' interests to the company – or, should the need arise, defend the miners against the company. The process of becoming a *tomoko dōmei* member, and the high degree of commitment they demanded, implied an enduring socializing function that included both technical skills as well as a sense of shared identity.

Mining brotherhoods represented a powerful institutional configuration that could have potentially resisted the designs of company welfare policies and social reforms; however, according to most scholars, *tomoko dōmei* did not exist in Fukuoka's coal mines. For the most part, these organizations were connected to the metal mines of the northeast, where the mining process required a higher degree of skill and allowed the guilds to assert their monopoly over the training process. Similar brotherhoods did emerge in the coal fields of Hokkaido and the Joban region (also in the northeast), where surplus labor from the metal mines was recruited. Unlike the

---

both as representatives of the miners and through co-operation with the burgeoning unionization movement. Nimura Kazuo, *The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan*, trans. by Andrew Gordon and Terry Boardman (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1997), 39-40 for a general discussion of mining brotherhoods. For the leading work on mining brotherhoods in Japanese, see Murakushi Nisaburō, *Nihon no dentō-teki rōshi kankei: tomoko seido no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sekai Shoin, 1989).

metal mines, however, brotherhood membership was not mandatory in the coal mines.[98] The

limited evidence of mining brotherhoods in Chikuhō has generally yielded similar insights to

those of other coal mines. A few small brotherhoods seem to have existed, though they were

made up of former metal miners, and some *tomoko* members from other parts of the country

seem to have been included in the heterogeneous labor force that made up Fukuoka's mines.[99]

But as an active agent in the socialization of miners and the formation of a miner identity in

opposition to the company, the influence of brotherhoods was negligent in Fukuoka.

As discussed in this and the previous chapter, the companies took on many of the

responsibilities in Chikuhō that were assumed by the brotherhoods elsewhere, such as training

new miners, instituting a degree of miner self-government, and creating mutual-aid programs.

However, Fukuoka's coal mines were not devoid of informal social settings. Amongst the most

popular settings was the "fire station" (*hibanjo*) where safety lamps could be cleaned or replaced,

which was the one area on-site where smoking was permitted. Miners frequented the fire stations

during breaks, with several often sharing each of the three or four pipes that were available for

use (at a small price). The stations thus became not only sites for relaxation, but for fostering a

communal identity amongst miners who typically worked in more isolated settings. According to

Yamamoto Sakubei:

> Because the old man (*ossan*) who ran the station was usually an old miner (*rō-kōfu*), he
> would share experiences from his many years in the mining world [*ukiyo*, literally
> "floating world"], or tell amusing and comical stories. Therefore, there were many young
> men and women that looked forward to meeting up at [the fire station].[100]

---

98 Ichihara, *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi*, 35-38.
99 Several prospectuses from *tomoko dōmei* in Chikuhō have been discovered, though there it is not clear how long
    they functioned for or the extent of their operations. For one published prospectus, see Fukuzawa Shigetoshi,
    "Chikuhō chihō no tankō ni okeru tomoko dōmei ni tsuite," *Enerugii-shi kenkyū nōto* 7 (10/1976): 70-74. Aso
    Tatsuo has been the most persistent in trying to identify *tomoko dōmei* in Chikuhō, but has only been able to
    clarify that a small number of brotherhood members, mostly from northeast Japan, did work in Chikuhō's coal
    mines and continued to support fellow members in times of need. For his published results, see Aso, "Chikuhō
    santanchi to 'tomoko' (1-2)" *Enerugii-shi kenkyū* 27 (3/2012): 1-25; 28 (3/2013): 1-9.
100 Yamamoto Sakubei, *Yama ni ikiru: chi no soko no jinrei kiroku, shinsōhan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2011), 109.

Figure 5: Painting by Yamamoto Sakubei, Titled "Relief Efforts at the Mine" (*Yama no kyusai-hō*). Reprinted from *Yamamoto Sakubei no sekai: yama no kataribu* (Tagawa: Tagawa-shi Sekitan, Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2008), 92.

The fire stations fostered unity by acting as gathering places for co-workers to share experiences and forge new relationships. They also contributed to the production of generational continuity, as sites where older miners could establish a shared sense of identity with younger miners. For a work environment that was characterized by the heterogeneity of its labor force, these kinds of settings were indispensable for creating shared occupational identities.

Another prominent institution that contributed to the informal socialization of miners were private mutual-aid associations, particularly common at smaller mines through the end of the Meiji period. In many cases, financial aid fell under the responsibilities of the barrack chiefs, but they often lacked the independent wealth necessary to provide services to their poor or injured miners, forcing the latter to take out high interest loans from the company. Prominent miners, referred to as *kaoyaku* or *yūshisha*, both meaning "men of influence," therefore took a leading role in creating relief programs for their struggling comrades. One of the more interesting methods adopted by these community leaders was the circulation of "lottery papers"

281

(*monbiki-shi*) consisting of between 50 and 100 small pictures (Figure 5). Each picture was sold

for roughly 10-15 *sen* (100 *sen* equalling 1 *yen*), with the three winning images concealed on the

right side of the sheet. After each had been sold, the three pictures would be revealed and a small

prize granted to each winner, with the remainder of the money going to miners in need. Another

popular method consisted of hiring folk singers from nearby urban centers (*saimon-katari*) to

sing ballads (*okare-bushi*), usually about famous warriors, in the living area of one of the large

dormitories (*ō-naya*). All donations that exceeded the cost of the entertainer would be given to

the injured or poor.[101] Finally, at some mines private mutual financing associations

(*tanomoshikō*) were established in which each member (usually totalling 10 to 20 individuals)

was required to pay a monthly premium, with one being rewarded a loan from the association

based on lottery. In the case of these associations, miners attempted to ensure their welfare in the

case of future accident or injury.[102]

All of these informal welfare institutions fulfilled implicit pedagogical functions for the

coal mining communities. They fostered a sense of mutual responsibility and provided the

miners with a source of financial security divorced from the company. They required prominent

miners to organize their co-workers and to promote a degree of autonomy in the community. All

of these functions overlapped with those of the mining brotherhoods. The large gatherings in the

miner dormitories or the circulation of lottery sheets also fostered a degree of communal

cohesion, thus reinforcing a shared identity as miners and co-workers while unifying the social

space of the barrack communities (just as the fire stations unified the work place). However, as

with the informal day care programs discussed in the previous chapter, most of these welfare

---

101 Descriptions of these welfare measures are contained in Yamamoto Sakubei, "Chikuhō tankō monogatari," in
    Chikuhō tankō emaki (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobo, 1973), 40-42.
102 Caption from painting by Yamamoto Sakubei, reproduced with text printed in *Chukuhō tankō e-monogatari*
    (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2013), 181-182.

measures declined with the emergence of company-run programs. Company savings programs and mutual-aid associations did not, therefore, only undermine the power of the barrack chiefs, they also undermined other autonomous organizations that had been established by the miners themselves – though the leadership cadre of private and company-run associations would have consisted of a similar set of influential barrack residents.[103]

One need not rely on the existence of oppositional institutions created by the coal miners or direct challenges to company intervention to identify potential resistance to company management and pedagogy. Instead, many of the limitations of company socialization efforts can be found in discourse, in the ways in which miners talk(ed) about their experiences and represented daily life in the coal mines. For the remainder of this chapter, I will analyze a series of oral accounts and paintings by former coal miners to show that they often articulated an identity, and a social world, that precluded its full apprehension or representation by outsiders. They appropriated a discourse of particularity, the incommensurability of underground mining, and fostered a symbolic and religious culture that expressed the precariousness of their work, while acting as a "discourse of difference". Miners constructed an identity that eluded the grasp of outsiders, that would dissolve (or, at least, become obscured) during any attempts at clear representation. Within this discourse, the miners inhabited a "world apart" that even the companies and mine owners could not access.

This approach is not unproblematic. It privileges the experiences of a select few, allowing those miners whose words have been recorded to speak for a diverse occupational group. In doing so, it obscures historical and regional variation while homogenizing and imposing coherence upon divergent miner experiences. It also potentially grants those that recorded and

---

103 Noyori Tomoko, *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2011), 95-101; Yamamoto, "Chikuhō tankō monogatari," 41-42.

compiled these accounts authority over the articulation and transmission of miner identity, all in

the service of a particular set of political objectives. However, I have no intention of providing a

comprehensive discussion of 'miner beliefs,' assuming such a system of beliefs even existed, or

claiming an archetypal miner experience. Instead, I identify the *types* of stories that circulate in

the personal accounts of miners, regardless of age, background, sex, or place of employment. To

borrow Luise White's phrasing, I want to consider the "formulaic elements" that characterize

these personal accounts and to examine the ways in which they constitute a general *mode* of self-

representation.[104] I am not concerned with the veracity of these stories, nor with the explicit

content of miner beliefs; rather, but the emphasis is on "what such beliefs articulate in a given

space and time".[105] When many of these individuals talk about themselves *as miners*, they utilize

rhetorical techniques that position themselves vis-à-vis the audience in particular ways – ways

that, in themselves, are part of the process of identity construction. The very types of stories they

tell and the way those stories are told both contribute to the articulation of an identity that,

though diverse in its expression, is unified in its relative inaccessibility for the common observer.

The supposed inaccessibility of mining to the casual observer was an enduring

characteristic of the very process of recording and transmitting the experiences of miners. In her

ruminations on the "spiritual history" (*seishin-shi*) of miners, Morisaki Kazue verbalized the

challenges posed by their differences:

> It is not only that I am unable to *contemplate* (*omoi-miru*) the actual site of underground
> labor. I cannot *imagine* (*sōzō*) the frame of mine [one experiences] there. As the words of
> the surface (*chijō no kotoba*) gradually become powerless, and there is no accumulation
> of human experience, how is one to confront that darkness (*ankoku*)? If the concepts
> (*kannen*) of the surface are of no use, how is one to bear that terror (*kyōfu*), and to
> overcome it?[106]

---

104 Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, UC Press, 2000), 9.
105 White, *Speaking with Vampires*, 44-45.
106 Morisaki Kazue, *Naraku no kamigami: tankō rōdō seishinshi* (Tokyo: Yamato Shoten, 1974), 2. Emphasis
    added.

Morisaki's formulation bespeaks a dual apprehension with the world of coal miners. On the one hand, the underground coal pits represent a spatial dislocation: a dark, unfamiliar reality that is difficult for the surface dweller to comprehend. On the other hand, this apprehension extends to the spiritual: the coal mine is a place where *human* (*ningen*) experience and *human* ideas are rendered mute. The mine represents another world, unfit for human habitation, untouched by mankind's cultural legacy.

Morisaki's apprehension is a reflection of the ways in which miners themselves often articulate their initiation into the world of mining. The experience of becoming a miner is both visceral and sensational, as one female interviewee effectively captured:

> I was fourteen when I first went into the mine, and even though I worked there many years, the coal pit (*kōnai*) is terrifying even today. When I was a girl, pure white mold (*kabi*) used to grow on the pillars. It was fluffy and long mold, and it was scary that it shone so brightly. Also, the silence (*shizuka*) beneath the earth, it's different from the silence on the surface (*chi no ue no shizuka*). The sound of my straw sandals (*tsuma-waraji*), *sploosh, sploosh*, was them becoming soaked in underground water.[107]

This passage captures both the physical and mental displacement commonly attributed to entering the mines. The sound of one's sandals, and the wetness of their saturation reorient the senses from sight to feeling and touch. The darkness is unsettling, but the environment represents a reversal of sensibilities; darkness becomes the norm and light, the pure whiteness of the mold, becomes a source of discomfort or dread, even an intrusive threat. The inversion of the senses experienced in the mines is the basis for its supposed incomprehensibility to the outside observer, as experienced by Morisaki. Or, as one older miner put it, "no one understands the stories of *gezainin* [miners] who worked beneath the ground (*gezaiba*)".[108] The appropriation of discriminatory labels occurs frequently in personal accounts, reflecting the ambivalence of the

---

107 Recorded in Morisaki Kazue, *Makkura* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobo, 1977), 56-57.
108 Morisaki Kazue, *Naraku no kamigami*, 3.

miner's position. Because the mine constitutes an inversion of the human world, the self-representation as *gezainin* (literally "bottom-dwellers") both accentuates the miner's displacement from the rest of society, and constitutes a positive affirmation of identity, of familiarity with the other world below. That space, originally wrought with terror, transforms into a site capable of fostering unity and comradery, even of changing the nature of human relations: "even if we fought on the surface, once we entered the depths of the earth (*chi no soko*), we were closer than siblings. We taught each other and worked. If we didn't, each of us would have surely died."[109]

The written and artistic work of Yamamoto Sakubei constitutes the most well-known recollections of mining life, and provides a fine example of both the mode of articulation of miner identity, and its repercussions for the very act of transmission.[110] Yamamoto, who first entered the mines at age seven in 1899, began recording his experiences as a miner in the 1950s through his passion for art. His paintings – originally black-and-white, but later in color – number nearly 600 and have become incredibly popular for their seemingly clear depictions of the history of coal mining in Chikuhō. Yamamoto wanted to maintain a record of mining in the face of the industry's rationalization and decline, as "the mines disappear[ed], [and] only 524 slag heaps (*botayama*) remain[ed]." Furthermore, he wanted to "document (*kaki-nokosu*) the lifestyle of the mines (*yama no seikatsu*), the work of the mines (*yama no sagyō*), and the human feelings (*ninjō*) [therein] for my grandchildren."[111] This transmission, however, seems to have represented a particular challenge to Yamamoto, especially as it related to life inside the mines. In an oft-

---

109 Morisaki Kazue, *Naraku no kamigami*, 4.
110 Yamamoto's artwork became Japan's first contribution to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 2011, in recognition of their unique structure (combining artwork with explanatory textual overlay) and their contributions to global understanding of modernization and industrialization in Japan by providing intimate accounts of coal mining life.
111 Both of these quotations from "Yamamoto Sakubei jihitsu nenpu," in *Chikuhō tankō e-monogatari*, 355.

Figure 6: Painting by Yamamoto Sakubei, Titled "Coal Face: Entrance"
(*Kiriha: irekuchi, Meiji, Taisho, koyama*). Reprinted from *Yamamoto Sakubei no sekai: yama no kataribu*, 64.

quoted statement, he asserted that, "there is only one untruth (*uso*) in my paintings. Since the coal pits were pitch black (*makkura*), one could never see as clearly [as in my paintings]."[112] Yamamoto's works thus position themselves in two ways vis-à-vis the reader. They position themselves both as objective, disinterested historical representations of mining life, as well as products of a privileged informant, providing insights into the most intimate aspects of life in the mines.

These two subject positions exist in dynamic tension, with the inherent incomprehensibility of life in the mines, shrouded in darkness, rendering the transmission itself at least partially inauthentic. Yamamoto's artistic representations of work in mines reflect this tension (figure 6). His paintings commonly depicts miners at work, barely clothed and in close proximity, chipping away at a narrow coal face and gathering the ore. At the same time, the framing of these scenes, their mode of representation, inspires some doubt regarding the veracity

---

112 Quoted in Morimoto Hiroyuki, "Kaisetsu: Yamamoto Sakubei no tankō-kaku to bun," in *Chikuhō tankō e-monogatari*, 365.

287

of the images. The overlaid textual explanations – an identifiable feature of Yamamoto's work –

act as interventions, explaining the activities for the viewer. Moreover, his paintings are usually

bathed in the light of kerosene lamps, providing the very clarity that Yamamoto associated with

dishonesty. As transmitter, Yamamoto engaged in a zero-sum game. He wished to transmit

experiences to the viewer, to preserve the memories of the mines, but in doing so he inevitably

removed mining from its necessary tangibility – as a world of feelings and sounds – and

made it visible. Yamamoto's condescension towards the viewer, placing them in a perpetual state

of almost-apprehension, itself constitutes identity formation. Yamamoto's identity as a miner is

located at the intersection of his pretensions to representation and his denial of the image's

complete authenticity.

This mode of articulation, the relegation of the audience to the position of half-informed

observers, is most evident in the system of religious beliefs and cultural practices ("taboos") that

have come to represent the uniqueness of coal mining society.[113] The religious culture of coal

miners is typically depicted as a grotesque inversion of "dominant" Japanese beliefs. Morisaki

Kazue identified the primary deities of mining communities as the "god of the mountain" (*yama*

no kami 山の神) or the "god of the mine" (*yama no kami* ヤマの神).[114] Most Japanese folk tales

connect the *yama no kami* to the world of agriculture, depicting them as inseparable from the *ta*

no kami ("god of the fields").[115] According to Morisaki, however, the *yama no kami* of the coal

mines were different, a reflection of the "anti-natural" (*han-shizen*) character of mining itself.[116]

Unlike typical mountain gods, the relationship between the miners and the god of the mine

---

113 Morisaki Kazue has gone so far as to call customs and taboos the "script" (*moji*) of mine workers and residents, the words (*kotoba*) inscribed in their bodies (*nikutai*). Morisaki, *Naraku no kamigami*, 164.

114 The use of phonetic script to differentiate the word *yama* when referring to mines from the same word when referring to mountains is a common practice in historical literature. Morisaki uses these different modes of representation in order to emphasis both the similarities and the nuanced differences between the two derivations of "mountain god" culture she discusses.

115 Ichiro Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change* (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1968), 150-151.

116 Morisaki, *Naraku no kamigami*, 179.

lacked "a sense of stability" (*antei-kan*): the god of the mine was ill-tempered (*ki ga arai*) and

easily angered (*okorippoi*). It was not connected to the whole mountain (*yama-zenbu*), but to

those parts that lay in the depths of the earth (*chi no soko*), with some claiming that the *yama*

(ヤマ) referred to all subterranean regions. Miners often prayed to the god of the mine for safety,

and entrance to the pit was forbidden during days assigned to worship of the deity.[117] The god of

the mine was a modification of existing beliefs, altered to suit the dangers of mining itself.

In general, the "superstitions" of the coal mines all share the same characteristics as that

of the *yama no kami*; the stories coal miners tell appropriate a familiar set of supernatural forces

– ghosts, *tanuki*, and fox spirits – and embed them within a symbolic universe that reflects the

uniqueness of mining itself. According to Yamamoto Sakubei, ghosts (*yūrei* or *bōrei*) were a

product of a failure to remove the bodies of diseased miners from the pit. Stories typically feature

young, inexperienced, female miners, who would return to their coal face and seemingly

continue the work they doing at the moment of their demise. These ghosts generally acted in a

way that reflected the sensual particularities of the mines. Interviewees recall hearing phantom

calls of "Here comes a box! (*hako zō!*)," typically shouted to warn miners along the main coal

shaft. At other times, they would hear the distant sound of a coal face being worked, or a cart

being loaded, only to discover an abandoned work space.[118] Ghosts thus reflected not only

concern with disaster and death in the mines, but the aural orientation of the experience of

---

117 Yamamoto Sakubei claims that the "god of the hearth" (*kamado-no-gami* or *kōjin*) was worshipped before
    entering the mines in order to prevent disaster (*Yama ni ikiru*, 104). For Morisaki's discussion of the *yama no
    kami* as a reflection of the particular environment and dangers associated with coal mining, see *Naraku no
    kamigami*, especially 164-176. Morisaki's representation of the *yama no kami* is analogous to Michael Taussig's
    portrayal of Tio, the Devil, at Bolivian tin mines. The attribution of a violent and volatile personality to Tio is
    depicted as a response to the dangers of mining (149-153), and his worship is similarly depicted as a grotesque
    transfiguration of both Christian and native Andean rites and rituals (143-144). Morisaki, however, is lacking
    Taussig's emphasis on the transformative effects of industrial capitalism, which stands as the latter's primary
    assertion. Changes in productive modes and the very nature of commodity production remain muted elements in
    the oral accounts of Chikuhō coal miners. Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South
    America* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1980), especially chapters 8 and 14.
118 Morisaki, *Makkura*, 97-99 for one of the more typical ghost stories.

mining. Miners, Yamamoto tells us, disliked wearing face coverings (*kao-kaburi*) because it would muffle the shouts (*sakebi-koe*) of their co-workers and sounds of distant collapses or accidents.[119] Ghosts acted on the aural vulnerability of miners, manipulating the very senses that miners used to protect themselves and their comrades.

Fox (*kitsune*) spirits and *tanuki* (often translated as "raccoon dogs") played similarly disruptive roles in the work of miners. Foxes were known to possess people and were often connected to mining accidents. In one story from Yamamoto's youth, he overheard a great number of people, including doctors, coming to visit an injured miner after a large accident. Claiming to help the miner, they peeled away his bandages and flesh, leaving his body cold by the time the miner's wife and brother-in-law discovered that the visitors were actually fox spirits.[120] While the foxes sometimes roamed above-ground in the community, *tanuki* lived in the mines and, like ghosts, tended to mimic the noises of coal face work or distant collapses by hitting walls with their tails. They typically came out during the night shift and, when risking discovery, could transform into a wooden pillar, differentiated from a real pillar solely by the fact that it was often upside-down.[121] While neither was capable of the wanton destruction attributed to the mountain gods, fox spirits, *tanuki*, and ghosts disrupted the lives of miners both at home and at work, taking advantage of the latter's unique vulnerabilities for their own amusement.

The way in which these stories were implicated in a broader process of identity formation is apparent in the ways in which they are depicted in art. Yamamoto's representations of ghosts and *tanuki* are particularly effective examples of the prominence of *darkness,* and its inversion, light, as a defining and differentiating aspect of coal mining work. His image of a ghost

---

119 Caption to painting, figure 7.
120 Yamamoto, *Yama ni ikiru*, 106-107. This narrative is also detailed in one of Yamamoto's paintings, titled "The Mine and Foxes (Doctor and Visitors)" (*Yama to kitsune: ishi to mimai-kyaku*), collected in a series of images at the front of *Yama ni ikiru*.
121 Caption to painting, figure 8.

emerging from a deceased miner's body (figure 7) is separated into two distinct images. The smaller, embedded image depicts the 'reality' of the situation: a miner's body being cared for by co-workers. The kerosene lantern in the corner sheds light, and thus clarity, on the scene. The second image, a train of cars descending to the top of the mine with the body, is devoid of a lantern or light, reducing the scene to indistinguishable shadows moving about in a narrow mine shaft. The light from the small panel carries over to the larger image, illuminating the spectre that now hangs over the workers in a world where there is no light to dispel uncertainties. The painting of a *tanuki* disguised as a pillar in figure 8 utilizes the same interaction of light and dark. The animal is imbued with a translucent quality so that it is unclear whether the *tanuki* is there, or is a mere apparition. Once again, it is the radiating light from the miner's kerosene lamp that brings visibility to the scene, dispelling either the illusion of a *tanuki* or of a pillar, and betraying an ambiguous reality underneath. The way he used light exemplifies Yamamoto's difficulty in transmitting the realities of a world characterized by darkness, which only inhibits the viewer's ability to apprehend the world Yamamoto inhabited.

These stories and paintings, though they contain inconsistencies and are in no way representative of a consensus amongst miners, all share some important features that demonstrate the construction of miner identity from below. Gods, ghosts, and animal spirits all exist in the dark, tied to a world of uncertainty and anxiety, an environment filled darkness and dangers deemed unintelligible to outsiders. And yet, the very threat these creatures posed, as distractions or as provokers of disaster, indirectly reflect the sense of unity and mutual dependency that was intrinsic to mining life, born of the intimacy and affection (*aijō*) that germinated in the very darkness of the coal pits.[122] At the same time, these stories reinforce the inaccessibility of mining life. In telling stories of the world beneath the earth, Yamamoto and other miners place their

122 For an emphasis on "affection" (*aijō*) and "co-operation" (*kyōyū*), see Morisaki, *Makkura*, 189-199.

Figure 7: Painting by Yamamoto Sakubei, Titled "Carrying Out the Dead" (*Shisha no hanshutsu*). Reprinted from *Yamamoto Sakubei no sekai: yama no kataribu*, 97.

Figure 8: Painting by Yamamoto Sakubei, Titled "Tanuki in the Mine" (*Kōnai no tanuki*). Reprinted from *Yamamoto Sakubei no sekai: yama no kataribu*, 95.

audience in a perpetual state of almost-apprehension. They provide glimpses into the culture of

the mines, but the very narrative techniques they use – the shining of light on a world of darkness

– precludes completely accurate reproductions. The life of miners cannot ever be truly

understood by the observer, thus implicitly reinforcing the existence of the "miner" as part of a

particular culture. Moreover, the stories of the supernatural imbued their world with a nostalgic

air, representative of an anti-modern attitude that stands in stark contrast to the undeniable

modernity of the mining industry itself. Light, be it of the safety lamp or electricity, was not only

a tool used by Yamamoto for clarity, it was a product of modernity that dispelled the dark reality

of the mines. Yamamoto, in speaking of the modernization of the mining industry, emphasized its

effects on the fox spirits:

> That, during a time when the West had ended the 19th century and was just claiming the "civilization" (*bunmei*) of the 20th century, this reality (*jijitsu*) out of a ghost story (*kaidan*) existed in the mines (*yama*) of the Great Japanese Empire, the flower of East Asia (*tōa ikkaku no hanagata*) – it is beyond miraculous. But, as the number of mines increased, and more and more of them relied on electricity towards the end of Meiji, even the fox spirits that been so rampant in Chikuhō were exposed to the brilliant illumination of electric lights (*fuyajō no dentō-ka ni sarasete*). They were cornered by the miners (*yama no hito*) until they didn't have a place to live anymore, and now, we are not even likely to come across a single one.[123]

By transforming stories of the mines into nostalgic tales, former miners create a symbolic

distance between themselves and the listener/reader/viewer that cannot be bridged. The

disappearing reality of mining life is condemned to the realm of not-so-distant memory, carried

on by a select few. Such a discourse, however, cannot be divorced from the context of its

formulation and compilation. When Morisaki Kazue, Ueno Eishin, and Tanigawa Gan descended

on Chikuhō in the 1960s and began recording the recollections of miners, it was with specific

purposes in mind. The marginality of the coal mining communities, heterogeneous settlements at

the edge of Japan's supposed ethnic and cultural homogeneity, endowed them with the potential

---

123 Yamamoto, *Yama ni ikiru*, 107-108.

energy for social and political change. It was here that the conflicts and tensions of capitalist modernization were most apparent, and where its effects could be recorded most clearly.[124] It was also on the margins that these writers found a more natural, passionate society, unencumbered by the symbolic violence of Japanese nationalistic and ethnic discourses.[125] In other words, coal mining communities were significant *because* they constituted another world on the margins of Japanese society, which most likely contributed to the relative invisibility of companies and company personnel in oral accounts.

Morisaki's (and others) exploration of more natural societies on the margins did not consist of the same nostalgic search for one's "native place" (*furusato*) that characterized much folkloric discourse both before and after the Pacific War. It was, in fact, the unfamiliarity of the mining communities that made them compelling and that brought writers to the region.[126] At the same time, the representation of coal mining society, both by miners and by those who recorded their stories, is unmistakeably *nationalistic*. Insofar as these writers sought a society on the periphery in the interest of inspiring change in Japanese society, the marginality of mining society – as with all "marginalities" – implicitly privileges the center. Moreover, the miners in most records are unmistakeably *Japanese* in their ethnicity. While *burakumin* and Koreans act as supporting characters, making infrequent appearances in oral accounts,[127] their very designation

---

124 Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, "Tanigawa Gan's Politics of the Margins in Kyushu and Nagano," *Positions* 7:1 (Spring 1999), 134-139.

125 Morisaki Kazue is sorely under-represented in English-language scholarship. Her experiences growing up in wartime Korea, and her sense of dislocation and confusion upon her return to Japan drew her to the cultural heterogeneity and carnal intimacy of coal mining society – especially the women of the mines. For her, coal miners were not characterized by their oppressive circumstances, but by their inclusive and uninhibited culture. For one of the few accounts of her work, see Yuki Masami-Raker, "New Life, New Language: Ecological Identity in the Work of Morisaki Kazue," *Gengo bunka ronsō* 13 (3/2009): 151-166. For translations of some of her selected works, see the essays published in *Concerned Theater Japan* 2: 3-4 (1973): 153-189.

126 Sasaki-Uemura, "Tanigawa Gan's Politics of the Margins," 136; Yuki, "New Life, New Language," 161. For the concept of "native place" and its relationship to nationalistic discourses, see Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1995).

127 For references to *burakumin*, or "special humans" (*tokushu no ningen*), see Yamamoto, *Yama ni ikiru*, 20-21; for references to Koreans, see the accounts in Morisaki, *Makkura*, especially 108-109 and 160-164.

as such, as opposed to being included as "miners" in the general sense, belies their marginalization within the marginalized. While historians have often acknowledged them in discussions of Japanese colonization or discrimination,[128] they are as far removed from tales of coal miner culture, itself imbued with popular elements from "Japanese" folklore, as their residences were from those of the rest of the miners.[129] Finally, while Morisaki and others rejected a return to a "native place," the representation of mining society in oral accounts, especially Yamamoto's, are imbued with the same sense of nostalgia, absence, displacement, and anti-modernity that characterized the assertion of an enduring yet "vanishing" traditional culture on the margins within Japanese nationalist discourse in the 20th century.[130] In fact, Yamamoto's requiem for the fox spirits fetishizes darkness in a way reminiscent of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's appreciation for the Japanese "comprehension of the secrets of shadows," the "uncanny silence of [the] dark places, " and the "quality of [their] mystery and depth" that is incomprehensible to the foreign observer and increasingly drowned out in the electric lights of (Western) modernity.[131] Therefore, the accounts of coal miners are not mere representations of coal mining culture, but are active elements in the constitution of that culture within a specific historical context: the rationalization and decline of the mining industry.

Most importantly, to restate an earlier point, miner accounts may have de-centered company institutions and personnel while promoting a unique and inaccessible culture, but such

---

128 For an accessible account of Burakumin in the coal mines, see Nagasue Toshio, "Chikuhō wo chūshin to shita shihon shugi no hattatsu to buraku mondai: Chikuhō ni okeru sekitan sangyō to buraku mondai," *Buraku kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979): 86-113; for koreans, see Shindō Toyōo, "Zainichi Chōsenjin mondai to Chikuhō tankō chitei," in *Buraku kaihō undō no shiteki tenkai: Kyushu chihō wo chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1981): 303-329.

129 Elyssa Faison has emphasized a similar ethnic articulation in the case of women textile workers in the early 20th century. She argues that while ethnic Japanese women were feminized, workers brought over from the colonies were ethnicized, imposing conceptual divisions on the workforce that mirrored Japan's relationship with its colonies. Faison, *Managing Women*, 1-3, and chapter 5.

130 Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing*, 10-25.

131 Jun'ichirō Tanizaki, *In Praise of Shadows*, trans. by Thomas J. Harper and Edward G. Seidensticker (Stony Creek: Leete's Island Books, 1977), 20-21.

accounts should not be interpreted as signs of the failure of company efforts. After all, these accounts are indicative of the extent to which the companies and miners had come to share underlying assumptions about the coal mining industry, even if they differed in content. Within company discourse, the "miner" became culturally and sociologically identifiable, a coherent subset of the underclass (*kasō shakai*) whose traits were directly related to the nature of their work. Miners may not have agreed with the popular representation of their culture, and openly resented company claims to privileged knowledge about them, but they shared the assumption that they constituted an explicit *society*, similar-yet-different to Japanese society in general. Despite the heterogeneity of the population itself, the compilation of diverse stories and personal accounts attributed to *miners* and the claims of Yamamoto and others to an informed understanding of their culture reflect an imposition of homogenized identity not dissimilar to that of Japanese nationalistic discourses. Whether the mines were perceived to foster deviance and moral degradation, or were portrayed as the sites where a communal bond was formed, most seemed in agreement during the early 20th century that coal miners truly resided in a "world apart".

Conclusions

This chapter has served as an extension of the pedagogical theories and relationships posited by industrialists and commentators in the previous chapter. I have emphasized the ways in which those theories and relationships were supported by changes in the technological and managerial organization of mining enterprises during the early 20th century, most evident at the large, *zaibatsu* mines in the Chikuhō region of Fukuoka. It has also served as an attempt to explore the limitations of the pedagogical project, both in the face of autonomous miner organizations, and processes of identity construction that indirectly (or directly) challenged the

296

paternal authority of the companies and administrators. Underlying this analysis have been the same concerns with the constitution of a coherent coal miner identity that characterized the previous chapter as well.

During the early 20th century, Chikuhō's large mining operations underwent a process of administrative restructuring, including the elaboration of company hierarchies and bureaucracies and the intensification of the division of labor, both of which were supported by and rationalized through the proliferation of technical training programs and formal accreditation. The expansive size of the operations, as well as the introduction of new technologies, promoted the separation of on- and off-site management, as well as the employment of an ever-growing cadre of technically-trained specialists. Furthermore, to ameliorate an over-reliance on the managerial capabilities of prominent miners – especially *naya gashira* – who claimed an intimate connection with the labor force, mining companies slowly reduced the responsibilities of off-site managers, disseminating them across a protracted network of specified offices and officials. Off-site managers were stripped of their rights to distribute wages, allocate coal faces, provide implements, and recruit workers, while the powers they retained, such as the maintenance and policing of the barracks, were curtailed by the introduction of hygiene officers and contracted policemen. In place of the consistent and familiar authority of the *naya gashira*, miners' lives were increasingly governed by formal regulations, their daily activities characterized by movement between various offices and interactions with a variety of company officials. Together, these changes made the company the sole unifying element in spatially bounded and organizationally differentiated occupational and social settings. They provided the material foundation for the paternal relationships articulated by industrialists and indirectly contributed to the cultivation of company identification.

The implicit pedagogical effects of these changes should not, however, be overstated. In opposition to the expansion, diversification, and permeation of company institutions – from the offices and barracks to the company stores and welfare facilities – miners often organized their own efforts at mutual aid and utilized alternative settings to cultivate communal identification. These informal institutions and settings were not as comprehensive as those established in the metal mines of northeast Honshu, but they constituted as least a partial challenge to the company's monopolization of daily life. Moreover, the personal accounts of miners provide depictions of mining society that de-center the company by emphasizing communal bonds and a religious culture that were fostered through the shared experience of working in the coal pits. This culture, based in experiences that remain impenetrable to outsiders, reinforces a rhetorical and conceptual distance between miners and non-miners that challenges the act of transmission itself. Miners' oral accounts are therefore characterized by a mode of representation that affirms the unique identity of miners while maintaining its elusiveness from full apprehension. Consequently, the discursively constituted identity of coal miners, despite the limitations of the medium itself, inherently challenges the presumed success of company efforts.

Regardless of the success or failure of company efforts and the veracity of miner accounts, the result of this era's paternalistic theories and institutional transformations was the constitution of "coal mining society" (*tankō shakai*) as both a discursive and spatial reality. The new structure of mining companies, formally intended to attract workers and reduce labor problems, provided for all the necessities of daily life in and out of the mines. It further isolated coal miners from the rest of society and embedded them in personal relationships that precluded the creation of enduring connections. The reality of coal mining society depicted in personal accounts may challenge the effectiveness of these efforts, but the self-representation of miners *as*

miners simply accentuates the degree to which the supposed uniqueness of their occupation had

been naturalized. It is therefore no surprise that when Morisaki Kazue and others trickled into the

Chikuhō region in the 1960s, they found an underground world waiting to be unearthed.

Conclusion:
The Diversity of Educational Activity in Fukuoka – Continuities

If one maintains the predominant association of education with formal schooling, the educational history of the Meiji period – and modern Japan in general – is a relatively simple one, characterized by a steady increase in enrolment and attendance rate, higher rates of university and vocational school attendance, and the gradual permeation of a nationalistic and imperialistic ideology. In the case of non-formal schooling, or those that existed outside of the central system, the trajectory is similarly apparent: the gradual decline of private, non-standardized school and their slow integration into the Ministry of Education's articulated structure. Even those that remained as private schools (*shiritsu gakkō*) were required to follow a coherent set of government regulations.

The Popular Rights Movement and Fukuoka's coal mining communities are no exception in this regard. As discussed in chapter two, the informal private academy of the early Popular Rights Movement slowly gave way to more formalized curricula, as the state's conception of "school" was forcefully imposed. Within a few years of its founding in 1881, the Tōunkan, formerly the Kōyō Gijuku, transformed into the Shūyūkan, the prefecture's most prestigious secondary institution. And by the end of the 1880s, few private academies remained in the region. Similarly, as we saw in chapter three, the ramshackle "temple schools" (*terakoya*) or "barrack schools" (*naya gakkō*) that were created at the Mitsui Tagawa and Miike mines, both divorced completely from the expansion of the central educational system, were eventually fully registered as private elementary schools and expected to follow the regulations of the Ministry of Education. Even the Kaijima school, which was registered from the start, became more formalized and structured in its education as it grew in size.

If we were to treat the history of education as merely the history of schooling, both of

these sets of educational institutions, the private academy and the barrack school, would come across as nothing more than minor deviations, aberrations in the steady growth of the Meiji educational system. Treating them through a broader concept of "education" and a more dynamic, inclusive approach to the history of education, I have de-emphasized the school as the focal point of educational practice, and uncovered educational discourses that have been obscured by the myopia of the field. Both the Popular Rights Movement and coal mining industrialists articulated theories of instruction that transcended the narrow confines of the school. They attempted to cultivate specific dispositions in their pedagogical subjects that they felt best suited to meet their immediate social, economic or political demands: popular rights activists attempted to foster a politically autonomous citizenry and industrialists attempted to nurture a stable and devoted labor force. In doing so, both imbued a variety of institutions with pedagogical significance, reflecting diverse theories about how their educational goals could be realized.

More importantly, both popular rights activists and mining industrialists embedded their educational activities within a discourse that articulated privileged pedagogical relationships between themselves and their audiences. As politically active and educated individuals, popular rights activists placed the burden of awakening the populace on their own shoulders, while often treating themselves as the idealized endpoint of the pedagogical process. They often articulated these relationship based on premodern notions of local identity. Mining industrialists, on the other hand, justified their interventions on the basis of their intimate understanding of coal miners' particular traits, and embedded this relationship within appeals to an indigenous model of labor relations. Implicated in this process was, therefore, the construction of the identity of the pedagogical subjects themselves.

In asking the question of continuity or long-term impact, we are therefore not limited to the lifespan of a given institution; rather, we can look for the ways in which specific institutional configurations were appropriated at later points, as well as the tenacity of the very categories forged in the educational efforts of the Popular Rights Movement and coal mine owners in Fukuoka. Just as popular rights activists and mining industrialists freely referenced older, indigenous actors and concepts in implementing their pedagogical objectives – be it the revolutionaries of the pre-Restoration period or the supposed harmony of master-servant relationships – their own actions became models for later activities. Furthermore, the very categories they constructed were utilized in articulating future pedagogical efforts. Let us look at the a few examples, so that we can ascertain the broader significance of these educational programmes, especially for Fukuoka prefecture.

In Fukuoka's coal mining communities, the institutional configuration that slowly came into existence during the early 20th century shaped the efforts of mining industrialists until the closure of most of their operations in the 1960s. Shortly after the rice riots of 1918, there was a renewed concern with labor relations and miner stability amongst industrialists in the region. In the wake of the Russian Revolution, owners feared that these protests were harbingers of an approaching socialist revolution, even though the miners had expressed no interest in socialist doctrine. The result was a general rejection of company paternalism as a doctrine and the development of a more conciliatory attitude towards the miners, embodied in the phrase *rōshi kyōchō shugi* ("labor-management cooperation" or "harmonious labor relations"), and further attempts to create institutions that could appease the labor force without sacrificing profits. The most prominent institutional change was the promotion of expanded mutual-aid associations, such as the Kyōaikai (Mutual Love Association) at Mitsui Tagawa, which was intended to

302

promote "mutual understanding" (*sotsū*) between miners and management. The kyōaikai was

managed by a combination of miner representatives and mine administrators, and was placed in

charge of all of the mine's various welfare facilities: moral and hygiene (*fūki eisei*); mutual-aid in

the case of accidents; education; amusement; savings; and even religious affairs.1 These types of

associations, called "employee associations" by Ichihara Hiroshi, proved effective in preventing

the expansion of the unionization movement, and proliferated throughout Fukuoka's mining

enterprises during the 1920s and 1930s.2

As implied by Mitsui's institutional reforms, however, "cooperation" between owners and

miners reflected many of the same assumptions as the paternalism that predominated in the years

prior to the riots, despite owners' claims to the contrary. Yasukawa Keiichirō, who was president

of the Meiji Mining Company (which operated the Meiji, Akaike, and Bukoku mines and was

based in Chikuhō), founder of the Meiji Vocational School, and leading member of the Chikuhō

Coal Mining Association, was one of the most vocal proponents of *kyōchō shugi*.3 Yasukawa

argued that the region's miners had already advanced considerably, and had a greater awareness

of their rights (*kenri*) as equal human beings. As a result, mine owners could no longer assume

paternalistic attitudes: "warmth" (*onjō*), he argued, "is not a unique trait of the capitalist," but

must also be exhibited by workers towards their employers.4 Instead, Yasukawa posited that

harmonious labor relations could only be maintained through a mutual sense of obligation (*gimu*)

---

1   Ayukawa Nobuo, "Senkan-ki no Chikuhō sho-tankō ni okeru kōfu tōkatsu: naya seido kara chokkatsu seido e," *Keizai ronsō bessatsu chōsa to kenkyū* 12 (Jan 1997), 21. The Mitsui mines remained amongst the few large operations in Chikuhō that did not establish mutual-aid associations during the late Meiji period or the early years of Taisho. Along with Tagawa, Mitsui Miike and other mines under Mitsui Bussan established Kyōaikai institutions at the same time.

2   Lewis discusses the fallout from the riots and the weakness of the labor union movement in Fukuoka in great detail. Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens*, 229-239.

3   Yasukawa's notion of *Kyōchō shugi* was serialized in *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* between 9/21 and 10/3/1919 in seven instalments. For a summary of *rōshi kyōchō shugi*, see Nagasue Toshio, *Chikuhō: sekitan no chiikishi* (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1973), 148-151

4   Yasukawa, "Rōdō mondai kanken (2)," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 9/24/1919.

between owners and miners, requiring miners to subordinate their immediate demands to the best

interests of the company, and the owners to place miner well-being above their own profits. To

this end, he acknowledged the effectiveness of industrial unions (*sangyō kumiai*), and even

strikes, in order to alleviate tensions between the two parties.5

Yasukawa's formulation, however, contained several elements that implied a continuation

of paternalistic attitudes. He asserted that amongst the mine owner's key responsibilities was

ensuring the spiritual, intellectual and physical advancement (*kōjō*) of the miners; but first,

owners must establish a relationship of "good faith" (*sei'i*) with their employees, lest they be

seen as interfering in the lives of the miners or asserting 'paternalistic' attitudes,. Thereafter,

Yasukawa promoted a familiar set of welfare facilities to "correct the evil customs (*heishū*) of the

workers" and to "give them hope (*kōmei kibō*)": the improvement of living conditions and the

expansion of medical facilities; educational institutions and amusement programs; savings

programs, rewards, mutual-aid associations, and a variety of other facilities intended to teach

miners thrift and provide them with stability in their daily lives. Once again shifting the focus

away from remuneration or work hours, Yasukawa claimed that "if these kinds of social policies

(*shakai seisaku*) are carried out *by the hands of capitalists*, I have no doubt that it will have the

greatest effect in improving the well-being of workers."6 As with all paternalistic measures,

agency was placed primary in the hands of mine owners, with emphasis placed on the moral,

spiritual, and physical cultivation – and conciliation – of miners.7 By the late 1910s, the

---

5 Yasukawa, "Rōdō mondai kanken (3)," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 9/26/1919.
6 Yasukawa, "Rōdō mondai kanken (7)," *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun*, 10/3/1919. Emphasis added.
7 Kita Shuichirō (writing in 1919) also emphasized the limitations of paternalism, but also extended his critique to more recent measures as well. He argued that paternalistic assumptions, condescending or fearful attitudes towards miners without respecting them as equals, persisted beneath claims of cooperation. He even asserted that modern "unions" were nothing more than mutual-aid associations with slightly more power given to the miners. However, he did promote the establishment of proper cooperative relations, including profit sharing, and the creation of labor unions that could act as means of self-defence (*jiei*) for miners. Kita, *Chika rōdō*, 8-11, 141-148.

pedagogical relationship inherent to paternalism had become the common sense of labor management in Japanese industry, and welfare facilities its most common mode of implementation.

Similarly, the 1920s and 1930s also saw the rebirth of popular rights-style political associations in Fukuoka, though on a smaller scale and with a very different political orientation. Shimizu Yoshitarō's Sōseikai (Creation Society) was a fascist organization that not only reveals some of the underlying similarities between the political theories of popular rights activists in the 1870s and fascists in the 1930s, but also draws attention to the similar institutional configurations adopted by both.8 Like the Popular Rights Movement, Shimizu's organization was born out of disillusionment with cliquish politics in the Japanese imperial government, and a desire to both improve the well-being of the masses and, indirectly, to mobilize them politically. Revelling in an idealized vision of a "Showa Restoration" (*Shōwa no go-ishin*), just as popular rights activists did with the Meiji Restoration, Shimizu hoped to use his Sōseikai to organize and mobilize the "absolute power of the unorganized thing called society" in the interest of national reform.9 In doing so, he was primarily concerned with the improvement of local, agricultural society, which had been overlooked by Japan's politicians. He thus wanted to create a "harmonious, co-operative organization of local youth" who could educate farmers and recruit capable leaders from the localities.10

The Sōseikai was founded on 3/3/1934 in Fukuoka city and, from its inception, was imbued with a dual emphasis on politics and action, realized through educational activities. In

---

8   Shimizu was also a frequent contributor to the Gen'yōsha's monthly periodical, *Gen'yō*, for which he also often acted in a publishing role. Despite this connection, his ideas often clashed with those of his Gen'yōsha counterparts and represented a different branch of ultra-nationalism in Fukuoka.

9   Hirai Kazuomi, *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō: kokkai kaizō undō to chiiki seiji shakai* (Kyoto: Hōritsu Bunkasha, 2000), 162-166.

10 Hirai, *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō*, 169.

addition to general meetings (*taikai*) and the central activities committee (*chūō shikkō iinkai*), which were responsible for the organization of activities through the operations (*jigyō*) section, the majority of the association's work was undertaken by the research (*kenkyū*) and "propaganda" (*senden*) sections. Under their authority was a familiar set of institutional organs, reminiscent of early popular rights associations: publishing, public speeches (*kōen*), and an academy (*juku*).11 Classes at the academy were held infrequently as three day sessions once per month.12 Meanwhile, the publishing operations mostly took place through the association's journal, *Sōsei*, which was published monthly and generally used to spread Shimizu's ideas and facilitate discourse with Sōseikai members in the localities – much like the press in the Popular Rights Movement. Finally, public speeches and outreach programs constituted the most important section of Shimizu's enterprise, since it most directly brought his association into contact with the locals. Shimizu started a vast regional network of branch associations, through which public speeches could be hosted and able individuals could be recruited who would lead the local communities both agriculturally and politically.13

The various distinguishing features of the Popular Rights Movement's educational activities – both institutionally and in its emphasis on education that transcended a narrow emphasis on knowledge acquisition or schooling – were all equally prominent in Shimizu's Sōseikai. Instead of representing modes of educational practice that were inextricably tied to the political theories and ideals of popular rights, this institutional configuration was adopted as a means of cultivating new political subjectivities in general. The same impact can be identified in Fukuoka socialist Sakai Toshihiko's recollections of starting his own speech and debate clubs at

---

11 For the organization of the Sōseikai, see Hirai, *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō*, 173-174.
12 The school was apparently not conceived by Shimizu but by his associate, Kuratomi Kakujirō. Hirai, *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō*, 174-179.
13 For the monthly periodical and the outreach programs, see Hirai, *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō*, 183-193.

school after being inspired by the public speech gatherings of popular rights activists.14

Margaret Mehl has emphasized the appropriation of Edo-Meiji era Chinese Studies (*kangaku*) academies in the 1930s as models of intimate teacher-student relationships in opposition to large, emotionally unengaging nature of modern schools.15 However, much like popular rights activists often attempted to reproduce the atmosphere of Yoshida Shōin's Restoration-era academy in their political associations and schools, self-styled political revolutionaries in the 1920s and 1930s appropriated the institutional model of the *minken* association and academy for the purpose of achieving their own political transformation of Japanese society. The legacy of the Popular Rights Movement was thus an enduring one.

Finally, the impact of the educational theories and practices implemented by popular rights activists and mining industrialists was not limited to the realm of the institutional. As we have discussed, social identities were implicated in the pedagogical relationships articulated by both. The Popular Rights Movement did not just leave an impression on Sakai Toshihiko's ideas of politics, but on his sense of geographical identity as well. As mentioned, popular rights associations were generally organized along old provincial boundaries and attempted to mobilize the populace through appeals to notions of regional identity. Sakai went on to claim that "for me, Fukuoka prefecture is not my home; my only home is Buzen (province)... even within Buzen I only have a feeling of closeness for the 6 counties to the north, the former Kokura domain."16 In some cases, political associations and localities became inter-connected, most notably with the Kōyōsha and Gen'yōsha. In a local history of Fukuoka prefecture published in 1932, Wada Yoshihachi claimed that "those that best demonstrated the particular popular sentiments of this

---

14 Sakai Toshihiko, *Sakai Toshihiko-den* (Tokyo: Kaisosha, 1926), 88-89.
15 Margaret Mehl, *Private Academies of Chinese Learning in Meiji Japan: The Decline and Transformation of the Kangaku Juku* (Copenhagen, Nias Press, 2003), 222-228.
16 Sakai, *Sakai Toshihiko-den*, 206-207.

region (*kyōdo tokui no minshin*) was the Gen'yōsha born in Chikuzen."17 For Wada, the

Gen'yōsha exemplified a regional propensity for bravery, challenging authority, and defending

the interests of the people. In neither case should the Popular Rights Movement or its particular

institutional configuration be considered the lone influence on the formation of local identities.

However, they surely contributed to the popularity of regional identification – in particular, its

connection to Edo period domains – in Fukuoka.

The same can be said for the construction of "coal miners" as a discrete social entity, and

Chikuhō as the region that best exemplified their particularity. When Ōkubo Takaaki first

commented on the dearth of educational institutions in Chikuhō in 1890, his call was for the

extension of mass schooling for the region. In other words, the standards of the Ministry of

Education should be enforced and the region integrated into the system. By the 1920s, however,

the tone of educational discourse had shifted considerably, reflecting not only changes in

educational thought in general, but the degree to which assumptions about Chikuhō and coal

mining had permeated the metropole. When concern over the educational situation in Chikuhō

restarted at the end of the Taishō period, it was phrased as a demand for "special research, a

special method for the coal mine region".18 Thus, in the early to mid-1920s, a number of schools

in the area set up "special education" (*tokubetsu kyōiku*) programs for children of the coal mining

communities, and trained young teachers to deal specifically with the challenges posed by life in

the mines.19 Though they were short lived, these institutions reflect the way in which the

discourse about coal miners and their society had been inverted. By the mid-1920s, coal miners

in Chikuhō were not merely disadvantaged workers or victims of exploitation – at least not to

everyone – but were increasingly depicted as a unique subset of society, a product of their labor.

---

17 Wada Yoshihachi, *Fukuoka-ken kyōdoshi* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Kinbundo, 1983 [1932]), 127.
18 Quoted in Hayashi Masato, *Yama no kodomo: gakkōshi* (Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1983), 194.
19 Hayashi, *Yama no kodomo*, 194-197.

It is difficult to assert the long-term effects of a given educational institution or pedagogical theory; as with all pedagogy, the results are highly variable and the degree to which its ideas are internalized by 'students' is almost impossible to discern. But, if nothing else, the educational activities of the Popular Rights Movement and mining industrialists left their imprint on the educational *imagination* of the nation, and the prefecture itself. They provided institutional models for future practice, and fostered many of the regional and social identities that still hold prominent sway in Japanese, and Fukuoka, society today. As such, to assume that "education" in Meiji or modern Japan only took place in schools would not only reproduce a conceit created by politicians and educators in the early Meiji period, but functions to obscure the real diversity of educational practice and the importance of pedagogy to Japan's modern experience.

Bibliography

Primary Source Collections

Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai. *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunenshi*, *shiryōhen: Meiji*. 2 volumes. Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977-1982.

Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō hen: Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai (1), edited by Ogino Yoshihiro, Imano Takashi, Tōjō Nobumasa, et al. Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Bunka Kyokai, 1987.

Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō hen: Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai (2), edited by Ogino Yoshihiro, Imano Takashi, Tōjō Nobumasa, et al. Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Bunka Kyokai, 1989.

Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: jiyū minken undō, edited by Arima Manabu, Ishitaki Toyomi, Eshima Kaori, et al. Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Bunka Kyokai, 1996.

Fukuoka-ken shi, kindai shiryō-hen: shizoku jusan, edited by Okamoto Yukio, Tōjō Nobumasa, et al. Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Bunka Kyokai, 1992.

Kyūshū Kōgyō Daigaku hyakunen shi: shiryō hen. Kita-Kyushu: Meisenkai, 2009.

Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 2: jiyū minken-hen. Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1967.

Meiji bunka zenshū, vol. 14: jiyū minken-hen (zoku). Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1968.

Meiji nyūsu jiten. 9 Volumes. Tokyo: Mainichi Communications, 1983-1986.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Chikushi shinpō

Mezamashi shinbun

Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun

Fukuryō shinpō

Chikuhō sekitan kōgyō kumiai geppō

Gen'yō

Regional and City Histories

Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai. *Fukuoka-ken kyōiku hyakunenshi*, *tsūshihen: Meiji*. Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977-1982.

Miyata-chōshi Hensan Iinkai. *Miyata-chōshi.* Miyata: Miyata Shiyakusho, 1990.

Nōgata-shishi Hensan Iinkai. *Nōgata-shishi*. Nōgata: Nōgata Shiyakusho, 1979.

Ōmuta-shishi Hensan Iinkai. *Ōmuta-shishi*. Ōmuta: Ōmuta Shiyakusho, 1968.

Tagawa-shishi Hensan Iinkai. *Tagawa-shishi.* Tagawa: Tagawa Shiyakusho, 1979.

Archives and Source Collections

Coal Mine Site Reports (Graduate Theses) from the Kyushu Imperial University Department of Engineering at the Kyushu University Archives

Coal Mine Site Reports (Graduate Theses) from the Tokyo Imperial University Department of Engineering at the Tokyo University Library for Engineering and Information Science & Technology.

Coal Mining Collection at Kyushu University Library, Business and Economics Archives.

Hiraoka Kotarō Archives at the Constitutional Reading Room in the National Diet Library.

Kaijima Company Archives at the Miyawaka City Coal Mining Museum.

Mitsui Company Archives at Mitsui Bunko (Mitsui Archives).

Japanese-Language Sources

"Akaike tankō shiryō." *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 14 (3/1993): 1-59.

Aso Tatsuo. "Bakuhan jidai no Tagawa ni okeru sekitan saikutsu to hisabetsu buraku." *Buraku kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979): 55-85.

---. "Chikuhō santanchi to 'tomoko' (1)." *Enerugii-shi kenkyū* 27 (3/2012): 1-25.

---. "Chikuhō santanchi to 'tomoko' (2)." *Enerugii-shi kenkyū* 28 (3/2013): 1-9.

Ayukawa Nobuo. "Senkan-ki no Chikuhō sho-tankō ni okeru kōfu tōkatsu: naya seido kara chokkatsu seido e." *Keizai ronsō bessatsu chōsa to kenkyū* 12 (Jan 1997): 10-26.

Baba Tatsui, *Yūbenhō.* Tokyo: Chōya Shinbunsha, 1885.

Chiba, Masahiro. *Kindai Nihon chiiki minshū kyōiku seiritsu katei no kenkyū.* Tokyo: Azusa Shuppan, 1996.

Chūo Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku. *Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto kaku-kenka ni okeru rōdō jijō.* Tokyo: Chūo Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku, 1925.

Doi Teppei. "'Onjō shugi' to ōshū no setten." *Enerugii shi kenkyū* 19 (3/2004): 109-139.

Emura Eichi, ed. "'Omeisha kenpō sōan' no kakutei oyobi 'Kokkai Kisei Dōmei Honbuhō' no shōkai." *Shichō* 110/111 (1972): 43-84.

Fujimoto Naonori. *Kyojin Toyama Mitsuru-ō.* Tokyo: Taniguchi Shoten, 1991 [1942].

Fukui Atsushi. "Toshi minken kessha no tanjō to tenkai no mekanizumu." In *Jiyū minken to Meiji kenpō*, edited by Emura Eichi, 51-92. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobukan, 1995.

Fukumoto Nichinan. *Futsū minken ron* (1879). In Meiji *bunka zenshū, vol. 2: jiyū minken-hen*, 197-212. Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1927.

Fukuoka-ken keisatsu shi, Meiji Taisho-hen. Fukuoka: Fukuoka-ken Keisatsu Honbu, 1978.

Fukuzawa Shigetoshi. "Chikuhō chihō no tankō ni okeru tomoko dōmei ni tsuite." *Enerugii-shi kenkyū nōto* 7 (10/1976): 70-74

Gen'yōsha Shashi Hensankai. *Gen'yōsha shashi.* Tokyo: Gen'yōsha Shashi Hensankai, 1917.

Hashimoto Tetsuya. "Miike Kōzan to shūjin rōdō." *Shakai keizai shigaku* 32:4 (1966): 398-418.

---. "1900-1910-nendai no Miike Tankō: sekitan sangyō no sangyō shihon kakuritsu wo megutte." *Mitsui bunko ronsō* 5 (1971): 1-80.

Hatakenaka Shigeo. "'Kaijima-ke kaken' kankei shiryō." *Osaka Daigaku keizaigaku* 42:3-4 (March 1993): 301-318.

Hayashi Eidai. *Chikuhō kome sōdōki.* Tokyo: Aki Shobō, 1986.

Hayashi Eidai, ed. *Kita Kyūshū no kome sōdō: kikigaki shakaishi.* Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1988.

Hayashi Kimio. *Onjō shugi-teki shisetsu.* Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1919.

Hayashi Masato. *Yama no kodomo: gakkōshi.* Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō, 1983.

Hayashi Masato, ed. *Santanchi kodomo kyōikushi shiryōshū.* Munakata: Self-published, 1990.

Hazama Hiroshi. *Nihon rōmu kanri shi kenkyū.* Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 1978.

---. "Formation of the Management System in Meiji Japan: Personnel Management in Large Corporations." *The Developing Economies* 15:4 (Dec 1977): 402-419.

Hirai Kazuomi. *Chiiki fashizumu no rekishi-zō: kokkai kaizō undō to chiiki seiji shakai.* Kyoto: Hōritsu Bunkasha, 2000.

Hirata Munefumi and Hirata Toshiko. "Waga-kuni no tankō fusetsu hoikujo ni tsuite: Meiji-ki wo chūshin to shite." *Fukuoka Kyōiku Daigaku kiyō* 43:4 (1994): 183-195.

Hokkaidō Kōgyō Tsūshinsha. *Shinkei-naru kōgyōka.* Sapporo: Hokkaidō Kōgyō Tsūshinsha, 1935.

Honda Akishi and Yamashita Ryōji. "'Kōfu naya' kara 'kōfu shataku' e no hatten katei ni tsuite: tankō jūtaku keikaku ni kansuru shiteki kenkyū (1)." *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun hōkokushū* 375 (5/1987): 76-86

Ichihara Hiroshi. *Tankō no rōdō shakaishi.* Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1997.

Imano Takashi. "Aso-ke bunsho shiryō shōkai (sono-yon): 'Kōfu torishimari nisshi' (1)." *Enerugii-shi kenkyū nōto* 9 (12/1977): 82-87.

Inada Masahiro. *Jiyū minken no bunkashi: atarashii seiji bunka no tanjō.* Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2000.

Ishitaki Toyomi. *Gen'yōsha hakkutsu: mō hitotsu no jiyu minken, zōhoban.* Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1997.

---. *Chikuzen takeyari ikki kenkyū nōto.* Fukuoka: Karansha, 2012.

Kaijima Shōgakkō kyōikushi. Miyata: Miyata-chō Kyōiku Iinkai, 2004 [1948].

"Kaijima Tasuke-den (kōhon)." *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 20 (3/1999): 15-208.

Kaneda Heiichirō. "Tōunkan shokō." In *Kyushu Senmon Gakkō kaiko kinen ronbunshū*, 201-221. Tokyo: Shimizu Shoten, 1940.

Katagiri Yoshio. *Jiyu minkenki kyōikushi kenkyu.* Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1990.

---. *Kyōiku to rekishi, aruiwa sono ninshiki to kijutsu.* Yokohama: Seori Shobo, 2009.

Kawanishi Hidemichi. "Meiji seinen to nashonarizumu." In *Kindai Nihon shakai to tennōsei*, edited by Iwai Tadakuma, 137-166. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 1988.

Kawazoe Shōji, et al. *Fukuoka-ken no rekishi.* Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997.

Kikkawa Hidezo. *Shizoku jusan no kenkyū.* Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1935.

Kimura Motoi. "Kyōdoshi, chihōshi, chiikishi kenkyū no rekishi to kadai." In *Nihon tsūshi, bekkan 2: chiikishi kenkyū no genjō to kadai,* 3-31. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

Kita Shūichirō. *Chika rōdō*: *sekai-teki rōshi funsō shōten.* Tokyo: Umezu Shoten, 1919.

Kōfu chōsa gaiyō. Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1913.

Kōfu taigū jirei. Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1908.

"Kokkai kaisetsu-ronsha mitsugi tanbunsho." In *Meiji bunka zenshu, vol. 25: zasshi-hen*, edited by Kimura Ki, 159-188. Tokyo: Meiji Bunka Kenkyukai, 1968.

Kōzan hōrei. Tokyo: Nōshōmushō Kōzankyoku, 1892.

Kōzuma Yukihide. *Miike tankō shi*. Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1980.

Kudō Seiya. *Chikuhō tanden ni ikita hitobito, bōkyō no omoi: kindai hen.* Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 2008.

Kurate Gunyakusho. *Kurate gun-ze*. Kurate: Kurate Gunyakusho, 1910.

Matsuoka Kiichi. "Dai-ni-ji minsen giin ronsō: shizoku minkenka to wa nanika." *Atomi Gakuen Joshi Daigaku kiyo* 25 (3/1992): 35-57.

---. "Media to jiyu minken: Kōchi no baai." In *Jiyu minken to kindai shakai*, edited by Arai Katsuhiro, 199-235. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004.

Matsuoka Yoshiyasu. "Takashima Tankō no sanjō." In *Meiji bunka zenshũ, dai-6 kan: shakai-hen*, 3-6. Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967.

Matsuzaki Minoru. "Chiiki kessha to enzetsu, toron." In *Jiyū minken no saihakken*, edited by Anzai Kunio and Tasaki Kimitsukasa, 29-56. Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2006).

Meidōkan Sōritsu 80-shūnen Kinenkai. *Meidōkan-shi.* Fukuoka: Meidōkan, 1984.

Mitsui Kōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha. "Tagawa Kōgyōjo enkakushi, dai-9-kan (rōmu)." 3 Volumes. Unpublished Manuscript, Mitsui Bussan, c.1942.

Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku. *Kaisha kōjo-nado ni okeru jitsugyō hoshū kyōiku shisetsu no jōkyō.* Tokyo: Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, 1919.

Morisaki Kazue. *Naraku no kamigami: tankō rōdō seishinshi.* Tokyo: Yamato Shoten, 1974.

---. *Makkura.* Tokyo: San'ichi Shobo, 1977.

Moriyama Seiichi. "Gen'yōsha no seiritsu jiki ni tsuite." *Kanazawa Keizai Daigaku ronshu* 25:1 (1982): 82-111.

Murai Ichiei. *Tsūzoku aikoku minken-ron.* Tokyo: Koreisha, 1880.

Murakushi Nisaburō. *Nihon tankō chinrōdō shiron.* Tokyo: Jichōsha, 1976.

---. *Nihon no dentō-teki rōshi kankei: tomoko seido no kenkyū.* Tokyo: Sekai Shoin, 1989.

Nagasue Toshio. *Chikuhō: sekitan no chiikishi.* Tokyo: NHK Books, 1973.

---. "Chikuhō wo chūshin to shita shihon shugi no hattatsu to buraku mondai: Chikuhō ni okeru sekitan sangyō to buraku mondai." *Buraku kaihōshi: Fukuoka* 15 (3/1979): 86-113.

---. *Chikuhō banka: tankō no shakaishi.* Fukuoka: San-ichi Shobo, 1993.

Naitō Seichu. *Jiyū minken undō no kenkyū.* Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1964.

Nakahara Hidenori. "'Shūkai Jōrei' rippō enkaku josetsu." In *Meiji keisatsu shi ronshū*, 115-234. Tokyo: Ryosho Fukyukai, 1980.

Nakajima Takeshi. "Naze jiyū minken undō kara uyoku no genryū, Gen'yōsha ga umareta no ka." *Shio* 11 (Nov 2010): 324-335.

Nakauchi Toshio. *Kindai Nihon kyōiku shisōshi.* Tokyo: Kokudosha, 1973.

Nishida Taketoshi. "'kaidan' for 'Aikoku shirin' and 'Aikoku shinshi'." In *Meiji bunka zenshu, vol. 14: jiyu minken-hen (zoku)*, iii-iv. Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1968.

Nishi Nihon shinbun hyakunen shi. Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1978.

Nishio Yotarō. *Toyama Mitsuru-ō shōden: mitekō.* Fukuoka: Ashi Shobo, 1981.

Noyori Tomoko. *Kindai Chikuhō tankō ni okeru josei rōdō to kazoku.* Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2011.

Ogino Yoshihiro. "Dai-chi-ji taisen zengo ni okeru Kaijima Kōgyō no rōshi kankei." In *Senzen Chikuhō tankōgyō no keiei to rōdō*, 85-158. Tokyo: Keibunsha, 1990.

---. *Chikuhō tankō rōshi kankeishi.* Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993.

Okamoto Yukio. *Shizoku jusan to keiei: Fukuoka ni okeru shizoku jusan no keieishi-teki kōsatsu.* Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006.

Ōkubo Takaaki. "Fukuoka-ken gakuji keikyō." *Tokyo Meikeikai Zasshi*, 86 (4/1890): 6-8.

Osaka Chihō Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku. *Chikuhō tanzan rōdō jijō*. Osaka: Osaka Chihō Shokugyō Shōkai Jimukyoku, 1926.

Oshima Mitsuko. *Meiji kokka to chiiki shakai.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

Oyama Shikitarō. *Kōgyō rōdō to oyakata seido.* Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1964.

Sakaguchi Jirō. *Noda Taikai-den.* Tokyo: Noda Taikai-den Kankōkai, 1929.

Sakai Toshihiko. *Sakai Toshihiko-den.* Tokyo: Kaisosha, 1926.

Shindō Toyōo. *Chikuhō no onna kōfu-tachi*. Kyoto: Buraku Mondai Kenkyujo, 1974.

---. *Jiyū minken undō to Kyushu chihō: Kyushu Kaishintō no shiteki kenkyū.* Fukuoka: Koga Shoten, 1982.

---. *Buraku kaihō undō no shiteki tenkai: Kyushu chihō wo chūshin ni.* Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1981.

---. *Akai botayama no hi: Chikuhō, Miike no hitobito*. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1985.

Shin'ya Yasuaki. *Jinjō chūgakkō no seiritsu*. Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997.

Shōryō 70-nen: Chikuhō Kōgyō Kōtō 70-nen no ayumi. Nōgata: Fukuoka Kenritsu Chikuhō Kōgyō Kōtō Gakkō, 1988.

Sotozaki Mitsuhiro, ed. *Tosa jiyu minken shiryōshū.* Kōchi-shi: Kōchi-shi Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan, 1987.

Sumiya Mikio. *Nihon sekitan sangyō bunseki.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968.

---. *Nihon chinrōdō no shiteki kenkyū.* Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 1976.

Tamura Yasuoki. *Nashonarizumu to jiyū minken.* Osaka: Seibundo, 2004.

Tanaka Naoki. *Kindai Nihon tankō rōdōshi kenkyū.* Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1984.

Taneda Kakuun. "Taneda Kakuun nikki." 3 volumes. In the care of the Taneda Family, Hiramatsu Seijin Temple, Tagawa City.

Takanoe Mototarō. *Chikuhō tankō shi: fu Miike tankō shi*. Moji: Nakamura Kinkodō, 1898.

---. "Baien yomatsu [1898]." *Sekitan kenkyū shiryō sōsho* 9 (3/1988): 65-159.

Tsujimoto Masashi. *Kinsei kyōiku shisōshi no kenkyū: Nihon ni okeru "kōkyōiku" shisō no genryū.* Tokyo: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1990.

Uchida Ryōhei. *Hiraoka Kotarō-den*. National Diet Library, Constitutional Reading Room, c.1906.

Uematsu Tadahiro. "Mutō Sanji to Nihon-teki keiei no genten." *Kokumin keizai zasshi* 168:2 (8/1993): 31-38

Umihara Tōru. *Kinsei shijuku no kenkyū.* Tokyo: Kokubunkaku Shuppan, 1972.

Uno Chūjin. *Shihonka to rōdō mondai.* Tokyo: Funezaka Kometarō, 1919.

Wada Yoshihachi. *Fukuoka-ken kyōdoshi.* Fukuoka: Fukuoka Kinbundo, 1983 [1932].

Waga kuni ni okeru sangyō saigai yobō no gaikyō. Tokyo: Shakaikyoku Rōdōbu, 1928.

Watanabe Takaki. *Nihon seitō seiritsu-shi josetsu.* Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2007.

Yamamoto Sakubei. *Chikuhō tankō emaki.* Fukuoka: Ashi Shobo, 1973.

---. *Yama ni ikiru: chi no soko no jinrei kiroku, shinsōhan.* Tokyo: Kodansha, 2011.

---. *Chukuhō tankō e-monogatari.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2013.

Yasukawa Keiichirō. "Rōdō mondai kanken." *Fukuoka nichi nichi shinbun* 9/21-10/3/1919.

Yasumaru Yoshio. "Minshū undō ni okeru 'kindai'." In *Minshū undō*, edited by Yasumaru Yoshio and Fukaya Katsumi, 447-504. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.

Yasutake Atsuko and Kikuchi Shigetomo. "Chikuhō Yamada ni okeru ōte kigyō no tankō shūraku kensetsu katei." *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun-shū* 540 (2/2001): 105-110.

"Yoron wa nani ga yue ni Takashima Tankō no sanjō wo reiganshi suru ya." In *Meiji bunka zenshū, dai-6 kan: shakai-hen*, 17-21. Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967.

Yoshida Kumaji. *Keitō-teki kyōiku-gaku.* Tokyo: Kōdōkan, 1909.

---. *Honbō kyōikushi gaisetsu.* Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1922.

English-Language Sources

Ambaras, David R. *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 2006.

Amos, Timothy D. *Embodying Difference: The Making of Burakumin in Modern Japan.* Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Apple, Michael W. *Ideology and Curriculum: Third Edition.* London: Routledge, 2004 [1979].

---. "The Other Side of the Hidden Curriculum: Correspondence Theories and the Labor Process." *Interchange* 11:3 (1980-81): 5-22

Baxter, James C. *The Meiji Unification Through the Lens of Ishikawa Prefecture.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995.

Bernstein, Basil. *Class, Codes, and Control, Volume IV: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Boli, John. *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977.

---. *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology.* Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1990.

---. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991.

---. "The Political Field, the Social Science Field, and the Journalistic Field." In *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu, 29-47. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2005.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture.* Translated by Richard Nice. London: Sage Publications, 1977.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.* New York: Basis Books, 1976.

Bullock, Richard L. "Room-and-Pillar Method of Open-Stope Mining." In *Techniques in Underground Mining: Selections from Underground Mining Methods Handbook*, edited by Richard E. Gertsch and Richard L. Bullock, 159-170. Littleton: Society for Mining, Metallurgy, and Exploration, 1998.

Chilton, Paul and Christina Schäffner. "Introduction: Themes and Principles in the Analysis of Political Discourse." In *Politics as Talk and Text: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*, 1-41. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002.

Crawford, Margaret. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns.* London: Verso, 1995.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *Public Education.* New York: Basic Books, 1976.

Doak, Kevin M. *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan: Placing the People.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006.

Dore, R.P. *Education in Tokugawa Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1965.

Duke, Benjamin. *History of Modern Japanese Education.* New Jersey: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2008.

Faison, Elyssa. *Managing Women: Discplining Labor in Modern Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 2007.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Franklin, V.P. "Education in Urban Communities in the United States: Exploring the Legacy of Lawrence A. Cremin." *Paedagogica Historica* 39:1 (2003): 153-163.

French, William E. *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico.* Albuquerque: Univ. New Mexico Press, 1996.

Fruhstuck, Sabine. *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 2003.

Fukasaku, Yukiko. *Technology and Industrial Development in Pre-War Japan: Mitsubishi Nagasaki Shipyard, 1884-1934.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Gamson, William A. "News as Framing: Comments on Graber." *American Behavioral Science* 33:2 (Nov/Dec 1989): 157-161.

Gamson, William A. and Gadi Wolfsfeld. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (July 1993): 114-125.

Garon, Sheldon. *The State and Labor in Modern Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1990.

Giroux, Henry A. *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling.* Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1981.

Giroux, Henry A. and Anthony Penna, "Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 7:1 (Spring 1979): 21-42.

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985.

---. "The People in History: Recent Trends in Japanese Historiography." *Journal of Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 25-50.

Goffman, Erving. "On the Characteristics of Total Institution." In *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, 1-124. New York: Anchor Books, 1961.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001.

Gordon, Andrew. *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853-1955*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1985.

---. "The Invention of Japanese-Style Labor Management." In *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos, 19-36. Berkeley: UC Press, 1998.

Hamrin, Hans. "Choosing an Underground Mining Technique." In *Techniques in Underground Mining: Selections from Underground Mining Methods Handbook*, edited by Richard E. Gertsch and Richard L. Bullock, 45-86. Littleton: Society for Mining, Metallurgy, and Exploration, 1998.

Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003 [1982].

Hori, Ichiro. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change.* Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1968.

Howland, Douglas. *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Huber, Thomas. "Men of High Purpose: and the Politics of Direct Action, 1862–1864." In *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*. Edited by Tetsuo Najita and Victor Koschmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982: 107–27

Huffman, James L. *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan.* Honolulu: Univ. Of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

Hunt, Scott A., Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow. "Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities." In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, edited by Enrique Laraña, et al., 185-208. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

Hunter, Janet. *Women and the Labor Market in Japan's Industrializing Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War.* London: Routledge Curzon, 2003.

Irokawa Daikichi. *The Culture of the Meiji Period.* New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985.

Ivy, Marilyn. *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan.* Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1995.

Jackson, Philip W. *Life in Classrooms.* New York: Teacher's College, 1990 [1968].

Kazepides, Tasos. "'Assembling Reminders for a Particular Purpose': The Nature and

Dimensions of Educational Theory," *Canadian Journal of Education* 19:4 (Autumn 1994): 448-463.

Kim, Kyu Hyun. *The Age of Visions and Argumens: Parliamentarianism and the National Public Sphere in Early Meiji Japan.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007.

Laclau, Ernesto. *On Populist Reason.* London: Verso, 2005.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics.* London: Verso Books, 1985.

Lewis, Michael. *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1990.

Lincicome, Mark. *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan.* Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1995.

Martin, Jane R. "What Should We Do with a Hidden Curriculum When We Find One?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 6:2 (1976): 135-151.

---. *Education Reconfigured: Culture, Encounter, and Change.* New York: Routledge, 2011.

Masami-Raker, Yuki. "New Life, New Language: Ecological Identity in the Work of Morisaki Kazue." *Gengo bunka ronsō* 13 (3/2009): 151-166.

Mehl, Margaret. *Private Academies of Chinese Learning in Meiji Japan: The Decline and Transformation of the* Kangaku Juku. Copenhagen, Nias Press, 2003.

Melucci, Alberto. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996.

Mitchell, Theodore. *Political Education in the Southern Farmers' Alliance, 1887-1900.* Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Motoyama, Yukihiko. *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Eduation in the Meiji Era*. Edited by J.S.A Elisonas and Richard Rubinger. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

Muller, Detlef, Fritz Ringer, and Brian Simon, eds. *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987.

Nimura, Kazuo. *The Ashio Riot of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan.* Translated by Andrew Gordon and Terry Boardman. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1997.

Norman, E. Herbert. "The Genyosha: A Study of the Origins of Japanese Imperialism." *Pacific Affairs* 17:3 (Sept 1944): 261-284.

Ooms, Herman. *Tokugawa Village Practice: Class, Status, Power Law.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1996.

Pan, Zhongdang and Gerald M. Kosicki. "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse." *Political Communication* 10:1 (1993): 55-75.

Platt, Brian. *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004.

---. "Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, The School, and 19th Century Globalization." *Journal of Social History* 38:4 (Summer, 2005): 965-985.

Polsky, Andrew J. *The Rise of the Therapeutic State.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991.

Ramirez, Francisco O. and John Boli. "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization." *Sociology of Education* 60: 1 (Jan. 1987): 2-17.

Ranciere, Jacques. *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lesson in Intellectual* Emancipation. Translated by Kristin Ross. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991.

Rubinger, Richard. *Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982.

Sabey, John Wayne. "The Gen'yōsha, The Kokuryūkai, and Japanese Expansionism." PhD Diss., Univ. Michigan, 1972.

Sasaki-Uemura, Wesley. "Tanigawa Gan's Politics of the Margins in Kyushu and Nagano." *Positions* 7:1 (Spring 1999): 129-163.

Schweber, Abigail. "Imposing Education: The Establishment of Japan's First National Education System, 1872-1879. PhD Dissertation, Harvard Univ., 2003.

Shively, Donald H. "Motoda Eifu: Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor." In *Confucianism in Action*, edited by David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, 302-333. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959.

Siniawer, Eiko Maruko. *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan, 1860-1960.* Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2008.

Smith, Thomas C. *Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization: 1750-1920.* Berkeley: UC Press, 1988.

Smith, W. Donald. "The 1932 Aso Coal Strike: Korean-Japanese Solidarity and Conflict." *Korean Studies* 20 (1996): 94-122.

Smith, Warren W. *Confucianism in Modern Japan.* Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1959.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 66-111. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994.

Taussig, Michael T. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America.* Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1980.

Teruhisa, Horio. *Education and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom.* Translated by Steven Platzer. Tokyo: Univ. of Tokyo Press, 1988.

Tröhler, Daniel. *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations.* London: Routledge, 2011.

Tsurumi, Patricia E. "Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks: Old Values for a New Society?" *Modern Asian Studies* 8:2 (1974): 247-261.

---. *Factory Girls*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990.

Tsutsui, William M. "Rethinking the Paternalist Paradigm in Japanese Management." *Business and Economic History* 26:2 (Winter 1997): 561-572.

---. *Manufacturing Ideology: Scientific Management in Twentieth-Century Japan.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998.

Vanderstraeten, Raf. "Luhmann on Socialization and Education." *Educational Theory* 50:1 (Winter 2000): 1-23.

Vaught, Charles and David L. Smith. "Incorporation and Mechanical Solidarity in an Underground Coal Mine," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 7:2 (May 1980): 159-187.

Vlastos, Stephen. "Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885." In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5: The Nineteenth Century*, edited by Marius Jansen, 367-431. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988.

Wigen, Kären. *A Malleable Map: Geographies of Restoration in Central Japan, 1600-1912.* Berkeley, UC Press, 2010.

White, Hayden. "The Narrativization of Real Events," in *On Narrative*, edited by W.J.T. Mitchell, 249-254. Chicago: Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1981.

White, Luise. *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa.* Berkeley, UC Press, 2000.

Willis, Paul E. *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977.

Wodak, Ruth. "Fragmented Identities: Redefining and Recontextualizing National Identity." In *Politics as Talk and Text* edited by Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, 143-169. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002.

Yamashita, Yukio. "The Inside Contract System in Japan: With Particular Reference to the Coal Mining Industry." Translated by Stephen W.McCallion. *Japanese Yearbook in Business History* 4 (1987): 1-25.