

Anarchist Modernity

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Anarchist Modernity

Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian
Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan

Sho Konishi

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Abbreviations

GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation)
GGS	Gaimushō gaikō shiryōkan (Japanese Foreign Ministry Archives)
KKM	Kokuritsu kō monjokan (National Archive of Japan)
NGM	Nongovernmental movement
ORGMT	Otdel Rukopisei Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia L. N. Tolstogo (Department of Manuscripts, State Museum of L. N. Tolstoy)
RGALI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art)
SAC	Sapporo Agricultural College
TSFL	Tokyo School of Foreign Languages

Notes on Style

The names of well-known places and people are spelled according to English-language conventions (e.g., Tokyo instead of Tōkyō; Herzen instead of Gertsen; Tolstoy instead of Tolstoi) except in my transliterations of bibliographic information.

Japanese names are written according to Japanese convention, with surname first, followed by the given name. Names of famous Japanese figures are the only exception to this. Well-known Japanese are often widely referred to by their given names rather than by their surnames. I have tried to follow this practice, and so, for example, Ogawa Usen is referred to as “Usen” rather than by his family name, “Ogawa.” Similarly, Nakae Chōmin is referred to as “Chōmin,” and Andō Shōeki is called “Shōeki” in the text.

Long vowels in Japanese are marked by a macron, for example, ō, ā, ū, ī.

Introduction

In 1861, in the little port town of Hakodate, one of several cities recently opened by the Japanese government to foreigners, an American captain bustled about his ship, preparing for a dinner party that would ring in the arrival of a new cosmopolitan era in Japan.¹ His honored guest was Consul General I. A. Goshkevich (1814–75), head of Russia’s first diplomatic mission to Japan. The captain was eager to introduce Goshkevich to a Russian compatriot whom the captain had just agreed to transport to San Francisco. The Russian passenger peered self-consciously at Goshkevich. Sporting a wild stock of hair and high-voltage energy, the eccentric related that he had just that day slipped into Hakodate from the eastern coast of Russia.² The intrepid traveler was Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76), the notorious revolutionary who was to become one of the Russian Populist movement’s leading strategists in the 1870s and one of the most recognized anarchists in world history. Riding piggyback on the newly opened Vladivostok-Hakodate shipping route, he had escaped from Siberia after over ten years’ imprisonment and exile. He would spend over a month wandering about revolutionary Japan before joining

1. Shimoda and Hakodate were opened by treaties with the United States and Great Britain in 1854; in 1855, the Treaty of Shimoda with Russia opened Nagasaki. Several years later, Kanagawa, Hyōgo, and Yokohama were opened as well.

2. See Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, pp. 570–71. Sketches of Bakunin’s time in Japan may also be found in Sakon, “M. A. Bakunin no nihon raikō”; G. D. Ivanova, *Russkie v Iaponii*, pp. 43–44; and Billingsley, “Bakunin’s Sojourn.”

fellow Russian émigrés in Europe.³ Bakunin's escape from Siberian exile into Japan and his sensational around-the-world odyssey propelled him to legendary status, and radical groups across Europe made him an object of reverence well into the twentieth century. He was the first of a number of exiles, prison escapees, and émigrés from Russia to enter Japan on their way to revolution from the second half of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

Bakunin's arrival in revolutionary Japan reveals the coinciding of revolutionary movements in Russia and Japan in the wider world context. In the mid-nineteenth century, Russia and Japan fully realized their physical proximity as neighbors with the concretization of mutual borders. With Russia's annexation of the Amur region from China in 1858 and 1860, Russia and Japan literally came face-to-face with each other across the Sea of Japan. The founding of Vladivostok in 1860 marked the development of the Russian state's interest in its expansion eastward, linked to the opening of diplomatic relations with Japan and Amur territorial gains from China. Russian exiles to Siberia began making use of the transportation route to the east of Russia as soon as it was created. The Siberia–Japan–San Francisco path of escape for Siberian exiles first forged by Bakunin was to become a well-trodden road used by other Russian radicals and revolutionaries by the turn of the century. First imprinted by Bakunin's travels, it would become invested with the meaning of a path from repression to revolution. In turn, by the end of the Meiji (1868–1912) period, Japanese intellectuals would look on this same route in reverse order as both the physical and the symbolic path out of Western modernity. A new route, opened for official trade and transportation between Russia and Japan, simultaneously invited non-state, often antistate, cross-border activities.

With the "Opening of Japan" to the world (*Kaikoku*) in the 1850s and 1860s, multiple thoughts and values from outside Japan came in contact

3. Alexander Herzen received a letter dated October 15, 1861, from Bakunin in San Francisco. "Friends,—I have succeeded in escaping from Siberia, and after long wanderings on the Amur, on the shores of the Gulf of Tartary and across Japan, I arrived today in San Francisco. Friends, I long to come to you with my whole being, and as soon as I arrive I shall set to work; I shall work with you on the Polish-Slavonic question, which has been my *idée fixe* since 1846." Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, pp. 570–71.

with Japanese domestic ones with more speed and intensity than ever before. These ideas and moral vocabularies merged, clashed, and negotiated, giving birth to new cultures. The new cultures were constantly forming and re-forming, of course, but in patterns decodable by historians. The chance meeting in 1861 between Consul General Goshkevich and Bakunin in revolutionary Japan represents the beginning of an anarchist vision of progress founded on principles of mutual aid in Japan that would color Japanese intellectual and cultural life for well over half a century. It developed out of Japanese-Russian nonstate transnational intellectual relations whose emergence coincided with the initiation of Japanese-Russian diplomatic relations in the 1860s and 1870s.

This book explores Japanese-Russian nonstate transnational intellectual relations since *Kaikoku* as a fresh approach to disclose an entirely new current of modern Japanese intellectual life. By examining their relations, it reveals a transnationally formulated temporality and corresponding order of knowledge and practice that I call cooperatist anarchist modernity. It uncovers how those who belonged to cooperatist anarchist modernity managed the expansion of knowledge in modern Japanese cultural life in spheres as diverse as language, history, religion, the arts, literature, education, and the natural sciences. I suggest that cooperatist anarchism, which involved some of the most distinctive and popular cultural phenomena during this period, was a major current in Japanese intellectual and cultural history from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The discovery of this knowledge universe explains arguably the most puzzling intellectual phenomena in Japanese history, which have long evaded historians' conceptual grasp.

Indeed, the history of cooperatist anarchism poses a fundamental challenge to some of the most established views in historiography on modern Japan, with wide-ranging implications regarding the very nature of history writing. The idea of Western modernity has been the starting point for much historical scholarship on modern Japan in any field—cultural, intellectual, social, political, diplomatic, scientific, medical, environmental, or religious. Moreover, it has served as an internal logic for much of that historiography. This logic has connected the sources of knowledge or evidence, the methods of exploration, the conceptual vocabulary, theory, and the resulting historical narratives. Within these conceptual contours of history writing, the people, thoughts, and practices

that do not fit this logic have often been forgotten or categorized as products of antimodern, nativist counterurges against the Western gaze. The more historians have expanded the ways in which they have looked at Japan's relations with the wider world and the kinds of materials they have used, the more they have solidified Western modernity as the master narrative for international history involving modern Japan. Although this practice has contributed tremendously to the volume of historical knowledge, it has also led them to overlook the phenomenon under examination all the more. In the grammar of Western modernity that has ordered the historical knowledge of modern Japan, breaking one link in its chain of logic necessitates breaking all links at the same time. Doing so has made it possible to reconstruct an independent logic of history writing to make sense of this particular intellectual and cultural current.

The object of this book is not to provide a single overarching characterization of the rich and variegated history of Russian-Japanese relations in modern Japan. Many informative studies in Russian, Japanese, French, and English have documented aspects of their encounters, their literary, artistic, and religious influence, their mutual perceptions, and their diplomatic relations.⁴ Rather, I have traced, step-by-step, Russian-Japanese transnational interlocking networks and resulting thought and practices as a method for doing intellectual history. It was only through this process of tracing the formation of transnational relations on the nonstate level beyond Western modern constructs that I was able to connect, make sense of, and give historical significance to, if not entirely

4. For example, Rimer's edited volume *A Hidden Fire* is an illuminating collection of essays by twenty scholars from Russia, Japan, and the United States. Although it unveils the rich cultural relations between Russia and Japan from 1868 to 1926, what remains unanswered in the volume is why their cultural relations were so extensive as a whole in this period. Numerous studies in Russian and Japanese by Japanese Russianists and Soviet Japanologists have similarly recorded facts about individual encounters and the Japanese reception of Russian cultural figures. Examples of the many studies of individual aspects of their relations include the collection of essays in Hara and Togawa, *Surabu to Nihon*; Sawada, *Hakuhei Roshiyajin to Nihon bunka*; Wada, *Nikorai Rasseru*; and Kominz, "Pilgrimage to Tolstoy." Work by Russian scholars since the 1990s has reflected a renewed interest in the history of the relations of the Russian Orthodox Church with Japan and East Asia. See, for example, the reports based on archival findings in Belonenko, *Iz istorii religioznykh, kul'turnykh i politicheskikh vzaimootnoshenii*.

revise understanding of, some of the most influential and popular cultural phenomena in modern Japan.

In macro historical perspective, the Russian cultural presence in Japan from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century was, for interpretive purposes, comparable to that of the Chinese cultural presence in the intellectual life of Tokugawa Japan before 1860 and the American cultural presence in the intellectual life of Japan after the Asia-Pacific War. It would be difficult for any student of modern Japanese intellectual life to overlook the immense Russian cultural presence in Japan when, for example, Tolstoy was by far the most translated foreign writer in the entire history of modern Japanese translation practice. Between 1868 and 1950, Russian writers constituted the largest proportion from any one country of the top ten foreign writers translated into Japanese. In all, almost three hundred Russian writers were translated into Japanese in this period.⁵

Japanese and Russian nonstate actors have also had a long and intimate record of direct intellectual associations, friendship, and travel. Some of the most recognized intellectuals and popular cultural figures of the time, such as Saigō Takamori (1827–77), Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910), Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911), Arishima Takeo (1878–1923), Futabatei Shimei (1864–1909), Vasilii Eroshenko (1890–1952), and Tokutomi Roka (1868–1927), increasingly sought to solidify private cross-border ties with one another on the nonstate level through letters, travel, and networking, even when their respective states were in diplomatic conflict and at war. The beginnings of transnational interlocking networks between underground revolutionaries from Japan and Russia can be traced to Saigō's secret invitation to Bakunin's close colleague, the anarchist revolutionary Lev Mechnikov (1838–88), to come to Japan in 1874 (see Chapter 1). Saigō was one of the most famous leaders of the revolutionary era and the “last samurai” who headed the last civil war against the new Meiji government in 1877.

5. Lev Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–81), and Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) are in the list of the top ten foreign literary writers most frequently translated into Japanese. Ivan Turgenev (1818–83) comes in close at eleventh place. Nobori and Akamatsu, *Russian Impact on Japan*, p. 113.

Curiously, this was also the period in which Russian-Japanese diplomatic relations were at their worst. How is one to understand this striking incongruence between poor state and rich cultural and intellectual relations between Japanese and Russians? Furthermore, why were Russian-Japanese nonstate relations so intense from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century? If modern Japanese intellectual history is viewed as a process and a culture of multilateral transnational knowledge exchanges and translation practices, it follows that historians have largely neglected one of the most important aspects of modern Japanese cultural and intellectual life. The answer to these puzzles lies in resolving a much larger question, that of modernities.

My tracing of Russian-Japanese transnational networks and the thought and practices of participants in these networks has led to my formulation of an anarchist history of modern Japan. The phrase “anarchist history” here does not mean simply a history about anarchists. Rather, it expresses a view of modern global history as simultaneously existing, multiple imagined and lived ideas of progress, or “modernities” absent teleological and hierarchical ordering. This book suggests that the concerted attempt to synchronize global time in Meiji Japan failed to permeate the everyday life and historical consciousness of the majority of people, including many of Japan’s leading intellectuals and cultural figures. Abandoning the understanding that temporalities in Japan and elsewhere were being synchronized into a single global time,⁶ this intellectual history examines the rise of a distinct temporality that developed throughout the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century in Japan, which was structured by the terms of anarchist progress and civilization. This temporality, based on a concept of progress toward an imagined future, coexisted with and simultaneously countered the temporality of Western modernity.

6. The historian Stefan Tanaka has written a wonderful study of the conflicted and contradictory transformation of time in Meiji Japan. Tanaka shows the effects of the state’s imposition of a modern temporality in Meiji Japan. He characterizes the process as part of the synchronization of global time, “a moment in the creation of the international, an expanded world that coordinated diverse societies into a singular temporal order.” Tanaka, *New Times*, p. 19.

The term “modernities” used throughout this book refers to the ways in which progress and civilization have been imagined and lived, the particular modes of and urges to change, talked about and experienced within various discursive communities from the second half of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century. In a way reminiscent of Reinhart Koselleck’s conceptualization of temporality as lived experience, modernity is discussed as a qualitative rather than a chronological category, a historical consciousness of time and space as realms of constant progression toward a better future.⁷ Koselleck brought to the historical field a way of looking at history not as simple facticity, but as possibilities, “more precisely, past possibilities and prospects, past conceptions of the future: futures past.”⁸ Koselleck’s understanding of temporality as a lived time distinct from but coinciding with chronology that is itself “the outcome of the structure with which we endow lived events”⁹ is helpful in understanding the development of diverse cultural expressions vital to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japanese cultural and intellectual life. However, if Koselleck’s history, which is based on Western European historical experience, is taken as the model for understanding intellectual history and temporality around the world, one can easily overlook the rich array of imaginations and experiences of time that existed in the world outside the particular historical-geographic area of Western Europe and North America.

This book offers a concrete historical case of different localized presents described by the Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, each with its own temporality.¹⁰ However, it fundamentally contradicts Althusser’s molding of time and the local by unifying Marxist structures. This book avoids reading the history of thoughts and practices according to Marxist structures determined by “the mode of production” largely within a national space.¹¹ Anarchist imaginations of time and progress failed to

7. Koselleck, *Futures Past*. See also Osborne, “Modernity Is a Qualitative, Not a Chronological, Category.”

8. Carr, Review, p. 198.

9. Tribe, “Translator’s Introduction,” p. xi.

10. Osborne, “Modernity Is a Qualitative, Not a Chronological, Category,” p. 43; Althusser and Balibar, *Reading Capital*, pp. 110–12, 114–16.

11. Althusser writes, “Merely reading *Capital* . . . shows, for example, that the time of economic production is a specific time (differing according to the mode of production),

belong clearly to any unifying category of temporality proposed in Marxist thought. On the contrary, simultaneously existing local imaginations, ideas, and corresponding lived experiences of modernity suggest a historical time and space free from Marxist determinism of the material basis for historical developments.

Rather than viewing discussions of mutual aid by cooperatist anarchists along Marxist lines as surviving remnants of the past, this book views these apparent continuities retrieved from both the past and the present in cooperatist anarchism as entirely integral to the lived modern itself. Instead of identifying in people's everyday habits the source of dissonance with the present,¹² Japanese anarchists viewed people's reliance on the ethic of mutual aid as a source of cultural invention and expansion of human social relations for modern progress and civilization. For those who belonged to cooperatist anarchist modernity, tradition thus no longer lay in Japanese people's everyday habits, but rather in the forced attempts by the state to eradicate those habits in order to instill a Western modern temporality from above.¹³

The turn from "modernization" studies to "modernity" studies has contributed much to historical understanding of the often contradictory and conflictive process of becoming modern in the non-West. However, although existing explorations of an "alternative Japanese modernity" have attempted to see how Japanese reconfigured, negotiated, and retranslated Western modernity into "indigenous" or "Japanese" national forms as historical difference, the modernity of the West nonetheless has remained for historians the sole condition and source of modernity in Japan.¹⁴ Studies of the diverse trajectories of alternative modernities in the non-West have tended to speak in the idiom of hybridity between two ultimately incompatible elements, an oil-and-water mixture between the traditional and the new, or East and West. Moreover, the so-called

but also that, as a specific time, it is a complex and non-linear time—a time of times, a complex time that cannot be *read* in the continuity of the time of life or clocks, but has to be *constructed* out of the peculiar structures of production." Althusser and Balibar, *Reading Capital*, p. 112.

12. See, for example, Harootunian, "Some Thoughts on Comparability," pp. 47, 52.

13. On this attempt, see Tanaka, *New Times*.

14. See, for example, the important work by Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity*.

multiple modernities in the non-West have qualified as such by the indigenous development or reconfiguration of major modern elements already defined by the West and its historical experience, such as the public sphere, capitalism, and liberal democratic political institutions.¹⁵ This book's identification of a modern temporality entirely distinct from those temporalities socially and intellectually constituted by the Western European historical experience diverges from other projects that seek to identify so-called multiple modernities in the non-West as hybrid blends of native cultural traditions with liberal capitalist and democratic political institutional development. In this sense, cooperatist anarchists' embrace of diverse cultural expressions by a range of social groups and circles within a vision of civilizational progress fueled by symbiotic relationships should be distinguished from the postmodern practice of multiculturalism, which has often been reduced to divisive identity politics.

Although the following points, interlinked characteristics of historiography, are by no means exhaustive, they indicate why historians have been unable to see the thoughts and practices under exploration. These interlinked characteristics share in the logic of Western modernity that has framed historians' study of modern Japan from the very outset. They therefore serve as suggestions to create a set of interlinked conceptual, methodological, and archival strategies to view Japanese history outside the fold of Western modernity. I have attempted to apply and reflect these strategies in this book in order to challenge this dominant overarching paradigm of modern Japanese history.

Historians have long defined anarchy, the absence of state governance and legal order, as characterizing the most primitive stage of human progress and civilization. By extension, discussions of nineteenth-century anarchism have often conceived the anarchist movement as an intellectual and cultural inheritance of the social fury of the French Revolution and have thereby associated it with terrorism and the formless dreams of utopianism. Similarly, historians have described anarchism in Japan as a reactionary impulse against the Western civilizational order, expressing an emotional preoccupation with "traditional" and

15. For example, Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*; Eisenstadt, *Multiple Modernities*.

“conservative” moral and spiritual values threatened by the West.¹⁶ The underlying assumption was that anarchists were nationalists in disguise who adopted the cooperative ethos as a native expression of Japanese traditions.

What is common among these characterizations is the notion that anarchism, whether in its ideas or in practice, is opposed to modernity. This almost habitual disavowal of anarchism has persisted in history writing on modern Japan. The convenient positioning of anarchism and anarchy in opposition to civilizational progress toward legal, political, and institutional order is itself a product of the ideology of Western modernity. Indeed, anarchy has helped define the Western modern as its antithesis. This book approaches anarchism in Japan not as a political movement marked by violent clashes with the state, but as a cultural, intellectual, and social movement. Its focus on cultural production within an anarchist discourse of progress expands the existing definition of anarchism as the opposition to law and political order. This anarchist history may be distinguished in meaningful ways from James C. Scott’s *Art of Not Being Governed*, one of the latest histories of anarchism.¹⁷ Scott’s important history of Southeast Asia examines the history of Zomia, an inaccessible mountainous region cutting across national borders that served as a refuge for fugitives of the state. His identification of more or less isolated and remote spheres antithetical to modern thinking and to civilizational progress as “anarchist” is illuminating, but it also helps reaffirm the Western modern conceptual framework that has labeled anarchism antimodern in the first place. The spheres identified by Scott are construed in such a way that their history does not ask the reader to transcend bifurcated conceptual categories that bind the state-anarchy opposition to such familiar oppositional categories as civilized-noncivilized and modern-nonmodern.

This book attempts to overcome those structures of thought that have prevented us from seeing anarchism as a formulation and expres-

16. See Notehelfer’s important contribution to the history of Japanese anarchism, *Kōtoku Shūsui*. Other more recent works that have similarly described anarchism in Japan include Hoston, *State, Identity, and the National Question*, pp. 137–48; and Marks, *How Russia Shaped the Modern World*.

17. Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*.

sion of a notion of progress.¹⁸ Cooperatist anarchists' networked society differed from the nomadic, self-peripheralized fugitive communities that fled to a remote and rugged terrain to escape the state's modern projects of organization and control. Many of the strategies adopted in Zomia to remain stateless may be perceived as antimodern, such as remaining physically dispersed in a rugged terrain and devotion to millenarian, prophetic leaders. Yet cooperatist anarchists consciously embraced technology; mass media; urban society; cultural expressions in art, literature, theater, and popular song; the latest theories in cosmology and evolutionary science; and many other expressions normally associated with the modern. They gave these elements new meaning and created new forms of expression in accordance with their anarchist concepts of progress and civilization.

Moreover, cooperatist anarchist ideology and the cultural productions to which it gave rise were widely embraced and practiced in Japan rather than being isolated in remote, separatist communities. Indeed, many self-identified anarchists in Japan were often inspired by popular everyday practices, just as Lev Mechnikov theorized anarchist civilizational progress on the basis of his encounter with the everyday practices and thoughts of revolutionary Japan. The most recent dictionary of the Japanese anarchist movement lists roughly six thousand important intellectuals and cultural figures, many of whom were active participants in the cultural and intellectual movements during the period under exploration.¹⁹ However, even this expansive dictionary could not include the countless ordinary people who made these cultural figures popular in the first place. Japanese anarchists criticized separatism as ill fitting their engagement with modern society, as seen, for example, in Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923) and Arishima's distinction of anarchist thoughts and practices from Mushanokōji Saneatsu's (1885–1976) famous experimental and separatist commune of intellectuals, the New Village. Indeed, separatism was seen as the antithesis of anarchism.

18. See my attempt to historicize the modern temporality of a community of cooperative farmers in Hokkaido: Sho Konishi, "Ordinary Farmers Living Anarchist Time."

19. Nihon Anākizumu Undō Jinmei Jiten Henshū Iiankai, *Biografía leksikono de la Japana anarkista movado*. The volume also does not include some of the major historical actors discussed in this book, such as Konishi Masutarō (1862–1940).

If anarchists have been understood as antimodern, anarchist tendencies have also been characterized as utopian, expressive of an unrealistic urge to transcend the present in order to establish a new, perfect society. Underlying this characterization of utopianism are assumptions of the realism of the Western modern imagination of future society. The anarchist imagination has been seen as fanciful, unattainable, and unsustainable, as opposed to, for example, “globalization,” defined as the worldwide reach of transnational corporations and their Westernizing capitalist values and the accompanying transformation of local lives. This dichotomizing formulation of anarchism as utopian and separatist vis-à-vis the realism of international relations of nation-states and the all-encompassing, globalizing nature of Western modernity is deeply ingrained in Euro-American political ideologies and thus in habits of thinking.

Japanese cooperatist anarchists conceived Western modernity as utopian in a way that is echoed in formulations of Western modernity by the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman as a utopia defined by territoriality and finality. Western modernity at large has been founded on an ideal of a different and better life that is territorially defined and tied irrevocably to its delimitation and boundedness by borders, governance by a sovereign power, and legal order. Bauman aptly calls this the “sedentary imagination” of Western modernity.²⁰ Unlike the cooperatist anarchist imagination of society that reflected the unordered, infinitely expanding universe, the Western modern imagination has been marked by finality, a vision of a perfect society that, once achieved, would no longer need alteration. In the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, cooperatist anarchists believed that no set of ideas about the type and form of future society in Japan was more utopian than Western modernity. Cooperatist anarchists’ formulation of society was founded on the actual practices of mutual aid and the voluntary activities of associations without the intervention of or need for state governance. The networks central to its social functioning often developed out of practical necessity when the state was not doing what was needed to improve their lives.

20. Bauman, “Utopia with No Topos,” p. 12.

There is another reason that the intellectual and cultural phenomena under investigation in this book have been virtually invisible to historians. The Japanese nonstate transnational intellectual relations with Russia examined in this book lie outside the paradigm of East and West that has been dominant in the historiography on modern Japan in the wider world. Indeed, these relations transcended the geographic imaginations of Western modernity from the outset. For example, the Russian figures who appear in this book clearly departed from Russian Japonisme's exoticization and aestheticization of a timeless, Oriental "other."²¹ The thought and practices of figures in this book also fail to fit conceptual categories that historians have relied on to study modern Asia, such as nationalisms, pan-Asianisms, colonialisms and postcolonialisms, and imperialisms. In uprooting the hierarchically ordered divide between East and West, those who contributed to and participated in this discourse elicited a radical new temporal and spatial imagination.

The practices discussed here also do not fit the identification of the beginnings of modern Japan as the opening to the West. The tendency to see the West as the sole source of knowledge in modern Japan has led to countless "influence studies" that have documented the West's impact on Japan.²² In this capacity, Russian thinkers have been understood as a Western source of influence on Japan. These one-sided influence studies have largely neglected the multidirectional nature of transnational intellectual phenomena.

The Cold War inspired both Soviet and American scholars of Japan to document Russia's influence on the non-West for its relevance to policy making. There is thus a considerable literature in Russian, Japanese, and English detailing Russian cultural and political influence on Japan.²³ Scholarship emphasizing Marxist influence on Japan has tended to begin its narratives with the Russian Revolution of 1917. Scholars have long emphasized the central role of Russian Marxism and the Russian

21. One example is the Russian symbolist poet Konstantin Balmont's (1867–1942) references to Japan at the turn of the last century. On Balmont and Japan, see Azadovskii and D'iakonova, *Bal'mont i Iaponiia*.

22. See, for example, Nobori and Akamatsu, *Russian Impact on Japan*.

23. For a more contemporary study of Russian influence on the modern world written from a post—Cold War perspective, see Marks, *How Russia Shaped the Modern World*.

Revolution in the emergence of Japanese proletarian literature, for example. However, if one takes note of the longer history of Russian-Japanese nonstate transnational intellectual relations and the cooperatist anarchist cultural productions from which proletarian literature emerged, the very nature of proletarian literature, and of Marxism itself in Japan, is cast in a new light.

The transnational history involving Japan and the non-West has largely focused on spatially ordered categories of political identities, borderlands, colonized-colonizer encounters, transnational nationalisms (often among colonized peoples), and the global Western cosmopolitan imagination of a world divided between West and East, or the West and the Rest.²⁴ Nationalisms and pan-Asianisms have long served as convenient categories of resistance to the West in the study of modern Japan. But to resist the West and capitalism as a reactive nationalist expression was often to accept the power of Western modernity and thereby to fail to overcome it.²⁵ Historians have benefited tremendously from these scholarly endeavors in the past two decades. However, what has remained as a given in the innovative studies of transnational contacts has been the particular temporal order of Western modernity.

Although the anarchist movement in Japan intersected with and supported the global anticolonial movement, it rejected the cultural and political primacy of the nation-state in anticolonial movements. As a vision of progress, cooperatist anarchism was a source of action to create a cooperatist society without regard either for the nation-state or for destructive acts against the state and was thereby distinct from the anticolonial movements in the non-West in this period.²⁶

Even the geographic boundaries that scholars have drawn to define their academic departments, fields of study, and curricula, based as they

24. See, for example, Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. For a more contemporary view of travel and translation, see Clifford, *Routes*.

25. See Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*.

26. In this sense, cooperatist anarchism should also be distinguished from the political and intellectual current that arose from the coinciding of the global anarchism and anticolonialism movements introduced in Benedict Anderson's important work, *Under Three Flags*.

are on national boundaries and the intellectual constructs of continents, have served to discourage continental border crossings in the study of intercultural relations.²⁷ The lack of a geographic construct that embraces both Russia and Japan has made it very challenging for students to straddle existing area-studies centers and learn both Russian and Japanese. Academic funding has long been organized around these same geographic constructs, making it all the more difficult for historians to identify these phenomena.

Finally, it has been broadly assumed that the Japanese socialist movement, inclusive of anarchism, was a child of European socialism. The success of European socialism in the form of its socialist political parties has led global socialist history largely to be modeled after and measured by the European example.²⁸ The history of socialism in Japan has also been viewed from class- and state-focused perspectives of labor and party politics. The language historians have used to describe and categorize Japanese political movements, such as liberalism and conservatism, has also contributed to obscuring cooperatist anarchist practices, which neither were oriented to government politics nor fitted into the Western political spectrum. By examining anarchism through anarchists' cultural practices, their social networks and transnational relations, and their understanding of everyday life, this history offers a new way of looking at socialist currents, beyond government politics and organized labor movements.

This book pays particular attention to translation as a methodological strategy. Russian-Japanese and Japanese-Russian translations were interactive, mutually responsive, and part of a broad, multifaceted, multidirectional, dialectical process of knowledge exchange and formation in which both sides of the translation were mutually affected. It should be noted that their translation practice did not lead to self-colonization, as one might suppose, but liberated participants from the intellectual constructs formulated in the practice of translating the West that led to

27. For a discussion of the conceptual problems of continents as intellectual constructs, see Lewis and Wigen, *Myth of Continents*.

28. See Foner's arguments on the history of socialism in the United States in "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?"

self-colonization.²⁹ The Japanese translation practice of Russian texts also failed to give rise to the process of self-differentiation from “the West” and to elicit cultural nationalism.³⁰ Rather, Japanese translations of Russian texts often inspired a sense of transnational sympathy, camaraderie, common experience, and indignation and outrage over perceived shared injustices.

This book constructs an independent set of archival and methodological strategies for modern history writing in order to see the unfolding of this intellectual history of anarchist modernity. The concepts that arose to constitute this modernity were as much reflected in actions and interactions as they were in written expressions (essays, literature, and other writings). Cooperatist anarchists did not have a central institution or leader to organize people and to elucidate the ideology that joined them. As a result, I have relied heavily on tracing networks, which serve as an essential guide to uncovering this cultural phenomenon. What would originally have appeared as scattered and disassociated fragments of cultural expressions have been joined in the process of tracing the epistemic networks that tied the people who put them into practice. These networks formed like an organ that was constantly shaping and reshaping, but with a detectable logic and pattern over time.

Tracing their activities often necessitated unorthodox methods for an intellectual history, such as extensive use of multinational archives in order to gain insight into their thoughts and practices. Therefore, this book relies on materials from an unusual number and range of archives. Identifying the actions of and interactions among émigrés and escaped prison convicts, pilgrims and missionaries, students abroad, blind bards and Ainu ethnologists, and other traveling participants in transnational networks that often transcended borders and laws necessitated research in archives scattered across multiple continents, in multiple languages,

29. Readers may find it interesting to compare and contrast not only the nature of Russian translation in Japan but also the meaning of modernity to which it belonged with what Lydia Liu has called translingual practice in Chinese translations of modernity. See Liu, *Translingual Practice*; and Liu, *Tokens of Exchange*. For a view of the intellectual history of modern Japan as translation, see also Howland, *Translating the West*; and a suggestive conversation on the theme in Maruyama and Katō, *Honyakuto Nihon no kindai*.

30. On this process of modern Japanese translation practice, see Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*.

and on many levels: state, organizational, local, and personal. This book uses materials from over twenty-five archives and special collections possessed by a variety of private individuals, associations, farms, local libraries, museums, universities, villages, cities, nation-states, and transnational nonstate organizations across Russia, Japan, and the United States in order to open up this new dimension of historical time and space. By relying on these materials, this book uncovers a previously invisible plane to make sense of some of the most dynamic but fundamentally puzzling intellectual phenomena in modern Japanese history.

Russian cultural and revolutionary figures in Japan often served as hubs around which Japanese belonging to the cooperatist anarchist current grouped. In order to identify the Japanese who belonged to this current, it was often necessary first to trace the networks that formed around Russians in Japan. By examining doodles and sketches in class notebooks, newspaper cartoons, photos, tattered slips of paper, rough notes scribbled on the backs of name cards, postcards, diaries, records and songbooks compiled and written by farmers for farmers, and unpublished and self-published manuscripts held in archives across Russia, the United States, and Japan in a diversity of languages, I was often able to learn for the first time the names of Japanese participants and those with whom they associated in this discourse.

Participants in these networks represented strikingly diverse cultural currents. Often, only by unearthing the networks of representatives of major cultural movements in early twentieth-century Japan could the shared intellectual ties among these cultural currents be discovered. The process of tracing these interlocking networks has enabled me to conceptually join such intellectual and popular cultural movements as Esperantism, the children's literature movement, Tolstoyanism, and entomology. Close friends and colleagues in these cultural currents moved in together or lived next door to one another, played billiards and drank together, studied Russian and Esperanto together, borrowed one another's books, corresponded with one another, shared lecture podiums, wrote and spoke about one another, and attended others' funerals. Until now, their cultural movements have never been considered, either together or in relation to anarchism.

Studies of the latest protest movements at the turn of the twenty-first century reveal that they have been made up not of distinct organizational

forms with hierarchical lines of command and authority, but rather of amorphous ties that philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari have likened to rhizomes, the smallest and most extensive roots of trees that tangle and stretch out in multiple directions horizontally underground. Deleuze and Guattari have contrasted these latest forms of political resistance with the older vertical and hierarchically ordered forms of political resistance organizations, which resemble the aboveground branches of trees. They claim that the recent and most advanced forms of networks are more democratic and are preferable to the older forms.³¹ Already a century earlier, similar networks constituted cooperatist anarchist society. Members themselves perceived their network society as a more democratic form of social existence. They formed imagined nonbordered and often transnational spaces, without attachment to concrete land or territory.

Historians tracing the activities of the figures involved in this discourse would encounter a tension in the archives. Cooperatist anarchists often sought to make their practices and networks disappear from history by removing evidence of their own existence. Meanwhile, archives have often originated as state entities that nation-states have sought to organize and administer as records of their success and evolution. Often only the documents of those considered a part of the national narrative and national identity, and therefore as “national property,” have been archivally preserved.

However, a number of factors have remedied this potential vacuum in the archives. First, the extralegal and extranational status of many cooperatist anarchist activities led to remarkably extensive documentation of their practices by governments and their intelligence agencies on both sides of the Sea of Japan. Second, the popularity and tremendous cultural productivity of the cooperatist anarchists made them cultural icons in Japan despite (or because of) their opposition to the ideologies of the nation-state at the time. Therefore, town and village governments, neighborhood shops, local libraries, town parks and museums, universities, nongovernmental groups, and even private individuals in Japan have sought to preserve the historical record of these figures irrespec-

31. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 3–28.

tive of the interests of the nation-state and in contradiction with the efforts of cooperatist anarchists to hide their activities from the historical record.

That Russian national state archives preserved a number of personal documents of Russian figures involved in this discourse, including their correspondence with friends and colleagues in Japan, was not a coincidence. Some of the Russian documents I have relied on to write this book came from the so-called Prague Collection of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad, founded in Prague in 1923 by Russian émigrés. This collection is made up mostly of documents belonging to political émigrés who fled from the Soviet regime to Europe following the Russian Revolution. At the end of World War II, the Czech Communist minister of culture and education Zdeněk Nejedlý proposed to hand over this politically sensitive archive to the Soviet Union. The USSR immediately made practical use of it to fulfill the demands of the Soviet secret police and the labor camps. In 1946 alone, Soviet archivists were able to come up with a list of eighteen thousand names of “enemies of the state” by using the Prague Collection.³²

The secretive nature of interactions among nonlegal entities involved in cooperatist anarchism served to obscure their relations all the more. I often had to look into friends’ and relatives’ correspondence and diaries to learn about figures in this discourse. Hidden private bonds among anarchist intellectuals often publicly manifested themselves only with the death of one of them. A particular figure’s death led his associates and friends to make emotional revelations about his or her significance for the larger community and their attachments to the deceased. Research, therefore, often had to begin in backward order, starting with an obituary. Obituaries and last wishes provided detailed evidence of bonding and thoughts that tied together otherwise-hidden anarchist practices.

The anarchist theorist Kropotkin, for example, carefully hid any personal or intellectual relationship to Tolstoy because of the dangers that

32. For a brief history of the Prague Collection, see Pavlova, *Fondy Russkogo zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva*, pp. 5–28. The portion of the archive composed of materials on anti-Soviet activities is held at the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii, GARF) in Moscow.

any association with the well-known anarchist would pose to the famous novelist. Only with Tolstoy's death did Kropotkin reveal to the public his relationship to Tolstoy in an outpouring of articles and activities to memorialize him. Sometimes interpersonal relations were complex. Pride, intellectual competition, and reluctance to reveal one's intellectual indebtedness to another dissolved only with one's death. Often only with one's death did others in this discourse fully reveal their attachments to that particular person or to their thoughts. One example is Kropotkin's relations with the older Lev Mechnikov. The archives disclose that when Mechnikov died, Kropotkin headed an association of Russian émigrés to gather funds for a memorial to him in Switzerland (see Chapter 1). A further difficulty in identifying the nature of anarchists' activities is that many of those involved in this discourse adopted pseudonyms and aliases both to hide their identities and to reflect their beliefs. Mechnikov, for example, used at least five comic pseudonyms and aliases in order to evade censors and secret agents and to express irreverence for intellectual and social elitism.³³

The history of cooperatist anarchism has the potential to lead scholarship down new paths that call into question the teleological presumptions of historians about the inevitability of Western modernity. Although participants lived according to a distinct temporality and spatiality from Western modernity, they did not seek to resist the West. After all, anarchists were among those most interested in interacting with, and learning from, those from Euro-America. It seems that "the West" and its modernity did not quite culturally colonize the intellectual life and experience of time in Japan during this period after all.

The book is organized chronologically around key intellectual phenomena in modern Japanese intellectual and cultural history. These phenomena marked periods of momentous change and development in socially shared knowledge. In focusing on these intellectual phenomena, each chapter challenges longstanding assumptions in our historiography on the intellectual life of these key periods. Chapter 1 examines the Russian revolutionary and anarchist Lev Mechnikov's encounter with Japan in the 1870s. It situates this underground Russian-Japanese revolutionary

33. Mechnikov's pseudonyms included Garibal'diets, Leon Brandi, Emil' Denegri, and Leon Goranda. Koz'min, "L. I. Mechnikov," p. 389.

encounter within the larger global revolutionary context of the mid-nineteenth century. The historical development of modern Japan has long been defined by Japan's opening to the West (*Kaikoku*). The centrality of this opening for Japan's modern history in all spheres, including culture, thought, science and industry, agriculture, labor, politics, and social relations, has never been questioned. Chapter 1 initiates this book's challenge of this assumption by reexamining the very meaning of *Kaikoku* itself. It explores Mechnikov's encounter with revolutionary Japan and reveals that *Kaikoku* was a moment of opening that enabled different visions of the future and of civilizational progress to emerge and encounter one another. One of these visions challenged the very centrality of the West and its master narrative of progress and civilization. It developed out of the transnational exchange of knowledge between Japanese and Russian visitors to Japan.

Historians have rarely questioned one aspect of the birth of modern Japan: Japan's opening to the West (*Kaikoku*) and the resulting initiation of civilization and progress. The chapter challenges that conception and reexamines the meaning of *Kaikoku* by exploring Mechnikov's private encounter with revolutionary Japan on the nonstate level beyond the imagined East-West divide. I argue that at the very moment when Japan's borders opened to negotiation with the West and to the concomitant narratives of civilizational progress, they opened to different visions of progress.

Mechnikov saw the Meiji Ishin ("Meiji Restoration") as Japan's modern revolution. He gave the Ishin world historical meaning as a major impetus for the advancement of humanity in accordance with cooperatist anarchist principles. Based on his observations of the functioning of mutual aid in Ishin Japan and his conversations with Japanese revolutionaries, Mechnikov constructed a theory of civilizational progress toward universal liberty. His colleague Kropotkin, considered today a father of world anarchism, appropriated Mechnikov's theory at Mechnikov's death. This multidirectional traveling of knowledge, with knowledge being altered and added to at each turn, is typical of the intellectual relations examined in this book. It took the discovery of private letters between Kropotkin and Mechnikov's widow, Olga, to fully understand how Mechnikov's time in Japan influenced Kropotkin and his theory of evolution.

One of the most immediate consequences of Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounters in this period was the development of a distinctive Russian translation culture in Japan. The last section of Chapter 1 discusses this intellectual phenomenon. The appearance of a Russian translation culture was instrumental in the rise of the modern language revolution and the writing of the so-called first modern novel in Japan by the author Futabatei Shimei. Futabatei mastered the Russian language in the program that Mechnikov established in Tokyo. In that program, fellow Russian Populist revolutionaries of Mechnikov taught Futabatei through the study of Russian Populist literature. Futabatei's later crafting of a modern Japanese language in his fiction was often done via his translations of Russian literary language from Russian Populist novels into Japanese. He actively selected Russian revolutionary writings for his source language. Futabatei's translation practice thus consciously departed from the practice of "translating the West" and its modernity. The history of Futabatei's critical translation practice leads to an understanding in Chapter 1 of how his student Yokoyama Gennosuke's (1871–1915) professional documentation of the "social problem" contributed to the birth of the social sciences in Japan.

It was also in the context of the Russian translation culture formed from Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounters that Tolstoy became by far the most translated figure in the entire history of Japanese translation practice in modern Japan. Chapter 2, which covers the years 1885–1904, traces the emergence of the massive nationwide phenomenon of Tolstoyanism in late Meiji Japan. Historians have never accounted for this phenomenon despite its profound cultural presence in early twentieth-century Japan. I argue that Tolstoyanism was a religious discourse of anarchist modernity. The chapter offers a fresh conception of both translation and conversion practice in modern history to make sense of this intellectual phenomenon. It looks at how and why the Russian writer who was publicly excommunicated by the Russian Orthodox Church became one of the most popular intellectuals in Japan through the efforts of the leading Japanese figure in the Orthodox Church of Japan. The chapter reveals the transnational making of what anarchist Peter Kropotkin called Tolstoy's "New Religion" and what Japanese participants began to call "anarchist religion" (*shūkyōteki anākizumu*) by two

friends, Tolstoy and the dean of the Orthodox Seminary in Tokyo, Konishi Masutarō.

Religious conversion has been one of the most destabilizing factors in human history. The chapter argues that although Japanese translations of Tolstoyan religious thought were couched in Christian vocabulary, they began to change the meaning of the term *shūkyō* (religion), from its existing meaning as a modern religion of Christianity in Western modernity to an anarchist idea of virtue, *toku*, to meet the demands of anarchist progress. The popular conversions to Tolstoyanism in Japan were the consequence of a Japanese-Russian translation practice that transfigured the very meaning and value of religion for modernity. This challenges one of the most established views in the historiography on Meiji Japan, that it was Christianity and its assumed Westernization of converts that provided the necessary critical basis for protest against the given political and social order.³⁴ Japanese popular conversions from the Christianity of the West to Tolstoyan anarchist religion were self-conscious political acts that challenged the contemporary social-intellectual order. Here, the Christianity of Western modernity was an object of critique, not its source. In this intellectual environment, “the people” (*heimin*) themselves began to be viewed as the source of modern renewal, renovation, and innovation without intervention from any institution or the state.

This notion of “the people” as the subject of historical change and progress became much more politically salient during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, when Tolstoy was strategically used as the face of the people. Chapter 3 looks at the Nonwar Movement during the Russo-Japanese War as an intellectual phenomenon. The movement revolved around the activities of the Heimisha, or the so-called People’s Association. Historians have yet to acknowledge the significance of this movement for Japanese intellectual history. This chapter makes clear the movement’s role in the development of early twentieth-century Japanese thought. During the war, a number of people shared the view that the war represented a retrogression of human progress and civilization. Their thought provides the key to understanding the Nonwar Movement as

34. See Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*.

what the historian Hyman Kublin saw half a century ago as one of the most successful cases of antimilitarism in modern history.³⁵ The participants' thought contrasted with the Western modernity that sanctioned, if not heroicized, Japan's entry into the community of nation-states as a result of its victory in war and its empire building. The chapter thus challenges the sole historical meaning given to the war, which has been viewed as a major turning point in Japan's quest to be recognized as a modern nation-state. I argue that the war simultaneously clarified and concretized a universal vision of human progress and civilization based on cooperatist anarchist principles in Japan.

The Nonwar Movement is an important symbol for peace and world order today and has served as the inspirational model for various peace movements in Japan ever since the Russo-Japanese War. The movement revolved around the notion of *heimin* as both the subject and object of the movement. Dissecting the language of *heimin*, the chapter argues that the movement invented "the people" without the state. This intellectual practice of inventing the people denaturalized the construct of "international relations" centered on the nation-state as a system of knowledge and its resulting practice embodied in the war. I contend that the invention of "the people" as a vehicle of history would have a significant impact on the intellectual life of early twentieth-century Japan. The chapter examines numerous wartime materials that fail to fit the existing historical paradigm about the war as a major event in Japan's development as a modern nation-state.

After the war, Tolstoy began to be paired with Kropotkin on the Japanese intellectual and cultural scene, to the extent that this phenomenon may be called a Tolstoy-Kropotkinist movement. Chapter 4 suggests that Tolstoy-Kropotkinism was an expression of a shift in historical consciousness that came about with the war from a history that justified the adoption of Western modernity to an anarchist historical consciousness. History was narrated into the anarchist future, and the modern present was perceived as backward and in need of immediate rectification and change. History became akin to a theory of social change in the here and now. A new generation of those who came of age during the war and

35. Kublin, "Japanese Socialists," pp. 322–23.

experienced this shift in historical consciousness carried the anarchist movement through the early twentieth century. As a methodological strategy to show the breadth of the ideological shift brought about by the Nonwar Movement, the chapter focuses on the most unlikely candidate to become an anarchist at the time, the promising young Western cosmopolitanist Arishima Takeo. With the broad slide in historical consciousness, Arishima converted to anarchism immediately after the war. His anarchist conversion helped propel him to the position of a leading public cultural figure in Japan.

The year 1906 also marked the sudden popularization of Esperanto, examined in Chapter 5. Leading Japanese newspapers could not help but notice this phenomenon, and *Asahi shimbun* reported that Esperanto was the biggest popular cultural fad in Japan that year. By 1928, Japan had the highest number of registered Esperanto speakers by far of any non-European country, including the United States.³⁶ The history of Japanese Esperantism offers a rare opportunity to understand early twentieth-century popular conceptions of world order. The chapter challenges historians' understanding of the thoughts and practices of internationalism in Japan during this period.

The near-perfect contrast between the popularity of Esperanto as a language without culture and the absence of any discussion of Esperanto in historiography on modern Japan is striking. Esperanto was often referred to as *minsaiigo* (interpeople's language), and its meaning and usage in Japan contrasted with English and French as *kokusaigo*, the "international languages" of the modern nation-states of Western modernity. The chapter introduces the Esperanto movement as the first direct consequence of the wartime intellectual practice of the invention of the people without the state and the resulting slide in historical consciousness. The language movement had its own logic specific to the popular historical consciousness of Japan immediately after the Russo-Japanese War. Whereas sociolinguistic Darwinism projected the elimination of the weaker cultures and languages by elites of the more advanced cultures, Esperanto was understood in Japan as a liberation of the vernacular from that Eurocentric cultural hierarchy.

36. Forster, *Esperanto Movement*, p. 24.

I approach the intellectual history of the Esperanto movement as a nongovernmental movement (NGM) rather than a nongovernmental organization (NGO). As an NGM, the movement was locally based and motivated and escaped the cultural imperialism embedded in the organizational composition of many of the existing international NGOs of the day.³⁷ The chapter traces the huge popularity of the blind Russian Esperantist and children's literature writer Vasilii Eroshenko and suggests that Eroshenko was emblematic of grassroots internationalism in this period.

It was at this time that a number of supporters of worldism also turned to reading the writings of the microbiologist Ilya Mechnikov (1845–1916). Mechnikov, who won the Nobel Prize in Medicine or Physiology in 1908 for his work on phagocytes and microorganisms, was the younger brother of Lev Mechnikov. Curiously, this sudden rise of a shared interest in Ilya Mechnikov and other natural scientists marked the turn to anarchism by the new generation of self-identified anarchists in Japan. What was it in the latest scientific findings on phagocytes, insects, and cell life that so inspired Ōsugi, Arishima, and Kōtoku from the very moment of their turn to anarchism? The turn to anarchism was embedded in a merging of nature with culture that contradicted the Western modern trajectory of civilizational progress away from nature. The dissolution of this distinction of nature and culture was a key expression of the cooperatist anarchist notion of progress.

Chapter 6 examines what I characterize as the scientific turn among Japanese anarchists. It explores how ideas of historical progress came to inform Japanese interpretations of and interest in the latest writings by natural scientists, and how ideas of progress in the natural sciences were simultaneously applied to ideas of culture. The chapter asks how and why anarchist translations and introductions of four natural scientists with contradictory perspectives on the origins and development of the natural world, Kropotkin, Charles Darwin (1809–1882), Jean-Henri Fabre (1823–1915), and Ilya Mechnikov, made them the most discussed and popularized scientists in early twentieth-century Japan. The entomologist Fabre, who was little known in his home country of France, became

37. See, for example, Tyrrell, *Women's World/Women's Empire*.

massively popular in Japan. Indeed, Fabre and his dung beetle, known in Japanese as *funkorogashi* (dung-ball roller), are universally shared cultural icons of childhood in Japan. Young readers of his work were inspired to enter the fields of entomology and other natural sciences and continue to shape the direction and form that these fields have taken in Japanese academia. This reverse flow of knowledge from popular science to the elite halls of the university was typical of the flow of knowledge production by anarchists in this period.

I attempt an analysis of the logic of anarchist translations of Fabre and other natural scientists. Only with knowledge of the anarchist notion of progress and Russian-Japanese nonstate transnational intellectual relations does anarchists' dynamic role in translating and popularizing these four scientists make sense. Anarchists discovered in the writings of Mechnikov the functioning of symbiosis within the human body as essential to survival. The idea and meaning of the human body coalesced with their thoughts on human history. I argue that anarchists saw in the findings of Fabre, Mechnikov, Kropotkin, and Darwin scientifically based arguments against Malthusianism and social Darwinism. Through natural science, anarchists removed the distinction between high and low, nature and culture. The originality of their interpretations of these world-class scientists thereby naturalized anarchism.

The Epilogue introduces a variety of other cultural movements inspired by cooperatist anarchists that developed in early twentieth-century Japan without a conductor to orchestrate their activities. From day to night, institution to noninstitution, state to nonstate, high culture to popular culture, and cultural hierarchy to the multiplicity of cultures, the very idea of culture was overturned. I use the term "anarchist cultural revolution" to refer to the effective interventions by anarchists to alter the meanings and values of a number of spheres of modern culture without violence or direction from the state on a broad scale. Their practices encompassed fields ranging from literature, art, and music to education and agriculture, as well as science and language, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. They involved some of the best-known figures in Japanese cultural history from this period, such as the artist and People's Arts Movement proponent Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946), the massively popular songwriter Kitahara Hakushū (1885–1942), and one of the most loved literary writers in Japan today, Miyazawa Kenji. Childhood, for example, became a

particularly potent realm of intervention. Those who belonged to anarchist modernity understood that in the child, the original, naturally arising source of universal human virtue that was essential to an anarchist future could be identified and nurtured. It was in this context that Miyazawa, a writer of children's literature, delved into the study of natural science, astronomy, and Esperanto.

The Epilogue further demonstrates how this cooperatist anarchist transformation of the concept of culture led to a new discourse on *demokurashī* (democracy) in the 1910s and 1920s. Anarchist "democracy" was put into practice with the spontaneous formation of grassroots associations and other nation-scale civic movements in the decades before World War II. This challenges historians to look beyond the received view of the emergence of spontaneous organizing (and "civil society") as a product of the postwar U.S. occupation. The anticapitalist discourse on democracy and the "people" in the cultural revolution would have a lasting intellectual legacy. Indeed, the once-banned dung beetle managed to remain a hero in popular culture, outlasting any political party or ideology of imperial Japan.

CHAPTER I

Revoliutsiia Meets Ishin: The Emerging Vision of Cooperatist Civilization

In 1874, a little over a decade after Bakunin's travels through Japan, the Russian populist and international revolutionary leader Lev Mechnikov sailed to Japan in order to observe and participate in the Meiji Ishin, commonly known in English as the "Meiji Restoration."¹ Japan was still in the throes of disorder and conflict when he disembarked in Yokohama. Comparing the Ishin with revolutionary movements in Europe, Mechnikov called it a "complete and radical revolution, the kind we know of only in history."² Seeking to correct a common understanding among many in the West of the causes of the Ishin, he described it as being of native origin. He argued that the Ishin was not simply a political reaction to pressure from without to partake in Western civilization and its capitalist development. More important, it was a complex revolution from within that was based on centuries of social, cultural, and intellectual developments and was only further propelled by disturbances from abroad. Mechnikov would eventually give the Ishin global significance for human progress in a different direction altogether from Western modernity.

1. In this chapter, only when I am referring to how nineteenth-century Russians described the events surrounding the overthrow of the Tokugawa feudal regime do I use the term "revolution." Elsewhere, I use the Japanese term "Ishin." On the problem of rendering the Meiji Ishin as "Meiji Restoration" in translation, see, for example, Najita, "Japan's Industrial Revolution," pp. 19–23.

2. Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," p. 76.

Historians have rarely questioned one aspect of the birth of modern Japan: Japan's opening to the West (*Kaikoku*) and the resulting initiation of civilization and progress. This chapter attempts to reexamine the meaning of *Kaikoku* by exploring Mechnikov's private encounter with Ishin Japan on the nonstate level beyond the imagined East-West divide and introduce the larger resulting vision of cooperatist anarchist civilization and progress. At the very moment when Japan's borders opened to negotiation with the West and to the concomitant narratives of civilizational progress, they also opened to alternative visions of progress. As will become clear, Mechnikov would give the Ishin as Japan's modern revolution world historical meaning as a major impetus for the advancement of humanity under cooperatist anarchist principles. The emerging idea of cooperatist anarchist progress would emphasize cooperative human relations, not social Darwinist competition, and spontaneous free associations of peoples, rather than rule of law and state governance, as foundations for the advancement of human life. It would be based on the premise that human difference formed an essential basis for cooperative human society, providing a possibility for a modern subjectivity that incorporated individual and collective simultaneously.

It took his encounter with Ishin Japan for Mechnikov to refashion anarchism from a Bakuninist ideology of primordial and violent destruction of the existing social and political structures to an evolutionary construct of civilizational development based on mutual aid.³ Mechnikov identified in Japan a dynamic model of civilizational progress that transcended the provincially bounded idea of the Russian commune. Mechnikov was struck by the practices of cooperative self-organization among commoners during the Ishin. Cooperative practices served to give economic and social stability to commoners' lives at a time of tremendous political instability, lack of organizational guidance from above, and sudden displacement to urban areas. He observed commoners' consciousness and pride in their contribution to the larger society, with recognition in

3. Although Mechnikov had conspired with Bakunin in revolutionary activities in the 1860s, he acknowledged that his relations with Bakunin were fairly negative. L. Mechnikov to Vasilii Danilovich, January 29, 1884, box 183, folder 34, B. I. Nicolaevsky Collection, Hoover Institution of War and Peace Archives.

turn of others' contributing role. Japanese called this organizing ethic for the conduct of everyday life "mutual aid." He observed that the principle of mutual aid had the capacity to extend beyond the confines of the immediate family, the neighborhood, and even the nation, and that this capacity was indicated by the intensity of learning from and interaction with the outside world that he encountered on many levels of society. It would be this ethic that Mechnikov would see as the foundation for the advancement of human civilization at large. The developing vision of progress and civilization inspired by the encounter between ideas of Ishin and *revoliutsiia* would later become an intellectual basis for Kropotkinism, a leading current of modern anarchism.

Not only does Mechnikov's encounter serve as a reminder of the openness and unsettledness of the early meanings given to the "beginnings" of modern Japan, but it also indicates the salience of alternative meanings given to those beginnings for further action. Japanese intellectuals would turn the vision of cooperatist progress into one of the most important conceptual foundations for modern cultural life in Japan.

This chapter approaches Japan's "opening" by examining underground interlocking networks of revolutionaries and other radicals that formed on the nonstate level, beyond the cultural construct of the encounter between West and non-West. The Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounter was entirely alien to the mid-nineteenth-century culture of international relations of Western nation-states.⁴ It thereby provides a new lens to read *Kaikoku* as a moment of rupture, thereby giving it new historical meaning and value.

European Revolution Failed

Standing within the fold of Western modernity, Europeans and Americans in Japan during the Ishin believed that it was the civilizing presence of the Western nation-states that was responsible for the beginnings of modern Japan. Merchant Francis Hall (1822–1902) observed the events largely through the lens of his business interests in Japan and the Western

4. On this culture of international relations, see Jahn, *Cultural Construction of International Relations*.

diplomatic activities that supported them. When he described the progress that foreigners brought to Japan as an eventual “good,” he meant the degree of capitalist development as the measure of that progress. From another perspective, Isabella Bird (1831–1904) was one of the very few Westerners who traveled widely through Japan in the early years of Meiji. She described in minute detail the technologies of everyday life during her forays through Japan in 1878, revealing the “hopeless darkness” of the Oriental peasant’s primitive lifestyle. Her descriptions referred to a hierarchy of peoples based on their level of development in science, technology, and Christianity. From a diplomatic perspective, measuring modern progress by a nation’s capacity for empire building in the international arena, British Embassy secretary Ernest Satow (1843–1929) assessed during the Ishin that Japan would never “get beyond a third or fourth rate position.” Satow saw the general populace as a major cause of Japan’s inability to advance in international ranking because they “seemed to be too much mere imitators, and wanting in bottom.”⁵ This assessment of Japanese desire to learn from the outside world as a sign of backwardness starkly contrasted with assessments by Russian observers, discussed later in this chapter. Hall, Bird, and Satow provide examples of how Europeans and Americans, male or female, private or public, partook in the vision of Western civilization and progress composed of the elements of state and empire building, rationality via science and technology, capitalism, and Christianity.

In contrast to American and Western European observers of the events in Japan, Mechnikov gave tremendous meaning to the intellectual accumulation of the Tokugawa period (1600–1868). He saw progressive aspects of the Ishin as products of social and cultural developments already apparent in Tokugawa Japan. As someone who had been directly involved in revolutionary movements across Europe, Mechnikov was uniquely positioned to compare the Ishin at the moment of its occurrence with radical movements in the West. His fascination with the “revolution in Asia” led to his meticulous examination of the Ishin and the cultivation of an extensive network of personal relations with Ishin participants and intellectual figures in Japan. Mechnikov further stood

5. Hall, *Japan through American Eyes*, pp. 414–15; Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*; Satow, “Letter to F. V. Dickens,” p. 298.

out because of his preparedness in Japanese. Having attained fluency in Japanese before he went to Japan, Mechnikov studied historical texts, literature, popular pamphlets, and scholarly work unmediated by translation to deepen his knowledge.⁶ Furthermore, because he distanced himself from the diplomatic and merchant communities of the treaty ports, his observations of Ishin Japan were based on his experiences as a private visitor essentially without citizenship or national belonging at a time when Westerners arrived in Japan under strict diplomatic protection and patronage.⁷ This cosmopolitanism, based on a sense of national homelessness shared among the Russian revolutionaries who would come to Japan as prison escapees or exiles, offered a distinctive basis for Russian-Japanese transnational relations.

Mechnikov's *Ishin* was both rooted ideologically in Russian radical thought and influenced by the perspectives of those in Japan who had lived through it. Thus, just as Western interpretations of the *Ishin* were particular to the historical time and space from which they came, Mechnikov's accounts warrant historicization.

Mechnikov had been instrumental in forming the larger discursive space of Populism, Russian radical thought of the 1860s to 1880s. With the heightened state of political repression in Russia at the time, Russian political dissidents residing in Europe served as the mouthpiece for Populism. Mechnikov was a leading organizer of this small but active community of émigrés. He served as a tactical organizer of the community's dissident activities and an articulator of its ideas through his many writ-

6. Mechnikov also had an ancestral tie to Japan. He was a direct descendant of Nikolai Spafarii ("Wielder of the Sword," or "Mechnikov") (1636–1708), a Moldavian warrior who made the first serious attempt to provide Japan's geographic position to the Russian government. Spafarii was assigned as Peter the Great's diplomatic envoy in 1675 to China, where he was instructed to collect information on Japan from the Chinese. He provided Russia with some of its first knowledge about Japan in a long history of Russian-Japanese relations. Spafarii now graces a Romanian coin, issued in 2011 on the 375th anniversary of his birth.

7. In 1869, Mechnikov undertook his first attempt to return to Russia, an attempt assisted by Ilya Mechnikov, Lev's brother and later a Nobel laureate (see Chapter 6), in arranging a return with the border guards. Although Lev wrote to his mother that he sorely wished to return, he finally decided not to because of the certainty of being imprisoned. Mechnikov's police file is now located in the Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF) archival collection in Moscow.

ings.⁸ The Russian secret police considered Mechnikov's writings as dangerous as Nikolai Chernyshevsky's (1829–89) "What Is to Be Done?," the so-called bible of the Russian *narodniki* (Populists). Police reports stated that "What Is to Be Done?" and Mechnikov's autobiographical story "Bold Stride," published together in one issue of the journal *Sovremennik*, caused the landmark journal to be shut down. Mechnikov's actions also expanded far beyond the immediate Russian community, and in the 1860s and early 1870s he participated in or assisted revolutionary movements and uprisings in Poland, Spain, France, and Italy, where he fought and was wounded as a lieutenant in Giuseppe Garibaldi's military campaign for Italian unification.⁹ Although Mechnikov reacted negatively to Bakunin's overzealous and often tactless revolutionary activities, Bakunin relied heavily on Mechnikov as part of his secret society. Mechnikov participated in a number of Bakunin's conspiratorial activities upon his return to Europe in the early 1860s.¹⁰

Impressed with the young radical's insights, the widely read émigré social critic Alexander Herzen (1812–70) frequently had him contribute to his journal *Kolokol'*, which had been banned in Russia.¹¹ Mechnikov headed the opening of the journal's branch in Switzerland. Instrumental in maintaining the émigrés' direct underground ties to intellectual life in Russia, Mechnikov created and ran an illegal publications transport route from Europe into Russia that provided Russian readers with works from

8. Mechnikov often served as a leading figure at key moments of the émigré community's activities. For example, he led the important meeting among Russian émigrés to discuss their plan of action about the crisis of the Nechaev affair, a scandalous murder publicized across Russia that implicated a member of their revolutionary circle.

9. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi federatsii, Moscow (hereafter GARF), f. 6753, op. 1, d. 383, l. 34; Mechnikov, "M. A. Bakunin v Italii," p. 824; Lishina and Lishin, "Lev Mechnikov," p. 463.

10. Mechnikov writes of his relationship to Bakunin in a letter in the Nicolaevsky Collection, box 183, folder 34, Hoover Archives. For Mechnikov's memoirs on Bakunin, see Mechnikov, "M. A. Bakunin v Italii." Bakunin also mentions Mechnikov in several of his personal letters, e.g., Bakunin to Herzen and Ogarev, March 4, 1864, in Bakunin, *Pis'ma*, p. 258.

11. Herzen publicly praised Mechnikov's writing and speeches as early as 1863. Mechnikov's speech defending the Polish uprising in 1863 led Herzen to identify it as "the first utterance of the awakened Russian conscience." Mechnikov, "Tochka Povorota."

the émigré community.¹² Mechnikov's steps were recorded in detail and maintained in a thick file kept by the tsar's secret police. He adopted a number of irreverent pseudonyms to further attenuate his relations to the state, hoping "to remind the Russian government as little as possible of my existence."¹³

The larger community of Russian intellectuals in which Mechnikov participated questioned the narrative of civilizational progress in the West. Widely sharing the perception of a hierarchically bound Europe, Russian intellectuals increasingly believed that the revolutionary movement in the West was incapable of succeeding in creating an equitable and free society. If some had anticipated the possibility for a new social order with the initiation of the Paris Commune in 1871, the Commune's violent suppression solidified the belief that much of Europe was immature and ill prepared for a successful revolution toward social equality and justice.

Herzen's influential writings had earlier provided a devastating analysis of the virtual impossibility of a revolution in much of Western Europe, where a hierarchical order and a massive centralized government structure to rule over it were in full motion, instituted over centuries of development. The problem with Europe lay not in the institutional creation of freedoms, which the Russian intelligentsia generally considered successful, but in the ingrained customs of daily interaction, which were difficult to alter. Mechnikov's account of his disenchantment with the revolutionary movement in France echoed recollections by the older Herzen of his experiences with the revolutions in Europe decades earlier. In a handwritten report Mechnikov submitted to an unnamed addressee in Japan, he described a French society hopelessly divided by hierarchy. He discussed the suppression of the Paris Commune by a public made up of a privileged class that sought to maintain power and an uneducated, tradition-bound rural mass.¹⁴ Coming from two generations of Russian intelligentsia, the literary and theoretically oriented "fathers" and the action-oriented "sons," Herzen and Mechnikov's ideas represented a

12. Bakunin, *Pis'ma*, p. 258.

13. GARF, f. 5770, op. 1, ed. khr. 156. See also Lishina and Lishin, "Lev Mechnikov," pp. 478–79.

14. Mechnikov, "France sous Mac-Mahon."

broad swath of Russian revolutionary experience in Europe.¹⁵ “The European revolution failed” had become a cliché among Russian intellectuals by the early 1870s.

For many, the source of a new revolutionary lifestyle lay within Russia. Beginning with Herzen’s suggestion in 1855, Russian everyday life identifiable with the Russian agricultural commune came to provide a core principle of future development and revolution. Russia in their view had a state that was a foreign import introduced by force, with no roots in native tradition. The path to revolution in Russia could thus be much simplified.¹⁶ Although the Russian commune provided an indication of alternative development for the Populist movement, it would be in Ishin Japan, with its radical openness to technological change and new ideas from abroad, that Mechnikov would identify a universal possibility for cooperatist anarchist human progress, transcending the provincialist claims of Slavophiles. After his stay in Japan, Mechnikov would acknowledge the severe limitations of the Russian commune as a model for socialist everyday life. In 1881, he would criticize the idealization of contemporary Russia as a “good kingdom of limitless communalism.”¹⁷

For Mechnikov in the early 1870s, the revolution in Japan provided both a real and a metaphoric alternative to the conservativeness of “old Europe.” He responded to the ongoing developments in Japan with sudden determination. “The horizon, which had hung over Europe with a heavy foulness, shone in the Far East with an unexpectedly bright light. We had been accustomed to considering [Japan] as an eternal bulwark of immobility, inertia, and stagnation. . . . Japan suddenly stirred, awakened, and with unexpected life came to meet ‘white civilization,’ despite the unwise actions of Europe.”¹⁸ Having freed itself for revolutionary activity, Japan provided the potential to overcome the instilled customs

15. The expressions “fathers” and “sons” come from Ivan Turgenev’s popular novel on the social problem in Russia, *Fathers and Sons* (1862), which depicts two generations of Russian intellectuals. Mechnikov and Herzen mutually respected each other. Herzen said that Mechnikov was “the only one capable of thinking and writing.” Mechnikov, in turn, often said of Herzen, “No man had left a deeper impression on his life.” Herzen, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 28:10; and Olga Metchnikoff, *Life of Elie Metchnikoff*, p. 47.

16. Herzen, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 24:184, 6:7.

17. Mechnikov, “Obshchina i gosudarstvo,” p. 227.

18. Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” p. 23.

and traditions that had restrained social progress in Europe. “The image of an entire people, awakening from torpidity and bravely going to meet a new life, refreshes one better than any poetical and luxurious virgin distant land.”¹⁹ Mechnikov criticized Orientalizing constructs of Japan as an unreal and distant realm of poetic fantasy and preferred to view the people of Japan instead as the very real subjects of history.

Mechnikov’s travel to Japan coincided with the Populists’ famous V Narod (“To the People”) Movement in Russia by the same members of the émigré community of which he was a part. In this movement, members of the intelligentsia who subscribed to Populist notions went out into the Russian countryside to learn from the peasants’ practices and spread revolutionary ideas. However, his resolve to go to Japan was not an attempt reminiscent of the movement, in the sense that he was not traveling to enlighten a backward mass and stir its revolutionary instincts. In contrast, Mechnikov was interested in studying the dynamics of a progressive revolution accomplished in the East.

Other Russians who visited Ishin Japan similarly described it as an unprecedented modern revolution in Asia. Generally sharing a moral apprehension at the conduct of foreigners in Japan, Russians saw the Western presence as having disturbed, as much as fueled, the progress that ensued. They described Western Europeans in Japan, from sailors to diplomats, as holding misguided understandings of civilization and progress that failed to incorporate social justice and brotherly love in their idea of universal development.²⁰ Even Archbishop Nikolai, the leading Russian Orthodox missionary in Japan, who theoretically stood on the opposing political shore from Mechnikov, had remarkably similar views about the Ishin. On the basis of his exceptional knowledge of the Japanese language and Japanese history and his experiences in Japan during the Ishin, Nikolai observed the “revolution” as a particular beginning of a new era of progress predicated on religious faith, in which the West played a peripheral role. For Nikolai, the Ishin was both a violent overturning of an old sociopolitical order and a natural product of a developed commoners’ society. Nikolai wrote that the “democratic” order of Japanese life had not only developed over centuries on popular

19. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

20. See Bartoshevskii, *Iaponiia*; Veniukov, *Puteshestvie*, pp. 271–80.

soil but was also more advanced than the most powerful Western nations. Like Mechnikov, he described the Japanese to Russian readers as one of the most educated and cultured people in the world, with a highly developed popular culture rooted in centuries-old traditions of peasant education.²¹

Russian observers who were in the midst of national soul-searching over the largely failed emancipation of the Russian serfs in 1861 saw the *Ishin* as representing the most radical overturning of the ruling class and the hierarchical social order in the world. It was thus thought to be a model worthy of study for social reform. Russian writers used the Japanese case as a veiled criticism of the current social and political system in Russia. The twenty-six-year-old Mikhail Veniukov (1832–1901), a geographer of Populist leanings who stayed in Japan in 1870, admiringly noted that in contrast to Russia, the new order's requisitioning of lands from the vassal lords "was so natural, so lawfully done, that no one complained."²²

Nikolai Bartoshevskii, who stayed in the homes of four Japanese families during his travels through Japan before the start of the civil war, published his observations about Japan in 1868, the official year of the Meiji Restoration. Bartoshevskii, like Veniukov, was fascinated with Japanese social life and paid particular attention to issues of class. He remarked on the unequal and rapacious social interactions of Europeans with Japanese. In the eyes of Japanese law, "all classes of Japanese inhabitants are equally accountable," he wrote. Japanese of all classes, he observed, in contrast to the tremendous social and cultural divide between aristocrats and plebes in Europe, maintained a surprisingly similar domestic life. They left no room for distinction in quality of daily life between that of a government official and that of a farmer. He also noted the equal education that was given to men and women. In this context of "preparedness" of the general population for progress toward social equality, Bartoshevskii predicted an intellectual and political revolution in Japan.²³

21. Nikolai, "Iaponiia s tochki zreniia khristianskoi missii," pp. 221–22.

22. Veniukov, *Puteshestvie*, p. 283. Like Mechnikov, Veniukov contributed to Herzen's journal *Kolokol*.

23. Bartoshevskii, *Iaponiia*, 32, 35, 45.

Grigorii Blagosvetlov (1824–1880), editor of the Populist journal *Delo* in St. Petersburg, believed that Mechnikov could provide an account of Ishin Japan that would prove stimulating to his journal's broad readership. In a letter to Mechnikov, he wrote:

Leaving behind old Europe with her routines and prejudices, you are setting out for a country that is beginning a new period of life. In Japan, everything is being re-created anew. Her awakening is a great and particularly interesting one for European observation. . . . Of most importance for *Delo* would be to give a good general view of those deep-seated reforms that Japan has achieved in recent times. Brought to a general analysis and well explained, they would be edifying for us.²⁴

Responding to the Japanese meaning of the term *ishin* as a vision of constructing everything anew, Blagosvetlov contrasted revolutionary Japan to old Europe. Meanwhile, Euro-American concepts of progress relegated the geographic space of the East, which often included Russia, to the temporal position of backwardness. Karl Marx, for example, objectified the “East” in his thought as an eternally stagnant entity. He wrote in *Capital* that a true picture of ancient or feudal economies in Western Europe could be deduced from a close study of the “primitive forms” found in contemporary Russia and Japan.²⁵

By redirecting the faculty for progress away from the West, Russian intellectuals in the 1870s began to redraw the map of development and hierarchical order. When Japan was observed as a locus of tremendous progress, the divide that marked the geography of difference between a stagnant East and an advanced modern West appeared to dissolve.

A Transnational Revolutionary Encounter

Mechnikov's establishment of relations with Japanese counterparts would lead to a meeting of Ishin and *revoliutsiia* in Japan. A physical meeting occurred between the Russian revolutionary and Japanese radicals. Simultaneously, a dialectical relationship emerged, a meeting between the meanings of Ishin and revolution. As will be discussed in the

24. Grigorii Blagosvetlov to Lev Mechnikov, December 11, 1873. GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 43.

25. Marx, *Selected Writings*, pp. 237–39.

next section, a new understanding of the Ishin as an expression of cooperative civilization would develop, culled from these revolutionary networks. This new historicity provided a vision of human society that was projected to follow. In turn, the future vision of Ishin society gave shape to how one was to make sense of the past and the present.

In the years before his departure for Japan, Mechnikov had formed close ties with a number of former *shishi*, or revolutionary samurai of the Ishin, who had been sent to Europe to learn about the outside world. Mechnikov's self-identification as a wounded veteran of Garibaldi's war in Italy, graphically illustrated by his pronounced limp and wooden heel, helped to convince his acquaintances that he was an internationalist and populist revolutionary.²⁶ His relations with the *shishi* were established on an interpersonal and unofficial basis. Mechnikov recalled, "I conducted all my agreements with Japanese in Europe exclusively in verbal fashion, outside any official setting, and without accompanying witnesses."²⁷ He was given a private and under-the-table invitation to go to Japan for service under Saigō Takamori, a famous *shishi* who had become a charismatic leader in the new Meiji government. Mechnikov was assigned to work personally under Takamori, who would serve as his sole supervisor and patron. As part of the invitation facilitated through Saigō's family network, Takamori's younger brother Saigō Tsugumichi (1843–1902) invited Mechnikov to live with him in his Tokyo home throughout Mechnikov's stay in Japan.²⁸

Mechnikov's level of preparedness in language and knowledge set him apart from other Europeans in Japan and provided him with direct contact with Japanese counterparts and texts, unmediated by interpretation. His access to untranslated and unmediated knowledge enabled him to avoid Western languages of modernity conveyed in European translations of Japanese texts. Mechnikov went to the Sorbonne to attend the only Japanese program in Europe. Dissatisfied with the slow pace of learning there, he immediately left Paris in 1872 to seek out Ōyama Iwao (1842–1916), whom he had heard was in Switzerland, for one-on-one

26. Kido, *Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, 2:337, 3:145.

27. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," p. 45.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

study.²⁹ Ōyama was a Satsuma *shishi* who had participated in the Meiji Ishin and was a cousin of Saigō's. He had been sent there by the Meiji government to study military affairs and French.

Ōyama and Mechnikov quickly became close personal friends. Impressed with the revolutionary's understanding of the events in Japan, Ōyama made the unorthodox decision to study the French language and French affairs from a Russian revolutionary. The former *shishi* and the revolutionary got along so well that within two weeks of their meeting they planned to move in together.³⁰ Ōyama introduced Mechnikov to Ishin leaders, including members of the Iwakura mission then visiting Switzerland. Through these contacts, Mechnikov received an invitation to Japan to serve as a teacher of revolutionary ideas and values.

At the time he invited Mechnikov, Saigō Takamori had been protesting the Meiji leadership's policies of undignified bureaucratic assault on the samurai as excessively harsh, particularly on the already-poor country samurai. Representative of the unsettledness of the Ishin's accomplishment in the minds of Japanese contemporaries, Saigō claimed that by attacking the warrior class that had fueled the spirit of the revolution and by implementing overly ambitious Westernization projects with increasing centralization of the state bureaucracy, the Meiji leadership had betrayed the idealist motives at the root of the Ishin. In an attempt to revive spiritual dignity and idealism in Japan's future leaders, Saigō created a special school in Tokyo, the Shūgijuku, to develop warrior ethics and teach foreign knowledge simultaneously.³¹ The school was intended to be a linkage point between the national future and the dead of the revolutionary past. Saigō applied his annual stipend rewarded for his leadership in the Ishin to the founding of the school. He declared in the school's charter that there could be no more appropriate way to use his stipend than to support a school to honor the memory of those who had died and to help prepare the living to follow their noble example.³² In accordance with this ideal, Mechnikov was invited to be an integral part

29. Ibid., p. 25.

30. See Ōyama's diary entry of August 16, 1872, pp. 130–31, in Ōyama Gensui Hensan Iin, *Gensui Koshaku Ōyama Iwao*.

31. On the school, see Ravina, *The Last Samurai*, pp. 194–45.

32. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," p. 28; Saigō, *Saigō Takamori zenshū*, 3:333.

of a project to revive the Ishin's revolutionary spirit. Mechnikov was aware of his assignment to organize under Saigō's patronage and guidance a special school for former warriors of the Ishin and their children. "I was invited for the organization in Japan's capital of a private school using funds that were given by the government to samurai . . . of the Satsuma kingdom in reward for their participation in the revolution of 1868."³³ Saigō planned for his students to study Western science and foreign languages in combination with character training in revolutionary virtue. Mechnikov seemed to be able to teach all three.³⁴

As an accomplished revolutionary, Mechnikov was invited to serve as director of the school. In the eyes of the Japanese *shishi* who had met him, Mechnikov appeared to possess the kind of idealist virtue that had originally fostered the Ishin.³⁵ In turn, Mechnikov described his patron Saigō as a populist and patriotic revolutionary leader of commoner persuasion.³⁶ He recalled him as having given up his immense power to voice his opposition to the policies of the Meiji government and as having adopted instead a simple agrarian lifestyle.³⁷ Saigō's turn to an agricultural way of life as an expression of his belief in the Hotoku agricultural

33. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 27–28.

34. Mechnikov possessed high qualifications in math, the arts, and foreign languages. He had attended medical school in Russia before switching to the Near Eastern Studies Department at St. Petersburg University as an undergraduate. An avid painter, he had also taken classes at the Academy of Art in St. Petersburg and had traveled to Italy in order to study painting before getting caught up in the liberation movement under Garibaldi. He had earned a degree in mathematics in Switzerland just before leaving for Tokyo, ostensibly to enable him to earn his keep in Japan. He was also multilingual and a quick self-learner of languages, as evidenced by his rapid pace in acquiring Japanese. GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 37, l. 5. See also Evdokimov, "Predislovie," pp. 6–7.

35. Tetsuo Najita traces the intellectual history of the idealist strand vis-à-vis bureaucracy in Japanese politics in his *Japan*.

36. As is often the case with heroes of any society, Saigō became a mythical figure in Japan. The dead have been used for a variety of purposes by the living. Indeed, the majority of the accounts about Saigō in Japanese are about the myths of Saigō as "history." On Saigō as a mythical figure, see, among others, Igarashi, *Meiji Ishin no shisō*, pp. 243–96. For a critical biographical treatment of Saigō in English, see Yates, *Saigō Takamori*. See also Morris, *Nobility of Failure*.

37. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 44–45.

cooperative movement seemed to fit with Mechnikov's expectations of revolutionary leadership rooted in democratic and populist ideals.³⁸

The two revolutionaries would never meet. When Mechnikov arrived in Japan in late May 1874, he was stunned to find that his intended patron had already resigned from the Meiji government and returned to Kagoshima (formerly Satsuma). Saigō relocated and reestablished Shūgijuku in Kagoshima under his supervision as a military academy for disaffected samurai.³⁹ Soon after Mechnikov came to Japan, Saigō would be propelled to the head of the infamous Satsuma rebellion, in which he led forty thousand troops to overthrow the Meiji government.

Mechnikov would fulfill his assignment to inspire revolutionary idealism among his students instead as an instructor of Russian at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (TSFL), the national center for foreign-language training.⁴⁰ During his time as an instructor at the TSFL, Mechnikov developed extensive relations with those whom he called "the most important leaders of the Japanese progressive movement."⁴¹ These were leaders of the developing Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū minken undō*) for social equality and popular political participation then gaining momentum throughout Japan. Within a few years of Mechnikov's departure from Japan, activists in the movement would organize almost two hundred political societies across the country. One of the most prominent of those with whom Mechnikov likely related was the foremost theoretical leader of the movement, Nakae Chōmin (1847–1901), president of the TSFL while Mechnikov taught at the school.

In their private interactions with Mechnikov, members of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement provided him with a unique source of knowledge about their movement. As he himself would acknowledge,

38. See, for example, Ōyama Gensui Hensan Iin, *Gensui Koshaku Ōyama Iwao*, pp. 357–71. This aspect of Saigō's thoughts and activities between 1873 and 1877 has been a neglected part of scholarship on him. Scholars have treated Saigō during this period as either preparing for civil war or completely retiring. Yates suggests that his intention to retire and adopt an agrarian lifestyle was quite serious. See Yates, *Saigō Takamori*, pp. 161–62.

39. Ravina, *The Last Samurai*, p. 194.

40. Berton, Langer, and Swearingen, *Japanese Training and Research*, p. 16.

41. Mechnikov, letter to Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, n.d. (1881–1883), in Iakovlev, "Pis'ma pisatelei k Saltykovu," pp. 361–62.

much of Mechnikov's understanding of Ishin Japan would depend both on his direct observations and on his private relations with a broad swath of Japanese friends and acquaintances. His interpretation of the Ishin thus would come as much from his acquaintances as from his own expectations and personal experiences. Mechnikov described the extraordinary care his Japanese friends took to guide him in developing his knowledge of Ishin Japan. "I guarded [my acquaintances] every day with affection and exploited them unscrupulously for the profit of my studies."⁴² His relations with Japanese from a nonhierarchical perspective shaped his knowledge of the event as a revolution from within and informed him of the corresponding expectations among many in Japan, rooted in revolutionary ideals, for equality and cooperative relations on the individual, societal, and international levels. In this way, Mechnikov's original idea of *revoliutsiia*, formed from the claims of Russian Populism, fused with the actualities of the Ishin and was further shaped by the understanding of the Ishin among those who had led or experienced it. The cultivation of a network of acquaintances would permit Mechnikov to write thousands of pages on contemporary developments in Japan, as well as on Japanese geography and history.

In turn, the TSFL Russian program would contribute knowledge about the Russian revolutionary movement to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Mechnikov's directorship of the TSFL Russian program was followed by a series of former Populist prisoners and political exiles from Russia who would take teaching positions there. Sixty-five works on Russian Populism were published in Japan in the years 1881–84 alone.⁴³ One of the best-selling books in Japan during this period was an account of the Russian revolutionary movement written by Mechnikov's close friend Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii (1851–1895) and translated for the movement in Japan. Mechnikov's student of Russian, Muramatsu Aizō (1857–1939), would lead one of the most infamous incidents of the movement, the Iida uprising.⁴⁴ Participants in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement linked their own movement to resurrect the perceived

42. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 32–34; Mechnikov, *Empire Japonaise*, p. iv.

43. Crump, *Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan*, p. 38.

44. Watanabe, "Mechinikofu to Muramatsu Aizō."

unfulfilled promises for equality in the Ishin to the revolutionary movement in Russia.

What was for Saigō an Ishin of domestic pertinence had become internationalized in significance through his invitation of Mechnikov to Japan. Saigō's concern with restoring the spirit of the Meiji Ishin had assumed, by virtue of his invitation to the Russian revolutionary, a whole new internationalized meaning of human progress and civilization. In both the physical encounters of Russian and Japanese radicals and the resulting coalescing of meanings, Ishin met *revoliutsiia*. This novel meeting arose in the particular historical juncture of the Meiji Ishin and the Russian revolutionary movement in the wider world context. It emerged beyond the imagined divide between a backward and traditional Orient and a progressive and civilized West.

The interpretation of the Ishin arising out of the Russian-Japanese informal dialogue polemicalized the dominant ideologies of the new Meiji order that was based on assumptions of a West-centered cosmopolitan world order. Just as there arose in the intergeographic spaces of early Meiji Japan an internationalist vision of the Ishin as a cataclysmic event fusing Japan with the vehicle of Western civilization and progress, so there arose a Russian-Japanese internationalist interpretation of the Ishin in conflict with those values. Where does national history end, and where does international history begin? In light of this major current in modern Japanese cultural life arising from Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations, national was international, and international was national.

“The Most Complete and Radical Revolution”

Mechnikov embarked on a voyage around the world in order to reach his coveted destination, Ishin Japan. He first traveled from Switzerland across the Atlantic to New York City, where he purchased an official certificate of U.S. citizenship for two dollars.⁴⁵ This document of citizenship was his passport into Japan. Mechnikov describes his proof of citizenship with humor in an autobiographical sketch: “A gilded and decorated

45. The U.S. certificate of citizenship, obtained just several months before Mechnikov arrived in Japan, may be found in GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 17.

certificate, supplied with all the necessary stamps and seals, for the affixture of which [I] raised two fingers to the sky and paid two dollars, as it's done in official places on that side of the Atlantic."⁴⁶ He continued back eastward to Europe across the Atlantic to gather his remaining belongings and to say good-bye to family and friends.

In the spring of 1874, Mechnikov walked with Ōyama onto the deck of a steamship in the Mediterranean port of Marseilles. Ōyama had accompanied him all the way from Geneva to see him off for his departure to Japan. Agents of the Russian secret police, the Third Section, simultaneously taking note of Mechnikov's departure from Switzerland, were convinced that this experienced conspirator had used the Japan trip merely as a ruse to organize further subversive activities. An agent reported that Mechnikov "actually went to Paris, where he joined Caucasus revolutionaries . . . with whom he has continued their revolutionary activities."⁴⁷ Mechnikov recalled that as he and Ōyama stood together on the steamship that was to transport him to Ishin Japan, Ōyama provided him "with very detailed instructions and a thick letter in the name of Saigō Takamori's younger brother."⁴⁸ The packet Ōyama gave to Mechnikov was a supplement to the unofficial invitation to go to Japan for service under Saigō Takamori. From Marseilles, Mechnikov set sail down the Suez Canal, down and around the globe, and across the rocky waters of the Sea of Japan, arriving in Japan in early summer. It was here that he hoped to find a renewed vision of revolution after his depressing experiences with the failed uprising of the Paris Commune in 1871.

His first days in Ishin Japan were a shocking encounter with total instability. The newspapers were filled with reports on the eruption of uprisings in the South. A number of Ishin leaders with whom Mechnikov had associated in Switzerland were involved. He learned at that moment that swordsmen had slashed and badly wounded Iwakura Tomomi (1825–83), head of the Iwakura mission that Mechnikov had met in Geneva, in an assassination attempt related to the uprisings. "My situation was made all the more desperate by my complete lack of knowl-

46. Mechnikov, "Na vsemirnom poprishche," p. 3. The Russian government refused Mechnikov a passport because it considered him an extreme threat.

47. Lishina and Lishin, "Lev Mechnikov," p. 145.

48. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," p. 45.

edge, my inability to orient myself,” Mechnikov wrote of the chaos he found in Japan. What he knew about the Ishin and Japanese history from his readings of European books and journals failed to prepare him for what he witnessed and experienced in Japan, he recalled.⁴⁹

Mechnikov would be led to describe the Ishin as a conflict-ridden and multilayered experience, full of contradictions and competing claims about its meaning for Japan’s future. Out of these observations would come his particular fascination with what he saw as the social foundations for a revolution from within, the nature of which seemed opposed to the path of centralization and bureaucratization taken by Japanese political leaders. Mechnikov described Japanese elites “strolling down Parisian boulevards” and their leaders, “erecting progress and centralization according to the Napoleonic model,” as “having hardly any understanding of the details and particularities of Japanese life.”⁵⁰ Out of the dialectical interaction of knowledge among experience, expectation, and cross-national contact, the Ishin came to be understood as a revolutionary fulfillment of Mechnikov’s anarchist construct of human progress.

Mechnikov’s discussions of the historical developments within Japan leading up to the Ishin were remarkably detailed. His unconventional, nonhierarchical relations with revolutionaries and Freedom and People’s Rights Movement participants in Japan brought him intimate knowledge of the Ishin. It appeared to Mechnikov that in contrast, restricted spaces of knowledge that enclosed many Europeans and Americans in a constricted place of privilege in Meiji Japan colored their knowledge of the Ishin. Immediately upon disembarking in Yokohama from Switzerland, Mechnikov observed that the majority of Westerners remained protected and unexposed to life in Japan, not venturing to leave the refined foreign cantons of Yokohama and other port cities. Bored after a day spent in these isolated pockets, he left Yokohama to seek knowledge elsewhere.

Mechnikov viewed Japan’s revolution as offering the West a model for radical social reform. For Mechnikov, the Ishin was the revolution of the century. He saw in the Ishin the social and institutional elimination of hierarchical class structures and the creation of vast arenas of social

49. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

mobility for commoners. He further noted that access to new knowledge had opened up on a vast scale.⁵¹ After travels across Japan, staying at rural homes and the plebeian quarters of Tokyo and visiting factories and the Ashio copper mine, Mechnikov noted: "It is impossible not to be surprised at her unusual transformation. This is a complete and radical revolution, the kind that we know of only in history. . . . Not a single branch of social and political life has remained untouched in this revolution."⁵²

He concluded that the Ishin was largely a revolution from within. He believed that the Ishin arose out of a domestic accumulation of dissatisfaction and strife that was only further irritated by the foreign presence.⁵³ He noted that commentators had exaggerated the influence of American and European interference in Japanese affairs. He also refuted the testimonies of other foreign witnesses who explained the Ishin as simply a reactionary eruption against trade agreements with foreigners. No one could explain the progressive reforms that followed the victory of so-called reactionaries against the West, he pointed out.

Rather, Mechnikov believed that the Ishin was a conscious response from a broad-based constituency to the need for progressive, liberal reforms, which they believed would be instituted with the overthrow of the Bakufu. The so-called patriots, or *shishi*, arising from the educated class, had a defined goal to overthrow the shogunate and the entire political order bequeathed by it. He told his readers that the *shishi* came from a variety of economic backgrounds and were distinguishable from others mainly by their literacy and education. Mechnikov pointed out that they shared a social consciousness and were willing to give up their status for the betterment of society as a whole (see Figure 1.1).⁵⁴ The leaders of the revolution were committed to "change and replace not only the

51. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 67–68; Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," pp. 76–77; Mechnikov, "Era Iaponskogo prosveshcheniia," pp. 122–23.

52. Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," p. 76.

53. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 46–47; Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," p. 88.

54. Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, p. 847; Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," pp. 92–93. On the development of Tokugawa-era literary networks that would serve to unite radicals and revolutionaries across status lines, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*.



Fig. 1.1 Lev Mechnikov in samurai dress. An examination of Mechnikov's encounter with Ishin Japan suggests his identification with Ishin samurai not as relics of Oriental difference, but as cohorts for revolutionary change. Photograph courtesy of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), 6753-1-95-6.

political structures but also the very social essence of Japanese life.”⁵⁵ The *Ishin* was thus not just about a single leader seizing power or a coup by self-serving elites, as most Westerners believed, but a social and political revolution with attendant demands and expectations.

At the same time, the revolution necessitated successful social evolution. Japan’s emergence onto the scene of world civilization was not an arbitrary act or a historical accident but “an unavoidable result of Japanese life itself.”⁵⁶ For example, throughout his various writings about the *Ishin*, Mechnikov repeatedly drew on Ōshio Heihachirō’s (1793–1837) 1837 “democratic” uprising, as he called it, as a symbolic action that disclosed the long-term intellectual accumulation in Tokugawa Japan.⁵⁷ It was not the result of a collision between a primitive and isolated society with an advanced civilization, he said, but the result of centuries-long historical developments from within Japan.

Amid tremendous political and social chaos, Mechnikov discovered that common people’s lives continued to function without direction from above. He noted that physical laborers in Japan held a remarkably developed consciousness of social participation equal to that of other parts of society. One of his strongest impressions was of the proud and confident boatmen who greeted his ship when it first arrived. They were “brilliantly tattooed and stately figures, whose naked bodies were covered with bright white, blue, and red images of female faces, dragons, flowers, fossilized in fantastic arabesques.”⁵⁸ Body tattoos (*irezumi*) had become popularized in the seventeenth century among laborers. Usually expressing a story in their multicolored designs, they were a response to Tokugawa feudal laws that dictated clothing styles based on class. Common laborers who wanted to express uniqueness often replaced government-sanctioned commoners’ clothing with the absence of

55. Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” p. 80. Mechnikov’s self-identification with samurai revolutionaries should not be confused with the exoticization and consumption of samurai images by many European and American contemporaries. On American tourism and collecting in Japan in the late 1860s and 1870s, see Guth, *Long-fellow’s Tattoos*.

56. Mechnikov, “Era Iaponskogo prosveshcheniia,” pp. 116–117, 134.

57. Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” p. 86; Mechnikov, “Era Iaponskogo prosveshcheniia,” p. 117.

58. Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” p. 37.

any, except for tattoos covering the body.⁵⁹ Mechnikov found in the tattoos an expression of wit, aesthetic taste, and social pride. He conveyed to his readers that these were not the legendary repressed and cowering dark masses of Oriental despotism but vocal commoners, enthusiastic individuals with pride in their labor for society. Figure 1.2, an illustration of a vibrantly tattooed commoner for the entry on Japan in Élisée Reclus's (1830–1905) encyclopedia of geography, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, which relied heavily on Mechnikov's contributions after his return to Switzerland, demonstrates this view. Mechnikov seemed to have stumbled on the bright masses of revolution in Japan.

This view of a developed social and political consciousness among commoners during this period is echoed in more recent studies of commoners' participation in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Historians Irokawa Daikichi and Roger Bowen attribute substantial popular organization and participation in the movement to political consciousness and a desire for social and political equality.⁶⁰

The voluntary cooperative associations Mechnikov encountered across Japan further evidenced that social revolution was the result of cumulative social and intellectual evolution. He saw urban voluntary associations of people rooted in their home region that supported a lively network based on mutual aid. In these voluntary support networks, Mechnikov saw the rootedness of cooperative practice in everyday existence. When the new Meiji government failed to support institutionally the demographic shift to urban centers, the economy depended on these informal local networks to help those in need, he observed. Students far from home benefited from voluntary cooperative associations in their hometowns, which pooled villagers' money to support their studies. The expressions of mutual aid that Mechnikov saw as integral to the revolutionary emergence of modern Japan were, as he indicated, rooted in Tokugawa intellectual traditions.⁶¹

59. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 55–56. Meanwhile, American and British travelers to Japan largely saw the tattoos as an exotic, savage custom reminiscent of an uncivilized, if idealized, Nature. Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, pp. 142–58.

60. Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*; Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan*.

61. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 67–68. For suggestive essays on cooperatives within the Japanese context, see Najita, "Political Economy in Thought and Practice"; and Najita, "Past in Present."

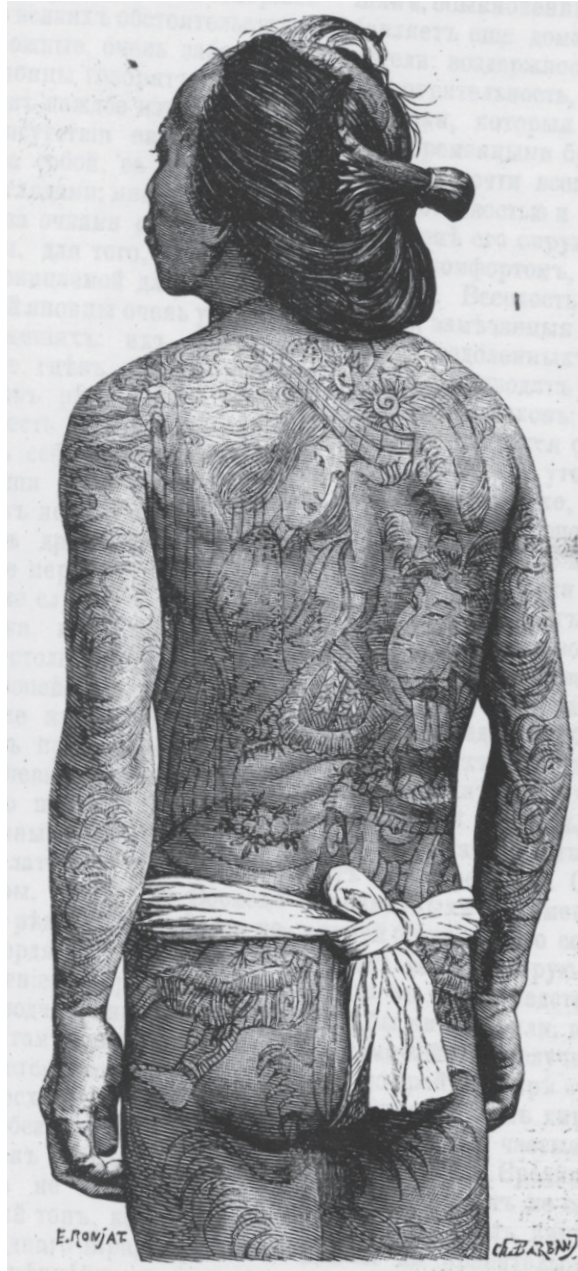


Fig. 1.2 Tattooed laborer in Meiji Japan. Source: Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, p. 769.

Mutual aid as a progressive tendency in Japan was indicated by the tremendous will in Ishin Japan to learn and to actively acquire new knowledge and techniques from others. The act of learning was thus not an expression of inferiority in relation to the object of study, but an indication of progressiveness of thought. Mechnikov described the active, fearless, and selective acquisition of European methods and ideas as manifesting a cooperative ethic that, through a will to learn from the outside world and to open mutually beneficial relations with others, was instrumental for civilizational progress. He emphasized that acquiring knowledge was a conscious act that the learner selectively manipulated as a tool for national well-being rather than an inevitable, divine flow of Reason from civilized to uncivilized, West to East.⁶² Ishin Japan's rapid modernization, rather than serving as a model for Westernization, served as a model for selective development in which scientific, technical, and intellectual advances were rooted in cooperative values.⁶³

Back in Geneva before his departure for Japan, Mechnikov had chanced to meet with Kido Takayoshi (1833–77), Iwakura Tomomi, Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830–78), and other members of the Iwakura mission while they were visiting Switzerland. Kido, then serving as minister of education, took a particular interest in Mechnikov and even visited him at his home in Geneva. Mechnikov perceived that Kido and Ōkubo represented two different schools of learning from Western government. Ōkubo sought to learn from centralized government in France and its Napoleonic laws, but Kido was fascinated with the communal system in Switzerland as being most appropriate for the large variety of regional and historical differences within the small country.⁶⁴

62. See, for example, Mechnikov, "Era Iaponskogo prosveshcheniia," p. 108; Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponiia," pp. 102–3.

63. Mechnikov's observations reflected widespread practices of cooperatist self-organization among commoners. Cooperatives would expand in various forms after industrialization in Japan. Every town and village in Japan would possess some form of cooperative association. In 1923, for example, fourteen thousand cooperatives existed in Japan, with almost three million members nationwide. In 1935 in Hokkaido, 40.7 percent of all households were members of a cooperative, while in the Eastern Mountain region, 83.2 percent of all households were in cooperatives. Recognizing their role in the economy, the Japanese government actively supported cooperatives. Fisher, "Cooperative Movement in Japan," pp. 478, 483–84.

64. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," p. 27.

A number of Mechnikov's observations echoed interpretations of the meanings of the Ishin then circulating among Japanese, from commoners to intellectuals. Historian Irokawa Daikichi claims that millions of commoners believed that the Ishin was a revolution from within that would negate all divisions, attain equality of all classes, and institute a new world order that included equality among nations.⁶⁵ Moreover, the idea of long-term evolution appears to have circulated widely even among Japanese commoners during the time Mechnikov was in Japan. Ishin-era commoners studied the history of political protests in Tokugawa Japan, focusing on the Ōshio uprising that Mechnikov cited in his writings. Like Mechnikov, these commoners used such incidents to question the assumption that the concept of popular rights was a recent import from the West.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Japanese commoners used the commoners' language of mutual aid to give moral meaning to the Ishin and simultaneously to open up and secure a moral role for themselves in the new Meiji sociopolitical order. A widely circulated 1869 pamphlet on international commerce by the Osaka merchant Katō Sukeichi expressed this idea.⁶⁷ Using commonsense ethical vocabulary shared by many in Japan at the time, Katō's pamphlet argued for the moral value of international commerce. For Katō, trade was a mutual supplement (*oginai*) of goods that expressed mutual aid (*ai tasukeau*) as the truth or essential principle of human action (*hito tarino dōri*).⁶⁸ To trade surplus goods was to provide "strangers with what they need, and thus fulfill the duty of benevolence," Katō wrote.⁶⁹ Other countries were described as partners in mutual assistance through economic exchange. In this way, his original text conveyed neither a sense of the foreignness of international trade nor the superiority of the West.

65. Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 60.

66. *Ibid.*, 48.

67. Katō Sukeichi, *Kōeki kokoro e gusa*. Although Katō's pamphlet circulated widely at the time of its publication, surprisingly little is known about Katō himself. A local historians' association of Yokohama has uncovered some details about his earlier life (see *Kaikō e no bakushin ryochū nikki*), but further study of him is overdue.

68. Katō Sukeichi, *Kōeki kokoro e gusa*, p. 4.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

The references in Kato's treatise to language from the Charter Oath,⁷⁰ an Ishin document issued to the public in the name of the emperor in 1868, reflected an interpretation of the Ishin as an ongoing revolutionary experience imbued with moral promise for the new sociopolitical order. The Charter Oath promised a series of revolutionary changes. The document would become a touchstone for much of the political contention in Japan in the following decades. By borrowing language from the oath, Katō gave to his discussion the weight of revolutionary meaning associated with the Ishin document. His text emphasized that Japan's opening should be in harmony with the just laws of nature, language reminiscent of the Charter Oath. International trade was to be practiced in accordance with the perceived promises of the Ishin, that is, in a consciously moral manner as an expression of mutual aid. Katō thereby framed mutual aid as a means to fulfill the Ishin's promise for an equitable social order as commoners perceived it in 1869.

Katō's pamphlet simultaneously served as a treatise on the new place of the merchant community in the new Meiji era. In this respect as well, Katō kept alive the promises of the Charter Oath, which avowed in its second article that "the high and low shall all unite in carrying out vigorously the administration of economic and financial affairs." Read sincerely from the perspective of commoners like Katō, this article promised social recognition and a new important role in international trade for the "lower" class of merchant commoners. His pamphlet's purpose thus appears to have been not only to encourage the nation to support the development of foreign trade as a form of international mutual aid but also to give moral value to and thereby lay claim to the new equal social status of the previously lowest class of merchants.⁷¹ Using the language of mutual aid, Katō had turned their newfound role in international trade into a virtuous one.

A comparison of two translations of this Ishin-period text, one into Russian by Mechnikov and one into English by the prominent British

70. de Bary, Gluck, and Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, p. 671.

71. We can see in Katō's practice an echo of the Tokugawa-era Kaitokudō merchants' academy in Osaka studied by Najita that sought to overturn existing moral assumptions about a greedy and unreliable merchant class in Tokugawa society by imparting the language of virtue to their practices. Najita, *Visions of Virtue*.

Japanologist Lord William George Aston (1841–1911), demonstrates how each translator accentuated in his translation a competing direction of progress that Japan’s “opening” implied, and thereby gave added meaning to the text. Mechnikov emphasized mutual aid throughout his translation as a basis for Japan’s postrevolutionary development independent of the Western model of capitalism. Aston, on the other hand, interpreted the text as Katō’s assertion of Japan’s embarkation on the path to join the community of civilized capitalist nation-states as an expression of a universal law of progress. Both Aston and Mechnikov appear to have translated the text conscientiously in a manner as true to the original as possible, but through only slight variations in their choice of words, they produced very different texts on the historical meaning of *Kaikoku*.

Meaningful contrasts may be found throughout their translations. A brief sample of their translations conveys a sense of the different futures projected in their texts.

Aston translated one particular passage as follows:

Our Mikado has become convinced of the necessity of upholding the policy of commercial relations, and has caused our friendly intercourse and trade with foreign countries to be established on a liberal scale. This is the only course by which we can take our place in the community of nations, and remain true to natural principles of truth and justice.⁷²

According to this version, “natural principles of truth and justice” are achievable only by joining the community of nation-states and by participating in capitalist relations with the limited community of the West. This referred to the Western model of the modern nation-state as the protector of the liberal values of freedom of the individual and the rights of private property. For Aston, who would serve in British consular offices in Japan for twenty-three years and would become the first British consul general to Korea, the liberal state of the West served as the basic unit for peace and order in the international arena. In its maintenance of free trade through support of international law and preservation of private property, the Western political model was the embodiment of

72. Aston, “Remarks on Commerce,” 20:118.

“natural” (and therefore universal or “true”) principles of liberty and “justice.”⁷³

Mechnikov translated the same section into Russian as follows:

Our Mikado has become convinced of the necessity to conduct friendly relations with them; only with this course can we take our proper place in the row of other nations, without backing down from the principle of mutual aid and equity.⁷⁴

This version posed the alternative phrase “mutual aid and equity” as the principle of truth and justice that needed to be defended despite Japan’s participation in that Western community of nation-states. This implied that the international community of Western nation-states and the political and economic code of behavior that community depended on were neither natural nor just. In the process of clarifying for his Russian readers Katō’s departure from Western understandings of international trade and relations, Mechnikov had given Katō’s text added polemical meaning.

Furthermore, in Aston’s version, free trade by virtue of its existence naturally leads to the mutual benefit and prosperity of everyone involved. In Mechnikov’s version, trade is beneficial for the parties involved only “if it is done according to the demands of fairness and mutual aid.” Mutual aid was something to be consciously achieved and practiced rather than being simply a natural outcome of capitalism. Far from an automatic attribute of foreign trade, as translated by Aston, mutual aid for Mechnikov had to serve as a “guiding principle of all human activities.”

Aston remade Katō’s pamphlet into a treatise on the emergence of the nation on the path to Western-style capitalism. Aston translated:

At present, there is every reason to believe that any petition asking permission to form companies after the European model, will, if presented to the proper authorities, be favorably received as a proposal eminently conducive to the

73. On the invention of the “state of nature” and its influence on the practice and idea of the international in the West, see Jahn, *Cultural Construction of International Relations*.

74. Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” p. 99.

prosperity of the people of Japan. There is nothing to prevent such associations from being durably established.⁷⁵

Mechnikov translated the same passage as follows:

Now, if someone requests from the government permission to establish trade associations based on the European model, then the government not only will not refuse but will be very happy, because the time has come when Japan must have its own system of durable associations, founded on the principles of mutual aid and equity. Only in this way can our commercial development expand.⁷⁶

For Aston, Katō's pamphlet illustrated Meiji Japan's readiness to enter the community of civilized nations on their terms. For Mechnikov, Katō's pamphlet expressed a broader popular consciousness of the objectives of the revolution toward the ultimate achievement of cooperative anarchy. According to the latter view, shared between Mechnikov and Katō, economic power, linked with political, social, and intellectual power, arises from a culture of international cooperatism, the most advanced stage of human progress.

Emphasizing the idea of mutual aid and equity, Mechnikov placed these terms strategically at the end of many of the paragraphs in Katō's text, to which his Russian readers' attention would most strongly be drawn. This linguistic tactic is particularly effective in Russian, where the emphasized intent of meaning can be placed at the end of a sentence. Written text becomes visual text in this regard.

Furthermore, Aston's translation expresses Japan's desire to become a part of the wider community of nation-states, but Mechnikov's translation emphasizes the one-sidedness and conflictiveness with which Japan's relations with Europeans began:

Aston: "We have now entered into friendly relations with the countries beyond the sea, and their subjects are incessantly visiting Japan: we have become acquainted with the character of the natives of each."⁷⁷

Mechnikov: "We did not need to have relations with the countries beyond the sea, but their citizens started coming to us, asking for friendly

75. Aston, "Remarks on Commerce," 20:119.

76. Mechnikov, "Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii," p. 100.

77. Aston, "Remarks on Commerce," 20:118.

relations with us, to trade with us and marvel at the richness of our nation.”⁷⁸

Aston’s translation conveyed the inevitability of Japan’s opening up to capitalism and the modernity of the West. For the most part, his language represents the usual interpretation of *Kaikoku* and *Ishin* until today. Mechnikov removed the inevitability of merging with the West’s modernity and put the focus and meaning of future development in another arena altogether.

Out of this dialectical interaction of knowledge among experience, expectation, and transnational contact, Mechnikov came to see the *Ishin* as a revolutionary fulfillment and model for his developing vision of human progress.⁷⁹ The finding of the roots and possibility of cooperatism in Japan enabled Mechnikov to determine a universal solution beyond the particular historical and geographic circumstances of Russian communal life. *Ishin* Japan emerged for Mechnikov as a model for cooperative society and, by virtue of its location in Asia, opened up the possibility of its realization on a global scale. For Mechnikov, the notion of revolution was now inseparable from social evolution.

Sociability as the Measure of Man

Evolution has a goal . . . and a law of the future of human kind—anarchy.

—Mechnikov, “Revolution and Evolution”

Mechnikov returned to Switzerland in 1876 with an intellectual key that would open the door to a new era, a beginning for a new human history.⁸⁰ He expressed the progressiveness of the revolution in Japan in books and several series of articles for influential journals in Russia and Europe during the 1870s and 1880s. With the publication of his historical and ethnographic studies, most notably the book *L’Empire Japonais*, and his contribution to the chapters on Japan and China in Élisée Reclus’s authoritative encyclopedia on world geography, *Nouvelle géographie*

78. Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” p. 99.

79. Russian scholars on Mechnikov have asserted, in contrast, that Mechnikov viewed the *Ishin* as an incomplete bourgeois revolution. See, for example, Kartasheva, *Dorogi L’va Mechnikova*, p. 23; and Shcherbina, “L. I. Mechnikov,” pp. 3–22.

80. Mechnikov became ill with tuberculosis and was forced to leave Japan in 1876.

universelle, Mechnikov became recognized as a leading Japanologist in Europe.⁸¹

Simultaneously, he provided an intellectual foundation for the development of a leading current of modern anarchist thought. At this moment, Mechnikov shifted anarchism's focus to a distinct vision of universal human evolutionary development. He first placed anarchism in a modernist framework in the years after his stay in Japan, arising out of his observations and experience in Japanese society. His thought differed in its modernist approach from Bakunin's anarchism, which saw revolution as an immediate possibility based on the instinct of revolt, the impulse to liberty shared by the working masses. Bakunin strongly rejected the view of Karl Marx that social change depended on the gradual maturation of objective historical conditions. For Bakunin, by teaching the working masses such theories, Marx would succeed only in stifling the revolutionary ardor possessed by every man. Mechnikov, however, placed anarchism in a modernist vision standing at the end of human civilizational development, an attainment earned only by a mature and civilized human society. He shifted anarchism's focus from Bakuninist ruthless destruction of the old order to a vision of universal human evolutionary development. For Mechnikov, revolution was a real and urgent stepping-stone toward anarchism, but its success depended on epochal societal change over historical time. Unlike Bakunin's vision of raw human liberty, Mechnikov saw a future cooperatist anarchy that was hard won and dependent on a highly developed culture on all levels of society. And whereas Marx saw revolution as being possible only among a mature proletariat in the most advanced industrial nations of the West, Mechnikov understood revolution as dependent not on a nation's material development, but on its social and cultural achievements.

In the late 1870s and 1880s, other leading anarchists spoke of evolution in social Darwinist terms. Anarchist theorist Reclus defined evolution

81. Documentation of Mechnikov's achievements in Japanology may be found in his personal archive in GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, d. 36 and 38. See also Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, pp. 685–863 (especially Reclus's acknowledgment of Mechnikov's contribution on p. 863), and Reclus, "Predislovie Elize Reklui," p. 219. For an account of the broader context of European anarchist geography to which Mechnikov contributed, see Ferretti, *Mondo senza la mappa*.

for those in the West as the rising consciousness of the masses toward solidarity to overthrow the ruling classes in an impending violent struggle.⁸² Viewing Western Europe as at the highest level of social evolution, Reclus identified progress for the rest of the world as its inevitable Europeanization and homogenization.⁸³ At this time, anarchism had become synonymous with violence and terrorism, used by anarchist elites as a means to attempt to stir the masses to revolt. Peter Kropotkin and Reclus supported terrorist acts of “propaganda by the deed” and popular expropriation of property by force.

Mechnikov’s contributions to anarchism, which have been entirely forgotten in the history of anarchism, were inseparable from his interpretations of the Ishin.⁸⁴ For Mechnikov, revolution was a real stepping-stone toward anarchism, but the cooperatist anarchist civilization he envisioned was to be achieved through the widespread development of a cooperatist consciousness and corresponding social practices. He understood the Japanese revolution as having resulted from the long-term development of people’s everyday life that had made the formation of a new government possible. For Mechnikov, the revolutionary ideal of politics being the source and implementer of social change in a new revolutionary order was bound to fail. Revolution, rather, was made possible through evolution based on a constant dialectical relationship between human subjectivity and everyday interactions.

In 1789, French revolutionaries had envisioned that an enlightened government was to fashion a new people according to grand abstract ideals. According to this idea, the rational being had the right to rule the less rational and thereby make history. In contrast, “philosopher kings” had no place in Mechnikov’s understanding of Ishin as the new vision of the future world. Mechnikov believed that the “old order” lay in unexpected places, in the self and in one’s everyday interactions with others.⁸⁵ The accomplishments of a successful revolution ultimately

82. Mechnikov, “Revolution and Evolution”; Reclus, *Évolution et révolution*.

83. Fleming, *Geography of Freedom*, pp. 180–83.

84. Even works on Russian anarchism do not mention Mechnikov’s name. See, for example, Avrich, *Russian Anarchists*; Cahm, *Kropotkin*; and Miller, *Kropotkin*.

85. This understanding may be found, for example, in Mechnikov, “France sous Mac-Mahon.”

depended on the mundane, on people's struggle for existence, rather than on self-sacrifice for abstract moral or political causes. Rather than the grand illusions of utopia, Mechnikov looked to achievements in prosaic life. Change came about through people's responses to necessity that fostered a cooperative ethic. Human agency arising out of basic human needs in daily life was for Mechnikov the source of progress for human civilization.

Viewing social Darwinism as merely the straitjacketing of Darwin's discoveries in a Malthusian framework of competition for limited resources, Mechnikov criticized Marx and other contemporaries for echoing Malthus's ideas in their views of society.⁸⁶ On this point, Mechnikov was part of a wider sphere of Russian intellectual efforts, particularly in the scientific world, to discredit the Darwinist metaphor of competitive survival of the fittest as the engine for natural evolution. This anti-Darwinian understanding was so common among Russian intellectuals that Daniel Todes has termed it a "national style" of reaction to Darwin.⁸⁷ Russian biologists, including Lev Mechnikov's younger brother Ilya Mechnikov, who would win the Nobel Prize for his phagocytic theory of inflammation, sought to reveal a law of evolutionary development in the animal and plant world that was fueled not by competition and struggle but by cooperation. At the time of Lev's scholarship on Japan, this effort remained within the fields of natural science. Lev integrated the basic ideas of cooperation in evolutionary development among animals into his studies of culture, society, and civilizational development.⁸⁸ Although very few letters remain between Lev Mechnikov and his brother Ilya, what survives in the archives suggests that the two brothers were well aware of each other's scholarship. In a letter from Ilya to Lev in 1888, for example, Ilya talks about an article on tuberculosis he is working on and his decision to move to the Pasteur

86. Mechnikov, "Revolution and Evolution," p. 430.

87. Todes, "Darwin's Malthusian Metaphor," p. 538.

88. Mechnikov, "Revolution and Evolution"; Mechnikov, "Shkola bor'by," pp. 186–92; Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 238–53. Mechnikov refers to ichthyologist K. F. Kessler's landmark talk on the "law of mutual aid" in nature. Kessler, "O zakone vzaimnoi pomoshchi."

Institute in Paris. He also asks Lev about the progress of his work, *Civilization*.⁸⁹

It took Lev Mechnikov's encounter with the progressive revolutionary society of Ishin Japan for him to fashion the idea that existed in the Russian natural sciences into an anarchist law of human civilizational development. According to the new Ishin-centered historicity, civilization was progressing by means of cooperation among human beings in the world. Cooperation was a nonhierarchical foundation for international human society. For Mechnikov, the measure of man was sociability.

Mechnikov concluded that the cooperative aspect of human nature was stimulated by natural surroundings. The more difficult and dangerous the surroundings and the greater the obstacles to survival, the more developed was human consciousness of the necessity of social cooperation in order to overcome those obstacles. Survival of the fittest, then, was accomplished not through individual or collective competition, but in social cooperation to overcome the obstacles put before humans.⁹⁰ Mechnikov wrote, "Nature puts before its inhabitants a choice: *death or solidarity*. There are no other paths for humanity. If humanity does not want to die, then people must unavoidably resort to solidarity and mutual, collective work. . . . In this concludes the great law of progress and the law of the successful development of human civilization."⁹¹ In this way of thinking, human civilization was not attained through the elimination of the weak to enrich the strong. Mechnikov redefined culture as human achievements attained through mutual aid.

This tendency for cooperation was fully natural not only to human beings but also to the animal world, Mechnikov observed. He claimed that both human beings' and animals' associations for food or self-defense generally had a far more social character than a competitive one. Human agency reduced to the smallest denominator, arising out of the most basic needs in daily life, was for Mechnikov the source of both biological evolution and the progress of civilizations. Mechnikov's idea of

89. Ilya Mechnikov to Lev Mechnikov, 17/29 March 1888, GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, d. 58, ll. 3-4.

90. Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 273-82.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

cooperative nature in the animal world would later find further development in Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*.

Mechnikov had observed in Japan that a collaborative response to the challenges of nature provided a major impetus for cultural and social creativity. As he described it, the mountainous ranges so divided the island nation into a multitude of different communities that Japanese dialects widely differentiated across various regions, to the point that what was spoken in one region could not be understood elsewhere. Those divisions of the island had also forced its inhabitants to develop a political order that for millennia had consisted of small autonomous federations. In addition, the ruthlessness and violence of the ocean had compelled the people to develop a highly cooperative and therefore highly developed culture.⁹²

According to Mechnikov, the individual maintained her or his capability for cooperation only by maintaining her or his own unique talents.⁹³ In turn, individual uniqueness was maintained in the act of cooperation because cooperation required the incorporation of various capabilities and thoughts to succeed. This view of human existence became the basis for Mechnikov's thoughts on freedom and social equality. According to him, freedom arose in an individual's acts of doing for the benefit of others as part of oneself. The very act of doing to benefit others was a selfish act of self-preservation that simultaneously depended on the corresponding doing of others. According to this understanding, private everydayness was essential to the success of revolution toward human development.

In this idea, the individual merged with others in the act of doing without negating individual uniqueness. Mutual aid as a factor of modern civilizational development depended on one's capacity to express multiple talents and thereby to play multiple roles in society. Coactors were infinite, and therefore, so were the possibilities for mutual gain. The further the sphere of mutual assistance extended and the more varied the capabilities and backgrounds of participants were, the greater the mutual benefit. Time and progress were significant elements in this con-

92. Mechnikov, "Vospominaniia," pp. 29–31, 39.

93. Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 85–99.

struct. As a society advanced over time, the spheres where mutual aid could be practiced would broaden.

What was society for Mechnikov? He severely criticized what he termed the “Struggle school” of sociology. Adherents of this view categorized societies as stable entities defined by ethnicity, race, or class, ordered along a hierarchy of civilizational development. In describing a never-ending competition for existence, they implied the eventual disappearance of the weaker social elements. For Mechnikov, human society and culture were continuously evolving expressions of the laws of nature.⁹⁴ He divided the world into three spheres of activity, inorganic, biological, and sociological, each with its particular set of natural laws. The inorganic sphere consisted of physical and chemical processes explainable by Isaac Newton’s law of gravity. The biological sphere was defined by expressions of the desires of hunger and sex and incorporated the world of plant and animal individualities, which competed and changed according to Darwin’s law of the struggle for existence. Mechnikov proposed a new, third sphere of development that he termed “sociological.” This incorporated the world of associations and networks, the world of interests beyond the boundaries of individual biological existence. He defined this as the sphere of cooperation, which included both human and non-human interactions.⁹⁵

According to Mechnikov, each sphere followed another in order of increasing complexity and variety of process and form.⁹⁶ In turn, he defined society as increasingly complex and expanding varieties of cooperative associations and networks. Society, therefore, did not exist as a stable, concrete entity or entities primordially defined, but rather constantly formed and re-formed in a progression of social life. This cooperative sphere existed as expanding possibilities for associating with and doing for others.

Finding the roots and possibilities of a progressive culture of mutual aid in Japan had enabled Mechnikov to develop a global application for cooperatist civilizational development. This essentially decentered the world away from the West and gave centeredness to what had always been

94. Mechnikov, “Shkola bor’by.”

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–65.

96. *Ibid.*

the referent of backwardness. The “West,” then, suddenly became backward with regard to the demands of progress and civilization. Westerners arrived in Japan simply ill prepared to meet the Meiji Ishin on cooperative terms. Commodore Matthew Perry’s (1794–1858) initiation of peaceful relations through the persuasion of force was a barbaric introduction of Western “civilization,” Mechnikov wrote.⁹⁷

By reimagining the source of progress as sociability and mutual aid, Mechnikov reconceptualized the global ordering of peoples and nations. However, although the West lost its inherent superiority, a new problem emerged. Mechnikov had created another hierarchy by using Ishin Japan as a model of revolutionary achievement. If time created hierarchy on the basis of its measurement of progress, nature might be able to level out that hierarchy by creating difference, that is, different paths to the attainment of cooperatist civilization colored but not determined by human relations to various environments.⁹⁸ In nature lay the source of human freedom to determine a society’s path to cooperatist development beyond primordial identifications of ethnicity and race. Nature provided Mechnikov with the possibility for a variety of developmental forms.

The dominant concept of nature and history in the West during the last decades of the nineteenth century had come to embody a hierarchical order that Mechnikov sought to overturn. He severely criticized racially ordered versions of social Darwinism, which took an extreme form among eugenicists who proposed that the building of a new, just social order was possible through natural selection of a special race of people.⁹⁹ Mechnikov went beyond the assumptions of nineteenth-century anthropologists who treated human races as different species, either in actuality or in essence.¹⁰⁰ For him, ethnic or racial amalgamation in a particular society was a progressive quality that had characterized and contributed to the

97. Mechnikov, *L'Empire Japonaise*, p. ii; Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” pp. 67–68; Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” pp. 76–77; Mechnikov, “Era Iaponskogo prosveshcheniia,” pp. 122–23.

98. Mechnikov differentiates his work from geographic determinism in *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 262, 323.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 290–310.

100. According to John S. Haller Jr., Charles Darwin explained the phenomena of races as “various human types that ‘remained distinct for a long period.’ In such cases, the varieties might just as well be called species.” Haller, “Species Problem,” p. 1327.

great civilizations of the past. Mechnikov observed that Egypt, India, and Mesopotamia were civilizations built on considerable ethnographic and cultural mixing. “Generally speaking, the great historical civilizations were the result of the cooperative work of the most complex meld of different ethnological elements, a meld in which it was impossible to even roughly determine and sort out the participation of ‘whites,’ ‘yellows,’ or ‘blacks.’”¹⁰¹ In his use of externally visible traits to identify various peoples, Mechnikov applied nineteenth-century scientific approaches to study racial origins, but his conclusion that racial and ethnic mixing was natural and was linked with cultural development departed from those scientific traditions. Combining his observations of body structures, facial features, and skin color with his hypotheses about the origins of cultural practices among Japanese, Mechnikov identified people in Japan as possessing diverse interethnic origins. For example, he observed that the widespread predilection for public nudity in Japan was a practice absent elsewhere in East Asia, indicating the possibility of alternative, interethnic origins of Japanese. “In connection with several other indications, this naturally led me to think that the ancestors of this teeming crowd before me must have come not at all from the Asian continent, but from the tropical islands, populated to this day with diverse and little-studied interethnic Malay-Polynesian tribes.”¹⁰² The diverse features and variety of skin tones that he saw further struck him.¹⁰³ He concluded, “Based on my observations, the Japanese type represents a much greater variation and fluctuation than the population type of any European country, and just this can already sufficiently reveal that today’s Japanese nation came from multiple tribal elements.”¹⁰⁴

Mechnikov also emphasized the influence of surroundings on the behavior of humans, which accorded with European trends in social science at the time. However, his approach and conclusions differed from what Paul Rabinow has described as the shared interest of “regulating the normal” among social scientists in late nineteenth-century France.

101. Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, p. 300.

102. Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” p. 54; Mechnikov, “Era prosveshcheniia Iaponii,” p. 103.

103. Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” p. 56.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

According to Rabinow, French sociologists' examinations of surroundings were a response to the need to provide a powerful social glue to reduce class antagonisms. The sociologists sought to identify ways the state could organize and thereby regulate the collective behavior of society, whether of the French working class or its colonial peoples.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Mechnikov emphasized human agency, people's creative ability to overcome adverse surroundings. Rather than seeking the creation of an environment to control human behavior directly, he sought to reveal how human beings use their wit and strengths amid a powerful natural environment to create positive conditions for the collective good.¹⁰⁶

Mechnikov came to see the oceanic cultures of port cities and islands, where the powerful forces of the ocean and the wrath of its storms made existence precarious, as likely sites for advanced developments in cooperative society. This idea could be affirmed by studying areas then considered primitive or undeveloped. Between his departure from Japan in 1876 and his death in 1888, Mechnikov traveled to other island nations and ports across the Pacific, including San Francisco, Hawaii, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and Singapore, to explore this idea further.¹⁰⁷

In his final culminating work, *Civilization and the Great Historical Rivers*, Mechnikov ordered space and time to reveal the general progression of human beings from coerced cooperation among early civilizations toward increasing levels of voluntary mutual aid in the form of free associations. He observed that the achievement of freedom had been integrally associated with human societies' relations with water as the source both of life and of hardship and struggle for survival. Only through cooperation, not competition, were human beings capable of surviving and harnessing water and producing thereby increasingly complex and advanced societies. Although peoples like the Cossacks were undoubtedly free, Mechnikov wrote, they lacked mutual cooperation and therefore represented a primitive form of human civilization.¹⁰⁸ From the river civilizations to the civilizations on the seas, finally ending with oceanic

105. Rabinow, *French Modern*, pp. 1–16, 170–73.

106. See, for example, Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, p. 262.

107. GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, d. 38; GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, d. 67, ll. 1–2.

108. Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 259–62.

civilizations, where people's everyday lives revolved around the most dangerous and inhumane bodies of water, humans developed more advanced, cooperatist societies. In this picture, although technology itself was not a measure of human progress, it was a frequent companion to progress when it was used cooperatively for survival.

His new construct of civilizational progress incorporated existing ideals of progress predicated on a hierarchy of social competition and capitalism as a mere stage in world progress toward increasingly complex cooperative human relations. He divided world history into several periods, each characterized by a corresponding sociopolitical type. He characterized what he called the River Period, when the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Indus and the Ganges, and the Yellow River and the Yangtze became the cradles of civilization, as having had unprecedented despotism. The second major period, what he called the Sea Period, began with the appearance of cross-sea trade and the cultural interactions of the Greeks and the Romans. Oligarchy became the fundamental form of government among these societies. The most recent, modern period, the Ocean Period, began with the declaration of rights of humans and citizens. Mechnikov divided the Ocean Period into two segments: the Atlantic Era, which spanned the opening of America to the beginning of the gold rush on the American Pacific Coast and Russia's colonization of its eastern region, and the latest, the Global Epoch.¹⁰⁹ This was to be the period of the greatest human cooperation and anarchy, given impetus by interactions across the Pacific toward the end of the nineteenth century and the rising internationalisms among people on the nonstate level.¹¹⁰ Before his death in 1888, Mechnikov had anticipated writing two more volumes of *Civilization* as an expansive exploration of free associations in the formation of transoceanic international society as the most advanced known stage of human development.¹¹¹

Mechnikov took pains to overcome cultural, racial, and geographic determinism by showing how the character of a civilization and its social composition depended on how its people adjusted to their surroundings through cultural production and social organization. In writing a

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 258–59, 263–70, 325–443.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

111. Reclus, "Predislovie," p. 221; Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, p. 446.

nature-centered history that focused on the influence of bodies of water on human societies, he broke the hierarchical divide between East and West.¹¹² This was a modernity that constructed a variety of developments and styles toward the universal attainment of cooperative beings and their associations. The result of this intellectual practice was that the West was no longer inherently civilizationally backward in relation to Japan. In attempting to solve the problem of hierarchy, Mechnikov's thought had substituted it with unevenness in the global attainment of cooperatism. Yet in his theory of social evolution's identification of mutual aid as a principle of progress for human civilization, Mechnikov delegitimized the naturalization of competition and aggression that had undergirded hierarchically arranged categories of race, class, gender, and nation under social Darwinism. At the same time, he saw cooperatist civilization as a progressive, modern expression of human life.

Although *Civilization and the Great Historical Rivers* was prohibited in Russia, it was widely read in intellectual circles. Thinkers as classically distant in beliefs as the philosopher Vladimir Solov'ev (1853–1900), the “father of Russian Marxism” Georgii Plekhanov (1856–1918), and the anarchist Reclus strongly recommended it to the public. In fact, the appearance of Mechnikov's *Civilization* marked the moment when Russian radical thought shifted from Populist belief in a divergent Russian path to the single path of world development envisioned by Russian Marxists. Although as an anarchist Mechnikov had clearly opposed Marx, Plekhanov was intrigued by Mechnikov's idea of universal development beyond the East-West divide and used it to propound his crucial monist view of history for the applicability of Marxism in Russia. In key essays defending Marxism, Plekhanov expressed his excitement about Mechnikov's work and urged his readers to study it.¹¹³ He wrote that *Civilization* was the work that answered some of the most fundamental

112. Mechnikov directly critiques the East-West paradigm of civilizational development in *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 276–77.

113. Plekhanov, “O knige L. I. Mechnikova,” p. 28. For Plekhanov's references to *Civilization* in his defense of Marxism, see also Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works*, 1:415, 475, 610, 699; and 2:147, 651.

intellectual problems of the day.¹¹⁴ For Plekhanov, the work resolved the problem of perceived inequality in world progress between geographic areas through its scientific study of the effects of nature on social relations. Mechnikov had constructed a view of universal world progress in which sociability was foundational for progress and civilization. He had thereby shifted the capacity for progress beyond the Western world.

It is an irony, given Mechnikov's anarchist leanings, that his *Civilization* helped Plekhanov as the "father of Russian Marxism" substantiate Marxism as a theory for modern progress appropriate for Russia. Marx had argued that Russia served as the example of a separate, uniquely Eastern and stagnant, nonprogressing economic system. In contrast, Mechnikov after Ishin Japan intellectually realized the possibility of universal progress beyond the East-West divide. Plekhanov praised Mechnikov's study for succeeding in going beyond the geographic and racial determinisms of other geographic approaches to the history of civilizations. It is not surprising, then, that *Civilization* was one of the two works reviewed in the opening issue of Plekhanov's journal of Russian Marxism, *Social Democrat*.¹¹⁵ When Mechnikov passed away, Plekhanov wrote his obituary. Asserting that Mechnikov was the best symbol of a generation, Plekhanov wrote, "Mechnikov was one of the most amazing and kindest representatives of that generation of the 1860s, to whom our social life, our science, and our literature owe so much."¹¹⁶ Plekhanov was not the only one to have thought of Mechnikov as the symbol of a generation. He and the other leaders of the Russian Marxist group the Liberation of Labor contributed money to erect a memorial stone in Switzerland for Mechnikov's grave. About 120 Russian émigrés across Europe gave money for the memorial and participated in its design, which was open to a vote among contributors. Other well-known figures in the revolutionary movement who organized or contributed to Mechnikov's memorial included Peter Kropotkin, Reclus, Vera Zasulich (1849–1919), and Peter Lavrov (1823–1900).¹¹⁷

114. White, "Despotism and Anarchy," p. 410; Plekhanov, "O knige L. I. Mechnikova," p. 15.

115. Plekhanov, "O knige L. I. Mechnikova."

116. Plekhanov, "L. I. Mechnikov," p. 327.

117. GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 86.

Reclus, who committed himself to completing the unfinished *Civilization* when Mechnikov died, wrote that the book “opened a new era in the history of science” by “founding a truly scientific morality.”¹¹⁸ Kropotkin, who was on his way to becoming the leading anarchist theorist, also closely echoed Mechnikov’s ideas in his own work.¹¹⁹ He made Mechnikov’s construct of cooperatist civilizational development a foundation of his anarchist theories of ethical human progress. With dedication and respect, Kropotkin also worked on completing *Civilization* after Mechnikov died, at the very moment when, according to historian Martin Miller, Kropotkin began to “move beyond criticism of the present order to a more detailed consideration of the future society.”¹²⁰ At this time, Kropotkin was part of the committee overseeing the collaborative effort to erect Mechnikov’s memorial. According to private correspondence between Kropotkin and Mechnikov’s wife, Olga, Kropotkin even worked on a biography of Mechnikov, whom he called “the purest, most beautiful expression” of the Russian populist movement, a sentiment shared by many others in the Russian émigré community.¹²¹ Letters between Kropotkin and Olga suggest that the biography was going to devote considerable space to Mechnikov’s experiences in and scholarship on Japan.¹²² Kropotkin’s biography of Mechnikov seems never to have been published, but Kropotkin worked on it for quite some time. Olga even moved from

118. Reclus, “Predislovie,” p. 221; Mechnikov, *Tsivilizatsiia*, pp. 219–443.

119. Mechnikov worked with Reclus in organizing financial and political support for Kropotkin while he was imprisoned in France, and he became a close friend of the Kropotkin family. Professionally, the two corresponded about their mutual work in the anarchist movement. Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace Archives, B. I. Nicolaevsky Collection, box 183, folder 34, ll. 6–9; GARF, f. 1129, op. 3, ed. khr. 285, ll. 1–2; GARF, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1747, ll. 1–15.

120. Miller, *Kropotkin*, p. 192. According to papers in GARF, Kropotkin had asked Mechnikov’s family to keep him in mind for sorting through the deceased’s papers and to complete Mechnikov’s unfinished writings, the most important of which was *Civilization*. In the end, Élisée Reclus took over responsibility for the completion of the volume that we now know as *Civilization and the Great Historical Rivers*. Reclus, “Predislovie Elize Reklui.” p. 219.

121. GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 18.

122. Ibid.

her home in Switzerland to live at the Kropotkins' home just to help him write it.¹²³

It was not a coincidence that Kropotkin simultaneously dedicated himself to writing his famous anarchist study, *Mutual Aid*. The earliest appearance of part of this work was an 1890 article on the animal world for the *Nineteenth Century*, titled "Mutual Aid among Animals." However, the fully developed work on civilizational progress we now know as *Mutual Aid* appeared only in 1902.¹²⁴ Kropotkin did not fail to echo Mechnikov's voice in his writing of *Mutual Aid* in an essential way, in that he defined the engine of human progress and civilization as mutual aid. He, like Mechnikov, viewed Darwin's "struggle for existence" among human beings as dependent on mutual aid, not competition, for success. Further, he viewed sociability as a basic instinct among humans. These key elements of an ethical anarchism based on scientific findings that incorporated a vision of civilizational development would give so-called Kropotkinism wide appeal in Japan.

Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, which provided the historicity of modern cooperatism, found its way onto the desks of great numbers of Japanese readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Chapter 4). *Mutual Aid* quickly became a symbolic text for many social and cultural movements in Japan. Ideas spawned in the meeting of *revoliutsiia* and Ishin traveled once again back to Japan, embraced by those who sought an alternative to the narrative of Western civilization and progress. Kropotkinism as a restoratory historicity cut through the grain of Japanese society in the first quarter of the twentieth century and became a veritable phenomenon in cultural life.

The Emergence of Russian Translation Culture

Only in the context of transnational revolutionary encounters can we make sense of the appearance of an enduring Russian translation culture in Japan in the early Meiji that lasted until the Asia-Pacific War. This

123. GARF, f. 1129, op. 3, ed. khr. 285, 286; GARF, f. 6753, op. 1, ed. khr. 9; GARF, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1749, Olga Mechnikova to Peter Kropotkin, 10 August 1889.

124. Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid among Animals"; Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*.

distinctive school of Russian translation practice that emerged at the beginning of Meiji Japan was an immediate product of the meeting between *revoliutsiia* and Ishin. Mechnikov and a number of Russian revolutionary colleagues who followed him as teachers at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (TSFL) introduced Russian and translations of Russian works into Japanese in Japan as tools of revolutionary knowledge production. This negotiation of knowledge between meanings of *revoliutsiia* and Ishin both reflected and helped shape ideas and emotions. From the outset, Japanese translators of Russian at the TSFL focused on Populist and revolutionary literature, both fiction and nonfiction. At the height of popular unrest during the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, Russian translations in Japan further ignited people's anger over political injustices.

The translations of nineteenth-century Russian literature first introduced the notion of the "social" (*shakai*), defining it as a problem (*mondai*) from the very moment of the word's introduction in Japan. Well before the social scientific pursuit of facts and figures for the "objective" knowledge of "society" that was to be understood, grasped, and governed for the development of the modern nation-state, "society" began to be defined in this context as a problem of unfettered capitalism. The contemporary scholar Janet Walker demonstrates how the writer Futabatei Shimei's first novel, *Ukigumo*, was a reflection of Russian literature as social criticism. She claims that Futabatei emulated Russian authors in order to create a historically situated narrative by striving to give a concrete sense of historical time and place for the novel's setting, with its characters serving as social-historical types.¹²⁵ Futabatei's translations of Russian literature conveyed the same sense of placement in historical time and place that he sought to emulate in his own literature. This historicist effect of the social as a temporal phenomenon within a given historical moment may be found throughout translations of Russian literature in Japan. Readers of translated Russian literature and of Futabatei's work discovered a new, modern sense of the "social" as a historically and spatially specific problem in need of a solution. Implicit in this problem consciousness were the possibility and necessity of change. Underlying this production of knowl-

125. Walker, "Russian Role in the Creation of the First Japanese Novel."

edge through translation was the evocation of sympathy and compassion for those of another nation, language, and culture. By evoking transborder sympathy and a historicist sense of the social, translations of Russian literature promised to give birth to a humanistic revolutionary subjectivity.

These emotions, cultural products of the intellectual meeting of Ishin and *revoliutsiia*, were symbolically recaptured and ignited time and again in Japan throughout the first half of the twentieth century, in repeated references to motifs, heroes and heroines, authors, and scenes from Japanese translations of Russian literature inspired by the Populist revolutionary movement. The TSFL Russian program founded by Mechnikov was an originating knowledge-production site for Russian translation culture, and Futabatei was the program's most recognized graduate. Through Futabatei and its other lesser-known students, the TSFL Russian program colored the nature of Russian translation practice in Japan for much of the following half century.

The practice of Russian translation during this period departed from historians' existing understanding of modern Japanese translation practice. Japanese translators selected Russian writing for translation in order to depart consciously from the norm of "translating the West" as historians understand it. In other words, they chose to depart from translating a Western modern subjectivity. Russian Populist literature painted a wide variety of critical portraits from Russian social life, featuring heroes and antiheroes who ranged from revolutionaries and assassins to urban poor folk and peasants, superfluous intellectuals, and numerous other victims and representatives of serfdom, social hierarchy, bureaucracy, and autocracy. This democratic urge to portray "people" in all their various forms was simultaneously a conscious departure from Western European literature in that many Russian writers sought to realistically reproduce life that was true to a particular Russian existence that could not be found in Western European literature.

Within this conceptual contour, both Russian literature and nonfictional accounts were translated in Japan. The former featured "heroes" who were largely low-level government clerks, prostitutes and other "fallen women," poor folk, the insane, moneylenders, aimless students, murderers, assassins, and peasants, the downtrodden, pathetic, superfluous, and largely irrational members of society who went mostly unnoticed among elites. Representative literary works translated in this period

included, for example, Nikolai Gogol's (1809–52) *Portrait of an Artist* and *Diary of a Madman*, Turgenev's *Rudin* and *Fathers and Sons*, and Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Translated nonfiction accounts featured heroic adventures and persecutions of well-known revolutionary figures in the Russian Populist movement, such as Kropotkin, Vera Figner (1852–1942), Sofia Perovskaya (1853–1881), Vera Zasulich, and Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii. Whereas the feats of persecuted Russian revolutionaries were commemorated to give emotional power to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement of the 1880s, the literature of the invisible, powerless, and often pathetic or humorous nonhero in Russian literature equally powerfully gave rise to social critiques and the emergence of the social scientific and ethnographic studies in Japan that found their beginnings in the effort to study the lower strata of society. These heroes in narrative form criticized both power and the state, on the one hand, and social injustice and the problems of liberal capitalism, on the other. Historian Lynn Hunt has documented the effect of literature's encouragement of empathy across class and gender lines in her tracing of the rise of a discourse on "human rights" from the eighteenth-century novel's evocation of empathy across traditional social boundaries in Western Europe.¹²⁶ Likewise in Japan, translated Russian literature inspired readers not only to imagine the "social" but also to identify emotionally with the diverse representatives of society as fellow human beings.

The following examination of the emergence of the Russian translation culture in Japan focuses on Futabatei Shimei in particular as the leading Russian translator in Japan to demonstrate the process by which even a nationalist anti-Russian position was altered in the intellectual environment of the TSFL. Futabatei not only was a translator but also was noted as the writer of the "first modern novel in Japan," as well as the creator of the modern Japanese language through his development of *genbunitchi*, the unification of the written and spoken languages. Far from being peripheral to modern Japanese cultural life, Russian translation was at the heart of the development of modern Japanese language and literature. Therefore, a reconceptualization of Russian translation

126. Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, pp. 35–69.

practice from that of “translating the West” to translating distinct world-views that arose out of the Russian historical context means revising the core assumptions of modern Japanese intellectual life. In this context, I argue that Futabatei’s translation was not a product of the impact of the West, as has been conceived by historians. Rather, his practice should be seen as a direct consequence of the Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounter outside the epistemological limit of the East-West divide. Futabatei sought to produce a modern language and literature that would provide a progressive consciousness for social equality and justice.

Understanding Futabatei’s development of his translation practice necessitates going back to his formative years in the Russian program at the TSFL. As the nation’s premier training center for foreign languages, founded in 1873, the TSFL was the only place in the nation where one could seriously study Russian outside the Orthodox Church’s Russian-language school, established around the same time. By putting into practice his understanding of his original assignment to revive the revolutionary ideas of the Ishin at the school, Mechnikov directly contributed to the rise of a distinct Russian translation culture in Japan. The TSFL in this context became an important revolutionary site of knowledge production that developed out of the historicity and global meaning that Mechnikov gave to the Ishin as a revolution toward cooperatist progress.

As the director of the new school, Mechnikov organized a curriculum that sought to educate students via language studies in Populist-anarchist perspectives on history and literature.¹²⁷ He was followed by a series of revolutionaries and political exiles from Russia, some of whom he was apparently acquainted with. They continued to teach history and literature from Russian revolutionary perspectives. The Russianist Watanabe Masaji, who teaches in the Russian program at the TSFL (renamed the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), refers to the culture of the Russian program as “Populist spirit” (*narōdoniki seishin*).¹²⁸

127. Mechnikov’s contract is held at the Kokuritsu kō monjokan (KKM), Kobun-roku monbusho no bu: Two Years’ Contract, 2A-25-1193, June 15, Meiji 7 (1874). For the document extending Mechnikov’s contract, see 2A-25-1441, April 23, Meiji 8 (1875).

128. Watanabe, “Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakkō.”

Student notebooks preserved in prefectural archives show that Mechnikov provided a lens to see history, one that attempted to place the “people” as an important subject and object of historical development. Mechnikov extensively examined the reform activities of Peter the Great and his times in the classroom. Around the same time, he criticized European journals for mistakenly conflating the powerless Meiji emperor with the authoritarian Peter the Great and gave a very different picture of the deep-rooted social origins of Meiji political reforms.¹²⁹ He pointed out that Peter’s forced transformation of politics and society in Russia would have been impossible in Meiji Japan, given its advanced stage of sociopolitical achievements. According to one student’s notes taken from Mechnikov’s lectures on Near Eastern history at the TSFL, Mechnikov discussed history from the “bottom up,” introducing the dualistic character of religion in the Near East, divided between a people’s religion and a state religion. In Greek history, he focused on democratic practices in which slaves were treated as beings as intelligent as their masters. He also taught his students ethnology and folklore as essential to understanding history.¹³⁰ Mechnikov’s understanding of history as demonstrated in his teaching of various places and periods indicates a populist historical problem consciousness that had echoes in his historical accounts of Japan. This historical consciousness was forming in dialogue and in response to his encounter with revolutionary Japan.

After Mechnikov’s departure from the TSFL, the series of former prisoners and political exiles who replaced him at the school furthered a populist and revolutionary historical consciousness in the Russian program initiated by Mechnikov over the following decade and a half. In the curriculum he established, students regularly read Russian literature expressive of Populist ideas. Andrei Kolenko (1849–?), for example, who served at the TSFL for over six years (1878–84),¹³¹ had students regularly

129. Mechnikov, “Vospominaniia,” p. 46.

130. Kojima Kurataro Archive, 10–38, 9–36, 38. See also Watanabe, “Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakkō,” p. 4. For Mechnikov’s thoughts on ethnography and folklore in history, see Mechnikov, “Kul’turnoe znachenie demonizma.”

131. KKM, 2A-26-2543, March 12, Meiji 12 (1879); March 2, Meiji 12 (1879). On the further extension of his contract, see 2A-26-2665, September 24, Meiji 13 (1880). See also Watanabe, “Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakkō.”

commit to memory radical poems written by his fellow Russian exiles. Kolenko had participated in radical student circles in the 1860s. Before coming to Japan, he had been arrested by the Third Section, the tsar's political police, had been imprisoned in Petropavlovsk fortress, and then had been placed in exile under police surveillance.¹³² He left for America as a political émigré in 1871 and from there went to Japan, where he was employed at the TSFL.

Focusing on a number of banned writers in Russia, Kolenko's students became well versed in poems that cursed tsarism, expressed thirst for social justice, protested despotism, remembered the Decembrists and other political exiles, and experienced the yearning for action of the politically bound Russian intellectual.¹³³ In an essay he wrote for Kolenko, TSFL student Kojima Kuratarō (1860–1895) quoted such subversive Russian proverbs as “It is better to receive evil from truth than good from a lie,” and “It is as bad to give a child riches and a knife as it is to give a sly man power and strength.”¹³⁴ According to Kojima's meticulous course notebooks, Kolenko also lectured on the sociohistorical background of the literature being covered. The tragic biographies of many of the writers persecuted by the tsarist government and discussed in Kolenko's lectures were often told over and over among Russian intelligentsia, constituting in many ways their shared identity.¹³⁵ Kojima's notebooks are a rare resource from one of Mechnikov's and Kolenko's students, offering insight into the formation of emotions, and the ideas that gave rise to them, in early Japanese encounters with Russian literature. Futabatei and other translators of Russian similarly evoked cross-cultural empathy and even anger against the various injustices and social ills narrated in translated literature in a receptive late Meiji audience.

132. Shiloyi and Karnaukhovaia, *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia*, p. 618.

133. Works covered in Kolenko's class included songs of Decembrists Aleksandr Bestuzhev (1797–1837) and Kondratii Ryleev (1795–1826), Aleksandr Odoevskii's (1802–1839) “In the Depths of the Siberian Ore,” Nikolai Ogarev's (1813–1877) “Public Tavern,” Aleksandr Polezhaev's (1804–1838) “Four Nations,” and Vasilii Kurochkin's (1831–1875) “Two-headed Eagle.” Watanabe, “Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakkō.” Most of these writers were exiled, sentenced to hard labor or executed for their political actions and views.

134. Kojima Kuratarō Archive, 14–42.

135. For example, Herzen tells of Tsar Nikolai I's cruelty through his narrative tale of A. Polezhaev's life sentence to military service. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, pp. 17–20.

Mechnikov and fellow revolutionaries at the TSFL taught Russian language, literature, and history as tools to view society, politics, and culture in a manner that easily led to critique of the social injustices of capitalist development and the Meiji government that was heavily responsible for that development. It appears that as a result of their emotionally imbued teaching of a critical view of politics and society, Russian-language study at the TSFL gained a new body of loyal followers. One hundred students were added to the student body of the Russian program during Mechnikov's tenure there alone, for example.¹³⁶ This newfound interest in Russian studies has been recalled in documents left by TSFL alumni. Andō Kensuke (1854–1924) wrote that with the new teacher, Mechnikov, “overflowing with energy” (*genki ōsei*), “students in the Russian program were really fascinated and studied extremely hard.” He recalled that students all became unusually active in their studies “[*Hijō ni kakki wo obitekita*].”¹³⁷ It was in this context that TSFL Russian students would become core participants in the cooperatist anarchist movement for decades to come and would later develop close ties with anarchists like Kōtoku Shūsui and Ōsugi Sakae. In all, during its first period of existence, 1873–84, the Russian course had a total of 567 students enrolled in its normal five-year program. Although the Russian program made up only one-eighth of the total student body, with many fewer students than the French and German programs, it provided 30 percent of the total number of graduates of the TSFL between 1873 and 1884. Despite the fact that the Russian program was the most rigorous one at the TSFL, leading many to drop out, it produced a much higher percentage of students committed to completing the program. The program came to have the highest graduation rate of all language programs.¹³⁸ The emphasis on language through literature in the Russian program by a committed and energetic teaching body staffed in its advanced levels by Russian revolutionaries made the program relevant to the contemporary experience of

136. Berton, Langer, and Swearingen, *Japanese Training and Research*, p. 16.

137. Andō recalls the early years of the TSFL program in Andō, “Gakkō kaikodan.” Kojima Kuratarō's materials on Russian studies at the TSFL, located at the Hokkaido Monjokan archive, were also helpful to gain a sense of student experiences in the program.

138. Berton, Langer, and Swearingen, *Japanese Training and Research*, p. 16.

the post-Ishin era. Through their post-Ishin-era encounters with an enthusiastic student body, the Russian revolutionaries at the TSFL created a space of foreign studies entirely unconventional in historians' understanding of Meiji education.

Futabatei's career as a translator and literary writer and his relations with émigrés from Russia were fundamentally shaped in this intellectual space that emerged from the meeting of Ishin and *revoliutsiia*.¹³⁹ Futabatei first came to the TSFL to study Russian as a language of the enemy, with hopes of eventually working for the Japanese military. However, while he was a student at the school, his original interest in national security turned into dedication to the study of Russian language and literature as cultural weapons of critique. "In the class on literary history we had to read representative works by representative Russian authors. In the process, without my being at all aware of what was happening, I fell under the influence of Russian literature. . . . An interest in literature moved along side by side with my excessive chauvinism. At first neither was stronger than the other, but soon my nationalistic fervor was quieted and my passion for literature alone burned on."¹⁴⁰ Futabatei describes how Russian literature reoriented his nationalism and chauvinism toward a consciousness of social phenomena and problems (*shakai mondai*).¹⁴¹ "I did not love literature in the ordinary, literary sense. Instead, I became fascinated with the observation, analysis, and predictions of social phenomena or problems that the Russian writers treated—things that had never occurred to me to consider in my earlier preoccupation with the problems of the nation as a whole."¹⁴²

As a student of the Russian émigrés Nicholas Gray and Kolenko at the TSFL, Futabatei studied the modern novel form through his readings

139. On Futabatei's relations with Bronisław Piłsudski, see Chapter 5. For accounts of his interactions with others from Russia, see Yasui, "Futabatei no robun shokan" and "Futabatei Shimei no Roshiajin Polandojin to no kōshō."

140. Futabatei, "Yo ga hansei no zange," pp. 267–68. Translation by Ryan, "Commentary," pp. 19–20.

141. Although the vocabulary of *shakai mondai* did not possess meaning as the problem of capitalism within Western modernity until later, Futabatei used this language in his autobiographical writings as a way of recalling his experience with Russian literature.

142. Futabatei, "Yo ga hansei no zange," pp. 267–68. Translation by Ryan, "Commentary," pp. 19–20.

of Russian novels. Although Gray's real identity remains unknown, his use of an American alias had the markings of a political exile.¹⁴³ Uchida Roan (1868–1929), a well-known writer himself and a close friend of Futabatei's, believed that Gray changed the course of Futabatei's career. Uchida recalls what he had heard about Gray from his friends in the Russian program: "When [Gray] lectured on Russian literature, he analyzed a work in the minutest detail. . . . Gray's lectures enabled the students to rise above the limitations of language lessons and savor the wonder of literature. It would have been impossible for anyone not to learn to love literature after hearing him."¹⁴⁴ Futabatei would initiate the development of a new, much larger Russian translation culture first fostered by Mechnikov at the TSFL as a result of his encounters with early Meiji intellectual life.

Working on *Ukigumo* soon after his graduation from the TSFL, Futabatei approached the writing of the novel as a translation practice from Russian.¹⁴⁵ Finding no adequate modern Japanese literary language to give expression to his ideas, Futabatei famously first wrote many of his original passages in Russian and then translated them into Japanese, thereby constructing a new, modern Japanese written language in the process.

Futabatei read the massively influential Russian literary critic Vissarion Belinsky (1811–1846) with enthusiasm. Belinsky identified Russian

143. The identity of Gray remains a mystery. Ivanova suggests that Gray may have been the revolutionary Nikolai Tchaikovsky (1851–1926), a close friend of Peter Kropotkin and Stepniak. Tchaikovsky's alias was also Nicholas Gray. Ivanova, *Russkie v Japonii*, pp. 105–7. Tchaikovsky was an acquaintance of Mechnikov's, a leading Russian revolutionary in the Populist movement, and a leader of the Socialist Revolutionaries. His name graced the famous Tchaikovsky Circle of young revolutionaries in Russia. However, my readings of Tchaikovsky's letters during the period in which Gray was in Japan reveal that he was likely not Gray. For example, a letter dated December 3, 1885, from Tchaikovsky to Stepniak is addressed from England. This was during the time Gray was in Japan. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, RGALI), f. 1158, op. 1, d. 498, l. 1. Ivanova also suggests that Gray may have been Felix Volkhovskii (1846–1914), who traveled through Japan on his way out of Siberian exile. However, Volkhovskii's letters reveal that he was still in Siberian exile while Gray was in Japan. See Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, 1:334–38.

144. Uchida, *Futabatei no issbō*, p. 354. Futabatei's other friends also vividly recall Gray's influence on Futabatei's literary development. See, e.g., Tsubouchi, "Futabatei no koto."

145. Futabatei, *Ukigumo*; Futabatei, *Japan's First Modern Novel*.

literature as intimately tied to organic society and a powerful source of ideas on social equality.¹⁴⁶ He believed that a truly Russian writer must produce works that were “original” and “non-European.” Russian writers and critics like Belinsky tended to view their country’s history as different from that of Europe and nativized their country as uniquely Russian.¹⁴⁷ Parody through extensive violations of “Western” aesthetic forms came to be the definition of Russian literature before the Russian Revolution of 1917. The twentieth-century Russian literary critic Viktor Shklovsky writes that modern Russian literature refused to be respectable or conventional. In a sense, Russian literature was antiliterature.¹⁴⁸

On the basis of his new understanding of the role of literature in the Russian revolutionary movement as simultaneously a product organic to its culture and social life and a stinging weapon used to change people’s consciousness on a wide scale, Futabatei decided to become a writer to effect the transformation of society and its state of mind. He did so in a manner that spoke directly to the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, which was at its peak when he began his literary career. Futabatei wrote:

The government of Russia at that time being bigoted and tyrannical, in all matters a heavy oppression lay on the people. Whereas politicians studied this as a political problem, *novelists studied it as a human problem*. Oppression appeared in their books as something with blood and tears, and one small work by Turgenev is said to have influenced the freeing of the serfs. There were men who went to the execution block because of a single novel; there were men who were sent to Siberia because of a single poem. . . . Just as we in Japan, when reading the works of someone like Yoshida Shōin, are brought sharply in contact with human life and cannot help but be excited, readers in Russia were struck *by the same emotions as those of the author and ground their teeth in anger*. Every writer risked his life and was so deadly serious that some radical people carried bombs. To awaken the people, they had made the pen into the point of a spear. There was a difference of only one step between the pen and a bomb.¹⁴⁹

146. Belinsky, “Thoughts and Notes on Russian Literature,” p. 11.

147. Belinsky, *Selected Philosophical Works*, pp. 350, 363.

148. Morson, *Literature and History*, p. 25.

149. Futabatei, “Rokoku bungaku no Nihon bungaku,” pp. 283–84. Italics in the original.

The manufacturing of a written vernacular through Futabatei's literary translations from Russian was integral to his endeavor to transform society and its state of mind. Nineteenth-century Russian writers strove to reflect the situation of the Russian people realistically and critically with the high expectation that their literature would transform society. They often relied on vernacular language to produce the sense of realism and immediacy that they needed, creating thereby a sense of situatedness in the immediate historical present in their literature.¹⁵⁰ Beginning with Futabatei, Japanese writers and other intellectuals studied Russian literature as a distinctive source of critical expression and a more democratic language and style of writing. Not only were Russian literary devices and themes reflected in the literature Futabatei created, but also the very language that he used was a creation out of the merging of the Russian language and a Japanese popular (*heimin*) colloquial language.

Futabatei's first literary project was a translation of Nikolai Gogol's work.¹⁵¹ Futabatei was most strongly drawn to the works of Gogol in his attempts to create a new literary language that unified the colloquial with the written language (*genbunitchi*). This was because Gogol provided a model for a democratic style of language and writing that unmasked the realities of social life through satire. Futabatei identified an analogue in the colloquial language used by the lower classes of Tokyo, on which he based his translations. The attempt caused his fellow writer, Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935), to view Futabatei's translated language as too coarse and vulgar.¹⁵² Futabatei had recycled the late Edo (1603–1868) culture of the subversive in order to express the satire and scathing criticism of society in Gogol's work. His second attempt at translation, a partial translation of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, was retitled *The Spirit of the Populists* (*Kyomutō katagi*). The revolutionary ideology behind these translations resulted in the production of a new language. It simultaneously attracted a wide readership.

150. See, for example, Brooks, "Readers and Reading," pp. 100–102.

151. Scholars presume that the work Futabatei translated was *The Inspector General*, although no remains of the translation have been found. Hatano, "Russian Literature," p. 49.

152. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

By retrieving and intertranslating the language of urban Japanese commoners and of Russian literature, both of which were foreign to the Japanese literary tradition, Futabatei revolutionized the written Japanese word. He created a new, standardized written language on the basis of a combination of his translations of nineteenth-century Russian literature into Japanese and his recycling of Tokugawa urban commoners' colloquial language. Through his simultaneous translation from the past and from beyond national borders, Futabatei crafted a modern Japanese language that was not other, but an expression of a modern self rooted in the past. This was neither a cosmopolitan self that was Western or foreign nor an archaic native self, but a modern self. Many contemporaries would recall Futabatei's Russian translations and fiction as surprisingly accurate reflections of their own emotions and subjectivity.

Through his translations, Futabatei inspired interest in and helped formulate the "social problem" in Japan. He wrote in his memoirs, "As I was upholding socialism as my credo at that time and eagerly reading Belinsky's essays, my ambition was to depict the dark side of [modern] Japanese culture."¹⁵³ The problem of capitalism and issues of social equality were themes running through Futabatei's translations and writings. He openly attributed his views to socialism, but his socialism was the humanistic socialism of Russian Populism rather than Marxism's materialistic view of human life. He was a close reader of Kropotkin and Bakunin, along with Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, and it was to Kropotkin and Herzen that he attributed his socialism, indicating its cooperatist anarchist tint. By 1900, Futabatei often talked about *sōgo fujo*, the mutual aid of cooperatist anarchism, and Kropotkin and Herzen.¹⁵⁴ He was one of the earliest Japanese intellectuals to expressly favor notions of cooperatist anarchist progress.

Inspired by literature and at the same time hoping to find inspiration for his literary and linguistic production, Futabatei sought to document the problems engendered by capitalism in his urban surroundings. Indeed, the early Japanese social scientist Yokoyama Gennosuke likened Futabatei's literary work to "sociological" and "ethnographic" studies

153. Futabatei, "Yo ga hansei no zange," pp. 267–68. Translation by Nakai, "Futabatei Shimei," p. 15.

154. Tsubouchi, "Futabatei no koto," pp. 35, 50.

rather than novels.¹⁵⁵ After completing his studies at the TSFL, Futabatei rented a room near the Yotsuya Samegahashi slum in Tokyo, one of the most notorious slums of the time. When he returned from his work in the department of the government gazette (*kanpō-kyoku*), he would change from his Western suit into typical laborers' dress, blending in as a resident there. This practice was entirely consistent with the spirit of his literature. He went to bars frequented by laborers and poor prostitutes. He followed the spirit of his thought even in his married life, marrying a prostitute whom he met during his wanderings. This everyday life that he chose provided Futabatei with material for his study of urban social problems emerging from capitalism. These were the people whose language he was attempting to integrate into his literature. He attempted to find an expression for the feelings of the inhabitants of the slum as a modern condition. He was convinced through his reading of Russian literature that he could locate the "warmth of the human heart" rather than the materialism of capitalist development.¹⁵⁶ During a period of disillusionment with his ability to render a literature capable of producing real change, Futabatei translated reports that introduced social and labor problems in Western Europe and Russia published by the Cabinet Information Office. Kinoshita Naoe (1869–1937), who would become a leading socialist, said that Futabatei's articles were an extremely precious source of information for him.¹⁵⁷

Journalists and close observers of the urban poor Yokoyama and Matsubara Iwagorō (1866–1935) may be considered early social scientists. They were also students and friends of Futabatei who had been inspired by his example and emotionally drawn to his translations of Russian literary depictions of the poor and downtrodden urbanites of St. Petersburg. Yokoyama and Matsubara produced their own social scientific studies of Japan's laborers as a social critique.¹⁵⁸ They both viewed Futa-

155. Yokoyama, Untitled article.

156. Uchida, *Omoidasu hitobito*, pp. 326–27.

157. Kinoshita, *Kami, ningen, jiyū*, pp. 339–40; Yokoyama, "Shinjin Hasegawa Tatsunosuke," p. 207.

158. The best-known work to be written in this context was Yokoyama, *Nihon no kasō shakai*. Yokoyama received Futabatei's financial support.

batei as a revolutionary.¹⁵⁹ Yokoyama's resulting close and objective examination of social problems represents an origin of Japanese social science in these non-Marxist Russian-Japanese nonstate intellectual relations. The historical epistemology of the rise of this early social science in Japan can be traced to the moment of revolutionary encounter and corresponding travel of emotional engagement with the injustices of capitalism, social inequality, and the illegitimate power of the state.

Many intellectuals of late Meiji reacted emotionally to their readings of Futabatei's Russian translations and fiction. When the translations came out in the widely read journal *Kokumin no tomo*, many young aspiring writers memorized them by heart. The writings' revolutionary way of expressing things closely coincided with how people felt. Tokutomi Roka, for example, admired Futabatei's style so much that he hand-copied *Aibiki*, Futabatei's translation from Turgenev's *Hunter's Sketches*, to learn it by heart. Other young writers, rising celebrity writers like Shimazaki Tōson (1872–1943) and Tayama Katai (1871–1930), also memorized *Aibiki* and told of the great astonishment they felt when they read it.¹⁶⁰

Whereas so-called translations of the West produced in this period seemed to be about others, a temporary experience of another's life, many felt that Futabatei's writings expressed their own subjectivity. Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871–1918), leader of the widely popular Geijutsu za theatrical group, for example, said that Futabatei had read his mind at that moment and time.¹⁶¹ Another important thinker, the popular poet Ishikawa Takuboku (1886–1912), said famously, "I am Rudin," referring to the main character of Turgenev's work by the same name, translated by Futabatei. Here, readers expressed anger against social injustice and also identified with the characters who inspired those emotions. The fresh new style of writing introduced by Futabatei impressed many young writers and was largely influential in the development of a new style of written Japanese widely used from the late Meiji. For many, Futabatei's moving translations were simultaneously their first encounter with Russian culture and their first foray into the creation of a Russian-Japanese language of a non-Western

159. See Yamada, "Futabatei to Matsubara Iwagorō."

160. Kunikida Doppo (1871–1908) also wrote his work *Musashino* under the inspiration of Futabatei's style. Nakai, "Futabatei Shimei," p. 56.

161. Shimamura's obituary of Futabatei, "Hasegawa Futabatei shi toku."

modern. This first encounter would have long-lasting repercussions for many, like Tokutomi Roka and Ishikawa Takuboku, and thus for intellectual history of the Meiji and Taishō (1912–1926) era.

Leading intellectuals in Japan, in a period spanning the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, continued to be emotionally drawn to the translations of Russian literature. In the late 1890s, for example, Yokoyama was led to turn from law and politics to the occupation for which he became known by Futabatei's translations of Russian literature and his reports on laborers in Russia and elsewhere.¹⁶² This emotion-filled embrace of Russian literature and nonfictional accounts of Russian social life and revolutionary movement was a common denominator among those who later turned to anarchism and socialism.

Futabatei's translations emerged in the context of a rising interest in the 1880s in the Russian revolutionary movement among participants in political movements in Japan who identified themselves as inheritors of the revolutionary legacy of the Ishin. For example, in an attempt to put into print the expression of that revolutionary spirit, in 1884 Miyazaki Muryū (1855–89) adapted and translated the famous account of the Russian Populist movement *Underground Russia* by Stepniak-Kravchinskii, first published in English in 1882.¹⁶³ Miyazaki was a propagandist for a radical current of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. His work, titled *Kishūshū* (Demons' tears), which led to his imprisonment, was written in reference to the Kaba Mountain incident, which occurred several months before. In the incident, members of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement prepared antigovernment acts. Intending to join up with the local peasantry, they planned to incite an uprising in the central region of Japan. Miyazaki's rewriting and publication of *Underground Russia* in the Freedom and People's Rights newspaper *Jiyū shimbun*, which made Stepniak-Kravchinskii's work widely popular, was only one of several invocations of the Russian revolutionary movement by members of the Japanese movement. Miyazaki lamented and heroicized those who had fought and died in the incident through a retelling of Stepniak-Kravchinskii's heroic account. The story focused on three Russian revolutionaries, Kropotkin, Sofia Perovskaya, and Vera Figner. Miyazaki's

162. Yutani, "Nihon no kasō shakai of Gennosuke Yokoyama."

163. Miyazaki, *Kishūshū*; Stepniak, *Underground Russia*.

translation of the narrative therefore provided added meaning and impetus to the efforts of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement in Japan. The lasting emotion of anger at injustice done to those who sought to improve society was powerfully conveyed not only by the translation of Russian revolutionary narratives and the corresponding new vernacular language but also by images of heroines like the executed Sofia Perovskaya, who served as martyrs in Japan.

Miyazaki's translation had a direct personal linkage with Mechnikov that suggests that Mechnikov's presence continued to be felt in Japan long after he had left. Mechnikov had been largely responsible for the publication and dissemination of Stepniak-Kravchinskii's work, which was a direct result of Mechnikov's collaboration, assistance, and translation into English. The huge success of Stepniak-Kravchinskii's work outside Russia was due in great part to Mechnikov's efforts. Mechnikov provided for his younger friend's financial security, arranged for Stepniak-Kravchinskii's new émigré life when he was forced to emigrate to Switzerland, translated *Underground Russia* into English, and secured a path for its publication by introducing it to English publishers and by using his other substantial contacts in England.¹⁶⁴ The two figures in the Russian revolutionary movement formed one tie in an expanding interlocking network.¹⁶⁵

This particular mode of collective emotion traveled via narrative form not just over geographic space but also over time. Tremendously popular in their time, Futabatei's translations of Russian literature and Stepniak-Kravchinskii's accounts of the Russian revolutionary movement were called on over and over again in later decades in order to revive the emotions spawned in their original readings. Japanese anarchists and socialists frequently referred to Russian literature to bring back the desire for social and political justice lost with the suppression of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. When the movement was suppressed, for example, Tokutomi Roka used the symbolism of Russian Populism in

164. See the letters between Mechnikov and Stepniak in Taratuty, "Iz perepiski s S. M. Stepniakom-Kravchinskim."

165. Stepniak and Peter Kropotkin had close relations as well and maintained their friendship until Stepniak's death. Kropotkin recalls Stepniak in his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.

an 1896 article for *Kokumin shimbun* to recall the spirit of the Japanese movement. Roka based his article, “Sutsuru inochi,” on Stepniak-Kravchinskii’s *Life of a Nihilist*.¹⁶⁶ The anarchist Kōtoku used Muryū’s work to symbolize the betrayal of revolutionary ideals when his socialist newspaper *Heimin shimbun* was shut down.¹⁶⁷ Published in the last issue of *Heimin shimbun*, the reference revealed the extent to which the symbolism of Muryū’s work was widely shared. It is well known that Kanno Sugako (1881–1911), the feminist anarchist executed with Kōtoku in 1911 in the Daigyaku incident, in which twelve people were executed for allegedly conspiring to assassinate the emperor, similarly referred to her emotional attachment to and sympathy for executed Russian female revolutionaries. Similar intellectual practices of recycling translated Russian Populist literature and accounts to invoke the desire of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement for freedom and social justice and the sense of betrayal of the Ishin’s revolutionary ideals would continue throughout the Meiji and Taishō periods.

Chapter 3 discloses how rural poetry and reading circles invoked Futabatei’s translations of Russian literature at the height of the Russo-Japanese War as an expression of frustration with the state’s use and abuse of common people in its project of war and imperialist expansion. The tracing of emotions through literary expression and, in this case, translation offers intellectual historians a useful methodological tool. The emotions discussed here were inseparable from cognitive processes and very much a part of intellectual history. Literature as the conveyer of emotion traveled across borders and across time via translation through different historical and cultural contexts, providing historians with a clue to identify and trace emotions as cognitive and conceptual phenomena.

The Russian program at the TSFL continued to produce student radicals and supporters of cultural revolution in later decades. From behind the scenes, the program quietly supported the development of modern anarchism in early twentieth-century Japan. Three decades after Mech-

166. Later, in 1902, the publication of Kemuyama Sentarō’s (1877–1954) work *Anarchism* was the first introduction of anarchism in Japan. Kemuyama, *Kinsei museifushugi*.

167. Kōtoku wrote, “This very month, this very day, *Heimin shimbun* is dying. Devils cry [*oni shūshū*], the Gods are offended. . . . There are bloody tears in the depths of their eyes.” Kōtoku, *Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū*, 5:561.

nikov established the program, a number of its students became key members of the first self-claimed anarchist group in Tokyo in 1908, as Kōtoku revealed in a personal letter to his friend Kropotkin.¹⁶⁸

Mechnikov saw the Meiji Ishin as the revolution toward global cooperatist anarchist society. Through Russian-Japanese encounters in the wider world context, an idea of cooperatist anarchist civilization and progress emerged that made the Meiji Ishin, or Revolution on the Pacific, an impetus for world human progress. Thus, at the very moment at which Japan's borders were opened to negotiation with the West and to the concomitant narrative of civilizational progress, they were also opened to ideas of progress and civilization and ways to link Japan to the wider world independent of Western modern ideals. The transnational flow of ideas and the international transsemination of thought occurring on the nondiplomatic level provide a fascinating instance of transnational intellectual relations. The vision discussed in this chapter was the result of a novel meeting unique to revolutionary Russia and Japan in the wider world context, beyond an imagined divide between a progressive West and a tradition-bound East. Only via the examination of Russian-Japanese non-state revolutionary encounters can one see the emergence and formulation of this independent vision of modernity.

Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounters also gave birth to a Russian translation culture and Futabatei's crafting of a modern Japanese language based on Japanese vernacular language and his translations from nineteenth-century Russian Populist literature. Literary critics agree that the Japanese novel as a literary genre began with Futabatei's *Ukigumo*, which Marleigh Grayer Ryan introduced as Japan's first modern novel. Ryan wrote that Futabatei's translations of Russian fiction brought the power of Western literature to an entire generation of young Japanese writers.¹⁶⁹ Although Ryan's work was published in 1965, the general understanding of Futabatei's work as a product of Western influence has never been questioned. The tendency to typify "Russian" as "Western" in discussions of Japan's relation to the West is problematic, however. Ryan's statement assumes that Russian writers identified themselves and

168. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, December 26, 1908. GARF, f. 1129, op. 2, khr. 1418, l. 21.

169. See Ryan, "Introduction," p. xiii.

their own works as “Western,” and that the Japanese writers also identified Russian works as such. It also adopts the premise of the Western impact on post-1868 Japan as the conceptual foundation for modern Japanese history. But a closer examination of Futabatei’s Russian translation practices that led to *Ukigumo* reveals that the so-called first modern Japanese novel was actually a product of a Japanese-Russian revolutionary encounter and a resulting Russian translation culture in Japan that translated Russian literature and language in polemic with Western modernity. Through this Russian translation culture, the understanding of the “social” emerged.

In the context of Russian translation culture in polemic with Western modernity, the Russian writer Lev Tolstoy emerged as the most translated foreign writer in the entire history of modern Japanese translation practice. The following chapter explores the peculiar place of Tolstoy in Japanese cultural and intellectual life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER 2

Anarchist Religion: Translation and Conversion beyond Western Modernity

At the turn of the last century, a wall-sized mural of the novelist Lev Tolstoy was hung in Kazan Cathedral, one of the most prominent buildings of the Russian Orthodox Church, located in the center of St. Petersburg. Painted and hung after Tolstoy's notorious excommunication from the Orthodox Church in 1901, the massive portrait in Figure 2.1 depicted in grand detail and vividness Tolstoy burning in the flames of hell. This image was reproduced and hung in churches around Russia. The writer's anathematization of Russian Orthodoxy was a tumultuous and emotional event for the church and for the Russian public in general.¹

Curiously, at the moment at which Tolstoy became a dangerous apostate of the Russian Orthodox Church, he was gaining a widespread religious following in Japan, where many regarded him as a prophetic religious thinker and a saint. If he was a satanic voice for the Russian Orthodox Church, in Japan Tolstoy had become a voice from God by the early 1900s. A follower from Kōfu, Japan, told him, for example, "The

1. The Holy Synod disseminated its official judgment on Tolstoy's excommunication across Russia, and it was published in almost all newspapers in the country on February 24–25, 1901. After the excommunication, Tolstoy received numerous threatening letters and even death threats from the general public. At the same time, on February 24, thousands of people demonstrated in Moscow against the synodal decision. For more information on Tolstoy's excommunication, see Pozoiskii, *Lev Tolstoi i tserkov*; and Pozoiskii, *K istorii otlucheniia L'va Tolstogo*.



Fig. 2.1 Fragment of a church mural in the village of Tazov, Kursk Province, Russia.
Source: Pozoiskii, *K istorii otlučenja L'va Tolstogo*.

truth you advocate comes to my mind convincingly, as if it came from Heaven. . . . I can say it *is a revelation* in the true sense of the term.”² Like the Kōfu admirer, many used Christian vocabulary to refer to and make sense of Tolstoyan thought in this period.

Equally striking was the fact that the person who introduced Tolstoy to Japan as a religious thinker was the dean of the Orthodox Seminary in Tokyo and a leading religious thinker in Japan, Konishi Masutarō. Ironically, it was in the process of Konishi’s attempt to translate Orthodoxy into Japanese terms that he introduced Tolstoy’s religious ideas. The resulting conversions to what was called “Tolstoyan religion” (*Torusutoi no shūkyō*) or “religious anarchism” (*shūkyōteki anākizumu*) in Japan occurred in the total absence of the converter, that is, without a missionary or church institution.

In the larger context of Meiji Russian translation practice introduced in Chapter 1, Tolstoy was the most translated figure in modern Japan. The degree of Japanese interest in Tolstoy was remarkable not only within the Japanese context but also on the world scale. To borrow the phrase of the Russian scholar Kim Rekho, “In terms of the breadth and depth of the study of Tolstoy’s works, Japan without question occupies a special place among other countries. . . . Nowhere, except Russia, have the works of Tolstoy been published as many times as in Japan. Nowhere outside Russia have they written about Tolstoy so much as in Japan.”³ For example, Tolstoy’s collected works, ranging from ten to forty-seven volumes, have been published at least thirteen times in Japan. If one looks at Japanese intellectual history as a history of translation practice, the absence of historical interest in Japanese Tolstoyanism presents a major lacuna in the historiography.

Tolstoy has never been given more than a passing glance in Western scholarship on Japanese intellectual history. He has been mentioned occasionally as just another proverbial Western novelist, and sometimes as

2. K. Shiraishi to Tolstoy, May 20, 1910, Otdel Rukopisei Gosudarstvennogo Muzeia L. N. Tolstogo (ORGMT), f. 1, inv. 2314. Emphasis in Shiraishi’s original letter.

3. Rekho, “Lev Tolstoi i Vostok,” p. 6. Rekho points out that by 1970, for example, Tolstoy’s novel *War and Peace* had been published twenty times by different Japanese translators and publishers. In Germany, with the second-highest number in the world, *War and Peace* had been published about fourteen times, and in England, eight times.

a Christian. There are a number of problems with this description. First, it fails to explain why his religious and philosophical works made him the most widely read foreign writer in modern Japan. Second, and perhaps more important, it does not explain why Tolstoy always seemed to appear on the late Meiji-Taishō cultural stage arm-in-arm with the well-known anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Third, Tolstoy was distinctly identified in Japan as a Russian thinker rather than as a so-called Western thinker.⁴ Moreover, if Tolstoy was the most popular Christian thinker in Japan, this in turn does not fit the historiographical paradigm that Christianity was a major force in the Westernization and modernization of Meiji Japan. The answer to these mysteries lies in resolving a much larger problem, that of religion and modernities in late Meiji Japan.

The following points will serve as guides through the transnational intellectual terrain. First, the widespread turn to Tolstoyan thought was a religious conversion, but one that does not accord with the existing understanding of it as part of a larger Christian conversion of the West. I argue that although Japanese Tolstoyanism was couched in the vocabulary of Christianity, it was in fact a critique of late nineteenth-century Christianity. Religious conversion, perhaps one of the most destabilizing factors in human society, was an active practice of self-transformation rooted in the transformation of knowledge in Japanese-Russian translation practice. Tolstoy and Konishi's mutual project to fashion and disseminate a new anarchist religion stimulated among converts an active imagination and expectation that they had adopted a universal religion for future human progress.

Historians have developed an understanding of the translated character of the term *shūkyō*, or modern religion, as the Christianity of the West, thanks to the work of James Ketelaar, among others.⁵ That is, it was a concept of a modern religious institution translated from Western

4. The question whether Russia was “Eastern” or “Western” has been endlessly debated. Whether or not Tolstoy, or “Russia” at large, was “Western” or “non-Western” is not the interest of this book, which is rather how Japanese and Russians themselves identified, constructed, and translated Russian culture and thought and on that basis formed a relationship that was beyond the East-West hierarchical relationship founded on a Euro-American-centric temporal construct of progress and civilization.

5. See Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*.

Christianity that served to unify and empower the nation-state by lending it the credibility of civilization. Peter van der Veer has shown how the modernizing project of the secular state in fact gave religion a strong new impulse.⁶ The meaning of religion thereby became coupled with Western modernity and in this way held tremendous authority. In return, religion became the defining feature of the nation. A departure from the Western modernizing project, then, depended on the transformation of modern religion as so defined.

Tolstoyan or “anarchist” religion uprooted some of the dominant tropes of Western modernity.⁷ This was achieved by radically transfiguring Christianity from an ideological basis for the modern nation-state and Western modernity into an anarchist theology that came to be a nonhierarchical and noninstitutional religious thought independent of Western civilizational discourse. This can be contrasted with an existing understanding that it was Christianity and its assumed Westernization of converts that provided the critical basis for protest against the given political and social order in late Meiji Japan.⁸ In the case of conversions to Tolstoyan religion, the Christianity of Western modernity was an object rather than the source of critique.

Any cross-cultural knowledge exchange involves translation. Methodologically, I will pay particular attention to the practice of translating Tolstoy’s thought as a way to illuminate the phenomenon of religious Tolstoyanism in Japan and thereby provide a new understanding of the interworking of translation and subjectivity during this period. Historians have often reduced the question of subjectivity in modern Japan to being the product of, or a reaction to, translating the West. Translating the West has been described in the literature on modern translation practice in Japan as translating the foreign, leading to a so-called divided self among Japanese intellectuals. Yet the translation of Tolstoyan religion

6. Veer, *Imperial Encounters*.

7. Although the historical context and the nature of intellectual practices here differ from those found in postcolonial studies of religious conversion, the theme may be further explored in comparative perspective. For a reexamination of religious conversion in transcultural relations between India and Great Britain, see Viswanathan, *Outside the Fold*.

8. See the important contribution by Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest*.

discussed in this chapter was never a translation of Western metaphysics or of Western modernity. Translation in this case was a rearticulation of an existing social practice and intellectual current in Japan that fails to fit the phenomenon of “translating the foreign.”⁹ This chapter thereby problematizes historians’ reliance on the trope of translation as a unidirectional transfer of knowledge from West to non-West, whether in the form of direct influence, indigenization, self-colonization, or reconfiguration. In the historiography of modern Japan, this exchange of knowledge on unequal terms appears self-evident, but only within the bounds of an almost exclusive focus on the cultural articulators of Western modernity, the elite intellectuals of imperial institutions and government representatives. Meanwhile, historians have assumed that their articulations produced either a Westernizing modern subjectivity among the larger populace or a reactionary cultural nationalism.

The Russian translations produced by Konishi and other graduates of the Orthodox Church Seminary merged with the translations produced in the neighboring Tokyo School of Foreign Languages to create the unique phenomenon of a Russian translation culture in modern Japan. Established by Mechnikov and continued by fellow Russian revolutionary exiles, the Russian program at the TSFL also taught Russian translation as the translation of knowledge and thought independent of Western modernity. This was a dynamic convergence between the church and revolutionaries on Japanese soil.

The conversions to Tolstoyan religion were products of the dialectics of knowledge exchange beyond the East-West hierarchical divide. This production of knowledge relied on mutual translations and retranslations as action and reaction, utterance and response, definition and redefinition, in which moral vocabularies were negotiated between languages to produce new languages. Translation was thus multidirectional and dialectical, blurring the distinction between “original” and “translated.” Rather than a form of unequal power relations, translation in this discourse was a transnational exchange conducted on equal grounds that implied a nonhierarchical world order beyond the epistemological limits of East-West relations. It was only in this way that translated

9. Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*.

knowledge led to conversion on the scale and depth seen in this case. Simply put, conversion was a product not of Tolstoy's influence but of the interactive relationality that defined Japanese-Russian mutual translation. Translation thereby became a dynamic and novel articulation of the previously unexpressed self on universalistic terms. This history of translation and conversion will show how people in late Meiji Japan articulated themselves and reactivated their future participation and expectation in the modern world.

One of the lasting tropes in histories of Meiji Christianity has been the positing of Japanese nationalism in stark contrast to Christianity in Japan, a presumably rationalizing force for the creation of the modern cosmopolitan subject. Yet the promotion of Christianity among Japanese religious leaders was often couched in nationalist terms. One of the main examples of liberal Christian leadership in Japan has been Nijima Jō (1843–1890), founder of Dōshisha Christian University in Kyoto, who trained in the United States. His leadership among Meiji Christian converts has been considered the source of protest against state ideologies and nationalism in Japan.¹⁰ But Nijima sought to spread Christianity in Japan as an expression of his urge to civilize and modernize the nation and thereby make it an equal in the international order through Westernization from within. Christianity here served as an instrument of national advancement into the community of the “civilized” nation-states. Meanwhile, the religiously rooted practices discussed here that neither embraced the West as a model for national progress nor posited a nativist counterresponse have been ignored. It follows that this largely unnoticed trend of Tolstoyanism was a turn toward neither Western assimilationism nor nationalist pan-Asianism, but toward a possibility of an anti-hierarchical, moral society beyond either school. Historians' long-held assumptions about Western liberalism as the source of resistance to nationalism and conservatism in modern Japan appear to need rethinking. In sum, there is a reminder here of the significance of looking beyond the binary world of knowledge exchange between “colonized” and “colonizer” or “East” and “West” toward a fresh conception of knowledge making rooted in multilateral relationalities in wider world perspective.

10. Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest*, pp. 181–87.

Japanese Orthodoxy's Heterodoxy

Konishi Masutarō has been described as a heretic of Orthodox Christianity.¹¹ This presupposes that Japanese Orthodoxy had a single unified position against which one became either a believer or heretic. On the contrary, Konishi expressed the Russian-Japanese Orthodox cultural environment in Meiji Japan at one end of its intellectual spectrum. “Christianity” was an evolving project in the Meiji context. An examination of Konishi’s activities therefore requires reading outside a strict heretic-follower bifurcation of the Japanese Orthodox religious world and of Christianity in Japan at large. In this way, one can make sense of his otherwise-inconceivable conversion of a national Orthodox Christianity to “religious anarchism.” An introduction to the Orthodox mission where Konishi trained to become a religious leader will aid in understanding Konishi’s conversion, both of Christianity and to anarchist religion, as a product of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations.

From its earliest years, the Orthodox Church in Japan where Konishi was trained identified itself by its difference from the West. The success of the Orthodox mission in Japan that the priest Nikolai (Ivan Dmitrievich Kasatkin) (1836–1912) founded in the early 1870s created excitement among some in Russia because of its symbolic achievement of universal humanism rooted in Eastern Orthodox ideals. For example, the mission represented the novelist Dostoevsky’s understanding of the way in which Eastern Christianity would provide a solution to the modern ethical crisis faced in the wake of capitalism, industrialization, and unbridled individualism.¹² In 1887, Vladimir Solov’ev, who would be-

11. For a discussion of Konishi as a heretic, see Yanagi, *Torusutoi to Nihon*, pp. 31–40. Although I do not disagree with the label “heretic,” I argue that the historical analysis based on that bifurcation hides the extent to which Konishi inherited his desire to remake Christianity in Japanese form from the Japanese Orthodox intellectual environment.

12. In 1880, Dostoevsky paid a visit to Nikolai’s room in Moscow, where Nikolai was staying during his second and last trip to Russia from Japan. Dostoevsky had excitedly prepared for his chance to talk with Nikolai, a highlight of his rare trip to Moscow from his hermetic existence in St. Petersburg. For Dostoevsky, Nikolai had put into practice his thoughts, reflected in the historic speech Dostoevsky was giving the next day at the citywide Pushkin celebrations. The speech commemorated Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) as the symbol of a new universal culture emerging from Russia, based

come one of Russia's most recognized philosophers, applied to be a missionary in Japan under Nikolai. Solov'ev eventually attempted to develop a universalist philosophy that unified elements of Eastern (Russian) and Western philosophical traditions.¹³ The mission's overwhelming success in Japan suggested to Russian observers the universal possibility of Orthodox Christianity as a religion that did not seek the rational God of Western metaphysics, but rather was based on an ethical notion of human interdependency. But if the vision of a universalistic moral progress lay with the privileging of the spirit of Russian Orthodox Christianity, that vision remained penned within the powerful institutional authority of a church closely aligned with the nation-state.

Nikolai's vision played a tremendous role in forming the particular ideological framework for Orthodox Christianity in Japan, a framework that made it unique in a number of ways among the Christian missions in Japan. The Orthodox mission's policy was to relate to the church in Japan as an independent national entity equal to the church in Russia. This was a unique position that reflected the Orthodox belief that every church is ontologically equal, and that no church or bishop, including the one located in Rome, has authority over another church. This notion of parallel jurisdiction among all churches emerged from the Orthodox belief that the Spirit of God himself is within and living in all churches. In this context, the converted were given considerable latitude to define Japanese Orthodoxy and the meaning of its mission for the future. This opened up an intellectual space for various debates, practices, and intellectual developments within the church.

In a similar vein, an Orthodox vision to civilize the inferior in Japan was largely absent. Nikolai's vision was rather to lay a framework for Orthodoxy that was based on and preserved essential aspects of existing religious thoughts and cultural traditions in Japan. The historicity behind this conceptual development was rooted in part in Nikolai's understanding of the Meiji Ishin (Restoration) as a modern revolution. Nikolai was a serious student of Japanese history, which his students recalled

on the spiritual values of humility and world brotherhood and rooted in a people ideally located between East and West.

13. Others, like Sergei Rachinskii (1833–1902), professor at Moscow University, expressed a similar attraction to the mission. Rachinskii, Introduction.

was Nikolai's favorite class to teach at the seminary. As noted in Chapter 1, on the basis of his studies and his experiences in Japan during the most turbulent years of the Ishin, Nikolai saw the Ishin as a radical change that was a product of Japan's internal developments. He accorded to Japan its own history and thereby its own modern identity. He observed the Meiji "revolution" as a particular beginning of a new civilization and progress in which the West played a peripheral role.¹⁴ Here again, Nikolai saw the impetus for this development as coming from within Japan.

Nikolai's goal in publishing a brief history of Japan for Russian readers in 1869 was "to give the key to understanding the contemporary Japanese revolution . . . written on the basis of Japanese histories: *Dainihonshi*, *Kokushiryaku*, *Ishi* and *Nihongaishi*." He claimed that whereas the Japanese were relegated in the European imagination to eternal childhood, as a comic-book figure "in a robe, with a little pigtail on his crown, humorously squatting and giggling," he sought to depict the mature accomplishments and development of a nation's people over time.¹⁵ Nikolai saw the Ishin as a natural product of a developed commoners' society. He also believed that the democratic tendencies he observed had deep roots, having developed over many centuries from the ground up. "As for the people, they have a much greater condition for the realization of their civic freedoms than the people of many states in Europe."¹⁶

For Nikolai, Japan's modern development was to be fueled by religious faith as a source for ethical human society. Instead of changing and transfiguring the local into the Western model of culture, Christianity would adapt itself to the traditions and existing ethical foundations of the locality in which it was to take root. Orthodox Christianity was thus to undergo a degree of indigenization and merging with the existing foundations of religious faith in Japan. In order to adequately facilitate the transformation and merging of religious faith in Japan, Nikolai intensively studied the Japanese language and Japanese culture, history, and art for over ten years before seriously embarking on his missionary activities. He translated numerous texts on the Gospels and Orthodox religious teachings from Russian into Japanese and published considerable research

14. Nikolai, "Seoguny i mikado," 84, no. 11, pp. 207–8.

15. Ibid.

16. Nikolai, "Iaponiia s tochki zreniia khristianskoi missii," p. 221.

on Buddhism. Together, he and Mechnikov may be considered the first serious Russian Japanologists. He also searched for points of religious union and common language between Orthodox Christianity and Buddhism, as well as Shintoism. He encouraged the various Japanese Orthodox journals and societies to choose names that evoked a sense of Christianity's rootedness in existing Japanese religious traditions.¹⁷ Nikolai's approach was reflected in the theological seminary's entrance examination, which required all students to have a firm grounding in Chinese classics. Religious indigenization was already inherent in the policy of the converter.¹⁸

In line with Nikolai's understanding of Orthodoxy as a spiritual and cultural expression of a nation's people, the Orthodox Church in Japan was established to develop into Japan's national church. From its very earliest years, the new national religion in the making was called Japanese Orthodoxy (*Nihon seikyō*). The idea of the Russian Orthodox community bounded by the nation-state under the tsar was transferred to the Orthodox mission in Japan. Under Nikolai, it became a pluralistic vision of parallel religious developments and national progress in which no particular geographic location or culture monopolized religious authority. Rather, authority was found within each national church and in the scriptures. Ultimately, in Nikolai's vision, the Orthodox national church was an institution to serve the nation under the authority of the Japanese *tennō* (emperor). It was this last point that would help lead to Konishi's split with the church.

Nikolai instilled in his students the idea that the church in Japan was to be independent of the church in Russia. Japanese Orthodoxy would be the national church, which, as a hybrid new religion, would incorporate

17. For example, the name of the Orthodox women's society Shōkei reflected this idea. The naming of the society and its monthly magazine *Uranishiki* provides insight into Nikolai's approach to his mission. The name Shōkei is taken from a classical Confucian text called the *Doctrine of the Mean*. It refers to the teaching of a Chinese wise man that speaks of the virtue of wearing silk over brocade in order not to glitter and show off one's riches. The term *uranishiki* comes from Christian teachings in the First Epistle of Peter, which reflects ideas on beauty very similar to those in Confucianism that true beauty lies in the interior and is usually not apparent to the eye.

18. On indigenous movements in Japan other than Orthodox Christianity or Tolstoyanism, see Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*.

and express Japanese cultural and historical tendencies along with universalistic aspects of Christian teachings. It was not to be a product of the West but rather was identified in terms of its difference from the Western religious traditions. In an expression of the church's orientation, students of its theological seminary studied *kangaku* (Chinese studies) as a required part of their curriculum.

The Japanese Orthodox Church also presented an identity of distinction from the other Christian bodies. Before coming to Japan, Nikolai had believed that he represented a religion of the West, and the most advanced branch at that. The more he encountered the other branches of Christianity in Japan, however, the more he differentiated himself and Orthodoxy from the West. Identity became difference, and difference became Nikolai's identity. The production of knowledge in his Orthodox schools became predominantly a discourse of non- and sometimes anti-Western civilization.

Out of Orthodox heterodoxy, Konishi Masutarō emerged as one of Nikolai's leading students. He was schooled for six years (1880–86) at the Orthodox Seminary and the Orthodox School of Russian Language in Tokyo. Highly trained in Orthodox Christian theology and the Russian language, he was a student of everything that made Nikolai's mission unique. Yet Konishi would turn from the church to initiate the formation of an anarchist religious discourse that countered not only the authority of the church but also the Western modernity in which it participated.

Toward Moral Progress: The Lao Tzu Translation Project

In 1886, Father Nikolai invested precious resources to send Konishi to attend Kiev Theological Seminary. During the forty years of the Tokyo seminary's existence, Konishi was one of only eighteen out of a thousand young Japanese seminarians to have the privilege of being sent to Russia.¹⁹ Konishi was to bring back select elements of Russian theology to create a Japanese Orthodoxy that would unify essential aspects from Japanese traditional religious practices with the Orthodox Christianity of the future. At least, this was how Konishi understood the project he was undertaking during his long, searching stay in Russia from 1886 to 1893.

19. See Naganawa, "Japanese Orthodox Church," p. 160.

While he was in Russia, Konishi discovered the apparent point of unification. The moral theology of the ancient Chinese work *Tao te ching*, attributed to the ancient philosopher Lao Tzu, emerged for him as the point of unification with Japanese Orthodoxy and the best source for its further development in Japan.²⁰ What was a bit un-Orthodox about his finding, however, was that the thought of *Tao te ching* had no room either for the authority of the nation-state or for the institution of the church.

Konishi's search for a modern religion relevant to Meiji Japanese experience in the ancient thought of *Tao te ching* was an attempt to express religious subjectivity independent of Western modernity. In Moscow, he set about introducing *Tao te ching* to his Russian audience, probing for reactions to his newfound notion of the mergeability of the theology and ethical system in *Tao te ching* and Orthodox Christianity. He began by introducing *Tao te ching* while he was a student at the prestigious Kiev Theological Seminary, where he wrote an essay, "The Philosophy of Lao Tzu and His Logic," with the plan to develop his final graduating thesis on the topic. Not surprisingly, the seminary rejected the topic proposal.²¹

The fact that Konishi then moved to Moscow University for further studies on the topic of Lao Tzu suggests that he already took Lao Tzu extremely seriously, more so, perhaps than the Orthodox theology that he was in Russia to study. In Moscow, he found a warm response to his interest in *Tao te ching* that eventually led to his friendship and collaboration with Tolstoy on the topic. In this intellectual environment, he found a radical conclusion to the question "What form should modern religion take in Japan?"

Konishi's intellectual collaborations in Russia revived the ancient *Tao te ching* as a fresh voice of criticism of social Darwinism and civilizational hierarchy, which placed Christianity at the apex of all religions and identified Christianity as the religion befitting the most advanced

20. Lao Tzu ("Old Master") is said to have been a sage of the sixth century BC in China. However, the identity of the true author of *Tao te ching* and its date of composition are still debated.

21. Konishi recalled that the seminary rejected the proposal because it had no one who could be his faculty adviser on the topic. Konishi Masutarō, *Torusutoi wo kataru*, p. 11.

civilizations. Out of his intellectual encounters in Russia, Konishi would return to Japan to give a theological voice to anarchist modernity.

Konishi's exchange with Russian intellectuals significantly lacked the structure of unequal relations that his "voyage to the West" might presuppose. In Moscow, Konishi found considerable enthusiasm over his discussions about *Tao te ching*. At Moscow University, Konishi's adviser Nikolai Grot (1852–1899) immediately took it on himself to support in every way the development of his studies of *Tao te ching*. Grot was a leading intellectual in the development of philosophy as an academic discipline in Russia. In this capacity, he had just founded the journal *Questions in Philosophy and Psychology* in 1889 in response to a marked easing of censorship of philosophical writings in Russia. The timing of Konishi's arrival in Moscow was significant because it coincided with an exciting time for philosophical studies there. Only three years earlier, the government had officially approved the teaching of secular philosophy in Russian academic institutions. Grot was determined that in this crucial period of loosening state controls over the teaching of secular philosophy in Russia, his society, the Moscow Psychological Society, and his journal would be at the forefront of Russian secular philosophy and psychology. Grot told members of the society in 1893 in a speech commemorating its one hundredth meeting that the occasion represented a victory of thought and spirit over routine and ignorance. In this way, it was an important mark for the future "enlightenment of the nation, the uplifting of the Russian spirit, and the development of Russian thought and self-knowledge."²²

It was at this very moment that Grot became heavily involved in encouraging and helping Konishi publish on *Tao te ching*. Grot published a number of Konishi's articles in *Questions in Philosophy and Psychology* and also began to participate in Konishi's proposed translation of *Tao te ching* into Russian.²³ Konishi was becoming a recognized specialist of

22. *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* year 4, vol. 2, no. 17 (March 1893): 118.

23. Grot eagerly located for him rare Chinese ancient texts of Lao Tzu preserved in the Rumiantsev Library in Moscow. He also escorted Konishi to the library and introduced him to the head librarian to arrange for privileged access to its special collection. Grot was intending to edit Konishi's translation as well until his good friend Tolstoy came to town.

Asian thought in Moscow. He was one of only four foreign members of the society and the only foreigner to serve in the closed sessions of the society.²⁴ Participation in the closed sessions gave Konishi voting rights over the admission of new members to the society, which included prominent academics, journalists, and other cultural figures during the time Konishi was there.

In January 1893, twenty-nine of the leading scholars of philosophy in Russia gathered to listen and comment on a lecture given by the twenty-six-year-old Konishi on the ethical and metaphysical system of *Tao te ching*.²⁵ The Lao Tzu talk that Konishi gave was part of a lecture series of the Moscow Psychological Society as an important center of Russian intellectual life at the time. In this capacity, the society was made up of 141 active members, among whom were such leading Russian thinkers as Tolstoy, leading Slavophil philosophers Vladimir Solov'ev and Prince Sergei Trubetskoi (1863–1905), Sergei's brother Evgenii Trubetskoi (1863–1920), and the former mayor of Moscow, historian and philosopher Boris Chicherin (1828–1904). This particular evening, the lecture was conducted by Konishi as one of its newest and youngest members. The lecture was a successful part of Konishi's efforts to introduce the radical thoughts of the Chinese classic to Russia.

The turnout and the response to Konishi's Lao Tzu lecture reflected the excitement that the topic received among those seeking a direction for the development of philosophy in Russia. This particular evening, it was noted that an extraordinarily large audience from the general public had come to hear Konishi's talk.²⁶ Also in attendance were such leading figures in the society as L. M. Lopatin and the previously mentioned Vladimir Solov'ev and Sergei Trubetskoi. That the audience of thirty society members lacked specialists in Asian language or thought suggests

24. Konishi's participation in the society's closed sessions is evidenced, for example, in the March 13 and May 1, 1893, sessions of the Psychological Society. The list of members of the Society and their backgrounds is in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* year 4, vol. 2, no. 17 (March 1893): 124–29.

25. Lecture on Lao Tzu, January 30, 1893, Moscow Psychological Society. The report on this lecture in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* is preserved at the Moscow Historical Library, Periodicals Section. *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* year 4, vol. 2, no. 17 (March 1893): 114–16.

26. See *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* year 4, vol. 2, no. 17 (March 1893): 114.

that the conference was considered of shared significance not for the study of an exotic other, but for the urgent development of Russian thought itself.²⁷

Konishi found a nurturing space for claims of parallel religious development between East and West. He also found an audience supportive of his argument that the essence of religious thought in *Tao te ching*, which was an all-encompassing divine Good, universal brotherhood, and self-knowledge, made up a theological system as universal as Christianity. Moreover, he argued, it was one that emerged autonomously and even preceded Christianity's emergence in the West.²⁸ On the home ground of the converter, the Christian convert here made the radical claim of the relativity of Christianity to *Tao te ching*.

Konishi's discussions incorporated the theological and social aspects of *Tao te ching* into a populist, even anarchist, moral thought that rejected the need for institution or state to organize people. Lao Tzu, hoping to save Chinese society from destructive warfare and insincere human relations, advocated a simple life in small associations of self-governing cooperative communities. In these communities, people would give up luxury items and rigid rituals in social relations. The psychiatrist N. N. Bazhenov (1857–1925), superintendent of the first psychiatric hospital in Moscow, commented after Konishi's presentation, "Lao Tzu's ethical views are interesting. He appears to be a predecessor to Rousseau; for him everything in the natural state is good. Sometimes he appears as an anarchist and very often a nihilist."²⁹

Given Konishi's discussion, it is not surprising that members of his Russian audience became interested in Lao Tzu as an "anarchist." But Konishi described him not as a radical who sought to violently overthrow the government, but as someone whose moral system would serve to uproot the given social order. The main thrust of Konishi's argument was that if there was any text that could have saved the Chinese from the

27. Ibid., pp. 124–29.

28. Konishi Masutarō, "Filosofia Laosi," 3(18), p. 42. Konishi's attempts to speak to his Russian audience about *Tao te ching* as a religious system that was equal in development to Christianity appears to have led to mistranslations of terms into Russian, such as the Russian term for a "single God," which is absent in Lao Tzu's text.

29. *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* year 4, vol. 2, no. 17 (March 1893): 116.

impoverishment of moral life that their embrace of Confucianist ethics produced, it was *Tao te ching*. *Tao te ching*'s "revolutionary ideas should have turned the course of Chinese history onto a path of civilizational progress."³⁰ Instead, the embrace of Confucius's ideas led to what Konishi called "the reversal of Chinese historical progress." "Confucius had a deadly influence on the development of the Chinese people, and in this relationship [to Chinese history] does not deserve our sympathy. . . . Lao Tzu was humble and had a love of humanity. Confucius was proud and vain. . . . Confucius, with a powerful arm, turned backward the development of Chinese people and stopped it."³¹

For Konishi, history had gone wrong. He believed that with a revival of the ideas in *Tao te ching*, history could be rectified. Like Nikolai, Konishi largely defined historical progress as the moral and religious development of the people. History was moved by the spontaneous and voluntary masses of people, not from above. Modernization here was thus dependent not on government policies but on the natural capacity of people to act ethically. Konishi attributed the poor effect that Confucian thought had on Chinese progress and civilization mainly to the construction of an ethical system based on secular dogmatism and utilitarianism rather than belief in a divine truth, or Virtue, shared among all beings. *Tao te ching* represented a new direction of human progress for the future.

In an article on *Tao te ching* published that year in *Questions in Philosophy and Psychology*, Konishi explained that Lao Tzu overturned the traditional norms governing conduct between people formally categorized by their social positions by giving people a "completely natural moral teaching." He produced an original philosophical system that "uprooted the proposed evil of the governing morals of the people at the time."³² In contrast, Confucius, according to Konishi, merely mouthed the traditional moral thinking of his time, expressing existing beliefs in duty toward superiors and equals within hierarchically structured and highly ritualized social relations. By 1890 in Japan, with the Imperial Rescript on Education, Confucianism had become the ideological basis

30. Ibid., p. 115.

31. Ibid.

32. Konishi Masutarō, "Filosofia Laosi," p. 34.

of the imperial order in Japan, built on the Confucian family as the main building block for loyalty to state and emperor. Konishi's introduction provided a severe criticism of the ethical "system" promoted by the Japanese state at the time, a criticism possible only in the Russian context. He found that the interest among Russian intellectuals in revolutionary ideas provided a convenient supportive atmosphere to explore his own interests in a thought mergeable with Japanese Orthodoxy that could shake the moral order promoted by the Meiji government.

For Konishi, nature served as a focal point in understanding Lao Tzu. As Konishi explained, for Lao Tzu, the natural state of human beings was the state closest to the divine Virtue, Truth, or in Lao Tzu's language, the Way (Dao). *Tao te ching* as introduced by Konishi reconceptualized Hobbesian nature from segmentation and competition, chaos and disorder, to the unification of all beings as the original state of nature. According to the text, "It unites among themselves the smallest particles." Konishi conveyed this notion of divine nature to his audiences. Therefore, in *Tao te ching*, nature itself embodied Virtue ("the Way") or, in the words of the postmodern philosopher Jean-Luc Marion, "God without Being," or "God." This was an ungraspable yet omnipresent divine beyond the knowable God of logic and Western metaphysics.³³ By translating *Tao te ching*, Konishi ensured that the God of Western metaphysics would be dead.

According to Konishi, Lao Tzu's text preserved the freedom of individual judgment and responsibility for action, not within a theory of rational existence, but within a theology of universally shared virtue. According to this theology, conscience, the voice of divine Truth, comes naturally from within each individual and gives decisive judgment on every human action. Free human action without unnecessary and restrictive rituals and societal norms thus formed the foundation of the thought in *Tao te ching*. Although *Tao te ching*'s Way is ineffable and indefinable, "to know" it is in all of us. However, it is the moral choice of each individual whether to attempt to realize it. This is because the voice of Truth or the Way is decisive and severe, Konishi said. The Way is realized with difficulty and is easily deafened by the voice of a lie, he told his audience. Because of

33. Marion, *God without Being*.

the natural, internal origins of knowledge of the good, dogmatism was the largest obstacle to moral perfection in *Tao te ching*. By adhering to doctrine, people only stifled the Way innate in each human soul. “When doctrine is eliminated, there will be no sorrow,” Konishi quoted from *Tao te ching*.³⁴

The anarchist theology in *Tao te ching* provided for the deconstruction of hierarchies through a moral system that radically overturned conventional notions of virtue and social worth. In these writings, the most highly positioned in the given social order possessed the least virtue, and vice versa. Because the commoners were closest to the ground, both literally and figuratively, they were in the construct of *Tao te ching* the highest in moral worth. In turn, according to *Tao te ching*, the Way, located within and knowable by all human beings, is higher than all beings. For Konishi, the Way was the lord of all existence because it stood as the commonest denominator among all: “The reason that the sea is the king of the multitude of rivers and streams is because it is located lower than them,” Konishi quoted.³⁵

For Tolstoy, the news of Konishi’s translation project meant the appearance of a long-awaited collaborator for his endeavor to radically depart from the Church of Christianity and found a new religion based on a return to the original teachings of Christ and other ancient religious thinkers. Tolstoy responded immediately to the news of Konishi’s project and asked Konishi whether he could help in the editing of Konishi’s translation of *Tao te ching* into Russian.³⁶ “I cannot help but be excited that we can now have a better translation in Russian than French, English, and German,” Tolstoy told him.³⁷ Tolstoy’s home became their shared work place, and the two met regularly over five months to collaborate in translating *Tao te ching* into Russian from classical Chinese. It is evident from Tolstoy’s private diaries and letters that the Chinese classic helped Tolstoy express and concretize his radical critique of

34. Quoted in Konishi Masutarō, “Filosofia Laosi,” p. 366.

35. Konishi Masutarō, “Filosofia Laosi,” p. 369.

36. Details in Tolstaya, *Tolstoy, a Life*, p. 330; and Konishi Masutarō, *Torusutoi wo kataru*, introduction.

37. Quoted in Konishi Masutarō, *Torusutoi wo kataru*, p. 28.

Christianity.³⁸ He believed that the philosopher's writing better expressed his conception of religion and morality in a universal language of common reason.³⁹ About a month before he met Konishi, Tolstoy was still slowly working on his own translation of *Tao te ching* from French and German, an ongoing project he had begun a decade earlier.⁴⁰ Both were drawn to each other by their common interest in the nonchurch, nonhierarchical, universal (according to them), "rational" religious commoners' voice in *Tao te ching*. Their joint project to translate *Tao te ching* represented and reflected their common thoughts. Therefore, it was expressive of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual practices beyond the East-West divide. Their resulting labor was the first Russian-language translation of *Tao te ching*. First printed in Grot's journal *Questions in Philosophy and Psychology* in 1894, it was republished in book form in 1913.⁴¹ The book's first two editions immediately sold out in Russia, reflecting its unusual popularity for a work of classical Chinese philosophy.

It should be noted that far from attempting to illuminate an essence of the "East," Konishi and Tolstoy sought to reveal a practical source of religious identity, a knowledge that would simultaneously reconfigure Christianity, elements of Western modernity, and, for Konishi, the imperial Confucian moral order in Japan. As a product of their collaboration, they created a new meaning of the ancient philosophy that provided a thought for the modern world.

A recurring question for specialists on Tolstoy has been why Tolstoy turned to *Tao te ching* at this time. Konishi's introduction of *Tao te ching* in Russia fitted perfectly with Tolstoy's practice of uprooting Christian-

38. Even in the last years of his life, Tolstoy continued to refer to Lao Tzu in his thoughts and writing. On May 5, 1909, he wrote in his diary, "My reading of Lao Tzu was very meaningful for me. I even had a horrible feeling that directly opposes Lao Tzu's thought: the vain wish to be Lao Tzu himself. He says it so well, that the highest spiritual condition always comes with the fullest calm." Tolstoy, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 20:334.

39. Tolstoy later compiled a calendar book of morals for every day of the year that included thirty-three selected quotes by Lao Tzu. He asked Konishi to translate and publish the book in Japan. Tolstoy also published a separate selection of his favorite aphorisms by Lao Tzu in 1909. Tolstoy, *Izrecheniia kitaiskogo mudretsa*.

40. Tolstoy to Sofia Tolstaya, September 21, 1893, in Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 84:196–7.

41. Lao Tzu, "Tao te king Laosi"; Lao Tzu, *Tao te king, ili pisanie o npravstvennosti*.

ity's religious hegemony. The elements of *Tao te ching* that came to form the expression of Tolstoy's new religion were a simple language geared to commoners, expression of a consistent faith in human reason (rather than mysticism or the supernatural), concern with human moral conduct, and a nonhierarchical conception of human relations. Finally, it was devoid of any reference to or need for church or state, providing instead a universal language of reason applicable to all faiths. All these elements embodied the ideas that Tolstoy had in mind for overturning the religious lives of people. For Tolstoy, the writings embodied his ideal of religion as a moral religion "within the boundaries of mere reason," to borrow Immanuel Kant's words.⁴² Some of the elements in *Tao te ching* that Konishi found significant in renewing and even overturning contemporary society in Japan through his introduction of new religious thoughts were translated into those that Tolstoy adopted as expressions for his new religion. It is not that either influenced the other, but each articulated the other's thoughts in a new language.

As his daughter and closest assistant Alexandra Tolstaya observed, Tolstoy's close work with Konishi on *Tao te ching* significantly helped her father answer some of the central questions in his thinking about religion at a critical time in the development of Tolstoy's religious thought.⁴³ Anarchist Peter Kropotkin would later call his religious teachings Tolstoy's "new universal religion."⁴⁴ Tolstoy and Konishi's mutual rearticulation of *Tao te ching* via translation led Tolstoy to the further development of his thought, from an attempt to reform Christianity by departing from the institution of the Church and its teachings, to an endeavor to create a new universal religion. Tolstaya would emigrate to Japan to live in the Konishis' home after the Russian Revolution, an indication of just how close Konishi and her father had been. She lived in Japan for a number of years.⁴⁵

42. Kant, *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*.

43. Tolstaya, Preface, p. 3.

44. Peter Kropotkin, "Lev Tolstoi," manuscript in GARF, f. 1129, op. 1, d. 836, ll. 32-40.

45. On Tolstaya in Japan, see Konami, *Bungō no musume*; and Tolstaya's account of her time in Japan, Tolstaya, *Out of the Past*.

It is clear that Konishi originally sought a revolutionary philosophy that would accord with his understanding of Japanese Orthodoxy. Indeed, one of the first things he published upon his return to Japan in his capacity as the new dean of the Orthodox Seminary in Japan was a lengthy feature article on *Tao te ching*. The early issues of *Shinkai* (Expanse of the mind-heart), the Tokyo Orthodox Seminary's journal of philosophy and theology and the face of Orthodox Christianity in Japan, were dominated by the article on *Tao te ching* that extended over ten issues and that sat side-by-side with an article on Tolstoi's religious theory.⁴⁶ Konishi already demonstrated at this moment his radical belief that the anarchistic thoughts in *Tao te ching* were not only entirely compatible with but also essential to his vision of a newly constructed religion for modern Japan.

For Konishi, the view of a virtuous human interiority in *Tao te ching* expressed a selfhood independent of the state and of Western modernity that became a foundational element in his introduction of Tolstoy's religious writings into Japan. At the same time, Tolstoy's articulations that reconfigured Christianity were enabled by his collaboration with Konishi to translate Lao Tzu's ancient writings into a new modern language intelligible in the Russian context.

*Uprooting Western Modernity: The Translation of
Tolstoyan Religion*

Konishi returned home to introduce Lao Tzu through Tolstoy to Japan. He introduced Tolstoy to Japan not as a literary writer, but first and foremost as the composer of a coherent body of religious thought that came to be called "anarchist religion" in Japan. But what was most significant about Tolstoy's thought for Konishi was that it echoed the ideas in *Tao te ching*. Konishi identified the idea of universal virtue that he originally valued in *Tao te ching* as being central to Tolstoy's idea when the Russian writer echoed essential ideas voiced in the ancient writings of *Tao te ching*. Indeed, he found that the expression of the Divine as the Way in *Tao te ching* fitted so well with his own imagination of the Divine that he sometimes used the word "the Way" instead of "God" in his writings.

46. Konishi Masutarō, "Rōshi tetsugaku ippan"; "Torusutoi haku no shūkyōron."

Konishi translated Tolstoy's religious thought into a familiar notion of human virtue (*tokugi*) that belonged to everyone. It was this idea of *tokugi* that was echoed in later Japanese discussions of Tolstoy. After his return to Japan, Konishi continued to develop his translations of Tolstoy as the voice of a new philosophy for the people (*heimin*). Tolstoy's religious thought offered a contemporary critique both of the Japanese language of *shūkyō* (religion) as translated from the West and of the values of Confucian loyalty and filial piety as a foundation for the imperial nation-state.

In Russia, *Tao te ching's* provision of an ideal theology to negate the state-sponsored ideology of Confucianism and Western modernity could be openly discussed and explained, but in Japan such an open discussion of its meaning was unlikely. Public critiques of the given neo-Confucian ideological order were largely censored or disciplined in Japan. The minister of education relieved the Christian schoolteacher Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) of his position at the First Higher Preparatory School in Tokyo when he refused to pay homage to the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1891. Written largely in Confucian language, the Imperial Rescript had become a pillar of national ethics promulgated by the imperial nation-state. In this context, Tolstoy's writings criticizing the Christian church proved to be a convenient substitute for a direct criticism of the use of Confucian and imperial ideas to create obedient citizens.

Konishi wrote in a private letter to Tolstoy of his unending joy at having arrived at a new conception of Christianity following their mutual collaboration on *Tao te ching*. His religious turn did not make everyone happy, though. "It is true that Nikolai cannot stand me at all because of my views of Christianity and on life, but this does not sadden me at all," Konishi wrote in the same letter.⁴⁷ Konishi's departure from official Orthodox views of Christianity was a serious problem for Nikolai. Ironically, the problem was all the more critical for Nikolai because Konishi had become the most publicly recognized Japanese figure in the Orthodox Church upon his return to Japan. As the dean of the Orthodox Seminary in Tokyo, Konishi presided over the grounds of the tallest and one of the most familiar landmarks in Tokyo, Nikolai Cathedral, often

47. Daniil Konissi to L. N. Tolstoy, May 10, 1896, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 157/3, l. 1.

nicknamed Gangandō (Ding Dong Church) by Tokyoites. Nikolai was bitter, calling Konishi a deceiver who had no loyalties. He wrote in his diary: “Ignatii Kamei, the catechist in Ogawa, writes that Daniil [Masutarō] Konishi is interfering in church affairs there. He was educated at the Kiev Seminary to serve the church, and since his return from Russia has been trying to soil Russia and the Church, as if he were educated for that. What can you do! There are barking and biting malicious dogs everywhere.”⁴⁸ Konishi was not the only dog biting at Nikolai. Just months earlier, Nikolai had similarly called Tolstoy an “anathematizing heretic, a malicious dog.”⁴⁹

His agitation was not surprising. Konishi had not just broken with the church but had transfigured the Meiji idea of modern religion (*shūkyō*) itself, setting the tone for a nationwide conversion to Tolstoyan religion in Japan. What Nikolai did not realize was that his own thoughts had helped foster this turn of events. In encouraging the fashioning of a new indigenous religion, he had left room for a radical rejection of the institution of the church among the Japanese Orthodox Church’s own leaders.

Konishi found upon his return that Russian literature had experienced a rapid rise in interest while he was gone, due in part to the translation efforts by Futabatei and his fellow graduates of the TSFL’s Russian program and the Nikolaidō Russian School.⁵⁰ This provided a welcoming atmosphere for the translations of Tolstoy in a substitution act (*suri-kae*) of one anarchist thinker for another. Konishi’s substitution, however, involved adding new meaning to Tolstoy’s thoughts. In the process of translation, Konishi adapted them to the context of late Meiji Japan in the world.

Konishi seamlessly merged his translations of Tolstoy’s writings into the existing base of a critical Russian translation and reading culture in Japan. He first translated Tolstoy’s story *The Kreutzer Sonata* as an indirect critique of the Confucian ethical system. The narrative attributes a man’s jealous murder of his wife to the systematization of abuse and objectification in everyday gender relations sanctioned by the church

48. Nikolai, *Dnevnik*, entry of September 19, 1903, p. 304.

49. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1903, p. 266.

50. See, for example, Konishi Masutarō, “Torusutoi haku no shoi shūkyō ni tsuite.”

and society. Although the Russian government had banned the work because of its radical take on gender relations and the institution of marriage, Tolstoy entrusted the unpublished manuscript to Konishi so that he might translate and publish it in Japan. Typically, the works that were officially banned in Russia and anathematized in the Russian Orthodox world were the very works that were widely disseminated and popularized throughout Japan. The manner in which Tolstoy's illegal manuscript came into Japan was representative of the intellectual and physical exchanges in the Russian-Japanese network of participants beyond the control of the state that would follow in the development of cooperatist anarchist modernity. Those caught carrying Tolstoy's illegal writings in Russia were arrested and exiled.⁵¹ Despite the bodily dangers to himself, Konishi brought the illegal work across the border with him into Japan and promptly translated it with the help of the celebrity writer Ozaki Kōyō (1868–1903) and published it in the widely read journal *Kokumin no tomo* (Friend of the nation's people) in 1895. The translation was so popular that it was reprinted as a book a year later. Nobori Shōmu (1878–1958), himself a leading translator of Russian from the Orthodox Seminary, recalled that their translation caused much widespread interest and excitement in literary circles.⁵² Tolstoy's graphic story implicated the church and society in women's psychological, social, and sexual repression in the modern institution of marriage. In the Japanese context, Konishi's translation also provided an indirect criticism of the state's Confucian emphasis on filial piety and loyalty to the nation and the *tennō* (emperor).

Konishi then undertook an intensive translation project of Tolstoy as a religious thinker. In 1894 alone, he wrote a number of articles focusing on Tolstoy's philosophy and religious thought: "Russia's Tolstoy," "The Philosophy of Russia," "Tolstoy's Religious Ethics," and "Tolstoy's Worldview." He published his articles and translations in the most influential Christian journal *Rikugō zasshi* (The cosmos journal), *Kokumin no tomo*, and the leading Orthodox Christian journal, *Shinkai*, as

51. The doctor Mariia Mikhailovna Kholevinskaia (1858–1920) was arrested and exiled in 1893 when she responded to Tolstoy's request that she pass his illegal writings to a mutual friend. See Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 84:198.

52. Nobori and Akamatsu, *Russian Impact on Japan*, p. 37.

well as the Orthodox women's journal *Uranishiki* (The brocade lining), *Seikyō Shimpō* (Orthodox news), and *Kiristokyō shimbun* (Christian newspaper). The range of Meiji Christian institutions and tenets represented by the Christian periodicals in which he published is remarkable.

Konishi was immediately recognized as a leader of Christian thought and was invited to give his thoughts on philosophy and religion at numerous functions, such as the meeting of the Philosophical Society of Japan and the sixth annual conference of Christian leaders at Hakone.⁵³ The conference aimed to unite religious thinkers of eastern and western Japan, and represented the national unity of Japanese Christians. It expressly sought to lead the direction of Japan's historical development through the intervention of Christian thought. Konishi spoke side by side with the Christian leaders Uchimura Kanzō and Matsumura Kaiseki (1859–1939), both of whom would come to embrace nonchurch Tolstoyan Christianity.⁵⁴ At this and other talks, in his capacity as the Japanese leader of Japanese Orthodox Christianity, he spoke about the relevancy of Tolstoy's un-Orthodox religious thought for modern Japan.

In a letter to Tolstoy preserved in the basement of the Lev Tolstoy Museum in Moscow, Konishi recounted how his work translating Tolstoy as a religious figure had already led some Japanese to describe Tolstoy as a prophet:

Here I write about you and your views on Christianity and on life, and translate your works (I've already translated *Two Old Men*, *Where There Is Love, There Is God*, *Kreutzer Sonata*, and at this moment I am translating *The Death of Ivan Ilyich* and *Religion and Morality* into Japanese). For this, they are calling me *Tolstoy's apostle*.⁵⁵ I can honestly say that there are very many of your admirers here. . . . [But] I have one request for you. I cannot manage to get anywhere

53. The conference, called "Kohan ronshū" (The lakeside lectures), took place in 1894. Konishi Masutarō, "Torusutoi no sekaikan ni tsuite"; Konishi Masutarō, speech to the Philosophical Society. Untitled article in *Tetsugaku zasshi*.

54. Uchimura and Matsumura were two of the first indigenous Christian leaders in Japan. See Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, pp. 54–94.

55. In Konishi's letter in the ORGMT, the words "Tolstoy's apostle" are underlined. However, it is not clear who underlined these words: Konishi, Tolstoy, or someone else who later read the letter.

your writings *My Religion*, *The Gospels*, and *My Confession*. If possible, I would be so grateful if you could send these to me.⁵⁶

Tolstoy responded by asking Konishi to continue introducing Japanese readers to his religious writings. He offered to send Konishi the manuscript he was working on as soon as it was completed. Tolstoy wrote:

You have translated my works, such as *The Kreutzer Sonata*, etc., but I very much wish to make the Japanese public familiar with true Christianity, as I think its founder conceived it. This, as far as I could, I expounded in my book: *The Kingdom of God Is within You*. I think these books or, at least, an exposition of their contents might be of interest to the Japanese people. They might show the audience that Christianity is not a collection of miracle narratives, but a very strict exposition of that idea of human life, which gives rise neither to despair nor to indifference about one's conduct, but which leads to a most definite moral activity.⁵⁷

As a token of their intellectual and personal bonds, Tolstoy sent Konishi his own Bible that he had studied in writing his translation and investigation of the Gospels. This precious gift was filled with Tolstoy's notes and comments and was a demonstration of their friendship, based on a shared devotion to translate and write a new religion.⁵⁸

During the mid-1890s, Konishi continued to introduce Tolstoy as a religious and ethical thinker for the future. His translations transfigured the notion of Christianity as the defining entity for *shūkyō*. Through the reconstruction of Christianity and its language, a new religion emerged in Meiji Japan. This transfiguration was made obvious in the Tolstoy translations that many in Japan had been anxiously waiting for.

When Konishi first visited Tolstoy's home during one of his weekly evening gatherings, the young seminarian recorded his surprise at seeing Tolstoy's house filled to capacity with people peaceably coming together from so many strata of Russian society, from aristocrats and laborers to scholars and peasants. Konishi called them *heimin*, a term that has been

56. Daniil Konissi to L. N. Tolstoi, May 10, 1896, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 157/3, l. 2.

57. L. Tolstoy to D. P. Konissi, September 30, 1896, in Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 69:152.

58. The Bible that Tolstoy gave to Konishi survives today as part of the Nozaki Family Collection. It was exhibited in the Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art February 24–April 8, 2012.

translated and understood in the West to mean a separate class of commoners. In Konishi's reconceptualization of the term in translation, however, *heimin* included all people and denoted their equality and direct interdependency on one another.⁵⁹ It was the particular language of "people" given new democratic meaning in the translated Russian context that formed a key concept in Konishi's translation of Tolstoy's thought into a people's religion that transcended not just class but Western modernity's hierarchical ordering of the world at large.

In Konishi's view, Tolstoy's increasing popularity lay in what he called Tolstoy's "tokugi no sekaikan" (worldview of virtue). According to Konishi's translation of Tolstoy, not only does divine virtue belong to everyone, but also everyone can participate in virtuous conduct through his or her actions in the mundane everyday.⁶⁰ Each individual is endowed with a divine virtue from within that he or she is compelled to return in the form of performing virtue as a gift to society and his or her world. According to Konishi's translation of Tolstoy, if virtue exists in everyone, it is our choice to attain it in the particular form that each one received. Human freedom is in this way defined as the striving to realize each person's divine virtue. Moral obligation here just "happens," and one only needs to learn how to sense and realize it.⁶¹ Sounding remarkably like the ideas of *Tao te ching* that Konishi and Tolstoy had translated and that Tolstoy had used to articulate his own thoughts, Konishi had slipped ancient concepts from *Tao te ching* into his public discussions of modern religion.

Konishi's translation of *Tao te ching* into the language of Tolstoyan virtue opposed the imperial Confucian moral order. In the national moral order, the emperor and the nation stood at the top of a social hierarchy, and each individual was relegated to a determined role of service to nation, family, and society within that order. This order was apparent,

59. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this inclusive usage of the term would become fully apparent in the Nonwar Movement in the Russo-Japanese War, which newly invented "the people" (*heimin*) as historical subjects irrespective of the nation-state.

60. Konishi Masutarō, "Tokugi to shite no shūkyō."

61. I use here the phrase "Obligation happens" coined by John Caputo, a contemporary philosopher who has attempted similarly to put common everyday ethical action into theology. Caputo, *Against Ethics*, p. 6.

for example, in the writings of the leading scholars of ethics during this period, Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933) and Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944), both of whom held highly respected positions at Tokyo Imperial University. Both Nitobe and Inoue conceptualized the words “individuality” and “personality” in terms of *jinkaku*, which was made up of two characters, *jin* (person) and *kaku* (rank). Inoue’s *Commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education*, published in 1891, was the most orthodox interpretation of the document in Japan. In Inoue’s case, as linguist Kyōko Inoue has shown, *jinkaku* implied a hierarchical construct of social order played out in human ethical relations, defined by Confucian ideas of duty to emperor, nation, and family.⁶²

It is worth noting in light of this competing moral knowledge production that Inoue was extremely unpopular even among many of the students at the university. Historians have tended to focus on such prominent academics as representative of “Japanese thought.” I suggest, on the contrary, that their writings were relatively isolated within the restricted spaces of the university and upper echelons of the government and had little to do with the thought and knowledge circulating throughout the larger populace. Historians’ understanding of “modern Japanese thought” in Euro-America has been based primarily on the writing of academics employed by imperial institutions of higher education for their articulation of political ideologies for the nation-state. Other, much more widely influential voices outside these ideologies have been ignored in the historiography.

Konishi observed this failure of academic thought to engage the wider public. He believed that Tolstoy’s thought signaled the emergence of a people’s theology that could be commonly understood and shared by everyone on all levels of society (*heimin*). A critical problem with modern thought, Konishi told his audience at Hakone, was the departure of philosophy as an academic discipline from how people experience and live everyday life. Tolstoy’s provision of a popular “people’s philosophy” signaled a reversal of Western-centered trends in the field of philosophy toward a new dynamic center in the periphery. Konishi noted that this

62. Kyōko Inoue, *Individual Dignity in Modern Japanese Thought*, pp. 12–57.

was in contrast to the kind of esoteric influence that Kant and Hegel had among philosophers and academics.⁶³

Tolstoy had radically redefined essential concepts of Christianity and thereby had completely transformed it. Practices of religious faith for Tolstoy were based on a universally shared human “reason,” as he called it. However, this was not the same notion of reason as in the Western sense of rationality. If human beings could not know Gxd through their five senses, he believed, then Gxd was also beyond their capacity for rational philosophy.⁶⁴ That is, Gxd was beyond the cognitive certainty of Western metaphysics. This echoed to a certain degree both the Orthodox theologians and Immanuel Kant, who indicated an end to onto-theological speculation in the Western theological tradition by replacing it with a theology of ethics. For Tolstoy, reason was moral, a kind of commonsense knowledge of virtuous conduct coming from within each individual. He equated divine reason with human conscience, what he called “the rational conscience.”⁶⁵ Religious reason was likened to simple geometry in the sense that it did not take a scholar-theologian or a saint to come to a sense of virtuous action. Not only was it accessible to all, but also everyone practiced it daily in his or her life as a matter of Gxd-given nature and intuitive knowledge.

Tolstoy found no room for biblical or other religious miracles but only for “reason” alone. He concluded that religious institutions, churches, and priests of all faiths had essentially corrupted the essence of human religious belief for the sake of power. Christianity as it was being practiced, he argued, had become full of superstitions, witchcraft, and mythologies that held people under institutional power and thus led people astray from their capacity for moral religious life through moral reason.⁶⁶ It was therefore not up to the church, emperor, family, or any other authority to sanction the virtue of individual practices. The only authority was the divine truth and virtue located within each individual.

63. Konishi Masutarō, “Torusutoi no sekaikan ni tsuite”; Konishi Masutarō, Untitled.

64. The particular rendering of the term “Gxd” for God without being and beyond rational knowing is inspired by Marion, albeit in reference to a very different intellectual and historical context. Marion, *God without Being*, e.g. p. 46.

65. Tolstoy, *Kingdom of God Is within You*, p. 368.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–84.

Acting on this divine but commonly knowable “reason” was the very expression of one’s religion.⁶⁷

Tolstoy accordingly translated and annotated the four Gospels with the goal of freeing them from all mystical and metaphorical elements.⁶⁸ Essential Christian concepts of confession and resurrection were reconceived from this point of view. They were no longer massive spiritual events that had occurred thousands of years ago with the Messiah or happenings occurring only through the medium of the church authority, but central events occurring only within and through the acts and self-realizations of each individual. A resurrection was for Tolstoy something that occurred within one who repented and turned to a newfound virtuous life, and it did not require the interference of the church.

In line with his thought, Tolstoy sought to express the idea of religious reason in an easily readable fashion that was accessible to everyone. He wrote folktales in a simple language readable by the barely literate and even children, a style reminiscent of that found in *Tao te ching*. Konishi first undertook to translate this kind of story, not only incorporating Tolstoy’s religious ideas but also expressing them in the same simple writing style, upon his return to Japan. The first folktale he translated was *Where There Is Love, There Is God* (1885) for *Kokumin no tomo*. The folk story about a poor country boot maker in search of “God” had originally served as part of a basic reader for Russian peasant and child literacy that Tolstoy had compiled. It outlined the essence of Tolstoy’s religious idea that Gxd reveals itself not in the heavens or through church sermons, but in the practice of *tokugi*, the spontaneous everyday acts of humanity that individuals do for one another.

In accordance with a universally shared and universally knowable virtue as the essential element of a religious system, Tolstoy rejected the idea of absolute good and evil.⁶⁹ He wrote that he did not believe that evil was an innate aspect of life given to human beings as original sin, or that God was committed to punish sin, or that people went to either heaven or hell after death. For him, belief in absolute evil led to the

67. Ibid., pp. 278–368.

68. Tolstoy, *Four Gospels Harmonized and Translated*; Tolstoy, *Short Exposition of the Gospel*.

69. Tolstoy, *Kingdom of God Is within You*, p. 189.

imagined necessity of religious institutions and political authority in locating Good over Evil. Yet no external authority existed that was capable of defining evil in a manner that was acceptable to all. Claiming that committing violence against other men and women was against universal moral reason, Tolstoy adhered to the principle of not resisting evil by force.⁷⁰ He strongly opposed state authority, which relied on acts of war and other forms of violence for its preservation.⁷¹

Considering that the root of much harm among human beings lay in their attempt to claim possession and rights over the Good, Tolstoy identified a solution to this problem in *Tao te ching*. He used the language of the Way found in *Tao te ching* to refer to and to replace the language of the Good, which Tolstoy believed had been distorted and corrupted over many centuries by religious and political authorities.⁷² He wrote of the Way as existing beyond secular morality, frequently delineated by religious institutions as doing good for self, family, nation, state, or church. Ideas of Good and Evil could only be nonuniversal, Tolstoy believed, because they reflected conventional moralities oriented toward the betterment of particular entities rather than a much greater encompassing, universal Way.

Konishi's translation of Tolstoyan religion in Japan moved the Christian God from a higher transcendent rational being beyond human reach to a spirit or "Way" that existed in all human beings. Tolstoy said that human interiority was thus little different from the Kingdom of God itself.⁷³ The unnamable and unconceptualizable divine force already existed, as shared within and among human beings on earth.⁷⁴ This brought Gxd from exteriority to human interiority.

Tolstoyan thought represented not only a moral teaching but also a leveling of the world. As Konishi translated it, it could be grasped as the product of a transnational reinvention to cure Christianity by carefully disengaging it from the dressings of Western modernity that had claimed Christianity as its religious and moral counterpart. The new moral

70. Ibid., chaps. 1, 2, and 8.

71. Ibid., chap. 12.

72. See, e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 98, 355.

73. This notion is illustrated, for example, in Tolstoy's story *Where Love Is, There God Is Also*. Tolstoy, *Gde ljubov', tam i Bog*.

74. Tolstoy, *Kingdom of God Is within You*, pp. 48–84, 108.

vocabulary of *shūkyō* as everyone's religion (*tokugi*) had emerged. Suddenly, the word "religion" in Meiji Japan, heavily laden with images of foreignness, authority, and dogma, became the word denoting everyday practice that was familiar and natural and therefore no big deal. Tolstoyan religion as Konishi introduced it had made Inoue and Nitobe's use of the language of *jinkaku* altogether untenable.

The translation of Tolstoy leveled Christianity in two ways. First, it eliminated the hierarchy of power that was inherent in the church, in which the church supported the hierarchy of God to church, church to state, state to human, and human to nature. This hierarchy was based on a notion of the right of access and knowledge to a so-called divine law and truth given to a privileged few belonging to the institution of the church. Second, it put Christianity on a par with other religions such as Daoism and Buddhism. Religion (*shūkyō*) in this picture no longer was about the Christianity of Western modernity that served as the moral foundation for an international hierarchy of nation-states; instead, it was a people's religion of everyday ethical practices. By retaining a general framework of Christianity, however reconstructed and unrecognizable it was, this new religion maintained the possibility of a universally shared religion and thus the internationalist ideals associated with the Meiji Ishin.

In his translations of Tolstoyan thought, Konishi first identified it in terms of a departure from Western modernity. In this sense, Konishi's translations merged with the other Russian translation practices in Japan exemplified by Futabatei Shimei, discussed in Chapter 1. To be "Russian" in this context was to be defined largely outside the Western historical experience. In the same way in which Russia was taking its own lead in developing away from an old and matured Europe, Japan, too, would form its own innovative path, Konishi told his audiences at the Hakone conference on Christianity.⁷⁵ Konishi attempted to reposition contemporary views of the world when he said simply that "Russia is Russia, and Europe is Europe."⁷⁶ Russia should not be thought of as "passing into adulthood," he wrote; rather, it should be considered a growing adolescent in the process of modernizing in its own way. Here, Konishi spoke in

75. Konishi Masutarō, "Torusutoi no sekaikan ni tsuite."

76. Konishi Masutarō, "Rokoku to Yōroppa." See also Sugii, *Meijiki kirisutokyō no kenkyū*, p. 436.

terms of modern progressive development and civilization that simultaneously embraced and functioned according to the continuity in human ethical beliefs. This embrace of continued practices in the present was in contradiction to a “return” to traditions and a native past.

Any thought that furthered Japan’s civilizational progress would have to speak to the wider populace and to people’s daily ethical actions in the modern world. Whereas Tolstoy’s thought overturned philosophy with a “people’s philosophy” of ethical action, Western thought was in crisis, floundering in its excessive emphasis on rationality, individualism, and materialism, Konishi told audiences. He problematized what he characterized as the separation between philosophy and people’s everyday lives in the lofty and esoteric discussions in Western thought.⁷⁷ He introduced the thesis of his colleague from the Moscow Psychological Society, the philosopher Vladimir Solov’ev, “The Crisis of Western Philosophy,” along with Tolstoy’s philosophy, as valuable for contemporary Japan.⁷⁸

This intellectual context helps in understanding the first introduction of Nietzsche in Japan. It has been commonly accepted among scholars that Nietzsche’s thought was introduced to Japan by German thinkers, originally via an anonymous outline of an article by the supposedly German thinker N. Grot. The identity of the anonymous Japanese writer of the first publication about Nietzsche based on Grot’s article has been unknown to scholars,⁷⁹ but the details of the article point to Konishi.

A number of facts indicate that the first Japanese article on Nietzsche was by Konishi and that it arose in the context of Russian-Japanese, not German-Japanese transnational intellectual relations. To begin with,

77. Konishi Masutarō, “Torusutoi no sekaikan ni tsuite.” See also Konishi Masutarō, “Rokoku shisō.”

78. Konishi Masutarō, “Rokoku shisō.” Suggestive of the way in which knowledge reappeared in different expressions and circulated in this transnationally forming discourse, Solov’ev, as mentioned earlier, had applied to serve as a missionary in the Orthodox mission in Japan. A few years later, he positively reviewed Mechnikov’s work *Civilizations*.

79. For example, the scholar of Japanese philosophy, Graham Parkes, repeats this view on the basis of information in the work by Becker, *Die frühe Nietzsche-Rezeption in Japan*. See Parkes’ discussion of the early introduction of Nietzsche to Japan, Parkes, “Early Reception of Nietzsche’s Philosophy in Japan,” p. 197. See also N. Grot, “Nravstvennye idealy nashogo vremeni”; “Ōshu ni okeru tokugi shisō.”

Konishi's Russian friend, the earlier mentioned Nikolai Grot, wrote the original article on which the Japanese article was based.⁸⁰ Secondly, the German version of Grot's article was a reprint of Grot's Russian original in *Questions in Philosophy and Psychology*, the same journal that was publishing Konishi's articles in 1893. Furthermore, the Japanese article on Nietzsche and Tolstoy appeared in the Orthodox journal *Shinkai* while Konishi was president of the Orthodox Seminary, and was essentially an outline of Grot's article published in Moscow just before Konishi left Moscow University. Only a matter of months separated the original Moscow publication and its published translation in Japanese. Furthermore, Grot's article in German appeared in Berlin in 1897, four years after the Japanese and Russian versions appeared. Finally, in contrasting Nietzsche negatively with Tolstoy, the nature of the article appears quite consistent with Konishi's attempt to introduce Tolstoy as an important ethical thinker.

That it was Konishi who translated it from Russian in order to better acquaint readers with the thought of Tolstoy in contrast to contemporary thought in Europe revises a general understanding that Nietzsche's early introduction in Japan came from Germany.⁸¹ In fact, this first publication about Nietzsche in Japan occurred on the playing field of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations. Konishi's introduction of Nietzsche was straightforward. The article used Nietzsche to emphasize the difference between Tolstoy's values and those of decadent European thought. Nietzsche was discussed in this translation as the most radical example of Western moral decadence, as a materialist and a preacher of the worst kind of individualism. On the very pages of the Orthodox journal *Shinkai*, the article contrasted this with Tolstoy's humanism, which it argued contributed to the moral development of human beings.⁸² The first introduction of Nietzsche can be understood as part of this broader practice among Japanese intellectuals of translating Russian thinkers to criticize Western modernity. In this case, the criticism

80. Grot was born and raised in Russia. His father, Ia. K. Grot (1812–1893), was a well-known philologist in Russia.

81. Parkes, "Early Reception of Nietzsche's Philosophy in Japan."

82. "Nitsushe shi to Torusutoi haku."

of Nietzsche was used to highlight the attractiveness of Tolstoy as the formulator of a people's religion.

In later years, Nietzsche was mobilized again in the context of Russian-Japanese relations as a voice for anticapitalism in Japan. At Tokyo Imperial University, the Russian professor Rafael von Keber (1848–1923) taught Nietzsche in order to criticize Western modernity and nationalism. A number of Keber's students published early essays on Nietzsche, among whom were well-known intellectuals like Takayama Chōgyū (1871–1902), Hasegawa Tenkei (1876–1940), Watsuji Tetsujirō (1889–1960), Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949), and Abe Jirō (1883–1959). How Nietzsche was introduced differed from Grot's straightforward criticism of Nietzsche as an expression of the decadent West, but the way Nietzsche was used to criticize the values of liberal capitalism was the same.

In the 1930s, representatives of the Kyoto school relied on Nietzschean ideas to express their call to overcome Japan's dependence on the modern West, as exemplified by liberalism, capitalism, and democracy. These later thinkers appropriated both Nietzsche's critique of Europeans' overreliance on historical culture and his appeal for "eternalizing forces."⁸³ If these thinkers were "overcome by modernity," as Harry Harootunian describes them, then Konishi was consciously modern in a manner distinct from Western modernity. Konishi translated Grot's critique of Nietzsche to support a progressive imagination of social development that revolved around an anarchistic religious and moral subjectivity, distinct from the rational individual on which Western modernity depended.

Thus the translated term *shūkyō* was retranslated in the process of Japanese-Russian intellectual practices. The translation of Tolstoy was an intellectual practice that aimed not to translate Western metaphysics or Western modernity, but to undermine and uproot Western modernity through the transfiguration of Christianity into an anarchist religion.

Converting to Anarchist Religion

Konishi's translations of Tolstoy reduced Christianity to a familiar religious idea of divine virtue for all. In the process, it completely transformed Christianity by removing the essential church doctrines and the

83. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, pp. 37–39.

authority of the church itself. Back in Russia, in response to Tolstoy's radical departure from all tenets that the church held most sacred, the Russian Orthodox Church in 1901 publicized across Russia its decision to excommunicate him.

[Tolstoy] preaches with fanatical fervency the subversion of all doctrines of the Orthodox Church and the very essence of Christian belief. He rejects the personal Living God in the glorious Holy Trinity of the Creation and the Eternal Spirit, rejects the Lord Jesus Christ—Godman, Redeemer and Savior of the world, who suffered for us human beings and for our salvation and was resurrected from the dead, rejects the virgin, conception by a human being of Christ God and virginity before birth and in birth of the Purest Mother of God, the Virgin Maria, does not recognize life after death, rejects all mysteries of the Church and Grace and their activity of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, Konishi's act of transfiguring Christianity via Tolstoy proved extremely attractive to progressive intellectuals in Japan who were waiting for a radical undoing of the authoritative idea of *shūkyō* as a rational modern religion to morally undergird the development of the nation-state modeled after the West. Konishi's direct translations of Tolstoy from Russian soon led to many other translations by Katō Naoshi (1873–1952), Uchida Roan, Kōda Rohan (1867–1947), Ivan Senuma (Senuma's Orthodox Christian name), otherwise known as Senuma Kakusaburō (1868–1953), and Nobori Shōmu, among others. Religion as *tokugi* that had shifted the very meaning of *shūkyō* realized a new self, distinct from the modern individualized self of liberal capitalism, and thereby invited broad public participation. Katō recalled that the effect of making Tolstoy's work available to a wider audience through translation was “almost like a revolution. . . . Thanks to this light, people found their own religion, emerging from the depths of the soul, not inculcated by the outer world under the name of the church and its dogmas. ‘Religious consciousness’ became the most popular expression soon after the appearance of Tolstoy's books. Before this time, religion was somehow outside our collective ‘I.’ It was somehow something that we studied and learned, but *never experienced*.”⁸⁵

84. Reprinted in Burlaka, *L. N. Tolstoi*, p. 346.

85. Katō Naoshi, “Tolstoi v Iaponii,” pp. 74–75. Italics are mine.

Shūkyō had turned from something that served as a necessary dressing to be adopted for Western modernity into a new possibility for selfhood in the world. Numerous private letters sent to Tolstoy from Japan, preserved with no catalog, list, or easy access in the Tolstoy museum archive in Moscow, all voiced sentiments echoing Katō's. People began reading Tolstoy's writings like the Bible. The translations of Tolstoy were widely consumed as religious gospel in Japan and as the new representative of modern "Christian" thought. Only much later would he be studied as a literary writer as well.

Two events further affected the spread of Tolstoy's thought among a wider population in Japan, his excommunication by the Russian Orthodox Church and his symbolic role in the Japanese Nonwar Movement (*Hisen undō*) during the Russo-Japanese War (see Chapter 3). The degree to which the Japanese public expressed interest and concern over the matter of a foreign writer's excommunication reveals considerable identification with the Russian writer's religious thought by the first years of 1900. Uchida Roan, a close friend of Futabatei Shimei who translated Tolstoy's provocative novel *Resurrection* with Futabatei in 1901 in polemic against the excommunication, recalled that Tolstoy's excommunication had made him the talk of the times in Japan. *Resurrection* expressed Tolstoy's religious and ethical ideas in literary form. Its publication in 1899 had served as the basis for the Holy Synod's excommunication of Tolstoy in 1901.

In the year of Tolstoy's excommunication, Uchida sought Tolstoy's essays at the Maruzen Bookstore in Tokyo, known for its foreign-language collection. Although Maruzen did not have anything by Tolstoy, the bookstore decided with some hesitation to use Uchida's help in finding and ordering several thousand copies of a cheap available English-language paperback collection of Tolstoy's religious and philosophical essays. Uchida recalled everyone's surprise that people bought up Tolstoy's religious and philosophical essays in a craze, compared with the much slower pace of even the more popular foreign dime novels:

At that time the novels of Dickens and Lytton sold well as "dime novels," but other novels sold hardly more than a few hundred copies, and there was grave concern over the prospect of selling several thousand copies of Tolstoy's essays. The outcome of the matter, however, was quite unexpected. The stock of several thousand copies was quickly sold out and the book had to be replaced several

times. In the space of one year nearly twenty thousand copies of this book had been sold in Japan.⁸⁶

In 1902 and 1903, Katō responded with his translations into Japanese of Tolstoy's religious books, *What Is My Religion?*, *My Confession*, *What Men Live By*, and *Short Exposition of the Gospel*. The translations created another sensation. Ivan Senuma, Konishi's replacement as dean of the Orthodox Seminary, even wrote a letter to Tolstoy in 1903 letting him know that they had finally been published in Japanese.⁸⁷ Senuma confessed to Tolstoy that he had long been waiting for the appearance of these translations in Japan.⁸⁸ Katō recalled, "It was interesting to observe how Tolstoy's religious thoughts penetrated into every crook of the Japanese mind and, like powder hidden in the crack of a rock, exploded with great power, shaking to the foundations all existing theories and principles."⁸⁹ The translations surfaced in tandem with the Russo-Japanese War and greatly increased the Russian writer's popularity. The feminist Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971) recalled in her autobiography:

I thought I was the only person obsessed with the ultimate questions of human existence, but to a greater or lesser degree, other young Japanese were also searching for a new philosophy of life. Indeed, from about the time of the war with Russia, a youthful vibrancy and romantic spirit had enlivened the world of thought as intellectuals were increasingly drawn to religious and ethical issues. . . . Thinkers vied with one another to propound their ideas on religion and ethics and recent converts to Christianity also translated works like Tolstoy's *My Confession* and *What I Believe*.⁹⁰

Reading Tolstoy's religious works, one person recalled that he had experienced a "revolution" in his own thoughts. "Yesterday I read your works 'What Is Religion,' 'Why Religion,' and 'Christian Teachings' from beginning to end. How I reached the essence of Christianity! All questions that remained unclear and always tormented me have now suddenly

86. Akamatsu Katsumaro, "Russian Influence on the Early Japanese Social Movement," p. 94. See also Kimura, *Maruzen gaishi*, pp. 202–3.

87. I. A. Senuma to L. N. Tolstoy, 1903 (without date), ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64, l. 1.

88. I. A. Senuma to L. N. Tolstoy, August 12/25, 1902, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64, l. 3.

89. Katō Naoshi, "Tolstoi v Iaponii," p. 74.

90. Hiratsuka, *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun*, p. 76.

been resolved.”⁹¹ Watanabe Misao, a young student from Tokyo, wrote to Tolstoy that “I want to realize exactly your opinion in my life.”⁹² The publisher Enomoto Shūson wrote in a personal letter to Tolstoy in 1909, “I am a hearty worshipper of you, and since about ten years ago, I am reading your noble works everyday as the Bible. Now I am eagerly translating your works as my whole life work for Japanese readers. . . . You are my ideal great man whose character I cannot forget even for a moment.”⁹³ It turns out that Enomoto was a former student of the Orthodox Seminary in Tokyo who left the church because of disagreements over church principles with seminary dean Ivan Senuma. However, neither Enomoto nor Senuma knew that they shared a tremendous interest in Tolstoyan thought, and Enomoto did not know that Senuma himself was in close touch with Tolstoy.⁹⁴

Consider also a letter from the Christian pastor Shiraishi Rinosuke in 1910 that told of his preaching Tolstoy’s antichurch Christianity. Shiraishi heretically preached Tolstoy’s antichurch ideas within the very building of his church. Shiraishi wrote, “It is many years since I have read your excellent works, *Resurrection*, *My Religion*, “What Is Religion?,” “The Slavery of Our Time,” “The Russian Revolution.” . . . Sometimes I speak of your stories in my church and my audience are very pleased and inspired by your lofty thought of humanity.”⁹⁵ In another letter, he wrote, “I fancy I see the dawn of a new era in which humanity prevails.”⁹⁶ Correspondence from remote villages of Japan expressed similar devotion to Tolstoy’s thoughts. A postcard sent from Sagawa Ichisuka in the village of Nishimura, Yamaguchi Prefecture, read, “I am the most ardent reader of your works and send you a humble picture of my neighborhood and ask you about your recent health.”⁹⁷

91. Tamura, “Vliianie na menia Tolstogo,” p. 344.

92. Watanabe Misao to L. N. Tolstoy, February 6, 1907, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 1380, l. 1.

93. Enomoto Shūson to Tolstoy, July 14, 1909, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 1741, l. 1. Enomoto worked for the publisher Shinkoronsha.

94. See Senuma’s letters to Tolstoy, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64. This, of course, did not mean that everyone in the Orthodox seminary followed Tolstoyan thought.

95. Shiraishi Rinosuke to L. N. Tolstoy, February 4, 1910, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 2315, l. 1.

96. Shiraishi Rinosuke to L. N. Tolstoy, May 13, 1910, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 2314, l. 1.

97. Sagawa Ichisuka to L. N. Tolstoy, November 17, 1907, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 1102/27, l. 1.

Literary writer Tokutomi Roka's much-talked-about pilgrimage to the Tolstoy estate in 1906, immediately after the war, nailed down the dominant sentiment about and meanings given to Tolstoy in Japan. Roka, an emerging celebrity writer who was a close friend of Konishi and the younger brother of the publicist Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957), underwent his own “resurrection,” as he called it, in a spiritual experience at the top of Mt. Fuji in 1905.⁹⁸ He began to read exclusively the Bible and Tolstoy's works and withdrew from his urban home in Tokyo for a life of manual labor on a country farm estate, where he attempted to put Tolstoy's ideals into his everyday life. He made plans for a religious pilgrimage to all the holy sites of the Christian world, which he undertook in 1906. The pilgrimage from Jerusalem to Nazareth to Constantinople ended with the highlight of the whole trip, a visit to the modern-day holy site, Tolstoy's home in Iasnaia Poliana. That his pilgrimage ended in Russia at the home of the symbolic figure of the Non-war Movement in the immediate aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War was Roka's demonstration against the Western order that had validated Japan's victory. Here, at the home of the person Roka called the prophet of the twentieth century, Roka baptized himself in what he called the “holy water” of the Voronka River where Tolstoy took his morning swim (see Figure 2.2).⁹⁹

Roka became widely known as “Japan's Tolstoy” after his trip, about which he published a book upon his return, *Junrei kikō* (Notes of a pilgrim). The public followed every step Roka took on his pilgrimage through his autobiographical account. Roka had successfully turned his innermost private pilgrimage into a very public and social conversion. Many followed his stories as a conversion narrative, which drew them to make

98. Roka was one of a group of young Christian leaders who invited Konishi to tell them about Tolstoy in 1894 at a party in Kyoto. A number of them, including Tokutomi Sohō and Yokoi Tokio (1857–1927), either began a correspondence with Tolstoy or, in the case of Sohō, actually visited Tolstoy's home with Konishi's letter of introduction.

99. Tokutomi Roka, *Junrei kikō*, pp. 503–7. For an English translation of Roka's account of his pilgrimage to Tolstoy's estate, see Tokutomi Roka, “Five Days at Yasnaya Polyana.” For Aleksandra Tolstaya's recollection of the visit, see Tolstaya, “Chichi Torusutoi to Tokutomi Roka kaiken no omoide,” and Tolstaya, *Torusutoi no omoide*, pp. 328–32.



Fig. 2.2 Tokutomi Roka with Lev Tolstoy and Tolstoy's daughter Aleksandra Tolstaya, Iasnaia Poliana, Russia. Photograph courtesy of Tokutomi Roka Kōshun-en.

their own pilgrimage to the converted one, Roka, in a wave of conversions after the Russo-Japanese War. His adoption of Tolstoy's religious thought became well known among intellectuals, and a number of youths made pilgrimages to gain wisdom from Roka as part of a Tolstoyanism movement. Many attempted to infuse translated Tolstoyan religious thought into their everyday lives. Arishima Takeo, Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958), Ishikawa Takuboku, and numerous other cultural figures who will appear in the following chapters, coalesced as converts to Konishi's translation of Tolstoyan religion.

Christianity had been redefined in an essential way in the translations of Tolstoy that not only put Christianity on a level with all other religions but also boiled it down to essential elements that were shared by all religions. This suggested the foundation for an alternative internationalism expressed in the practice of religious faith, for if one believed in and practiced these essential elements of religion, one purportedly merged oneself with the religious faithful throughout the world. In an exchange between Tolstoy and a University of Tokyo student, Tolstoy emphasized that all

religions, not just Christianity, were the revelation and recognition of all life based on universal human reason (conscience).¹⁰⁰ The student G. S. Tamura recalled receiving this response, “This brought me inexpressible happiness. I understood that my belief in its essence coincided not only with Christianity but with the religions of the entire world.”¹⁰¹ Tolstoyan religion’s transfiguration of Christianity gave expression in a coherent contemporary language to what some had been attempting to find words for. When Tolstoy responded to Tamura’s questions, Tamura wrote, “I was delighted. These were my own thoughts expressed by the greatest religious authority in the world.”¹⁰² The legacy of the translations of Tolstoyan religion in Japan was indicated in the campaign organized by the Home Ministry in the decades after the war to ban the consumption of Tolstoy in schools and public spaces on the ground that he was a corrupter of national morals.¹⁰³

The treacherousness of Nikolai’s opening of religious conversion to local reconstructions and interpretations was highlighted by the scandalous opposition to the Orthodox Church that Konishi’s intellectual and personal ties with Tolstoy suggested. Once again, Russian-Japanese nonstate transnational intellectual relations frequently ran counter to the institutions that originally made their contacts possible. When Konishi left the Orthodox Church, he did so on very poor terms with Father Nikolai. Tolstoy, on the other hand, responded to Konishi’s news of his break with the church with joy. He wrote to Konishi, “I was most pleased to know, that your views on orthodoxy have changed. It always seemed strange and incredible to me, that such a thoughtful and non-superstitious people as the Japanese could accept and believe all those absurd dogmas, having nothing in common with Christian truth, which constitutes the substance of ecclesiastic Christianity, both of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Lutheranism.”¹⁰⁴ Konishi subsequently became

100. Tamura, “Vliianie na menia Tolstogo,” p. 342.

101. Ibid. Some Buddhist groups also embraced Tolstoy’s religion. In 1903, Senuma sent Tolstoy a copy of a Japanese Buddhist journal that had Tolstoy’s picture on the cover page. I. Senuma to P. A. Sergeenko, 10/23 November, 1903. ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 66356, P. A. Sergeenko Archive, l. 1.

102. Tamura, “Vliianie na menia Tolstogo,” p. 342.

103. Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*, p. 171.

104. Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 69:152.

professor of Russian studies at Kyoto University and Dōshisha University in Kyoto, where he continued to use the Russian-language *Tao te ching* that he and Tolstoy had translated as his textbook for the study of Russian.

Although some in the Japanese Orthodox Church strongly disagreed with the anarchistic and antichurch writings of Tolstoy, others followed Konishi's work in translating Tolstoy with fervor. This reflected the diversity in opinions and ideas about Christianity within the Orthodox Church. It also reflected the degree to which Konishi's understanding of Christianity was not as heretical to Nikolai's construct of Japanese Orthodoxy as Nikolai himself claimed it was. Nikolai had carefully appointed Ivan Senuma to replace Konishi as dean of the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Tokyo. Senuma had been a fellow graduate of Kiev Theological Academy with Konishi and a close colleague.¹⁰⁵ What Nikolai was unaware of, however, was that Senuma's idea of Japanese Orthodoxy was as open to a radical reconfiguration of Christianity as Konishi's had been.

Senuma's steady personal correspondence with Tolstoy appears to have begun in 1902, in tandem with the widespread public reaction to his excommunication. In his first letter, Senuma innocently introduced himself as Konishi's "friend from Kiev Theological Academy." The openness with which Senuma identified simultaneously with both Tolstoy and the church is remarkable. He reminded Tolstoy that Konishi, upon his return to Japan, had become the "proselytizer here of your name," revealing his characterization of the Tolstoy-Konishi relationship as based in shared religious rather than literary interests.¹⁰⁶ As the new dean of the seminary, Senuma wrote to Tolstoy in 1902, "I pray to Lord God, that He long maintain your health for the affirmation of truth, the zealous preacher of which you are! Much has been written here about your excommunication from the Russian Church. I do not understand

105. In 1896, top graduates of the Orthodox seminary in Tokyo, including Konishi, Senuma, and Sergei Shōji (1869–?), founded a Russian-language school in Tokyo. The school quickly attracted two hundred or so students. Ushimaru, *Nihon seikyōshi*, p. 70. Shōji was one of the handful of elite graduates of the seminary in Tokyo whom Nikolai sent to Russia to study Orthodox theology.

106. Senuma to Tolstoy, April 13, 1902, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64, l. 1.

such a decision. Can it really be that your teaching is so contrary to true Christianity? I myself am a Christian, and belong to the Orthodox Church. So what has happened with you in the affair of the church strongly troubles me.”¹⁰⁷ Senuma went on to express his regret that he was unable to translate Tolstoy’s religious works because, he said, he had not been able to obtain those works in Japan.¹⁰⁸ Of course, he did not mention anything about their implications for the church. Senuma’s puzzlement over Tolstoy’s excommunication reveals that his own view of Christianity was not far at all from Konishi’s.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Senuma considerably compiled a package of existing Japanese publications about Tolstoy as a religious figure and sent it to the Tolstoy estate.¹⁰⁹ Obviously, he continued to see no contradiction between what he was attempting to do through Japanese Orthodoxy and Tolstoy’s religion. Both Senuma and his wife, Kayō, who had trained at the Japanese Orthodox women’s school, became leading translators in Japan of Tolstoy’s major literary works. In a rare, unpublished manuscript submitted in Russian to Tolstoy’s disciple P. A. Sergeenko, Kayō wrote that she considered herself merely a follower of Futabatei’s established project of translating Russian literature.¹¹⁰ That is, she perceived herself to be writing in Futabatei’s tradition of translating Russian Populist literature in order to criticize Western modernity and to redirect Japanese society and culture. Here, Kayō reveals in Russian, in a forlorn manuscript kept in the Russian state archives, what she could not otherwise acknowledge in Japan as the wife of the dean of the Orthodox Seminary in Tokyo.

107. Senuma to Tolstoy, August 12/25, 1902, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64, l. 2. Senuma sometimes double dated his letters to Tolstoy to reflect the Julian calendar, which was used in Russia, and the Gregorian calendar, which was used in Japan and many European countries at the time. The Julian calendar is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar.

108. Several months later, Senuma happily informed Tolstoy in a letter that his works *My Religion* and *Confession* had been translated and published in Japanese. Senuma to Tolstoy, January 16, 1903, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 239/64, l. 1.

109. Senuma to P. A. Sergeenko, November 10/23, 1903, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 66356, P. A. Sergeenko archive, l. 2.

110. Senuma Kayō, “Vlianie Russkoi literatury na Iaponskuii,” unpublished manuscript in RGALI, f. 355, op. 1, ed. khr. 85.

In seeking a Japanese Orthodox future to link Japan to the wider world, Konishi ended up eliminating the “Japanese” part of Japanese Orthodox Christianity as a national entity. Konishi’s search for a “modern religion” appropriate to modern experience in Japan thus ended in his translation of a nonchurch, nonstate thought that expressed in words for the first time many people’s own forming sentiments and experiences.

A final irony reveals the independent manner with which both parties came to the intellectual negotiating table. Although many in Japan were increasingly drawn toward Tolstoy as a kind of apostle of the new age, Konishi himself rejected the growing tendency toward Tolstoy’s idolization. Aleksandra Tolstaya recalled Konishi’s dissatisfaction with parts of the movement decades later. Konishi expressed to Aleksandra his and his wife’s sorrow over their own son’s ascetic devotion as a Tolstoyan.¹¹¹ His dissatisfaction lay in the idolization of the mortal Tolstoy as a god figure.

Indeed, Konishi came to see in Father Nikolai’s conduct of daily life a purer model of the virtuous life of “Tolstoyan religion” than perhaps Tolstoy himself. In Konishi’s recollections of Nikolai, he remembered Nikolai fondly and with great respect as someone who was the greatest example of “a holy life on earth.”¹¹² Despite their irreconcilable differences over the relation of the church to the nation, Konishi related with respect to Nikolai’s lifetime devotion to the development of moral life abroad, often against the political interests of his own nation-state and the Japanese state. He saw Nikolai’s everyday conduct of a modest lifestyle mixed with an active engagement with the larger world around him far beyond the borders of his own nation as being in true accordance with the concept of a good life. This was perhaps something that Count Tolstoy’s aristocratic life, preserved on his inherited country estate, ultimately could not do.

The phenomenon of conversion has been observed here on two levels. On one level, a conversion of meaning was achieved when the meaning of “modern religion” (*shūkyō*) was changed via translation practice to

111. Aleksandra Tolstaya, *Out of the Past*, pp. 247–48.

112. Konishi Masutarō, “Nasha Iaponskaia missiia,” p. 391.

anarchist religion. The second conversion was the nation-scale religious conversion to anarchist religion, the public response to the conversion of meaning. Enthusiastic acts of self-conversion to anarchist religion challenged the efforts of Christian missionaries to convert people to Western modern religious institutions and civilize them in the process.

The act of translating Tolstoy in Japan was a conscious translation practice that aimed not to import expressions of Western modern subjectivity through Western literature, but to use a thought on universal human virtue in which knowledge of the Good no longer belonged to a privileged civilized few. This case can be compared, for example, with Lydia Liu's analysis of translation practice in China during the 1930s. Liu suggests that Chinese intellectuals' translations of Western modernity through their literature invited self-colonization.¹¹³

The Konishi-Tolstoy collaborative translation practice altered the meaning of *shūkyō* to mean a virtue possessed by all. Konishi's translation of religion as *toku* or *tokugi* (*tokugi to shitenō shūkyō* [religion as virtue])¹¹⁴ suddenly changed the meaning of *shūkyō* to divine virtue that everyone equally possesses from within. The dynamic phenomenon of conversion to Tolstoyan religion in Japan was based on this transfiguration of knowledge and the resulting new selfhood. In the process of reducing Christianity to a religious idea of divine virtue for all, Konishi and Tolstoy completely transformed Christianity by removing the essential church doctrines and the authority of the church itself. To convert oneself to Tolstoyan religion was thereby to participate in the uprooting of some of the major tropes of Western modernity, including the imperial moral order, a hierarchical construct of social order played out in human ethical relations, as in the term *jinkaku* that tied morality (*jin*) with social rank (*kaku*).¹¹⁵

In response to the translations of Tolstoyan anarchist religion, self-conversion expressed a new possibility for modern selfhood in an imagined nonhierarchical world. Translated anarchist religion and subsequent

113. Liu, *Translingual Practice*, pp. 45–51.

114. See Konishi, “Tokugi to shite no shūkyō.”

115. For a close examination of the term *jinkaku*, see Kyōko Inoue, *Individual Dignity in Modern Japanese Thought*.

practices in late Meiji-Taishō Japan thereby made a simultaneous negation of authority by departing from both nativist nationalism and Westernization, as represented in Christianity. The new religion represented by Tolstoy provided an ontological basis for a subjectivity independent of power and state in imperial Japan.

This took place before the larger backdrop of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations, beyond a bifurcated East and West as both spatial and temporal categories. Seeing this history from the perspective of transnational relations gives a view of activities beyond the two-way transactions of “colonizer” and “colonized” or “East” and “West.” Again, there is a reminder here of the importance of examining international history not only at the nonstate level but also from nonorganizational perspectives. Here, the source of conversionary religious thought was identified from the start in terms of its difference from the authority of the West, and the converted took a fully active and willing role in their self-conversion. Conversion did not take place without apparent contradiction or irony. Japanese Orthodoxy in the making helped prepare some of those best trained in Orthodox theology and the mission’s ideals to turn to anarchist religion as the logical end of Japanese Orthodoxy’s own identity as a unifier of existing Japanese religious thought with the Orthodox Christianity of the future.

The effects of conversion to Tolstoyan religion have largely been hidden from historical accounting of manifest “events.” Nonetheless, religious conversion remains one of the most destabilizing factors in society. This most private of events, religious conversion, would become much more politically tangible in the Nonwar Movement of the Russo-Japanese War, when the figure of Tolstoy would be mobilized as a symbol of world order. Many Japanese would couple Tolstoyan anarchist religion with anarchist historicity in a theory of active participation in the world at hand.

By the eve of the Russo-Japanese War, the leading Tolstoyan from Russia would introduce Peter Kropotkin to Japanese seeking out anarchist views on the impending war. In 1903, Tolstoy’s close friend and the leading proponent of Tolstoyan religion, Vladimir Chertkov (1854–1936), brought visitors from Japan to see Kropotkin in London. Chertkov wrote to Kropotkin in December 1903 that his “Japanese friends . . . dearly wish to meet with you” on a most serious matter. Chertkov and his

friends wanted to listen to Kropotkin's opinion on the latest developments in international affairs involving Russia and East Asia.¹¹⁶ This private meeting of Russian and Japanese Tolstoyans with Kropotkin on the eve of war was indicative of the impending broader shift in Japanese intellectual and cultural life toward a historicist, or Kropotkinist, understanding of anarchism, and of the role of anarchist religion in fueling that very shift.

116. Vladimir Chertkov to Peter Kropotkin, December 23, 1903, GARE, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 2759, l. 27.

CHAPTER 3

The Nonwar Movement in the Russo-Japanese War: The Invention of the People without the State

The awarding of the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize to U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) for his part in negotiating the end of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 represented the territorially formulated utopian vision on which many of the international institutions of the century would be founded. His Nobel lecture spoke of a vision of peace and world civilizational order anchored to the territorial space of the sovereign nation-state that had been and would continue to dominate world politics and policies throughout the twentieth century.¹ In the name of peace, Roosevelt urged the building of a core community of civilized nation-states or world powers adjudicated by international law and an international court of justice, peace treaties that declared the mutual recognition of the integrity of national territory and sovereignty among member states, and the formation of a League of Peace among key world powers as an international policing force to “prevent, by force if neces-

1. Indeed, Charles S. Maier argues that the most recent historical epoch, from about the 1860s to 1980, is best characterized by the emergence, ascendancy, and subsequent crisis of territoriality. Maier, “Consigning the Twentieth Century to History.” The adoption of the so-called Paris System at the end of World War I would shift international politics founded on dynastic legitimacy and state sovereignty under the nineteenth-century Vienna System to a focus on populations, a category that incorporated and allowed for the civilizing mission, self-determination, minorities and majorities, mandates, and genocide. Weitz, “From Vienna to the Paris System.” Nonetheless, the sovereignty of the nation-state anchored to a bounded territory remained the core category around which international problems and their solutions were conceived.

sary,” the breaking of peace by “others.”² At a banquet in his honor following his acceptance of the prize, he added to this vision a now-familiar civilizing mission: civilized nations had a responsibility for the stewardship of barbarous ones until they developed to such a point that “anarchy” could be replaced by “peace” and “prosperity” by way of the erection of a modern national government. Together, the two speeches elucidated his vision of international progress toward a more peaceful and stable world. Roosevelt’s Nobel addresses outlined the utopian promise of peace in the spatial order centered on the civilized nation-states of the West that was embedded in the construct of “international relations.” If, as Zygmunt Bauman has noted, Western modernity is characterized by the utopian imagination of a different, alternative world founded on territoriality,³ the Western modern notion of “peace” and “justice” in that utopia has been inseparable from the geographic space of the modern nation-state.⁴

Curiously, another definitive occasion for the ideological formulation of “peace and world order” arose concurrently in the Russo-Japanese War. The *Hisen undō*, or what I have translated as the “Nonwar Movement,” emerged in the critique of the war. The movement is viewed today as a watershed moment for antimilitarism and has served as an inspirational model for peace movements in Japan ever since. Strikingly, however, neither the Portsmouth Peace Treaty brokered by Roosevelt nor the Nobel Peace Prize consequently awarded Roosevelt was a part of the discussions of peace among participants in the Japanese Nonwar Movement. Indeed, the movement kept the so-called international community of governments in the West at arm’s length in its project for peace. One could even say that members of the movement were disinterested in the peacemaking achievements of the international community in ending the war between Russia and Japan. Despite participants’ seeming reticence in relation to the international community, the movement’s ideological redrawing of the concept of peace attracted many people in

2. Roosevelt, “Theodore Roosevelt—Nobel Lecture.”

3. Bauman, “Utopia with No Topos.”

4. Just-war theory, the moral code of the international community of civilized sovereign nation-states that has been integral for twentieth-century assessments of just conduct in the waging of war, is premised on the sanctity of the sovereign nation-state.

Japan. Given the status of the Nonwar Movement as a symbol of peace in modern Japan, how is one to read the movement's silence over the Portsmouth Treaty and the Nobel Peace Prize in its articulations of peace and world order?

It is the very absence of these major symbols of peace that is significant for understanding the Nonwar Movement. Behind this absence lay a competing vision of peace and justice founded on "the people" (*heimin*), detached from the territory of the nation-state. For anarchists in Japan, the well-being of the individual and the larger society was impossible without a reordering of the existing understanding of international society from one centered on the nation-state to one centered on the individual exchanges and social networks of the people.

This chapter gives a fresh interpretation of the Russo-Japanese War period. I argue that the war was the pivotal event that made salient a conflict in competing visions of human progress and world order in Japan. A body of intellectuals in Japan shared the view that the war represented a retrogression of human progress and civilization. Their view sharply contrasted with the ideology of Western modernity that sanctioned, if not celebrated, Japan's entry into the community of nation-states as a result of its victory in war and empire building. The experience of the war helped solidify a cooperatist-anarchist historical consciousness that would take the form of social action. Having thus far evaded historians' conceptual vocabularies, the intellectual history of the Nonwar Movement challenges existing historiography that has emphasized the sole meaning of the war for modern Japanese history as a decisive moment for Japan's entrance into the elite group of nation-states of the Christian West. This leads to arguably one of the most challenging questions in the historiography of modern Japan in the world: how is one to understand the paradox that Russian-Japanese nonstate cultural and intellectual relations were most intense when diplomatic relations were at their worst and their nations were at war?⁵ This chapter vividly answers this question.

5. In recent historiography, two collaborative attempts have focused on the cultural perspectives of their relations: Rimer, *Hidden Fire*; and Wells and Wilson, *Russo-Japanese War in Cultural Perspective*. Both volumes have identified the intense cultural contacts that existed between Japan and Russia. Although Rimer noted the puzzling

Answering this question makes it possible to make sense of the wartime birth of a new imagination of “the people” without the state as both the subject and object of the movement, which countered the system of thought of Western modernity behind the war. Indeed, the Nonwar Movement revolved around the language and imagery of *heimin* (people). *Heimin* was invented during the war as the subject of international relations and of historical progress itself, in direct contradiction to *kokumin*, “the nation’s people” as the subject of the nation-state, who, according to Western modernity, were the subject and the supposed beneficiaries of the war effort against Russia. As indicated by the organ of the Nonwar Movement, *Heimin shimbun* (People’s newspaper), *heimin* was the representative banner for the movement. *Heimin*, composed of the characters *hei* (plains, level, or horizon) and *min* (people), served to replace social, national, and ethnic hierarchies with a concretized notion of humanity that extended beyond race, ethnicity, and the territory of the nation-state. The intellectual practice of Nonwar thinkers may best be described as an invention of the people without the state. By dissecting the meanings of this widely used term for “the people” that emerged with the war, this chapter provides a fresh understanding of the intellectual life of this period in Japan. This invention of the people without the state may be contrasted with revolutionary America, for example, where “the people” were invented as the participatory subjects of representative national government.⁶

The reconception of “the people” as *heimin* led seamlessly to a reconceptualization of “international society” as the sphere of individual exchanges and transnational social networks. The Nonwar Movement criticized international relations as state-to-state relations. It problematized the utopian premise of the modern ideology of “international society” founded on the idealized spatial construct of the liberal nation-state and naturalized in the understanding of international order and world peace. The movement denaturalized these constructs through the ideology of *heimin* and its subsequent respatialization of the imagined international arena.

misalignment between Russian-Japanese state and nonstate relations, the volume as a whole did not explain the phenomenon.

6. Morgan, *Inventing the People*.

The existing historiographical assumption has been that Western modernity was somehow the only reality in modern Japan. This book seeks to demonstrate the coexistence of other lived realities and experiences. The ideology of *heimin* certainly shared the same space and chronological time of international relations as reality. However, if “international relations” represented an imagined future progress founded on a construct and imagination of a society of nation-states, *heimin* represented for Nonwar Movement participants an imagined but realistic possibility for future international society.

Intellectual and cultural historians have paid too little attention to such a distinctive and influential phenomenon as the Nonwar Movement. Its very alienness to the teleological construct of Western modernity, the linear historical narrative of the progress of the nation-state (“history”), has led it to go unnoticed. This fact draws attention to the limits of that more familiar history and its concepts and imaginations of the national subject. As historians have expanded the historical materials used to look at the war in recent years, they have often reaffirmed the narrative of Japan’s modernization and Westernization as the historical meaning given to the war. Although there have been benefits from these efforts to materially expand the historical sources and the volume of historical knowledge, the consequence may have been to further solidify the ideological prevalence of Western modernity as an interpretive framework for history writing. This chapter examines numerous wartime materials that fail to fit that paradigm.

This chapter critically engages with the existing understanding that socialism imported from the West provided the political platform for Japanese pacifism during the Russo-Japanese War. It also problematizes historians’ tendency to view Japanese socialists’ and anarchists’ reliance on moral arguments against the war and against capitalism as conservative and traditionalist. The tendency of Japanese Meiji socialists to make moral arguments against liberal capitalism, as opposed to “objective,” “social scientific” approaches to the problems of capitalism, such as those of Marx, is well known.⁷ Historians have conceived of this tendency to privilege social harmony over class struggle as an indication of the con-

7. Duus and Scheiner, “Socialism, Liberalism and Marxism.”

tinued strains of traditionalism and thereby the relative backwardness of Japanese socialism, as opposed to the conflict-oriented view of progressive society found in the empirical social and economic analyses of Marx. This comparative view of Japanese socialists presumes that Japanese anarchists' selective endorsement of Japanese/"Oriental" intellectual traditions and moral justification for Nonwar were remnants from the traditional past, that was yet to be modernized after the European radical model.⁸ A fresh interpretation is that these thinkers and the participants in the Nonwar Movement at large radically transcended the historiographical construct of a dilemma among socialists between Western liberalism and Japanese traditionalism/nationalism.

I have chosen to translate the term Japanese participants used for their movement, *Hisen undō*, as "Nonwar Movement." References to the movement have translated *Hisen undō* as "Antiwar Movement" without distinguishing it from the more contemporary Japanese term *Hansen undō*. This translation not only fails to reflect the intellectual universe of the movement but also may be misleading because the term *hansen* as it has been used in the period after the Asia-Pacific War refers to an oppositional position against a particular war. It was used, for example, for the Anti-Vietnam War Movement (*Betonamu hansen undō*). Also, the *Hisen undō* of the Russo-Japanese War did not express a philosophical position of pacifism, the absolute negation of violence.

In fact, *hisen* was a term historically specific to the Russo-Japanese War, and the war was the only time at which the term would ever be used. Inherent in the language of *hisen* was a construct of civilization and progress that was distinguished from Western modernity. According to the movement's construct, imperialist wars were not a part of that modernity and therefore were *hi* (absent). Therefore, this movement can be conceived as an intellectual phenomenon for a given understanding of progress and civilization rather than against a particular war or against violence in absolute terms.

8. Kōtoku Shūsui has been described as one caught between his emotional ties to traditionalism and nativism and his rational preference for Western-style progressive thoughts, a dualism that essentially limited his possibilities as a revolutionary. See Notehelper, *Kōtoku Shūsui*. For a similar treatment of anarchist intellectuals as nativist nationalists, see Hoston, *State, Identity, and the National Question*, pp. 137–48, 169.

If, as Hyman Kublin suggested half a century ago, Russians and Japanese during this period provide one of the most successful cases of anti-militarism in a time of war in modern history, this can be explained only by looking at the specific historical phenomenon of Japanese-Russian transnational intellectual relations.⁹ Although the degree of “success” depends on how this intellectual phenomenon is defined and understood, there is little doubt that the Nonwar Movement played an important role in the development of intellectual life in Japan. Indeed, the movement was influential in making the decades between the Russo-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War one of the most innovative and dynamic periods in modern Japanese intellectual history.

Fighting for the Utopia of International Relations

Japan’s sensational success in the Russo-Japanese War was one of the first major global moments of the twentieth century, in which ideas and hopes about the universality of Western modernity were projected from around the world onto Japan’s victory over Russia. The war earned Japan recognition as a civilized nation-state from many parts of the Western international community and beyond by enabling Japan to demonstrate its military might, successful industrialization, national unity, and political consciousness. Numerous illustrated English-language pamphlets, coffee-table books, and serials were produced in Japan and disseminated in the West during the war, which depicted the military capabilities and patriotism that were necessary elements of a unified and independent nation-state.¹⁰ The government’s concerted effort to present itself to the West during the war as a civilized nation-state highlighted its campaign

9. Hyman Kublin points out that even before social democracy had taken deep root in either country, Russian and Japanese intellectuals were the “crowning success of socialist internationalism during the twenty-five-year life-span of the Second International.” Kublin, “Japanese Socialists and the Russo-Japanese War,” pp. 322–23.

10. See, for example, *Russo-Japanese War Fully Illustrated*, no. 1 (April 1904)–no. 10 (September 1905); *Russo-Japanese War* (Tokyo: Kinkodo, 1904–5); *Russo-Japanese War* (Tokyo: Sonokichi Hasegawa, 1904); *Russo-Japanese War: Fourth Army; The Album, Containing the Photographs and Pictures Regarding the Russo-Japanese War*; and *Picture Book of Japanese War with Russia*. There was even an illustrated children’s book in English on the war published in Tokyo. *Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5: A Children’s Story*. The Meiji emperor had by that time replaced his traditional garb with a Western military

of cultural diplomacy from within Japan for foreign visitors. The government took great pains to demonstrate to foreign media that its humane treatment of Russian prisoners of war housed in camps across Japan was a sign that Japan's civilized behavior extended beyond the battlefield.¹¹ These wartime domestic policies were designed to impress visitors from the West. Victory would be the ultimate assurance of Japan's newly gained status among the civilized nation-states.

Located within this same intellectual universe, perhaps somewhat ironically, many Asians and even some groups of African Americans saw in Japan's victory the victory of the dark races over white civilization.¹² For them, Japan's military defeat of Russia shone the way for the recognition of the "darker-skinned" peoples as no longer inherently inferior. Such perceptions reflected and are a reminder of the important conceptual linkage between race and civilization at the turn of the last century in the international arena. Although the global order of nation-states categorized by race and ethnicity may have been symbolically destabilized when Japan defeated Russia, Japan had earned world recognition as a civilized nation-state only by fighting out a place of power within the same Eurocentric hierarchical order of international relations.

Despite the racially charged meanings that Japan's victory represented, ordinary Americans celebrated the Japanese defeat of Russia in the war with excitement. For a number of Americans, Japan's victory over the Russian autocratic state was a convincing demonstration of the universality of the progressiveness of Western modernity so recently introduced into Japan. Americans' support for Japan's military victory in the Russo-Japanese War would seem to contradict the widespread racial fears of Japan's geopolitical expansion, aptly named "the yellow peril," that simultaneously existed in the United States. In fact, the seemingly

uniform, producing a striking image of military prowess circulated for both domestic and international consumption through the medium of modern photography.

11. On the treatment of Russian POWs, see, for example, Rotem Kowner's study of the public relations campaign that the state directed toward Western observers during the war. This campaign included tours for foreign observers to draw attention to the state's humane treatment of Russian POWs. Kowner, "Becoming an Honorary Civilized Nation." For an experientially based account of life in the POW camps, see Kupchinskii, *Geroi tyla*.

12. See, for example, Gallicchio, *African American Encounter with Japan and China*.

contradictory sentiments of liberal support for the Japanese war effort, on the one hand, and racist fears of Japanese expansion, on the other were part of the same ideological universe.

Ira Remsen (1846–1927), then president of Johns Hopkins University, articulated the intellectual world of early twentieth-century Western liberalism that unified this apparent contradiction between race and civilization in American imaginations of Japan. Remsen had mentored the famous Western cosmopolitanists Nitobe Inazō and Satō Shōsuke (1856–1939) during their studies in the United States. Satō, like Nitobe, would become a leading theorist of colonization. He also would serve as the founding president of Hokkaido Imperial University. In a rare interview in 1904 for the popular Japanese journal *Taiyō*, Remsen discussed his vision of Japan's role in the world as defined by its performance in the war. Underlying his discussion was the moral imperative of racial tolerance. He urged Americans to overcome their fears of the Japanese as a powerful yellow race. Remsen did not dispute the need to fear a yellow peril at large. Given the real threat of the cultural mongolization of Western civilization by an encroaching Orient, he claimed that Americans' fears about Japan were fully understandable.¹³ Nonetheless, he pointed out, Japan had made remarkable civilizational progress in the past fifty years since its "opening by the West." Remsen found that the solution to the reality of the yellow peril lay precisely in Japan's political and cultural presence as a civilizing force for the East.¹⁴ By injecting civilization into backward countries in the Orient like China and Russia, which continued to maintain despotic rule, the racially defined threat of a yellow peril could be overcome through civilized culture. Both Remsen and his colleague, Johns Hopkins professor of history John Vincent (1857–1939), agreed in the interview that in winning the war and expanding its power in the region, Japan would contribute to the making of international peace and world order.¹⁵ The fear of the yellow peril and the racially tolerant civilizational discourse voiced by Remsen were two sides of the same coin. Whether Japan's winning of the war meant the encroachment of an inferior race and its culture on

13. Morimoto, "Johns Hopkins daigaku sōchō oyobi rekishi kyōju," p. 207.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 208.

the West or the advancement of Western civilization in the East, the shared belief in the absolute superiority of Western civilization over a primitive East remained.

Remsen's view of the world as one pulled between the forces of order and disorder embodied a prevailing notion of the state of nature in Western political ideology. According to Immanuel Kant, for example, the "natural" progression toward freedom and equality of advanced human beings in the form of a global cosmopolitan order relied on the expansion of developed nation-states. The global order of a federation of states imagined by Kant was only the end product of a linear trajectory from originally free and equal but violent and conflictive barbaric communities to an "advanced" state of nature in which civilized peoples maintained the natural state of freedom and equality by guarantees of private property and legal rights under the authority of the sovereign nation-state. This state of freedom depended on the creation of a "pacific federation" of sovereign states that collectively preserved the freedom of the individual through just international and national laws.¹⁶

This was a dualistic understanding of the states of nature, a natural existence of free and equal but barbaric peoples inevitably resorting to violence and chaos, on the one hand, and the natural existence of free and equal civilized peoples characterized by organized contractual relations under sovereign state authority, on the other. These dual aspects of the state of nature were located at opposing ends of a larger linear model of progression. The widespread understanding of the "international system" functioned through an expansion of this notion, according to which peace in the international arena was believed to be achievable only via the attainment of the advanced "natural state" by all nation-states involved.¹⁷ The community of peace was possible only through this international sharing of the advanced natural state of things.

In turn, the preservation of peace and world order via the functioning of modern international relations created the necessary conditions for the flourishing of the utopian dream of the perfected nation-state. Imperialism was embedded in this particular notion of the utopian spatial

16. Kant, *Kant's Political Writings*, pp. 105–25; Kant, "Idea for a Universal History," pp. 9–23; Fine, "Kant's Theory," pp. 612–15.

17. See Jahn, "IR and the State of Nature."

construct of the nation-state. The utopia of Western modernity, which took the spatial form of the territorial nation-state, was to be globally attained and preserved via modern international relations.

Yet most of the world was still, as Roosevelt said, backward. Even worse, a powerful overarching governing system of adjudication and policing to protect and organize all nation-states in the international arena had still not been developed. In his Nobel lecture, Roosevelt likened the international community to “new and wild communities where there is violence,” and where “the honest man must protect himself.”¹⁸ That is, the advanced state of civilization was far from being globally achieved, and the sphere of international relations remained one of chaos and violent competition. As peoples incapable of governing themselves and thereby of working within the existing international system of states, members of the “backward” parts of the world posed a threat to peace in the international arena. Those societies that had not yet attained the advanced stage of organized civilization characteristic of the West could not be considered sovereign nation-states and could therefore expect forceful guidance, violence, and domination both within and without by the states that had achieved the natural state of advanced civilization. Colonization according to this natural state of things was morally justified and encouraged as a necessity for the maintenance of peace and order in the international arena. This model has been central to the theory and practice of international relations.¹⁹

There was thus no contradiction in liberalism’s assertion of democracy within and imperialism abroad. The utopian imagination of progress toward an advanced state of nature has formed the construct of international relations as a system of knowledge shared among the international community of nation-states. The particular cultural construct of the

18. Roosevelt, “Theodore Roosevelt—Nobel Lecture.”

19. Jahn has shown how the foundational idea of international relations theory, that states exist in a presocial, prenatal state of nature, is a cultural construct that originally emerged in the Spanish encounter with the Amerindians. The notion of the state of nature foundational to our understanding of interstate relations as the realm of power, struggle, and accommodation was originally constructed as a justification of the violence done to the Amerindians by the Spanish, Jahn argues, and has provided the underlying knowledge construct perpetuating inequality and injustice in the international sphere ever since. Jahn, “IR and the State of Nature.”

state of nature that lay at the basis of Western modernity, and through this knowledge system the organization and practice of international relations, were integral to the maintenance of a particular kind of peace and order in the international arena by the Western nation-states. The meanings given to the Russo-Japanese War both within Japan and by the international community were rooted in this understanding. Japan's victory over Russia, then, was categorized as the inevitable victory of a more civilized nation over the tyrannical Russian state, justifying Japan's colonizing and enlightening presence in the Far East. In this way, the war perpetuated the construct of international relations as a function of the utopian ideal of Western modernity. To date, existing interpretations and writing of Japanese history in the Russo-Japanese War period have followed this historical meaning of the war.

Anarchism served as the perfect antithesis of, and thereby the perfect impetus for, the building of this utopian ideal of international order. When Theodore Roosevelt assumed the U.S. presidency in 1901 after his predecessor, William McKinley, was assassinated by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz, one of the major themes in his inaugural speech was his promise to bring peace, freedom, and order by rooting out anarchism. Anarchism threatened some of the most cherished beliefs of Western modernity: rule of law, stable governance, Christianity, and the sovereignty of the nation-state. Removing this threat to international order would require the cooperative treaties of civilized nation-states. Anarchism had become an impetus for the building of the modern international community at this crucial moment at the turn of the century.

The historian Frank Ninkovich has observed that Theodore Roosevelt formulated policy according to his historical interpretation of events as the process of the global expansion of "civilization." In dealing with the implications of Western modernity in his foreign policy, he may be considered the first modern president in foreign affairs.²⁰ Roosevelt was a close observer of world history and sought the key to foreign policy in the patterns of historical development. Before he became president of the United States, Roosevelt wrote in his influential history *The Winning of the West*, published in 1889–96, that "the most ultimately righteous

20. Ninkovich, *Modernity and Power*, pp. xv, 2.

war is a war with savages, though it is apt to be also the most terrible and inhuman. The rude, fierce settler who drives the savage from the land lays all civilized mankind under a debt to him. American and Indian, Boer and Zulu, Cossack and Tartar, New Zealander and Maori,—in each case the victor, horrible though many of his deeds are, has laid deep the foundations for the future greatness of a mighty people.”²¹ The knots that tied Roosevelt the historian to Roosevelt the Nobel peacemaker were tight and led eventually to his election as president of the American Historical Association. Roosevelt’s history, which advocated the righteousness of wars of ethnic cleansing fought for civilizational progress, was part of the same logic of modernity as his 1905 adjudication of the Portsmouth Peace in the war for civilizational advancement between Japan and Russia. Japanese state formulations of its participation in the war shared in the same narrative of civilizational progress.

Denaturalizing International Relations

It was in this intellectual universe that the famous 1887 work *A Discourse of Three Drunkards on Government*, written by Lev Mechnikov’s close colleague at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Nakae Chōmin, illuminated the dilemma of Japan in a world defined by this particular ideal of world order at the end of the nineteenth century. The following reading of Chōmin’s work will allow for a new interpretation of both Chōmin and his disciple Kōtoku Shūsui and of the intellectual dialogue between them. The work portrayed two ends of a spectrum of paths (mediated by a third drunk, the professor) that Japan could take as a nation. On one end was the national course of liberal democracy and peaceful cultural participation in the international community of the West, expressed in the figure of the Western cosmopolitanist gentleman. On the other end was the course of despotism and nationalist self-defense against Western geopolitical encroachments in the form of imperialist domination in East Asia, expressed in the figure of Gōketsu (Iron Man). Chōmin’s work posed the central dilemma of the 1890s facing Japan’s relations with the wider world: As a small nation with neither resources nor civilizational prestige, how would Japan avoid being colonized by the West? Would

21. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, p. 29.

the nation go down the path of democracy, cultural development, and peaceful relations with the West, or would it follow that of military buildup and imperialist expansion into other parts of Asia in preparation for a war of defense against the West? Chōmin's Gōketsu effectively represented the yellow peril feared in the West, and the Western gentleman represented a peaceful path of cultural exchange with the West. His third voice, the professor, represented the possibility of a middle path, which, it has been argued, may have been Chōmin's own voice. Although the two paths of the gentleman and Gōketsu constructed by Chōmin had been simultaneously present in Japanese national policy since the Meiji Ishin, Chōmin separated them as opposing strands of thought and thereby illuminated the radical implications of taking either of them to its logical end, toward peace or war.

The war raised the stakes of Chōmin's dilemma and made it clearer that the dilemma could not be about choosing some point along the spectrum between the two options presented in Chōmin's work, liberalism/peace and imperialism/war. It appeared that these two ends of the spectrum had in fact folded into one, and were now merely two sides of the same coin. With the Russo-Japanese War, it became evident that keeping peace with the international community of Western nation-states meant having a dominant military and readiness to go to war at any time, and that possessing highly advanced armed forces and participating in imperialist expansion advanced both the cause of peace and the modern civilization of the West. It also became clear that the underside to Western liberalism at the turn of the century was imperialism, and vice versa, for both were situated on a broader canvas of Western modern ideals of world order and civilizational progress. The war created a new dilemma, that the options available were either to accept liberal peace as a path toward the Western modern imagination of a utopian international space reflected in the theory and very often the practice of international relations between nation-states, with all their embedded contradictions, or to find an entirely different path toward world order and human progress. The dilemma of Japan in the world at the turn of the century had evolved to a whole new level as a result of this intellectual development in the Russo-Japanese War.

The advancement of this dilemma was exemplified during the war in the shift of thought from the focus on the governance of the nation-state

in Chōmin, a theoretical leader of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement for popular parliamentary participation, to a focus on "the people" (*heimin*) in the new anarchism of his disciple Kōtoku Shūsui. Kōtoku was a cofounder and editor of the Nonwar newspaper *Heimin shimbun* and one of the leading voices of the Nonwar Movement. Other active figures in the newspaper and the Heiminsha (Heimin Association), the publishing company behind *Heimin shimbun* and other publications related to the Nonwar Movement that formulated the voice of the movement included *Heimin shimbun* cofounder Sakai Toshihiko (1870–1933), Abe Isoo (1865–1949), the artist Ogawa Usen (1868–1938), Kaneko Kiichi (1876–1909), and Kinoshita Naoe. By all appearances, the anarchist Kōtoku had made a radical break from his teacher, the parliamentarian Chōmin. However, this was far from the case. Kōtoku took the humanist and democratic ideals of Chōmin's Western gentleman to their logical ends in his search for the most viable path to peace in the international arena and democracy at home.

Chōmin's gentleman gives light weight, for example, to the permanence of an individual's nationality, arguing that it is in fact the earth that is the only possible and true physical home for human beings: "Because we live today in Country A, we are of that nationality. However, if we live in Country B tomorrow, we will be of that nationality. It's just that simple. As long as doomsday is not yet here and the earth, which is the home for our human race, survives, isn't every nation of the world our homestead?"²² The Nonwar Movement, led by Kōtoku, echoed this idea in its arguments against the war. The decisive emergence of an anarchist movement among a new and younger generation in Japan in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War arose logically from a distinct vision of peace and world order.

Kōtoku's role in the formulation of an independent path did not mean a rejection of the West per se. On the contrary, he sought to use the humanist ideals he shared, however fragmentally, with Chōmin's Western gentleman as a basis for an anarchist transnationalism. This politics of inclusion led Kōtoku and the Nonwar Movement for which he spoke to

22. Nakae, *Discourse by Three Drunkards*, p. 51.

incorporate certain humanist ideals and shared moral vocabulary from the West into their vision of peace and world order even as they sought liberation from the utopia of Western modernity. Kōtoku preserved a certain moral vocabulary from the Western gentleman not because they were from the West, but because they appeared to be universal. Departing from Christian moral imperatives against war that have characterized pacifist movements, and even more radically from the teleology of Marxism-Leninism that claimed the inevitability of imperialism and class war, the Nonwar Movement promoted a vision of progress underpinned by an idea of shared humanity.

To view the Nonwar Movement as utopian in the sense of being an unrealistic idealism with a sense of finality is to miss the realism of its assumptions. Kōtoku and others who decried the war believed that it was the war effort fought in accordance with a utopian vision of future civilization that was full of contradictions. They argued that its claims of attaining the order and well-being of Japan through war were not attainable, and its proposed means were not morally tenable. Kōtoku's writings during the war sought to "wake [the people] from their [utopian] dream," as he put it, by demonstrating that the utopia of Western modernity was a dystopia on which justifications for the war were based. For Kōtoku and many others in the *Heiminsha* and beyond in the Nonwar Movement, the language of peace as it was used in relation to the war was not just a jargon of diplomacy to mask the intent of territorial gain. They believed that peace was a utopian ideal of imperialist expansion.

Kōtoku pointed out that so-called treaties of friendship and peace created disorder and violence. He looked critically at the media- and government-applauded Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 that recognized Japan's special territorial interests in Korea and assured Japan's place as one of the imperial powers in Asia. He believed that the treaty of friendship between Japan and Great Britain had in fact prepared the ground for Japan's war with Russia. He argued that the resolution of peace via treaties was conducted overwhelmingly by means of territorial acquisition and nation-state alignment. Kōtoku similarly predicted that Japan's territorial gains in the Pacific in the war, which were the products of Japan's international treaties and alliances, would only lead Japan closer to an eventual war with the United States over conflicting economic

interests in Pacific territory.²³ Here, Kōtoku dismantled the distinction between imperialist expansionism and peaceful cooperation within the international community. For Kōtoku, they belonged to the same intellectual universe of Western modernity, where peace and cooperation among nation-states were often indistinguishable from war.

Kōtoku unveiled international relations to his readers as an ideology of peace and world order that manipulated the public to support the war. He conveyed the invasiveness and magnetic draw of the utopian promise of international relations as a path toward order and peace when it pervaded all sources of popular knowledge, from newspapers to songs and even to children's fairy tales. Repeated since childhood and disseminated in children's stories and songs, the narrative of territorial conquest spun through the ethical language of heroicism and honor had the power to shape people's dreams. "People in their sleep dream of being Momotarō," Kōtoku wrote in reference to the modern fairy tale of Momotarō, a heroic boy who sets out to conquer the island of ogres in order to avenge and enrich his people. "But they must awake from that dream." For Kōtoku, the story of Momotarō manipulated the popular imagination from childhood by means of a moral narrative to adopt the utopian dream of international relations. He called the belief in this narrative "madness." Those who were manipulated acted within the commonsense realm of that dream world.²⁴ He argued that in the name of war, thought and speech were both controlled by the state and self-censored, and it was this control of language and thought that was most harmful to society, not the publication of Nonwar ideas. Here, the dream was the metaphor for the utopia of international relations. Grounded in what Kōtoku called "social reality,"²⁵ the Nonwar Movement sought to undo the logic that lay behind the justifications for the war and in this way to wake people from their "dreams."

It is possible to discern an internal logic that connected what would appear at first glance to be disparate discussions found on the pages of *Heimin shimbun* and Kōtoku's discussions in other venues in this period. This internal logic linked children's stories to naval theory to rural

23. Kōtoku, "Nichibei kankei no shōrai."

24. Kōtoku, "Rekkoku funsō no shinsō."

25. Ibid.

women's everyday lives. Even before the war, Kōtoku criticized the influential theories of Alfred Mahan (1840–1914), who provided the theoretical basis for military buildup and imperialist expansion to preserve peace for the nation-state. Mahan, whose writings served as the textbook for the Imperial Japanese Navy, argued that a strong naval fleet that could establish command of the sea was essential to prevent war. It could do so through intimidation, by blocking seagoing commercial activity, and by destroying an enemy's fleet in a single decisive battle. Kōtoku discussed Mahan's theory that conscription was a foundation for peace as an irony conducive to tragedy.²⁶ He observed ironically that Mahan also linked imperialist expansion with peace by arguing that imperialist acquisition was fundamental to the strengthening of naval power, which in turn promoted peace.²⁷ Kōtoku redirected the meaning of peace to realign it with the actual everyday lives of the *heimin* (people). For him, Mahan's description of forced military service as peace defined peace in terms of its relevance to the nation-state rather than to the *heimin*. For the overwhelming majority of the population, whose sole breadwinners were being called away to serve, conscription meant the militarization of everyday life, economic suffering, and emotional despair.

It is tempting to measure the Nonwar Movement's effectiveness according to its influence on national policies. Contemporary critics during the war, like Kōtoku's former employer, Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862–1920), questioned the continued relevance of the Nonwar Movement after it had failed to prevent Japan's entry into war.²⁸ Kōtoku responded to his critics that the Nonwar Movement was not about the single moment of a particular war, but about a much larger, long-term issue that Kōtoku referred to as "eternal truth."²⁹ That truth as it was revealed in all its facets in *Heimin shimbun* was the intellectual universe of Western modernity that lay behind the justifications for the war. For Kōtoku, it was adherence to that intellectual universe that was behind the times. He pointed out that the biggest supporters of the war were the elderly. Indeed, he

26. Kōtoku, *Teikokushugi*, pp. 54–57. Originally published in 1901 as Kōtoku, *Nijusseiki no kaibutsu teikokushugi*.

27. Ibid.

28. Kōtoku, "Bundan endan."

29. Kōtoku, "Senji to hisenron."

argued, “Those receiving the latest education on civilization or those about to receive it do not believe in celebrating the war. This is proof that the war is going against civilization and progress. It is a product that is behind the times.”³⁰

The phrase “Shin no shinpo” (True progress) became a mantra in *Heimin shimbun* during the war. It referred to the possibility of an alternative path of progress from that path which justified and was represented by the war. But who was to carry the colossal load of true progress?

Inventing the People without the State

Kōtoku and other members of the Heiminsha invented *heimin* as a new subject of historical progress and world order irrespective of the nation-state at the turn of the last century. This section seeks to make sense of the term *heimin* by dissecting its meanings in this period. How the term was constructed and who constructed it will also be examined, as well as how “the people” were identified without reference to government or the state. The history of this conceptual invention poses an interesting contrast with the invention of the American people in the late eighteenth century in the fiction of popular sovereignty used by the Founding Fathers to impose a new government on the inhabitants of America.³¹

From the start, the twentieth-century discovery of “the people” as *heimin* was deeply implicated in a position opposing the war, international relations in theory and practice, and the Western modernity that enabled them. Over the course of the war, this newly discovered “people” became disassociated from the territorial bounds of the nation-state and, by extension, the imagined utopia, the space of finality in Western modernity. The term thereby functioned in clear polemic with the word for the subject of the nation-state, *kokumin* (nation’s people). The notion of *kokumin* was widely circulated during the war by the leading mouthpiece for the war effort, Tokutomi Sohō’s *Kokumin shimbun* (Nation’s people newspaper). *Heimin* would from then on carry with it the definition of a freely associating body of people irrespective of the state. After the Russo-Japanese War, *heimin*, subject and object of the movement

30. Kōtoku, “Nihon no shimbun.”

31. Morgan, *Inventing the People*.

and its symbolic banner, would become the subject of historical progress itself. The term would be widely used in Japan with its new anarchist meaning from the Russo-Japanese War up to the Asia-Pacific War.

The accepted English translation of *heimin* is “commoners.” *Heimin shimbun*, for example, is known in English as the *Commoners’ Newspaper*. However, this translation has largely misrepresented the essence of the term’s meaning in the late Meiji period. The English term “commoners” implies both class difference and hierarchy and can be interchanged with the term “masses.” “Commoners” in this way possesses connotations of an illiterate and generally uncultured mass. However, the term *heimin* lacked the sense of class differentiation and hierarchy associated with the word “commoners”; instead, it encompassed a broad expanse of individuals. A term that had been used since ancient times in Japan underwent a dramatic shift in meaning during the war. It now possessed new energy and power to criticize the undesirable present.

The history of this term reveals the shift in understandings about the nonelite population at different times in Japan. During the Edo period, *heimin* had referred to those who belonged to a lower status (*kakyū mibun*) of society. In this historical context, the term arguably can still be translated as “commoners” in English. The term also appears to have been used specifically to refer to a notion of difference from the Ainu of Ezo (Hokkaido). In this case, *heimin* referred to something akin to “Japanese.” Beginning in the late 1880s, “heiminism” as the ideology for the Minyūsha, represented by Tokutomi Sohō’s progressive magazine *Kokumin no tomo* (Friend of the nation’s people), introduced a more positive understanding of *heimin* to refer to a vague democratic and cosmopolitan ideal.³² Sohō spoke of the need for education, enlightenment, and liberation of the commoners in order for the nation to embark on the path of Western civilizational progress.³³ For Sohō, “the people” largely referred to the anticipated rise in Japan of a bourgeois

32. Tokutomi Sohō, *Jiyū dotoku oyobi jukyōshugi*.

33. Although Tokutomi Sohō had formulated “heiminism” to mean democratization for the sake of Westernization, the ways it was used in his magazine by its numerous contributors were varied and ambiguous, if not contradictory. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, pp. 77, 177–79.

middle class within the teleology of modernization.³⁴ *Heimin* was often used interchangeably with the term *kokumin*, or the nation-state's people, to mean the national community of people bound to the sovereign state. Sohō's writings represented a confluence of the idealization of the middle class as the historical subject of "democracy" and state-oriented national progress. Sohō's *heimin* were a people that were not yet bourgeois, not yet the "cultured" middle-class subject of the liberal ideal of progressive society. Sohō's *heimin* therefore suggested a lack in the very existence of the "people" that would be remedied only via Westernization.

The Nonwar Movement newly defined *heimin* in terms of their relationship to power. They were identified as those "people" who stood outside the fold of the "society of cliques," or *batsu shakai*, that were allied with the state and benefited from the war. The new language of *heimin* thereby liberated the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Japan from the hierarchically ordered category of class. The movement defined the ruling cliques as six interlinked groups: the Satsuma-Chōshū clan clique (*hanbatsu*), the political party clique (*tōbatsu*), the capitalist-entrepreneurial clique (*zaibatsu*), the scholar-intellectuals' clique (*gakubatsu*), the clique of religious leaders (*shūbatsu*), and the aristocratic clique (*monbatsu*).³⁵ The war had made the divide between the *batsu shakai* and "the people" more distinctive than ever. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, the movement claimed that the mobilization of the population for war further benefited the so-called society of cliques financially and politically. The war effectively separated the elites from those devastated by the harsh effects of a war that vacuumed the ablest and strongest members of rural communities to the trenches and naval ships and left their families deprived of economic support. These cliques were widely seen as representatives of the nation-state and were incorporated under the term *kō*, which meant "public" or "official." Now the "public" (*kō*) was equated not with "people" but with *batsu shakai*, or "society of cliques," which in turn represented the *kokumin*, the nation's people. Eliminating the common "people" from the meaning of "public" left the term for "public" with little substance.

34. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, pp. 164–66.

35. "Nihon shinshibatsu no kaibo," p. 1.

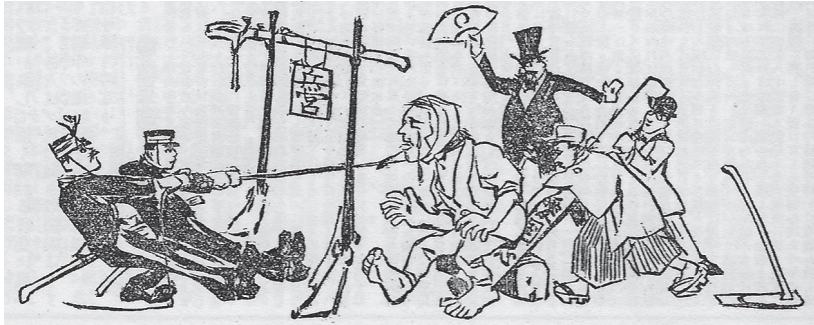


Fig. 3.1 The “society of cliques” pushing a peasant into war. Cartoon in *Heimin shimbun*, January 17, 1904.

The war not only defined “the people” but also contributed to the assembly of “the people” themselves. In this way, the war period redefined “society” from its implicit identification with the nation-state as the corpus embodying the social, as widely used in the term *kokka shakai* (national society), to a new meaning: the space of people’s interactions and actions, dealigned from the territory of the nation-state. Decades earlier, “society” had been equated with the nation-state, as in *kokka shakai*. With the new wartime meaning of “the people” without the state, the meaning of “society” was separated from the territorialized space of the nation-state that had bound it.

Not only what *Heimin shimbun* said but also how the newspaper said it could be further and more meaningfully read to delineate the moral and historical meaning given to the *heimin*. Reading *Heimin shimbun* in this way makes it possible to see how the movement sought to achieve the mutual identity of the disparate members of society as *heimin* vis-à-vis the state. The newspaper addressed the various members of the *heimin* in multidirectional speech acts that called out and embraced each part of the population as distinct elements, rather than as a collective mass with a single identity. Its method thus was a product of anarchist thought and reflected how *heimin* was imagined. *Heimin shimbun* called out to each group one by one, article by article, to women, men, children, the elderly, tenant and smallholding farmers, urban laborers, soldiers, teachers, students, and other groups, and in that way incorporated each as the diverse subjects of the movement. Individuals were called on in

the different roles that they played at different times in their everyday life. An individual might be called on in her role as a mother in one article, as a wife or widow of a conscripted soldier in another, and as a tenant farmer, more broadly as a woman, or as a member of the human race in other articles. These speech acts pulled one to listen in diverse ways by delineating at different times the different ways in which one was invested in the movement and inviting one's response in a variety of forms.

The ways in which the newspaper called out to women, for example, reveal the nonclassed, anti-imperialist, internationalist manner in which the movement constructed the shared identities of disparate members of the *heimin* even as it emphasized members' unique differences and the issues specific to them. *Heimin shimbun's* criticism of the war was for many women readers the first time they had encountered a women's position on political and international events. As a result, Japanese women's identification with the politics of gender was heavily shaped by the position of the newspaper on international relations. It is hardly a coincidence that the first women's journal, *Sekai fujin*, was founded immediately after the war by those who participated in or were influenced by the Nonwar Movement. The Nonwar Movement thus played a distinctive role in inspiring a burgeoning women's movement rooted in nonelite interests and tied the movement from its foundation with an interest in the problematization of international relations as they related to gender inequality.

In turn, women's issues from the start of the war assumed a crucial place in the formation of the idea of *heimin*. In one of the first issues of *Heimin shimbun*, the newspaper declared that it would give women's issues priority of discussion, for unlike worker's issues, the newspaper claimed, women's social problems had not been given enough attention.³⁶ The movement's attention to nonelite women's issues clarified its democratic orientation vis-à-vis the male- and emperor-centered Confucian hierarchy of nation-state ideology.

It is further illuminating to compare the conceptualization of women's issues in the Nonwar Movement with women's movements in the

36. "Fujin no unmei."

United States and Europe. At a time when many American and European feminists supported imperialism as a means to further their politics, the women's movement in Japan developed in a new direction with the reimagining of "the people" as *heimin*. European feminists supported imperialism when it offered them an opportunity to align with the state and claim power based on superior race, culture, and nationality.³⁷ Similarly, U.S. suffragists, including suffragist leaders Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), during this time supported empire and the U.S. drive for conquest in the Philippines at the turn of the century.³⁸ At the start of the twentieth century, many of the younger generation of Western feminists saw womanhood as racially and ethnically ordered. Empire was viewed as a means to emancipate women, and women's liberation in turn was equated with the civilizational distancing of Euro-American women from nonwhites.

The Nonwar Movement's sustained critique of *ryōsai kembo* (good wife, wise mother) ideology contributed to shaping a modern women's identity independent of the state through the idea of *heimin*. *Ryōsai kembo* was a modern construct that idealized women's role as pillars in the home, with the modern family conceived as the basic social building block for a strong nation state. Kōtoku emphasized the negative effects that the gendered wartime martial culture had on social status and the everyday life of women. Writing to women readers during the war, Kōtoku revealed how the war contributed to gendered hierarchies of power. Rather than raising women's status, as *ryōsai kembo* ideology promised, the war privileged men and masculinity. This in fact dissolved women's status in the family and community on the domestic level of everyday life, Kōtoku asserted. This widening gulf between men and women and the corresponding militarized masculine culture would continue to be felt long after the men returned home from the battlefields. The spheres of the social and the quotidian would continue to be central concerns of Japanese anarchist thought after the war.

Kōtoku uprooted gendered vocabularies of war that served to distinguish men morally as a special class above women. His criticism of the wartime moral vocabulary of "honor" was an attempt to undermine that

37. Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 2–16.

38. Hoganson, "As Badly Off as the Filipinos," pp. 12–13.

power ideologically. “Honor” was defined in the war as the dignity achieved through battle, a distinction reserved specifically for men who served the state. Moral terms like “honor” served as ideological linchpins for the cementing of the gendered ties among *kokumin*/national citizenship, war, and the larger international relations of Western modernity. Kōtoku demolished the ideological structure that privileged men as the primary carriers of national citizenship engendered by the war by removing the moral vocabulary of honor from that structure and revising it as a linchpin of a new ideological structure.

Kōtoku redefined “honor” as the cultivation of each individual’s virtue (*jinkaku*). He simultaneously radically redefined the notion of *jinkaku* as individual virtue. As noted in Chapter 2, *jinkaku* was made up of two characters, *jin* (person) and *kaku* (rank). At the turn of the twentieth century, the term implied a hierarchical construct of social order played out in human ethical relations, defined by Confucian ideas of duty to emperor, nation, and family. Instead, Kōtoku wrote that to do one’s given talent, *jinkaku*, whether it be rice cultivation or any other kind of work, was to contribute to the larger community, linking one to the larger cosmological order, and was the true form of honor. He argued that it was this community that functioned through individual contributions based on the talents of a variety of individuals of both genders, each cultivating and practicing his or her own virtue through his or her particular form of work, that composed the imagined body of *heimin* notwithstanding the state. His use of the term “honor” effectively dissolved gendered hierarchies built on the martial ideal of “civic virtue” in war. Gender was removed from the moral vocabulary of honor, and in turn, honor was disassociated from gendered belonging to the nation-state and was reapplied to individual doing for the society in prosaic everyday life, unbounded by the state. Honor was no longer about men, the military, the state, and war. By redefining “honor” as the practice of each individual’s God-given talents for the larger society as *heimin*, Kōtoku separated individual identity from the state.

The redefinition of the moral vocabulary of a community enables the redefinition of other interlinked conceptions in the life of that community. Bit by bit, issue by issue, in a chain reaction of linguistic and ideological change, one can discern on the pages of *Heimin shimbun* the emergence of an internal logic that uprooted the claims of war as a vessel

for the promise of international relations to achieve utopia. In the movement's criticisms of the logic of war and international relations, removal of one part of this edifice of Western modernity necessitated the detachment of other parts adjoining it; this procedure dismantled the utopia of international relations.

Contributors to *Heimin shimbun* and other voices of the Nonwar Movement thus demonstrated how each group was artificially bound to the state in the war. They then released those groups from those bounds by denaturalizing that linkage and demonstrating the artificiality of the state's claim of their status as a cohesive and collective ethnic *kokumin*. Each group was reconnected in the pages of the newspaper as a body of people, *heimin*, vis-à-vis the state. In the process, *Heimin shimbun* called on its readers to identify themselves with the *heimin* disassociated from the state that, unlike the proletariat under capitalism in Marxist teleology, retained the multiple roles and identities played by different members of society at different times as distinct and equally valuable.

Artistic Representations of the People without the State

Artistic and literary productions in various Japanese wartime publications represented "the people" as *heimin* and in this way expressed Nonwar sentiments. These were creative modes of communication, visual as well as emotional human experiences of ordinary people in an extraordinary time of war, through which readers felt the ideas of *heimin*. It was an aesthetic and personalized experience of *heimin*. As in aesthetic experience in other extraordinary times, artists played a powerful role in the invention of the people.

I first turn to the famous antiwar poet Yosano Akiko (1878–1942), whose place in the history of the war and Japanese militarism needs radical revision in light of this intellectual history of the Nonwar Movement. In September 1904, *Myōjō* published Yosano's famous poem "Brother, Do Not Give Your Life."³⁹ Her poem became one of the most widely known Japanese antiwar poems after the Asia-Pacific War and

39. *Myōjō*, September 1904. Poems published in 1904 lamenting the war in other venues include, for example, Kinoshita Naoe, "Shōshū" (Draft), and Nakazato Kaizan (1885–1944), "Ranchō" (Frenzied cadences of discord).

continues to be popular as an aesthetic expression of Japanese Nonwar thought. Of course, her poem could not have become so prominent without the agency of its readers. In contrast to her popularity today as a representative of antiwar sentiment, Yosano was no pacifist and eventually became a supporter of both the military and Japan's imperialist expansion into Manchuria. To ward off nationalist criticism of her poem, she publicly disavowed the Nonwar Movement in *Myōjō* two months after the publication of her poem. In response to criticism of her poem by supporters of the war, she defended her patriotism by writing in an open letter, "I tremble at the arguments of such people as those at *Heimin shimbun*."⁴⁰

Yosano's personal ambiguity in relation to the war is important for understanding the Nonwar Movement and its invention of the people. Despite her public rejection of the Nonwar Movement and her vilification of *Heimin shimbun*, Yosano had in fact copiously rephrased in poetic form the arguments already made in *Heimin shimbun* the year preceding the publication of her poem, and her poem was a surprisingly well-studied echo of the ideas of *heimin* found there. She became a momentary participant in the Nonwar Movement when she carefully crafted its arguments into poetry. Such momentary joining is universally characteristic of sociocultural movements. Any movement relies as much on its "gray zones," moments or areas of uncommitted or momentarily committed participation that are social, sometimes opportunistic, responses and are temporally limited, as on its committed core participants. Thus the answer to the question of who constructed the Nonwar "people without the state" has to include even these unexpected figures who denounced the Nonwar Movement, like Yosano, behind whom stood the nameless readers who made her poem so popular.

The poem expressed from the points of view of three women, a sister, a mother, and a wife, the emotional pain and economic hardship produced in a single family by a young man's departure for war. Against the dominant ideologies of the utopian promise of the nation-state and international relations supporting the war effort, the poem privileged the perspectives of *heimin* over the claims of the nation-state. It questioned

40. *Myōjō*, November 1904, pp. 98–100. Quoted in Rabson, "Yosano Akiko on War," p. 52.

the definition of peace for the nation-state when that peace produced only suffering for the common people: “Even as we hear about peace in this Great Imperial Reign / Her hair turns whiter by the day.” Like *Heimin shimbun*, the poem set the domestic everyday against the realm of the nation-state and international relations, contrasting the *heimin* who were losing their lives, families, and livelihoods in the war with the emperor, who remained untouched and untouchable in the war. “Brother, do not give your life. / His Majesty the Emperor / Goes not himself into battle.” Furthermore, the poem questioned the relevance of the war and its ideology for the life of the merchant in Japan. It then exposed the reality behind the word “honor” in war. “Honor” in the war was in fact “to kill and die like beasts.” In a final nod to *Heimin shimbun*, the poem questioned the relevance for common people of international war prizes, like Port Arthur, for which the nation-state was fighting. “Brother, do not give your life. / For you, what does it matter / Whether Port Arthur fortress falls or not?”⁴¹ Published many months after the war began, the poem voiced ideas and images repeated throughout the war in the Nonwar Movement.

Historians see Yosano today as a heroic feminine voice of antiwar sentiment in a sea of nationalism in wartime Japan who defiantly shocked her readers and influenced them with her poem.⁴² Although the poem is often read as an example of the “awakening of individualism” in Japan, it may be more accurate to read it as poetically expressing widespread popular sentiments and ideas that had already formed the basis of the Nonwar Movement. Yosano had poetically rendered a broader social understanding of her time.

Rather than singling Yosano’s poem out, it is further illuminating to situate her poem’s appearance in the surrounding context of the journal *Myōjō* in which she published it. On the pages of this same popular journal, the well-known founder of the Sōsaku Hanga (Creative Prints) Art Movement and a proponent of the People’s Arts Movement, Yamamoto Kanae, published his landmark print *Ryōfu* (Fisherman) during the war (Figure 3.2). This print is widely considered the emblematic first work of the Sōsaku Hanga. Produced in the context of the invention of the

41. Translation of Yosano’s poem in Rabson, “Yosano Akiko on War,” pp. 45–46.

42. For example, Rabson, “Yosano Akiko on War.”



Fig. 3.2 Yamamoto Kanae's *Ryōfu* (Fisherman), published in *Myōjō*, July 1904. Photograph courtesy of Yamamoto Kanae Memorial Museum.

people without the state in this period, *Ryōfu* was a wartime print of a fisherman without reference to the nation-state's embroilment in war. In its irrelevance to the war effort, which would have been striking for its contemporary viewers, the print served to dissipate the intense focus on the nation in total war. At the height of the war, the print aesthetically and powerfully represented "the people" as unconnected to the war and the state's ongoing project to enter Japan into the circle of Western modern nation-states. The printing of Yamamoto's work in this larger context of the war contributed graphically to the wartime invention of *heimin*. Yamamoto would travel through Russia a decade later in 1916, a trip that would help inspire his founding in Nagano of the Children's Free Art Movement and the Farmer's Art Movement as parts of the broader People's Arts Movement. These significant artistic currents were aesthetic expressions of cooperatist anarchism after the Russo-Japanese War.

The image of the fisherman became a minor symbol for Nonwar participants and later formed an emblem for cooperatist anarchism.⁴³ Although the absence of reference to the war was merely suggestive of the politicized meaning imbedded in *Ryōfu*, the other creative productions that surrounded the print in *Myōjō* clarified its Nonwar sentiment. *Ryōfu* shared the pages of *Myōjō* with a poem lamenting the war, and the following month, another Nonwar poem was published. In the third consecutive month, Yosano's poem appeared in the same journal.

In order to see further the implications of Yamamoto's *Ryōfu*, it is helpful to contextualize it within other wartime artistic productions that offered a graphic expression of the ideology of the Nonwar Movement. Images of fishermen and other depictions of *heimin* reflected the wartime urge to represent "the people" across the spectrum of society. The work of Ogawa Usen was most prominent in this wartime artistic production. Very little is known about Usen, in contrast to his popularity

43. The rural poet Ōtsuka Kōzan (1880–1911) wrote a wartime poem about a fisherman during this period, for example. Several years later, Arishima wrote his short story *The Agony of Coming into This World*, based on the life of the artist-fisherman Kida Kinjirō (1893–1962). The story climaxes on a fishing ship enveloped by the stormy ocean, an unforgiving nature in the nationless and borderless waters that lay between Japan and Russia. The fisherman in this story embodied the cooperatist understanding of the classless, nationless, territoryless cooperative individual surviving in the face of an awesome nature. Arishima, *Agony of Coming into This World*.

then and the kind of admiration he earned from his Heiminsha colleagues. Indeed, he was almost single-handedly responsible for establishing the wartime visual context in which *Ryōfu* was produced. Leading anarchist thinker Ishikawa Sanshirō (1876–1956) observed that Usen's art contributed greatly to the success of *Heimin shimbun*, and in turn, the newspaper made Usen massively popular in Japan at the time.⁴⁴ Usen's images were printed in almost every issue of *Heimin shimbun*. They often graced the first page of the newspaper and thus provided the crucial first impression to the reading public of what the Nonwar Movement was to be about. His often crude cartoons of common folk were significant for the development and popularization of images of *heimin* for the Nonwar Movement. Usen was one of the core founders of *Heimin shimbun*, not just an artistic contributor to it. His cartoons often had humorous or sarcastic captions and often accompanied articles he wrote.

Although art historians have categorized Usen's artwork as part of the *Nihonga* (Japanese painting) genre of art, his work can be better understood within the intellectual framework of cooperatist anarchism, which celebrated the diverse expressions of the *heimin* in their everyday life, without a priori belonging to the nation-state.⁴⁵ From the start of the war, Usen's visual productions both ideologically and graphically defined the notion of *heimin*. Far from just responding to the other writers who contributed to *Heimin shimbun*, Usen was responsible for outlining the purpose and orientation of the newspaper against the war from its first issue. He coauthored with Kōtoku the paper's introductory first article.⁴⁶ An unknown figure in Japanese studies in the West, Usen's cartoons and prints in the first half of the century were widely circulated in Japan and later traveled to the United States. His artistry is largely characterized by his attempt to convey realistically the everyday life of *heimin*.⁴⁷

Usen produced numerous cartoons illustrating the notion of *heimin*, which were printed in almost every issue of *Heimin shimbun* and other periodicals such as *Chokugen* and *Hikari*. Embedded in the wartime

44. Ishikawa, "Heiminsha jidai no shakai bungei," p. 22.

45. See Sho Konishi, "People at Rest."

46. Ibid.

47. See *ibid.* for further development of this idea.

visual imagery characteristic of the Nonwar Movement were expressions of the virtue of nondoing in the context of war. Usen's drawings captured the everydayness and nondoing of *heimin* in both village and urban life as a form of peaceful rebellion against the violent exertion of the war effort. As can be observed in Usen's cartoons in Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, the majority of his wartime artworks depict people resting or sleeping in a time of war. It was *Heimin shimbun's* regular publication of cartoons such as these by Usen that graphically represented the Nonwar Movement. The radicalized sense of nondoing became an underlying element in his numerous paintings of village and rural life in the first half of the twentieth century.

It is certainly difficult for twenty-first-century viewers to understand what Kōtoku meant when he wrote in 1908 of Usen's "revolutionary spirit on paper." Commonness and a humorous awkwardness, perhaps a

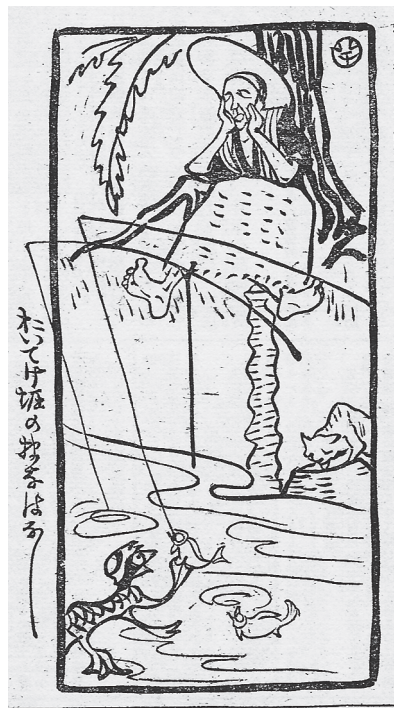


Fig. 3.3 Sleepy fisherman. Usen cartoon from *Hikari*, October 15, 1905, p. 2.



Fig. 3.4 Workers at rest. Usen cartoon from *Heimin shimbun*, April 10, 1905, p. 3.



Fig. 3.5 Farmers relaxing. Usen cartoon from *Heimin shimbun*, January 24, 1905, p. 3.

certain degree of endearing cuteness, but certainly not “revolutionary spirit,” seem to inhere in Usen’s roughly hewn wartime cartoon figures and the later human figures in his prints. Indeed, his *Monkey Trainer from Towa Shinpō*, a postcard mass-produced in 1908 (Figure 3.6), is graced by the ever-present rising sun of the Japanese flag. At first glance, the familiar rising sun might easily suggest that Usen’s postcard was just one of the many patriotic images produced in imperial Japan.

A closer examination of the humorous postcard, however, uncovers a radical inversion of the hierarchy embedded in the notion of the modern nation-state. In the postcard, a female street performer in padded cotton clothing, a clear statement of her rural commoner identity, trains a monkey to do tricks. The monkey is wearing a hat with the national symbol, the rising sun, and is holding a Japanese fan with the same mark. Here, the notion of the modern sacredness of the Japanese Empire is not just subverted but inverted when it is the monkey, the carrier of the metaphor of uncivilized primitiveness, that is wearing the flag. Moreover, the monkey carrying the sacred symbol of the imperial nation-state is being trained to do tricks by a commoner. The woman’s age cannot be determined because of the bagginess of her padded clothing. The aesthetic effect of the print lies in its inversion of the aesthetic representation of the nation-state, for in its simple, awkward art depicting a simple woman similarly lacking grace and form, the aestheticized qualities of the nation-state, so often associated with the young and graceful Japanese female form, are simultaneously drained away. Whereas the romanticization of Japanese women can be widely found in nativist self-Orientalizing renderings of a “Japan” in opposition to the West, artists contributing to cooperatist anarchism, like Yamamoto Kanae and *Heimin shimbun* artist Usen, actively rendered in their work people of both genders and all ages, commoners in simple form who contrasted with romantic feminine renderings of the timeless nation. Usen’s artistic method was similar to the use of Aesopian language by Soviet writers. Russian and Soviet writers often hid subversive meanings behind seemingly innocent forms. The meanings were concealed enough to allow the work to be published, yet clear enough to convey the subversive content to readers.

The effect of Usen’s postcard and other works was clear, particularly in the context in which they were produced. War-period postcards sending the message of a modern civilized Japan were full of active doing for



Fig. 3.6 *Monkey Trainer* from *Tōwa Shinpō*. Usen postcard, 1908. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

the nation-state, whether in their depictions of modern warships, battles, military heroes, and Red Cross nurses providing the most advanced hospital care for the wounded, or in active civilian support of the war effort. Usen's wartime focus on the everyday *heimin* stood in stark contrast to the cultural nationalism expressed by other Japanese postcards of the early twentieth century.⁴⁸

By the end of the war, many people understood the meaning of *heimin* in opposition to *kokumin*. The term *kokumin* was tied in people's minds to the government and its unpopular war, and *kokumin* became an undesirable source of identity at the war's end. Tokutomi Sohō's famous *Kokumin shimbun* had turned from a progressive source of criticism of the government and a self-claimed supporter of the old *heiminism* in the early 1890s to the leading mouthpiece for government policies during the war. The newspaper was closely associated with the Katsura cabinet in the public eye. When *Kokumin shimbun* was given the responsibility of announcing the government's acceptance of the provisions of the highly unpopular Portsmouth Treaty, the newspaper became an easy target of the public's wrath. The well-known Hibiya riots arose as a popular response to the treaty, and not surprisingly, *Kokumin shimbun* was one of its first targets. A mob of up to five thousand besieged and burned down the offices of the newspaper.⁴⁹ Massive riots destroyed police boxes and other symbols of government authority around Tokyo as well. The polemicism of *heimin* vis-à-vis *kokumin* had become manifest in the war, not just within a small circle of intellectuals, but among a much larger public.

Reconstituting International Society as Transnational Heimin

The invention of "the people" in the Nonwar Movement beyond the ideological confines of the state was also about the recomposition of society and sociality. "International society" began to be seen in wartime Japan as consisting of transborder free exchanges and associations among individuals and communities on the nonstate level. The Nonwar

48. Morse, Rimer, Brown, and Museum of Fine Arts, *Art of the Japanese Postcard*, pp. 77–103.

49. See Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō*, pp. 275–85.

Movement extended the expansiveness inherent in the horizon of *hei* to an imagined larger transnational community during the war. The image of a transnational *heimin* that existed separately from the state and transcended the nation was graphically portrayed and circulated at the height of the war in both images and literature of the Nonwar Movement. These images of a nonstate transnational community graphically contributed to the ideological formation of *heimin*. In turn, the production of the understanding of a Japanese-Russian transnational community (*heimin-narod*) further denaturalized the nature of international relations as Western modernity.

In order to see the rootedness of the transnational ideas put forth in the Nonwar Movement in Japanese intellectual history, it is worthwhile to examine briefly the production of a new language of the “international” in the early Meiji. In the heady years of the early Meiji, tremendous effort had been put into translating new terms and meanings from the outside world. This included translations of particular concepts from the West. The term “international relations,” with its associated meanings, was one such case. In the initial decades of its introduction to Japan, “international relations” was still an unsettled and ambiguous term. Its translation would help to determine how Japan was to participate in world affairs. The invention of new terms in the early Meiji referring to “international relations” suggests that there was an openness to the idea of the international arena as one of direct nonstate interactions among people. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), one of the most cited Meiji translators of Western terms, introduced “international relations” to Japan in the early Meiji as *gaikoku kōsai* in his work *Outline of a Theory of Civilization*.⁵⁰ *Gaikoku kōsai* was ambiguous because it failed to distinguish between public and private in the conduct of international relations. Fukuzawa derived *gaikoku kōsai* from his translated phrase for “society,” *jinmin no kōsai*. Both terms that Fukuzawa translated from the West were completely new to the Japanese language. *Jinmin no kōsai* (society) literally meant “people’s interpersonal interactions,” referring to private personal

50. Fukuzawa’s autobiography is available in English, *Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*. For an interpretive study of *Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, see Maruyama, *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku wo yomu*. For the most recent work on Fukuzawa, see Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment*.

activities absent the connotation of public that “society” would later garner.

This idea of interpersonal relations as society became the basis for participation in international relations as international interpersonal relations. Society as interpersonal interactions merged indistinguishably with the nation-state in the widely circulating language of *kokkashakai* (society as the nation-state). In turn, it was this entity of interpersonal interactions-as-nation-state (*kokkashakai*), in which private and public were indistinguishable, that formed the primary unit of international relations. Here, nation-state (*kokka*) and society as interpersonal relations (*shakai* or *jinmin no kōsai*) lost all distinction and became mutually interchangeable terms. In this period of the early Meiji, then, international relations already had embedded in its language a notion of interactions that was not only state-to-state but also person-to-person. The Osaka merchant Katō Sukeichi’s treatise on commerce as a form of mutual aid, introduced in Chapter 1, offers a perspective of merchant commoners that fits Fukuzawa’s conceptualization of “international society” as a space of interpersonal interactions. It suggests a broadly shared understanding of the “international” from the first years of the Meiji period.

By the first decade of the 1900s, the term had settled into two competing definitions. Once state-to-state relations had clearly become the definition of “international relations,” the nature of nonstate relations became clarified as distinct from that sphere centered on the state. Kōtoku’s writings in the years before the war show the development of an understanding of international society as a “society” of “people” as *heimin* independent of the state’s territory. This ideal of the international was based on Kōtoku’s questioning of Malthusianism and the law of competition in social Darwinism in favor of a more ethical human transnational community predicated on the classical Chinese understanding of the moral, empathetic nature of human beings. In his work *Nijusseiki no kaibutsu teikokushugi* (Imperialism: The monster of the twentieth century), published in 1901, Kōtoku made a distinction in the concept of international relations discussed in the early Meiji between the free associations of individuals as people on the nonstate level and the relations between nation-states as the basis for international relations. Just before the start of the Russo-Japanese War, Kōtoku developed in *Nijusseiki no kaibutsu* some of the central ideas of the Nonwar Movement that would be voiced

with increasing frequency, volume, and intensity in the Russo-Japanese War. He wrote the work in response to Japan's growing imperialist tendencies at the turn of the century. Already apparent in *Nijusseiki no kaibutsu's* critique of Western international relations were aspects of the rough contours of an imagination of "the people" independent of the state.

Kōtoku emphasized the importance of individual interpersonal relations, the original meaning of *jinmin no kōsai*, within a new context of critique of "international relations." He criticized such ideas as *kokumin*, *kokkashakai*, and *kokusai kankei* (international relations as the relations among nation-states and, ultimately, the people who composed the nation, or *kokumin*) as problematically forming the conceptual basis for imperialism. Kōtoku confronted the lack of distinction between people's interpersonal interactions and the relations between nation-states as a major obstacle to liberty in the twentieth century. He made a sharp conceptual distinction between the state as the agency of international relations and the popular agency of nonstate international relations. Finally, he began to redraw international relations as interactions among *shi*, the personal or individual, skipping the *kō*, the public or the state, as an intermediary role.

Kōtoku sought further to develop a revolutionary consciousness based on the ever-widening circle of empathy among modern human beings that would enable nonstate cooperation in the international arena.⁵¹ For Kōtoku, empathy as a naturally occurring sentiment in all human beings was the most natural foundation for the conduct of international relations. In his writings, Kōtoku used the Japanese phrase for compassion or empathy, *sokuin dōjō*. Borrowing from the intellectual tradition of the Confucian philosopher Mencius (372–289 BCE), *sokuin dōjō* infers that compassion "happens to you" by and from nature. Kōtoku saw compassion as a natural basis for human identity and humanity that would further the universal development of liberty and social progress. Patriotism and nationalism artificially bound and territorialized ethics that ought to arise naturally and spontaneously

51. For more contemporary discussions of this revolutionary consciousness fostering increased cooperation among people of different geographic and ethnic origins, see, for example, Wright, *Moral Animal*.

without regard for the other's nationality, he argued.⁵² On this basis, Kōtoku and the newspaper *Heimin shimbun* that he edited launched a series of epistemological critiques of imperialism and militarism. His work criticized the state of international affairs in which imperialism was the dominant force in ordering states' relations to one another. He viewed nationalism and imperialism as going against progress and enlightenment, which were supposed to embody humanism, justice, and righteousness. Sentiments like patriotism promoted in individuals by war were not natural to historical progress, but were what he called "myths," products of ideology and human fabrication and therefore alterable.⁵³

Members of the Nonwar Movement hoped not to revolt against the West but to reimagine the future, to find an alternative universal concept of progress that did not simply incorporate the West but fed on some of its most cherished ideals and intellectual traditions. *Heimin shimbun* relied often on the terms "freedom," "order," "justice," "fraternity," and "equality," which originated in the West. In its first issue, the newspaper declared the formation of the new movement of "heiminism," which was to be founded on three universal foundations of life: freedom, equality, and compassion for all humanity.⁵⁴ This tripartite motto echoed the motto of the French Revolution and reflected Kōtoku's desire to combine humanist ideals from the West with the humanism of Eastern classical thought, such as that of Mencius and Lao Tzu. However, the newspaper made a fundamental departure from the original motto by omitting the judicial meaning of "freedom and equality." The motto's original reference identified "freedom and equality" with individuals' and communities' relationship to the state via rights, contracts, statutes, and sovereignty. *Heimin shimbun's* use of "freedom and equality" sought instead to develop a revolution in consciousness to further the evolution of human beings as moral animals without reference to legislation and state power to order human society. As Kōtoku wrote, "Reason makes us human. Law makes us go mad." "Liberty" was described in the newspaper

52. Kōtoku, *Teikokushugi*, p. 20.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17. See also "Exploitation in Korea," p. 7; "Japanese Victory at Li-oyang," p. 1; "Barbarity of Soldiers," p. 1; "War Has Broken Out at Last," p. 1.

54. Heiminsha dōnin, "Sengen."

as wartime liberation from the state and capitalism rather than liberation by the state and of economic activity. Liberty and equality were redefined as transcending the territory of the nation-state, so that liberation included liberty from the borders of the nation-state, and equality encompassed all humanity beyond national borders. Departing from the earlier bourgeois heiminism of Tokutomi Sohō, this was liberation from the imagined utopia of Western modernity. “Equality” was a philosophical attitude in which all individuals were regarded as equal but different contributors in the making of community, rather than a right protected by the rule of law.

In the new heiminism of the period, *hakuai*, the third element in the tripartite motto, was the Japanese-language counterpart of the French revolutionary term “fraternity,” but the Japanese term is more accurately retranslated into English as “compassion” or “empathy.” This also represented an idea of humanity that was entirely separate from the legalistic notion of human rights. In this translational disjuncture lay not the kind of unintended misrelaying of information that occurs in the children’s game of “telephone,” but, rather, motive and method. The drafters of the new heiminism intentionally used *hakuai*, a term loaded with Confucian associations, as the translation of the French revolutionary term “fraternity.” As a premodern term, *hakuai* was ideal because it was a word that existed before the nation-state. For the Nonwar Movement, the classical term meant universal empathy that naturally arises in all human beings for all other human beings regardless of race, gender, status, age, nation, or family relationality. *Heimin shimbun* consistently contrasted this term for the impulse of universal empathy with the term *aikoku*, love for the nation, or patriotism, throughout the war. This translation of “fraternity” into a concept from classical Eastern philosophy was a process that made Western concepts part of the Eastern classical intellectual tradition. It was representative of translation practice among figures in this discourse. Figures like Konishi, and now Kōtoku and the Heiminsha, selectively adapted foreign terms to preexisting Japanese terms that were taken from classical Japanese or Chinese moral and religious teachings. This conscious reversal of the practice of translating the West rendered the Eastern particular as the universal. The translator relied on the universalistic allure of the Western term to lend modern global meaning to the classical Japanese term, which itself originated in the Chinese,

even as the act of translation transformed the meaning of the Western idea in the process. This was a translation practice that precluded self-colonization and attempted to universalize what would have been considered “Eastern tradition.”

Heimin shimbun sought to bring about an intersubjective view of international relations, submitting events to a parallax vision from the perspective of the *heimin*. Kōtoku pursued the construction of this view by altering the position and observational viewpoint of the events and themes central to the war effort. *Heimin shimbun* collapsed the spatial construct that was supposed to divide the *kokumin* (the nation’s people) from the subject peoples of colonized territories. The newspaper consistently argued that empire and territorial acquisition did not benefit the people, *heimin*, whether they were Russian or Japanese, Korean or Chinese. In the Russo-Japanese War, the territory of Manchuria was at stake, a prized territorial gain for Japan. However, Kōtoku argued, whether the Manchurian people belonged to the Japanese Empire or the Russian Empire made very little difference to the well-being of people living in either Japan or Manchuria.⁵⁵ He observed that the condition of being occupied by imperialist powers differed little whether one was in the Philippines, occupied by the United States, or in a Korea occupied by Japan. This dismantling of the territorial, nation-state-centered view of world events was a significant tool in the Nonwar Movement’s repertoire of strategies to effect a worldview independent of Western modernity during the war.

Consistent with the idea of a deterritorialized people, Russians were conceived by the Nonwar Movement not as the other, the enemy, but as part of a natural extension of *heimin* bonded by empathy beyond the linguistic and cultural community of Japanese. Russians symbolically represented this humanism in the midst of the war with Russia.

Tolstoy was widely invoked as a wartime spokesperson of peace and world order alternative to the Western order in which the warring Japanese state was participating. Anarchist Ishikawa Sanshirō recalled that many young Japanese who were “full of religious emotion” in this period reacted powerfully to Tolstoy’s criticism of the war on religious and

55. Kōtoku, “Nichiei dōmei to rōdōsha, pp. 368–69.

ethical grounds.⁵⁶ His criticism was printed in his essay *Bethink Yourselves!*, which was translated into Japanese and published during the war in the Nonwar newspaper *Heimin shimbun*. Tolstoy rejected the authority of church and state over the individual's power to know virtue and to act virtuously, and the moral constructs of duty to father, nation, and monarch, ideas promoted heavily during the war. *Bethink Yourselves!* claimed that there was no distinction between Japanese and Russian soldiers in the sense that both suffered alike under the violence inflicted by the state.⁵⁷

Heimin shimbun radically widened the popularity of Tolstoy in Japan by publishing his antiwar thought. The newspaper's publication of *Bethink Yourselves!* was so widely sought out that the newspaper had to reprint the issue after selling out its print run of eight thousand copies.⁵⁸ These numbers fail to represent the true circulation because the newspaper was read by a much wider audience who received the paper as it was passed from hand to hand. The newspaper *Tokyo Asahi* republished the essay during the war, further contributing to its widespread circulation. Some people who did not have the resources to possess a copy of the paper resorted to copying the essay by hand. Ishikawa Takuboku, one of the most popular and influential poets of the time, was one of many taken with the essay. He copied it in its entirety by hand during the war.⁵⁹ Writer Akita Ujaku (1883–1962) recalled that at this time, “there was hardly a young man who had not to some extent read Tolstoy and had not been influenced by his thought.”⁶⁰

The war expanded Tolstoy's role as a religious figure and made him a symbol of antihierarchical cooperatist anarchist internationalism and moral resistance to the war and Japanese imperialist expansion. Father Shiraishi Rinosuke wrote to Tolstoy to ask him for his advice on how people should proceed in resisting the given order: “Then how shall we begin? If we do not enter the ranks of soldiers, the government will seize

56. Ishikawa, “Heiminsha jidai no shakai bungei,” p. 23.

57. Tolstoy, *Bethink Yourselves!*

58. Tolstoy, “Torusutoi ō no Nichiro sensōron”; “Influence of Tolstoy in Japan,” p. 10.

59. Ishikawa Takuboku's original handwritten copy of Tolstoy's essay printed in *Heimin shimbun* is preserved at the Kindai bungaku kan.

60. Quoted in Nobori and Akamatsu, *The Russian Impact on Japan*, p. 38.

and imprison us till we consent to take the service. Woe unto the Government! Woe unto the State! But the poor people are oppressed to obey it. Do you think they ought to refuse to obey it, although it surely puts them to death?"⁶¹

Very early in the war, *Heimin shimbun* promoted the idea among its readers that the enemy was not the Russian people, whom the newspaper conceived as the instruments of exploitative elites and the government, but those elements that exploited the people. One week after the start of the war, *Heimin shimbun* printed the leaflet that the then largely unknown Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) had issued to workers, farmers, and soldiers across Russia, "To the Russian Proletariat." Lenin's leaflet promoted the image of solidarity between Russian and Japanese people and their revolutionary leaders. Lenin called on the working people to prepare for revolution and the downfall of the government that had relied on the absence of rights for the people and on persecution and violence against them for its power. Echoing the ideals of international working-class solidarity of the First International of 1864–76, Lenin further called on the international brotherhood of all countries to unite against international capital.⁶²

Heimin shimbun responded by publishing the cartoon in Figure 3.7 of Russian and Japanese workers shaking hands while military generals representative of the two governments stood on the two workers' heads with swords drawn. The cartoon graphically symbolized the presence of two simultaneous levels of relations with Russia, one defined by the rules of "international relations" and a second, transnational level of relations independent of the state. Whereas the battling generals in the cartoon constituted international society as defined by Western modernity that relied on the bodily sacrifices of the people for its realization, the friendly soldiers in the cartoon represented the emerging vision in wartime Japan of an independent transnational sphere beyond the nation-state.

61. Shiraishi Rinosuke to L. N. Tolstoy, February 4, 1910, ORGMT, f. 1, inv. 2315, ll. 6–7.

62. The article on Russian-Japanese solidarity and revolution was republished in shortened form in *Heimin shimbun* on May 15, 1904, and one month later in full in Katayama Sen's socialist newspaper *Shakai shugi* (Socialism).

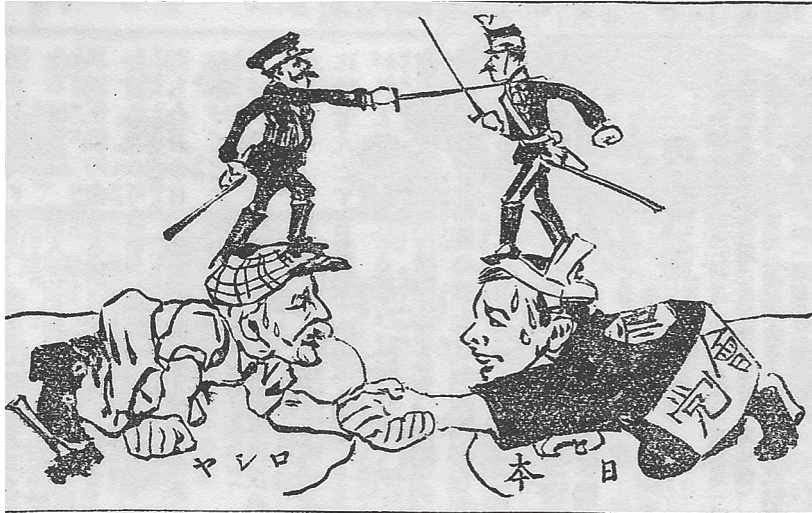


Fig. 3.7 Transnational *heimin*. The Japanese worker's apron has a partial inscription "Socialist Party," which did not in fact exist in Japan at the time. The inscription reiterates that the clear break from party politics by burgeoning cooperatist anarchists like Kōtoku would not occur until immediately after the war. Cartoon from *Heimin shimbun*, January 17, 1905.

For the most part, the radical Russian movement used a rhetoric that emphasized class conflict and diverged ideologically from the anarchism embedded in the Nonwar Movement in a number of other ways. Whereas anarchist-leaning members of the Nonwar Movement looked to transcend the nation-state, Lenin called for a war with the capitalist nation-state in order to erect a new state under the rule of the proletariat. This divergence contradicts existing assumptions that anti-war arguments in Japan were mere echoes of the Russian revolutionary movement and Western socialism. The socialist slogan "international solidarity" was so general that it could incorporate various ideas of "international," but the Nonwar Movement brought to the table an anarchistic vision that, as would soon become evident, clashed with some of the leading notions of international solidarity, particularly Marxist-Leninist ones. Nonetheless, the Russian revolutionary movement and the Nonwar Movement overlapped during the war and participants cooperated in their wartime efforts.

The revolution that was brewing in Russia during the war positioned the Russian people against the ruling classes within the rise of what appeared to be a larger global struggle for social justice. Japanese newspapers that covered the revolution helped to undermine the idea that Russia was a single monolithic entity. On the pages of *Heimin shimbun*, as well as nationally circulating mainstream newspapers like *Asahi shimbun*, one could often find discussions of familiar figures from the Russian revolutionary movement popularized during the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, like Perovskaya, Zasulich, Kropotkin, and Stepniak-Kravchinskii. Reports in other newspapers about the revolutionary movement in Russia covered it not as a remote event removed from the more immediate battles of war, but as a corresponding movement whose participants were admired as cohorts. An article in *Mainichi shimbun* about the so-called grandmother of the Russian Revolution, Ekaterina Breshkovskaia (1844–1934), for example, was a sympathetic personalized account of an elderly female Russian revolutionary figure.⁶³

The war served to further institutionalize the Japanese love for Futabatei's and others' translations of Russian literature. Ishikawa Sanshirō recalls that during the war, the public intensely devoured without critical assessment the literary works of Tolstoy, Gorky, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, and Leonid Andreev (1871–1919).⁶⁴ During the war, Futabatei capitalized on his notoriety as Japan's foremost translator of Russian literature by translating Russian stories that showed the senselessness and cruelty of the war as transnational expressions of the Nonwar Movement.⁶⁵ Similarly, beginning with the inclusion of Tolstoy's moralistic folk tales of peasant and village life in its first issue, *Heimin shimbun* disseminated images popularizing the idea of a common moral bond with the Russian *heimin* throughout the war.⁶⁶ The aestheticization of a transnational *heimin* beyond the territory of the nation-state would continue to be a widespread intellectual practice across the canvas of cultural production long after the war, enlisting the contributions of a range of cultural figures in Japan.

63. Arishima, "Rokoku kakumeito no rōjo."

64. Ishikawa, "Heiminsha jidai no shakai bungei," p. 22.

65. Nakai, "Futabatei Shimei," p. 36.

66. *Heimin shimbun*, no. 1 (November 15, 1903).

The Nonwar Movement as Network Community

Social and aesthetic networks that constituted a social space independent of the state developed in response to the war. The more recognized figures of the Nonwar Movement were as much products as producers of a broader sentiment of nonwar. Spaces of interaction began to form during the war that transcended vertical belonging to the nation-state. The problematization of the utopian imagination of space that Western modernity engendered during the war had coincided with the emergence of a new space of interaction formed by networks. The formation of networks was inseparable from the movement's articulation of the people as *heimin*. *Heimin*, the people irrespective of the state, became the core element in the imagination and formation of the notion of a society that was not territorially defined. Unanchored from the state's territory, modernity was tied instead to the notion of *heimin* irrespective of the nation-state and the Nonwar networks formed during this period.

To understand the local emergence and functioning of the Nonwar Movement, it is necessary to examine the formation and expansion of the networks that constituted it. Nonwar networks did not materialize suddenly in response to the war but were the result of intensification of existing network activity in response to the war. This intensification of network activity in extraordinary times is consistent with patterns noted by scholars in network formation today, in which latent networks activate and intensify in response to times of need, such as wars or economic depression, and give rise in this way to extraparliamentary political movements.⁶⁷

If the network defines the movement, then assessment of whether a particular person or group was involved in the Nonwar Movement can be greatly aided by knowledge of whether that person or group was connected to the network. The Nonwar networks that can be observed in this period reveal that there was no single social base for the Nonwar Movement and developing cooperatist anarchism. The usual categories social scientists employ to classify and identify social groups, such as class and geographic origins, are not as useful here because participants

67. For a contemporary example of this phenomenon, see Saunders, "Comparing Environmental Movement Networks."

in the movement were from the far reaches of northern and southern Japan and from rural and urban areas and included educated farmers, merchants, doctors, schoolteachers, urban workers, university students, and the self-educated, both women and men. The venues for their meetings were often clubs and art and poetry discussion groups.

Local networks were joined to the main hubs of the movement, which centered on the *Heimin shimbun* and its successors and later on anarchist publications like *Kindai shisō* (Modern thought). *Heimin shimbun* sold 200,000 copies in its first year as the organ of the Nonwar Movement. However, the newspaper and the other Heiminsha publications did not merely disseminate Nonwar ideologies to their readers. They also acted as hubs of information on the groups in various locations of Japan. The war inspired the establishment of branches of *Heimin shimbun* throughout the country. Those who wished to participate in the movement also held public meetings from time to time in various parts of the country or often contributed articles or drawings to the publications and in this way were easily drawn into the hubs of the networks. The public meetings and regular trips around the country by supporters of the cause to sell socialist books and subscriptions to *Heimin shimbun* were effective in drawing substantial numbers of new supporters. *Heimin shimbun* was behind the holding of 120 socialist meetings in 1904, including 13 women's socialist association meetings, and the establishment of socialist organizations in over twenty cities and towns across Japan.⁶⁸

Besides its regular issues, *Heimin shimbun* also published many books and pamphlets. For example, its publication of Kinoshita Naoe's antiwar novel *Fire Pillar* in May 1904 was sold in over ten editions in a few months. In 1904, *Heimin shimbun* distributed 39,000 leaflets and published eight books, with 15,700 copies sold.⁶⁹ *Heimin shimbun* affiliates traveled frequently throughout the countryside during the war, giving lectures and disseminating Heiminsha literature, a practice that would continue long after the war ended.⁷⁰ In the act of distribution to tens of thousands of

68. Katayama Sen, *Labor Movement in Japan*, chap. 4.

69. *Ibid.*

70. For example, both Tokutomi Roka and Arishima traveled to Akita and other rural areas of Japan to give lectures and draw support for causes like famine in Russia.

readers, the network broadened its reach, and the movement as an intellectual challenge to the ideology of the war intensified.

The tendency of reading and discussion circles to label themselves with the term *heimin* offers historians a distinct clue to their ideological adherence to the Nonwar Movement. Associations with names like Heimin Club during this period can be meaningfully traced in order to identify wider participation in the Nonwar Movement beyond the immediate circle of the well-known founders of *Heimin shimbun*. A number of circles are known in urban and suburban centers like Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, and Chiba, where branches and circles supportive of the Heiminsha, such as the Osaka Heimin newsgroup, were founded. There is also evidence of various activities in rural locations not only in the south of Japan but also extending to Akita in the far north. In rural Okayama, for example, the Heimin Reading Group formed during the war in order to read Heiminsha publications. The original seventeen members of the group included a variety of occupations representative of educated rural society, such as the owner of a book-lending business, teachers, students, and doctors.⁷¹ Such groups suggest that local Nonwar networks formed around and were joined by *heimin* poetry-reading and discussion circles throughout Japan.

The war served to link nineteenth-century Russian-Japanese transnational networks that consisted largely of urban intellectuals to an existing web of local aesthetic networks that dated back to the Tokugawa period and had become highly politicized in the decades leading up to the Meiji Ishin. Sociologist Eiko Ikegami has examined these Tokugawa aesthetic networks that connected rural poetry-reading circles and cut across social status. In the mid-nineteenth century, the networks became the basis for rural and cross-status participation in the Meiji Ishin that led to support for the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.⁷²

The Meiji Ishin of the mid-nineteenth century and the Freedom and People's Rights Movement of the 1880s were the first two moments of intellectual radicalization in modern Japan. The Russo-Japanese War can be seen as the third such moment, and the first in the twentieth

71. Mizuno, *Okayama Meiji shakaishugi undō*, p. 104; reported in *Heimin shimbun*, no. 47 (October 2, 1904).

72. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, pp. 204–20.

century. Heiminism during the war was a significant turning point in the further evolution of politicized reading and aesthetic networks after the Ishin. Local poetry groups actively produced Nonwar poetry in a number of places in Japan during the war and read and discussed Nonwar ideas in so-called *heimin* reading circles. The war prompted the development of the networks into arguably their most corporeal form up to that point. It established the foundations for the dynamic society and its spatial belonging that would define cooperatist anarchism after the war. The wartime formation of active networks gave shape to the Nonwar Movement as a tangible movement beyond merely a shared sentiment of discontent with the war.

Self-styled *heimin* circles during the war evolved out of an extraordinarily active local literary arts movement that had already developed a dense span of networks across prefectures. Awareness of these networks is indebted to the efforts of local amateur historians in Japan, the intellectual descendants of these networks, who have recorded the history of their localities. Because each node of the networks arose locally and spontaneously, it is not possible to speak of the networks in this period without isolating various elements of them as examples. Therefore, selected examples of network formation in rural areas of Japan in critical response to the war are examined here. In the northern prefecture of Akita, far from the national capital, resident Nozoe Kenji documents what he calls poetry networks' expansive "iron grill" (*aminome*) that crisscrossed his prefecture in all directions in the Meiji and Taishō periods. "No single space was left open" in the prefecture, Nozoe writes, in reference to the comprehensiveness of these poetry-reading groups in which locals met to read and listen to aesthetic productions of haiku, tanka, and other types of poetry. Some groups published and circulated locally produced poetry.⁷³ These existing networks in Akita were particularly active during the Freedom and People's Rights Movement of the 1870s.

The nonstate, nonterritorial vision of the Nonwar Movement appealed to literary circles that had promoted the democratic and antielitist idealism of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. *Heimin* circles saw

73. Nozoe, "Akitaken sākuru undō shi nōto."

themselves as heirs of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement and used some key symbols and language of the movement in their associations. The way in which the Bazarov Circle spontaneously formed in a northern village can give a further idea of the nature of the expansion of Nonwar networks. The Bazarov Circle was a reading circle named after the main character in Futabatei's wildly popular translation of Ivan Turgenev's Russian Populist novel *Fathers and Sons*. A symbol of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement in the late nineteenth century, *Fathers and Sons* largely represented the radical departure of the younger generation (the sons) in pursuit of a new revolutionary ideology from an idealistic older generation (the fathers). The use of the name Bazarov indicated the circle's adoption of this Russian revolutionary idealization of a generational departure and, simultaneously, the circle's recovery of the supposedly lost idealism of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. The circle was founded in the years after the Russo-Japanese War by locals in the village of Tsugaru, located at the remote northern tip of the island of Honshu in Aomori, another region far from the urban center of Japan. The idea of "center" fails to apply here because the periphery often became central in this discourse, and nonelites became the major actors. Regular participants in the circle crossed occupations and included shopkeepers and local professionals. Joining ordinary people in extraordinary times, the circle included a producer and seller of soy sauce and miso, a graduate of Waseda University who became a manager of an apple orchard and a farmer-poet, an elementary-school teacher, a physician, a sake brewer, and other women and men.⁷⁴

The circle originated in the reading habits of Sasamori Shūji. An elementary-school graduate, Sasamori was employed by a lamppost manufacturer as a night watchman assigned to watch over the streetlights. He used his job as an opportunity to read all night under the light of the lampposts. Taking advantage of the cover of the night, his job allowed him to read radical literature and expand his knowledge. Sasamori gathered many books on socialism. Literate villagers gradually began to gather around Sasamori to follow his readings of socialist writing, and they

74. Mayama, *Aomori ken dokusho undō Meiji-Taishō shi*, pp. 113–17.

eventually formed a regular reading circle. Members of the circle identified their group with Futabatei's translation from Russian Populism and came up with the name "Bazarov Circle."⁷⁵ The circle represents a response in the most remote rural areas of Japan to developments in Tokyo during the war, but it also indicates that Tokyo intellectuals were simultaneously responding to preexisting sentiments that were widely shared across the literate nonelite population.

The activities of Sasamori Shūichi also reveal the fusing of the culture of aesthetic networks with the Nonwar Movement. Shūichi, like his brother, the Sasamori Shūji of the Bazarov Circle, was heavily involved in the Nonwar Movement during the war and contributed to what became a Nonwar reading movement. During the war, he sold hundreds of books for the Heiminsha from a cart in Shimonoseki in a matter of eleven days. The newspaper *Chokugen*, *Heimin shimbun's* successor, reported in 1905 that as a direct result of his sales, sixty-five people became Heiminsha associates, and thirteen discussion circles were formed.⁷⁶ Sasamori continued the tradition of aesthetic networks by founding his own reading group, the Haiku Hakama poetry-reading circle, in the village of Hiro-saki, Aomori, after the war. Much like the circle formed by his brother, Shūichi's groups tended to rely on the works and translations of Futabatei as texts.

In the Akita village of Yurigun, local farmers formed a *Heimin shimbun* reading group that was an extension of their preexisting poetry-reading circle.⁷⁷ Networks expanded further in rural localities through the establishment of local libraries from reading circles' collections of nonwar, socialist, and translated Russian literature at this time. Local people were invited to come and read the works they favored. A village in Aomori advertised its open collection of "*heimin* literature" in *Chokugen* during the war, for example, which anyone was welcome to read. Some of these local libraries spontaneously organized in the war have been maintained as local lending libraries until today. Poets like Yosano and the local village poet Ōtsuka Kōzan rode the wave of Nonwar sentiment by putting

75. Ibid., pp. 159–68.

76. Ibid., pp. 165–66.

77. Nozoe, "Akitaken sākuru undō shi nōto," p. 145.

those emotions into poetic form.⁷⁸ *Heimin shimbun* tapped into these local aesthetic networks by publishing a section of poems and poetic expression in every issue.

Wartime networks expressed the mounting frustration with social and economic inequalities and political and moral ideologies of the state. The war became a focal point for dissatisfaction with state policies that had been accumulating long before 1904 in both rural and urban areas. The Chokkōdan (Direct Action Group) in Tokyo focused on everyday life as the way to solve the so-called *shakai mondai* (social problems) in the urban setting.⁷⁹ The socialist group, originally formed in 1903 as a small group, expanded quickly with the war. Although the group intersected with the Nonwar Movement and included illustrious figures in the movement like Kōtoku, Ishikawa Sanshirō, and Sakai Toshihiko, its expansive membership consisted of a variety of people who were not immediately identifiable as leading figures in the Nonwar Movement. Chokkōdan's journal was *Chokugen*, founded in 1904 and edited by Shiroyanagi Shūko (1884–1950) from the second floor of the Katō Hospital, later renamed Heimin Hospital, in Tokyo. *Chokugen* was a wartime companion to *Heimin shimbun* in expressing socialist and Nonwar ideas, and when censors shut down *Heimin shimbun* in January 1905, the monthly *Chokugen* turned into a weekly, effectively replacing *Heimin shimbun*. The two papers shared a pool of contributors, indicating the frequent networking between the two hubs.

Chokkōdan provided the impetus for a number of initiatives to solve the social problem through interventions in everyday life. One of the earliest associations that emerged directly out of the group was a *shōhi kumiai*, an urban consumers' association, founded in June 1904 by the anarchist Ishikawa. Following his initiative, the physician Katō Tokijirō (1858–1930) established the Katō Hospital in Tokyo in 1904. In rural areas, the reading circles and aesthetic networks largely met in individuals' homes, but in more urban areas, circles like *chokkōdan* often met at night in coffee shops, inns, *taishū shokudō* (people's cafeterias), and even

78. The popular journal *Shin shōsetsu* published Ōtsuka Kōzan's nonwar poem "Ima wa no utsushi e" in July 1904.

79. On the Chokkōdan and Katō Tokijirō's biography, I have relied on Narita, *Katō Tokijirō*.

the hospital. These venues were used during the daytime for alternative functions, giving new meaning to nighttime culture in this period.

Katō identified his hospital as a means to save “the people” from harsh economic conditions in wartime. He founded it to assist the urban poor in order to solve perceived social problems through direct action in everyday life. Keeping true to the wartime notion of *heimin*, he defined “the poor” as essentially everyone in Japan, save for a small elite core of top government cliques and zaibatsu businessmen. The hospital was originally founded as a philanthropic effort, but Katō eventually turned it into a cooperatively run and owned hospital appropriately renamed Heimin Hospital, indicating its intellectual roots in the Nonwar Movement. The hospital was not just a place to heal the sick but became a meeting place for socialists and anarchists, and its second floor became the editorial offices of *Chokugen*, the organ for the Chokkōdan. Kōtoku, Ishikawa, and other members of the Heiminsha, as well as numerous others, met at the hospital to discuss their activities.⁸⁰

Katō’s hospital arose as part of Chokkōdan’s promotion of urban associations of mutual assistance as a concrete means to solve people’s problems. Everyday life became a focal point for Katō’s work, which followed the group’s idea of “everyday life” (*kurashi* or *seikatsu*) as the object of intervention by nongovernmental direct action on the local level. The work of Katō and others in Chokkōdan exemplifies the wartime initiation of urban formations of networks, which were beginning to take shape as cooperative associations. The hospital was one rhizome that was conceptually rooted in and socially linked to the Nonwar Movement. Reports on developments in the hospital and the cooperative associations appeared from time to time in *Heimin shimbun* and associated Nonwar newspapers. Katō gave a public lecture in a Nonwar lecture series in Tokyo in 1904, “How to Save the Poor in Wartime.” The series placed him side by side with Ishikawa, who spoke on the topic “Soldiers’ Families,” as well as other lectures with such themes as “War Laborers,” “The Capitalist Dogs and the War Craze,” and “Civilization and Race.”⁸¹ In 1911, Katō’s letters to Emma Goldman’s (1869–1940) anarchist journal *Mother Earth* were printed in the journal. His letters, one of which was

80. Ibid., pp. 56–57.

81. Ibid., p. 63.

co-authored with the anarchist Sakai Toshihiko, were a response to Kōtoku's execution in the Daigyaku Incident and clearly indicate the doctor's anarchist tendencies.⁸²

Kōtoku's participation in Chokkōdan suggests that historians' focus on his supposed conversion to Western anarchist "direct-action" theory after his trip to the United States misrepresents his adoption of anarchism. Kōtoku's declaration of his turn to anarchism and his call for "direct action" in his famous speech calling Japanese socialists to turn to anarchism, "My Change in My Thought,"⁸³ in 1907 after his return from the United States is often used to demonstrate the influence of the Western anarchist movement on Kōtoku. However, Kōtoku's "direct action" was a reference as much to the local direct action of mutual aid promoted by the Chokkōdan as to the labor-union strikes of Euro-American anarchist direct-action theory.

In rural Tochigi and other parts of the Kanto area affected by the environmental destruction caused by the Ashio copper mine, the Nonwar Movement rode the existing wave of discontent fueled by the mines. Although the Ashio conflict was originally not an expression of antimilitarist and internationalist sentiment, it was fused with the movement, revealing the capacity of the movement to incorporate existing discontent with the state, with elites, and with capitalism. The speakers at a local socialist lecture series established for villagers in Tochigi Prefecture who had been harmed by pollution and land degradation from the mines were often key figures in the Nonwar Movement. Hundreds of people often came to the series to listen to the speakers during the war. At one socialist lecture, four hundred people came. When socialists and anarchists involved in the Nonwar Movement Kinoshita Naoe, Ishikawa Sanshirō, and Tanaka Shōzō (1841–1913) came together to speak in 1906, over six hundred people attended their local lecture in mountainous Tochigi.

The ideological and social interconnectedness of the Nonwar Movement with the ecological movement that grew out of the environmental destruction caused by the Ashio copper mines was based on a shared idea

82. Katō, "Letter to Alexander Berkman"; Sakai and Katō, "Letters from Japan."

83. A translation of the speech may be found in Crump, *Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan*, pp. 341–51.

of *heimin*. This is suggested by the Heiminsha's financial support for Ashio rioters exiled to Hokkaido by the government. Heiminsha, the company that formed on the basis of proceeds from the sale of *Heimin shimbun* and its other publications, helped finance and organize the resettlement of those involved in the Ashio copper mine riots in Hokkaido. The government had allowed the rioters clemency if they agreed to settle and farm virgin lands in Hokkaido. The settlers named their farm Heimin Nōjō (the people's farm) after the ideals of heiminism that arose during the war. During its relatively short existence, members of the farm would contribute to the circulation of anarchist materials in Hokkaido.⁸⁴

Unexpected Allies: Wartime Transnational Networks

The alternative space of the Nonwar Movement transcended the territorial bounds of Japan during the war. Intersecting Russian and Japanese ideologies of antiwar or nonwar increased transnational intellectual encounters and communication and led to an intensification of transnational networks between Russia and Japan during the war. In this way, the war helped concretize transnational networks outside the community of nation-states in the international arena.

Some of these transnational connections were activated only when they were needed for a particular project to support the Russian Revolution then brewing in Russia during the war. *Heimin shimbun* and other hubs of the network served to connect Japanese and Russians transnationally. Ties were often solidified via a third country, such as the United States. Russian revolutionaries as far away as New York and Europe contacted Kōtoku directly to ask for his help in disseminating revolutionary literature among Russian POWs in Japan and among Russian soldiers and sailors stationed in the Far East. Kōtoku and Heiminsha responded enthusiastically and became actively involved in facilitating ties between Russian POWs in Japan and Russian revolutionaries abroad and educating Russian POWs in socialist ideas.

84. For more on the Heimin Farm, see Koike, *Heiminsha nōjō no hitobito*.

In this context, the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin and Kōtoku corresponded with each other during the war.⁸⁵ The transnational collaboration was no secret to *Heimin shimbun* readers because the newspaper published news about its ongoing collaboration with Russian revolutionaries during the war, as well as a list of the hundreds of Russian publications being disseminated in Russian POW camps across Japan. Unlikely collaborators emerged in this very dynamic and complex context. The newspaper invited speakers of Russian in Japan, whether Japanese, Russian, or of other nationality, to come in and read copies of these publications kept in the Heiminsha office, further helping radicalize the Japanese Russian-speaking community in Tokyo.⁸⁶

The Japanese government, still unaware of the potency of these networks as a transnational phenomenon, actively facilitated the building of Russian-Japanese networks around transnational hubs at this time. For a rare moment, the goals of the Japanese government to win the war and those of the Nonwar Movement to undermine the war merged in a shared belief that a positive future lay with the Russian Revolution's success in weakening the Russian autocracy. Japanese and Finnish documents reveal that the Japanese government was actively involved in covert operations that funded and funneled arms to Russian revolutionaries during the war. Colonel Akashi Motojirō (1864–1919), stationed in Europe, undertook a sustained campaign to channel funds and arms to socialist revolutionaries, anarchists, and members of ethnic groups of the Russian Empire who nurtured a revolutionary and secessionist agenda. The

85. In a letter dated July 7, 1904, Kōtoku wrote to Lenin that he was cooperating with his request to disseminate socialist revolutionary literature among the Russian POWs being held in Japan. Similarly, Rose Fritz wrote to Kropotkin in 1906 about Kōtoku's role in helping in the dissemination among Russian POWs in Japan of the revolutionary pamphlets sent from Russian émigrés in the United States. Fritz was an anarchist from Kiev living in San Francisco who was actively involved in organizing support for the anarchist and Russian revolutionary movement from the United States. Rose Fritz to Kropotkin, September 3, 1906, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 2631, l. 2; Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, p. 164.

86. See "News about Russian Comrades." See also *Heimin shimbun*, no. 33 (June 26, 1904), which published Lenin's letter to Heiminsha about the hundreds of materials that Russian revolutionary émigré groups had sent, asking the Japanese publishing company to disseminate them. In no. 63 (January 22, 1905), *Heimin shimbun* published a list of the newspapers, brochures, and proclamations sent to it from Russia.

Japanese government allocated at least a million yen (worth tens of millions of U.S. dollars today) for Akashi's activities.⁸⁷ The government extended its reach as far as Russian anarchists during the war. In 1904–5, the Japanese state still viewed Russian anarchism as a remote threat located on a far-off shore. Japanese agents even approached Kropotkin during the war with funds to increase the subversive work of anarchists in Russia at this time. Although Polish independence leader and socialist Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935) and other minorities were in the pay of the Japanese to further their independence movements, Kropotkin refused the funds for the sake of the reputation of the anarchist movement.⁸⁸

It would take many months from this point for the Japanese government to react to both the rapidity of formal anarchism's expansion in Japan and the extensiveness of its transnational reach among Japanese participants. Ironically, the success of the Russian Revolution that the Japanese government had funded made it anxious that revolution was also a distinct possibility in Japan. After the war, the Japanese and Russian governments concluded diplomatic agreements to exchange unlawful revolutionaries who remained within each other's borders.

Until that moment of unprecedented cooperation between the two enemy nations, however, Russian revolutionaries were still allowed surprising liberties in Japan during and immediately after the war. Many Russians, including a large number of those who were considered the most dangerous elements exiled to Sakhalin by the Russian government, suddenly gained free passage to Japan after the war as part of a larger influx of Russians when the southern part of Sakhalin was granted to Japan as part of war reparations. In March 1906 alone, 373 Russians entered Japan, the largest number recorded from any country except China.⁸⁹ The radicals followed the path first forged by Bakunin out of Siberian exile, congregating in Nagasaki to join a network of Russian radicals there. The network intersected with a Jewish émigré community based in Nagasaki.

87. Kujala, "Attempts at Fostering Collaboration among the Russian Revolutionary Parties," p. 138.

88. Woodcock and Avakumovic, *Anarchist Prince*, p. 357.

89. "Iaponskaia zhizn'." In March 1906, 2, 503 people emigrated to Japan, of whom 1,408 were Chinese, 373 Russians, 357 Americans, 242 British, 61 Germans, 31 Koreans, and 31 French.

Those who were leading figures in the Russian revolutionary movement in the years before and after the war either escaped or were released from their Siberian imprisonment to gather in Nagasaki, including Grigorii Gershuni (1870–1908), a founder of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and Boris Orzhikh (1864–?1934), an active member of the People’s Will, as well as the Russian Populist Nikolai Sudzilovskii-Russel (1850–1930).⁹⁰ Sudzilovskii-Russel came to Japan after meeting with his old friend Lev Deutsch (1855–1941), a Russian revolutionary and founder with Georgii Plekhanov of the first Russian Marxist group, Liberation of Labor. Deutsch had similarly escaped to Nagasaki from Siberia before the war. Russian exile Bronisław Piłsudski, a former member of the revolutionary group Narodnaia Volia along with his brother, the previously mentioned Józef Piłsudski, similarly were allowed to roam Japan at will after the war, a liberty that he used to meet with and carry correspondence and messages among Russian revolutionaries in Nagasaki and Japanese cohorts across the length of Japan.

Nonwar Movement supporters assisted the Russian revolutionary movement through publication efforts, networking, and participation in the reeducation of Russian POWs, the same soldiers who were viewed as the nonterritorialized *heimin* by the Nonwar Movement. In tactical relation to its fostering of subversive revolutionary activity in Russia, the Japanese government turned a blind eye to the fostering of revolutionary thoughts among the Russian POWs. The Japanese government and Russian revolutionaries had become unlikely collaborators during the war. Only when the tsarist government appealed to Japan to put a stop to revolutionary propaganda efforts among the POWs, and Japan and Russia suddenly allied with each other in the effort to stifle transnational anarchism and revolutionary socialism after the war, did the Japanese government intervene in socialist activity among the POWs.

With some ninety thousand Russian POWs scattered in twenty-eight POW camps across Japan, the camps served as ideal hubs. This controlled space of order, hygiene, medical advances, literacy, and humanitarianism was originally created according to the utopian construct of “international relations” to showcase to the West Japan’s civilizational

90. On Sudzilovskii-Russel, see Wada, *Nikorai Rasseru*.

attainment. The Japanese government used the camps as high-profile sites of cultural diplomacy, inviting foreign media to visit and observe the advanced level of sanitation, orderliness, and civilized treatment of the enemy soldiers as an indication of humanitarianism beyond even humanitarian treatment of POWs in the West. But that space simultaneously became a hub for the networked activities of Nonwar Movement activists and their Russian revolutionary counterparts, connecting for the first time figures such as Lenin, Futabatei, Kōtoku, Bronisław Piłsudski, Nikolai Tchaikovsky, Sudzilovskii-Russel, and Ōba Kakō (1872–?1924), a journalist and Russianist who disappeared in the Soviet Union after being assigned to report there for the *Yomiuri shimbun* newspaper in 1923. These figures turned the camps into a kind of a liberal arts college, or a “barbed-wire college,” to use the phrase of Ron Robin (referring to the intellectual history of reeducation of German POWs in the United States during World War II), disseminating Russian revolutionary literature produced by the revolutionary émigré community in Nagasaki and sent to them by Russian colleagues in the United States.⁹¹ Without charge for tuition and with free room and board, Japanese socialists and anarchists, as well as Russian revolutionaries in Japan, treated the camps as ideal campuses to educate captured Russian soldiers.

In the Russian POW camp Matsuyama, the idea of *heimin-narod* underlined the educational activities in the camp. Russian POWs read pamphlets and newspapers like the Russian-language newspaper *Volia* (Liberty), which demonized not the Japanese, but the Russian aristocracy. Sudzilovskii-Russel had founded *Volia* in Nagasaki. The enterprise was used to support a community of some of Russia’s most notorious revolutionaries exiled to Sakhalin who had entered Japan in 1906 after the war, who in turn wrote for the journal as a propaganda tool for Russian soldiers stationed or imprisoned in the Far East. Hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers were radicalized by their experiences in the war and their education in the POW camps. They likely saw, for example, the May 1906 cartoon in *Volia* that depicts a Japanese soldier looking on with shock at a fearful Tsar Nicholas II as he dreams of the beheading of King Louis XVI (Figure 3.8).⁹²

91. Robin, *Barbed-Wire College*.

92. *Volia*, no. 6 (May 7, 1906): 3.



Fig. 3.8 “Eternal Rest.” Cartoon in Sudzilovskii-Russel’s Nagasaki newspaper *Volia* 6 (May 7, 1906).

The Russian POW camps became a kind of contact zone that transcended the original meaning of the word “contact,” conceptually limited as it has been to that between colonizer and colonized.⁹³ Although the state constructed the space of the camp with an aim to “civilize” and educate illiterate Russian soldiers, the intellectual activities of Nonwar participants in Japan and Russian revolutionaries in their mutual encounters with Russian POWs often governed the knowledge disseminated. Sudzilovskii-Russel, a former Russian Populist enlisted by Russian émigré revolutionary circles to organize propaganda activities among Russian POWs in Japan, was a central contact person in the transnational network at the time.⁹⁴ He was heavily responsible for publishing the two important

93. The term comes from Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone.”

94. Sudzilovskii-Russel was a colorful and widely traveled character in the transcultural history of the Pacific Rim. Outside his activities in Japan, he even made his place in American history as the first elected president of the Hawaii state congress. For a history of Sudzilovskii-Russel’s activities in the United States, see Emmons, *Alleged Sex and Threatened Violence*.

Russian newspapers in Japan during and immediately after the war, *Iaponiia i Rossiia* (Japan and Russia) and *Volia*, both of which were widely disseminated among Russian POWs, soldiers, and sailors. Like the POW camps, the papers served as hubs that financially sustained the Nagasaki contingent of Russian revolutionaries. Sudzilovskii-Russel had taken over the editorship of the Russian-language newspaper *Iaponiia i Rossiia* from the Japanese Orthodox Church in Kobe, which had founded it as a source of education and news for the POWs. The paper was filled with reports about the war and heralded Russian-Japanese cultural ties to its Russian readers. Sudzilovskii-Russel himself was well connected with the Russian émigré network in New York and Europe.

Indeed, the success of the Nagasaki site in both radicalizing Russian soldiers and serving as an organizational base for Russian revolutionary activity prompted the revolutionary Tchaikovsky to write in a personal letter to his friend Kropotkin in 1906 that Nagasaki was now one of the three international centers of Russian revolutionary activities, along with Switzerland and London.⁹⁵ The radicalization of Russian soldiers during the war is well known, but how they were radicalized is not. The discussion here suggests that their radicalization was due, at least in part, to Russian-Japanese wartime transnational relations and the corresponding rise of a cooperatist-anarchist discourse of modernity in Japan.

The transnational imagination fostered during the war led many Japanese to seek to transgress the sanctity of the boundaries of the nation-state through improved cultural relations with Russia. Documents in Russian archives show that the conceptual dissolving of territorialized identities by the Nonwar Movement inspired people in the most rural areas of Japan to initiate direct correspondence with Russian anarchists and revolutionaries like Kropotkin and Tolstoy during and after the war, transcending even the major hubs of transnational networks like *Heimin shimbun*.⁹⁶ Letters from various parts of rural Japan hidden in the vaults of Russian

95. GARF, f. 1129, g. 1906, op. 3, d. 461. Tchaikovsky was a very close friend of Kropotkin and an eminent figure in the Russian revolutionary community. He had collaborated with Mechnikov in order to help obtain Kropotkin's release from prison in Paris in the 1880s.

96. One letter to Kropotkin written in 1905 from the village of Arawa, for example, is located in GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 3, ed. khr. 1018, ll. 1–2.

state archives suggest a transnational linking of the local networks in Japan with Russian anarchism.

Kaneko Kiichi, writing in a letter to Tolstoy from the United States in 1906, introduced himself as a citizen not of any nation, but of an internationalism rooted in humanist and anarchist ideals: “My dear Mr. Leo Tolstoy: I am a Japanese by birth but spiritually I am not a subject to any country. I do not want to belong to any particular nation-state.”⁹⁷ Although his letter was sent from the United States, it was written within the imagined space of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations. Kaneko accompanied his letter to Tolstoy with a poem that he had published in the United States in which he simultaneously rejected cultural nationalism and Western cosmopolitanist belonging to the international community of nation-states for the sake of anarchist internationalist progress:⁹⁸

My country is not where beautiful Fuji stands;
It is not where you find the Geisha girl pretty;
My country is not where I was born.

My country is where humanity is uplifted
It is where men and women enjoy their rights . . .

My country is where no one man can rule, no throne, no title,
and no indolent nobles;
It is where man stands as man, simple and pure.

Let nations talk of their flags,
Let races think of themselves as “God-chosen,”
For their own and each others’ sake;
But my country can never be there.

In the geography of human progress
No one nation stands isolated;
All people are striving for one goal;
And there, too, my country I find.⁹⁹

97. Kaneko Kiichi to Tolstoy, March 9, 1906, ORGMT, f. 1, op. 1308, l. 1.

98. Kaneko cut out his poem “Worldwide Patriotism: A Japanese Man’s View of Man’s Duty” from a New York newspaper and enclosed it with his letter to Tolstoy. *Ibid.*

99. Based in Chicago’s Hyde Park, Kaneko, with his wife, Josephine Conger-Kaneko (1874–unknown), who was becoming the leading American publicist for feminist so-

Writing from within the same intellectual universe, Kinoshita Naoe in his 1904 article “The Face of War” for *Shakai shugi* asked, “Do we have anyone equal to Turgenev, Tolstoy, or Gorky? On what basis are we garnering our greatness?”¹⁰⁰ “Russia” had become an idealized counterimagination of the possibility of a transnationally shared peace and civilization external to the utopia of Western modernity.

Futabatei moved to Russia soon after the war to expand Russian-Japanese cultural relations. Like many others, with the war Futabatei turned decisively from the intellectual universe justifying its course. He expressed a commitment to reject another war with Russia through non-state, cultural communications. When he set out for St. Petersburg as a correspondent for *Asahi shimbun* in 1908, he explained his goal in going there at a going-away party organized by Uchida Roan after their shared translation of *Resurrection*: “The last war was not against the Russian people, but against the Russian government. Neither of the two peoples, and indeed no-one in the world, loves wars, hence the only way to avoid future confrontation is to make a situation where people would not fight even when the government wanted a war. To achieve this, we must communicate with each other. We must let the Russians know what we think and how we feel. Literature is most suitable for this purpose.”¹⁰¹ In the absence of the possibility of direct, face-to-face contact between peoples, Futabatei believed that translated literature was the most suitable means to communicate thoughts and feelings transnationally. This transnational communication via translation in turn was to serve as a means to resist the government when it waged war.

Futabatei spent the last year of his life in Russia. Precisely because he was not clearly associated with the Heimisha, Futabatei’s sentiments

cialism, would found the weekly newspaper *Socialist Woman*, the first socialist periodical in the United States dedicated to women’s issues. Renamed *The Progressive Woman* in 1909, the Kanekos’ magazine became the official organ of the Women’s National Committee of the Socialist Party that year. The magazine’s subscription list hit 15,000 at this time, with special issues selling over 100,000. Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*, p. 148; Cane and Alves, *The Only Efficient Instrument*, pp. 9–10. Kaneko’s involvement in the socialist women’s movement in the United States is suggestive of the transnational circulation of ideas in this discourse.

100. Quoted in Ivanova, *Delo ob oskorblenii trona*, p. 148.

101. Futabatei, *Futabatei Shimei zenshū*, 5:276–77. Translated in Aoyama, “Japanese Literary Responses,” pp. 74–75.

quoted here suggest the success of *heimin* ideology propagated in the Nonwar Movement. The expression of Nonwar ideas by a student of Russian Populism at the TSFL embodied the continuation of the Russian-Japanese transnational relations rooted in revolutionary Ishin.

The idea of *heimin* that transcended the boundaries of the territorialized nation-state would be pursued throughout the late Meiji-Taishō period. The idea of the nonterritorialized “people” and the societies they composed belied a particular interest in the people of Russia, for this idea owed much to the now half century of Russian-Japanese intellectual relations since the Meiji Ishin. Indeed, the preoccupation with Russia in the name of an alternative transnationalism continued to lead numerous intellectuals to make their way to Russia and to initiate correspondence and transnational contacts with cultural figures and intellectuals in Russia well after the war. Not only leading representatives of socialism and anarchism but also cultural figures and participants in the Japanese women’s movement, the theater movement, the children’s Free Education Movement, the Esperanto movement, and many other distinctive cultural trends during this period in Japan initiated nonstate and nonorganizational transnational relations with Russia, surging precisely during periods of war and poor Japanese diplomatic relations with Russia.

The shift to an understanding of the new modern subject as *heimin* became the foundation of the Nonwar Movement’s systematic criticism of the state of nature in “international relations” as Western modernity, defined by the terms of national sovereignty, international law, and free-market trade based on private property (“civilization”). The founding ideology of heiminism for the Nonwar Movement, declared in the opening pages of *Heimin shimbun*, gave expression to *heimin* as the newly imagined subject of the movement. The construction of *heimin* necessitated the deconstruction of the idea of the people defined by and anchored to the territorialized sovereign nation-state and “international relations.” From its founding, this momentous shift from *kokumin* to *heimin* made the Nonwar Movement an intellectual and cultural move beyond the ideological confines of what participants perceived to be the utopian construct of “international relations.” This is what *Heimin shimbun* meant when it claimed in its opening pages that its position against the war was to be part of its broader endeavor to realize heiminism.

By shifting the focus from major diplomatic events to the absence of them, from leaders and prominent institutions to nonstate intellectual and cultural production, historians can identify independent sources of knowledge and practices for progress. Moreover, the Nonwar Movement was a reflection and inspiration of the development of widespread ideas that were independent of the peacemaking processes at the uppermost levels of government. The movement constituted a historical current that lasted longer and was more deeply embedded in cultural practices and thoughts in modern Japanese intellectual life than the ephemeral efforts of nation-states at Portsmouth to achieve peace.

This leads toward a rethinking of the prevailing understanding that the Nonwar Movement failed because it was unable to stop the war. In order to better understand the cultural and intellectual life of the Nonwar Movement, it may be far more beneficial to ask why, on the contrary, the state was unable to shape culture and opinion in a time of modern total war. This failure to shape Japanese minds is especially notable in a war in which the government and the media that supported it had established a sophisticated wartime propaganda campaign. Scholars have responded to findings that Russian literature and culture were quite popular in Japan during the war by explaining that this was because Japanese intellectuals had “superficial understandings of Russia,” and the Japanese public had an “unmistakable ignorance . . . about international realities” during the war.¹⁰² This reverts again to the notion that “international relations,” with its assumption of “realpolitik,” is more real and less ideologically or morally motivated than any other idea of a global future.

Antiwar movements have been historically and culturally defined by the goal of influencing government policies on a war, and their activities have included demonstrations, protests, and publications to disseminate information and move policy makers and institutional activities. Their ability to affect policy has determined their perceived success or failure in historical assessment of them. However, not only did participants in the Nonwar Movement not conduct many of these actions, but members also largely avoided direct confrontation with the government. Nonengagement with the state was fully consistent with Nonwar participants’

102. Akaha, “Review of David Wells and Sandra Wilson.”

formation of a separate sphere of thought and action independent of the Western modern intellectual universe supported by the state. By focusing solely on why the movement failed to influence the government, historians overlook the much broader social, cultural, and intellectual wartime developments that had long-lasting ramifications for twentieth-century Japanese thought and culture. The question itself demonstrates the intellectual limitations of scholarship on cultural and intellectual movements in history.

Nonwar participants did not oppose “the West” or “America” per se, as in anti-Americanism. Rather, they opposed the particular idea of progress and temporality that defined the imagined territorial utopia of Western modernity in which many in the West located themselves. Given that world leaders like Roosevelt shared a commitment to eradicate anarchism at the time, it is ironic that probably no school of thought in modern Japan came closer to peace with America than cooperatist anarchism. There is even further dialectical irony in the fact that the movement arose at the very moment at which people throughout the world gazed with hope and curiosity at Japan’s performance in the war as a prediction of the forms that conflict, peace, and world order would take in the coming century, for Nonwar participants moved against the notions of Western modernity and liberalism that gave birth to these international hopes laid on Japan.

The thought produced in the Nonwar Movement had a major impact on the cultural and intellectual life of early twentieth-century Japan. The following chapters will examine how a slide in historical consciousness that resulted from the Russo-Japanese War initiated a radical overturning of the meaning of “culture” that was at the heart of the postwar development of cooperatist anarchism.

CHAPTER 4

The History Slide

In the year after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, two of the most popular writers of late Meiji-Taishō Japan, Tokutomi Roka and Arishima Takeo, each unaware of the other's movements, made synchronous transnational pilgrimages around the world, tracing the paths of modern evolutionary and moral human development. Their separate travels culminated at the respective homes of the Russian anarchists Tolstoy and Kropotkin.¹ Whereas Roka traced the evolution of religious life to Tolstoy's home as the culmination of modern human development, Arishima's trans-European pilgrimage experientially recapitulated the anarchist history of human civilizational progress. Arishima traced the major sites of inspiration for human evolution in Kropotkin's anarchist account of historical progress, *Mutual Aid*, from medieval relics of associationist, self-governing fortress towns to the communal villages of the Switzerland of his time.² The highlight of Arishima's pilgrimage was his visit to Kropotkin's émigré home in London. Roka and Arishima's voyages each marked significant rites of passage in their rise to popularity. It was in the period immediately after the Russo-Japanese War that Tolstoy was suddenly paired with Kropotkin on the Japanese cultural scene, to the extent that the phenomenon can best be described as Tolstoy-Kropotkinism. The sudden and enthusiastic embrace of Kropotkin as a

1. Tokutomi Roka, *Junrei kikō*, pp. 503–7.

2. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*.

theorist of cooperatist anarchist civilization and progress at this particular moment is the subject of this chapter.

A shift in historical consciousness defined the community of cooperatist anarchists in this period. This shift was expressed in an embrace of the ideas of Tolstoy and Kropotkin. “History” had been that familiar narrative of the rise and development of the nation-state toward a Western modern form of political and economic liberty, or Hegelian Reason.³ Japan was narrated in this history as behind or, in some cases, as “late.” In 1906, the present as a product of following Western modern progress and civilization in Japan suddenly came to be perceived as behind and as no longer morally justifiable. Japan’s winning of the Russo-Japanese War was reinterpreted. The meaning of the war slid from an achievement of progress and civilization to retrogression. Gliding from a Western modern construct of history as a teleological narrative of the rise of the nation-state that justified the present to a new notion of progress and civilization based on cooperatist ideas of anarchism, “history” became akin to a theory of social change and moral knowledge and action in the here and now. The present was now determined as the key moment in time and space in which members were to actively create and rectify history for a new direction of progress and civilizational development for the future.

Koselleck’s emphasis on the significance of lived time, or temporality as an expectation and anticipation of the future, for the understanding of human history is relevant to understanding this phenomenon.⁴ This chapter focuses on the moment of a major shift from one set of anticipations of the future to an entirely different set of anticipations. This newly imagined future was an outcome of a shift in the structure of meanings with which people endowed lived events. This decisive temporal shift in historicity, of understanding oneself and one’s actions within that perceived current of historical movement, was at the root of the decisive adoption of anarchism as a global movement in the immediate aftermath of the war by prominent intellectuals and popular cultural figures alike, including Arishima, Kōtoku Shūsui, Ōsugi Sakae, Ishikawa Sanshirō,

3. Duara discusses the role that national histories play in securing for the contested nation the constructed unity of a national subject evolving through time in *Rescuing History from the Nation*.

4. Koselleck, *Futures Past*.

and many other lesser-known anarchists. Although the thoughts, actions, and interactions among many people before this moment may be described as anarchistic, it was only at this moment that many consciously adopted the term “anarchism” (*anākizumu*), translated from Kropotkin’s writings, to describe their movement. That some six thousand intellectuals are listed in a recent dictionary of Japanese anarchists is attributable in part to this moment of slide in historical consciousness.⁵ The list certainly does not include countless ordinary people who left no written record or fame as anarchists. Still, however incomplete the list may be, many in it can be traced directly or indirectly to this slide of historical consciousness in 1906.

Anarchism’s beginnings in Japan have been identified as being a direct result of Kōtoku’s life-changing journey to the United States in 1905. According to the narrative, Kōtoku, heavily influenced by the anarchist communist movement there, not only converted to anarchism himself but also went on to lead others in Japan to follow him. Implicit in this understanding is the assumption that modern socialism began in the West and spread to the rest of the world. This chapter suggests instead that Kōtoku’s turn to anarchism was merely part of a much broader adoption of anarchism translated from Kropotkin in this period, whose ideology was heavily informed by the Russian-Japanese intellectual encounters in Ishin Japan discussed in Chapter 1.

Methodologically, the chapter examines the effect of the Nonwar Movement on Japanese cultural and intellectual life in subsequent years by focusing on someone who was neither in Japan during the war nor an active participant in the Nonwar Movement. Instead, Arishima quietly observed the war from the United States. As a figure who was not involved in political organization or demonstrations against the war, Arishima demonstrates the broader ideological transformation it wrought. His diaries, letters, and publications during and on the war period offer a revealing glimpse into the thoughts and emotions of one who was turning to a cooperatist anarchist vision of modernity during this time. In his intellectual shift from being a promising young

5. Nihon Anākizumu Undō Jinmei Jiten Henshū Iiankai, *Biografia leksikono de la Japana anarkista movado*. It should be noted that this volume also does not include some of the major historical actors discussed in this work, such as Konishi Masutarō.

Western cosmopolitanist in the years before the war to one of the most recognized and influential figures in the Japanese anarchist movement in the decade and a half after the war, Arishima presents a more intimate personal story illustrative of the wider slide in historical consciousness resulting from the war and the broader turn to anarchism after it.

Arishima experienced many of the intellectual and cultural phenomena discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 and therefore offers an example of the development of cooperatist anarchism in Japan. At the same time, as someone coming from a highly privileged family background in Japan, Arishima was a very unlikely individual to adopt cooperatist anarchism. His prolific production of diaries, essays, and literary writings exhibits the thought processes that led someone whose upbringing and education made him a part of the cliques opposed by cooperatist anarchists to adopt anarchism and eventually become a leading figure in the Japanese anarchist movement. Arishima's experimentation with cooperatist anarchist thought in his literature and practices helped mold how people conceived of the movement in the cultural sphere. A broad reading public would embrace him. Although this book does not explore at length the fascinating ways in which Arishima expressed cooperatist anarchism in his literature and essays, that topic deserves extensive scholarly treatment, given the reading of Arishima up to this point as a self divided between Japanese tradition and Western modernity.

In an article he wrote during the war, Arishima called on the public to "rectify history." His pilgrimage was his personal response to his call for action. Precisely because he was a very unlikely candidate for the anarchist movement, he offers a convincing example of the "history slide" that occurred at this time in Japan. His case simultaneously reveals the weakness with which the ideology of Western cosmopolitanism took hold in Japan during this period. Indeed, if Arishima, one of those best trained to be a Western cosmopolitanist, never experienced Western cosmopolitanism as a conviction, then perhaps Western cosmopolitanism never really existed in Japan.

I begin with an examination of Arishima's thought in the years before the war as it was reflected in his 1904 master's thesis, written at Haverford College. Arishima had sought to embody the Western internationalist ideal by voyaging to the United States. His thesis shows the state of

mind of educated elite Japanese at the turn of the century that furthered an imagined international spatial hierarchical order in its echoing of the temporality of Western modernity. The thesis, as a work reflective of turn-of-the-century ideas of cultural internationalism as Western cosmopolitanism, reveals the ephemeral nature of non-Western intellectual assimilation into that temporal and spatial order. In its failure, the thesis demonstrates that even the most promising intellectual trained at the preeminent institutions of American higher education, Haverford College and Harvard University, was incapable of subjective integration into the temporality of Western modernity.

Assimilating History

Arishima's writing of history is not outlined here as unique, and certainly not as a stellar example of historical thinking. Rather, this promising young Western cosmopolitanist's writing is explored as a lens through which to read the much larger intellectual universe behind the writing of history at the turn of the century. Arishima's history writing serves as a text through which the intellectual problems of his generation may be delineated. His work was situated within a much broader pursuit of turn-of-the-century social sciences. The social sciences empirically measured and demonstrated the temporality of a single world development toward participation in capitalism and Western liberal democratic government ordered by the constitutional rule of law and sovereign nationhood, giving temporal order to the chaotic reality of the turn-of-the-century world in which he lived. Arishima's history of Japan, written in response to the demands of Western social science, was an attempt to identify Japan's place within this larger universe. In this sense, his study was part of a broader practice of social scientific writing among societies in the non-West that sought to bring their nations into the all-encompassing temporal order imagined in the West. Arishima's history thesis thus serves as a rich source of intellectual history.

Shaped by the conventions of Western social science and written specifically for an American audience, Arishima's history of Japanese civilization was a conscious attempt to shape the Western historical imagination of Japan at the turn of the century and an effort to contribute to

the integration of Japan into the Western international order. To achieve this end, “to build a bridge between the United States and Japan,” in the famous words of his mentor, Nitobe Inazō,⁶ Arishima attempted to fuse Japan into the temporality of Western modernity by crafting via historical writing a nation with all the proper civilizational characteristics to merit its eventual attainment of the utopia of Western modernity. His thesis may thus be viewed as an expression of Western cosmopolitanist cultural internationalism, revealing much about the state of intellectual exchange between the United States and Japan.⁷ It embraced liberal ideas and humanism as universalizing and unifying ideals, but it was ultimately unable to separate them from the racial and cultural binaries of the Eurocentric world order. The thesis reveals much about the intense search for solutions to the dilemma of Japan in the world among educated Japanese at the turn of the century.

Such practices of history writing appear to be part of the larger, global process of temporal self-colonization in the non-West in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, in which intellectuals channeled their subjectivities to merge with a monolithic Western modern temporal framework for the sake of attaining a higher place in the hierarchy of civilizational progress. It is ironic that the attempt to decolonize “Japan” and by implication oneself by channeling Japanese history into the Western modern temporal framework appeared to lead to self-colonization. Japanese historians’ attempts to channel Japanese history to merge with Western historical processes were the other side of the same coin as the Orientalizing practices of Oriental historians in Japan.⁸

However, this temporal self-colonization was still so difficult to achieve in Japan at the turn of the last century that even Arishima, one of the most promising young Western cosmopolitanists in Japan, failed in his endeavors. Arishima had been brought up from an early age to become a member of the nation’s Western-educated elite. He attended Japan’s first

6. Nitobe’s quote remains engraved on his bust erected in his memory at Hokkaido University.

7. On cultural internationalism, see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*.

8. See Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient*.

imperial college, Sapporo Agricultural College (SAC), as an undergraduate in the 1890s.⁹ One of a select handful of the nation's young men with the means and connections to study in American higher education, Arishima traveled to the United States in 1903 for further study after his graduation from SAC. Here, he followed the path set by his mentor, the Western cosmopolitanist Nitobe, an alumnus of SAC who studied at Johns Hopkins University. After earning a graduate degree at Haverford, Arishima enrolled in graduate studies at Harvard, where he specialized in Western history to "master the West."¹⁰ Arishima's failed attempt to merge himself and Japan with the Western temporal order by way of history writing and his subsequent turn to cooperatist anarchism suggest that Western cosmopolitanism in Japan during this period was a distant and alien idea for many. In other words, at the turn of the last century, even those best groomed to adopt Western modernity were unable to embrace Western cosmopolitanism. Western cosmopolitanism was a belief in the inevitability and moral goodness of the global spread of liberal democracy, capitalism, and the Western culture that supported those institutions, whether through war, imperialism, or cultural diffusion, within a hierarchical international order of nation-states. It has been widely yet often mistakenly used to define cultural internationalism in modern Japan.

Arishima's thesis, "The Development of Japanese Civilization from the Mythical Age to the Time of Decline of Shogunal Power," was tailored from the start to convince his readers that Japan deserved recognition as a sovereign and civilized nation-state.¹¹ His desire was simultaneously to write Japan into the upper echelons of the Western civilizational order and to express the Ishin ideal of social parity as universally applicable. Yet by merging this ideal with Western formulations of "freedom" and "equality," Arishima was led to echo the inherent paradox expressed in the Western liberal tradition as formulated by representatives like John Stuart Mill. According to Mill, the notion of "universal" liberty for

9. Sapporo Agricultural College became a college of Tohoku Imperial University in 1907. In 1918, the college was elevated to university status and was renamed Hokkaido Imperial University.

10. Morton, *Divided Self*, pp. 53–54.

11. Arishima, "Development of Japanese Civilization."

man was applicable only in the domestic arena of civilized Western nation-states. In Mill's thought, the ideal of universal liberty was concentrated in the West, while in the non-West, universal liberty was beyond reach and was relegated to an undetermined future. In the international arena, Mill believed that the Western colonial presence, however tolerant and compassionate it ought to be, was still necessary to coerce the uncivilized peoples to embrace civilizational progress.¹² The ideals of "equality" and "freedom" thus were largely inseparable from the larger framework of civilizational hierarchy and the corresponding necessity of Western colonial subjugation of the non-West.

During his time in the United States, Arishima succeeded in mastering the rudiments of social science. His thesis was a well-studied concoction of many of the latest trends of social science. His history relied on a variety of models and social scientific methods to achieve equality between Japan and the West. Social Darwinism, geographic determinism, and eugenicist and other racial theories, with added touches of Christian messianism and utopianism, all were interlocking ingredients in his exposition of the development of Japanese civilization up to the Ishin. In disclosing the universal impulse toward equality as a factor of progress, the thesis accepted the hierarchical construct of world nations and peoples, according to which Japan assumed a position among Western white Christian peoples. This inherent tension between equality and hierarchy in his thesis remained unresolved in Arishima's thinking in the years before the war.

The thesis first attempted to resolve the problem of inequality between Japan and the West by reorienting the dividing line between progressing and stagnant civilizations to a North-South divide. Arishima had been interested in the study of history as a way to resolve contemporary problems since his studies at Gakushūin High School under Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942), who would become a leading historian of Oriental studies (*toyōshi*) in Japan. In this practice, Arishima echoed what Stefan Tanaka has demonstrated was Shiratori's Orientalist history writing, which constructed and objectified an imagined "China" of the past vis-à-vis a modern Japan.¹³ Arishima's attempt thus was not unique. It was

12. See Jahn, "Barbarian Thoughts"; and Tunick, "Tolerant Imperialism."

13. Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*.

situated within a larger practice of history writing by academics employed in national institutions of higher education that served contemporary politics by constructing a hierarchical temporal and spatial ordering of the historical world.

Arishima used a historicity that constructed Japan's progressive distancing from its ever-backward Orient, made up of Chinese and Koreans to the south and Ainu and Okinawans within, who were relegated to a stagnant other. It was in the northern continents of both Asia and the West that monotheism arose, and that great literary and cultural feats were achieved, Arishima argued. In contrast, the southern continents had made little contribution to the universal civilization of the world.¹⁴ Furthermore, although Japan had greatly benefited from its borrowings from Chinese civilization in the past, it was failing to progress toward a free and equal society because of the Chinese influence in religion, culture, and government. In order to show the geographic and progressive divide within the Orient itself, the thesis attempted to essentialize the underlying cultural differences between the progressive and liberal-at-heart Japanese and the hierarchical and illiberal Chinese.¹⁵

From geographic determinism, Arishima moved on to racial theory to give Japan the racial foundation to be a civilization equal to the West. His thesis introduced and used a theory that the Japanese descended from the Aryan race, which Arishima asserted was the most prominent race in world history and the originator of world civilization.¹⁶ According to this theory, modern Japanese civilization originated from two peoples, the Mongolian race and the tribes of the Malay archipelago. He claimed that the latter people belonged to the Aryan race.¹⁷ In a Darwinian struggle for existence, it was the naturally superior Aryan race that conquered and absorbed the Mongolian tribe on the Japanese archipelago despite the Mongolians' possession of a civilization of a comparatively high type.¹⁸ According to Arishima, it was the Aryans, whose chief, the direct descendant of the goddess Amaterasu and Japan's first

14. Arishima, "Development of Japanese Civilization," p. 16.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

emperor, who were the originators of the Yamato race.¹⁹ A hierarchy of races therefore existed within Japan. In this construct, at the top of the hierarchy were the Japanese, who were physically and intellectually superior to the other “savages” in Japan, the Ainu and the Okinawans.

Arishima’s urge to merge with the West was tempered by the urge to challenge hierarchical ideological constructs. Although the thesis conceded the superiority of the Aryans, Arishima challenged the notion of absolute racial predominance by citing the cultural achievements of Eastern civilizations in the past. He criticized European historians who had treated world history exclusively as a record of the Aryan race, and he argued for the many achievements of the non-Aryan Orient, particularly Chinese civilization. Arishima conceded that race was not an absolute measure of civilizational capacity. He pointed out that the Ainu had been strong foes of the Japanese despite the fact that the Japanese were purportedly a people far superior in mental and physical abilities.

The thesis ended with a final revolutionary image of the Meiji Ishin that romantically depicted the Ishin heralded by the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 and the whiff of Christian song heard from his ships, and with a vision of Japan’s transformative embrace of the West. In this ending, Arishima set up the rest of post-Ishin Japanese history for the narrative of the path to Western modernity as the organizing principle of his thesis. In assenting to this Western cosmopolitanist construct, Arishima attempted to assimilate himself to a temporality that defined him by race and national belonging as always behind the members of the advanced nations of the West and always ahead of the rest.

Arishima’s attempt at Western cosmopolitanism was expressed in the thesis in the form of a construct of history based on a hierarchy of cultures. This historical construct offered an ideological justification for Japan’s colonizing presence not only in the peripheral territories of Hokkaido and Okinawa, but also beyond in China and other “less civilized” places to the south.

However brilliantly Arishima made use of the latest social science theories, the result was ineffective and unconvincing. The thesis was hardly inspiring and strikingly unsubstantiated. In the end, it failed to

19. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

convince Arishima himself and succeeded only in highlighting the contradiction between the urge for universal equality and freedom, on the one hand, and the ideological power of racial and national hierarchies of Western modernity, on the other. Divided between the urge for the immediate attainment of equality in the international arena and the wish to write “Japanese civilization” into the larger civilizational order of Western modernity, Arishima ultimately failed in his performative history writing to define Japan as a Western modern civilization. Arishima also had to forgo the dream of equality and fully accept Japan’s relative backwardness in the temporal order of Western civilizational progress, demonstrated in the history that he wrote. Yet the possibility of equality between elites within a hierarchical world was itself an unavoidable part of the allure of Western modernity.

Arishima’s thesis was followed several years later by the publication of Nitobe’s Japanese history book written in English for an American audience. A significant chapter heading in Nitobe’s book, “Japan as Colonizer,” directly reveals this intellectual construct. The book was based on Nitobe’s national speech tour of universities and colleges across the United States under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.²⁰ Nitobe’s essay on Japan as a colonizer and thereby a contributor to peace and international order was thus a logical continuation of Arishima’s thesis. Here, the hierarchical order of the “international community” and the relations among its members were naturalized and justified by history itself. Both Arishima’s and Nitobe’s attempts can be categorized as expressions of cultural internationalism, cultural practices to assimilate one’s nation into the intellectual and cultural universe of Western modernity.

Arishima’s weak attempt in 1904 to demonstrate historically through temporal assimilation that Japan deserved to be fully incorporated into the spatial world order of Western civilization was unsuccessful. Within months, however, Japan’s military achievements in the Russo-Japanese War clarified to the world that it had shot ahead of much of the world in developing along the lines of Western modernity. That demonstration of temporal progress was simultaneously a spatial reconfiguration that newly

20. Nitobe, *Japanese Nation*.

placed Japan within the community of civilized nation-states. This was an ideology that arose from the same discursive and institutional intellectual universe in which Arishima stood on the eve of the war.

The Wartime Departure from Western Modernity

Arishima's internal conversations in his wartime diaries reveal that the war clarified his departure from Western modernity and set the stage for his conversion to cooperatist anarchism. A close look at the conditions for Arishima's conscious adoption of anarchism as a temporal vision of modernity at the same time as Kōtoku's adoption of anarchism in 1906, along with numerous other well-known figures, such as Ōsugi and Ishikawa Takuboku, suggests a broad departure from the modernity embodied in Japan's waging of the Russo-Japanese War. Arishima's encounters with "America" as the wartime setting for his conversion, as documented in his diaries, letters, and autobiographical fiction, also offer an example of the interplay between U.S. and Japanese encounters at the turn of the century. Their encounters were not bilateral, for U.S.-Japanese cultural relations could not be isolated from the cultural intercourse between Russia and Japan. Likewise, the transnational intellectual relationship with Russia in wartime Japan developed vis-à-vis the United States, for it could not be separated from the racial and ethnic hierarchies associated with ideas of civilization and progress circulating in the turn-of-the-century United States, which became obvious to Arishima during the war.

Arishima, like many others, had been drawn to anarchist religion at the turn of the century (see Chapter 2). When Katō Naoshi's translation of Tolstoy's *My Religion* was first published in Japan in 1903, Arishima chased the book down for purchase. Upon reading it, he recorded in his diary that it brought "a complete revolution" in his religious life in terms of his understanding of Christianity, and he read it "whenever time allowed." Arishima was attracted to Tolstoy's idea of modern religion as virtue as Konishi translated it. In his diary, Arishima remarked on Tolstoy's idea that with effort, everyone could attain virtue, having been naturally given such a capability.²¹ Arishima also read Roka's book *Tolstoy*

21. Arishima, *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 10:403–5. See also *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 3:29, 10:312–15.

in 1903 before his departure for the United States and carried the book with him as he traveled across the country from San Francisco to Haverford College on the East Coast. Roka had based the book largely on his conversations with Konishi.²² The book was thus a direct product of the Tolstoy-Konishi translation project.

Arishima began to view and experience America's modernity through the lens of Konishi's translation of anarchist religion. His diaries reveal that his very first weeks of traveling across America were punctuated by deep considerations of Tolstoy's moral and religious thought, about which he had read in Roka's book. On the way to Haverford, Arishima made sure to stop in Chicago to see a production of the play *Resurrection*, adapted from Tolstoy's novel written after the Tolstoy-Konishi project of translating Lao Tzu. The play prompted Arishima, who had converted to Christianity while he was a student at SAC, to question the legitimacy of the church to represent Christ's original teachings, as he reflected in a letter home. True to Tolstoyan religion, Arishima rethought the Christian concept of resurrection as taught by the church as only a mythical tale of the body and its resurrection from the dead. The true and original Christian idea of resurrection was about the spirit and was focused on the concept of forgiveness, Arishima wrote in a continuous echo of Tolstoy's religious thought.²³ Likewise, Arishima's diary and a letter home critically recounting his visit to the Chicago Stockyards referred to and were colored by Tolstoy's moral ideas on vegetarianism.²⁴ Reflecting the nature of Japanese translation practices from Russian, Arishima selectively appropriated ideas translated from Tolstoy to interrogate modernity as he encountered it in the United States. Although he continued to stand within the intellectual and cultural space of Western modernity throughout most of the rest of his stay in the United States, his relation to it was schizophrenic. His writing of his master's thesis seemed to entirely ignore his conversion to anarchist religion at about the same time. By the end of the war, however, this unstable state of existence between two temporalities, the anarchist modern and Western modern, would be resolved.

22. Tokutomi Roka, *Roka nikki*, 4:4.

23. Arishima, Letter to home, September 27, 1903, in *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 13:55.

24. Ibid. See also Arishima's diary, *ibid.*, 10:443.

Like many Japanese during the war, Arishima identified a transnational, religiously rooted critique of the war in the translated writings of Tolstoy. In this context, he became deeply disturbed that European and American race-based fears of Japanese expansion, the so-called yellow peril, were versed in and justified by what they claimed to be Christian beliefs.

It is a naked fact that on the whole the other European nations were jealous of Japan because of her different racial origins and her paganism. Those who did not go that far looked with interest upon this terrible tragic event of war as a game. . . . I saw that apart from just one man, Tolstoy, the hearts of people in the Christian nations are like a desert. Where in them does Christ's blood flow? Where in them does Christ's heart dwell? Is then the present political system fundamentally incompatible with Christ's spirit?²⁵

Arishima later recalled, "Through the Russo-Japanese War, I saw the other side of the people of the Christian country."²⁶ The war's clarification of the interlinkages of racial hierarchy, Christianity, the state, and war as "civilization" prompted Arishima's desire to depart from that notion of civilization and the place of the institution of Christianity within it. That this desire was felt in the same year in which Arishima completed his master's thesis on Japanese civilization suggests the decisive force that the polemic between wartime ideology and the claims of the Non-war Movement had in turning educated Japanese away from Western modernity as a retrogression of progress and civilization.

Labyrinth, Arishima's autobiographical novel about a Japanese graduate student at Harvard, climaxes in a revelatory moment of recognition of his anarchist turn. In the context of the Russo-Japanese War, the protagonist A, a fictional character based on Arishima, tells himself that he has become "a vagabond without my nationality. . . . You are not only a stateless vagabond, but a naked man belonging to no class. . . . You are still small and weak. But your enemy is not Russia, as that old political maniac says. Nor is it the propertied class, as that materialist K. says. It is life itself."²⁷ Arishima imagined a cotemporality shared between Japa-

25. Arishima, "Daiyonban jogen," p. 27; quoted in Morton, *Divided Self*, p. 61.

26. Arishima, "Daiyonban jogen," p. 27.

27. Arishima, *Labyrinth*, pp. 148–49.

nese and the inhabitants of the Russian Empire with which they were at war. It was a transnational imagination that was particularly striking in its contrast with his physical presence in the United States during the war. Interestingly, Arishima visited New Hampshire in 1905, while the Portsmouth Treaty was being drafted there. However, Arishima was not there to attend the signing of the treaty. He traveled there to work as a farm laborer for three months alongside a group of workers from Poland.²⁸ In *Labyrinth*, Arishima describes the encounter between A and the Polish laborers at the very moment at which Russia, Japan, and the United States were holding diplomatic meetings at Portsmouth. Japanese and Polish encountered one another in a shared temporal sphere entirely independent of the diplomatic negotiations that were in preparation at that time nearby. The war and diplomacy between their respective nation-states did not affect them or their relations with one another on the farm, and their lives of labor went on daily without change as newspapers reported about the “important events” in foreign affairs. “Once, one of them grabbed A by the elbow, apparently to tell him, by means of gestures, that Japan was stronger than Russia,” Arishima wrote. “Yet the man himself didn’t seem the least interested in the war.”²⁹ Arishima described the Polish workers, somewhat romantically, as “men who seemed to have been molded from nature herself. . . . Quite honestly, A felt he had found in these men the starting point of a new civilization. If their minds developed without their losing what they had now, he believed that a beautiful civilization, one that might overthrow the present one, was certain to be born.”³⁰ In Arishima’s depiction, the sense of freedom from racial barriers and ethnic hierarchy between the character A and the Polish workers is a striking contrast with the race relations between white Americans and the “yellow races” in *Labyrinth*. For example, A, believing that he has fathered an illegitimate child with a Caucasian American woman, is tormented by his imagination of how his Eurasian child would be treated in America:

28. Poland was a territory that for the most part remained divided between the Russian and Prussian empires until 1915.

29. Arishima, *Labyrinth*, p. 166.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 166–67.

A pitiable child would be born. With half its blood of the yellow race, imagine the contempt and enmity it would be the object of. Its mother would disappear suddenly under the pretext of travel or illness, but would be hiding in a maternity home, actually a dumping ground and hiding place for many sins. . . . The poor half-breed would grow up. . . . All eyes turned to him would be scornful. In exchange for food, he would be required to do the work that only an outcast would do.³¹

For early twentieth-century Japanese readers, the distress stemming from the pervasive tension of race relations in *Labyrinth* would have been a convincing documentary of the emotional lows of individual Japanese-American encounters. The absence of racial hierarchy that early twentieth-century Japanese saw in their cultural relations with those from Russia was not without contrasting references to the United States, for in the minds of early twentieth-century Japanese, Japanese-Russian nonstate relations seemed to be free from the racial barriers they associated with the Japanese experience in the United States.³²

The Slide in Historical Consciousness

I felt like Kropotkin explained and clarified for me the very ideal that has been within me.

—Ishikawa Sanshirō to Kōtoku Shūsui, August 13, 1907, in Waseda daigaku shakai kagaku kenkyūjo, *Shakai shugi sha no shokan*

If the war solidified Japan's place in the world at the relative forefront of the trajectory of Western modernity, it simultaneously stimulated a widespread turn in Japan to anarchist historicity. This was the result of an intellectual accumulation from Japanese-Russian transnational intellectual relations since the Meiji Ishin. Participants associated with the movement increasingly began to express themselves during and after the war in terms of history and in language discussing the urgent need to "rectify" or "save" history. In 1905, just a year after he completed his

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 160–61.

32. Nagai Kafu's widely read *Amerika monogatari* (American stories), published in 1908, offered Japanese readers various anecdotes of life in the United States, including accounts of white American racism toward nonwhites reminiscent of Arishima's during the Russo-Japanese War. Like Arishima, Kafu was enrolled as a college student in the United States during the war. Mitsuko Iriye, "Translator's Introduction," pp. x–xiv.

master's thesis, Arishima suddenly called for the need to morally "cleanse and rectify" (*kiyome tadasu*) history.³³

The wartime dissipation of Western modern temporality (a sense of time as a function of the notion of progress) and corresponding utopian imagination of territorial spatiality inspired Japanese intellectuals to articulate the anarchist historicism that had long been implicit within this discourse. Kropotkin's anarchist writings were suddenly "discovered" at this time, and his thought was adopted as a coherent expression of ideas already circulating in Japan. This section examines how the concept of cooperatist progress and civilization that first developed out of Russian-Japanese revolutionary encounters in the Meiji Ishin further evolved in the late Meiji Japanese intellectual scene into the form of anarchist historicity that Japanese identified with Kropotkin's writings. Kropotkinism represented a modernist historicity that provided the possibility for uniting cooperatist anarchist interiority and exteriority through moral action. It also linked a social ethic rooted in "tradition" with wider world interests. The present thereby became the locus of urgent action to "save" history. For participants in this intellectual movement, Kropotkin's thoughts made cooperatist ideas and practices universal and modern by superimposing evolutionary time and transnational space onto a cooperative ethic in Japan that simultaneously embraced the individual and the collective. It was a merging of progressive time and transnational space with the cooperatist practices and thoughts that Kropotkin's friend and mentor Lev Mechnikov had observed in Japan many years earlier in his own writings.

Cooperatist anarchist historicity offered a position for critique of anticolonialist nativist histories as well. Indeed, these "encountering narratives" often appropriated the Orientalizing constructs of Western modernity.³⁴ In light of the widespread attraction to cooperatist historicity in Japan during this period, there were thus coexisting and competing independent understandings and experiences of lived historical progress.

33. Arishima, "Rokoku kakumeito no rōjo."

34. This included the creation of Oriental history from within Japan. Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*. On Orientalism, see Said, *Orientalism*.

It was in the immediate aftermath of the war that a “history slide,” (*rekishi no jisuberi*) occurred, a slide of historical consciousness that produced a reconceived subjectivity of the present as a point of moral action in the here and now to attain that new future. The event of war, by symbolizing Japan’s victorious membership in Western modernity, decisively changed the collective imagination. Some perceived their location in the given human space and time as backward. A noticeable shift in the public moral language had already occurred during this period, given inspiration by the conversion to anarchist religion and the construction of a transnational *heimin* antithetical to the given state of nature of international relations. This shift combined with a massive slide in historical memory and narrative making. History was narrated into the future, and the present became the backward past. The present as a product of Western human progress and civilization was now perceived as behind and no longer morally justifiable. History thus slid from narratives of the past to justify the present to a narrated future vision. The “present” had become the urgent moment to rectify history for the future. Inferiority was now assigned not to a given space but to a belonging to a certain sense of time.

An appropriation of history occurred, the practice of actively claiming contesting articulations of history by those deeply dissatisfied with dominant notions of national history (and thus the future imagination). Their new historical narrative was in polemic with an Eastern (*Tōyō*) bounded past, on the one hand, and a Western cosmopolitan past, on the other. The space of their imagination and corresponding selfhood and their rendering of the past were located beyond the East-West divide. The phenomenon of what I call the “history slide” was not necessarily unique to this cooperatist anarchist discourse, in the sense that a slide in historical consciousness can occur as a response to major historical events, such as war and revolution. However, the spatial imagination beyond the East-West divide was unique.³⁵

35. The slide of historical consciousness that pushes the present into a perceived backward past may not be unique to this moment in Japanese history; it has occurred in many times and places in modern human history.

The language of anarchist progress and civilizational development was increasingly used in Japan, reflecting the urge to act to change the here and now as a mirror of historical consciousness. The new historical consciousness that arose during and after the war resulted in new productions of knowledge that uprooted civilizational narratives of the rise of the modern nation-state. The intense urge to appropriate anarchist historicity during this period merged with a long-standing historical interpretation within Japan that the Meiji Ishin's promise of social equality had not been realized. One of the most popular historical understandings of the Ishin in Meiji Japan was that the event was originally supposed to have initiated democracy and equality. This expectation has been well documented by Japanese historian Irokawa Daikichi.³⁶ According to this interpretation, the revolution was incomplete and had been betrayed by the new Meiji elites.

Taoka Reiun (1870–1912) articulated a historicist critique of Western civilization and progress fueled by the notion of the “Ishin betrayed” in his series of essays on *hibunmeiron* (noncivilization) written between 1900 and his death in 1912. Reiun was an influential thinker at the turn of the century with close ties to *Heimin shimbun* and a self-claimed adherent of the idea of Nonwar because of his experiences as a reporter on the war front. Although largely forgotten even in Japan today, Reiun's writings were, as the historian Ienaga Saburō has pointed out, very widely circulated and read in Japan at the time and were simultaneously banned by the state because of his sharp critique of power and authority.³⁷ *Hibunmeiron* was neither a simple anti-Westernism nor a nativist wish to return to an authenticated golden age of the past. Reiun's critique of Western modernity was placed firmly in a historicist vision rooted in the “original ideals” of the Ishin. Reminiscent of Mechnikov, Reiun saw the global significance of the Ishin as a revolutionary beginning for a new global era. He looked to a second revolution after the Ishin to usher in the new age of a transnationally and transracially integrated and equal *heimin*. “Although *hibunmeiron* thought does hark back to ancient times, the features of the coming age will not be those of the past. What those of us

36. Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*.

37. Ienaga, *Suukinaru shisōkano shōgai*, p. 3.

who call for a rejection of civilization really want is social revolution. . . . Today what we call for is to get beyond the individual, to get beyond nationalism and beyond race toward achieving social equality and unification for all mankind [*shakaiteki jinrui tōitsu*].³⁸

For Reiun, *heimin* culture and consciousness provided the driving force behind the Ishin as revolution and its global significance. Reiun studied the blooming and proliferation of an urban culture based on commoners' thoughts and education as the basis for the Ishin as a social revolution to eliminate the monbatsu (aristocratic) system for more egalitarian and democratic society. For Reiun, the foremost significance of the Ishin was that it was an intellectual accumulation on the popular level that led to a radical breakage of time, or a revolution, that was to have established a more free, flexible, and equal sociality based on heiminism and worldism (*sekaishugi*). As will be discussed in Chapter 5 on the Esperanto movement, this worldism, based on the meaning of the term *sekai* (world), had little to do with Western cosmopolitanism or pan-Asianisms that revolved around Western modernity.

According to Reiun, although the arrival of the Americans had provided the last spark that started the event, the Ishin had been made possible by two hundred years of development of *heimin* culture, thought, and consciousness during the Tokugawa period. By the Bakumatsu period, the Bakufu system could no longer accommodate the fully developed *heimin* culture, and revolution was the natural result, Reiun wrote. According to Reiun, the Ishin itself represented human development beyond the achievements of the Taika Reforms (*Taika no kaishin*), which had created a civilization taken from China. Whereas the Taika Reforms had placed Japan firmly in Asian civilization, Reiun believed, the Ishin had made Japan a part of global civilization through the establishment of a democratic civilization based on the *heimin*.³⁹ Reiun's ideas were strikingly similar to those circulated by Lev Mechnikov in European academic circles twenty years earlier. Given that Mechnikov had studied closely the thoughts of Freedom and People's Rights Movement activists, this similarity indicates the rootedness such ideas had in Japan.

38. Translation by Loftus, "Inversion of Progress," p. 203.

39. Taoka, *Meiji hanshin den*, pp. 13–22.

Reiun himself had been part of the wider religious conversion to anarchist religion discussed in Chapter 2. Like Arishima and many others in this period, Reiun underwent an ideological and subjective passage from religious conversion to spatial reconceptualization to temporal renovation. Reiun clearly identified Tolstoy as an anarchist thinker and claimed that his own social thoughts were greatly indebted to Tolstoy's emphasis on the ethical aspect of anarchism as daily practice and on human subjectivity as cooperatist and associationist.⁴⁰ Echoing the translingual practice of the Tolstoy-Konishi collaboration, he identified through *Tao te ching* and Tolstoyan writings a natural state of human society that had been corrupted by capitalism and the rationalism of Western modernity.⁴¹ Reiun had also been a student of ancient Chinese philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University in the late 1880s, where he had been particularly drawn to the anarchist philosophy of *Tao te ching*.⁴² Again in Reiun's writings, there is evidence of the close interlinkage of *Tao te ching* and Tolstoyan religion in the minds of Japanese thinkers, due in large part to Konishi's translation practice.

Reiun's history from below conflicted with the major historical project on the Meiji Ishin organized by the state's Ministry of Education at the turn of the century. Interpreting the Ishin as a political "restoration" from above, this national history project sought to establish the authoritative history of the Ishin as a *tennō*- (imperial) and *kokutai*- (national body) centered event whose main achievement had been to restore imperial rule from above.⁴³ Under the imperial school of history writing, with its body politics, the Ishin was reconceived and reemphasized as "restoration" (*ōsei fukko*). It sparked other histories that followed, narratives that emphasized the term *fukko* (restoring the old) to remember the event and its particular significance.

Reiun, however, claimed that the Ishin was a revolution from below. For Reiun, the Ishin had occurred in the name of freedom and equality and had overturned the class system in order to provide for the *hei-ken*,

40. "My socialism owes more to Tolstoy than to Kropotkin or Marx." Taoka, *Taoka Reiun zenshū*, 5:662.

41. Taoka, *Taoka Reiun zenshū*, 5:670.

42. Loftus, "Inversion of Progress," p. 193.

43. See Nagahara, *Kōkokushikan*.

or people's (*heimin*'s) rights. Nonetheless, the objective of this revolution had yet to be completed owing to the emergence of capitalism in the decades after the Ishin. That prevented the achievement of human freedom and equality. Reiun believed that a "second revolution" was needed to restore the principle of freedom and equality for which so many had fought in the Ishin. He claimed that the term *fukko* (restoration) was simply a fabrication and only a name, whereas the revolution was the true flesh and essence of the Ishin.⁴⁴ Both Reiun's "second revolution" theory and his public popularity were intellectual products of the post-war shift in historical consciousness of cooperatist anarchist modernity.

Emerging cooperatist anarchists after the war likewise saw themselves as the legitimate heirs of the revolutionary tradition from the Ishin passed on to them via the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. They saw the Ishin in a light similar to that cast by Reiun and likely were influenced by his writings. The highly popular young poet Ishikawa Takuboku expressed this sentiment after the war when he famously called for a movement "v narod!" (To the people!) reminiscent of the Russian Populist V Narod movement in the sense that it called not for the enlightening of the masses, but for an adoption of their democratic everyday practices. Ishikawa Sanshirō contended that the Ishin was a mass-scale, all-encompassing revolution (*daikakumei*) that overturned society at its very roots.⁴⁵ Kōtoku viewed the Nonwar Movement and the idea of *heimin* as the legitimate expressions of the original ideals of the Ishin. According to a prevalent understanding at the time, the Ishin had been a radical and popular revolution that was to have achieved for the people "liberty, equality and fraternity." The spirit of the Revolution had been betrayed by the Meiji oligarchs who had restored a new hierarchy and privilege through capitalist cliques. The revolution was to be restored by a movement for people's rights.⁴⁶ Many intellectuals and cultural figures saw their emerging anarchist-socialist movement as the successor to the ideals of the Ishin expressed in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.⁴⁷

44. Taoka, *Meiji hanshin den*, pp. 13–22.

45. Ishikawa and Kōtoku, *Nihon shakai shugi*.

46. Notehelfer, "Kōtoku Shūsui and Nationalism," p. 38.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36.

Reiun's *hibunmeiron* marked the embrace of a new *heimin*-centered historicity that served as a basis for an alternative modernity in postwar Japan. Although such historicity had been practiced and embraced in various ways as lived experiences, this urge to record a commonly shared understanding of the past in a proper history of Japan was new.

The years immediately after the war were thus marked by a cultural attempt to internationalize, to render modern and identify transnationally shared expressions of the “indigenous” thought and practices of *sōgo fujo* (mutual aid). It is in this context that Kropotkinist language suddenly began to be widely used to uproot the notion of time in Western modernity and to replace it with one that focused on an entirely different temporality. These were precisely the years when Kōtoku wrote his many translations of Kropotkin's works and began his regular correspondence with the anarchist thinker. As documents in the Kropotkin manuscripts collection in the State Archive of the Russian Federation reveal, Kōtoku sent his first letter to Kropotkin in September 1906 via the Russian American anarchist Rose Fritz. Kōtoku stayed at Fritz's home in San Francisco during his visit to the United States in 1906.⁴⁸ Of course, Kōtoku's practices were merely expressions of a larger developing phenomenon within Japanese society. As he wrote to Kropotkin in 1907, all of Kropotkin's books were already being sold and read in English in Tokyo and had a rapidly increasing audience.⁴⁹

Kropotkin, echoing Mechnikov's ideas arising out of his encounter with revolutionary ideals and commoners' practices in Meiji Ishin Japan, had provided the essential historicist counterpart to anarchist religion in Japan. His work *Mutual Aid* added evolution, or time, to the religious anarchist concept of nature as virtue. This completed the reconstitution of the idea of virtuous nature as integral to civilizational progress. According to the anarchist historicity expressed by both Kropotkin and Mechnikov, human civilization, based on the principle of mutual aid, had

48. Fritz introduced Kōtoku to Kropotkin and enclosed a letter from Kōtoku to the Russian anarchist in 1906. Fritz to Kropotkin, September 3, 1906. GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 2631, ll. 3–4. On Fritz, see Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, p. 164.

49. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, May 14, 1907, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, l. 9.

progressed from below without the need for central governance. With this radical overturning of the concept of civilization and progress, social Darwinism and its application to civilizational progress widely applied by state intellectuals, or those who contributed to state ideology in Japan, once again appeared helplessly wrong. The fittest survived not through competition and violence but through mutual interdependence and assistance. From then on, civilization and progress were no longer understood to be fueled by rationality, the expansion of capitalism, and a developed system of state governance and rule of law, but by spontaneous acts of human cooperation and self-organization.

Central to Japanese anarchist thought was the idea that sociability and the instinct for mutual aid were fundamental to the very nature of human behavior. Here, “nature” was neither constitutive of the nation, nor the barbaric antithesis to civilizational progress, nor the attributive quality to describe the progressed “natural” state of civilized existence under state and law. Anarchist “nature” thus departed entirely from the role that it had played in the ruling political ideologies in Meiji-Taishō Japan. In *Mutual Aid*, nature came to be defined by mutual aid. Beginning with the animal and plant kingdoms, the fittest species survived on the basis of their capacity for mutual help and interdependence. This revision of nature shifted the source of civilization and progress in the human world from survival via competition and domination to cooperation as an important factor of evolution, without negating certain aspects of competition.

Kropotkin’s historicity provided an articulation of thoughts that had already begun surfacing, although in a much more limited and sparse manner, in Japan. In 1900, several years before he began reading Kropotkin and before his self-acknowledged adoption of political anarchism, Kōtoku had defined a developed civilization by its possession of a cooperatist society. This was a construct of progress very close in essence to Kropotkin’s. It reveals the continuation throughout the Meiji era of the cooperatist current that had originally inspired Mechnikov in his encounter with the Ishin. According to Kōtoku, advanced societies were characterized by a highly complicated and organized division of labor that was not to be found in earlier societies. In Kōtoku’s definition of progress, division of labor did not reflect competitive and exploitative capitalist economic organization but was better described as a highly

functioning interdependency among various professions. In a highly developed cooperative community, the trader depended on the farmer, who depended on the machinist, and so forth, providing no room for hierarchies of domination or class division. Rather, each individual simultaneously strove to perfect his or her own virtue in order to perform as one within a larger interdependent whole.⁵⁰

Kropotkin's anarchist theory implied the removal of the essential dichotomy between nature and culture that defined the linear time difference between barbaric peoples and civilized nation-states. Its conceptual overturning of natural progress offered the prospective of an alternative vision of universal progress.

The slide in historical consciousness from a Western modern to an anarchist historicity at this time depended on the functioning of networks to disseminate ideas and further develop the alternative society that had been emerging with the Nonwar Movement. In the years after the war, the wartime networks had rapidly expanded. The networks efficiently circulated banned anarchist and socialist writings, and the time-altering anarchist writings of Kropotkin were most favored for circulation. Through these invisible nationwide and cross-border networks, participants' new shared sense of alternative time, spatiality, and subjectivity became the basis for the further expansion of networks that enabled the rapid circulation of information and knowledge.

The effectiveness with which illegal materials were passed hand to hand is evidence of the functioning of the networks. Kōtoku found that the network community provided the best means to distribute his writings and translations even before they were officially made available to the public. Despite government intervention in banning Kōtoku's works and all translations of Kropotkin's works into Japanese, people were still able to gain access to them fairly easily because they were widely disseminated by hand through network relations. As Kōtoku wrote in a letter to Kropotkin, "Only one copy of every pamphlet [of yours] I have is being handed from hand to hand of many young comrades."⁵¹ In fact, the network of cooperatist anarchists across Japan functioned so well by

50. Kōtoku, *Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū*, 2:305–10.

51. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, May 14, 1907, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, l. 9.

1908 that when Kōtoku translated Kropotkin's works, his tactic to get them out to as many people as possible was first to sell the thousands of copies that he had printed out via personal networks and only then to advertise the work and sell it through bookstores after it had already circulated nationwide. Kōtoku stated in his private correspondence with Kropotkin, "The police, of course, will try to seize all copies. But too late!"⁵² Numerous intellectuals, even those in the remote territory of Hokkaido, were able to access works that were censored or prohibited from publication and sale but were passed hand to hand in a network of inter-linked people who shared similar beliefs.⁵³ Prohibited knowledge traveled both within and across national boundaries, concretizing interlocking networks along the way.⁵⁴ With the ideas of cooperatist anarchism circulating through many diverse movements and interest groups, no institution existed to coordinate the members of this larger community. The non-institutional manner in which informal interlocking networks succeeded in organizing the activities of those participating in cooperatist anarchist time reflected the nature of their thought.

Arishima provides one example of these patterns. After he returned to Hokkaido to teach at his alma mater, SAC, he was able to obtain copies of Kropotkin's banned writings from other anarchists and often even from his students. That ordinary college students, far from the urban centers of Japan, obtained copies of the works and passed them to Arishima, who had a personal friendship with Kropotkin, reflects the breadth, speed, and effectiveness with which the networks functioned in Japan, a concrete legacy of the formation of the cooperatist networks during the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese government was forced to declare

52. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, December 26, 1908, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, ll. 18–19.

53. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, May 14, 1907, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, l. 9.

54. The context is unique in this discourse, but the way in which participants in the discourse circulated knowledge via networks is not unique. Book-lending practices during the Edo period, for example, circulated a tremendous amount of information quickly. On the eve of the Ishin, cartoons depicting the ruling powers as weak and incompetent were quite popular. Knowledge that competed with that propagated by the government widely circulated through private hands.

the mere possession of Kōtoku's translations a crime liable to imprisonment. This radical measure suggests how widely Kōtoku's translations had been disseminated within a few years after he had first begun his anarchist translation project, despite the fact that many writings had never been officially published. That the anarchist writings were popular and well read despite state censorship suggests the relative ease with which those participating in the networks could access them.

There are other private letters to Kropotkin from Japan at this time that form the larger backdrop for Arishima's pilgrimage to Kropotkin in 1906. One of the letters survives in Moscow's state archive, a personal letter written in English to Kropotkin in 1905 by Miyazaki Tamizō in the local village of Arawa in the southern prefecture of Kumamoto:

Dear Brother, I thank you that I can see great spark of the idea and movement of humanity in this world taking by your comrades. . . . Now I render you the Congratulation for standing up of Russian Revolution for emancipation of mass brothers and sisters and establishing the principle of humanity in great part on the globe. At present time I am very anxious to know how Russian Revolutionists have worked and working for freedom of mass under autocratic power. . . . I with few comrades are undertaking for establishment of equal enjoyment of all land for all human resources that is, I believe, the fundamental ground of humanity.⁵⁵

The agrarian thinker and leader of agrarian communalism Etō Tekirei (1880–1944), originally from Aomori, the northernmost prefecture of the main archipelago, who became a close acquaintance and neighbor of the agrarian practitioners Tokutomi Roka and Ishikawa Sanshirō, by then was one of many people in Japan who read Kropotkin at the war's end. Etō's reading of Kropotkin at that moment became decisive for his turn to agrarian communalism. Etō was also an admirer of both the radical eighteenth-century thinker Andō Shōeki (1703–62) and Tanaka Shōzō, whose ecological cause was fully supported and promoted by the Heiminsha in this period.

It was also at this time that Ōsugi Sakae, who would become a major leader of the Japanese anarchist movement, first read Kropotkin's works.

55. GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 3, ed. khr. 1018, ll. 1–2.

Thomas Stanley gives 1906 as the year of Ōsugi's conversion to "socialism." Stanley attributes his conversion to his imprisonment, which effectively closed off all doors to a normal career in the army and simultaneously gave him the opportunity to read anarchist writings from the West.⁵⁶ Certainly prison life provided the externally imposed conditions for reading socialist literature, as Stanley demonstrates, but the existing paradigm of the influence of Western socialism on Ōsugi misrepresents the larger historical processes surrounding his conversion. Placed within the larger ideological context of the history slide after the war, Ōsugi's turn to anarchism in 1906 can be better understood beyond the sudden and fortuitous exposure to Western socialist writings and the turn in his personal material circumstances. Arishima's pilgrimage through Europe and Ōsugi's caged turn to anarchism in Japan were both representative of a much broader slide in historical consciousness.

Arishima's cooperatist anarchist turn appeared complete when his historicity was expressed in his diary in 1906: "I hope that America will wake from the slumber of ancient tradition and van [serve as the vanguard for] the progress of universal brotherhood. State must go."⁵⁷ Here, the progressive America that he originally set out to study and through which he sought to link Japan to the wider world via Western cosmopolitanism was sharply flipped upside down. Now, America had yet to "awaken" to consciousness of its means of progress for a better future. Arishima's experience of a whole new time led to an entirely new sense of space. With the changing of knowledge, in this case the intellectual framework for progress and civilization, the object of observance, America, appeared to undergo a radical metamorphosis that relegated it to a whole new position in time. His master's thesis was his last expression of belonging to the epistemological world of Western modernity. Arishima, who had traveled to the United States to study in the country perceived to be at the forefront of civilization and progress, experienced a conversion of understanding of that construct of civilization and progress during the Russo-Japanese War.

56. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae*, 42.

57. Arishima, diary entry, September 1, 1906, in *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 9:5. Arishima wrote much of his diary including this entry in English during this period.

The Rectification of History

Arishima's experience with the war from the United States had drawn this very promising young leader of Western cosmopolitanism to cooperatist anarchism as a newly formed vision of modernity independent from Western modernity. As was the case for so many others, this was a historicist turn that led to action. The adoption and merging of a historicist theory of action with an interior anarchist religious sensibility was articulated and predicted by Kaneko Kiiichi (discussed in Chapter 2) in January 1905 in his article "Tolstoy and Kropotkin" for the farewell issue of the central branch of *Heimin shimbun*.⁵⁸ Similarly, it was through Arishima's appropriation of Kropotkin's anarchist historicity that the tension he felt between the urge for equality and the means for its attainment would be resolved.

In 1905–6, Arishima prepared for a pilgrimage to Europe that would serve to initiate the process of rectifying history. A pilgrimage is often a once-in-a-lifetime ritual that realizes a self-conversion to a new self and the elimination of the old within oneself. Yet even as it leads to self-conversion, the act of pilgrimage relies on the formation of a new self to accomplish this act. It can be said that the moment one determines to undertake the pilgrimage is already the moment of attaining one's self-transformation, however invisible this moment may be to the observer. In a sense, then, the act of pilgrimage is largely completed before it is undertaken. At this time, Arishima began to speak of the need for history to be "cleansed and rectified." This would not be just an exercise of his thought; his entire being would turn away from history as the narration of the path taken by the nation-state toward Western modern civilizational development.

In 1906, Arishima quit Harvard and left the United States for a voyage across Europe. He prepared for this trip in the months before his departure by moving to Washington, D.C., where he spent his days at the Library of Congress intensively immersing himself in the works of Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Ibsen. Arishima's trip can be read as his thoughts in action. The voyage, a "pilgrimage" in the sense that it was the physical

58. Kaneko, "Torusutoi to kuropotokin." Kaneko wrote the article while he was with Arishima at Harvard.

embodiment of Arishima's self-transformation toward a cooperatist modern subjectivity, traced the historical development of world civilizations as cooperatist anarchist societies, the most advanced state of civilization. Identifying Kropotkin as the one who had "rectified history,"⁵⁹ Arishima physically traced the reconstruction of human civilizational progress in Kropotkin's book *Mutual Aid*, beginning with the European Middle Ages, in which Kropotkin found Gothic architecture and art to have expressed mutual aidism. He traveled to Assisi, the home of St. Francis of Assisi, and to other medieval sites of spontaneously arising associationist, self-governing fortress towns and their cooperative culture. He also visited Switzerland, the country privileged by anarchists as embodying a relatively advanced state of progress. The voyage culminated in Arishima's visit to Kropotkin's home in London. Arishima sought through his travels to identify an alternative early history of human civilization that would set the stage for modernity. In *Mutual Aid*, Arishima had discovered the scientific rationalization for the sliding of history already occurring within him. By this time, Arishima's cooperatist anarchist turn was complete.

At the Kropotkins' home in London, Arishima talked with Kropotkin in his private study about the ideas of mutual aid and anarchism. Their conversation served to concretize and widen ties between Arishima and the members of the transnational anarchist network. Kropotkin asked Arishima to translate one of his books. He also selectively brought up names of people with cultural currency in Japanese heiminism: Tolstoy, the Russian religious sect, the Dukhobors, Kōtoku, and Japanese anarchists in the United States.⁶⁰ He then gave Arishima a letter to pass on personally to Kōtoku when Arishima returned to Japan.⁶¹ Although

59. Arishima, *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 1:377.

60. Kropotkin asked whether Arishima was networked with the Japanese anarchists in the United States. Daigyaku jiken kiroku kankōkai, *Daigyaku jiken kiroku*, pp. 208–9.

61. A number of Kōtoku's letters to Kropotkin are held at GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, ll. 1–23. Kōtoku had been regularly reporting to Kropotkin about the state of anarchist-socialist activities in East Asia and even in the Russian Far East, and as a result, Kropotkin was intimately aware of their activities. Kōtoku wrote Kropotkin of the activities of Japanese anarchists and socialists in California and sent him copies of their newspaper, the *Revolution*, which was intended to be

Arishima had never met Kōtoku, the physical act of passing material from the Russian anarchist to him by hand would certainly have cemented their ties.⁶² This cementing of links via the physical encounter of silently passing communications hand to hand was a typical method of network formation.

Arishima and Kropotkin's meeting was indicative of the nature of the Russian-Japanese network. In Kropotkin's method of name-dropping, indirect introductions to other members of the transnational network, and hand-to-hand passing of materials, one can sense how the transnational network had been constantly taking shape between Japanese and Russian intellectuals via unofficial channels since the Meiji Ishin. Revealed by Kropotkin's careful and strategic dropping of names with Arishima, the cementing and widening of dependable personal ties among common members across national lines were the surest ways to ensure that the community would continue to expand without the structural foundation of organization and institution that was anathema to it. The dropping of names imbued with powerful symbolism in shared conversation served to solidify the ties between the two interlocutors, turning an afternoon tête-à-tête into a moment of the expansion of this invisible and silent web of personal relations.

Arishima also planned a trip to revolutionary Russia at this time, where he intended to immerse himself in Russian social thought and literature. "I want to go to Russia at the earliest and best chance," Arishima wrote excitedly in his diary in February 1907. "How brightly sometimes my future shines out in my dream!" Arishima voraciously read Russian literature at this time. His diary entries in the years after the

a temporary voice of the movement, replacing the banned *Heimin shimbun*. Kōtoku to P. A. Kropotkin, May 14, 1907, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, l. 10. Kōtoku also reported on the activities of Russian revolutionaries from Nagasaki to eastern Siberia. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, December 15, 1906, GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, ed. khr. 1418, l. 4. Throughout their correspondence, Kōtoku reported to Kropotkin on the state of anarchist activities among the Chinese in Tokyo, with whom he was closely involved.

62. Although there is no documentation of whether Arishima ever gave the letter to Kōtoku, Kropotkin wrote Kōtoku soon afterward to inquire whether Kōtoku had received it. It is certain that the Kropotkin-Kōtoku correspondence continued well after Arishima's visit.

war are filled with his notes on those readings from Russian anarchist thought and Populist literature, including Tolstoy, Kropotkin, and Turgenev.⁶³

It should be noted that Tolstoy did not disappear in the postwar decades and was not replaced by Kropotkin. Rather, the two figures began to coexist on the Japanese cultural landscape as mutual representatives of an alternative time, space, and ethic. Kropotkin and other Russian anarchists were at that moment highly interested in the question of the place of religious and moral issues in anarchist society. At the turn of the century, Kropotkin refocused his attention on the question of anarchist ethics and religious belief as a basis for anarchism. He wrote to a mutual friend of his and Tolstoy in 1905 that “only yesterday I completed my manuscript about L. N. Tolstoy—for almost two months I studied all of his moral-religious writings of the last twenty years.”⁶⁴ For Kropotkin, Tolstoyan religion brought a new dimension to anarchism. Tolstoy’s religious thought reconfigured anarchism as a product and expression of the interior, moral realm of human existence. Kropotkin had earlier conceived of religion as a conservative and traditional force outside and antithetical to civilization and progress. Through Tolstoy’s religious ideas, Kropotkin found the articulation of anarchist morality that was missing in his own writings, which looked at anarchism as a social and historical product belonging to an exterior and objective world. Kropotkin found in Tolstoy the significance of what he began to call Tolstoy’s “new religion” or later, in his own words, “ethics.” Although Kropotkin clearly rejected religious institutions, he found the emphasis on interiority as Gxd-given virtue, or *tokugi* in Konishi’s translation practice, that was the basis of an anarchist ethics in Tolstoy’s writings, significant for the success

63. Records of readings of Russian literature may be found throughout Arishima’s diaries. *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 11:167–239. For example, unpacking his things after arriving in Sapporo, Arishima writes, “Morimoto was kind enough to provide me with half of his bookshelf. I filled it with my beloved books and felt a great satisfaction to look at them. On the first row, Tolstoy’s work and that of Ibsen, with some other Russian stories. The second, Carlyle’s work, correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle, Ruskin’s *Modern Painters*, Kropotkin’s *Russian Literature*.” *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 11:172; see also 11:166–68.

64. Kropotkin to Chertkov, January 22, 1905. GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 4, ed. khr. 24, ll. 4, 6.

of anarchism.⁶⁵ The question of ethics and subjectivity would become one of Kropotkin's primary concerns in the last two decades of his life. He would die leaving unfinished his last major work, *Ethics*, a historical survey of the development of ethical ideas over the course of human history, beginning with the essential foundation of virtuous interactions in the natural world.⁶⁶

While he was working on *Ethics*, Kropotkin read Tolstoy's diaries of 1895–99, which reflected the development of Tolstoy's thought following his encounter with Konishi and the *Tao te ching* translation project in 1893. In a letter to K. S. Shokhor-Trotsky, Kropotkin wrote about the diaries, "Throughout [Tolstoy's diaries] is scattered a mass of true and sometimes subtle thoughts, which are philosophical, artistic, and sometimes simply wise."

Kropotkin had attributed to Tolstoy as a religious and ethical thinker the revolutionary awakening of an anarchist consciousness among the larger public. With the popularization of Tolstoy's ideas on ethics, "no one since Rousseau has so deeply influenced the awakening of human consciousness as Tolstoy," Kropotkin wrote.⁶⁷ Supportive of Tolstoyan religion's effect on the larger public, Kropotkin became directly involved in assisting in the publication of Tolstoy's religious works in Europe. Documents in the Russian State Archive for Literature and Art reveal that in 1903, Kropotkin carefully corrected and edited in close detail Vladimir Chertkov's English translation of Tolstoy's *How I Came to Believe*.⁶⁸ Chertkov sent Kropotkin unpublished manuscripts of Tolstoy's religious writings to read for editorial comment. Often, Kropotkin himself initiated corrections of translations of Tolstoy's religious writings. For

65. Kropotkin's discussion of Tolstoy's new religion can be found in his unpublished article "Tolstoi," written upon Tolstoy's death in November 1910. The manuscript is in RGALI, f. 2738, op. 1, ed. khr. 19. Further evidence of Kropotkin's interest in Tolstoy's religious development can be found in the catalog of Kropotkin's personal library, which contained a substantial collection of Tolstoy's religious writings. Catalog of Kropotkin's books, GARF 1897, f. 1129, op. 1, d. 14.

66. Kropotkin to Konstantin Shokhor-Trotsky, June 26, 1919. Letter reprinted in Shokhor-Trotsky, "Neskol'ko strok o P. A. Kropotkin," p. 11.

67. Kropotkin, "Lev Tolstoy," GARF, f. 1129, op. 1, ed. khr. 836, l. 43.

68. For example, Kropotkin to Chertkov, April 19, 1903. RGALI, f. 552, op. 1, d. 1707, l. 186; Tolstoy, *How I Came to Believe*.

example, he wrote to Chertkov in 1903, "Since Lev Nikolaevich's [Tolstoy] *Christian Teachings* will probably have a very wide readership, then don't you think we ought to carefully check the translation?"⁶⁹

Although Tolstoy and Kropotkin are associated in Russian historiography as Russian anarchists, the fact that Kropotkin was drawn to the religious ideas in Tolstoy's writings has been overlooked by historians.⁷⁰ Indeed, Kropotkin's interest in the cause of the religious sect, the Dukhobors, reflected his increasing interest in the question of the role of religion and ethics in anarchist practices. The Dukhobor cause had first brought Tolstoy and Kropotkin together for this shared project. Tolstoy and Kropotkin had organized, with the assistance of the Quakers and several others, the emigration of tens of thousands of Dukhobors to Cyprus and Canada in the 1890s after their persecution in Russia for refusing to serve in the military and for refusing to recognize the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church and the tsar. That Tolstoy had turned to this project immediately after Konishi's departure from Russia suggests how his involvement in the Dukhobor cause and the Lao Tzu translation project were born of the same intellectual universe. For Tolstoy, the Dukhobor sect embodied the religious moral ideas that he had been hoping to introduce to Russian society through his translation of Lao Tzu. Indeed, the Dukhobors would have been a model of some of the ideals of *Tao te ching*. Just as Tolstoy and Kropotkin were being integrated into the larger Japanese networks, so did they collaborate on the basis of a shared interest in anarchist ethics and virtue. These had earlier

69. Kropotkin to Chertkov, February 11, 1903. Ibid, l. 176; Kropotkin to Chertkov, April 9 1903. RGALI, f. 552, op. 1, d. 1707, ll. 182–85. According to Tolstoy's son, Sergei Tolstoy, although Tolstoy found Kropotkin's recognition of revolutionary violence to achieve his ideals problematic, he did share anarchist ideals with Kropotkin and was very interested in Kropotkin's views, particularly his understanding of human progress in its opposition to Malthusian and social Darwinist constructs. S. L. Tolstoy, *Ocherki bylogo*, p. 198.

70. Some aspects of Kropotkin's relations with Tolstoy are documented in Woodcock and Avakumovic, *Anarchist Prince*, pp. 350–53. Although scholars have overlooked Kropotkin's attraction to Tolstoyan religion, the sharing of anarchistic ideals and a corresponding mutual respect between the two have been noted in Russian-language scholarship as well. See Markin, "L. N. Tolstoi i P. A. Kropotkin."

formed the basis for Konishi's translation practices of Tolstoyan religion in Japan.

Tolstoy and Kropotkin's relations functioned only indirectly. They channeled their communications through a couple of trusted intermediaries in order to avoid police or government interference. Sergei Tolstoy recalled that when he came to see Kropotkin in London at the behest of his father, they were followed by a Russian spy. Kropotkin warned him, "If you want to avoid trouble when you return to Russia, you should stay away from me."⁷¹ Tolstoy and Kropotkin used a close mutual friend of theirs, the previously mentioned Chertkov, to serve as a middleman through whom messages, information, and greetings were frequently passed between the two.⁷² Kropotkin and Chertkov, who was then the leading propagator of Tolstoyan thought, met regularly in the late 1890s and early 1900s, as documented by numerous notes, telegrams and letters between Kropotkin and Chertkov kept by the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art.⁷³ Hundreds of pages of correspondence from Kropotkin to Chertkov and his wife Anna in which the former mentions or discusses Tolstoy are also preserved in Russian state archives.⁷⁴ Chertkov was staying in London, where he was involved in organizing the ongoing translation and publication of Tolstoy's prohibited religious writings into English through his publishing house, *Posrednik*, as well as organizing help for the Dukhobors at Tolstoy's request. Back in Russia, visitors to the Tolstoy home who knew Kropotkin were given messages of greeting to pass on to Kropotkin.⁷⁵

Mechnikov did not know Kōtoku. Kōtoku did not know Arishima. Arishima did not know Tolstoy. Kropotkin did not know Konishi. Nakae Chōmin did not know Kropotkin, or that his friend Mechnikov's vision would return to Japan through his disciple Kōtoku Shūsui as Kropotkin's translator. Yet each was related to the others through the sharing

71. Tolstoy, *Ocherki bylogo*, pp. 188–89.

72. Chertkov resided in London from 1897 to 1907.

73. RGALL, f. 552, op. 1, 1707, ll. 44–100.

74. RGALL, f. 552, op. 1, d. 1708.

75. V. A. Posse recalls that Tolstoy asked him to pass his greetings to Kropotkin in 1909, not long before his death. Tolstoy further said that it was a shame that he would die before getting to know Kropotkin. Posse, *Vospominaniia*, p. 96; Woodcock and Avakumovic, *Anarchist Prince*, p. 352.

and translation of knowledge of anarchist modernity. For Tolstoy, in Russia, it was Kropotkin with whom he began to work on the anarchist religious community of the Dukhobors immediately after his Lao Tzu project with Konishi. In turn, in Japan, Konishi and Tolstoy's collaboration triggered the spread of an intellectual environment revolving around religious consciousness that prepared an intellectual ground for Kropotkinism. Both the sharing and translation of knowledge and the formation of physical ties interlinked all these individuals and a thousand others borderlessly in nonstate interlocking networks of knowledge.

Tracing Tolstoy and Kropotkin's activities for Japanese intellectual history has revealed what has been relatively hidden within Russian history: that they viewed their thoughts as intertwined within the same knowledge system in the global context. They related to each other in a way that not only provides an example of cooperatist anarchist networks as a transnational community but also illustrates the interdependence of anarchist moral subjectivity and historicity in cooperatist anarchist modernity as it developed in, and was best made sense of via, Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations. In the same way in which cooperatist anarchist networks in Japan first become apparent to historians only via participants' interest in and relations to Russia, only through the methodical tracing of Russian-Japanese transnational circulations of thoughts and figures can these Russian interlinkages be illuminated and made sense of.

Clark's Board, Arishima's Chess

Dr. Clark and Arishima Takeo influenced me the most at Hokkaido University.

—College student of Hokkaido University (formerly SAC),
in Keitekiryō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiryō shi*

The revival of Dr. Clark's Kaishikisha (Intellectual Discovery Symposium) was by far the most important event of dormitory life in our time.

—SAC student, in Keitekiryō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiryō shi*

Returning to Japan after his pilgrimage, Arishima sought to accomplish the moral "cleansing and rectification of history" that he had called for from the United States. On the educational training grounds of the emerging Japanese Empire, Arishima used his position as a young lecturer at

his alma mater to educate his students in anarchist history, ethics, and religion and thereby redirect history and modernity at large. SAC, founded in 1876 as one of Meiji Japan's earliest flagship schools, was the most unlikely of all the possible sites of state-sponsored knowledge production in imperial Japan to challenge the cultural construct of Western modernity because it was the national training site for Japan's experiment with colonial expansion and Western modernity.

The project to realize Western modernity for the nation-state was implemented in the first years of the Meiji era by the Colonization Administration's (Kaitakushi's) project of colonization through American-style modern agricultural development and settlement of the northern island of Hokkaido. This was arranged by granting large tracts of lands to landlords, who employed as tenant settlers tens of thousands of peasants whom the government encouraged to immigrate to Hokkaido.

It was as part of the project of colonizing Hokkaido that the founding of SAC as Japan's first national imperial college can be understood. The adoption of modern agriculture at the college run by the Kaitakushi was an educational and physical means of national progression toward a modern civilized nation-state.⁷⁶ The idea of agricultural colonialism promoted at SAC was also closely tied to social Darwinism, which was broadly used in post-Ishin Japan to promote capitalist development and imperialist expansion. Military training and agriculture were interlinked at SAC, one of Meiji Japan's most prestigious colleges, as a means for the colonization and national defense of Japan's northern borderlands.

SAC offered an intellectual space where the vision of Western modern time was assiduously studied, put into scholarly form, and urged on students so they would realize it in their careers. The landmark Sapporo Clock Tower, placed conspicuously in the college and city center, and now long dwarfed by more contemporary surrounding buildings, heralded the new time represented by the college.

The colonialist practice of expansion through agriculture was strongly linked to the idea of cosmopolitanism as internationalism emerging from SAC, the nation's model school of American progress and enlightenment. The school's top students were sent to study in the United States to fulfill

76. For a discussion of agriculture as a project of the state, see Scott, *Seeing like a State*, pt. 3.

their mission to master the “West” as semiofficial intellectual representatives of the nation-state. Nitobe, the premier spokesperson for Western cosmopolitanism in Japan, studied at Johns Hopkins University after graduating from SAC, where he later served as a professor, from which position he would be promoted to chair of colonization studies at Tokyo Imperial University. This passage from agricultural studies to colonization studies was a natural one in Imperial Japan because agricultural expansion was used as a means to settle and colonize not only Hokkaido but also Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria.

Under the guidance of the first vice president and the face of SAC, the American educator William Smith Clark (1826–86), the all-male college was established with the premise that everyone had an equal opportunity through proper training to become an educated, civilized man. Clark had been invited to Japan from his former post as president of Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts at Amherst) to serve as the Kaitakushi’s head adviser in its Hokkaido colonial activities.⁷⁷ Under Clark’s direction, SAC adopted a combination of scientific training, military drill, and daily Christian prayer led by American educators to create Japan’s future civilized man. Chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, and engineering, taught in English, constituted the basic curriculum of the school. The knowledge often tagged as “Western learning” (*seiyōgaku*) in the Meiji context served as a mental tool to categorize and order human progress in a Western-oriented international order. By the late Meiji, the college became an active part of the national project to disseminate national ethics to unite the people behind the imperial throne.

It was at SAC that Arishima put into action his cooperatist anarchist morals-based understanding of history and civilizational progress. Arishima gave rise to another distinctive current of thought on cooperatist anarchist modernity at SAC, where he found a receptive audience. His students became avid followers of his teachings and created a culture that furthered cooperatist anarchist ethics at the college during and after his tenure there.

77. For a biographical account of Clark during his presidency of the SAC, see Maki, *William Smith Clark*.

The students who studied with Arishima did not consider the two currents of modernity incompatible; rather, they saw cooperative anarchism as a more progressive state of liberalism that followed logically from the way in which Arishima had reinterpreted ideals disseminated under American pedagogy. By rectifying history from within the intellectual community of the college, Arishima made his students believe that cooperatist anarchism was the direction and imagined goal of the modernity of Clark. Arishima used Clark's chessboard, the space formed for the training of Japan's Western cosmopolitan leaders, for an entirely different kind of game. The students' intellectual life came to be centered on Arishima's activities of rectifying history. A colleague recalled that Arishima single-handedly changed the intellectual environment of the college within a matter of a few years.⁷⁸ This testimony sharply contrasts with the existing image of Arishima as an impotent romantic intellectual of modern Japan. As instructor of the core course on ethics and the faculty-in-residence for the only dormitory on campus, he spent considerable time with the majority of students at the college and was in a position to heavily influence the student body's intellectual development.

From the beginning, Arishima taught subjects in polemic with the regular curriculum. He was assigned to coteach the required ethics class at the college, which immediately became a space for competing ideas of human virtue. He shared the class podium on ethics with Mizobuchi Shunma; each professor took turns lecturing every other week. Both had a strong agenda in mind. The Ministry of Education had sent Mizobuchi to the college as a special representative to try to harness the radicalization of student leanings fueled by Arishima.⁷⁹ The two lecturers had entirely different ideas of ethics, and the course unexpectedly became a space where competitive ideologies were highlighted as each professor alternately introduced his ideas. Students recalled the sense of conflict fostered in the weekly polemic that took place between the two professors, each demonstrating a different intellectual vision of human ethics. Mizobuchi focused on the Emperor's Rescript on Education as a key text for ethics, followed by "the China problem" (*shina mondai*) and issues of Japan's interstate relations. Individual ethics was here placed within the

78. Suite, "Sapporo ni sunde ni ita koro," pt. 2, p. 13.

79. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, pp. 71–72.

larger framework of duty to nation and family. Meanwhile, Arishima introduced Tolstoy and Ibsen in the class and focused on the Tolstoyan notion of ethics as the mainstay of the class.⁸⁰ It may not have been a cohesive course for students, but the lectures became so popular that attendance became standing room only. Although the class was held in the largest lecture room in the college, students flowed into the hallway. Arishima's student Harada Mitsuo (1890–1977) recalled the intensity with which the audience listened to the lectures.⁸¹

The debate between the two professors continued outside the classroom in their approaches to other aspects of college life. Harada, who entered as the top pupil at the college and was an active participant in Arishima's discussion sessions, noted the sharp contrast in the two professors' attitudes to the daily military drills that students were required to attend at the college. Whereas Mizobuchi led the military exercises dressed in full uniform, Harada recalled that Arishima laughed when he noticed that Harada had managed to absent himself from every drill.⁸² Mizobuchi and Arishima's relations became so conflictive that Arishima was eventually led to excuse himself from the ethics course.⁸³

The students tended to remember visible moments of tension between two currents of thought that Arishima had endeavored to highlight. Many students observed the violent confrontation of words that occurred in the cafeteria during a student-faculty teatime discussion between one of the student participants in Arishima's social studies sessions and another college professor, Hashimoto Sugorō, over the nature of ethics. Hashimoto, like Mizobuchi, had been teaching national ethics by using the Emperor's Rescript on Education.⁸⁴ These moments in the life of the college also included residents' circulation of a newly created dormitory journal, *Sapporo Graphic*, that reflected Arishima's thoughts. *Sapporo Graphic* strongly criticized Mizobuchi and the ideologies propounded by the college's main administration.⁸⁵

80. Arishima, *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 11:356.

81. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 72.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Arishima also formed a weekly study group, the Social Studies Circle, when he arrived at the college. The circle had already begun working to change the ideological tenor on campus outside the classroom before the ethics class even began. The group of twenty to thirty people studied Kropotkin's and other anarchist and socialist ideas. Known among students as Mokuyōkai, the Thursday Get-Together, the group gathered every Thursday evening at Arishima's home outside the college (Figure 4.1).⁸⁶ That approximately a quarter of the student body at even this elite institution was committed enough to attend this group is suggestive of the broader popularity with which anarchist thoughts were received in post-war Japan. Kropotkin's works on anarchism were the main texts of discussion, and a number of participants recalled that Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid was a focal point of the study circle.⁸⁷ One student recalled his roommate crying with emotion over the debates that ensued at the Social Studies Circle.⁸⁸ Suite Junnosuke, a promising young professor at the college, recalled reading enthusiastically Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* in Kōtoku's "secret" translation that Arishima had illegally obtained, as well as Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*.⁸⁹ The government considered *Conquest of Bread* extremely dangerous. The mere possession of the book was regarded as a serious crime.⁹⁰ By these standards, criminals were too numerous to count, for the book had passed through a number of hands just in order to arrive at the Social Studies Circle. One student to whom Kōtoku's translation of *The Conquest of Bread* had been passed through the underground networks of supporters of socialist-anarchist thought in turn passed it to Arishima to read.⁹¹ Arishima also obtained another copy of Kōtoku's translation for the circle's reading from a member of the Heimin Farm, introduced in Chapter 3, who in turn had likely received the banned book through the expansive anarchist-socialist network. The illicit materials were passed around the study group.

86. Keitekiriyō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiriyō shi*, pp. 9–10.

87. Ibid., p. 10; Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 71.

88. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 70.

89. Suite, "Sapporo ni sunde ni ita koro," pt. 3, pp. 10–11; Kropotkin, *Conquest of Bread*.

90. See Eguchi, *Zoku waga bungaku hanseki*, p. 63.

91. Keitekiriyō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiriyō shi*, p. 11.



Fig. 4.1 Social Studies Circle led by Arishima Takeo. Arishima is the tenth person standing from the left, in a fedora hat and overcoat. Asume Soichi, future founder of the anarchist publisher Sōbunkaku, is the seventh standing from the left, also in a fedora. Photograph courtesy of Hokkaido University Northern Studies Special Collection.

The main newspaper and journal of students at the college were edited by those involved in attending Arishima's lectures and study circles at his home and included some of the top pupils on campus. These followers of Arishima's teaching largely succeeded in forming the dominant ideological universe of the student body on campus.

Appointed faculty-in-residence of the college's single dormitory, Arishima became a mentor figure for the students living there. The dormitory, Keitekiryō, housed about one hundred people, almost the entire student body, because almost all the students came to study in Sapporo from different parts of Japan. Because the dormitory served as the center of student life at the college, Arishima's impact as faculty-in-residence was tremendous. Many students recalled his presence with fondness. One, for example, remembered that Arishima was the only faculty member on campus to call the students "san" (Mr.) with respect, and that

Arishima always sat and ate with the students in their cafeteria.⁹² The atmosphere of the dormitory was generally very interactive, and residents there treated one another as an extended family.⁹³ Although he served in this position for only a short time, a history of the dormitory published by an association of former student residents, recalls Arishima as having made a tremendous impact on students as the dormitory's faculty-in-residence.⁹⁴ Clark had originally established the dormitory as a "self-governing and free entity" to reflect the ideals of the new college in fostering independent thinking among his students.⁹⁵ Arishima took this ideal in full stride and used it as a space to nurture cooperatist anarchist ideas.

The reopening of the monthly Knowledge Discovery Symposium (Kaishikisha) at Keitekiryō after many decades of nonactivity was an exciting time for students at the college. Clark had originally formed the symposium in the mid-1870s to enhance students' knowledge and ability to think critically and independently. Now held in the college's dormitory, the symposium became one of the major regular events in student life. Students recalled the symposium as a long-overdue continuation of Clark's original vision. However, Arishima was in charge of the symposium's revival, and many of the discussions naturally centered on anarchist religious thought and ethics. Students who recalled the symposium years later wrote that Arishima's discussions of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and of the philosophy of religion and life (or Tolstoyanism) particularly stood out in their minds.⁹⁶ These meetings among students provoked large debates in the dormitory. At other times, Arishima gave open lectures at the dormitory, in which he also discussed his ideas. He led an informal discussion circle at the dorm that students recalled as mainly talking about the "social problem" (*shakai mondai*) as the problem of

92. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 50.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

94. Seishun no Hokudai Keitekiryō henshū iinkai, *Seishun no Hokkudai Keitekiryō*, p. 31.

95. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, pp. 48–49.

96. Keitekiryō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiryō shi*, p. 715. See also Suite, "Sapporo ni sunde ita koro," pt. 3.

capitalism.⁹⁷ In the eyes of both college and state officials, Arishima's presence at the dormitory was felt to have such negative results on students that he was asked to resign from his position as faculty-in-residence at the dorm after a year.⁹⁸

Colonization and modernization in the Western fashion came to be considered nationalism, and that nationalism was largely perceived as retrogressive. Even the charismatic figure Nitobe was reassessed at this time. A number of students reacted coldly toward Nitobe's speech at the college when he came to visit his alma mater and former employer from his new position as chair of colonization studies at Tokyo Imperial University. Harada's identification of Nitobe as a nationalist in his diary shows as much what some students thought about nationalism in the period after the Russo-Japanese War as what they thought about Nitobe.⁹⁹ The students' cold reception of Nitobe, one of the college's first graduates and its foremost alumnus, suggests how much the campus atmosphere had changed in the years after the Russo-Japanese War.

Although many students embraced the notions of cooperatist anarchism, the college continued to maintain its face to the world as the nation's leading institution of colonization and Westernization. College president Satō Shōsuke remained a leading figure in the nation for the modernization and colonization project of Hokkaido and beyond. Administratively, the college continued to function as a national imperial college and formed strategies and policies conducive to the interests of the imperial nation-state. In 1911, the year Kōtoku was executed, Arishima felt particular pressure at the college from government authorities. He noted in his diary that he was being watched on campus as a "dangerous person."¹⁰⁰ He left SAC in 1915 to pursue his writing career full-time and to contribute to the anarchist movement without institutional restrictions.

Nonetheless, even after Arishima's departure, college students continued to identify with Kropotkinian theory. The history of the dormitory, published many years after Arishima left the college, began its section

97. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 70.

98. Senuma Shigeki, "Arishima Takeo Den 5," p. 32.

99. Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, p. 71.

100. Morton, *Divided Self*, p. 79.

on student self-governance with a quote from Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*.¹⁰¹ The college's main student journal, *Bunbukai kaihō*, founded after Arishima's departure by his students involved in the Social Studies Circle, published articles using Kropotkin's ideas, including some articles titled simply "Kropotkin." An article on workers' cooperatives quoted from Kropotkin, setting the tone for the subsequent appearance of writings on the topic of mutual aidism in the journal.¹⁰²

The activities of anarchist-leaning individuals related to the Social Studies Circle also spread beyond the school to the city of Sapporo and beyond. Tadokoro Tokusaburō (1893–1962), a good friend of Arishima, had been another active participant in the Social Studies Circle and became an anarchist. Tadokoro ran the used bookstore Sōkensha in Sapporo. Almost every night, a number of Sapporo's young people gathered at the bookstore to discuss anarchist and socialist ethical issues. In 1925, Tadokoro established the group Musanjinsha (Noncapitalist), which had the motto *kyōrō, kyōzon, kyōraku* (mutual working, mutual existence, and mutual enjoyment). This anarchist group had members spread out across Hokkaido. Sugawara Michitarō, a graduate of the university, was arrested soon after graduation in 1922 for lecturing at a local junior high school about Kropotkin. Sugawara had been involved in the previously mentioned student journal *Bunbukai kaihō*. The students attempted to establish a literary movement based on Arishima's literature from 1918. The university considered the movement subversive, and Satō Shōsuke called the students into his office to put an end to it. Such activities reveal how much Arishima's attempt to rectify history on campus found a willing response from the student body and realized the turn to anarchist modernity, even on the chessboard of Western modernity at the college.

Arishima's student and friend Asume Soichi (1878–1930) would become a widely known figure among the networks of cooperatist anarchists. He had also been a participant in Arishima's Social Studies Circle and ran the radical bookstore Dokuritsusha in Sapporo before passing it

101. Keitekiryō shi hensan iin kai, *Keitekiryō shi*, p. 715.

102. Chōjin, "Rokoku ni okeru aruteru," p. 17.

to the above-mentioned Tadokoro.¹⁰³ A figure unknown to most historians, Asuke would tie together many cooperatist anarchist practices from behind the scenes as a publisher of works by anarchist thinkers. As founder of the anarchist publishing company Sōbunkaku, he helped financially support through publication a number of cooperatist anarchists, such as the anarchist and future Rōno School Marxist Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958), Ōsugi, and the Russian children’s writer Vasilii Eroshenko, discussed in Chapter 5. Arishima had helped Asuke start up his company and chose to publish all his later works through Sōbunkaku. In turn, Arishima used Sōbunkaku to help finance some of the causes he was interested in.¹⁰⁴

Arishima has been generally depicted in the West as a despairing romantic-in-crisis who achieved very little beyond his fiction writing.¹⁰⁵ In fact, his cautiousness and his desire to hide himself from police records have also hidden him from the historical record. Arishima is thus much less remembered for his anarchism than for his fiction. However, what he himself called the “silent path” that he took was an active one that radicalized the people around him.

Arishima would become widely known among Japanese cooperatist anarchists as the quiet patron of the anarchist movement. His informal, consistent involvement in the form of lecture tours, writings, journal publications, and heavy financial support made him a major hub of the movement. He gave speech tours on topics significant to the movement and helped raise wide support for such causes as the Russia Famine Relief Movement. He financially supported the anarchist travels and activi-

103. Nihon Anākizumu Undō Jinmei Jiten Henshū Iiankai, *Biografía leksikono de la Japana anarkista movado*, p. 403.

104. When Eroshenko was deported from Japan for “dangerous activities,” Arishima had Sōbunkaku publish his children’s stories. Before being involved in the publishing business, Asuke had started a business called Ippomaya, the scientific term for sweet potato, because he sold sweet potatoes from a cart. This mobile business helped him travel across the country. On Asuke, see Harada, *Omoide no shichijūnen*, pp. 75–76. It was Asuke to whom Arishima wrote his suicide note in 1923. Their relationship is another reminder of the ways in which bonding functioned in hidden ways among participants in this network, often revealing itself fully only with death.

105. See, for example, Morton, *Divided Self*, p. 214, who refers to Arishima’s “spectacular but doomed efforts to change the world.”

ties of little-known figures, as well as famous figures like Ōsugi Sakae, and many young anarchists in Tokyo stopped by Arishima's home when they were in need of cash. He was an important hub in anarchist networks from the 1910s until his suicide in 1923. Arishima's name was so respected that his endorsement of a particular movement or practice was tremendously valuable for other cooperatist anarchists.

His activities are characteristic of the overall practices of participants in cooperatist anarchist modernity during the late Meiji-Taishō period, long characterized in Japanese historiography as the "Winter Period," a term used to refer to the period of strict persecution and government control over anarchist and socialist activities after the execution of Kōtoku and fellow anarchists in the Daigyaku incident of 1911. The "Winter Period" is not just a chronological designation or a descriptive term referring to government censorship, but has important interpretive consequences. The term refers to the absence of political "events" and activities by anarchists and socialists measured by political organization. The Winter Period supposedly ended in 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution and the initiation of the Communist Party and the corresponding political organization of Marxists in Japan. Yet Kropotkin's posing of a possibility for the merging of subjectivity and action within a larger independent modernity appeared to become a matter of life and death by the early Taishō. Behind the veil of an absence of "events" as defined by political organization were the hidden everyday practices and subjectivities that the term "Winter Period" fails to convey.

The use of the term is a reminder of the degree to which historicization of the past is measured by events and activities in the formal political arena. The cultural and social phenomena of cooperatist anarchist modernity were not discernible as a political institution or organization in the formal sense. Activities by participants in this discourse were understandable only as reflected in daily practices, in cultural life, in human relations, and in writing, as an expression of knowledge and corresponding modern subjectivity. Arishima's activities may be understood in just this manner. Because anarchists did not form political organizations, their activities during this so-called Winter Period have therefore often been undermined and misrepresented by historians. The founders of SAC may have been seeing like a state in their crafting of the college as a game board of Western modernity on which its students were expected

to play, but the players' maneuvers and how they played the board were quite another matter.¹⁰⁶

Historians have tended to overemphasize the Bolshevik Revolution as a great breaking point that was responsible for the reemergence of Japanese "leftist" activities and the corresponding ending of the Winter Period. This interpretation overlooks the depth of the intellectual accumulation of Japanese-Russian nonstate intellectual relations. Similarly, by measuring the historical relevance of activities by the level of their formal political organization, the historiographical categorization of the years between the Russo-Japanese War and the Bolshevik Revolution as the Winter Period hides the dynamic and creative cultural responses to the history slide initiated by anarchists in this period. The following chapters introduce a series of cultural and intellectual responses to the history slide that may be summed up as an anarchist cultural revolution.

Historians have tended to write about this historical period as that of the adoption of Western modalities of time and civilizational progress, according to which Japan was always behind. Arishima's case reveals that this self-colonization was in fact very difficult to achieve. Like many others in Japan during this period, Arishima had earlier failed to be self-colonized or overcome by modernity. He had made a weak effort to embrace both the Western modern hierarchical order of civilizations and races and universal equality and had fallen short. His attempt as a promising student of Western cosmopolitanism to graduate into Western modernity in America foundered during the war period and gave way to an anarchist imagination of progress and civilization. Here, Western modernity was countered not by a timeless Japanese cultural space, but by a new, equally powerful urge for human progress.

Arishima's and Tokutomi's pilgrimages expressed their attempts to immerse themselves, body and soul, in a new historical narrative, a temporal belonging that transcended the cultural construct of East and West, yellow and white, uncivilized and civilized, colonized and colonizer. Their pilgrimages marked the moment immediately after the war in which both Tolstoyan religion and the anarchist writings of Kropotkin were

106. For a conceptually suggestive work, see Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.

embraced as dual expressions of this shift in subjectivity to anarchist modernity. The urgency with which their pilgrimages were made, just months after the war ended, suggest the compulsion that many Japanese felt to act in order to realize that progress. In action would lie the solution to the retrogression of civilization and progress that they had witnessed in the war. However, anarchist action was not to lie in political acts of terrorism and assassination. Rather, the sphere of action would lie primarily in the arena of culture and thought. The following chapter examines language as the first cultural sphere in which the history slide manifested itself. Esperanto suddenly became a widely practiced means to attain an international society of *heimin* without the nation-state after the war.

CHAPTER 5

Translingual World Order: Language without Culture

When the international auxiliary language Esperanto suddenly became all the rage in Japan the year after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), leading newspapers took notice. In *Asahi Shimbun's* widely read annual assessment of the leading popular trends, the newspaper announced that Esperanto and *naniwa bushi*, a popular style of singing, were the biggest public crazes of all in 1906. Although Esperanto had first been introduced to Japan only that year, the public's enthusiastic response was immediate. The excitement over Esperanto was so intense that no less than nine new Esperanto textbooks were published in Japan that year.¹ The first Esperanto-Japanese dictionary, *Sekaigo* (World language), flew off bookshop shelves.² *Sekaigo* was the best-known introduction to Esperanto in early twentieth-century Japan. Its author was none other than Futabatei. That same year, Ōsugi Sakae opened the first school of Esperanto in Japan. The school not only fostered the pursuit of anarchism by young Chinese students in Tokyo but also marked the anarchist beginnings of Esperanto in Japan. When the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages serialized the study of Esperanto in its journal *Gogaku* that same year, Ōsugi, a TSFL alumnus, was heavily responsible for the publication.³

1. Mukai, *Anakizumu to Esuperanto*, p. 18.

2. Nihon Esperanto undō gojussūnen kinen gyōji iin kai, *Nihon Esperanto undō shiryō*, pp. 11–12.

3. *Ibid.*

If one looks back at the emergence of Esperantism more than a hundred years ago, the near-perfect contrast between the popularity of Esperanto on the ground and the absence of any discussion of Esperantism in the historiography of modern Japan is striking. This distinctive moment in the history of Japanese intellectual and cultural life has virtually disappeared from historical narratives. Given that Esperanto was one of the biggest fads in Japan in the years after the Russo-Japanese War, it is curious that it was first popularized by the likes of Futabatei and Ōsugi, prominent figures in the discourse of cooperatist anarchist modernity. Indeed, Japanese anarchists were instrumental in the making and dissemination of the language and its associated social thoughts after the war.

The following early history of the Esperanto movement offers a rare window into popular consciousness and the imagination of world order in a noncolonized country in modern Asia. It was an imagination that was formed outside the colonized realm of knowledge and was neither Eurocentric nor anti-West. From its inception in Japan, Esperantism was a popularly embraced practice of internationalism that promoted the multiplicity of cultures in human historical development. Yet it was the absence of culture in Esperanto that marked the beginning of this cultural-linguistic turn in cooperatist discourse. At the turn of the last century, when the concept of culture was often that of race, and race was integral to the hierarchically constructed discourse of civilization,⁴ Esperanto in Japan was seen in theory as a language without culture or civilization. It represented the overturning of linguistic and cultural Darwinism. That is, Esperantists sought to transcend the competitive world of survival of the fittest supposedly verified by the findings of the biologist Charles Darwin, in which the weaker, more primitive languages and cultures would disappear, leaving the stronger and more advanced languages and cultures of the civilized West to thrive.

The lack of a national culture and a racial identifier connected Esperanto ideologically with the absence of the Nobel Peace Prize in the Nonwar Movement's discussions of peace. In this interlinked absence of Eurocentric hierarchical notions of culture and progress, a vision of translingual world order and peace was formed. The language without culture was viewed as a tool for the practice of internationalism by all

4. Stocking, "Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race."

“people” (*heimin*) as defined in the Nonwar Movement, irrespective of nationality, race, ethnicity, class, financial background, education, or social status. The sudden rise of the Japanese fascination with this artificial language devoid of history, culture, or power was an expression of a forgotten grassroots movement of “worldism” and its vision of world order in Japan that has escaped historians’ notice. Consistent with their post-war understanding of the laws of the universe and of biological evolution (see Chapter 6), cooperatist anarchists strove to embrace and promote the multiplicity of cultures and their encounters without a hierarchical premise of the eventual ascendance of a particular “fit” or “strong” race, language, culture, or civilization and absent utopian finality.

Esperanto was referred to in Japan after the Russo-Japanese War as “world language” (*sekaigo*). Today, Esperanto is often referred to as *minsaigo*, which can be translated as “interpeople’s language” or “popular language.” In both cases, a new term was manufactured to distinguish Esperanto from the *kokusaigo* (international language) of *kokusaikankei* (international relations), the sphere of diplomatic interactions between territorially grounded sovereign states. *Minsaigo* pointedly refers to Esperanto’s facilitation of direct, nonstate global interactions on the grassroots level among individuals, social groups, and associations, absent notions of civilizational, racial, national, or ethnic hierarchies rooted in the territorial utopia of the nation-state representative of Western modernity. The usage of *minsaigo* today reflects the persistence of the understanding of populist internationalism that the language carried a century ago. It is an ideological echo over time of the Nonwar invention of *heimin* in contradistinction to the notion of *kokumin*.

The number of Esperanto speakers in Japan continued to rise in waves over the next two decades. By 1928, Japan had the highest number of registered Esperanto speakers by far of any non-European country, including the United States.⁵ Given that many Japanese Esperantists were never registered as such, including some of the best-known speakers and supporters of Esperantism, the breadth of the spontaneous civil movement of Esperantism in early twentieth-century Japan is particularly remarkable. It involved an impressive number of people and groups with a wide array

5. Forster, *Esperanto Movement*, p. 24.

of innovative social thoughts and practices to link Japan to the wider world on the nonstate level in the first part of the twentieth century.

The Esperanto movement was one expression of the widely shared desire to rechannel the present toward a new direction and “rectify history” discussed in Chapter 4. Certainly, an impressive list of leading intellectuals of the time followed popular culture to learn Esperanto. They included Japan’s foremost ethnographer, Yanagida Kunio (1875–1962); leading cosmopolitanist and educator Nitobe Inazō; liberal critic and journalist Hasegawa Nyozeikan (1875–1969); popular songwriter Kitahara Hakushū; the celebrated children’s literature writer Miyazawa Kenji; and leading anarchist Ōsugi Sakae, to name just a few representatives of diverse intellectual and cultural fields in prewar Japan.

Despite the prestige of such figures, Esperantism offers an important case of the reversal of the hierarchy of knowledge. Esperanto was studied and discussed by elites and nonelites alike in noninstitutional spaces, such as cafés, clinics, and the second floor of privately owned shops at night, when institutions privileged by state and financial power had closed. By looking at these hidden space-times outside the realms of state guidance, one becomes privy to an imagination and practice of nonstate peace and world order.

This chapter does not pretend to offer total coverage of the Japanese Esperanto movement as a whole. The expansive proliferation of Esperanto in later years suggests that the language came to mean diverse things to different people. The later uses of the language clearly require monographic scholarly attention beyond what can be handled in this chapter. Instead, the chapter examines the intellectual origins of and impetus for Esperanto’s rise in Japan as a means to delineate what I call “worldism,” a popularly circulated imagination of world order practiced by early Esperanto supporters in early twentieth-century Japan that was distinct from notions of world order and international relations centered on the nation-state that held sway in the twentieth century. Esperanto was viewed as a communicative transnational tool that enabled the free and spontaneous formation of countless transnational societies and associations, and that amplified diversity and equality among local cultures and vernacular languages. Although Esperanto has the concrete linguistic properties of Indo-European languages, Japanese nonetheless embraced its noncultural characterization. It was to be the linguistic glue to hold

disparate individuals, groups, and associations together, even as it promoted the expansion of cultural encounters, mutual influence, and differentiation among nonterritorially based cultural entities. Esperantists understood the nonhierarchically (dis)ordered transnational circulation of ideas and culture to be at the root of civilizational progress.

It is well known that the Russo-Japanese War helped spark the rise of nationalist decolonizing sentiments in Asia and Africa.⁶ However, few know that Japanese Esperantists and anarchists were among the most enthusiastic supporters in Japan of Asian decolonization after the Russo-Japanese War. Although they shared an emancipatory impulse, the internationalism manifest in the Esperanto movement was nonetheless ideologically opposed to the most basic assumptions of rising decolonization movements. Decolonization movements were political movements that sought to liberate a nation from imperialism by transferring power to indigenous hands in order to found a sovereign nation-state modeled after the West.⁷ The Esperanto movement's imagination of free nonstate associations of "people" around the world expressed an ideology of liberation from the territorial utopia of Western modernity founded on the modern (civilized) state.

This chapter examines the Esperanto movement as a nongovernmental movement (NGM) rather than a nongovernmental organization (NGO). As an NGM, the movement was locally based and motivated and escaped the cultural imperialism embedded in the organizational composition of many of the existing international NGOs of the day originating in Euro-America.⁸ Indeed, even the most publicly visible supporters of Esperanto, such as Futabatei, never became members of the Japan Esperanto Institute, the national association for Esperanto in Japan affiliated with the World Esperanto Association. Although the organizational history of these associations offers some degree of insight into Esperanto's history in Japan, the meanings given to the language and its popular worldism can be

6. Duara, "Introduction." Within the same conceptual universe, black American leaders reacted to the war by seeking bonds with the Japanese as "the champion of the colored race." Gallichio, *African American Encounter with Japan and China*.

7. Duara, "Introduction."

8. See, for example, Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*.

more meaningfully traced in the thought and practices of Esperantism's better-known representatives, who were highly reliant on both popular support and ideologically joined networks for their activities.

By focusing on Japanese Esperantists' reception of and interactions with one another and with foreigners in Japan, I arrive at a method to resurrect the moment of the rise and development of the Esperanto movement in Japan. The chapter traces the ties formed through Esperanto that joined its diverse speakers and supporters as a means to determine who supported the worldism of Esperanto. At the same time, it discusses key representatives of Esperantism and their practices. As a methodological strategy, the chapter reassembles the social of a linguistic community that formed beneath the diplomatic negotiating table in early twentieth-century Japan.⁹ It reveals that with a new postwar spatiotemporal imagination of cooperatist modernity, Esperanto relied on the network community for its expansion. The community in turn expanded through Esperanto.

This chapter offers a fresh perspective on the history of Esperanto. It departs from the existing understanding of Esperanto as a failed project that has survived only as a "utopian curiosity" kept alive by a "handful of intelligentsia."¹⁰ It is true that in early twentieth-century Europe, leading Esperantists largely conceived the language as part of a utopian project based on the notion of linguistic Darwinism, the evolutionary elimination of all dialects and their replacement with the most advanced language, Esperanto. This form of social Darwinism assumed that the most logical, most regular, and most scientific language would eventually succeed all other languages in a process of hierarchically ordered linguistic elimination and evolution. Political scientist James Scott points out that because Esperantists lacked a powerful state to enforce their utopian dreams in this intellectual universe, Esperanto "failed to replace the existing vernaculars or dialects of Europe."¹¹ Although Japanese Esperantism shared some of its ideals with the original creator of Esperanto, Lazar Ludwik Zamenhof (1859–1917), it had its own logic specific to popular Japanese historical consciousness. Unlike the sociolinguistic Darwinist projection

9. Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

10. Scott, *Seeing like a State*, p. 257.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

of the elimination of the weaker cultures by elites of the more powerful cultures, Esperanto in Japan was a liberation of the vernacular from that Eurocentric cultural hierarchy. The history of Japanese Esperantism is thus also a history of the emergence of an ideological divide in the global history of Esperantism.

Introducing the Language of the Heimin

Esperantism began as a grassroots movement in Japan. The Esperanto boom occurred simultaneously in towns and cities across Japan in the year after the war. Esperantists came from a variety of social backgrounds, including ordinary farmers like Ogawa Masaji, a loyal member of the Japan Esperanto Association from 1906 to 1919, urban laborers, merchants, students, white-collar workers, medical and legal professionals, soldiers, the self-employed, teachers, small shop owners, monks, writers, students, and even government officials, all of whom began to study Esperanto privately in 1906–7.¹² In Tokyo, when a speech about Esperanto was given in the language in August 1906, it attracted 300 people.¹³ At the first Esperanto meeting in Tokyo in 1906, 130 people attended.¹⁴ Such responses were impressive in the capital city, but the simultaneous and spontaneous postwar gatherings of much smaller groups in towns and cities around the country, like the 20 people in Kobe who became members of the Japan Esperanto Association in 1906 and the 20 people in the southern city of Nagoya who began studying the language that same year, were perhaps even more striking. These original small local gatherings would carry the Esperanto movement. From the small group in Nagoya, for example, the number of Esperanto speakers continued to grow in the city to many thousands. In 1927, Nagoya's radio station hosted the first Esperanto-language lecture series in Japan. Initially, three thousand copies of an accompanying self-study Esperanto textbook were printed, but the text sold out immediately and had to be reprinted several times. In all, eleven thousand copies were sold to local

12. Suzuoki, *Nagoya Esuperanto undō nenpyō*, p. 2; Miyake, *Tatakau Esuperantistotachi no kiseki*, p. 18.

13. Nihon Esperanto undō gojussūnen kinen gyōji iin kai, *Nihon Esperanto undō shiryō*, pp. 11–12.

14. Suzuoki, *Kobe no Esuperanto*, p. 6.

Nagoyans.¹⁵ Because printed materials were often passed hand to hand at the time, it may be assumed that many more Nagoyans made use of the texts that year.

Many who had participated in and supported the Nonwar Movement embraced and promoted Esperanto. Futabatei had already played an important role in shaping social thought on “language” and “culture.” Esperanto fit Futabatei’s conception of language as a revolutionary force. In his production of the first Esperanto-Japanese dictionary, Futabatei called the language *sekaigo* (world language). The term that he used for this auxiliary language denoted the unity of “people” that was beyond the nation-state even as it incorporated and enabled the survival and civilizational contributions of multitudes of ethnic, cultural, and other differences. However, in introducing Esperanto, Futabatei did not imagine the preservation of idealized ethnic groups in static and unchanging states of existence. Recall from Chapter 1 that radical progress was embodied in the Japanese vernacular language revolution that Futabatei himself had fomented in the wake of the Meiji Ishin. Futabatei had earlier constructed a modern Japanese language from a combination of both Russian-language Populist literature and his studies of Edo commoners’ vernacular language from the late Tokugawa period. His crafting of a new literary language initiated the modern vernacular language movement in Meiji Japan. For Futabatei, the Japanese language was the result of unstable and diverse forms of cultural production. Rather than being ideal and static, language constantly changed, adapted, and differentiated in its contact with cultures of diverse times and spaces. In turn, civilizational progress was tied to a constantly changing culture. Echoing this notion of modern language, the Esperanto movement similarly recognized and promoted the temporary and ever-changing nature of language and culture in the constant encounter and contact of languages and cultures in the modern era.

Translation and language creation could also serve to make people conscious of social injustices and inequality in all regards—social, economic, gendered, racial, ethnic, and international. If literature and this ever-changing vernacular language were tools to shape subjectivity and

15. Ibid., p. 3; Suzuoki, *Nagoya Esuperanto undō nenpyō*, p. 2.

redirect society, Esperanto was a tool to help shape a new world order based on the *heimin* as the subject and vehicle of historical progress.

Futabatei's introduction of Esperanto may be functionally superimposed on his construction of the Japanese language. For Futabatei, both modern Japanese and Esperanto were manufactured languages that mediated between the vernacular and the international spheres while dissipating hierarchy on the social, ethnic, racial, and international levels. He translated the first Esperanto dictionary from Russian in the very same way in which he had created a new modern Japanese vernacular literary language via Russian Populist translation. His dictionary was the product of Japanese-Russian intellectual exchange from his collaboration with the Russian Esperantist Fedor Postnikov (1872–1952) in Vladivostok in 1902. Postnikov was an active figure in the Russian Esperanto movement. His brother Aleksandr Postnikov (1880–1925) was a leading Russian Esperantist who was elected the first president of the Russian Esperanto League in 1908 and headed the first Esperanto Congress of Russia in 1910. One year later, Aleksandr was arrested in St. Petersburg and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for espionage.¹⁶

The postwar fascination with Futabatei's introduction of Esperanto suggests a keen consciousness of the relationship between language and history among cooperatist anarchists. His vernacular language production mattered greatly to cooperatist anarchists at this time because it was language that was to serve as a vessel for the modern consciousness of heiminess. The fact that it was Futabatei who first introduced Esperanto to Japan via Russia thus had great meaning for many people. They viewed Esperanto as a radical internationalist extension of Futabatei's revolutionary language production. Police records on Japanese anarchists show that Futabatei's craft of translation was very much on anarchists' minds at this time. An examination of the materials confiscated by Japanese intelligence officers from the homes of those accused of plotting to assassinate the emperor in the Daigyaku incident reveals that Futabatei's translation practice continued to be a topic of discussion for them. Underground letters between the accused at this time assessed the quality of Futabatei's

16. Aleksandr Postnikov was given amnesty as a political exile and freed as a result of the February 1917 Revolution in Russia.

translations of Russian literary writers.¹⁷ The letters speak explicitly about his craft of language production through his translations from Russian.

Esperanto became a representative medium for communication in cooperatist anarchist thoughts. In writing a dictionary of a language without a culture associated with any particular territory, ethnic group, or visible community, Futabatei had given expression in his language production to a widespread sentiment about the cooperative nature of society at large that extended beyond the confines of the Japanese nation-state. This society was coined in the language of *heimin*. The “people,” however, were neither an undifferentiated national or ethnic mass nor a coherent and undifferentiated class of proletariat, per Marx and Engels. They were differentiated ethnically, as well as by gender, culture, individual talents, and other characteristics. Cultural differences were not primordially defined; they were in a constant state of flux through contact with others and adaptation. Futabatei, like many other speakers of Esperanto, did not see civilizational progress in the gradual disappearance of little nations or peoples in a social Darwinian struggle for national existence. Rather, progress lay in the transnational encounters of world societies and the constant change in a million different ways that ensued.

This intellectual history of Esperanto in Japan departs from the existing understanding that Japanese imported Esperanto from the West as a means to learn about the West.¹⁸ In writing his dictionary, Futabatei offered a linguistic means for the transnational formation of the “people.”

The Diversification of Languages

The linguistic project of Esperanto acquired a sense of urgency in the late Meiji period, when Japanese assumed the status of “national language” (*kokugo*). Linguist of *kokugo* Ueda Kazutoshi (1867–1937) wrote in 1894 that Japanese purportedly contained a spiritual essence that was “the national blood.”¹⁹ Japanese as *kokugo* had become a key part of the core

17. Daigyaku jiken kiroku kankōkai, *Daigyaku jiken kiroku*, pp. 109–10.

18. See, for example, Lins, “Esperanto as Language and Idea in China and Japan,” p. 48.

19. Twine, *On Language and the Modern State*, p. 164.

curriculum in Japanese schools in the nation's effort to instill the linguistic determinant of nationhood. Japanese was also taught in Japan's colonies as a discipline to educate the colonial subject spiritually in the virtues of being "Japanese" under the unifying power of the emperor.²⁰ The language was locked in national ideology as part of a familiar trinity of one nation-state, one ethnicity, and one language.

In contrast to the preservation of linguistic purity, Esperanto as the language of the *heimin* promoted the endless variety of the vernacular languages and cultures in the world by serving as an intermediary among multiple vernaculars. It promoted the interaction among the forever-evolving multiple dialects and languages of the periphery, the colonized, ethnic minorities, and the underclass groups that transcended the territorial boundaries of the state.

The interest in promoting and protecting but not preserving the constantly evolving living languages and cultures of ethnic minorities and small nations became a shared value and a basis for friendship in the relations between the leading Ainu ethnographer Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918) and Futabatei and other worldists in 1906.²¹ Futabatei and Piłsudski made no heroic effort to preserve the lost Ainu. From the nativist perspective of distinct world cultures that can be preserved from the outside world, Ainu people were rapidly disappearing. Certainly Futabatei supported Piłsudski's effort to "protect" the Ainu from a violent and hierarchically ordered, forced Japanization through capitalism.²² However, neither Futabatei nor Piłsudski intended to preserve Ainu culture as a timeless and unchanging tradition. This was consistent with Futabatei's understanding and construct of a modern written Japanese language by merging Russian with Japanese commoners' vernacular languages to produce revolutionary change in Japanese society. Cooperatist anarchists would have noted that in fact, both Ainu and Japanese have

20. Among an increasing number of studies on language, eugenics, ethnicity, and Japanese colonial politics in both English and Japanese, see for example, Yasuda, "Language and Ethnicity in Modern Japan."

21. Futabatei was not the only Esperantist Piłsudski got to know in Japan. Ishikawa Sanshirō and Piłsudski also became acquaintances, and in 1914, Piłsudski visited Ishikawa in Brussels. Piłsudski, *Collected Works*, 1:32.

22. For evidence of this, see Piłsudski, *Collected Works*, 3:661; and Inoue Kōichi, "B. Piłsudski's Proposals of Autonomy and Education," pp. 49–74.

always adapted and changed as a result of their mutual encounters, and Ainu as such could never truly disappear. The nuanced difference between their wish to further civilizational progress as free human encounter, association, negotiation, and cultural change and the contrasting ideal of preserving an unchanging native tradition is difficult for historians to detect.

Piłsudski was a Polish subject of the Russian Empire who had been exiled to the island of Sakhalin for his involvement in an assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander III. He was the younger brother of the Polish revolutionary and general Józef Piłsudski. Józef would become the first chief of state of the new Republic of Poland (1918–22) when Poland achieved independence from the Russian Empire. Bronisław had been given passage into Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese War.²³ His meticulous observations and massive collections on the cultural practices of native people on Sakhalin and Hokkaido have made him recognized today as one of the world's leading ethnographers of Ainu culture and language. Unlike the well-known Ainu ethnographer and Christian missionary John Batchelor (1854–1944), Piłsudski spoke the Ainu language fluently. He officially married an Ainu woman who was the daughter of an Ainu chief. They had two children during the three years that Piłsudski lived in the village of Ai in Sakhalin, Russia. Later, during his stay in Japan for eight months in 1905–6, Piłsudski sought to garner political and social support for the Ainu. His efforts made him quite popular among the Ainu, according to one of his colleagues on Sakhalin, a fellow Polish ethnographer.²⁴ A 1906 letter written by the Ainu Sentoku Tarōji from Sakhalin to Piłsudski similarly reveals that Sentoku considered him as someone to whom Ainu could appeal for help as both a friend and an intermediary with the government on their behalf. Sentoku wrote to Piłsudski about the problems the Ainu faced in being forced to adopt a “Japanese way of life.”²⁵

In 1907, Futabatei described Piłsudski in the widely read mass-market magazine *Taiyō* as someone who

23. For rich details of Piłsudski's stay in Japan, see Sawada, “Bronislaw Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei.”

24. Piłsudski, *Collected Works*, 3:661.

25. *Ibid.*, 3:722–30.

served a bitter sentence in Siberia. Now he is already forty-some years old, and yet he does not even own a house. He came to Tokyo to save the Ainu as his life mission. He was greatly discontented because the world around him was so apathetic to their condition. He thinks it is necessary by all means to protect the Ainu as a people. And about himself? His clothing is minimal, and he is never choosy about his food. As long as he can survive, he thinks he is fine. He believes that as a poor race, the Ainu should be respected. If you look at it from the outside, it looks stupid, but his almost naïve attitude inspires sympathy.²⁶

Despite the fact that Piłsudski is world renowned today for his ethnographic studies on the Ainu and other ethnic groups, he admitted in letters to his friend, the ethnographer Lev Shternberg (1861–1927), that the scientific and theoretical findings on the so-called original language and culture of the Ainu before contact with the Japanese were not what most interested him. He described the “debris of phonetics” as “dead stuff belonging only to the archives of philology scholars and academic libraries.”²⁷ Piłsudski wrote his friend that he wished instead to study and involve himself in the “living,” contemporary economic and social problems of the minority peoples in the borderlands between imperial Russia and Japan.²⁸ Far from seeking to preserve the timeless cultures of the Ainu or to identify the origins of the Japanese people, as did many Japanese ethnographers who studied the Ainu at the time, Piłsudski was interested in bringing minorities of the area what he called the “bacteria of civilization,” for which they “thirst.” What Piłsudski meant was that he wished to further cultivate among the Ainu mundane technical know-how, such as how to “grow potatoes, raise sheep, and salt fish,” which would improve their everyday lives.²⁹ He thus welcomed cultural encounter, adaptation, and adoption of new knowledge to improve people’s everyday lives.

Nonetheless, the encouragement of technical know-how among the Ainu did not by any means reflect a desire to either Westernize or Japanize the Ainu in order to enlighten them and thereby eliminate their culture. He chose ironic terms to refer to that process (“bacteria”), and his interest

26. Futabatei, “Rokoku bungaku dampen,” pp. 205–6.

27. Piłsudski, “*Dorogoi Lev Iakovlevich*,” pp. 181–85.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 185.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

lay in introducing techniques of agriculture, raising livestock, and food preservation that would not radically alter their cultural practices and lifestyle. It was this shared progressive interest in a nonhierarchically ordered but culturally and linguistically diverse “people” in transnational contact that became a focal point for Piłsudski’s friendship with Futabatei and his involvement with a network of other worldists in Japan.

The well-known German-American anthropologist and Columbia University professor Franz Boas (1858–1942) similarly sought to identify in the historical development and creative reaction of humans to the environment the reason for the diversity of peoples in the world. Boas corresponded with Piłsudski, along with other ethnographer friends of his.³⁰ Boas was working with the Russian ethnographers to gather materials on the Northern peoples for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1897–1902.³¹ The expedition was organized to research relationships among peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait. Like Piłsudski, the Russians had become ethnographers after being exiled to the Russian Far East for their revolutionary activity. Working in overlapping scholarly circles, Boas and Piłsudski appear to have shared a common sphere of knowledge about culture and civilizational development. Esperantists from Japan expressed a parallel development of thought that was not influenced by Boas but had its own origins and roots. Intellectual interests in human diversity and creative cultural and linguistic change similar to those that tied Piłsudski and Boas linked Piłsudski with Japanese worldists.

It is helpful here to contrast the multicultural idea of “the people” pursued by Futabatei and Piłsudski with the multicultural idea of “the Japanese” that arose in this period. Oguma Eiji points out, for example, that as the Japanese territory expanded in the early twentieth century, peoples who were not ethnically Japanese, such as Koreans and Taiwanese, had to be incorporated into Japan as “non-Japanese Japanese.”³² As a result, the definition of “Japanese” conformed to this reality of territorial expansion. This chapter identifies, in contrast, a universalistic and fluid identification

30. Six letters between Piłsudski and Boas from the years 1907–16 are held in the Franz Boas Papers Collection of the American Philosophical Society, Mss. B.B61, box 71.

31. Freed, Freed, and Williamson, “Capitalist Philanthropy and Russian Revolutionaries,” pp. 15–21.

32. Oguma, *Genealogy of Japanese “Self-Images,”* pp. xxiii–xxiv.

of “the people” as multiculturally composed and mutually interactive. Anthropologists in the discourse studied by Oguma sought to find in their research on the Ainu the answer to the national problem of the origins of the “Japanese.” Piłsudski, on the other hand, as a representative of the worldism under discussion, sought through his studies to respond to the contemporary concerns of the Ainu to protect the right to practice their own way of life. Moreover, Piłsudski studied the Ainu as a people without national belonging, who straddled both Japan and Sakhalin. Going back and forth between Ainu communities located in the borderlands of Japan and Russia for his research, Piłsudski did not see more than situational differences between Ainu of Japan and of Russia. This view can be compared with other anthropologists who were concerned with whether Ainu in Japan were capable of becoming loyal fellow countrymen in order to identify the national identity of the “Japanese.” Their work supported national policies and constructed justifications for Japanese imperialist expansion. Thus, although superficial parallels may be identified between Piłsudski and other anthropologists studying the Ainu at the time, Piłsudski’s difference from them in the most fundamental sense lay in his conformity to worldist principles critical of the hierarchal order of international relations and corresponding imperialist policies.

In their continued attempt to transcend the constructed world order of Western modern international relations, Piłsudski and Futabatei also sought to develop Polish-Japanese cultural relations by founding the Polish-Japan Society. The journal *Sekai fujin* (see Chapter 3) became the “official organ” of the society.³³ Their letters show that they worked to create a Polish-language library in Japan and collaborated to translate Japanese and Polish literature into each other’s languages.³⁴ Piłsudski described Futabatei as having developed through his translations of Polish literature “spiritual ties between the two nations, so distant racially and geographically, but in many aspects quite similar.”³⁵ Their work on Polish-Japanese cultural relations was an expression of their shared project to maintain

33. Sawada, “Bronislaw Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei,” p. 8.

34. Their private letters to each other are reprinted in Ciesielska, *Bronisław Piłsudski i Futabatei Shimei*.

35. Piłsudski, “Shigi Hasiegawa,” pp. 8–9.

the diversity of languages among peoples and to facilitate direct relations among them.

The Polish people's status in this transnational equation was that of a colonized people without state power or international standing in modern "international society." Piłsudski recognized and noted this status, writing in a Polish article that the "simple people" in Japan widely regarded Poland as a colonized people overtaken by imperialist powers.³⁶ Bronisław was intimately associated with the Polish independence movement through his brother Józef. Józef had visited Japan in 1904 to garner Japanese support for a wartime Polish revolutionary movement to topple the Russian tsar from power. It was this anti-imperialist interest that tied Bronisław to both the cooperatist anarchist movement in Japan and the Russian revolutionary movement, despite the ambiguousness of Japanese anarchist involvement in the global decolonization movement. Bronisław also worked closely with the Russian revolutionary émigré community in Nagasaki (see Chapter 3) that revolved around the publishing and other political activities of Sudzilovskii-Russel.

As both a Polish-Russian revolutionary and a promoter of Ainu minority culture in postwar Japan, Bronisław was much sought after. His personal networks in Japan in turn helped expand the networks that had developed in the Nonwar Movement, introduced in Chapter 3. For example, at a time when a number of students of Russian from the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages were actively involved in the Nonwar Movement, one TSFL Russian-language graduate invited Piłsudski to stay at his home. This can be seen as a continuation of the radical tradition of the TSFL Russian program first initiated by Mechnikov. In turn, Piłsudski introduced TSFL graduate Futabatei to Piłsudski's rapidly widening network of Japanese associates, including the feminist and Freedom and People's Rights activist Fukuda Hideko (1865–1927) who edited the women's journal *Sekai fujin*, and another leading socialist intellectual, Kinoshita Naoe, who had been a contributor to the Nonwar Movement.³⁷ Piłsudski's introduction of Futabatei to Fukuda led Futabatei to contribute a number of his translations of Russian and Polish literary

36. Piłsudski and Bodzanta, "What Do They Say about Us in the Land of the Rising Sun?" pp. 15–17.

37. Sawada, "Bronislaw Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei," p. 8.

pieces to Fukuda's journal. That it was Piłsudski, newly arrived from Sakhalin, who introduced these Japanese figures to each other is a reflection of how radicals from Russia quickly became major hubs for cooperatist anarchist networks.

The site where networks formed around Piłsudski in Japan was representative of cooperatist anarchist networks. Piłsudski lodged at the Hakodateya, a bar and foreign-goods shop owned by a former samurai who had fought in the battle of Hakodate against the new Meiji government. The second floor of the Hakodateya became a frequent meeting place for Piłsudski and his Japanese associates. On the first floor, the shop specialized in selling imported Russian goods. At night on the second floor, it also served as a meeting place for political émigrés and former samurai discontented with the government.³⁸ In their dual function, such sites of cooperatist anarchist activity were easily hidden from contemporaries and from historians' eyes. Knowledge of these sites was open only to those belonging to the networks. Similarly, historians can learn of activities in these diverse and unassuming sites only by tracing one by one the individual strands of the network. They must rely on the more famous names, such as Futabatei, Ōsugi, and Piłsudski, for this narrative. Not only did these people serve as hubs, but also their preserved biographical materials are essential for the historian seeking to trace the much broader sociocultural phenomena they represent.

Esperantic Worldism

It was after the war that the term *sekai* (world) increasingly began to be used in such neologisms as *sekai fujin* (woman of the world), *sekaigo* (Esperanto), *sekaijin* (worldist), and *sekaishugi* (worldism).³⁹ Because the use of *sekai* in Japan has long been assumed to be a vague reference to Western cosmopolitanism, the ideological current of worldism has been hidden from historians behind the language that was used to represent it.

It is important to see just how *sekai* was used and how people read it in order to delineate the meaning of Esperanto as a world language

38. Noguchi, "Piłsudski to Ginza no Hakodateya"; see also Sawada, "Bronisław Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei."

39. *Sekai fujin* (1907–9); Futabatei, *Sekaigo*; *Sekaijin* (February–May 1916).

(*sekaigo*), because *sekaigo* was part of this larger proliferation of the word *sekai*. Out of the war emerged the foundations for a new nonstate transnationalism or, more literally “worldism” (*sekaishugi*), as participants in this discourse called it, based on an expanded notion that incorporated the notion of mutual aid among the countless ethnic nationalities in the world. The popularity of the use of the word *sekai* at this time reflects this ideological current. Curiously, the foremost place to discuss various issues of the everyday under the term *sekai* was a journal dedicated to women’s issues.

The fusion of worldism and the women’s movement became apparent in the journal *Sekai fujin* (Woman of the world), founded and staffed by women and men who had participated in the Nonwar Movement. *Sekai fujin* dedicated various discussions to women’s issues, which had been highlighted by the massive destabilization and devastation of women’s lives after the Russo-Japanese War. Nonetheless, the journal did not focus solely on women’s issues, for one of its premises was that what was good for world civilizational progress was also good for women, and vice versa. The cover of its first issue in 1907 featured the faces of anarchists from around the world.⁴⁰ From its opening issue, the journal made it clear that women of Japan would be linked socially and transnationally by antihierarchical social thoughts. Its use of the word *sekai*, which also meant the prosaic everyday life or “world” of women (*fujin sekai*) and thus linked everyday life with global concerns, was a referent for cooperatist principles of anarchism. The first issue was dedicated almost entirely to Kropotkin and linked cooperatist anarchism with *sekaishugi* (worldism). Japanese anarchists founded *Sekai fujin* at almost exactly the same time at which the anarchist and Nonwar participant Kaneko Kiichi and his wife Josephine Conger (see Chapter 3) founded *Socialist Woman* in Chicago, the first socialist journal in the United States dedicated to women’s issues. Kaneko’s contribution to the understanding of women’s issues as a global problem from his home in Chicago cannot be separated from his ties to an emerging Japanese Esperantism.

The conceptual grounding of the women’s movement that arose in Japan in this particular context was an internationalism that was outside

40. *Sekai fujin* 1 (January 1, 1907).

the fold of both Western cosmopolitanist internationalisms and pan-Asian internationalisms. It is illuminating to contrast worldism in Japan with women's internationalism in the West fostered by such groups as the International Council of Women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which largely united white European and American women on racial, religious, class, and civilizational grounds.⁴¹ *Sekai fujin* demonstrated the convergence of anti-imperialist internationalism, opposition to liberal capitalism, and ideas of gender and racial or ethnic democracy in what would become the mainstream current of Japanese women's movements.

Behind *Sekai fujin* lay the heavy involvement and contributions of members of the networks that had formed in the Nonwar Movement. It was this larger Nonwar intellectual context and intensification of networks that united Ishikawa Sanshirō and Fukuda Hideko, a veteran of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, to establish *Sekai fujin*. Ishikawa and Fukuda's transnationalism connected the Esperanto movement and the women's movement. It was no coincidence that the first complete translation of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* into Japanese by Ishikawa was first published in *Sekai fujin*. The momentous publication of *Mutual Aid* in the women's journal underscored the relationship among the women's movement, worldism, and anarchism. Similarly, in 1916, Ōsugi and his partner, the anarchist Itō Noe (1895–1923), founded the journal *Sekaijin* (Worldist) to replace Ōsugi and Arahata Kansō's (1887–1981) journal *Kindai shisō* (Modern thought). Here again, *Sekaijin* used the term *sekai* to refer to modern anarchist civilization and progress. The use of *sekai* in both *Sekaijin* and *Sekai fujin* was a radical departure from the way in which the translation of *sekaijin* as "cosmopolitanist" in English suggests Western liberal internationalism as a Kantian cosmopolitanism defined by peace among a league of elite, civilized nation-states.

Esperanto had been created as a conscious attempt to generate cultural integration via personal transnational communication and interactions and to create a world society. Zamenhof, a native of the city of Białystok in the former Russian Empire, had invented the planned language in the

41. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, pp. 27, 51–76; Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*, pp. 148, 220.

late 1870s and early 1880s in response to the religious tension and ethnic strife he observed among Russians, Poles, Germans, and Jews in his hometown. However, the meaning and role of Esperanto in various places and times throughout the world have differed considerably.

Japanese worldists recognized Esperanto as a very simple and strictly rule-based language, theoretically devoid of culture. Futabatei's introduction of Esperanto in his dictionary claimed confidently that "one could master the basic laws of the language in only half an hour, and with a basic vocabulary of only one thousand words, that requires only a few days of study." This was possible because the language required only a grammatical pursuit, not mastery of another culture.⁴² Journals in Japan advertised it as a scientific language that functioned much like a simple mathematical formula. With no cultural particularities, "everyone," or the *heimin*, was capable of mastering it.

At first glance, this seemed to echo the thought of Western European Esperantists at the time. In a report presented to the International Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam in August 1907, Belgian anarchists Emile Chapelier (1870–1933) and Gassy Marin (1883–1969) encouraged the adoption of Esperanto as the international language of anarchists. Chapelier and Marin claimed that Esperanto was the international language that would enable international society to catch up with the abundant victories of science. The latest technological inventions and discoveries had seemed to bring people closer together, but those very people found themselves unable to communicate the simplest ideas to the people of other countries to whom they were suddenly exposed. Chapelier and Marin claimed that the spread of Esperanto was a solution that would enable the attainment of universal solidarity by permitting direct communication between people, as well as the transnational spread of information directly from the source, rather than through the state and capitalist-run medium of the press.⁴³

Despite apparent similarities, however, the Belgian anarchists' views differed significantly from those of early twentieth-century Japanese Esperantists. Although Japanese Esperantists shared with other Esperantists

42. Futabatei, *Sekaigo*, p. 4.

43. Chapelier and Marin, *Anarchists and the International Language*, p. 4.

the belief that Esperanto was the most scientific and modern language befitting world civilizational progress, they defined “civilization” rather differently. Thus, from its beginnings, Esperantism in Japan departed from leading ideological trends in the Esperanto movement in Western Europe. Chapelier and Marin imagined world solidarity within the limited framework of a purportedly rational Western civilization. Measuring languages according to linguistic Darwinism, they viewed Esperanto as the most advanced language atop a hierarchical world order. In their social Darwinist understanding of linguistic evolution, languages progressed and disappeared along this hierarchy, from the words spoken by “primitive” island peoples to the most advanced cultural and linguistic orders of Western Europe and finally to Esperanto, the product of scientific enquiry, as the most advanced language. The Belgian Esperantists explained this scheme by the logic of progression toward simplification and rationality. They observed that “primitive” peoples spoke a language that was full of intricacies and rich in roots. Chapelier and Marin explained that this was because the mind of primitive man “was only able to grasp detail, and could neither comprehend nor express synthetic ideas.”⁴⁴ They believed that this richness in vocabulary of the primitive languages enabled their speakers to express only a very small number of ideas. The more advanced languages in Europe, on the other hand, had fewer words and a diminished complexity that led to a vastly increased flexibility of expression. They claimed that German, with half as many roots and rules as “Aryan” languages, enabled the expression of twenty times as many ideas. By accentuating these principles of simplification and accordingly maximizing the richness of expression, Esperanto was the most precise, the most logical, and therefore the most harmonious language.⁴⁵ It was on the basis of this logic of linguistic rationalization within a Eurocentric world hierarchy of cultures that they asserted that Esperanto was the most advanced and scientific language and the enabler of the most advanced ideas.

Chapelier and Marin’s claims about Esperanto fitted larger trends occurring in the global Esperanto movement at the time. After the language’s rapid decline in Russia due to government prohibition of the

44. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

language, the European center of the Esperanto movement moved to France. French intellectuals headed by Louis de Beaufront (1855–1935) rejected the value-oriented idealism of pacifism and brotherhood among men that had originally led to the language's rapid ascent in favor of a focus on the scientific and practical use of Esperanto. According to Esperanto historian Peter Forster, among French intellectuals interested in Esperanto, "the Positivist faith in intellectual and social evolution remained influential. In such a milieu the adoption of a language like Esperanto could be seen as a contribution to social evolution and the rationalization of society."⁴⁶

The rapid development of Esperantism in Japan created an ideological division among world Esperantists. An intellectual rift between Chinese anarchist-Esperantists based in Paris and those based in Tokyo reveals the ideological divide between the two sources of Esperanto discourse. Influenced by their interactions with the Esperanto movement in France, Chinese anarchists in Paris argued that Esperanto should effectively replace Chinese as the language of currency in China. Consistent with the prevailing trend of Esperantism in the West, they believed that because Chinese was not modern, it should be abandoned and Esperanto should be adopted in its stead. This argument was based on the Paris anarchists' belief in the superiority of Western language.⁴⁷

Chinese students in Tokyo, in contrast, believed that anarchism should come from within Chinese culture, and they argued that Esperanto would promote Chinese language and culture.⁴⁸ Chinese anarchists in Tokyo had been heavily influenced by Ōsugi, with whom they studied Esperanto and anarchism immediately after the war. The democratic and anti-imperialist promise of Esperanto in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War had become a foundation for Japanese-Chinese nonstate relations among burgeoning anarchists in Tokyo. Nonwar Movement leader and leading anarchist Kōtoku expressed this from the very beginning of his involvement with the Chinese students. Kōtoku began his speech at the opening meeting of the Chinese Society for the Study of

46. Forster, *Esperanto Movement*, p. 78.

47. Müller and Benton, "Esperanto and Chinese Anarchists," pp. 48–55.

48. *Ibid.*

Socialism in 1907 with the promise that the day of an international language was near.⁴⁹

Chinese students in Tokyo, in collaboration with Kōtoku and Ōsugi, founded the Chinese Society for the Study of Socialism to investigate the future of anarchism for China. For both Japanese anarchists and the first Chinese anarchists who were in Japan, the problem of language and the larger issues of culture and modernity it represented were critical to the formation of their relationship. Language as a function of modernity was also foundational in the formation of their anarchist thought.

Further evidence of this can be found in the correspondence between Kōtoku and Kropotkin in the years after the war. Kōtoku reported to Kropotkin periodically on the cooperative anarchist activities among Chinese and Japanese anarchists in Tokyo. In his written request to Kropotkin for permission to translate his work *The Conquest of Bread* after the Russo-Japanese War, Kōtoku asked Kropotkin to allow the work to be translated not only into Japanese but also into Chinese.⁵⁰ In this capacity, Kōtoku stood as an intermediary in the network between the Chinese anarchists and Kropotkin. Here lay a problem of language and translation, for although Kōtoku's translation of Kropotkin would be translated almost immediately into Chinese, the work needed to go first through Kōtoku's Japanese translation as an intermediary. It was a linguistic relationship that suggested an inequality of relations at the interlingual point of translation from the very start. Kōtoku promised his Chinese associates that this inequality would be resolved by the world language of Esperanto. Esperanto in the context of the history slide thus was present at Chinese and Japanese intellectuals' adoption of anarchism at this time. This suggests that a vision of worldism was at the heart of the adoption of anarchism in East Asia.

Japanese Esperantists' anti-imperialist and anticolonialist persuasions led them to form intimate transnational ties with proponents of decolonization from abroad. However, Japanese Esperantists and proponents of decolonization often held very different visions of the future. Ultimately, Japanese Esperantists' popular internationalism diverged from

49. Scalapino and Yu, *Chinese Anarchist Movement*, p. 31.

50. Kōtoku to Kropotkin, April 29, 1907. GARF, P. A. Kropotkin Collection, f. 1129, op. 2, khr. 1418, l. 6.

the view of many decolonization supporters who sought to liberate their “people” by modernizing along Western models of the nation-state, using the language of Western liberalism or of Marxism. Decolonization movements in Asia shared with the Esperantists their inspirational origins in the crucible of the Russo-Japanese War. This war, predating World War I by a decade, represented a racial, ethnic, and civilizational struggle for much of the world. The excitement over the war is indicative of both the intellectual and the emotional origins of the decolonization movement at large on the global stage. The passionate celebration of Japan’s imperialist war of expansion in the non-West suggests that decolonizers had accepted from the start of the decolonization movement the primary Eurocentric and binary constructs of Western modernity (white versus yellow, civilized versus noncivilized, East versus West, modern versus tradition, and so on) that had given such positive meaning to Japan’s military victories in the war. Decolonizers largely thought in terms of Western modernity. In this sense, then, burgeoning decolonizers, certain African American leaders, pan-Asianists, and some Muslim leaders who celebrated Japan’s defeat of Russia had conceptions of the world that were similar to the conceptions of those who saw in Japan’s victory a yellow peril threatening Western civilization. In this intellectual context, it is not surprising that decolonizers sought to fashion their own nation-states and promote national cultures and languages that were modeled on the very Western modern nation-state from which they tried to liberate themselves. Nonetheless, the temporary merging of such divergent currents as decolonization and Japanese Esperantism sheds light on the broader emancipatory impulse that they shared.

When Baha’i Became Esperantist

From the moment of its emergence, Esperanto spread via social networks. Nighttime Esperanto meetings and public lectures facilitated its dissemination. The language became a focal point for nonstate associations and organizations of all kinds throughout Japan. In turn, by the early 1910s, the popularity of Esperanto and the effectiveness of its network enabled the dissemination of other cultural and even religious trends. New networks and nongovernmental and religious associations expanded in Japan by piggybacking on those preexisting networks of Esperantists.

One such case was the successful propagation of the internationalist faith of Baha'i via Esperanto networks. When Baha'i missionary Agnes Baldwin Alexander (1875–1971) came to Japan in 1914 to propagate the Baha'i faith, she discovered that it could be disseminated very quickly and successfully via established Esperanto networks.⁵¹ Not only did the Baha'i faith use Esperanto as the language of religious practice in Japan, but also it relied on Esperantists, often nonbelievers, to spread the faith. This religious propagation by the nonfaithful reflected both the proliferation of Esperanto networks in Japan and the ideological means through which they functioned. The religion in essence merged with Esperantism in Japan. Not only did it share many Esperantist beliefs from the start, but it also newly assumed many of the meanings and associations that the linguistic movement carried. In this sense, Baha'i became a faith of Esperantism in Japan.

Baha'is espoused a number of aims that appeared to merge with the interests of Japanese Esperantists. They claimed to seek to create a global society based on the principles of the elimination of all forms of prejudice; equality between the sexes; recognition of the essential oneness of the world's great religions; the elimination of extremes of poverty and wealth; universal education; and the establishment of a world federal system based on collective security and the oneness of humanity. The faith's strong associations with and translation via Esperanto in Japan consolidated the perception that it shared Esperantism's idea of emancipation from the imperialism and capitalism promoted by the state and its elites. Converted and nonconverted Japanese Esperantists alike assisted Alexander's missionary efforts.

The blind Russian writer and Esperantist Vasili Eroshenko became the first and most consistent supporter of Alexander's missionary efforts in Japan by introducing her to the already-extensive Esperanto network. She had first heard of Eroshenko while she was attending an Esperanto conference in Geneva. Alexander referred to these initial portals into the Esperantist network in Japan as "the first fruits of my joining the Universal Esperanto Association."⁵² On the Baha'i religious holiday Naw-

51. Alexander, *History of the Baha'i Faith in Japan*.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Ruz in 1915, Alexander wrote of her surprise that, rather than the students in her Baha'i class, it was the Japanese Esperanto community that observed the religious holiday with her. Alexander recorded in her letter from that day:

The first surprise I had was in the morning when an elderly professor . . . came bringing in his own hands a beautiful potted plant. This was a great surprise for I had only met the gentleman a few times at the Esperantist meetings. It seems that my blind Russian friend, Mr. Eroshenko had told him of the day. In the afternoon came others, some bringing gifts which I shall always deeply treasure. It seems strange that all the remembrances I received on that day came from Esperantists, and all the greetings were written in Esperanto. One of the greetings came from a group of Esperantists in another province. . . . They all wrote on a card wishing me greetings as they said they knew it was a day dear to my heart as a Baha'i.⁵³

From that time onward, she directed her missionary efforts toward the various nighttime Esperanto meetings in Tokyo and across Japan as the most productive means to spread her faith.⁵⁴ The Esperanto publications in Japan turned out to be an enthusiastic medium in which to publish her writings.

My blind friend comes every Wednesday night now and takes me to their meeting, for I want to use every opportunity to spread the fragrances, and I surely find opportunity among these dear people. They have been exceedingly kind to me. They have invited me to their dinners, etc. and I have always gone for the sake of the Beloved. . . . At one of these meetings I met a professor from the west of Japan (Hiroshima) . . . and he asked me to come there and give the Baha'i Message. . . . One of the Japanese Esperanto publications, *La Orienta Azio*, is going to print something from the Baha'i teachings in each number now.⁵⁵

Esperantists took the initiative to spread the faith for Alexander.

53. Ibid., pp. 14–15.

54. Ibid., p. 14.

55. Ibid., p. 15.

For the well-known writer Akita Ujaku, Esperanto imbued Baha'i with the meaning of nonhierarchical worldism that English and its representation of the hierarchical civilizational order of international relations could not offer. After reading Eroshenko's translation of Alexander's English-language translation of the Baha'i scriptures into Esperanto, Akita wrote in Esperanto to Alexander, "Yesterday was very interesting to me. I wish to express my great pleasure to you. That night I spent in reading your translation of the Hidden Words. They give me entirely new strength and every word resounds more profoundly to me than when I read them in the English translation. I feel proud to know that this translation is finished by the patient work of our dear Eroshenko. Live Eroshenko! Kore via, U. Akita."⁵⁶ For Akita, only Esperanto could serve as the vessel to convey the meaning of brotherhood that he saw in Baha'i. As is clear in Akita's note, Alexander's English translation of the Baha'i scriptures was ineffective in converting him. The faith garnered great meaning for Akita only when Eroshenko translated the English version into Esperanto. From the founder and prophet of the Baha'i faith, Bahá'u'lláh (1817–1892) to Alexander, Alexander to Eroshenko, and Eroshenko to the Japanese Esperantists, the religious teaching gathered a new level of meaning at each point of translation. In the end, Baha'i in Japan relied on Esperanto as its language of translation to give it the added meaning of worldism.

The Blind Face of Worldism

If Futabatei and Ōsugi had successfully introduced Esperanto in Japan, the blind youth Eroshenko served as the virtuous and poetic messenger of Esperanto and worldism from the Russian *heimin*. By the late 1910s, Japanese had turned him into a massively popular celebrity. In his travels across the country, he drew tremendous crowds, sometimes of thousands of people, who were attracted to his lectures by the Esperantist vision now represented by this blind young Russian.⁵⁷ As a representative of

56. Ibid., p. 15.

57. An estimated 1,200 to 1,300 people attended a talk given by Eroshenko in April 1920. Fujii, *Eroshenko no toshi monogatari*, p. 13. At another speech he gave at Waseda University, 3,000 people attended. Ibid., p. 35. When he came to speak in the city of

Japanese Esperantism, Eroshenko had become one of the most widely known foreigners living in Japan in the Taishō period (1912–26).

Foreign Ministry archives show that the state considered this blind bard and composer of poems and children's stories one of the most dangerous foreigners in Japan at the time.⁵⁸ Fearing subversive activity by foreigners after the Russian Revolution, the Japanese government amassed tremendous amounts of information about foreigners in Japan. An examination of the top-secret surveillance files on foreigners in Japan maintained by the Foreign Ministry reveals that the government devoted its best intelligence sources and financial resources by far to trace Eroshenko's every move and meeting. Police described his relations with Esperantists and prominent intellectuals as "disturbing to stability and order."⁵⁹ Ultimately, Eroshenko was deported from Japan; this highly controversial event was widely discussed in Japan's leading newspapers. Police made a detailed report of public opinion about Eroshenko after his deportation in an effort to gauge public reactions and sentiments about the widely known incident. They cautioned that behind what appeared to be the harmless poetry reading of a blind man lay highly emotional support for him by people across Japanese society, including women, socialists, literary writers, those involved in the arts, and the members of numerous associations in Japan.⁶⁰ Given Eroshenko's widespread popular support, his highly publicized deportation created an awkward situation for the government.

Eroshenko did not fit the typical profile of a Bolshevik conspirator or terrorist. The police did not find weapons, socialist propaganda, or anti-state speeches, nor did they discover any hint of violence in Eroshenko's intentions or actions. He had no institutional power or even affiliation with any party or government. He famously wore the hand-sewn cotton shirt of the ordinary "people," a humble Russian peasant's cotton blouse called the *rubashka*, which would quickly become a politicized fashion

Osaka in December 1919 at a small music concert given to promote Esperanto, 800 people came to listen. Hatsushiba, *Nihon Esperanto Undōshi*, p. 38.

58. Gaimushō gaikō shiryōkan (GGS)b.

59. GGSa, 4.2.6.21-1, no. 25-305-2, May 6, Taishō 10 (1921); 4.2.6.21-1, no. 806, June 6, Taishō 10 (1921).

60. GGSa, no. 4.2.6.21-1, no. 806, June 6, Taishō 10 (1921).



Fig. 5.1 Vasilii Eroshenko wearing a Russian peasant's blouse in Japan, 1916. Photograph courtesy of Nakamura.

in Taishō Japan, undoubtedly influenced by Eroshenko's wearing of it (Figure 5.1). With his sightless eyes, he was dependent on those around him for assistance in living in his new foreign country. The childlike bard often sang Russian folk songs, recited his own poetry, and drew his lectures from the numerous children's stories he had written and that were becoming well known in Japan.

When he first came to Japan in 1914 to study Japanese social practices involving the blind, he was an unknown figure both in Japan and Russia. Propelling him to center stage of the Japanese Esperantism movement, Japanese selectively made Eroshenko into a celebrity who represented the worldism they valued. That worldism was threatening to the government because it furthered a sentiment that went against the cosmopolitanism aligned with the Western modern construct of international relations reliant on the modern nation-state or on nationalist pan-Asianisms, the other side of the same coin.

The emotion with which the Japanese public embraced Eroshenko was greatly aided by his blindness, combined with the fact that he was Russian. His blindness was not only a physical attribute but also a moral one, for many understood him as being blind to racial hierarchies. The liberal intellectual and Esperantist Hasegawa Nyozeikan wrote of Eroshenko:

His sightless eyes cannot make him unhappy. The world that he saw for only a very short time with the heart of a small child was all that he has seen with his own eyes. Nevertheless, this made him happy. In his eyes could not develop the distinction of skin color, the reason that man has tormented man. His eyes also cannot see the horrible colors that divide the world map and incite war. His eyes see the skin of man and the world map in monochrome. And he roams across this single world. . . . Eroshenko must be happy that he is blind. Whereas the poet who sees cannot not see the color or the form of man or object, the blind poet cannot see anything other than the man or object itself. Whereas the religious believer who sees cannot not see the color or the form of God, the blind believer does not see anything but God Himself.⁶¹

Because Eroshenko was unable to see skin color or other physical attributes, the striking naturalness with which he was known to have assimilated to life in Tokyo seemed to comment critically on racial

61. Hasegawa, "Antaŭparolo," pp. 3–4.

boundaries that often separated Euro-Americans in Japan. He was widely known to live in the home of Sōma Kokko (1876–1955) and Sōma Aizō (1870–1954), who owned and ran the famous Nakamura sweetshop in Tokyo. Kokko assumed a motherly relationship with Eroshenko, adopting him into the family beyond racial and national lines. This relationship of virtual adoption into the private space of the home actively inverted the inequality between “Orientals” and “Westerners,” yellow and white. In his involvement in activities for the blind in Japan, Eroshenko’s blindness was his trademark. It made an imprint on popular perceptions that he was innocent of hierarchical ideologies of race, ethnicity, and nation.

Eroshenko’s link with Kropotkin, who encouraged him to go to Japan, helped push Eroshenko into the midst of Japanese cooperatist anarchist networks. When he first came to Japan, he very quickly became associated with leading figures of the Japanese anarchist movement. Police reports noted that Eroshenko met frequently with Ōsugi, Kamichika Ichiko (1888–1981), and other anarchist and socialist figures. Ōsugi knew full well the effect that Eroshenko’s linkages with Esperanto and Kropotkin would have on the Japanese public, and he organized one of Eroshenko’s first speaking engagements the year Eroshenko arrived in Japan. Eroshenko’s talk, on Kropotkin’s anarchism, was in Esperanto. In the lecture, Eroshenko described his personal meeting with Kropotkin in the language of worldism. The talk was part of the nighttime Heimin kōenkai (Heimin [People’s] Lecture Series) hosted by Ōsugi, and it was dutifully attended and recorded by the Special Higher Police Force (Tokkō).⁶² Esperantism and heiminism were here interlinked as destabilizing social trends.

Eroshenko traveled throughout the country giving talks in a tour organized by Akita Ujaku and Arishima, in which he was accompanied by Katagami Noboru (1884–1928) (about whom more will be said later in this chapter). In this and other venues, he gave speeches side by side with children’s literature writer Ogawa Mimei (1882–1961), Eguchi Kan (1887–1975), Itō Noe, people’s arts theorist Katō Kazuo (1887–1951), and Akita Ujaku, all of whom subscribed to cooperatist anarchism in different

62. Naimusho tokko keisatsu report in Fujii, *Eroshenko no toshi monogatari*, 4.



Fig. 5.2 Nakamuraya sweetsshop, 1909. Photograph courtesy of Nakamuraya.

forms. The state was aware of Eroshenko's ties to the discourse on cooperatist anarchism in Japan, and police reports linked him with the ideas of Tolstoy "from a philosophical viewpoint" and Kropotkin "based on Kropotkin's Darwinism."⁶³ Although leading figures in the Japanese anarchist movement like Arishima, discussed in earlier chapters, did not speak Esperanto, they supported the Esperanto movement by participating in Esperanto meetings, circulating publications about and written in Esperanto, and giving financial support.

The second floor of Nakamuraya (see Figure 5.2) became a nighttime salon for networking and conversation among supporters of worldism. Much like Piłsudski's Hakodateya, Nakamuraya became a major meeting place for those interested in things Russian, and the meetings there expanded Eroshenko's links with the cooperatist networks. Although today, Nakamuraya is widely known across Japan as a trendy Shinjuku district landmark for its sweets and curry, in the early twentieth century

63. GSS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin" [Materials concerning the control of dangerous radicals, foreigner section: Russians], 4.3.2.1-2-2, January 21, Taishō 9 (1920), top-secret file no. 19.

and into the period after the Asia-Pacific War, the shop opened its doors at night to radicals under the pretext of a Russian literature and language study circle on the second floor. In addition to Eroshenko, the Sōmas also harbored the Indian anticolonialist revolutionary Rash Bi-hari Bose (1886–1945), who eventually married the Sōmas' daughter. Sōma Kokkō, a Christian who attended the Nikolai Cathedral for a time in the 1890s, was one of many lesser-known figures in the history of co-operatist anarchism and Russian-Japanese intellectual relations. She was a keen businesswoman well aware of the popular trends of the time who expanded her business to further her ideological beliefs. It was on this wave that she began holding an evening Russian literature and language salon in her shop, which was first taught by a priest from the Nikolai Theological Seminary.

Not the first-floor daytime activities but the second-floor nighttime practices at the shop are of most interest. Nakamura was a nighttime “campus.” Even academics like Waseda professor Katagami Noboru were prompted to depart from the traditional university campus to attend the Nakamura salon for their private education. Katagami was a professor of English. After the completion of his daytime duties at Waseda, however, Katagami frequented the sweetsshop at night, where he studied Russian and mingled with Eroshenko and his network of associates. Katagami would become a leading specialist in Russian literature at Waseda after traveling to Russia in 1915–18.⁶⁴ The future Russianist Nobori Shōmu also attended the salon. In a reflection of the influx of the latest trends from Russian theater in Japanese theatrical performance, the celebrity actress Matsui Sumako (1886–1919), who became famous for her role in a dramatic production of Tolstoy's religious novel *Resurrection*, was yet another attendee of the Nakamura salon.

Worldism and Esperanto were inextricably linked with a popularly imagined “Russia” represented by Eroshenko. Sōma's business acumen led her to promote the popular sentiment about Eroshenko and the corresponding criticism of the Japanese government after Eroshenko's deportation by marketing Russian products in her shop. The products were publicly associated with Eroshenko and seemed to lament his deporta-

64. For an example of Katagami's writing on Russia, see Katagami, “Roshiya no tamashii no shimpi.”

tion. Sōma also made Nakamura's employee uniform the Russian-style *rubashka* to honor Eroshenko the year he was deported from Japan.⁶⁵ She further employed a Russian baker who made her shop widely known for its line of Russian bread. Later, she added borscht (Russian beet soup) to the shop's menu as a featured item.

As the copious notes in the top-secret police files detail, Eroshenko served as a hub to connect many Japanese. Police filled his file with records of the names of all the people who met with him. Police reports noted that he met frequently with former Nonwar participants.⁶⁶ A letter intercepted by police from Eroshenko to his friends in Japan demonstrates that the Esperanto Association in China took care of him after his deportation.⁶⁷ Through these networks, Eroshenko found a post as a lecturer of Esperanto language and Russian literature at Peking University.⁶⁸ An important new contact that Eroshenko made in China was the writer Lu Xun (1881–1936), one of China's founding modernist writers and an Esperantist who had studied in Tokyo. Those who did not commit to learning the new language committed themselves to supporting Eroshenko as its representative instead. For example, Arishima offered Eroshenko financial support behind the scenes.⁶⁹

Eroshenko's popularity and, by association, that of Esperantism in Japan arose within the larger context of Japanese nonstate intellectual relations with Russia. Ironically, after the Russo-Japanese War, Russian-Japanese nonstate relations continued to broaden, as police records convincingly demonstrate. During the expansion of Esperantist worldism, the Japanese government came to perceive its true enemy to be not simply the Russian and Soviet state but nonstate participants in the transnational interlocking networks. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the

65. "Tenin no seifuku ni rubashika wo saiyō."

66. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," no. 4.3.2.1-2-2, no. 1, no. 655, September 25, Taishō 10 (1921).

67. GGSa, no. 950, June 24, Taishō 10 (1921).

68. GGSa, July 8, Taishō 11 (1922).

69. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, November 26, Taishō 6 (1917), top-secret file no. 213. Arishima and Akita also visited government ministry officials to appeal Eroshenko's deportation.

Japanese government stepped up its surveillance of Japanese-Russian networks, whose participants' activities were recorded in the national police files for "dangerous persons." In the special subfile for "foreign dangerous persons," the weightiest and most detailed collection of surveillance materials by far was on Russians, sealed under strictest conditions as "top secret."⁷⁰ Russians in Japan could frequently be seen meeting with Japanese on the private level.

The individuals were not followed because they were suspected of spying for the Russian state; on the contrary, their very nonstate status was critical. It was by virtue of being nonstate that they were drawn into the midst of the cooperatist anarchist and socialist networks, which put them under the highest suspicion. Curiously enough, although the surveillance seemed to become particularly keen in the years after the establishment of the revolutionary Bolshevik regime, it was not so much the Communists whom the state was interested in. The majority of the files on Russian dangerous persons were on nonstate- and non-Bolshevik-related activity. It appears that just to be of Russian nationality in Japan was enough to give one a police surveillance file. Indeed, a variety of Russians with no apparent subversive activity and the Japanese with whom they related were followed and watched. The police even followed Konishi Masutarō and kept track of the Russians he met with in this period.⁷¹ Although Konishi was never a self-identified anarchist, he was still a central figure in Japanese-Russian transnational networks and someone whom many people came to see to extend their contacts in the network.⁷² Undercover police also closely followed the frequent meetings of the Nonwar participant and founder of the wildly popular Heimin Cafeteria and Heimin Hospital, Katō Tokijirō, and the socialist Sakai Toshihiko with Russian figures in this period. The details from these

70. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kikenshugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2.

71. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kikenshugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, June 4, Taishō 11 (1922).

72. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kikenshugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, no. 476, June 20, Taishō 11 (1922).

files kept by the Foreign Ministry help show who was involved in transnational cooperatist anarchist networks and what they practiced.⁷³

If national surveillance files reveal that the Japanese government considered Russians to be the most dangerous national presence in Japan, then, as noted earlier, the most dangerous foreigner in the country had to be the Esperantist Eroshenko. Eroshenko's name repeatedly appears in surveillance files, with page after page devoted to his every move in Japan, along with lists of the names of Japanese with whom he met and interacted.⁷⁴ The government was not misled in dedicating its resources to Eroshenko, for it had caught on to a subversive and competing form of internationalism in people's affection for him.

When Arishima and Akita asked police why Eroshenko was to be deported, arguing that he "is a mere poet," the police replied, "Yes, in fact, that is precisely what is wrong with him."⁷⁵ The reply caused Arishima and Akita both to burst into laughter. Yet the acknowledgment of the danger of culture for the state was an acknowledgment of the broader power of culture in this period to express the vision of a competing modernity.

After the end of World War I and the Russian Revolution in 1918, Esperanto had reached even greater heights of interest among Japanese. By 1928, Japan had by far the highest number of Esperanto speakers in the world outside Western Europe.⁷⁶ Esperanto became not only the language spoken at numerous clubs, associations, and organizations in Japan but also the purpose and mode for joining its members together. It involved a striking number of people and groups with a wide array of innovative

73. For example, government files demonstrate that Eroshenko met regularly with figures like Ōsugi Sakae, Akita Ujaku, and Kamichika Ichiko. GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, November 26, Taishō 6 (1917), top-secret file no. 213.

74. For example, GGS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikokujin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, no. 655, September 25, Taishō 8 (1919).

75. Fujii, *Eroshenko no toshi monogatari*, p. 31.

76. Forster, *Esperanto Movement*, p. 24. Today, when Esperanto appears in course listings at universities in Japan, it often becomes wildly popular among students, as in the case of Saitama University, where over eight hundred students registered to study the language in the first year it was offered, in 2005.

social thoughts and practices to link Japan to the wider world in the first part of the twentieth century.

In an attempt to ride the growing wave of interest in Esperanto, in 1921–23 the Japan Esperanto Study Association sent students across Japan in a campaign to promote the language. In 1923, for example, the campaigners traveled to thirteen different towns to lecture about Esperanto. Taking advantage of the outreach to remote audiences achieved by these promotion campaigns, successful left-leaning publishers like Sōbunkaku accompanied the campaigns to advertise their books.⁷⁷ Reflecting the popularity of Esperantism, influential critical journals, such as *Demokurashī* (Democracy), *Warera* (We), *Kaihō* (Liberation), and *Kaizō* (Reinvention), used subtitles in Esperanto to claim their universality. The newly formed Cosmo Club in Tokyo was a part of this second wave of Esperantism, but many of the participants were of the first wave, such as Ishikawa, Eroshenko, and a number of Chinese and Koreans who lectured at the club. In 1921, the club held a lecture meeting attended by Chinese, Japanese, Korean, French, and Russian participants and watched by police, in which a declaration on Asian liberation ideology written by members of the club was read. The Esperantist Takasugi Ichirō (1908–2008) also gave a talk to club participants on how Japanese had perceived Korea since 1910. Many women became Esperantists in this period, including, for example, the young Yamaguchi Koshizu (1900–1923), who became active in Formosa (Taiwan) for the ethnic liberation of the native Taiwanese under Japanese colonization. Formosa Esperantists, in the heart of the Japanese Empire, also collaborated to support the subversive Russia Famine Relief Movement organized in Japan in 1922 on the nonstate level during the Japanese state's military intervention in the Russian Civil War.⁷⁸ Police reports on anarchist figures like Ishikawa Sanshirō detailed their participation in Esperanto meetings and reflected their fears over the language as a medium of communication.

As the use of Esperanto further expanded in this second wave of interest, the language was used for various causes. Nonetheless, the principles fundamental to Esperantic worldism as it emerged in the wake of

77. Hatsushiba, *Nihon Esperanto Undōshi*, p. 54. On Sōbunkaku and its founder, Asuke, see Chapter 4.

78. Miyake, *Tatakau Esuperantistotachi no kiseki*, pp. 26–28.

the Russo-Japanese War remained implicit in the practices of those who used Esperanto. These principles included the notion of *heimin*, or the people without the nation-state, as the vehicle of modern progress; free and voluntary associations of people across class, gendered, racial, and national borders; and nonhierarchy of culture and language. The ways in which the principles of Esperantism were to be achieved differed, and Esperanto speakers came from various specializations and backgrounds, such as the leading writers, ethnographers, songwriters, artists, religious believers, and anarchist activists named in the introduction to this chapter. Yet the principles, formed as they were in dialogue with Western modernity in the crucible of war, remained the same. Unlike existing interpretations of Esperanto as a gateway for learning about the West in Japan, the language was in fact used to transcend the hierarchically constructed East-West divide.

Esperantism's overturning of Western modern presumptions of linguistic Darwinism was only the first of a series of cultural movements to realign "culture" with "nature" in the early twentieth century. Literature, music, education, and even science were all expressions of this 180-degree overturning of the meaning of culture and democracy within the discourse on anarchist modernity in Japan. But Esperantism was one of the earliest expressions of an anarchist cultural revolution that is discussed in further detail in the Epilogue. The cultural revolution was a widespread movement to overturn the definition of culture in Western modernity, which had defined "culture" in opposition to "nature" along a temporal continuum of civilizational progress. In the following chapter, I will examine a scientific turn among cooperatist anarchists that reflected their embrace of cosmology and the natural sciences for their provision of an ontological basis for cooperatist anarchism and its cultural revolution in this period. At the same time at which Esperantists overturned linguistic Darwinism, the scientific turn in Japan uprooted social Darwinism by reconstituting Darwinian evolutionary theory and the natural sciences from their ontological origins.

CHAPTER 6

Nature in Culture, Culture in Nature: Phagocytes, Dung Beetles, and the Cosmos

After his transnational pilgrimage to Kropotkin's home in London, Arishima departed for Japan in 1907. On the ship home, he began to read a work by Mechnikov. Arishima's reading of Mechnikov's work effectively sealed the completion of his tracing of Kropotkin's historicist account of anarchist civilizational progress. Curiously, however, at this critical time immediately after the war, Arishima turned to read not revolutionary texts of revolt, but a text about microorganisms. Indeed, the Mechnikov he was reading was not the Russian revolutionary who had traveled to Japan in the 1870s (see Chapter 1). Arishima, who likely had never heard of Lev Mechnikov, had turned instead to the writings of Lev's younger brother, Ilya Mechnikov, a leading microbiologist who would be awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1908.¹ Ilya was doing pioneering work on phagocytes and bacteria. How can one possibly grasp the place of microorganisms in Arishima's and others' embrace of anarchism in this period? In the broader context of war and imperialist expansion, terrorism and assassination by anarchists worldwide, and government persecution of anarchists and socialists, why would anarchists in Japan turn to Ilya Mechnikov's universe of bacteria and phagocytes and,

1. It is not clear to what degree other Japanese anarchists at the time were familiar with the work of Lev Mechnikov. Nonetheless, it is known that both Ōsugi and Ishikawa Sanshirō had closely read Lev's writings that constituted the volume on Japan in Reclus's *Nouvelle géographie universelle*. Ishikawa was told about Lev while he was staying at the home of the Reclus family in Brussels over a span of eight years.

later, spiders, dung beetles, and wasps in their search for answers to the world problems at hand? In fact, the definitive postwar moment of the adoption of anarchist ideas of progress in Japan simultaneously marked what can be characterized as a scientific turn among anarchists.

Certainly Ilya Mechnikov was not the only natural scientist in whom Japanese anarchists expressed a deep interest during this period. From Mechnikov's studies of microorganisms, anarchists extended their studies to the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin and the detailed studies of insects' lives by the French entomologist Jean-Henri Fabre, together with the discussions of the natural and physical world by Kropotkin, a scholar of physical geography and geology. Anarchists not only were interested in these scientists but also succeeded in conveying their interest to the much wider Japanese public through their translations of natural science. Indeed, anarchists played a leading role in the popularization of the natural sciences in Japan in the early twentieth century. This chapter introduces the scientific turn among cooperatist anarchists in early twentieth-century Japan by examining the popularization of these four natural scientists, Ilya Mechnikov, Kropotkin, Darwin, and Fabre. It reveals how ideas of historical progress came to inform Japanese interpretations of and interest in the latest writings by natural scientists, and how ideas of nature and the natural sciences were then applied to ideas of culture in early twentieth-century Japan.

Kropotkin, Ilya Mechnikov, Darwin, and Fabre would appear to have been odd choices for the formation of a coherent thought, for they seem to have been at complete odds with one another in their views on evolution. Kropotkin's work was read as much for its insights on biological evolution as for its contribution to civilizational theory. Both Mechnikov and Kropotkin belonged to a larger Russian school of critique of Darwin. Mechnikov began his scientific career by heavily criticizing Darwin for his Malthusian view of competitive nature. Fabre in turn disagreed with Darwin on religious grounds. Fabre concluded that the perfection or genius of such tiny beings as insects could have been achieved only by divine intervention. Mechnikov, meanwhile, was a firm atheist who maintained that evolution occurs without a divine plan. The apparent incoherency of their thought easily feeds the historiographical tendency to view Japanese interest in "Western thought" as similarly contradictory and random.

Despite what would appear to be major differences among the four natural scientists, Mechnikov, Kropotkin, Fabre, and Darwin, a close analysis of the originality of the translation pattern of their ideas reveals an internal logic hidden behind their presence in Japan after the Russo-Japanese War. Cooperatist anarchists identified in their work an idea of progress based in science that was fundamentally at odds with the idea of Spencerian progress. With the help of natural science, anarchists removed the distinction between high and low, subverted the centrality of the state for human progress, advocated the multiplicity of ever-changing cultures, and promoted voluntary associations for an interdependent world.

Natural scientists whose works Japanese anarchists translated and read at this time, whether proponents of Darwinian evolutionary theory or critics of it, offered scientific evidence from the biological world for a modern anarchist temporality and subjectivity. Anarchists ignored, if they did not wipe away, the social Darwinist elements in Darwinian thought. They promoted *On the Origin of Species* by incorporating both competition and cooperation in the struggle for survival that they identified as part and parcel of Darwin's evolutionary theory. Darwin was translated and read through the lens of the other scientists and in relation to them, and vice versa. He and the other widely read natural scientists in early twentieth-century Japan thus may best be illuminated through the lens of anarchist modernity and Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations within a broader context of scientific translation by Japanese anarchists.

The most notable case of anarchists' popularization of scientific writings was their introduction and translation of Fabre. Fabre's writings were among the most popular and widely read works for children and adults alike in Japan in the twentieth century. They continue to be widely read by children today. Anarchist translations of Fabre's observations of the lowly dung beetle drew widespread attention a century ago, and Japanese have not let go since. Even the convenience-store franchise Seven-Eleven Japan recently marketed a series of Fabre figurines throughout Japan. Seven-Eleven has well over 13,000 shops in Japan, with 1,800 of them in Tokyo alone. The Fabre series included the ever-popular dung beetle, other insects featured in Fabre's works, and a miniature of the famous Fabre himself.

Seven-Eleven succeeded in capitalizing on the fact that Fabre's accounts of insect lives has long been emblematic of childhood in Japan, somewhat comparable to the reading of *Mother Goose* for English-speaking children. That is, just as a critical reading of *Mother Goose* would tell much about the English-speaking societies in which it was read, so an interpretation of Fabre's account of the dung beetle could tell much about the twentieth-century Japanese who devoured it. Through Fabre, anarchists have helped shape early childhood imagination and perceptions of the natural world. Despite (and sometimes because of) the government's initial ban on translations of Fabre's studies of the lives of insects in Japan, anarchist translations of Fabre's studies of insects into Japanese in the early 1920s came to capture the national imagination. If the social knowledge of childhood has the power to order imaginations of the future, then the popularity of anarchists' representations and definition of childhood meant that anarchists had a powerful influence on future visions in Japan.

Japanese translators of Fabre today are aware that the Fabre craze that has outlasted the twentieth century originated with Ōsugi Sakae's vivid translation of Fabre in the early 1920s. Ōsugi's translation is still considered one of the best available today and has recently been reprinted, despite the fact that numerous other competing translations of Fabre in contemporary Japanese exist.² Why did such leading anarchists as Ōsugi and Ishikawa Sanshirō translate Fabre?³ What was it about Fabre's insects that so intrigued Japanese readers and threatened government officials? These questions have continued to puzzle entomologists and Fabre specialists alike in both France and Japan, particularly because Fabre has been so little known in France. Furthermore, how did anarchists make Fabre such a popular and familiar part of Japanese life? Finally, what are the implications of anarchist translations and their popularity for understanding modern Japanese history? This chapter examines the intellectual origins of how Fabre and his dung beetle became national heroes in Japan.

Anarchist translations of Fabre's writings for popular consumption among both youth and adults would help shape the natural sciences in

2. Fabre, *Fāburu Konchūki*.

3. Ishikawa's translation of Fabre is in his *Hi shinkaron to jinsei*, pp. 65–70.

Japanese academia. This reverse flow of knowledge, from anarchist sites of production to the halls of elite universities and research centers, was reproduced again and again in early twentieth-century Japan (see the Epilogue). The widely recognized entomologist Tsuneki Katsuji (1908–94), a professor at Fukui University, wrote in his autobiography that it was his early reading of Ōsugi's translation of Fabre in the 1920s that led him to become an entomologist, "just as it did for many other scientists."⁴ Kuratani Shigeru, a contemporary specialist of evolutionary morphology, similarly recalls that his childhood readings of Fabre helped inspire his desire to become an entomologist from a very early age. Kuratani writes that later, as an undergraduate studying life sciences in college, "when I chose my major, it dawned on me that the students could be grouped into two categories: those who had read Fabre's opus and those who had read *The Origin of Species*. . . . These two works . . . represented the pillars that defined and delimited the field."⁵

Kuratani's placement of Darwin and Fabre side by side as the pillars of the life sciences in contemporary Japan is unexpected. Fabre is largely unknown outside Japan, even in his home country of France. Moreover, his writings, which describe the social lives of insects, belong as much to the genre of youth literature as to the writings and theories of the scholarly world. As noted earlier, the two contemporary figures were also far from being in agreement. Although Darwin admired Fabre's studies, Fabre severely criticized Darwin's evolutionary theory for failing to take into account divine intervention in the workings of the natural world. Ever since Darwin introduced his ideas, this encounter between religion and science, divine creation and evolution, has been at the heart of debates over Darwin's evolutionary theory.

Fabre and Darwin belonged to opposing sides of this debate, but Ōsugi first translated and introduced Fabre as a complementary thinker alongside Darwin, leaving a lasting anarchist legacy on Japanese scientific thinking. This chapter rereads what has been incommensurate in anarchist actors' practices according to contemporary commonsense interpretations of history and turns the common sense on its head. Reflecting on the broader global context in which Darwinism has been placed in stark

4. Tsuneki, "Recollections of My Life (Extracts)," p. 6.

5. Kuratani, "J. Henri Fabre."

opposition to religion, the chapter will explain how Darwin and his evolutionary theory of the origins of life sat comfortably alongside a proponent of creationism among the scientific texts translated, popularized, and promoted by Japanese anarchists.

The methodological strategy of this chapter is to see beyond the historiographical construct of a binary relationship between Darwin and Japan. This binary view has led historians to seek out how Darwinian evolutionary theory influenced or was used in Japan within the larger binary of the British or Western impact on Japan. The chapter considers instead the translation of Darwin's theories in light of the broader scientific interest and translation practice among anarchists in which it was situated. It reads the pattern of their translation practices in the postwar historical context and the popular-level response of readers. It takes a translanguing approach that leads back to Japanese-Russian nonstate intellectual relations and the vision of anarchist progress in order to understand how anarchists managed the seemingly chaotic, contradictory, and expansive landscape of modern scientific knowledge in Japan. Only through attention to the longer history of Russian-Japanese intellectual relations can one begin to understand the merging of four divergent natural scientists in modern Japanese intellectual life.

Social biologists in recent years have questioned humancentric assumptions about the unique capacity of human beings to care for, empathize with, defend, and cooperate with others within their species. In the late twentieth century, the arguments of the influential cell biologist Lynn Margulis that symbiotic relationships among different organisms of species, phyla, and kingdoms are the driving force of evolution have been widely debated and discussed. Prompted by her findings of the symbiotic origins of evolution and their implications for human cultural and social practices, Margulis codeveloped with the British scientist James Lovelock the theory of global symbiosis called "Gaia." According to this theory, the earth consists of a self-regulating biosphere dependent on microorganisms' and plants' unconscious maintenance of the environment in a homeostasis favorable for life.⁶ Margulis's work was an expansion of Kropotkin's anarchist evolutionary theory represented by *Mutual Aid*,

6. Margulis, *Symbiotic Planet*.

which owed much to Lev Mechnikov's observations of revolutionary Japan.

When she first proposed them in the 1970s and 1980s, Margulis's ideas were highly controversial and widely rejected. In contrast, natural science informed by anarchist constructs of progress was popularly embraced among Japanese in the early twentieth century. In fact, a fascination with scientific findings on microorganisms that decentered human beings in the notion of evolution was central to anarchist modernity a century earlier in Japan. Similar in style of thought, the anticapitalist conclusions drawn by Margulis's study of single-celled organisms remind one of the manner in which Japanese anarchists' reflections on Ilya Mechnikov's findings about microorganisms informed and developed their ideas of progress. The studies of bacteria and other microorganisms as a dynamic starting point for thinking about the nature of evolution and progress were as compelling for cultural transformations in early twentieth-century Japan as they are today.

Negative Discovery: Aligning Culture with the Centerless Universe

It is to this dust, to these infinitely tiny bodies that dash through space in all directions with giddy swiftness, that clash with one another, agglomerate, disintegrate, everywhere and always, it is to them that today astronomers look for an explanation of the origin of our solar system, the movements that animate its parts, and the harmony of their whole. Yet another step, and soon universal gravitation itself will be but the result of all the disordered and incoherent movements of these infinitely small bodies—of oscillations of atoms that manifest themselves in all possible directions. Thus the center, the origin of force, formerly transferred from the earth to the sun, now turns out to be scattered and disseminated: it is everywhere and nowhere. With the astronomer, we perceive that solar systems are the work of infinitely small bodies; that the power which was supposed to govern the system is itself but the result of the collisions among those infinitely tiny clusters of matter, that the harmony of stellar systems is harmony only because it is an adaptation, a resultant of all these numberless movements uniting, completing, equilibrating one another.

—Kropotkin, *Anarchism*

The apparent sudden interest in the natural and cosmological world was fully embedded in the broader shift in temporality to cooperatist anarchist progress with the Russo-Japanese War. The anarchist popularization of the natural and cosmological sciences in Japan in the early part of the twentieth century was both a product of and an inspiration for coop-

eratist anarchists' uprooting of cultural hierarchies. In turn, anarchist readings of the life sciences formed a crucial point in the further development of Japanese anarchist thought.

Leading anarchists like Kōtoku Shūsui and his young colleague Ōsugi, among many others, enthusiastically turned to the biological and cosmological sciences after the war. With the dissolution of the ideology of Western modernity in the Russo-Japanese War, science became the vessel through which the "true nature" of human behavior and society could be discerned. It was in this postwar context that the anarchists Kōtoku, Sakai Toshihiko, and Yamakawa Hitoshi founded the journal *Heimin kagaku* (The people's science) in 1907. The journal expressed anarchists' larger interests in the question of evolution for human society and its implications for civilizational progress. Articles in the journal included "The History of Human Development," "The Evolution of Men and Women," "Ethics of the Animal World," and "The Birth and Death of Planet Earth." The editors' aim to disseminate that knowledge on the popular level for the *heimin* was in line with the populist principle of heiminism discussed in Chapter 3. Kōtoku similarly spoke on "Ethics in the Animal World" for the Shakai shugi (Socialism) nighttime lecture series in August 1907.⁷ If the animal world was ethical, evolutionary theory could no longer be characterized as the departure of human civilization from nature, but rather as the nurture and development of what was already inherent in nature.

The cooperatist anarchist turn to science interacted discursively with the Western modern construct of civilizational progress. Stripped down to its most basic intellectual foundations, that construct may be most simply understood as a movement away from "nature" and toward "culture." Sigmund Freud, for example, exemplified this idea when he wrote in a letter to Albert Einstein in the 1930s that the solution to war was the gradual advancement of "culture" and "civilization," which would work to suppress natural human instincts of violence and barbarism. According to Freud, civilizational or cultural development was leading to the "progressive rejection of instinctive ends and a scaling down of instinctive reactions."⁸ Freud thereby posed "nature" as the ultimate antithesis

7. Yokoyama Toshiaki, *Nihon shinka shisōshi*, pp. 233–34.

8. "Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, 'Why War?'"

to the Western modern construct of “culture.” As its antithesis, “nature” thereby served as an integral definer of “culture.” After the Russo-Japanese War, cooperatist anarchists in Japan instead embraced “nature” as the essence of “culture” and in this way radically inverted the concept of modern civilization at its core. This was not a rejection of urban life or of science and technology by any means, but rather a conception of culture and civilization as part and parcel of nature. Civilizational progress was therefore inconceivable without the accordance of human cultural life with the latest findings in the natural and cosmological sciences.

In 1912, the year after the execution of Kōtoku and other anarchists in the Daigyaku incident, Ōsugi Sakae and Arahata Kanson founded the influential anarchist journal *Kindai shisō* (Modern thought). Ōsugi stated from the second issue that the journal had been founded in order to integrate art with science and thereby give shape to “the modern” itself. Coming on the heels of the Daigyaku incident, the founding of the journal was reflective of the historical trajectory of a broad-based cultural revolution that will be discussed further in the Epilogue. After a brief interlude following the shock of the trials and executions of Kōtoku and other comrades for their alleged attempt on the life of the emperor, the Daigyaku incident had in fact given inspiration to the project to reconstruct culture according to cooperatist anarchist principles.

At first, waiting for the easing of government repression had seemed to be the only option. Arishima wrote confidentially to his brother in 1911, “There are three paths. One is to be rebellious, the second would be to be a slave, the third path would be the one he takes for now—shut up and wait, pretend that you are controlled.”⁹ But the unintended consequence of the Daigyaku incident was that it radicalized many youth. A number of people turned decisively to anarchism in response to the incident, including such well-known literary figures as the poet Ishikawa Takuboku, the feminist historian Takamura Itsue (1894–1964), and the champion of minority rights Sumii Sue (1902–1997). Arahata wrote in his recollections on the founding of the journal that he and Ōsugi simply could not wait anymore.¹⁰ The dominant understanding of the so-called Winter Period fol-

9. Arishima to Arishima Ikuma, August 9, 1910, in Arishima, *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 10:98.

10. Arahata, *Shinkan Kanson jiden*, pp. 204–5.

lowing the Daigyaku incident is of a period of persecution that led the Japanese left wing to go underground. I suggest here that in fact, 1912 became its members' year to reinvigorate the cultural developments that had been initiated after the war, just as the state was attempting to stifle the movement. Crucial in the making of this new period of cooperatist anarchist thought and activity was the quest to align culture and society with the most advanced knowledge of the natural and cosmological sciences.

Ōsugi's 1912 article "Kindai Kagaku no Keikō" (The latest trends of modern science) in *Kindai shisō* represented the latest thinking about the relationship of human social life and culture to knowledge of the universe. Ōsugi wrote that social phenomena are not bound by the realm of purely human affairs, but rather are constantly in dialogue (*aikōshō suru*) with an ever-changing knowledge of the wider universe and corresponding knowledge of the laws of nature. In turn, the knowledge of natural science is in mutual negotiation with the understanding of the social.¹¹ Ōsugi's article was in effect a call for a scientific turn in culture.

Ōsugi pointed out in the article that in the medieval age, politics and religion corresponded with people's belief that the earth was at the center of the universe. People understood everything on earth to be the gift of God, which enabled rulers to maintain power through the control of knowledge. At a time when Christians understood themselves to be at the center of the universe, they were governed by "‘theo-kings’ almighty rights in a medieval political body and its organization of people." Likewise, science was also controlled by an earth-centered view of the universe. Ōsugi contrasted scientific knowledge of the "dark ages" with contemporary scientific knowledge of the universe.¹² He did not describe the form of human society and culture that he imagined would best correspond with that scientific knowledge. In the year after Kōtoku's execution, it was best to leave that up to the readers' imagination.

Marc Davis, a scholar of astronomy and physics, has characterized the main astronomical discoveries over the past four hundred years:

That Earth is *not* the center of the Universe.

That the Sun is *not* the center of the Universe.

11. Ōsugi, "Kindai kagaku no keikō," p. 2.

12. Ibid.

Our galaxy is *not* the center of the Universe.
 Our type of matter is *not* the dominant constituent of the Universe (dark matter predominates instead).
 Our Universe (seen and unseen) is *not* the only Universe.¹³

Historian Daniel Boorstin has aptly described humans' increasing knowledge of and awareness of the laws of the universe over the past four centuries as an age of "negative discovery."¹⁴ However, knowledge in the human sciences, and to a lesser degree in the biological sciences, has not caught up with the expansive knowledge of the universe, so a strong conceptual divide continues today. In late Meiji and Taishō Japan, this negative discovery provided the intellectual legitimacy and impetus for anarchist social and cultural thought and practices. Anarchists turned to Darwinist laws of evolution in animal behavior and to a renewed interest in the laws of cosmology as reliable sources of human social knowledge gleaned from the natural and physical world and the cosmic universe.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Nonwar participants had already begun to conclude that human society had failed to catch up with scientific findings about the universe over the past four hundred years and with more recent findings in the natural world. Japan's imperialist expansion and capitalist development led burgeoning cooperatist anarchists to express awareness of the chasms among the existing knowledge of nature, ideas of historical progress, and political, cultural, and social practices. It was on this basis that during the Russo-Japanese War, Kōtoku urged the alignment of social and political thought with the scientific discoveries of the universe.¹⁵ He called for a new direction in civilizational progress toward unity between human society and culture and the laws of the universe after the war. The universe Kōtoku referred to was the centerless universe without beginning or end in which all energies interact and evolve, verified by the latest scientific findings. After Darwin, "there will be no more debate about the beginningless and endless composition of nature," Kōtoku stated in his introduction to Darwin's theory of

13. Davis is quoted in Boorstin, *Cleopatra's Nose*, p. 7.

14. Ibid.

15. Kōtoku, "Daawin to Marukusu."

evolution.¹⁶ Kōtoku was quick to interlink cosmological knowledge and biological discovery with the temporal and spatial order of the human world.

How, then, could a modern subject, gifted with both a mortal body and the self-knowledge that he or she was decaying day by day, live a meaningful life in a centerless universe, the very knowledge of which continued to expand with scientific discovery? In its radical decentering of relations between individuals, nations, genders, and ethnic groups and nature and the broader universe, cooperatist anarchism was seen as the only social theory and coherent vision of progress that could accommodate the scientific negative discoveries of the past four hundred years. Fascination with anarchism's fusion with the scientific discoveries of the centerless universe and microbiology inspired a new generation who had been only in their teens or early twenties during the Nonwar Movement to adopt anarchist notions of progress during this time.

Ōsugi illustrates this process. It was the particular “negative discovery” of nature and ideas of mutual aid in evolution that gave Ōsugi the ontological confidence to adopt anarchist thought after the war. Indeed, Ōsugi's biographer, Thomas Stanley, has pointed out that it was his undivided interest in science that led him to anarchism.¹⁷ Ōsugi recalled the moment of his turn to anarchism immediately after the war: “As I read [the biological evolutionary writings of Oka Asajirō (1868–1944)] I felt as if I were gradually growing taller and as if the limits in all directions were steadily expanding. The universe that I had not known until now was opening itself to my eyes with every page. . . . There is nothing at all which is not changing.”¹⁸ This discovery was simultaneous with his discoveries of Kropotkin's modern anarchist writings. Ōsugi wrote:

Anarchists begin by explaining astronomy in the introduction. Then, they explain the plants and animals. Finally, they discuss human society. In due course, I tire of books. I raise my head and stare into space. The first things I see are the sun, moon, and stars, the movement of the clouds, the leaves of the paulownia tree, sparrows, black kites, chickens, and then, lowering my gaze, the roof of the opposite prison building. It is exactly as if I were practicing what

16. Ibid.

17. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae*, p. 33.

18. Ibid, p. 47.

I was just now reading. As scant as my knowledge of nature is, I am constantly embarrassed. I think, "From now on I will seriously study nature."

The more I read and think about it, nature is for some reason logical, and logic is embodied completely in nature. Further, I must admire nature greatly, for this logic must similarly be embodied entirely in human society which has been developed by nature.¹⁹

Japanese anarchists made a direct linkage between human society and the universe and claimed that the interdependent relationship between humans and nature was such that it logically followed that humans had no choice but to harmonize society with the most advanced scientific knowledge of space matter and the natural world. They believed that human subjectivity and social relations ought to reflexively mirror scientific findings about the nature of the physical and natural universe around and within human beings.

The moment of Ōsugi's adoption of anarchism corresponded precisely with the moment of his discovery of biological evolutionary theory. In this regard, Ōsugi was like others in this period who similarly attributed their conversions to anarchism to the fundamental change in their understanding of human relations to nature. Kōtoku, for example, had spent much of his time in prison at the war's end reading Kropotkin's writings for the first time, in tandem with a book titled *Physics of the Universe*. It was during this time that Kōtoku turned definitively to anarchism. These were just a few of the many cooperatist anarchists who embraced this negative discovery of cosmological knowledge from the very moment of their adoption of formal anarchism.

Ishikawa Sanshirō problematized the definition of progress as the conquering of nature. He saw this as the frightening product of the conception of nature as the enemy of civilization and the antithesis of human culture. Ishikawa proposed instead to embrace boundless nature, leading to a deep connection of the limited human life to the limitless world of nature. If there were to be any progress in his own life, Ishikawa wrote, that progress would be to aim at that ideal of a human civilization deeply interconnected with nature.²⁰

19. Ibid., p. 48.

20. Ishikawa, *Hi shinkaron to jinsei*.

In this context, anarchists brought back the writings of the so-called forgotten Tokugawa thinker Andō Shōeki in an influential article in *Nihon heimin shimbun* in Osaka. Shōeki's argument for equality and interdependence in human society as an expression of the natural energy within all living beings and his cosmological view of human-nature relations helped fuel the anarchist scientific imagination at this time. In 1908, anarchists reintroduced the lost writings of this forgotten Tokugawa thinker as a precursor to the modern anarchist movement in Japan and in this way resurrected Shōeki as "the anarchist of 150 years ago."²¹ Anarchists, too, were inventing traditions. In 1912, just before his death, Taoka Reiun, discussed in Chapter 4, expressed his wish to read Shōeki's writings after reading the article about Shōeki published by anarchists in *Nihon heimin shimbun*. Shōeki was a little known thinker who wrote in the 1700s from the northeastern regional town of Hachinohe. His work was not discovered in the modern era until the school headmaster Kanō Kōkichi (1865–1942) stumbled across original manuscripts of Shōeki's writings in an old bookstore in 1899. Reiun's and other cooperatist anarchists' excitement over finding Shōeki's writings may best be understood in the intellectual context of the post-Russo-Japanese War scientific turn. That Shōeki is still often discussed today in Japan as an anarchist, an ecological thinker, and an advocate of democracy echoes Japanese anarchists' introduction of his writings one century earlier.

Shōeki offered an understanding of a progressive universe that, although not scientific in method, well represented the notion of the centerless universe in modern cooperatist anarchist thought. He wrote of incessant movement and change fueled from within by the shared energy that is immanent in all living beings. This never-ending energy, balanced by an equilibrium between the living creatures of the natural world, including between man and woman, materialized in everyday life through ordinary everyday work according to the anarchists' Shōeki. All were products of and possessed the energy of life, and all took part in the constant exchange of energy for mutual well-being. His notion of the functioning universe was absent a hierarchical dichotomy of high and low ordained

21. "Hyaku gojūnen mae no museifushugisha Andō Shōeki," *Nihon heimin shimbun*, p. 15; reprinted in *Meiji shakai shugi shiryō shū*, p. 255. For discussions of Shōeki in the Western historical literature, see Norman, *Andō Shōeki*; and Najita, "Andō Shōeki."

by God. Shōeki's cosmological view of the interworking of nature and human beings provided for equality among the *heimin* and for an anarchist form of "democracy." For Shōeki, nature was the only reliable source and the first principle of human knowledge. He contrasted *shizenno yo* (the natural state) with that of *hōno yo* or *hōsei* (the world of law), in which people who possess power without working control those who work and engage with nature, the peasants.²²

In their efforts to express these scientific truths in cultural production and thereby remedy the gap between socio-cultural understandings of the world and scientific knowledge, cooperatist anarchists undertook a series of translations of the latest theories and observations in the biological sciences and initiated a scientific turn in Japanese cultural life. For anarchists, the evolutionary implications of the latest discoveries of natural science were to be reflected directly in human history and progress. In turn, popular understandings of natural science had to reflect that notion of progress.

Ilya Mechnikov and the Symbiotic Body

Darwinism in Japan has long been associated with Spencerian Darwinism, or social Darwinism, which was widely used to shape and justify official domestic and foreign policies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Darwin was used in social Darwinism to prove "scientifically" that humans belonged to a larger hierarchical order in which all beings were to evolve to a higher stage, with a purpose of progressively higher development. Social Darwinism and Malthusianism permeated official domestic and foreign policies, as well as the discussions of some leading academic intellectuals, at the end of the nineteenth century.

It would be tempting to read the many references to Darwin in Japan in this period as expressions of Darwin's impact on Japanese intellectual life, but Japanese anarchists' translations and popularization of Darwin radically complicate this narrative. Darwin's thought was used very differently from the way in which it was used in Western Europe and the United States in the early twentieth century. Anarchists reread Darwin through the lens of Russian-Japanese anarchist writings on evolution in

22. Yasunaga, *Andō Shōeki*, pp. 60–72, 85–88, 199–207.

a manner that departed from social Darwinist ideology. Whereas Darwinism was widely associated in the West with the rejection of religious belief and with social Darwinist ideas, Japanese anarchists translated and disseminated a Darwinism that emphasized symbiosis, cooperation, and altruism, key concepts in understanding anarchist readings of Darwin, as innate traits in the human and animal world. Ōsugi and other Japanese anarchists translated and introduced Darwin's writings as a theory of the evolution of increasing diversity of interconnected natural forms, the so-called tree of life. This reading of Darwin formed a scientific foundation for the promotion of diversity and nonhierarchy in cultures and languages, or Esperantism, discussed in Chapter 5.

The foundations of this reading of Darwin were, in the words of Daniel Todes, "Darwin without Malthus." Darwin realized after reading Malthus's work on the dangers of overpopulation that in nature, plants and animals produce far more offspring than are capable of surviving. Darwin adapted Malthus's theory to the natural world, claiming that this created the conditions for the improvement of a species, whereby only the fittest among siblings could survive and pass on their traits to the next generation. This continual process of competition and natural selection would work to improve the species and eventually lead to the formation of a new species.

Seeking to revise this aspect of Darwin's thought, nineteenth-century Russian scientists like Kropotkin, his elder mentor Lev Mechnikov, and Ilya Mechnikov participated in the development of the notion of Darwin without Malthus and applied it to their studies and explorations of human society and civilization.²³ This anti-Malthusian and non-Spencerian understanding made Kropotkin's work, which integrated human civilizational progress with the latest scientific discoveries, very popular in Japan. This anti-Malthusian understanding of Darwin characteristic of Ilya Mechnikov's work also propelled Japanese anarchists to read and disseminate his writings. The scientific turn among Japanese anarchists was fully embedded in the longer history of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations.

23. Todes, "Darwin's Malthusian Metaphor."

The idea of nonhierarchy attributed to Darwinism thus was not a simple product of Darwin's influence on Japanese cultural and intellectual life, but rather an expression of cooperatist anarchism's specific reading and application of Darwin in Japan. Japanese anarchists' rereading of Darwinism as a theory of evolution befitting their interest in anarchist progress developed in dialogue with Russian natural sciences represented by Kropotkin and Ilya Mechnikov. These two theorists adapted Darwinian evolutionary theory to what Todes has identified as a specifically Russian style of thinking about evolution and biology. Translated side by side with these Russian intermediaries and reread from an alternative lens of modernity, Darwin came to be embraced by cooperatist anarchists in Japan as one of their own.

Ilya Mechnikov's work identified the symbiotic functions of the human body from within the body itself. His scientific contributions expand knowledge of the ways in which the body has been imagined and constructed. Scholars have historicized the body as an object or expression of colonized, racial, and gendered hierarchies, as a tool of resistance, and as other forms of body politics. Mechnikov, however, radicalized the human body from within itself as a symbiotic entity composed of and dependent on interactive microorganisms. He worked on the symbiotic relationship of the human body with the bacteria and other microorganisms that thrived within the body and promoted their hosts' health and well-being.

Mechnikov's scientific life was guided by his analysis of Darwin's theory of evolution. His writings offered many cooperatist anarchists their first persuasive insight into Darwin's scientific ideas in a manner that was opposed to the social Darwinism then prevalent in imperial ideology. However, although Mechnikov's scientific work was inspired by Darwin's ideas, he maintained his opposition to the emphasis in orthodox Darwinian science on the Malthusian concept of overpopulation's role in dictating competition within species. Mechnikov emphasized the functioning of conflict and symbiosis between microorganisms within the individual body in the struggle for existence. Japanese anarchists selected his work as an interpretation and reworking of Darwinian theories of evolution.

For Japanese anarchists, the human body discovered by Mechnikov was a body functioning in mutual interaction and interdependence with its environment from both within and without and was a reflection of a

much larger cosmological universe. His understanding of multiple levels of “social” relations among organisms, both within and outside the human body led him to reflect in his writings on how adaptations in human interactions with the microbiotic world could prolong individual lives. He believed that furthering scientific understanding of microorganisms’ symbiotic functions and competitive relationships within the body was a key to the prolongation of life. One study of his that has continued to be widely known and pursued in scientific research in Japan determined that microorganisms in the stomach work in symbiotic relationship with their host, the human body. Mechnikov’s study found that although the microorganisms depended on their host for survival, the human body relied on the microorganisms, known as gut flora, to help digest food and to fight off unhealthy organisms in the stomach. He famously proposed that by regularly drinking fermented milk products, such as yogurt, which had microorganisms integral to the healthy functioning of the intestines, humans could help regulate good and bad bacteria within their bodies.²⁴

Mechnikov worked with the belief that science could correct naturally arising disharmonies. “Let those who will have preserved the combative instinct, direct it towards a struggle, not against human beings, but against the innumerable microbes, visible or invisible, which threaten us on all sides and prevent us from accomplishing the normal and complete cycle of our existence,” Mechnikov wrote during the violence of World War I, which greatly agonized him.²⁵ He argued in his work *Nature of Man* that the happiness and well-being of man lay in his attainment of harmony with the order of nature that lay both within his own body and outside in his environment. He observed that man’s adaptation to nature and harmony with the environment was far from complete, a disjuncture rooted in the profound changes achieved in his evolutionary development. He believed that the exact sciences should serve to remedy the organic disharmonies within humans and thereby offer solutions to the problems of human happiness.²⁶

24. Elie Metchnikoff, *Nature of Man*, pp. 254–55.

25. Quoted in Todes, *Darwin without Malthus*, p. 103.

26. See, for example, Elie Metchnikoff, *Nature of Man*, pp. 209–15; and Elie Metchnikoff, “Haunting Terror of All Human Life.”

Mechnikov identified the will to life as a major source of disjuncture in human life. Unlike other creatures he had observed, who appeared to lose the instinct of self-preservation at the time of their natural deaths, human beings largely held on to the will to live until the last days of their lives, a disharmony that caused tremendous suffering and fear. His work in microbiology offered a solution to this disjuncture. His discoveries had revealed the positive role that the countless microorganisms he discovered existing symbiotically within the human body played in human health and longevity.²⁷ Through a science premised on the acceptance that “nature” was internal to the human being, the natural disharmonies within human beings could be resolved.²⁸

Mechnikov’s theory followed from a lifelong interest in the question of the nature of the struggle for existence.²⁹ He found that inflammation, the swelling of an infected area with blood fluid and its white blood cells, was a defensive reaction reflecting the struggle between the body’s white blood cells and an invading parasite. He identified phagocytosis as the incorporation of foreign, parasitic microbes by individual white blood cells. The functioning of aspects of the immune system in higher organisms had evolved from intracellular digestion in lower organisms, Mechnikov argued. It was his findings on immunity that won him the Nobel Prize.

Mechnikov’s work took lessons for human existence from man’s evolutionary origins in nature. In his work in embryology, he drew conclusions about the functioning of human defense against microorganisms from his examinations of primitive organisms. Here, Mechnikov echoed Darwin’s view in *The Descent of Man* that “man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system—with all these exalted powers—Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin.”³⁰

27. See, for example, Elie Metchnikoff, *Nature of Man*, pp. 238–61.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 262–84.

29. Todes, *Darwin without Malthus*, pp. 82–103.

30. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, p. 619.

This Darwinist reminder of man's humble origins, of his ties to all living things, in Mechnikov's claims, attracted Japanese anarchists. Mechnikov's *Nature of Man* inspired Japanese anarchists by its attempt to draw conclusions for human life from his scientific findings founded in evolutionary thinking. Many participants in the cultural revolution in the wake of the history slide, including the leading thinkers Arishima, Ishikawa Sanshirō, Ōsugi, Kōtoku, and Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), closely followed Mechnikov's discussions of the nature of man and his evolutionary origins.³¹ Yanagi, Arishima's younger associate in the Shirakaba school and later the leader of the Mingei arts movement, echoed this trend by publishing a well-known article on Ilya Mechnikov in the journal *Shirakaba* in 1911, "Mechnikov's Scientific View on Human Life."³² The appearance of Ilya Mechnikov in Japanese intellectual life was part of the development of a larger Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relationship since his brother Lev's revolutionary encounters with Japan in the early 1870s.³³

Read translangually from the perspective of cooperatist anarchist thought, Darwin's overall vision of the multiplicity and diversity of beings that evolved naturally over time and that were each adapted to their own niche seemed to speak directly to Japanese cooperatist anarchists. The comprehensive view of the natural world that Darwin had drawn up was translated by anarchists into a foundational concept for the natural origins of their nonhierarchical vision of world order. The Darwin they had translated was in fact against Darwinism. Darwin's nature translated well into their understanding of an anarchist "democracy" (*demokurashi*)

31. In 1906, for example, Kōtoku already relied on Mechnikov's findings to discuss the latest debates on vegetarianism. Kōtoku, "Saishoku no kenkyū."

32. Decades later, Ishikawa Sanshirō reviewed the significance of Mechnikov's scientific thinking for anarchism. Ishikawa, *Shinkaron kenkyū*.

33. From early on in the history of Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations and the emergence of cooperatist anarchism since the Ishin, the dissolution of the distinction between human and nature was a core idea. As discussed in Chapter 1, Lev Mechnikov's work *Civilization*, a product of his encounter with Ishin Japan, was a reflection of that notion of human civilization's dependence on and inseparability from nature. Indeed, Lev Mechnikov's work captured many readers in that it redefined the idea of civilization and progress by dissolving the essential distinction between human culture and nature.

as the sociocultural manifestation of webs of life mutually interacting and functioning within their own particular niche, without need for the state (see the Epilogue). Darwin's findings of altruistic behavior in the animal world, largely overlooked until relatively recently by natural scientists in the West, were entirely consistent with this urge to identify mutual aid as a law of nature.

Often what cooperatist anarchists chose not to translate was as important as what they did translate. The selectivity with which anarchists translated and read Darwin is indicative of the limitations of his influence. Anarchists did not translate Darwin's second work, *The Descent of Man*, first published in 1871, which applied evolutionary theory to humans. Containing Spencerian and Malthusian discussions of race and culture with which cooperatist anarchists would have found fault, a section of *The Descent of Man* conjectured that the savage or "weaker" races would eventually die out or be absorbed because of contact with the "civilized races" and interracial and intertribal competition. Darwin himself adhered to a concept that equated race with culture, which would become widespread at the turn of the last century.³⁴ Therefore, the natural selection of species led Darwin to conclude that races, and therefore cultures, would be naturally selected out. This would lead to the extinction of the peoples who were more physically, culturally, and linguistically "savage." Darwin wrote:

Extinction follows chiefly from the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race. Various checks are always in action, as specified in a former chapter, which serve to keep down the numbers of each savage tribe—such as periodical famines, the wandering of the parents and the consequent deaths of infants, prolonged suckling, the stealing of women, wars, accidents, sickness, licentiousness, especially infanticide, and, perhaps, lessened fertility from less nutritious food, and many hardships. If from any cause any one of these checks is lessened, even in a slight degree, the tribe thus favored will tend to increase; and when one of two adjoining tribes becomes more numerous and powerful than the other, the contest is soon settled by war, slaughter, cannibalism, slavery, and absorption. Even when a weaker tribe is not thus abruptly swept away, if it once begins to decrease, it generally goes on decreasing until it is extinct. When civi-

34. For an account of this idea, see Stocking, "Turn-of-the-Century Concept of Race."

lized nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short. . . . The grade of civilization seems a most important element in the success of nations which come in competition.³⁵

It was hardly a coincidence that Japanese anarchists did not translate *The Descent of Man*. Just as Darwin's cultural lens led him to interpret the implications of his scientific findings for human society and evolution in a particular manner, so did Japanese anarchists come to differing conclusions from Darwin's on the implications of his work for human life. One can understand in this way Ōsugi's criticism of an earlier introduction of Darwin's ideas by the biologist Oka Asajirō for overemphasizing competition in Darwin's thoughts. In Ōsugi's view, Oka had echoed Huxley's misunderstanding of Darwin's idea of the struggle for existence.³⁶

In this way, Japanese anarchists guilelessly paired Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* with Kropotkin's anti-Malthusian rereading of Darwin. For Ōsugi, the cooperatist anarchist time in Kropotkin's writings was inseparable both from the scientific findings on which Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid was based and from Kropotkin's cooperatist readings of Darwin.

The rereading of Darwin in light of his work on altruism finds an echo in the entirely different historical context of contemporary times. Contemporary biological scientists have sought to complicate understandings of Darwin's notions of the "struggle for survival" by examining symbiotic relationships and cooperation, altruistic behavior, and even empathy both within species and between species.³⁷ Yet in early twentieth-century Japan, the radical implications of Darwin's ideas, of the continuity in morality and behavior between humans and animals, were widely accepted. The account of Darwin in global history thus cannot avoid the travel of his ideas to Japan, not as a diversion, which is how one might normally tend to describe the travel of Western ideas to Japan in this period, but as a significant trip that has contributed to the reinterpretation and integral development of Darwin's acceptance in the world at large. The global trajectory of Darwin's thought is thus greatly enriched

35. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, pp. 238–9, 182–83.

36. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae*, p. 49.

37. See, for example, Waal, *Age of Empathy*; and Cronin, *Ant and the Peacock*.

when it is viewed through the lens of modern Japanese history and Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual relations.

Translated in this manner in tandem with the Russian biological sciences, Darwin came to inform cooperatist anarchists' preexisting idea of history and progress. In Japanese anarchist readings of him, Darwin applied the functioning of evolutionary laws fairly equally to both human beings and the natural world. He identified the device for change and variation in species as occurring randomly rather than by divine intervention or plan.

Darwin's ideas, as well as those of Fabre and Ilya Mechnikov, were expressed most strongly in Japan at this time in the cultural sphere, in social thought, art, and literature, for example, rather than in the science classes of imperial universities. This was due in part to the translation, interpretation, and introduction of the natural sciences in Japan by self-schooled anarchists. Their translations and writings about science were read as a kind of literature, and some even became an integral part of popular children's literature. Only later did academia follow these trends in popular culture.

Dung-Ball Rollers as Society

It is helpful here to relate the anarchist translations of Darwin and Kropotkin's work and anarchists' interest in Ilya Mechnikov to anarchist translations of the work of Fabre in Japan. More than those of any other biologist, including Darwin, anarchist translations of Fabre popularized scientific investigations of the biological world. Fabre's observations of the insect world seemed to verify the cooperatist anarchist view of nature. It was Fabre who was translated in order to demonstrate the idea that all species have their unique role and function in nature. Cooperatist anarchists turned to the work of Fabre to demonstrate scientifically the rootedness of interdependence and mutual aid in nature.

At the same time, the absence of the notion of evolution in Fabre's writings of the divine perfection of all creatures led anarchists to pair Fabre with Darwinian theory and Mechnikov's findings in anarchist ideas of the natural world. Ōsugi's successive translations of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1914, Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* in 1917, and Fabre's study of insects, *Souvenirs entomologiques*, in 1922 reflected his belief in cooperatist

anarchism as the closest social expression of scientific discovery as negative discovery.³⁸ Ōsugi recalled that while he was in prison, he simultaneously sought out the Reclus volume on Japan, the writings of Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), who had co-discovered with Darwin natural selection in evolution, and Fabre’s tales.³⁹ Lev Mechnikov had been responsible for researching and writing the volume on Japan in Reclus’s *Nouvelle géographie universelle* (see Chapter 1). Darwin, Wallace, Lev Mechnikov’s geographic study of Japan, and Fabre’s rather eccentric insect studies were an unlikely match. For Ōsugi, however, the juxtaposition of their writings, a scientific study of “societies” of insects as the smallest representatives of the natural world, the theory of evolution and natural selection by Darwin and Wallace, and Lev Mechnikov’s observation of Japanese society as the closest expression of cooperatism offered scientific demonstrations of anarchist progress.

Confident of the naturally endowed intellectual, social, and cultural capacity of the *heimin*, anarchists assumed that the majority of people were capable of assimilating science into their thought and practices. The dissemination of Fabre’s writings became an ideal means to further the integration of human life with the latest scientific findings on a broad scale. The simple language and narrative style used by Fabre, who attempted to make his findings accessible to youth, made his work a perfect means for Ōsugi to promulgate the latest scientific findings to the *heimin*. With its accessible language and narrative style, Ōsugi’s translation of Fabre’s work became a massively popular and integral part of children’s literature.

Ōsugi’s introduction and translation of Fabre made the French entomologist wildly popular in Japan among children and adults alike. Ōsugi’s translated volume of little creatures embodying the progressive practices of everyday doing and playing a part in a much larger dynamic environment has captured the imagination of children in Japan in a way no other children’s literature could have. Today, Fabre continues to have almost cult status in Japan. His name and his entomological studies are synonymous with childhood in Japan. Summertime for children in Japan

38. Darwin, *Shu no kigen*; Kropotkin, *Sōgo fujo ron*; Fabre, *Konchūki*. See also Ōsugi, *Kuropotokin kenkyū*.

39. Ōsugi, “Yakushano jo,” p. 8.

has long been equated with the reading of Fabre's books and the associated play with insects modeled after Fabre's writings. Countless natural scientists and insect lovers, both professional and amateur, began their career with their encounter with natural science through Ōsugi's translations of Fabre's entomology. Although everyone in Japan seems to know Fabre's entomological studies, what Japanese do not know is that the embrace of Fabre originated in anarchist ideas of progress.

In Japanese readings of Fabre, the dung beetle, or scarab beetle, which lives off animal excrement, takes a particular and prominent place. Fabre studied other insects, but it has been his discussions of the dung beetle that have made it a long-celebrated hero among Japanese children. The beetle is endearingly known by the catchy name *funkorogashi* (dung-ball roller), a term first translated and popularized by anarchists. This little champion has been turned into a virtual industry by way of countless plastic insect play figures, cartoons, T-shirts, and other products. The unlikely hero is imprinted in Japanese minds together with its unappetizing ball of excrement, which Ōsugi's translation of Fabre has succeeded in making inseparable from the identification of Fabre himself.⁴⁰

Anarchists' success in disseminating the scientific studies of Fabre is evidenced by the work's immediate surge in sales upon publication. In addition to the numerous reprints of Ōsugi's translation of *Konchūki*, two more multivolume complete translations of Fabre's work were published in the early 1930s, a twenty-volume edition by Iwanami Bunko and a ten-volume edition by ARS. These marked the beginning of a number of multivolume versions of the work published in Japan, with the latest new edition being published in 2005.⁴¹ Ōsugi's translations of Fabre also found their way to China via his transnational links with Chinese anarchists and radicals.⁴² There, they were differently read and used as a metaphorical weapon for cultural critique rather than for the sake of interest in science itself.

40. Fabre, *Fāburu Konchūki*.

41. Peng, "Traveling Text," p. 16.

42. For a discussion of Chinese radical readings of Fabre as a "traveling text" that moved to the Chinese revolutionary context via Japanese anarchist translations, see Peng, "Traveling Text."

State officials felt threatened by the immediate and massive popularity of anarchist introductions of the biological sciences, and the government banned *Konchū shakai* (Insect society) at this time.⁴³ To their credit, Japanese intelligence officers also sensed the linkage between the increasingly popularized radical destabilization of the natural scientific order and Esperantists' world vision. The police began to refer to Esperantists as followers of "Kropotkinist Darwinism" in their top-secret (*gokuhi*) reports.⁴⁴ The problem with this for them was that cooperatist anarchist Darwinism departed entirely from the evolutionary theory of Spencerian social Darwinism supportive of the imperial ideology of Japan. Anarchist readings of Darwin and Fabre's nature were fundamentally at odds with the state projects of modernization and the imperialist logic they promoted.

Fabre's work is considered a precursor to ethology, the science of animal and human behavior. He wrote about the natural intelligence and functioning of insects from the perspective of the insects themselves and thus earned the moniker "psychologist of the world of insects." His studies captured the various trials and tribulations that the clever dung beetles undergo, working together to make a pile of animal excrement many times their own weight into a workable ball that they can roll into an appropriate hiding place for long-term shared consumption. Without the natural virtue of the lowly beetle, the farms that rely daily on the transformation of the piles of dung from cows, pigs, sheep, and other farm animals into nutrient-filled soil for regeneration into healthy grass and crops could not exist. The story of the dung beetle thus represents many of the most honored ideas of cooperatist anarchism in Japan: symbiosis, knowledge, and virtue arising from nature itself. The popularity in Japan of what would appear to be the lowliest, most unnecessary and disposable members and activities of society, the movers and shakers of animal excrement in the natural world, is rooted in this history of anarchism.

Fabre's genius lay in his telling of the details of the beetle's life, and he imbued his tales with examinations of insects' astounding knowledge, or what he called divine "intelligence." Fabre's tales drew a picture of what

43. See Notehelper, *Kōtoku Shūsui*, pp. 185–86.

44. GSS, "Kageki ha sonota kiken shugi sha torishimari kankei zōken, gaikoku jin no bu: Rokoku jin," 4.3.2.1-2-2, January 21, Taishō 9 (1920), top-secret file no. 19.

he believed were God-given instincts. These instincts gave the beetle the natural ability and know-how to transform, together with his cohorts, mounds of excrement into a perfect sphere many times their own weight, move the balls to a hiding place prepared in advance, cover them with dirt and hay along the way in order to hide the smell and prevent other predators from finding them, and thus preserve their precious balls of dung for shared consumption within the safe confines of the beetles' underground lair.⁴⁵ Many Japanese did not view nature through the Christian lens of a world ordered by a metaphysical God in the way in which Fabre did. Nonetheless, Fabre's tales of innate knowledge and behavior unique to each species, embodied in such unendearing heroes as the dung beetle, the wasp, and the spider, captured anarchists' interest. This in turn inspired the Japanese public's hundred-year love affair with Fabre.

Ōsugi's dedication to Fabre in the last years of his life is indicative of the significance he gave to Fabre's science for his firm belief in anarchist progress. His translations of Fabre quickly became a shared anarchist project reliant on cooperatist networks. Not only what was constructed but who was doing it is significant. Sōbunkaku, the anarchist publishing company founded and run by Asuke Soichi and financially supported by Arishima, published Ōsugi's translation of the first volume of Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*, popularly known in Japanese as *Konchūki*. By this time, Asuke, who had been working as a traveling vendor who sold baked sweet potatoes from his wooden cart, had become an influential publisher on whom Ōsugi and many other anarchists relied on to publish their writings. Although Asuke was one of the most dynamic publishers in modern Japan, his work and activities have almost completely disappeared from history.

The last year of Ōsugi's life was spent translating Fabre's writings. In addition to *Konchūki*, Ōsugi also cotranslated with the anarchist Itō Noe *Tales of Natural Science* (*Shizen kagaku no hanashi*) and *The Secrets of Science* (*Kagaku no fushigi*), published in 1923 through ARS Publishing Company. During the several months Ōsugi was in France in 1923 to attend the international anarchist conference in Paris, a trip financed in

45. See, for example, Fabre, *Fāburu Konchūki*, pp. 27–67.

large part by Arishima Takeo, Ōsugi made plans to visit the place where Fabre had worked. Although the trip never materialized,⁴⁶ Ōsugi had planned to translate the entire multivolume series of Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques*. When some police officers murdered Ōsugi and his partner Ito in the chaos of the great Kanto earthquake of 1923, it was another anarchist in the cooperatist anarchist network, Shiina Sonoji (1887–1962), who took over the task of continuing the translations of Fabre.⁴⁷ Putting their anger into their translations of insects, anarchist translators and publishers of Fabre like Shiina and Asume ensured that Ōsugi's spirit and ideas survived in the dung beetle and other insects of Fabre's work.

Although numerous translations have been made of Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques* since 1923, the particular vibrancy of the colloquial language into which Ōsugi translated the first volume has drawn many readers to his translation. Ōsugi's translation of volume 1 was reprinted numerous times in the 1920s and 1930s, and the most recent reprint was published in 2005.⁴⁸ His careful crafting of a powerful anarchist language indicates that his translation of the work was more than a passing interest for Ōsugi. *Konchūki* remained in the tradition of linguistic invention in Esperanto and the creation of a revolutionary new Japanese colloquial language initiated by Futabatei. In this way, *Konchūki* continued the anarchist tradition of encouraging learning by *heimin* outside the walls of the imperial academic institutions that served the nation-state.

This understanding of Fabre and of Ōsugi's investment in translating his writings suggests the need for a rereading of Ōsugi himself. The anarchist has often been understood as a radical individualist, which may fit wider trends in the global anarchist movement, particularly that of "egoist anarchism," after the thought of German philosopher Max Stirner.⁴⁹ However, Fabre's portrayal of the natural world and Ōsugi's role in promoting a scientific turn in tune with the latest findings of symbiosis

46. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae*, pp. 148–49.

47. Fabre, *Konchūki*.

48. Fabre, *Fāburu Konchūki*.

49. Although Stanley describes Ōsugi's emphasis on individualism and the ego, he also notes that Ōsugi sought to distance himself from Stirner's extreme individualism. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae*, pp. 62–63.

involving creatures from single cells to human beings do not fit the widely disseminated understanding of Ōsugi as a proponent of radical egoism. Ōsugi's view of the individual ego may be more in accord with the idea of naturally endowed, innate individual virtue than with Cartesian notions of the individual and the Freudian ego conceived in clear distinction from the environment.

Although Darwin greatly admired Fabre's detailed observations of insect behavior, Fabre criticized the work of Darwin for its emphasis on competition and survival of the fittest. It was on the basis of this criticism that the Christian socialist and Nonwar Movement participant Kagawa Toyohiko (1888–1960) wrote the first Japanese translation of Fabre in 1919. Kagawa sharply contrasted Darwin's notion of competition-driven evolution with Fabre's belief in the divine origins of individual species. Japanese anarchists, however, saw no contradiction between Fabre, who attributed directly to God the design and perfection of each living thing, and Darwin, who deduced that evolution was the result of a scientifically explainable process of natural selection. For cooperatist anarchists, the creator of which Fabre spoke was the same as the Gxd without being of anarchist religion, which attributed an inherent moral force and energy to all living things. Because this Gxd was not the grand designer of the natural world found in Western Christianity, there remained no contradiction in anarchists' adoption of both the biblically inspired scientific findings of Fabre and writings on evolutionary origin by Darwin.

Ōsugi quickly attempted to remedy Kagawa's identification of Darwin's difference from Fabre. Ōsugi, who had already published his translation of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, criticized Kagawa for overemphasizing the element of competition in Darwin's work and instead sought a synthesis of the findings of the evolutionary theorist and the entomologist. Ōsugi's translations of Fabre and Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* thereby brought out and enhanced the intersection of their ideas for the wider Japanese public.

The anarchist investment in science is revealing, particularly because historians have tended to associate anarchism with irrationalism and utopianism founded on revolutionary dreams, far removed from any "reality" based on empirical facts. Arising in response to the Nonwar Movement and the history slide, scientific findings of symbiosis and

mutual aid together with competition and struggle among and within organisms, and of instinctive knowledge among insects and other tiny creatures, contributed to the anarchist project to overturn hierarchy and identify the origins and nature of progress and civilization. These findings were not analogies for human society taken from the animal world, but observations of the engine of biological and social evolution.

This chapter has also uncovered the anarchist origins of the pursuit of natural science in Japan, from the popular-level pursuit of scientific knowledge to the inspiration for scientific discovery among trained scientists. It is in the context of the scientific turn and the intellectual environment of anarchist modernity that one can understand, for example, the primatologist Imanishi Kinji's pioneering studies of the social and cultural life of primates, or culture in nature.⁵⁰ Imanishi was inspired by his readings of Japanese anarchist translations of Kropotkin. The primatologist jump-started a major revolution in research on culture in the animal world that in turn helped inspire a rereading of Darwinian theory in contemporary primatology.⁵¹ Imanishi's novel findings, which have influenced leading contemporary primatologists in the West, were an intellectual product of a longer history of cooperatist anarchism spanning the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The tremendous popularity of anarchists' introductions and translations of scientific writings would have implications for the direction that the natural sciences would take in Japan.

Only by understanding the conceptual context in which Darwin was translated and read can one understand why the translation and dissemination of Darwin was so often paired with Esperanto. Leading translators and popularizers of Darwin's ideas, such as Kōtoku and Ōsugi, were also proponents of Esperantism or other forms of interlingualism. The popularization of anarchist Darwinism in Japan thus cannot be separated from the surge in interest in Esperanto in early twentieth-century Japan. The two phenomena were interconnected by the logic of cooperatist anarchism. Japanese who promoted Darwin's evolutionary ideas, Fabre's dung beetle, and Ilya Mechnikov's embryology also promulgated Esperanto as a vision of a non- if not antihierarchical multiplicity of cultures and

50. See Imanishi, *Japanese View of Nature*.

51. See, for example, Waal, *Ape and the Sushi Master*.

ethnicities and the preservation of the languages and cultures of native and colonized peoples. This led to a dynamic intellectual link between Darwinism and early twentieth-century multiculturalism in Japan.

Despite divergent views among Darwin, Fabre, Ilya Mechnikov, and Kropotkin on the origins of species and the nature of evolution, Japanese anarchists identified in the four scientists areas of intersection that served their cooperatist anarchist thought. In the process of translating these four figures, what were lost in translation were, conveniently, the elements that failed to fit the logic of cooperatist anarchist modernity. In the case of Darwin, anarchists embraced his scientific theories of an ontologically interconnected world that suggested to them that progress was “beginningless and endless” and therefore centerless—a notion that was radically different from Darwin’s own teleological view of evolution that leads to the perfected human being as the ultimate goal of an intelligent nature.⁵² Indeed, they chose not to translate elements in Darwin’s writings that identified a Malthusian and Spencerian world of interracial and interethnic competition and elimination of the supposedly weaker races and nations that was to lead ultimately to that perfected human being. At the same time, anarchists embraced Kropotkin’s emphasis on Darwin’s findings of an instinctive altruism in the animal world as a basis for the theory of mutual aid as a factor of evolution. In the case of Ilya Mechnikov, anarchists turned to his anti-Malthusian findings of human symbiotic interdependence with even the smallest microorganisms within the gut, internal to the core of each human being. To Darwin’s comprehensive view of the tree of life and to Mechnikov’s investigations into the minute workings of microorganisms within the human body, Fabre added his tales of remarkably “intelligent” insect lives to round out a complex understanding of a constantly self-perfecting, interconnected, cooperatively interdependent, centerless, beginningless, and endlessly changing natural world as the ontological basis for cooperatist anarchist existence.

It is not surprising, then, that Ishikawa Sanshirō published his work *A Study of Evolutionary Theory* in 1947, just two years after the end of World War II. The work reviewed the significance of Darwin, Ilya Mechnikov, and Fabre for anarchism.⁵³ Hoping perhaps to revive anarchist

52. Robert Richards discusses this view in his *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior*.

53. Ishikawa, *Shinkaron Kenkyū*.

democracy and modernity founded on the same scientifically based notions of the nature of human existence, Ishikawa reintroduced these figures in the open-ended political climate of the period immediately after World War II.

Anarchists sought to construct cultural practices that embodied the cumulative negative discoveries of the past four hundred years so that human society could finally reflect the findings of the cosmological and natural sciences. Their “culture” began to be defined vis-à-vis “nature.” What the shift in historical consciousness after the Russo-Japanese War brought them was not only a fresh temporal and spatial mode of being in the world but also a subjectivity of existing in that symbiotic space and time. Culture itself was reframed and reformulated in all its variety of expressions in the early twentieth century in response to the scientific and historical turns of the period.

Epilogue: Culture Turned Upside Down

During a period of roughly twenty-five years after the Russo-Japanese War, cooperatist anarchists overturned the meaning of culture and the cultured to meet the demands of anarchist progress. I call this reconstruction of the concept of culture in anarchist discourse an anarchist cultural revolution. It was the product of shifts from high culture to popular, state to nonstate, institution to noninstitution, sociolinguistic Darwinism to multiplicity and diversity of cultural development, and the formal to the informal realms of everyday life as the sites, times, and sources of cultural expression.

Cultural revolutions have been commonly associated with the violent social and cultural upheavals in Communist China and the Soviet Union, whether orchestrated by the state or as a response by the state to class struggle and popular desire for social mobility.¹ I use the term here to refer to cooperatist anarchists' overturning of the meanings and values of various spheres of modern culture without violence or support from the state in early twentieth-century Japan. Although the anarchist cultural revolution overturned the assumptions of Western modernity, it was also entirely distinct from nationalist cultural currents that accompanied decolonization movements around the world.

The anarchist concept of culture was still modern in the sense that it denoted culture's irreplaceable role in human progress. However,

1. Sheila Fitzpatrick first argued for the application of the concept of cultural revolution to Soviet history. See Fitzpatrick, "Cultural Revolution as Class War."

“culture” was no longer limited to a select handful of Japanese elites who had attained civilizational “enlightenment,” a rational, Christian, and Westernized self. Similarly, it did not refer to the familiar hierarchy of race as culture. After the invention of “the people” during the Russo-Japanese War, the people themselves became the subject and object of progress in this discourse. They thereby became the carriers of “culture”—not as natives in possession of an authentic and timeless national culture, but as those possessing the capacity to re-create and alter their surroundings in a cooperative manner for the mutual improvement of their lives. The dualism between the concepts of culture and nature that fed the idea of progress also disappeared. “Culture” became the varied, creative expressions of each individual’s virtue gifted from nature. Producers of anarchist forms of culture believed that civilizational progress was reliant on these individual expressions for the symbiotic process of social improvement. The anarchist concept of culture thereby inverted both the Western modern notion of civilization and the ideological foundations of the Japanese imperial state.

With the end of the Russo-Japanese War, culture began to be refashioned to meet the demands of the slide in historical consciousness introduced in Chapter 4. Beginning with the Esperanto movement for a language without culture, a number of distinctive cultural movements and intellectual developments followed one after another to constitute the multifaceted conceptual turns in culture. Such varied cultural expressions in early twentieth-century Japan as movements in children’s literature, agrarian culture, Esperanto and the People’s Arts movement, and major trends in evolutionary theory, ethics, entomology, and microbiology developed in response to the history slide. Anarchist cultural expressions were in tune with the formulations of multiplicity, democracy, mutual aid, and symbiosis in nature. Without a conductor to harmonize them, the various cultural expressions nonetheless appeared as if they had been orchestrated to overturn the concept of culture.

Previous chapters have shown how the production and circulation of knowledge took place outside the classrooms of Japan’s imperial universities. Instead, the sites of knowledge production were often located in places such as local shrines, rural homes that housed poetry-reading groups, farms, churches, village schools, the second floor of the Nakamura sweetshop in Tokyo, inn and pubs, the second floor of the Hei-

min Hospital, Heimin Cafeteria, pharmacies, the shops and homes of neighborhood book lenders, and dormitories within the imperial universities. People educated themselves and discussed the latest findings in social studies and the natural sciences, as well as movements in art, theater, language, and literature, in unofficial sites of knowledge dissemination and production. Their meetings occurred primarily in the evenings. Culture was reproduced as knowledge that did not flow from the classrooms of state schools and imperial universities to shape the popular Japanese mind. This reverse flow of knowledge is illustrated, for example, in Chapter 5. Ōsugi's introduction and translation of Fabre's work inspired popular interest in entomology and helped define and shape the field of the biological sciences in twentieth-century Japan. From day to night, from imperial university campuses to unofficial sites, the places and times where and when the reverse flow of knowledge was developed and disseminated were part of the cultural revolution.

In this intellectual environment, childhood became a highly contested concept after the Russo-Japanese War because it was in the child that notions of the relationship of nature to culture were manifested. Cooperatist anarchists believed that virtue and talent arose naturally in children as something to be nourished. They opposed the view of children as a blank slate that had to be taught.

Participants in the Free Education Movement (*Jiyū kyōiku undō*) saw childhood as a critical site of cultural progress. The movement, which expanded through the same channels as the network community of cooperatist anarchists, left an important mark in the history of popular education and ideas of childhood. Katagami Noboru, the specialist in Russian literature and Waseda University professor who attended the evening salons at Nakamura, for example, became a key figure in the promotion of this conception of education. In Japanese, the word for "education" (*kyōiku*) is composed of two characters, "to teach" (*kyō*), and "to nourish" (*iku*). State intellectuals like Inoue Tetsujirō, who taught ethics at Tokyo Imperial University, advocated the teaching of national morals. By implementing a nationwide educational policy to teach what was "good" and "bad" in accordance with national ideology, people's everyday conduct could be governed. The Free Education Movement reversed this understanding of education from an emphasis on *kyō*, to teach an individual how to be a member of *kokumin*, the imperial national

subject, to an emphasis on *iku*, to nurture and nourish an individual's unique talents gifted by nature and spontaneous contributions to society as mutual aid. By shifting the order of emphasis to *iku*, education could maximize the nourishment of individuals and its progressive effects for the larger community. From *KYŌiku* to *kyōIKU* the overturning of the meaning was complete.

The anarchist notion of childhood similarly inspired the Children's Free Arts Movement (*Jidō jiyūga undō*). The movement shared with the Free Education Movement a focus on *iku*, the nourishment of individual God-given virtue for anarchist progress. Participants believed that the best place to look for nature as the source of virtue was in children. Children's art was an expression of that nature.

It was as part of the ideological universe of the cultural revolution that Japanese writers began producing children's literature in the 1910s. Cooperatist anarchist children's literature emerged just as a leading children's magazine, *Shōnen sekai* (Boys' world), came to an end. It is illuminating to compare the literature produced in the anarchist cultural revolution with the literature of *Shōnen sekai*, especially given the magazine's fittingness to prevailing historical narratives of the rise of nationalism in this period. The magazine was founded in 1895 by Iwaya Sazanami (1870–1933), a famed author of children's fairy tales and stories in Japan. It served the state ideology by promoting the militarization of childhood. The militarization of culture is a familiar theme in World War II-centered historiography of this period, which has emphasized nationalism as the emotional, intellectual, and political source of numerous cultural expressions in early twentieth-century Japan. Not surprisingly, *Shōnen sekai* was full of military tales of heroism and biographical/historical stories of figures whom its young readers were to imitate and learn from in order to grow into able subjects of the state as adults. Its stories were intended to help mold the nation's youth into model national citizens. At the height of the Sino-Japanese War, *Shōnen sekai* celebrated tales of war and bravery. Iwaya's adaptation of the folk story "Momotarō" (Peach boy) into a tale about a child setting out to conquer an island of ogres that was criticized and mocked by Kōtoku and other anarchists during the Russo-Japanese War, is understood to have contributed to instilling a nationalistic and imperializing consciousness in its young readers.

The anarchist cultural revolution introduced a new culture of children's literary production. The new children's literature movement overturned existing practices of writing stories for children about adults or adultlike children that imposed adult activities like fighting wars and conquering foreign lands on child characters. The children's magazine *Akai tori* (The red bird), founded in 1918, played a major role in upending the prevailing culture of children's literature writing. The magazine published children's stories written and illustrated by famous anarchists and socialists like Arishima, Akita, Ogawa Mimei, Takehisa Yumeji (1884–1934), and the massively popular songwriter Kitahara Hakushū. These figures shared a practice of writing stories and songs for adults that, in the words of Kitahara, were written in the words of children and reflected the minds of children. That is, by knowing the world in the way a child knows the world, adult minds could be opened to the original, innately possessed knowledge of virtue gifted by nature. The anarchist future was invested in childhood, from which adults were to study and learn. Only from this conceptual context of cultural revolution and its intellectual meeting with the scientific turn can one understand, for example, why Ōsugi's translation of Fabre's entomological studies became the most successful work to emerge from the genre of children's literature from this period.

Ōsugi was just one of a number of popularly known contributors to the children's literature movement. Kitahara is probably the most famous children's songwriter in Japan to date. A friend of both the poet Ishikawa Takuboku and the previously mentioned proponent of People's Arts, Yamamoto Kanae, Kitahara was part of the wider network of co-operatist anarchists. The songwriter believed that children in particular were able to grasp the true essence of things, and he sought to draw out humans' innately creative potential through children's songs. He described the capacity to see and experience the world through a child's vision not only as essential to writing true children's songs but also as the source of creativity among adults. Ogawa Mimei, the "founder of modern children's literature" in Japan, similarly related that his stories were aimed at "adults with a child's innocent mind." Echoing this sentiment in 1921, Akita stated that although he had written his stories for children, they were also for adults who had a childlike nature within themselves.

He would become a leading figure in the so-called proletarian arts movement. Beginning in 1919, Akita intensively produced children's stories, a number of which appeared in *Akai tori*.

Vasilii Eroshenko also began to write children's stories in Japan in this context, just as the popularity of children's literature among anarchists came to the fore. Using predominantly children, animals, and the blind as the heroes of his stories, he echoed this current of juvenile literary production. Eroshenko seemed to give perfect expression to the peripheral spaces of children's and animals' worlds that were understood to precede the cultural distinction between East and West, subject and object.

Eroshenko wrote his children's stories for the first time when he was in Japan. He thus reflected rather than influenced existing ideas that fueled the cultural revolution in Japan. Echoing the larger children's literature movement in Japan, Eroshenko's children's literature was written for adults, albeit from the perspective of children and animals. Profound in thought and sometimes very political, his stark, highly sensory and graphic narratives, written from the subjective point of view of crows and eagles, tigers and chicks and children, lacked romantic innocence. Rather, they were infused with themes of death and suffering, human injustice and freedom. His stories included stories written and published in Esperanto, such as "La tago de l' monda paciĝo" (The day of world peace). The story tells of a boy weeping on a balcony as he watches his town celebrate the "day of world peace" during a military parade. The soldiers are returning home after winning the war. While the adults rejoice over their newfound peace, the boy cries over their selling of their souls for a new militarized world.² Another story, "The Story of a Drab Leaf," centers on a tree with yellow leaves and the children and young adults who stroll by it. Each person has a different story to tell. A crippled beggar girl and a young man who forgets his entitlement to be happy are among those who seek solace underneath the tree's leaves.³ Eroshenko's children's stories were widely promoted and financed by figures like Arishima and Akita and were published by Asume's anarchist publishing company Sōbunkaku. Leaving an unmistakable if rare primary source for historians, the stories

2. Eroshenko, "La tago de l' monda paciĝo."

3. Eroshenko, "Rakontoj de velkinta folio."

reflected the functioning of Russian-Japanese networks of cooperatist anarchist modernity in Japan.

Eroshenko's attempt to portray the world from the point of view of a child would seem to be a philosophical impossibility. Nonetheless, for many Japanese, Eroshenko himself embodied the perceptiveness and natural virtues of childhood. The 1923 drama *Chiisaki gisei* (A small sacrifice), published in *Josei* (Woman), featured a blind boy who was remarkably similar to Eroshenko as the embodiment of innocence, a victim of the "adult's world." Artistic and creative, the blind youth listens to the nature that surrounds him and creates a new world in his mind. It was no coincidence that Eroshenko was long portrayed and remembered in Japan as a blind youth who never seemed to age. His embodiment of the cooperatist anarchist imagination of childhood as blind to hierarchies of nation, class, ethnicity, and race had helped make him very popular in Japan in the first place.

Beginning with the anarchist artist Ogawa Usen's cartoons and paintings that celebrated the ordinary everyday as revolutionary sites of action during the Russo-Japanese War, the People's Arts or Folk Arts movement developed in this period as an aesthetic expression of cooperatist anarchist notions. People's Arts is commonly known today in English and Japanese as *Mingei* and is strongly associated with the thinker and Shirakaba member Yanagi Sōetsu, among others. Yanagi's conceptual foundation of arts and aesthetics for the *Mingei* movement was *fukugō no bi* (multiplicity of beauty). This notion echoed the anarchist meaning of culture that was already circulating at the time, represented by a broader community of theorists and practitioners of People's Arts, such as Yamamoto Kanae. In People's Arts, the *heimin* were both subject and object of the arts movement. Art was defined as an expression of each individual's God-given talent and virtue and thereby as "natural" and universal. Beauty was not to be defined by authority or hierarchy. As expressions of the everyday lives, perceptions, and needs of common people, the possible forms of art were countless. People's Arts valued everyone's free aesthetic expression in the context of prosaic, mutually beneficial everyday existence, as opposed to the so-called high art produced by and for the privileged few. Art was therefore something everyone was capable of producing and appreciating. The movement sought to discover and further develop the aestheticization of the practice of everyday

life. Progressive everyday life was thereby reconceived as aesthetic and socially conscious expressions of each person's divine virtue.

Although historians have conceived of Yanagi as a cultural nationalist whose promotion of a people's art of Japan and Korea implicated him as a cultural supporter of Japan's imperialist expansion, it is also clear that in his formative earlier years, Yanagi's thought was fundamentally influenced by anarchist thought. Like those of many others, Yanagi's thinking and practices were largely a product of his exposure to Japanese-Russian transnational productions of knowledge. He belonged to the generation that had been heavily drawn to Tolstoy's religious thought in its formative years during the Russo-Japanese War. He responded to his readings of anarchist religion by writing his own series of essays on religion, *Religion and Its Truth*. Yanagi's embrace of the folk arts began with his studies of Kropotkin's anarchist writings in the years immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, when, like many of his generation, he read Kropotkin's works *Mutual Aid*, *Conquest of Bread*, and *The Terror in Russia*.

In his younger years, Yanagi had been a member of the highly influential Shirakaba school of art and literature. He worked closely with and greatly admired the school's most senior member, Arishima, as an older mentor. The Shirakaba School was understood by contemporaries to be an integral part of the anarchist movement. Ōsugi wrote in 1912, for example, "When we see the members of the Shirakaba, they remind us of the young Tolstoi and Kropotkin."⁴ Yanagi was also a contributor to the scientific turn. He read Ilya Mechnikov's writings on embryology, microbiology, and gerontology and published an essay on Mechnikov's scientific work and thought in 1910. Not only were his cultural productions a reflection of a larger cultural trend, but the way in which his ideas were disseminated and popularized also depended on Arishima's support. Arishima introduced him to his best friend, Asume, who published Yanagi's work at his anarchist press, Sōbunkaku. Yanagi's formulations of Mingei were fully situated within a broader anarchist discourse of art whose representatives included artists such as Ogawa Usen and Yamamoto Kanae.

4. Ōsugi Sakae, "Zadan," p. 15. Reprinted in Ōsugi, *Ōsugi Sakae zenshū*, 14:49–50.

The production of culture in this period relied heavily on anarchist notions of democracy. Despite the powerful Western origins of the term “democracy,” a distinct notion of anarchist “democracy” (*demokurashi*), based on the Nonwar invention of *heimin* without the state after the Russo-Japanese War, developed in this period without reference to the nation-state. The Japanese imagination of “the people” as the subject for a just sociopolitical order is similar to how the invention of “the people” was integral for American democracy as representative government.⁵ Given existing understandings of anarchism as a movement to eliminate the modern state and its representative system of government, the phrase “anarchist democracy” would seem to be an oxymoron. Yet anarchist culture came to define the practice of everyday democratic life, given expression in such phrases as *kurashi no chikara* (the power of everyday life) by the anarchist physician Katō Tokijirō, who worked with Kōtoku to found the Heimisha. “Democracy” for cooperatist anarchists meant the pursuit of the progressive principle of mutual aid in everyday life. The promise of anarchist democracy, aligned with the notion of modernity as an ever-changing and developing human civilization, drew numerous people to participate in the expansion of cooperatist anarchism. Their idea of democracy became inseparable from active popular practices of mutual aid to overcome economic hardship. Anarchist democracy became the practical means to solve people’s everyday problems and concretely improve their lives in an equitable and mutually beneficial manner within a larger construct of civilizational progress. As vividly phrased in the anarchist group Chokkōdan (the Group for Direct Action), “direct action” (*chokkō*) became a catchphrase of the movement. The term referred not necessarily to trade-union strikes by workers to achieve changes in labor policy, but rather to the direct self-organization of people to solve shared problems cooperatively through mutual aid. In this way, cooperatist anarchism gave ideological shape to the development of civil society.

Anarchists in Japan gave progressive meaning to the everyday cooperative practices of ordinary people and their corresponding antihierarchical relationality and subjectivity. “Cooperative living,” ranging from

5. On the British and American versions of the invention of the people, see Morgan, *Inventing the People*.

the micro level of everyday life to transnational-scale interdependence among peoples of different ethnicities, races, and cultural backgrounds, was identified as the key to achieving democratic society on a global scale.

Functioning within this intellectual universe, Heimin igaku (the People's Society for Medical Knowledge), Heimin Cafeteria, and Heimin Hospital were founded and supported as cooperative institutions by anarchists after the Russo-Japanese War to directly address people's practical needs for hospital treatment, medical knowledge, and meals. Katō's Heimin Cafeteria, which opened in Tokyo in 1918, for example, clearly distinguished its philosophy from the Marxist-Leninist ideology of class war. The cafeteria's "regulations" stated that the cafeteria was "part of the larger project for mutual aid." This particular people's cafeteria drew on average 700 to 800 ordinary people and anarchists every day, with 13,387 people using the cafeteria just in March 1918, for example.⁶

Anarchist discussions of the everyday in Japan had their own nature and origins distinct from Marxist theories of the everyday circulated at the time. In academia today, notions of the everyday, such as that of Henri Lefebvre, continue to rely largely on Marxist theory. Historians have traced the existing theories of the everyday to their origins in the Russian Revolution. According to the art scholar John Roberts, one of the earliest and most fundamental theoretical elaborations of the everyday was Leon Trotsky's (1879–1940) articles for the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* in the early 1920s.⁷ But the notion of the everyday in Japan during this period was inspired not by Marxism and Soviet revolutionary theories and experiences, but by domestic historical experiences and corresponding anarchist ideologies that had developed in Japan in dialogue with Russian Populists and anarchists. Whereas the Marxist everyday is situated within a class-based teleological construct of materialist progress, Japanese anarchists embraced the accidentality of historical change and progress and the notion of the universal *heimin* as participants in anarchist progress.

The distinctions between Marxist theories and the anarchist notion of the everyday suggest the limitations of Marxist theories of everyday

6. Narita, *Katō Tokijirō*, pp. 206–7.

7. Roberts, *Philosophizing the Everyday*, p. 20.

life and space that are widely used today by scholars for understanding cultural and social trends in modern history at large. Indeed, the Marxist orientation of most Japanese scholars has contributed to preventing them from seeing the cultural and intellectual life introduced in this book. In order to make sense of the incredibly diverse practices of everyday life in global history, it is necessary first to consider the thoughts that have informed the practices, thoughts that more often than not extended far beyond the limited teleological projections of Marxist theory and the intellectual assumptions of the Russian Revolution.

The anarchist theoretical leader Ishikawa Sanshirō rendered a new term for democracy as everyday practice. He defined and retranslated the English term “democracy” into new Japanese terms to reflect anarchist thought. Ishikawa redefined *demokurashi* by breaking it up into multilingual components: the Greek *demo*, which he translated to mean indigenous and rooted, that is, “the people” linked with the soil, and *kurashi*, which means “everyday life” in Japanese.⁸ In another translation of “democracy,” Ishikawa created a new term, *domin seikatsu* (the life of people on the soil).⁹ Although *domin seikatsu* stirs up images of farmers tending the soil, Ishikawa was in fact referring to the organic rootedness of all people in their Gxd-given nature, or virtue. Ishikawa believed that each individual had a will (*ishi*) or subjectivity/virtue (*jitsusei*) that was unique in each person. This will, talent, could be realized only through hard work and repeated practice. Ishikawa called this activity of work and practice *nenriki*, which is the energy or power everyone has to begin work on and realize his or her virtue. The resulting force that is created in realizing one’s virtue he called *katsudō*, or active motion in society. “Freedom” (*jiyū*) was the possibility given to each individual to discover and realize his or her personal Gxd-given will and virtue, *ishi* and *jitsusei*. This freedom was the source of human development, which he called *sensa banshu* (one thousand differences, one million kinds). This realization of the plurality of individual development, the so-called million ways of participation in the human community, was what Ishikawa called

8. Ishikawa Sanshirō, “Domin seikatsu,” p. 310.

9. Ishikawa, *Kinsei domin tetsugaku*. See also Ishikawa’s articles, “Nōhon shugi to domin shisō”; “Shakai bigaku toshite no museifushugi”; and “Dōtai shakai bigaku toshite no museifushugi.” See also Kitazawa, *Ishikawa Sanshirō no shōgai to shisō*.

democracy, *domin seikatsu*. Social hierarchy was the obstacle to the realization of this anarchist democracy.

Democracy here perfectly coincided with anarchist thought on “nature” and cosmological order as negative discovery, on the macro level, and the symbiotic functioning of microorganisms within the human body, on the micro level. Ishikawa saw democracy as an expression of what he called the “new cosmology” defined by the centerless universe. He described the “unity in multiplicity” that would lead to independence and equality in human society. For Ishikawa, the infinity that characterized the centerless universe dictated the absence of an absolute subject of power and the limitlessness of possibilities for human interaction and cultural invention. Anarchism was an expression of infinity in human life, in which only relativity was absolute.¹⁰ Using language that was highly reminiscent both of the Tokugawa-era writings of Andō Shōeki and of early twentieth-century cooperatist anarchists’ cosmological vision, Ishikawa linked democracy with rootedness in nature and the cosmos:

From my very foundation, I am a child of the land, and I cannot be separated from the land. I rotate with the land as the land rotates, and with the land circle around the sun. I too circle around the sun, with the energy of the solar system, so I will be inseparable from its energy. Our lives emerge on the land, we cultivate and work on the land, and we return to the land. This is democracy [*domin seikatsu*]. . . . Rotation and revolution are nature’s poetry. Natural rotation provides day and night. The revolution of the land provides the seasons, spring, summer, fall and winter. . . . Democracy is the truth-good-aesthetics of human life [*shinzenbi*].¹¹

For many anarchists, the balance between the individual and social was to be an eternal process of negotiation between the two. The individual constantly changes in response to society and his or her surroundings. In return, society and the environment are constantly reshaped in response to individuals. In other words, neither individual nor society need be sacrificed for the other. For Ishikawa, Ōsugi, and many

10. Ishikawa Sanshirō, “Shakai bigaku toshite no museifushugi,” p. 201; “Dōtai shakai bigaku toshite no museifushugi,” p. 217.

11. Ishikawa Sanshirō, “Domin seikatsu,” p. 310.

others, this constant negotiation between the two without sacrifice was freedom.

A number of elite students and academics belatedly began to echo this understanding of democracy from around 1920. Just as children are often the mirrors of the larger society, so do imperial Japan's elites often mirror the knowledge and sentiments around them. In the infamous 1920 Morito incident (Morito Jiken), a noted professor was fired from Tōkyō Imperial University for teaching and writing about Kropotkin's anarchist thought, many years after Kropotkinism had been popularized in the broader history slide. The fact that cooperatist anarchist thought had now seeped even into the halls of the imperial university reveals how deeply it had penetrated Japanese society on multiple levels. Here again, there was a reverse flow of knowledge that was an expression of the cultural revolution.

Even the elite student group Shinjinkai of Tokyo Imperial University echoed anarchist ideas on *heimin* and *demokurashī*. Shinjinkai's journal introduced democracy to its readers in its first several issues with articles featuring Russian Esperantists. In the 1920s, when Japanese spoke of "democracy," it was often represented by the faces of Tolstoy and Kropotkin. It often referred to the emancipatory principles of worldism.

Historians have long understood Shinjinkai as having originated from Western traditions of liberalism among a select elite highly educated in Western thought. The ideas of Shinjinkai as represented in its journal, *Demokurashī*, have long been understood to be a "motley assortment" of various ideas imported from the West.¹² Understanding of Shinjinkai has advanced little over the past four decades. Closer examination, however, reveals that the journal was not a product of a select elite and did not simply originate in the West. Articles in the first several issues of the journal featured discussions of cooperatist anarchism and on intellectuals who contributed to the formulation of cooperatist anarchism in Japan, such as Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Russian Esperantist Zamenhof, Rousseau, and Emma Goldman.¹³ Placed on the front pages of the journal's initial issues on democracy, cooperatist anarchists were representative faces of Shinjinkai in its early years. *Demokurashī* focused

12. See Smith's important work, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, p. 71.

13. *Demokurashī*, 1919; Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, p. 71.

on the ideas of Kropotkin. Beginning with the journal's second issue in April 1919, every issue of the journal had a feature article on Kropotkin. Every issue carried an ongoing discussion of Kropotkin's ideas of anarchism, transforming Darwinian progress into progress as mutual aid.¹⁴ By consistently featuring Kropotkin's ideas, Shinjinkai declared the coherence of its cooperatist anarchist orientation.

Beginning with the title *Demokurashī*, the journal changed its name over time, finally adopting the title *Narōdo* (*Narod* in Russian; The people) in July 1921. Shinjinkai appears to have sought to stir up the same translated emotion of indignation and anger over injustice that had first been evoked by Japanese translators of Russian Populist literature in the 1880s, such as Futabatei. *Narōdo* used the Russian word for "the people" to refer simultaneously to the popular subject of the Russian Populist revolutionary movement and to the *heimin* invented in the Russo-Japanese War. With its title spelled in both Japanese and Russian characters on the front cover of every issue, the journal did not lose the transnational intellectual roots of the students' thoughts and activities. Only by relying on the conceptual framework introduced in this book to understand modern Japanese intellectual history can one make sense of the students' conceptual consciousness. The motto underneath the journal's heading read in the language of progress, "The future is in the hands of the people," combining popular consciousness of agency with progression into the future.¹⁵ Even in the rather exceptional issue that placed someone entirely outside Russian-Japanese intellectual relations, Abraham Lincoln, on its cover, the corresponding article mentioned almost nothing about Lincoln's ideas. Instead, Lincoln was transformed into the image of the populist idea of *narod*, or *heimin*, as expressed in the issue's repetition of Lincoln's famous quote "of the people, by the people, and for the people." However, this time the journal used the phrase to refer specifically to Lincoln's elimination of slavery rather than the idea of constitutional governance. The issue distorted the liberal democratic ideals that transformed Lincoln's support for American-style democracy into an urgent call for action reminiscent of the Russian populist V Narod movement, exclaiming, "To the People! [*v narod!*] To the Truth! To the

14. For example, "Kropotkin," p. 14.

15. *Narōdo* 1 (July 1, 1921): 1.

People!”¹⁶ The students used Lincoln here to universalize their anarchist democratic thought.

The notion of anarchist democracy was amply demonstrated by grassroots associations and organizations in the decades before World War II, such as agricultural cooperative associations, laborers’ associations, book clubs, the Esperanto movement, student unions (*zengakuren*), and the Russia Famine Relief Movement, which was the first nation-scale, spontaneously arising civic movement to save people outside territorial borders. In 1921, in response to the famine in Russia during its revolutionary civil war, local circles, clubs, and associations of all kinds across Japan established the Russia Famine Relief Movement (*Roshiya kiga kyūsai undō*). Cooperatist anarchist networks played a practical and pivotal role in joining diverse groups and associations together in a nation-scale movement without assistance from the state. Prominent participants in the movement included many of the figures mentioned in this book, such as Arishima, Akita, Eroshenko, and Ōsugi, as well as student groups like Shinjinkai. This spontaneously arising civic movement drew together a myriad of small groups from a variety of specialties and occupations, including music schools, local poetry-reading groups, the miners’ union, a dental school, local women’s clubs, and agricultural institutes across Japan, from Sapporo in the north to Kagoshima in the south.¹⁷ The movement stood out in that it unified many local and private associations in a spontaneous effort to assist people outside the nation’s borders. The widespread sentiment to save the Russian people that triggered this nationwide self-organized activity was remarkable, particularly given that Japan was in the midst of its military intervention against the Bolshevik government. The efforts to save the “Russian people [*Rōnō*] endangered by imperialism” were in themselves a critique of the Japanese state’s armed intervention in Russian revolutionary society.¹⁸

16. *Demokurashī*, 1, no. 6 (September 15, 1919): 1.

17. Kensetsu sha dōmei shi kankō iin kai, *Waseda Daigaku Kensetsu sha dōmei no rekishi*, p. 173. For an illuminating local account of the Russia Famine Relief Movement in Akita Prefecture, see Iwano, *Akitaken rōnō undōshi*, pp. 110–37.

18. Kensetsu sha dōmei shi kankō iin kai, *Waseda Daigaku Kensetsu sha dōmei no rekishi*, p. 169.

As a direct response to the famine and as part of this wider movement, student representatives of universities across Japan began to form spontaneous student organizations that led to the founding of the All-National Union of University Students (Gakusei rengōkai, later commonly known as Zengakuren).¹⁹ This unification of students to assist the Russian *narod* (people) became the first National Student Union (Gakusei rengōkai), which would become prominent again immediately after the Asia-Pacific War through its organization of nationwide student protests. The union has continued to play a highly influential role in organizing nationwide student protests up to today. The pivotal moment and intellectual backbone for the emergence of the national student union lay in the anarchist discourse on democracy that arose with the cultural revolution, rather than in the post-World War II introduction of democratic practices from the United States.

That civic movements in this period were informed by cooperatist anarchist notions of *heimin* and *demokurashī* suggests a need to rethink existing narratives of the rise of civil society in Japan. Organized civic movements have been used to demonstrate the emergence of “civil society” and “democracy” after World War II and the U.S. occupation.²⁰ Yet a significant intellectual development in “civil society” and “democracy” resulted from the long-term accumulation from within and intellectual relations with Russia.

The overturning of the meaning of culture extended to the sphere of agriculture. From the first years of the Meiji period, modern agricultural practices were promoted in the vast expanses of Hokkaido as a means to achieve Japan’s colonization of its northern territory and, later, its imperialist expansion into other territories.

At the heart of anarchist democracy and the modern progress formulated by anarchists were the domestically rooted cooperatist activities found in agrarian communities throughout Japan. Anarchists like Itō Noe

19. Shinjinkai, for example, announced its involvement in the relief movement by organizing a benefit art exhibit for the famine in *Narōdo* 7 (January 1, 1922): 16. For a detailed account of Waseda students’ involvement in the famine relief movement as recalled by Waseda kensetsu sha members, refer to Kensetsu sha dōmei shi kanko iin kai, *Waseda Daigaku Kensetsu sha dōmei no rekishi*, pp. 161–216.

20. See, for example, Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous*.

identified these practices, which she observed in her rural home region, as “the reality of anarchism in Japan.” Itō saw in those everyday practices a global significance for human progress. She concluded that anarchism had been and continued to exist in everyday practice, and it was therefore this “reality” that “we should consciously work on.”²¹ Arishima similarly said in an interview that the success of any future social revolution lay in the hands of a fully able and ready “people.” He explained that as elites, intellectuals like himself had no place as leaders in this movement. Even such luminaries of the anarchist movement as Kropotkin had no role in leading any movement.²² However, the fact that they possessed elite status did not mean they had no role in the movement at all. They could participate by doing what they did best, such as writing. Each participated in his or her own way, similar to the “million ways” described in Ishikawa Sanshirō’s “democracy” that, for Itō, was literally everywhere in Japan.

Arishima Takeo’s liberation of his tenant farmers and founding of a farm named the Cooperative Living Farm that was cooperatively owned by the farmers on his former estate in 1921 became a model and symbol of the progressiveness of cooperative practices among rural nonelites.²³ The success of the farm was widely known across Hokkaido and beyond, drawing numerous farmers from northern Japan to apply for membership. The farm’s modern, cooperatist anarchist perception of the world and its integration into the broader agricultural community of Hokkaido suggests that it was quite different from the nomadic, self-peripheralized fugitive communities that fled the state and are featured in James Scott’s anarchist history of Southeast Asia.²⁴

The existing view of this famous site of tenant-farmer liberation is that of a “futile utopian project” that foundered with Arishima’s suicide in 1923. A sourcebook frequently used in college courses in Japanese history epitomized this view in 1997 by stating that Arishima’s suicide

21. Itō Noe, “Museifushugi no jijitsu.”

22. Arishima, “Ryokaikyū no kankei ni taisuru watashi no kangae”; Arishima, “Ikizumareru burujōa.”

23. For a history of the farm, see Sho Konishi, “Ordinary Farmers Living Anarchist Time.”

24. Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*.

“effectively sealed the fate of this noble but poorly executed experiment.”²⁵ In contrast, the farm thrived in the decades after Arishima’s death. One member said that he felt as if he had “climbed atop a mountain of jewels” when he and his family became members of the farm.²⁶ This sense of achievement and progress came not from concrete material improvement in their lives, of which there was little in the first decades of the farm’s existence, but from the sense of mutual ownership of the farm and cooperative living shared across it. As evidenced by the farm’s handbook, members interpreted their cooperative farm community as the progressive materialization of Kropotkin and Arishima’s anarchist thought even as their practices relied on commonsense rural traditions of mutual aid.²⁷

Members of Arishima’s farm were far from the only ones to give meaning to its activities through the language of cooperatist modernity. They were widely celebrated by leftist intellectuals and agricultural laborers alike. Their community thereby inspired a broader trend in which Japanese agricultural cooperatives gave new meaning to old practices with the language of an increasingly anticapitalist, cooperatist vision of progress and civilization with transnational tinges.²⁸ Many of what appear today to be fragmentary expressions from the Tokugawa past within the framework of Japanese domestic history are traceable to a discourse on

25. Lu, *Japan*, p. 400.

26. Former farm member Kiriyama Katsuo recalled his father saying this to his family and neighbors on numerous occasions. Interview with Kiriyama Katsuo and Momoyo, two of the original members of the Arishima Cooperative Living Farm, at their home on the former farm in Niseko Village, December 19, 2000.

27. *Kyōsan nōdan techō* (Arishima Cooperative Living Farm Handbook), Arishima Takeo Memorial Museum, Archive Department, no. 8-7-90.

28. Tachibana Kōzaburō (1893–1974), who experienced a Tolstoyan religious conversion in the early Taishō, founded his farm commune Kyōdaimura and, from there, the farm cooperative movement Aiyōkai in 1929. The movement became the focal point of agrarian activism in northern Ibaraki Prefecture. For Tachibana and the hundreds-strong membership of Aiyōkai, the foreseen end of capitalism was the harbinger of a new age of local self-government and economic self-sufficiency based on true brotherhood, a life of living and working together. Making use of revolutionary anarchist language, the representatives of Aiyōkai foresaw that “an international movement of farmers will sweep the world clean of capitalism.” Vlastos, “Agrarianism without Tradition,” p. 92.

modernity when they are examined in light of transnational intellectual history.

The All-Hokkaido Agricultural Industrial Cooperative Association also began to speak in the language of Kropotkinist progress by the early 1920s. The association was the representative organ for agricultural industrial cooperatives in every town and village across Hokkaido. In 1926, the cooperative association published the first issue of its farming journal *Kyōei* (Coprosperity), which outlined the ideals and goals of this large organization. The journal sought to put the “world in perspective” to promote thinking among agricultural laborers about world affairs. One article, for example, focused on the revolutionary achievements of Lenin, Kamil Pasha, and Gandhi.²⁹ The journal’s dominant position was to criticize capitalism and social Darwinist thought, which, the journal said, had only prepared the way for the next stage: Kropotkinism, or cooperatism. Although the “great project” of the Meiji Ishin had fulfilled the political tasks assigned it, the cultural resurrection in modern Japan had not yet been achieved.

The declaration of the Hokkaido-wide cooperative called in essence for a second, cultural, Ishin through the “cooperatist movement.” The cooperative’s declaration stated: “In the social life of today’s civilization, we are trying to conduct a life of less anxiety, more pleasure and hope, a life of more creativity, mutual love, and mutual aid. Relying on egoism or Darwinism will never lead to making a society of peace. It is Kropotkinism or Cooperatism that we believe in. To realize this ideal of both the material and spiritual world, industrial cooperativism is nothing but Kropotkinism.”³⁰ The farmers’ use of Kropotkinist language in the declaration as part of their attempt to rectify history is remarkable. Their association gave meaning to agricultural practices with anarchist ideas of progress even in Hokkaido, the nation’s experimental project of Western

29. In the article, whereas Lenin instigated the self-governance of the agricultural villages through his New Economic Policy, Kamil Pasha represented the yellow people’s challenge to the white people. Gandhi, a “*shishi*” (political activist or revolutionary of the Ishin) represented the nonviolent path toward independence and freedom of humanity. “Sangyō kumiaishugi sengen,” pt. 2, p. 3.

30. “Sangyō kumiaishugi sengen,” pt. 1, p. 10. See also *ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 8.

modernity, most vividly symbolized by its vast glittering mechanized farms and farming industries.

Miyazawa Kenji, a wildly popular Japanese writer today, arrived relatively late on the scene in the history of the cultural revolution. His cultural practices were an accumulation and manifestation of the broader developments in anarchist culture that preceded them. Miyazawa reached young adulthood at the height of the interest in children's literature and in the midst of the rise of anarchist discourse on "democracy." It was at this time that he traveled to Tokyo in order to write children's literature after his graduation from school. Returning to the remote town of Hanamaki in the northern prefecture of Iwate, Miyazawa studied Esperanto and taught the language to local farmers, dedicated himself to the development of agrarian education, and attempted to integrate the latest findings of biological evolution and cosmology into his literature for children in the 1920s and early 1930s.³¹ Literary scholar Gregory Golley examines Miyazawa's literature as a call to "listen objectively" to the animals and nature around one as "brethren in pain,"³² a technique that was situated within a broader practice of children's literary writing in Japan. Miyazawa also echoed the anarchist free arts movement. He became an important participant in the cooperatist anarchist network and its intellectual trajectory when he dedicated himself to promoting farmers' culture and arts. Miyazawa wrote *Nōmin geijutsu gairon* (Theory of farmers' art) and other manuscripts on farmers' art in 1926, which he used as texts in his experimental educational project for the farmers in his village of Hanamaki. He called his educational project the Rasu chijin kyōkai (Rasu Association for the People of the Soil).³³ Miyazawa conceived of farmers' art as a creative expression and a natural extension of the everyday life and labor of farmers. In turn, he called this art "the grand fourth dimension of art." That is, art was to be a "concrete manifestation of a cosmic spirit that interpenetrates Earth, Man, and Individuality."³⁴ Rephrased in the tradition of the scientific turn of the

31. Miyazawa Kenji Museum permanent exhibit. On Miyazawa, see also Golley, *When Our Eyes No Longer See*, chaps. 3, 4, 5.

32. Golley, *When Our Eyes No Longer See*, chap. 5.

33. Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory*, pp. 36–37.

34. Fromm, *Miyazawa Kenji no risō*, p. iii.

cooperatist anarchist cultural revolution, art was to manifest the unification of human social life with the cosmological laws of the universe. It was not a coincidence that the local farm members of the Rasu Association studied Esperanto together with agricultural science, cosmology, physics, biology, music, and art, elements of the cultural revolution. That Miyazawa conducted his classes in his home village in Hanamaki reflected the continued absence of “periphery” and “center” in cooperatist anarchist discourse.

In response to Arishima’s liberation of tenant farmers, Sakai Toshihiko, by now a leader of the emerging Marxist movement, wrote in 1922 that Arishima’s act provided a practical and massive benefit to many rural laborers, and, moreover, that the liberation was “not only the vanguard of anarchism, but the solution to all social problems [*shakai mondai*].”³⁵ He published his article on Arishima’s farm liberation in the new journal of Japanese Marxism, *Zenei*, in the first year of the journal’s publication. The journal is remembered today for voicing the articulations of the Japanese “Bolsheviks” in their break with anarchism. It is striking that Sakai applauded the farm as a clear expression of cooperatist anarchist ideas in a journal that represented the conversion of anarchists to Marxism, at the key moment of their supposed departure from anarchism. Marxists’ excitement over Arishima’s liberation as a move toward cooperatist modernity suggests the continuing cooperatist anarchist tendencies within Japanese Marxisms.

Indeed, the intellectual foundations of the Rōnō school of Marxism initiated by Yamakawa Hitoshi continued anarchist cooperatism in a new form and under the new label “Marxism.” Close examination reveals that the Rōnō school maintained concepts of *demokurashī* and *heimin* its “Marxist” discussions of the political subject as *taishū* (all people) or everyone.³⁶ The notion of *taishū* was expressed in Yamakawa’s language of a “united front” of “workers, peasants, and all other laboring and oppressed people.”³⁷ As Yamakawa recalled, these early Japanese Marxists interpreted *puroretariya*, their transliteration of “proletarian,” as

35. Sakai Toshihiko, “Arishima shi no nōen hōki”; also quoted in Arishima, *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, 16:675–76.

36. Yamakawa, “Musun-kaikyū undō no hoko tenkan.”

37. Yamakawa, “Seiji-teki toitsu sensen e!”

meaning *heimin*.³⁸ From the very beginnings of Japanese Marxism, the meaning of the proletariat as *heimin*, or “everyone,” thereby entirely restructured the Marxist temporal order, according to which revolution was to be driven by a vanguard of the urban industrial working class. Yamakawa, in his autobiographical account of the socialist movement decades later, summed up his role in history not as the leader of a revolutionary vanguard, but as a very ordinary path walked by a very ordinary person (*bonjin*).³⁹

Similarly, the literary journal *Tanemaku hito* (Sower) opened its first issue in 1921 with an article on mutual aid. The article characterized the practice of mutual aid as naturally and universally arising, beyond and without relying on religious teachings of morality and ethical behavior. Ethical practice just “happens” because it is a universal characteristic of all human beings, the article claimed.⁴⁰ Scholars have identified *Tanemaku hito* as Marxist and as having initiated the proletarian literature movement in Japan.⁴¹ Yet many of the ideas expressed in the journal were cooperatist anarchist, and behind the journal’s founding were the financial support and guidance of anarchists Arishima and Asuke.

In 1928–1931, the period that Sheila Fitzpatrick calls “the Cultural Revolution” in Soviet Russia,⁴² a new wave of intense Japanese-Russian translations occurred. It was in fact the Soviet cultural revolution that marked the beginning of an end (or rather a temporary pause) in the Japanese anarchist cultural revolution. Although the emergence of Marxism and the proletarian culture movement can largely be traced to the original impulses of cooperatist anarchism and Russian-Japanese transnational intellectual history, these influential trends began to depart from many of the premises of cooperatist anarchism. With the Soviet cultural revolution, the political interventions of the Soviet state in Japanese socialist culture and thought necessitate new methodologies to examine these forms of cultural diplomacy and state propaganda. The history of their activities thus lies outside the conceptual and methodological

38. Ibid.

39. Yamakawa, *Yamakawa Hitoshi jiden*, pp. 1–3.

40. Akabōshi, “Seizon kyōso to sōgo fujo ron.”

41. Shea, *Leftwing Literature*, pp. 72–79.

42. Fitzpatrick, “Cultural Revolution as Class War.”

framework that I have invented for the nonstate, grassroots practices and thoughts covered in this book. It seems that the epistemological capacity of cooperatist anarchism that allowed so many new intellectual and cultural movements to occur also invited its own end, however temporary, as a widespread movement beginning in the 1930s. Marxism would become the leading trend in Japanese academia. In an irony of historical dialectic, perhaps, it would be Marxism's teleological view of history dominant in Japanese social sciences that contributed to erase the intellectual history that has been explored in this book.

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