

Symbiotic Modernity

The Emergence of the Ōsui School of Thought in Modern Japan



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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of a hitherto overlooked yet thriving current of thought and culture in modern Japan between the 1860s and the 1920s, which manifested in such diverse realms as religion, gender, race, war, agriculture, and education. An important aspect of this intellectual trend was the rejection of the male God. Instead, God was reconceptualised as multi-gender, challenging the hierarchical ideologies of gender, race, class, and disability that underpinned Western modern civilisational discourse. This project links previously unconnected people, including farmers, thinkers, and educators, for the first time as part of significant cultural-intellectual phenomena in early twentieth-century Japan.

A key figure of the phenomena was Arai Ōsui (1846–1922), a samurai-intellectual from Japan's civil-war-defeated North. People of different professions and social strata flocked to study Ōsui's anti-imperial teachings in the very apotheosis of state imperialism. Nevertheless, Ōsui has been forgotten in the historiography, predominantly narrated through the lens of the nation-state led by civil war victors and their views on civilisation and progress. Through the perspectives of Ōsui and his comrades, this thesis offers an alternative view of modern Japanese history outside

of the state-centred ideological paradigm of Western modernity.

I argue that the cooperative work of Ōsui and his Japanese comrades, along with their Russian, American, British, and Korean allies, led to the emergence of a competing conception of universal human progress. The concept that I term 'symbiotic modernity' encapsulates their efforts to realise a non-hierarchical and inclusive world by replacing the inequality of Western modernity with equality, nationality with transnationality, and the state-centric with people-centric. While the dominant narrative of modern Japanese history, centred on the victorious state side, began with Japan's Opening (*Kaikoku*) to the West and Western modernity, this thesis presents a different beginning and outcome of the opening, through Ōsui's quest for symbiotic modernity.

Long Abstract

What if God was no longer defined as the male ‘Father’? This thesis examines the development of a hitherto overlooked yet thriving current of thought and culture in modern Japan between the 1860s and the 1920s, which was accompanied by the replacement of the ‘Father’ with a multi-gendered God. This new cultural-intellectual trend challenged hierarchical ideologies of sex, gender, race, class, and disability. It developed by transcending the boundaries of nation-states and manifested in such diverse realms as religion, gender, race, war, capitalism, agriculture, and education.

The emergence of this new socio-cultural and intellectual phenomenon was inseparably tied to the forgotten losing side of Japan’s civil war, particularly Arai Ōsui (1846–1922) – a lower-class samurai and intellectual from Sendai in the defeated North. The socio-economic and political disarray of *bakumatsu* Japan (1850s–60s) culminated in the Boshin Civil War of 1868–69 and, consequently, the execution, incarceration, and banishment of Ōsui’s Northern compatriots by the victorious Meiji state (1868–1912). Historians have paid little attention to the war’s losing side, and the rare works which do have rendered the defeated samurai as an integral part of constructing, unifying, and civilising a modern Japanese nation-state under the

victors' authority. In so doing, the existing literature has dismissed a number of ideas, actors, and socio-cultural phenomena that functioned outside of the nation-state ideology. This includes Ōsui, who has been almost completely neglected in historiography, despite the availability of abundant sources and his popularity in early twentieth-century Japan. Many of Ōsui's disciples and associates have also been excluded from our scholarship. The thoughts and actions of Ōsui and his comrades have been forgotten, I argue, due to the dominant mode of historical writing, i.e., predominantly narrated through the lens of the nation-state, victorious statesmen, and their ideological paradigm of civilisation and progress.

This thesis contextualises the Boshin Civil War and its defeated side transnationally vis-à-vis the nation-state. Ōsui's experience of the North's defeat was a significant turning point in his lifelong search for a new moral and ethical construct that would function equally and universally, not only for Japanese nationals. This was contrary to how the Meiji state and intelligentsia attempted to 'civilise' the nation-state holistically (from science and technology to morality and religion) to catch up with the modern West. Western modernity was a particular mode of progress modelled after ideologies and practices that flourished in various nation-states in Euro-America and promoted such values as capitalism, science, rationality, and powerful militarism as the essential factors for linear progression in human history. This mode of progress was also endorsed by non-Western countries – including the Japanese state – each in their own historical contexts. In the historiography of

modern Japan (and beyond), the Western modern discourse of civilisation has been incredibly difficult to break. Along with the predominance of the victorious Meiji state in historical narratives, Western modernity has been deeply embedded in the existing literature on modern Japanese history.

This thesis discloses that Ōsui and his comrades challenged particular characteristics that underlined Western modernity such as imperialism, militarism, capitalism, social Darwinist competition, white supremacy, male dominance, other social hierarchies (e.g., class, disability), and Protestant morality that promoted these characteristics. To Ōsui and his comrades, these elements of Western modernity erroneously ordered humans, cultures, and countries through such dichotomies as West above East, culture above nature, male above female, whites above non-whites, empires above colonies, and hearing people above deaf people. They attempted to nullify and overcome these hierarchical bifurcations in pursuit of a more equal, inclusive, and interdependent world. I argue that the cooperative work of Ōsui and his Japanese comrades, along with their Russian, American, British, and Korean allies, led to the emergence of a competing conception of universal human progress. I term the widespread embrace and practice of this alternate vision of progress in early twentieth-century Japan as ‘symbiotic modernity’. Symbiotic modernity embraced a powerful urge to rectify the course of human progress, which was then dominated by the state-led temporality of Western modernity.

Viewing history through the lens of the Ōsui school allows us to associate

previously disparate people, ideas, actions, and genres within symbiotic modern phenomena. Despite his absence from the historiography, Ōsui was an influential figure in the cultural-intellectual scene of early twentieth-century Japan. Throughout and after the Russo-Japanese War, from educators and university students to farmers and housewives, people of different professions and social strata flocked to study under Ōsui in the very apotheosis of the Meiji state's imperialism. They absorbed the Ōsui school of thought, formulated symbiotic moral-intellectual visions of their own, and executed them in their everyday lives. This thesis links these diverse historical actors for the first time. It also bridges and connects genres – including religion, gender, race, war, capitalism, agriculture, and education – as a diversified manifestation of the symbiotic modern vision of progress. Their urgent work in and for the human-ecological world was their way to improve the everyday lives of ordinary people and incorporate them into society as part of a new egalitarian, symbiotic, and interdependent world before the state did (and when the state was effectively doing the opposite).

Following a discussion of the concept of symbiotic modernity in the Introduction, Chapter 1 begins by looking at the herald of Ōsui's moral exploration through Orthodox Christianity in northern Japan, which offered him the principle of non-hierarchy in humanity. He further explored this vision in a forgotten mixed-race agrarian community in the US countryside, the Brotherhood of the New Life, where he lived and worked for almost three decades in the late nineteenth century. By

employing what I would refer to as a non-state transnational historical perspective, the chapter shows that Ōsui and his comrades' cooperative work at the Brotherhood exemplifies their original, egalitarian view of race and gender, in stark contrast to the racial and gender hierarchies justified in the Western modern discourse of civilisation. This chapter employs the Boshin Civil War, which has been discussed as a domestic incident in Japan, as a contextual framework in rural America and reveals ideological conflicts involving the community's Japanese members from both the winning and losing sides of the war. The chapter shows the continuity of Ōsui's moral-religious view in contrast to his counterparts, who became leading statesmen of Meiji Japan. It was Ōsui who brought the legacy of the egalitarian ethos back to Japan at the turn of the century, sowing the seeds of what would later constitute symbiotic modern phenomena.

Chapter 2 recounts the birth of the Ōsui school of thought in early twentieth-century Japan, after Ōsui's return from the US countryside. Without prayers, churches, or rituals, Ōsui's religion of the 'Mother-Father God' upheld an egalitarian, mutually interdependent concept of the universe and rejected imperial wars and human hierarchies. His religion directly challenges the meaning of modern Japanese Christianity in the historiography, which has been contextualised as an integral part of the Western modernity of the nation-state. To many statesmen and intellectuals of the Meiji era, religion mattered because it was directly tied to the question of how to make Japan qualified as a 'civilised' nation-state on par with Western imperial powers.

Ōsui, however, made an important intervention to the discussion of modern religion by cutting the linkage between religion (Christianity) and Western modern civilisational discourse. Through Ōsui and his associates, Christianity changed so that it was no longer a moral foundation for the Western modern development of the Japanese nation-state. Instead, it was reconfigured as a moral basis for challenging the very ideology of Western modernity and pursuing an alternate direction for the future. At the height of Meiji imperialism, Ōsui's competing moral-religious ideas were embraced and practised by Japanese locals of various backgrounds and professions. This widespread adoption of Ōsui's worldview developed into new symbiotic modern phenomena.

Chapters 3 and 4 expound upon the ways in which Ōsui's followers' concretely manifested symbiotic modernity in early twentieth-century Japan. Chapter 3 exemplifies symbiotic modernity from an educationalist aspect, specifically regarding the education of blind and deaf children. The educationalist manifestation is explored through Ōsui's passionate follower, Satō Zaikan (1876–1956) and his comrades at the Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf (HSBD) in Hokkaido – once the final battleground of the Boshin Civil War. The existing literature indicates that, by the end of the Russo-Japanese War, Christian humanitarian workers and institutions were co-opted by state ideology. This chapter, however, challenges the given meaning of Christian humanitarianism in modern Japanese history by examining competing humanitarian practices tied to the Ōsui school of symbiotic

Christian religion. In the state-led endeavour to construct a strong and vigorous national body, blind and deaf people epitomised ‘weak bodies’ who were ‘inferior’ to the majority of the populace and were largely left out of state imperial education. Through their education for the blind and deaf, however, symbiotic modern practitioners at the HSBD directly countered the state-led vision of imperial progress. For them, blind and deaf children were an essential part of a symbiotic modern world, which would incorporate everyone into society without neglect and hierarchy. Zaikan’s symbiotic modern education at the HSBD was preceded by the transnational collaboration of the American women and Japanese men and women who developed the school. It was also preceded by the school’s development, outside of class hours, as a hub of the Nonwar Movement (*hisen undō*) during the Russo-Japanese War. These early intellectual phenomena contextualised Zaikan’s blind and deaf education at the HSBD, which, in the 1920s, also developed into an unofficial, after-hours ‘Ōsui school’ in Hakodate for training symbiotic modern practitioners. Through both in- and after-class activities, the HSBD played multiple leading roles in challenging the state-led quest for Western modern progress.

Chapter 4 exemplifies an agrarian aspect of symbiotic modernity. It is discussed through the farmer and agrarian thinker, Eto Tekirei (1880–1944) – now forgotten, but widely celebrated at the time – from Japan’s defeated North. In stark contrast to the dominant ideological association of farming with the Japanese nation-state and its civilisation discourse, Tekirei envisioned farming outside of the state construct.

Tekirei's non-exploitative agrarian practices and his symbiotic view of the human-natural world liberated humans, nature, and agriculture from the Western modern temporality endorsed by the Japanese state. Nature infused in him a symbiotic vision of the world that was neither divisible nor indivisible and enabled a holistic liberation of farmers' everyday lives from the nation-state. His farming practices were free of the conservatism, traditionalism, and nativism conventionally associated with agrarianism. Whereas farmers symbolised an antithesis to progress in the civilisation discourse, Tekirei redefined farmers as agents of progress for a symbiotic modern future.

The emergence of symbiotic modernity had important historical meaning and implications for modern Japanese history. At the particular time and space of 1900s–20s Japan, a competing, anti-imperial, and symbiotic modern tide of thought and culture developed in stark contrast to the predominant association of modern Japanese society (particularly of Meiji) with a lack of challenge to state-led imperialist ideology in the historiography. More diversity of competing thoughts and actions emerged and were put into practice beyond what historians know about the modern Japanese society of the time.

Symbiotic modernity further challenges one of the most recurring frameworks in modern Japanese history – a polarised discourse of the West versus Japan. Symbiotic modernity fitted into neither the discourse of Westernisation nor Japanese nationalism/pan-Asianism. Nor was symbiotic modernity about an amalgamation of

the Western and the Japanese/Asian. Instead, the Ōsui school's thoughts were characterised by a 'symbiotic' vision of the world, which emphasised the mutual interconnectedness of everyone and everything that transcended national boundaries, and thereby decentred Japan, Asia, and Euro-America all together. As an alternative, transnational current of thought and culture, symbiotic modernity breaks through both West-centrism and Japan-centrism, as well as the ideological paradigm of the modern nation-state itself, in the historiography of modern Japan.

This non-state, transnational, cultural-intellectual history, emerging from Ōsui of the defeated North, leads us to re-examine some of the most established narratives of modern Japan from the very beginning. The Opening of Japan (*Kaikoku*) in the 1850s has often been seen as the starting point of the history of 'modern Japan'. Narrated through the lens of the victorious state and international relations, this Opening of Japan has generally meant Japan's opening to the modern West and related notions of civilisation and progress. This has given the modern West and its discourse of civilisation (as well as its nationalist countermovement) a central significance in narrating the consequent historical development of modern Japan.

However, the meaning and implications of the Opening of Japan radically change if we employ a non-state, transnational lens that focuses on the defeated samurai instead of the dominant narrative of the victorious state. For Ōsui, a civil war loser, the Opening of Japan brought him transnational moral-intellectual sources (first through Russian Orthodox Christianity) outside of the state realm of diplomacy and

international relations. Through these, he began to formulate an alternate stream of moral thought in precise opposition to the state-led vision of progress. This developed into the endeavour to attain symbiotic modern progress in the early twentieth century. Beginning with the *bakumatsu* and *Ishin* periods, this thesis presents a different beginning for modern Japanese history and its consequences. Instead of the dominant narrative of Japan's opening to Western modernity, this non-state transnational history, centred on the life and thoughts of Ōsui, posits the competing narrative of the opening to symbiotic modernity.

The unveiling of the Ōsui school of thought conceptually and methodologically challenges the dominant mode of historical writing, where sources, approaches, and narratives are entangled within Western modernity. This thesis illuminates the tension and discrepancies between the actual history and our historiography. It is our historiography that has peripheralised the competing conception of universality from the nineteenth century and the subsequent socio-cultural phenomena in early twentieth-century Japan. By revealing the emergence of symbiotic modernity, this thesis offers a competing approach to modern Japanese history outside of the state-endorsed ideological paradigm of Western modernity. Furthermore, the Ōsui school's animated pursuit of a symbiotic future offers us, in the twenty-first century, a critical wake-up call and practical clues with which to reimagine and reconstitute the human-natural world amid persisting wars, hierarchies, and nation-state conflicts.

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Abbreviations

HSBD	Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf
SAC	Sapporo Agricultural College

Notes on Style

East Asian names appear in the order of the family name followed by the first name, except for those who write extensively in English or have different cultural backgrounds.

Japanese intellectuals frequently used their self-given pseudonyms in their writings (e.g., Arai Tsunenoshin Yasuyoshi, alias Arai ‘Ōsui’). Often, many of these intellectuals are referred to by those self-given names rather than by their family names. This thesis follows this convention. Arai Ōsui, for example, is referred to as Ōsui rather than Arai.

Long vowels in Japanese terms are denoted by a macron (e.g., Ō, ō, ē, ū). Widely recognised Japanese terms are spelt in English-language styles (e.g., Hokkaido instead of Hokkaidō, Tokyo instead of Tōkyō).

Translations of Japanese-written sources referenced in this thesis are by the author unless otherwise noted.

Introduction

In an emerging intellectual trend in modern Japan, God was no longer defined as the ‘Father’ but was instead reconceptualised as the ‘Mother-Father’/‘Father-Mother’, encompassing maleness and femaleness in one form. The multi-gendered conception of God suddenly appeared in early twentieth-century Japan, rejecting the existing view of God as male – an idea that challenged hierarchical ideologies of sex, gender, race, class, and disability. The androgynous God underpinned the emergence of a new mode of cultural-intellectual life in modern Japan.

A key historical figure in the new socio-cultural phenomena was Arai Ōsui (1846–1922) – a lower-class samurai and intellectual from Sendai in the Tohoku region in northern Japan. Ōsui was an influential figure in the cultural-intellectual scene of early twentieth-century Japan. In the rankings of the Tokyo-based magazine *Shinkōron* (*The New Public Opinions*), Ōsui was named one of the bravest men of his time (in 1911) and also one of Japan’s most eccentric men (in 1913).¹ Despite his fame and reputation, Ōsui maintained a humble attitude, disliking public appearance and refusing to allow even a single photograph of himself to be taken. These attributes,

¹ ‘Tōsei Kikotsu Otoko Daibanduke’, *Shinkōron* 26, no. 2 (1911), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2003), 518; ‘Henna Otoko Henna Onna Daibanduke’, *Shinkōron* 28, no. 1 (1913), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 519.

however, did not hinder public enthusiasm for Ōsui. A variety of individuals – even highly influential public figures – flocked to study and practise Ōsui’s moral teachings of the Mother-Father God.² Tanaka Shōzō (1841–1913) – the leader of Japan’s first modern environmental movement – not only regarded Ōsui as his master but even referred to him as a ‘saint’ (*sei*), even though Ōsui was the younger of the two.³ Tanaka was far from being alone in harbouring such reverence and admiration towards Ōsui. In the field of agriculture, Ōsui’s followers included the farmer and thinker Eto Tekirei (1880–1944), the author of a best-selling agrarian book. Satō Zaikan (1876–1956) – known as the father of blind and deaf education in Hokkaido – was also a passionate admirer of Ōsui’s moral-religious thought. Many such prominent figures from different backgrounds, previously disconnected in the historiography, were in fact tightly connected through Ōsui as part of a large, coherent, transnational, and intellectual dynamic in modern Japan. This thesis brings to light the development of this overlooked yet thriving current of thought and culture between the 1860s and the 1920s. This phenomenon emerged alongside the imperialist pursuit of civilisation and progress by the Japanese state and its associated socio-economic cliques.

To understand the sudden emergence of Ōsui’s Mother-Father God in modern

² Ōsui and his comrades, including members of the Brotherhood of the New Life community in the US countryside (see Chapter 1), referred to their God as the ‘Father-Mother’ and ‘Mother-Father’ interchangeably. For consistency, this thesis refers to their God as the ‘Mother-Father’ in principle, with exceptions of some direct quotes and clarifications.

³ Tanaka Shōzō, *Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū*, vol. 13, ed. Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū Hensankai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 119.

Japan, it is necessary to begin with the historical context of modern religion in the Meiji era (1868–1912) – when many statesmen and intellectuals saw it as extremely important to talk about God. Indeed, religion was so important that a statesman of the early Meiji, Inoue Kowashi (1844–95), had to emphasise that ‘[t]he matter of religion is indeed the single greatest problem confronting political policy, and if not properly addressed it may produce unforeseeable problems in the future and lead to insurmountable complications’.⁴ To many statesmen and intellectuals of the time, religion mattered because it was directly tied to the question of how to make Japan qualified as a ‘civilised’ nation-state on par with Western imperial powers. Meiji intellectuals were keenly aware of the essential denominators that Japan had yet to fulfil in order to align with the Western modern concept of progress. These criteria involved science, technology, military, capitalism, law, politics, education, race, and religion. Many of these criteria, such as scientific, technological, and militaristic development, were difficult but attainable. However, race and religion were the two notable exceptions that resulted in struggle. Race was challenging because, in Western civilisational discourse, one should be ‘white’ to qualify for the civilised group. Within this discourse of civilisation, Japanese were perceived as not merely ‘different’ but ‘yellow’, inferior to whites. Similarly, religion engendered difficulty because modern religion – newly translated into Japanese as *shūkyō* – meant a religious

⁴ Inoue Kowashi (1884), quoted in Trent E. Maxey, *The “Greatest Problem”: Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 1.

institution based on the Christianity of the West, which would morally unify the nation-state and qualify it as a civilisation.⁵ Thus, together with race, discussing how to deal with religion was a serious and urgent issue in Meiji Japan.

Various statesmen and intellectuals tackled the issue of modern religion. One of the most renowned proposals was offered by Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), who asserted that the Japanese could be moral and civilised even without the Christianity of the West, thanks to the Japanese ethics of *bushido*, the way of the samurai. Ōsui, unlike Nitobe, did not propose a ‘Japanese’ moral in place of Western Christianity. Instead, Ōsui made an important intervention to the discussion of modern religion by cutting the linkage between religion (Christianity) and Western modern civilisational discourse. Instead of rejecting Christianity, he rejected the civilisational discourse itself, which the Meiji state and intelligentsia endorsed. He enabled this delinking by relocating religion from the ideological sphere of the imperial nation-state to a non-state, non-imperial, and transnational sphere. Ōsui’s Christian teaching was equally and universally available for everyone, whether in Anglo-America or Japan. As we will see in this thesis, through Ōsui and his associates, Christianity changed so that it was no longer a moral foundation for the Western modern development of the Japanese nation-state. Instead, it was reconfigured as a moral basis for challenging the very ideology of Western modernity and pursuing an alternate direction for the future.

⁵ See Sho Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 96–7.

As a pioneer of modern environmentalism, Tanaka – a passionate follower of Ōsui – is renowned and has been studied widely, to the extent that every school-age child in Japan learns about him. However, in stark contrast to Tanaka, his master Ōsui has been almost completely forgotten in the historiography.⁶ While some works on Tanaka, including Robert Stolz’s thorough study, do mention Ōsui, he mostly appears through Tanaka’s lens.⁷ Thus, Ōsui is typically mentioned in a few pages at best, and often a few paragraphs or footnotes only, as auxiliary information. Similarly, as I will elaborate in the historiographical discussion in each chapter, many of Ōsui’s renowned disciples and associates, including Tekirei and Zaikan, have also been obliterated from our scholarship. No biography has been published on Ōsui, Tekirei, or Zaikan in the English language, and, whether in English or Japanese, the scholarship has never examined the extensive cultural and intellectual phenomena revolving around Ōsui. The historical disappearance of Ōsui and his comrades has occurred despite the availability of abundant sources, including Ōsui and his followers’ private writings. This begs the question of why Ōsui and his school of

⁶ No monograph has been published on Ōsui in English. Ōsui has also been outside of mainstream Japanese scholarship, although a team of scholars has collected, compiled, and decoded his extremely difficult and complicated texts. Their passion resulted in the publication of the *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū* (*The Collection of Arai Ōsui’s Writings*) series, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2000–6). Biographies and secondary sources on Ōsui, written by scholars and Ōsui’s actual students (all in Japanese only), include: Daniel Corl and Kim T’ae-Ch’ang, eds., *Kōkyōsuru Ningen 5: Arai Ōsui* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2010); *Shirarezaru Inochi no Shisōka: Arai Ōsui o Yomitoku*, ed. Arai Ōsui Sensei Kinenkai (Yokohama: Shunpūsha, 2000); Harimoto Hideshi, *Arai Ōsui no Hito to Shisō: Ningen Keiseiron* (Tokyo: Taimeidō, 1996); Nagashima Tadashige, *Arai Ōsui Sensei* (Tokyo: Ōsui Kōroku Kankōkai, 1933; republished Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1991); Kudō Naotarō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, ed. Kudō Shōzō (Tokyo: Aoyamakan, 1984); Hayashi Takeji, *Meijiteki Ningen* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1984).

⁷ Robert Stolz, *Bad Water: Nature, Pollution, and Politics in Japan, 1870–1950* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

thought have been so extensively erased from our historical narratives, despite his vast influence and popularity in the early twentieth century.

Tohoku Lost the Civil War, Tohoku Lost History

A key to solving this puzzle lies in Japan's civil war. The Boshin Civil War (1868–69), which began with the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in Kyoto, became a historical moment for Ōsui, who was then a twenty-two-year-old samurai of great intelligence. Despite his young age, Ōsui was already a crucial intellectual in Sendai – Japan's third-largest domain (after Kaga, the largest, and Satsuma, the second-largest).⁸ Owing to his academic excellence, Ōsui was chosen by the Sendai domain to represent the domain at Shōheizaka Gakumonjo, the shogunate's elite school in Edo (present Tokyo).⁹ As will be discussed in Chapter 1, as part of Northern forces, the bright scholar Ōsui played an important role in fighting the civil war against the Satsuma and Chōshū domains in the Southwest that led the new Meiji government. Even the name Ōsui (奥 邃) – a self-given pseudonym (*gō*) for the man born as Arai Tsunenoshin Yasuyoshi – represents his strong attachment to the North, as the name implies 'going deep into

⁸ In shogunate times, the size of the domain was measured by *kokudaka*, a system that evaluated land based on the amount of rice (*roku*) each land could produce.

⁹ Shōheizaka Gakumonjo was the elite neo-Confucian (*Zhu Xi*) school in Edo under the direct control of the Tokugawa shogunate. It was supposedly an extreme honour to represent the domain at the shogunate's elite school. However, Ōsui was likely dissatisfied with the school's teachings and, after only a few days, moved to the private Sankei Juku school run by Confucian scholar Yasui Sokken (1799–1876) also in Edo. Sokken's school was known as *kogaku-ha* (classical studies school) in Confucianism and was opposed to the *Zhu Xi* school's neo-Confucianism. For more on Ōsui's study at Sokken's school, see Kudō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, 147–64. With the outbreak of the Boshin Civil War, Ōsui halted his studies in Edo and swiftly returned to Sendai.

Tohoku', the region formerly called Ōu (奥羽).¹⁰ The civil war concluded in 1869 with the victory of the Satsuma-Chōshū faction and their allies, and the defeat of the remaining shogunate retainers and Northern samurai, including Ōsui.

In modern historical writing, civil war has often been associated with the unification narratives of the nation-state. In US history, the American Civil War (1861–65) was a major internal conflict that painfully marked the unification of the US as a nation-state and left a great impact on its future direction. Abraham Lincoln's (1809–65) renowned Gettysburg Address asserted 'that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom – and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth'.¹¹ Similarly, in Japanese history writing, the Boshin Civil War has appeared broadly in the context of unifying the divided country and forging a new and modern Japanese nation-state. It is notable, however, that historians have paid little attention to the war's losers. Particularly in the English language scholarship, in contrast with the vast scholarship on the American Civil War, very limited attention has been paid to the details of the Boshin Civil War,¹² let alone its losers. Only recently have a few scholars begun to develop extensive studies on the defeated samurai. The only two available works are Michael Wert's *Meiji Restoration*

¹⁰ He used various pseudonyms during and immediately after the Boshin Civil War while escaping official surveillance. It was in the late nineteenth century and onwards that he referred to himself as Ōsui. For consistency throughout the chapters, this thesis refers to him as Ōsui – the unique, identifiable, self-given pseudonym of the former samurai.

¹¹ Abraham Lincoln, 'The Gettysburg Address' (19 November 1863).

¹² For works detailing the development of battles in the North during the Boshin Civil War, see Diana E. Wright, 'Female Combatants and Japan's Meiji Restoration: The Case of Aizu', *War in History* 8, no. 4 (2001): 396–417; Harold Bolitho, 'The Echigo War, 1868', *Monumenta Nipponica* 34, no. 3 (1979): 259–77.

Losers (2013) and Hiraku Shimoda's *Lost and Found* (2014).¹³

Wert's *Meiji Restoration Losers* studies the historical memories of Japanese civil war losers – specifically, how former Tokugawa supporters later discussed, interpreted, and rescued their stories from victor-centred discourses that marginalised the defeated side and portrayed them as backward conservatives. However, according to Wert, these former Tokugawa supporters – to the similar extent as the victorious Meiji state – ‘also wanted to show their contributions to Japan’s civilization and demonstrate their support of the emperor system’, which was, paradoxically, central to the victors’ narratives.¹⁴ Thus, Wert continues, ‘[t]hese Meiji critics [from the defeated side] shared with their foes a sense of national unity and the need to articulate Japanese identity, but they also wanted to preempt versions of history that would marginalize the shogunal losers’.¹⁵ In Wert’s analysis, the politics of memory essentially took place within the state-centred discourse of national unification.

Similarly, Shimoda’s *Lost and Found* discusses the recovery and reconstruction of local identities in civil-war defeated Aizu, which was, according to the author, ‘less the product of history itself than the politics of reconciling that history with imperial nationhood and the struggles to find a proper place for Aizu within a national

¹³ Michael Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers: Memory and Tokugawa Supporters in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013); Hiraku Shimoda, *Lost and Found: Recovering Regional Identity in Imperial Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

¹⁴ Wert, *Meiji Restoration Losers*, 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

narrative'.¹⁶ Shimoda stresses how civil war losers have been incorporated into the victors' narratives in national history:

A strong local memory was created in Aizu after the war, but it could hardly be called “counter-history” or “counter-memory” vis-à-vis the nation. What allowed Aizu's historiographical challenge to achieve a good measure of success was its fundamentally unchallenging approach. Aizu's example reminds us just how difficult it is, for historians and our subjects alike, to divorce regional history from nationalist impulses. Those concerns about Aizu's past wished only to assume their rightful role in national history, for imperial nationhood was what granted them the dignity and self-worth that their defunct homeland initially could not.¹⁷

In these ways, the existing approaches and narratives in the historiography have rendered the civil-war defeated samurai as an integral part of the modern nation-state construction led by civil war winners. Furthermore, there is the tendency to study the ‘memories’ and ‘recovering of identities’ of the defeated side, rather than focus on the defeated samurai themselves.

We may note that within the Japanese-language historiography, more studies have been conducted on the Boshin Civil War in general, as well as specifically on civil war losers. While admitting the wide range of scholarship, we can identify some general characteristics. On the one hand, there has been an extensive focus on the detailed progression of the war – how it began, developed, and ended – and its interpretations, through such perspectives as military history and alliance formation.¹⁸ It is worth

¹⁶ Shimoda, *Lost and Found*, 96.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁸ On the study of the war from military history perspectives, see Hōya Tōru, *Boshin Sensō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007). On the history of the formation and dissolution of *Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei*, see Kudō Takeshi, *Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei no Kisoteki Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2002); Sasaki

mentioning that some of the most established studies have analysed the Boshin Civil War through Marxist lenses.¹⁹ On the other hand, some studies have examined the thoughts and acts of individual samurai, including the defeated ones, during the civil war period and after.²⁰ There is an important tendency in these Japanese-written works, similar to that of the English-language scholarship, that while civil war losers' attempts at modifying the victors' narratives have been acknowledged, these defeated samurai have often been funnelled into the unification narratives of constructing a modern Japanese nation-state under the victors' authority. In this vein, it is unsurprising that, among the defeated parties, it was often the samurai who later converted and worked for the Meiji state whose stories have survived in historical writings. A notable example is Admiral Enomoto Takeaki (1836–1908).²¹

Overall, whether in the English or Japanese language scholarship, historians have

Suguru, *Boshin Sensō: Haisha No Meiji Ishin* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1977).

¹⁹ For example, see Haraguchi Kiyoshi, *Boshin Sensō* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1963); Ishii Takashi, *Boshin Sensō Ron* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984).

²⁰ For example, Tomoda Masahiro, *Mikan no Kokka Kōsō: Miyajima Seiichirō to Kindai Nihon* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2011); Shimane Kiyoshi, *Tenkō: Meiji Ishin to Bakushin* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1969).

²¹ For example, see Higuchi Takehiko, *Hakodate Sensō to Enomoto Takeaki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012). Other exceptional groups of defeated samurai who have been remembered in Japan to date include those samurai leaders who tragically died in the war, such as Hijikata Toshizō (1835–69) of the *Shinsengumi* corps. Hijikata has been almost idolised as a heroic martyr and cast in many of Japan's historical dramas. In these popular TV dramas and also in some of the well-known scholarship on the defeated parties, their narratives have been emotionally charged. See Hoshi Ryōichi, *Tonami Han: 'Chōteki' Aizu Hanshitachi no Kunan to Saiki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2018). We shall note, however, that a few exceptional works do mention defeated samurai who survived and worked outside of the state sphere (however short and/or partial the descriptions might be). A section of Irokawa Daikichi's work, for example, focuses important attention on ideas and actions emerging from the defeated side, in competition with accounts of the Meiji state. Irokawa Daikichi, *Meiji no Bunka* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970). An English translation is available: Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, transl. Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

largely overlooked the ideas and actions of those defeated samurai who consciously avoided the victors' trajectory of establishing a unified and civilised Japanese nation-state. The prevalent approaches and discourses regarding the 'civil war in national history' have dismissed a number of ideas, actors, and socio-cultural phenomena that functioned outside of the ideology of the nation-state – most notably, Ōsui and his teachings. Some civil war losers, represented by Ōsui and his comrades, persistently refused to follow the victor-centred ideology. Their thoughts and actions have been forgotten, I argue, *not* because they were trivial or insignificant – instead, they attracted much public attention – but because of the dominant mode of historical writing, narrated through the lens of the nation-state, victorious statesmen, and their ideological paradigm of civilisation and progress.

This thesis contextualises the Boshin Civil War and its defeated side transnationally vis-à-vis the nation-state. Ōsui's experience of the North's defeat was a significant turning point in his search for a new moral and ethical construct that would function equally and universally, not only for Japanese nationals. Without ever getting married or building family relationships, Ōsui fully devoted himself to developing this moral construct by transgressing national boundaries, both physically and ideologically: physically by relocating to rural America and developing new connections with religious-intellectual figures from Russia, the US, and Britain strictly outside of state diplomacy; and ideologically by formulating a competing concept of universal human progress unconstrained by the civilisation discourse of

the nation-state – the concept which will be explained in the following section.

Symbiotic Modernity, a Competing Conception of Universal Human Progress

Despite the multiplicity of thoughts and actions, Ōsui and his followers typically emphasised the symbiotic and mutually interdependent nature of the universe. Ōsui argues, '[e]verything in the universe, large or small, is mutually interdependent to each other. The universe and the world are interdependent, the world and all countries are interdependent, and everything is mutually interdependent to each other'.²² He characterised such an interdependent nature of the universe with his concept of 二而一 (*Ni-ji-Ichi*) and 一而二 (*Ichi-ji-Ni*), or 'Two-in-One' and 'One-in-Two' – the concept which indicates that a piece is part of a large whole, but the whole cannot function without each piece in the interdependent universe. Similarly, his passionate follower, Satō Zaikan, viewed the world as a mutually interdependent entity:

Human society is one big organic body. And the universe itself is an even larger organic body. We are equivalent to its cells; in other words, there is no way we can exist separately from the universe or society, and so, we can contribute to the work of society and the universe by fulfilling our duty in our own field. We ought to know that we are weak and small but bear this big responsibility.²³

Eto Tekirei also stated, in a bylaw of his farm project, that '[t]he way of an individual

²² Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2000), 18–9.

²³ Satō Zaikan (Masajirō), *Monzengo Daiisshū* (Hakodate: Kenwasha, 1942), 170.

is the way of all people (*hitori no michi wa bannin no michi*).²⁴ His original concept, *hyakushō* (百性), or everyone – which contrasted with the existing term *hyakushō* (百姓), or farmers – well indicated the symbiotic coexistence of all different humans, transcending the differences of class and occupation.

In these ways, despite the use of different words and concepts, Ōsui and his comrades shared a core value – that the world ought to be interdependent and inclusive of everyone without exception. I use the term ‘symbiosis’ (or symbiotic) to characterise such diverse grassroots efforts by Ōsui and his comrades in realising a more inclusive, interdependent, and less hierarchical world.²⁵

As will be discussed in each chapter, their pursuit of the symbiotic vision of the world is to be understood against the specific historical context of the time, wherein from science and technology to morality and religion, the Japanese state attempted to ‘civilise’ the nation-state holistically to catch up with the modern West. Western modernity was a particular mode of progress modelled after ideologies and practices that flourished in various nation-states in Euro-America and promoted such values as capitalism, science, rationality, and powerful militarism as the essential factors for linear progression in human history.²⁶ This mode of progress was also endorsed by non-Western countries – including the Japanese state – each in their own historical

²⁴ Toyabe Yonosuke, *Kijin: Taishōki no Kyūdōshatachi* (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 1989), 26.

²⁵ In my future work, I intend to include an elaborated discussion on the development of the meaning of the term ‘symbiosis’ and its use in the Euro-American and Japanese contexts.

²⁶ Thus, Western modernity does not mean to encapsulate all varieties of worldviews embraced by Westerners.

contexts.

Ōsui and his comrades challenged particular characteristics that underlined Western modernity such as imperialism, militarism, capitalism, social Darwinist competition, white supremacy, male dominance, other social hierarchies (e.g., class, disability), and Protestant morality that promoted these characteristics. To them, these attributes disturbed the construction of their ideal symbiotic world, wherein everyone was considered precious. Ōsui urged, for example, ‘the equality of man and woman (*danjo byōdō*)’,²⁷ ‘the destruction of the root of classism (*kaikyūshin no konpon*)’ in pursuit of social equality,²⁸ and ‘the eternal annihilation of bloody conflicts (*satsubatsu tōsō o eihai*)’.²⁹ At Tekirei’s farm ‘Hyakushōai Dōjō (百性愛道場)’, or the ‘Everyone’s Institute of Love’ – which he likely named to suggest a cooperative life and labour based on the mutual love of all fellow (human) beings –, Tekirei pursued farming independent of capitalist tenant farming and landlord-tenant inequality. He even sheltered Korean students against the violence and massacre that followed the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), transcending hierarchical colonial relationships. Zaikan stood against an emerging trend in deaf education in early twentieth-century Japan, wherein educators began to see it more ‘modern’ to offer all classes in oral

²⁷ Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2002), 43.

²⁸ Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 6, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2001), 356.

²⁹ Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2000), 412.

language by eliminating sign language and ‘acculturate’ deaf people to the hearing national body. To him, this method was ‘against the principle of humanitarianism (*jindō no shushi*)’ and was ‘a utilitarian discourse and the way of the supreme ruler (*hasha no michi*), which cannot help but easily become a tyranny of the mightiest (*kyōsha no ōbō*)’.³⁰

To Ōsui and his comrades, these elements of Western modernity erroneously ordered humans, cultures, and countries through such dichotomies as West above East, culture above nature, male above female, whites above non-whites, empires above colonies, and hearing people above deaf people. They attempted to nullify and overcome these hierarchical bifurcations in pursuit of a more equal, inclusive, and interdependent world. I argue that the cooperative work of Ōsui and his Japanese comrades, along with their Russian, American, British, and Korean allies, led to the emergence of a competing conception of universal human progress. I term the widespread embrace and practice of this alternate vision of progress in early twentieth-century Japan as ‘symbiotic modernity’.³¹ Symbiotic modernity embraced a powerful urge to rectify the course of human progress, which was then dominated

³⁰ See Satō Zaikan, ‘Risō to Jissai’, *Rōa Kyōiku* 37 (1936): 8–17.

³¹ This thesis refers to the concept of modernities, echoing Konishi’s approach, as ‘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’. Modernity here is ‘a qualitative rather than a chronological category, a historical consciousness of time and space as realms of constant progression toward a better future’. Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 7. Similarly, in this thesis, temporality is also perceived qualitatively – a historical time lived, experienced, and structured by various groups of people, including many of those who attempted to live outside of the nation-state’s ideological constructs.

by the state-led temporality of Western modernity. 'Equality' in the concept of symbiotic modernity is discussed *not* in a materialist sense (e.g., everyone works for the same hours and lives in the same houses). Instead, equality was conceived vis-à-vis the hierarchy underlying the ideology of Western modernity and was meant to rectify such hierarchies, whether they involved gender, race, class, or ecology.

In the historiography of modern Japan (and beyond), the Western modern discourse of civilisation has been incredibly difficult to break. Along with the predominance of the victorious Meiji state in historical narratives, the Western modern discourse of civilisation and progress has been deeply embedded in the existing literature on modern Japanese history. Sho Konishi explains:

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.³²

Indeed, the term modernity, without the prefix, generally means Western modernity. Those who disagree with this model have typically been labelled as communists, authoritarianists, or anti-Western (i.e., 'anti-modern') nativists in the polarised narrative of the human trajectory to civilisation; otherwise, they would simply be forgotten in historiography.³³

This thesis unveils ideas, actions, and networks that came out of the defeated

³² Ibid., 3.

³³ See Ibid., 3–4.

North, through Ōsui, outside of the ideological paradigm of Western modernity and the victor-centred nation-state – hence hitherto forgotten in the major historical narratives of modern Japan. In *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989), Zygmunt Bauman discusses how Western modernity was a root cause of the tragic cruelty of the Holocaust.³⁴ Almost a century before Bauman's critique, Japan's defeated samurai and their collaborators not only challenged the ideological paradigm of Western modernity, but they were earnestly working to create an alternate, symbiotic modern direction for the future. Each of the Ōsui school members saw problems in different aspects of the Western modern paradigm and decentred it from their vision of progress without adhering to Marxist, authoritarianist, anti-Western, Pan-Asian, or nativist ideologies. Ōsui pressed that, in a symbiotic universe, '[w]hen an individual's heart hurts, the universe hurts the same extent. When an individual feels down, the world itself goes down'.³⁵ Symbiotic modernity developed as an urgent call from below without the state by conceiving of the world indivisibly.

It would be helpful to offer further clarifications regarding how this thesis discusses Western modernity, as part of illuminating the development of symbiotic modernity. Instead of referring to Western modernity as a timeless and universal concept, this thesis discusses Western modernity and associated civilisation discourse, as well as how Ōsui and his comrades defied it, in *particular* time and space:

³⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

³⁵ Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 5, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2001), 314.

Chapter 1 in 1860s–1890s America and Chapters 2 to 4 in 1900s–20s Japan (particularly Hokkaido for Chapter 3). Moreover, this thesis does not talk about the total rejection of Western modernity. The execution of symbiotic modernity often targeted concrete fields, not the entire Western modernity as if it was a tangible object. For instance, Ōsui never insisted on rejecting the import of Western modern science and technology to Japan. Nor did he perceive the West as an abstract bad guy. Western modernity was characterised by multiple different dimensions of civilisation discourse, and the thoughts and actions of Ōsui and his colleagues emerged against the *particular* aspects and contexts of Western modernity and associated civilisation discourse, each with their own take and focus. Specifically, Chapter 1 focuses on the context of race and gender, Chapter 2 on war and religion, Chapter 3 on blind and deaf education and war, and Chapter 4 on agriculture. It is in this vein that this thesis refers to the discourse of Western modernity and its derivative narratives with some modifiers and/or alternate expressions according to given contexts (e.g., the Meiji state's pursuit of civilisation, the imperialist discourse of civilisation).

The ideology of imperialism was an important part of pursuing Western modern progress. Particularly in the case of Zaikan (Chapter 3) and Tekirei (Chapter 4), their critique was specifically rooted in the context of 'imperial Japan'. For example, Zaikan's thoughts and actions emerged in opposition to the context of state education, which was an important mechanism through which the Japanese would learn to comply with and contribute to its imperialist ideology. Certainly, while the Western

empires offered a crucial reference point for the Japanese empire, the development and implementation of the imperialist ideology in Western Europe and Japan were not exactly the same; the pursuit of Western modernity did not equal total 'Westernisation', and not every aspect of imperial Japan can be resorted to that of the modern West.³⁶ Most notably, in imperial Japan, the narratives of the emperor functioned as a unifying mechanism for the Japanese, and helped them boost a sense of Japanese superiority above neighbouring Asian peoples. Even shogunate Japan offered various pre-contexts of the development of imperial Japan.³⁷ Such a state-led ideology and practices of imperial Japan, as a specific discourse of Western modern progress, help us contextualise how and why the thoughts and actions of some symbiotic modern practitioners developed.

As well as Zaikan and Tekirei, Ōsui also challenged the vision of civilisation promoted by imperial Japan, including wars and an unequally gendered education policy. However, his target simultaneously transcended the realm of imperial Japan. For instance, in his absolute rejection of WWI, Ōsui criticised European churches that underpinned their war efforts and argued that peace would only come after 'the war-

³⁶ For more on the characteristics of Japanese imperialism, see William G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

³⁷ For example, before the arrival of US Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858)'s 'black ships' and the Opening of Japan (*kaikoku*) to major Western powers, a kind of commercial capitalism had developed in Tokugawa Japan and prepared the country for later capitalist development. Moreover, the literacy rate in *bakumatsu* Japan in 1850 is considered to have been as high as that of many European regions. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 27. The Japanese had even conquered Ryūkyū and Ainu before the 'Opening' and the encroachment of the Western powers.

murder church, arrogant church, selfish church, the church that seeks salvation based on their own view and for their own friends, and all those Christian churches with untrue Christ fall'.³⁸ Ōsui's critique involved the fundamental issues of the Christianity of Western modernity and the white- and male-centric vision of civilisation, which applied not only to Japan but Europe also. In this sense, while his thoughts were formulated against the specific contexts of Western modernity, which included imperial Japan's policy, they are not wholly reducible to anti-Japanese-imperialism. After all, an underpinning principle of Ōsui's teachings was the symbiotic vision of the world, which was transnational and applied to all people equally without hierarchy. Moreover, despite the differences deriving from distinctive historical contexts and trajectories, the hierarchy of colonisers versus colonised peoples and civilised versus non-civilised – a kind of relationality that 'we are the one to civilise you' – was an underpinning principle of imperialist agenda whether in the Japanese or Western European empires. The development of Japanese imperialism was inseparably linked to such Western civilisation discourse at the fundamental level. Ōsui's scope was to uproot the very root of such a systematic thought, including greed, anger, and hierarchies in human relationships, through which to rectify the fundamental issues of civilisation discourse that centred at the modern West. Thus, this thesis presents a history of modern transnational Japan that not only addressed specific issues arising from the pursuit of Western modern progress in particular

³⁸ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 63.

places, times, and contexts, but also challenged much larger civilisation discourse that was inclusive of, but not exclusively limited to, the discourse of imperial Japan.

Symbiotic Modern Practitioners, Symbiotic Modern Actions

Viewing history through the lens of the Ōsui school allows us to associate previously disparate people, ideas, actions, and genres within symbiotic modern phenomena. It highlights, for example, a tight transnational connection between the Ōsui school and Euro-American religionists who were ostracised by, or refused to follow, the Western modern narrative of civilisation and progress. While some individual studies on the biographies and thoughts of Ōsui, Zaikan, and Tekirei do exist in Japanese-language scholarship,³⁹ this thesis links these previously disparate three figures – as well as university students, other educators, and more – for the first time. Through Ōsui, such diverse historical actors can all be contextualised in the same intellectual network, whether or not they directly interacted during their lives. In doing so, instead of examining them separately as was done in the existing Japanese-language scholarship, this thesis seeks to understand their thoughts and actions in a new context, as part of the emerging current of thought and culture – namely, symbiotic modernity – in early twentieth-century Japan. The thesis also bridges and connects genres – including religion, gender, race, war, imperialism, capitalism, agriculture,

³⁹ For more on these Japanese-language works, see the Bibliography as well as the footnote entries relevant to each figure, particularly Ōsui in the Introduction and Chapter 2, Zaikan in Chapter 3, and Tekirei in Chapter 4.

and education – as a diversified manifestation of the symbiotic modern vision of progress. Their urgent work in and for the human-ecological world was their way to improve the everyday lives of ordinary people and incorporate them into society as part of a new egalitarian, symbiotic, and interdependent world before the state did (and when the state was effectively doing the opposite).

We tend to assume that revolution and social change require extraordinary actions – something grandiose – often with some degree of violence and blood, in public. However, as shown by Tessa Morris-Suzuki's works on Japan's informal life politics, world reform could be – or should be, according to symbiotic modern practitioners – first and foremost rooted in smaller, simpler, and trivial actions in everyday life.⁴⁰ Contrary to socialist visions of reform that society must be perfected first, for them, this reform of the community/society/world must be rooted in the reform of one's inner self; each of them had a strong sense of moral obligation to rectify their everyday lives and themselves, and in this process, addressed larger societal problems of injustice and inequality in the state-led civilisational endeavour.⁴¹ Their non-

⁴⁰ See Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Japan's Living Politics: Grassroots Action and the Crises of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Tessa Morris-Suzuki and Eun Jeong Soh, eds., *New Worlds from Below: Informal Life Politics and Grassroots Action in Twenty-First-Century Northeast Asia* (Acton, A.C.T.: Australian National University Press, 2017). On political action and resistance in everyday life, see also James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985). This work illuminates everyday forms of peasant resistance, such as sabotage, in a rural Malaysian village (while historical actors featured in this thesis more openly and proactively challenged state ideology).

⁴¹ Joseph W. Slade mentions an interesting contrast between socialist reforms and the inner-oriented reform of the Brotherhood of the New Life, a religious-agrarian community in rural America, where Ōsui resided in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 1). Joseph W. Slade, 'Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris, Laurence Oliphant, and the Brotherhood of the New Life', in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū, Bekkan*, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2006), 185.

institutionalised knowledge of everyday life, formulated through a variety of different transnational sources outside of imperial universities, underpinned symbiotic modern actions. This thesis explores these phenomena as part of a cultural-intellectual history in which clear social actions follow.

Among many followers of Ōsui, this thesis features the educator Satō Zaikan (Chapter 3) and the farmer Eto Tekirei (Chapter 4), as they exemplify the visions and practices of symbiotic modernity to the best possible extent in their own field of expertise. Through blind and deaf education in Hakodate – where Ōsui had fought the Boshin Civil War – Zaikan vividly manifested symbiotic modernity in the early twentieth century. Accompanied by the use of derogatory and discriminatory terms, the state and various educators saw blind and deaf people as ‘disabled people’ who were ‘inferior’ to hearing and seeing people; to them, blind and deaf people were generally ‘useless’ in the state-led construction of a civilised, imperial Japan (they could not be sent to fight wars, for instance). However, Zaikan and his comrades saw them as contributors to constructing a symbiotic modern world they envisioned. While state education attempted to create and homogenise national citizens who would contribute to Japan’s imperialist agenda, Zaikan’s blind and deaf education rejected the state’s imperial education. Instead, it was founded on the Ōsui school of symbiotic thought – that individuals possessed their own unique traits and talents, and were fundamentally equal and ought to be respected without discrimination. Zaikan’s blind and deaf education demonstrated the way in which he tried to nourish

those disenfranchised bodies that were considered ‘useless’ by the state, and incorporated them as necessary parts of realising a more inclusive and less hierarchical world of symbiotic modernity. While Zaikan has been almost completely forgotten in historiography, he was an eminent anti-imperial educator and author in early twentieth-century Japan, whose education journal was one of the most renowned in the field. His moral-educational philosophy inspired local young men and women in Hakodate, who begged to study the Ōsui school’s moral-religious teachings under Zaikan.

In the case of Tekirei, beginning with the context of the civil-war defeated North, his agrarian ideas and practices vividly manifested symbiotic modernity. Importantly, his vision of symbiotic modern progress applied not only to human-to-human relationships but also human-and-nature. Tekirei envisioned non-exploitative agrarian practices and attempted to liberate humans, nature, and agriculture from the state-centred ideology of Western modern progress – a vision that fundamentally echoed Tanaka’s political-ecological activism. However, contrary to Tanaka who has been well-remembered to date for his activism that led to an unprecedented direct plea to Emperor Meiji, Tekirei and his farming have largely been forgotten in historiography. Moreover, although Tekirei has been an unknown figure in historiography, in actual history, he was popular precisely for his agrarian life and the associated vision of a symbiotic human-natural world. His best-selling book on his farm life was reprinted many times to meet demand in early twentieth-century Japan.

In these ways, Zaikan and Tekirei – both of whom were tied to the historical context of the defeated North – allow us to see the clear manifestation of the symbiotic modern worldview. Moreover, while they have been obliterated from historiography, they were rather popular for their ideas and practices of symbiotic modernity in actual history – this contradiction between history and historiography further adds to the significance of examining the two cases. Zaikan and Tekirei offer rare windows through which to see some fragments of popular discourse and knowledge in early twentieth-century Japan, which are at odds with what we know about the history of the time.

Indeed, the meaning of ‘civilisation’ had not been settled, and it was far from being unified into the Western modern concept of civilisation as a universal definition of progress. It is the historiography that has let it settle. This thesis will identify the tension and discrepancies between the actual history and our historiography. As well as Zaikan and Tekirei, their master Ōsui was widely discussed and accepted by his contemporaries, but this popularly embraced worldview, emerging from the war’s defeated side, was highly inconvenient for the victors and their discourse of a unified nation-state. It is our historiography, constructed predominantly upon the state-endorsed ideological paradigm of Western modernity, that has peripheralised the competing current of socio-cultural phenomena, symbiotic modernity.

The Boshin Civil War as a Turning Point

To understand the development of Ōsui's symbiotic modern thoughts and actions, this thesis uses the Boshin Civil War and its defeat as a key 'context', rather than a 'cause' of it. The civil-war defeat offered an important context, as a 'turning point', because being a civil war loser helped crystallise what had existed since the *bakumatsu* times (1850s–60s).

As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1, Ōsui grew up in Japan's *bakumatsu* period and went through intensive intellectual training at the Sendai domainial school. The Sendai school had a distinctive curriculum, which extended far beyond Confucian teachings. First, Sendai was one of the pioneers in promoting Dutch studies (*rangaku*) and even had one of Tokugawa Japan's most renowned scholars of the field, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827). Second, the Sendai school was the only domainial school across the country to teach Russian studies. Third, in stark contrast to the call of *sonnō jōi* ('Revere the emperor and expel the barbarians') by some Mito samurai and others, Ōsui's teacher at the Sendai school, Ōtsuki Bankei (1801–78), was a renowned advocate of Japan's Opening (*kaikoku*), importantly, in alliance with Russia, not the US or Britain. Before the Boshin Civil War period, Ōsui was well educated in such a distinctive Sendai school, which took internationalist approaches and was intellectually close to Russia. He excelled in this Sendai school education, to the extent that the domain chose him as a young representative of Sendai to be sent to an elite shogunate school in the capital Edo.

This education coincided with the internal and external crisis of the *bakumatsu* period, which involved poverty, heavy taxation, droughts, epidemics, political strife in the shogunate's politics, and Western colonial powers' demand for Japan's Opening. Thus, this was a critical time when protests and the desperate call for social and economic justice spread across the different strata of society.

The *bakumatsu* socio-political context and the distinctive Sendai school of education prepared Ōsui for his search for new, universal, egalitarian morals, which he began with Russian Orthodox Christianity in the middle of the Boshin Civil War (see Chapter 1). While Christianity was new to Ōsui, Russia would have been a rather familiar country due to Sendai's educational culture. We might also attribute his contemplation of universal morals – which ought to apply not only to the Japanese but globally – to (at least partially) the Sendai school's intellectual culture which was open to Europe and Russia. We could also infer that his pursuit of egalitarian ideals was rooted in the context of the socio-political crisis since the *bakumatsu* times. The seeds of what would later develop as his transnational pursuit of egalitarian morals could be first found in the *bakumatsu* era before the civil-war defeat.

We shall bear in mind that not only Ōsui but many more samurai and intellectuals from both the winning and losing sides reacted to the socio-political crisis, which continued from the *bakumatsu* times, and took action each in their own ways, often with a sense of moral obligation to contributing to a new Japanese nation-state. They were yet to reach a widely shared consensus on the meaning of 'civilisation' – what it

means to civilise the country, through what means, and what they could do for it. Thus, even among the defeated samurai, there was no single pattern in the trajectory they pursued following the defeat. Some converted to the victorious Meiji state, others studied English, promoted Christianity to civilise Japan, or began a new career as schoolteachers. Some defeated samurai became farmers or businessmen. Some endeavoured to restore the lost fame and identity of the defeated side against victor-centred historical narratives, while some others became an active part of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū Minken Undō*) and pursued democracy with a critique of the oligarchy of victorious state leaders. Meanwhile, the same movement also involved members from the victorious side.⁴²

Furthermore, while exploring different meanings and means to 'civilise' Japan, not only Ōsui but various former samurai – from both the victorious and defeated sides – did pursue the goal of social equality. The former shogunate retainer Fukuzawa Yukichi's (1835–1901) best-selling book, *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no Susume*, 1872), inspired many Japanese readers with the idea of human equality – that all humans are given the same basic rights and are equal, so as nation-states; although depending on the people's intellectual standard, some countries are wealthier and stronger than others. Fukuzawa encouraged Japanese nationals – without high and low – to study hard and contribute to the wealth, strength, and independence not only

⁴² For more on the movement, see Irokawa, *Meiji no Bunka*.

of themselves but importantly, of the country.⁴³ Moreover, even the victorious Meiji state, at least at the beginning, upheld social equality as a crucial goal of the *Meiji Ishin*, as much as Ōsui and the defeated samurai were pursuing this goal. Meiji's policy of abolishing the four classes (samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants) and the meritocratic ideology of *risshin shusse* (Rising in the World) promoted social equality. The majority of the population, who now mostly belonged to the commoners' category, gained the freedom of occupation. Accompanied by an introduction of conscription, military affairs were no longer exclusive to samurai.

Nevertheless, to symbiotic modern practitioners, the victorious Meiji elites were ultimately unable to fulfil the goal and rather came to promote and justify hierarchy and inequality. In fact, from the perspective of some defeated samurai, the contradiction between the Meiji state's words and actions would have appeared evident from the very beginning. For example, following the defeat, the victorious state reduced the land size of the Watari clan of the Sendai domain – accompanied by 8,000 samurai and families – from 30,000 *koku* to only 65 *koku*; this punishment left them jobless and penniless.⁴⁴ Under such a systematic deprivation of land, many defeated samurai and their families were on the verge of survival after the war. Moreover, their chance of gaining political power in the newly established Meiji state was virtually nil.

⁴³ See *Ibid.*, 66–8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

These facts illuminate the importance of the Boshin Civil War context for the lives of at least some – if not all – of the defeated samurai and their families. Indeed, we have seen that, in Ōsui’s case, the pre-existing socio-political and educational context of the *bakumatsu* times underpinned a prelude to his moral-intellectual endeavour. Having said that, one should not minimise the significance of the Boshin Civil War context – not the war battle itself but rather a socio-economic and political context deriving from it – for studying Ōsui and symbiotic modernity. Although this thesis does not maintain that Ōsui suddenly became progressive due to the civil-war defeat, it nevertheless emphasises that the defeat brought consequences which laid a crucial foundation for his symbiotic thoughts. Ōsui argued, during the Boshin Civil War, that ‘[w]e must have a teaching (*hō*) that can deal with this time’.⁴⁵ Looking back at the civil-war period (circa 1870), he also stated that ‘I thought it was urgent and necessary to create men of character (*jinbutsu o tsukuru ga kyūmu*). It remains the same to date [in 1910]’.⁴⁶ Ōsui himself contextualised the period of the civil war as an important ‘turning point’ in the development of his life and thoughts.

Why did Ōsui travel to Hokkaido? Why did he have to hide and escape towards the end of the war? And most of all, why did he encounter and delve into Russian Orthodox Christianity, which was not part of Western civilisation discourse from the

⁴⁵ Sasagawa Seikichi, ed., *Sendai Kirisuto Seikyōkai Sōritsu Gojishūnen Kinen* (Not for sale, Ōdatsume Kenji and Sendai Kirisuto Seikyōkai [The Orthodox Church in Sendai], 1923), 1.

⁴⁶ Hagumasei, ‘Shinshin Shūkyōka Retsuden: Arai Ōsui Sensei’, *Michi*, no. 38 (1911), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 514.

start? Why not Protestantism? Why did he continue pursuing moral-religious training outside of the Meiji state apparatus? Without the historical context associated with the civil-war defeat, his intellectual and life trajectory leading to symbiotic modernity, including these questions, would not be addressed. As we will see in Chapter 1, his travel to Hokkaido, escape from capture, and encounter with Russian Orthodox Christianity all occurred because (and while) he was fighting the war for the Northern forces, which ultimately lost the war. Young samurai of victorious Satsuma and Chōshū governed new Japan while Ōsui, a defeated samurai, continued exploring universally applicable moral thoughts instead of committing himself to the country's governance; this continued moral exploration nurtured what would later constitute his symbiotic modern thoughts. The civil-war defeat offers an important context regarding why and how Ōsui's search for less hierarchical, universal morals developed in the late nineteenth century, without which the emergence of the Ōsui school's symbiotic modernity in the early twentieth century would not be understood.

The civil-war context brought consequences to some of his followers as well, with different meanings and degrees of significance. Despite his merchant-class family background, Tekirei was educated by a former senior samurai of the Aizu domain which lost the civil war; through this, Tekirei's critical view against the state-led civilisational endeavour was first and foremost nurtured on the intellectual soil of the defeated North (see Chapter 4). In Zaikan's case, his relocation to Hakodate was linked

to Ōsui's legacy of the civil-war time, and yet, his implementation of blind and deaf education itself was not a direct result of the civil-war defeat (see Chapter 3). In fact, unlike Ōsui who fought the civil war, the majority of his followers, including Zaikan and Tekirei, were born after the war and thus never fought it – they were a generation after Ōsui's.

Given the diversity of meanings and significance attached to the civil-war context, we shall bear in mind that the civil-war defeat cannot be an explanatory tool to decode the entire Ōsui school network. Indeed, while the Ōsui network involved people of varying occupations and social classes (former samurai, merchant, and farmer), the majority of these symbiotic modern practitioners were from Tohoku and Hokkaido, northern Japan – an important characteristic which ought to be emphasised (see Chapter 2). This, however, was not a direct consequence of the 'defeat' itself. Instead, it seems that the grassroots webs of people who originally came from the same northern province and resided in Tokyo shared Ōsui's reputation by word of mouth, and ended up involving many northerners. Such reputation by word of mouth reached even beyond northerners; in fact, born in Tokushima, Zaikan was not originally a northerner, so as Tanaka from Tochigi.⁴⁷ Zaikan recalled that he heard a high reputation of the intellectual Ōsui and began to visit him with an attitude of 'half curious, half cheeky (*monozuki hanbun namaiki hanbun*)' for a few years, after which he

⁴⁷ The Ōsui school did not seem to have Satsuma-Chōshū members.

became one of Ōsui's most devoted followers.⁴⁸

In sum, this thesis does not overstretch the civil-war framework to the analysis of the entire symbiotic modern phenomena of the early twentieth century. Nor does it argue that civil war losers became united to instigate symbiotic modern actions. Instead, this thesis utilises the civil war and its defeat primarily as an essential context to understand the pre-condition of symbiotic modernity through Ōsui, as well as partial contexts of explaining Zaikan's and Tekirei's thoughts and actions.

A Modern Japanese History from the Opening to Symbiotic Modernity

This non-state, transnational, cultural-intellectual history, emerging from Ōsui of the defeated North, leads us to re-examine some of the most established narratives of modern Japan from the very beginning. The Opening of Japan (*Kaikoku*) in the 1850s has often been seen as the starting point of the history of 'modern Japan'.⁴⁹ Narrated through the lens of the victorious state and international relations, this Opening of Japan has generally meant Japan's opening to the modern West and related notions of civilisation and progress.⁵⁰ This has given the modern West and its discourse of civilisation (as well as its nationalist countermovement) a central significance in

⁴⁸ Satō Zaikan, 'Monzen Bangō' (1957), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 9, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shunpūsha, 2004), 339.

⁴⁹ For a pioneering work of the critical re-examination of the Opening of Japan, see Sho Konishi, 'Reopening the "Opening of Japan": A Russian-Japanese Revolutionary Encounter and the Vision of Anarchist Progress', *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007): 101–30.

⁵⁰ This opening was accompanied by unequal treaties with Euro-America and the subsequent endeavours to its rectification.

narrating the consequent historical development of modern Japan, including the state-led reform of the *Meiji Ishin* (Meiji Restoration).⁵¹

However, the meaning and implications of the Opening of Japan radically change if we employ a non-state, transnational lens that focuses on the defeated samurai instead of the dominant narrative of the victorious state. For Ōsui, a civil war loser, the Opening of Japan brought him transnational moral-intellectual sources (first through Russian Orthodox Christianity) outside of the state realm of diplomacy and international relations. Through these, he began to formulate an alternate stream of moral thought in precise opposition to the state-led vision of progress. This developed into the endeavour to attain symbiotic modern progress in the early twentieth century. Beginning with the *bakumatsu* and *Ishin* periods, this thesis presents a different beginning for modern Japanese history and its consequences. Instead of the dominant narrative of Japan's opening to Western modernity, this non-state transnational history, centred on the life and thoughts of Ōsui, posits the competing narrative of the opening to symbiotic modernity.

The reconfiguration of the meaning of Japan's Opening, through the lives of symbiotic modern practitioners, even challenges some of the established

⁵¹ Numerous works have discussed the Opening of Japan and the *Meiji Ishin*, often with a focus on the state level. See for example, Mark Ravina, *To Stand with the Nations of the World: Japan's Meiji Restoration in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Alistair Swale, *The Meiji Restoration: Monarchism, Mass Communication and Conservative Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Nagai Michio and Miguel Urrutia, *Meiji Ishin: Restoration and Revolution* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1985). For an overview of the historiographical trends in the scholarship on the *Meiji Ishin*, see Anne Walthall, 'The Meiji Restoration Seen from English-speaking Countries', *Japanese Studies* 38, no. 3 (2018): 363–76.

chronological periods in the historiography of modern Japan, most notably, the Winter Period of the 1910s. The 1910s – at least until the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 – has been conventionally characterised as the Winter Period. It was winter because conspicuous countermovement against the state was silenced and disappeared. On the contrary, those who embraced symbiotic modern temporality stayed active throughout this supposed ‘wintertime’, each in their own ways, such as through writing and farming as a way to express their critique of civilisation. Symbiotic modernity allows us to see a different time consciousness and historicity that existed outside of the ideological sphere of the nation-state.

Moreover, as emphasised by Stephan Vlastos, existing scholarship tends to see that non-state opposition movements during the early Meiji period were either suppressed or co-opted by the Meiji state.⁵² More studies have been conducted on resistance to Meiji state policy around the 1900s and onwards.⁵³ However, existing literature has overlooked Ōsui and his associates’ competing quest for universal human progress, which was already present in the civil war and *Ishin* period and constantly stood in opposition to the winning state’s civilisational pursuit. Without being silenced or co-opted by the Meiji state, nor set off in the early twentieth century,

⁵² Stephen Vlastos, ‘Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868–1885’, in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 367–431. This work does not discuss civil war losers either.

⁵³ This resistance often took the form of reactionary countermovements against the decades of Meiji’s industrialisation and/or imperialist endeavour since the reforms of the *Meiji Ishin* (Meiji Restoration). For the scholarship focusing on these opposition movements around the 1900s and onwards, see for example, Robert Thomas Tierney, *Monster of the Twentieth Century: Kōtoku Shūsui and Japan’s First Anti-imperialist Movement* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2015); Stolz, *Bad Water*.

their moral search survived to yield symbiotic modern phenomena in the early twentieth century. This thesis will make a critical intervention to the prevalent understanding of the emergence of opposition movements in modern Japan, through the lens of Ōsui and his colleagues.

Finally, it would be helpful to give a few clarifications on the conceptual and analytical scope of this thesis. First, we shall note that a multitude of intellectual ideas developed in modern Japan, and they are not reducible to a conflict of the state (led by civil war victors) versus the Ōsui school (led by the defeated). Indeed, even among statesmen or among civil war losers, their thoughts were far from a unitary one. Nevertheless, Ōsui and his comrades constantly challenged the master narrative of civilisation, which underpinned imperial Japan's pursuit of progress (predominantly under the victors' authority). In other words, the discourse of symbiotic modern practitioners developed in competition with such Western modern civilisational discourse that justified and reinforced the imperialist endeavour of the Japanese state. It is in this vein that this thesis discusses the emergence and development of the Ōsui school of thought vis-à-vis the state and the Western modern ideology of civilisation, precisely because this was how they formed their symbiotic modern thoughts and actions.⁵⁴

Second, we shall be careful not to simply assume a conflict of the state versus the

⁵⁴ In my future work, I intend to include a discussion concerning how symbiotic modernity phenomena interacted with even wider and broader contexts of changing agrarian, educational, environmental, and gender political circumstances in modern Japan.

Ōsui school as a conflict of nationalists versus universalists. Promoting the civilisational development of the nation-state did not mean a lack of universal thinking. Ōsui school members were far from embracing a total rejection of 'Japan' either. Promoted by the Japanese and other nation-states, Western modern discourse of civilisation sought to attain universal dynamism and the 'universal truth' of human progress. In opposition to this ideological paradigm, symbiotic modern practitioners pursued a competing conception of universal human progress applicable to all different humans on the planet equally, including the ordinary people of Japan. Thus, as much as those who belonged to Western modern temporality attempted to gain a universal momentum, a different pursuit of universality emerged among those who embraced the Ōsui school's symbiotic modern worldviews.

Third, we shall be cautious in discussing symbiotic modernity on par with the 'multiple modernities' concept. Scholars have developed different ways of conceptualising modernity, such as postmodernity, late modernity, and liquid modernity. One of the recent attempts includes 'multiple modernities'. The study of multiple modernities emerged as a critique of the mainstream modernisation theory in an attempt to overcome the universalised, singular teleological view of progress founded on the Euro-American model of modernity.⁵⁵ The multiple modernities framework offers wider interpretations of being and becoming 'modern', for example,

⁵⁵ For a concise summary of multiple modernities, see Christian Smith and Brandon Vaidyanathan, 'Multiple Modernities and Religion', in *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Diversity*, ed. Chad Meister (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

by incorporating Islamism that has long been assumed as a ‘rejection of modernity’⁵⁶ as well as other ‘modernities of the non-West’, including China, Japan, and India.

However, neither multiple (non-Western) modernities nor Western modernity captures the worldview of the Ōsui school of thought. The Ōsui school may well be contrasted with the study of how the Ottomans perceived Japan’s civilisational development as a model of ‘non-Western modernity’, particularly after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5).⁵⁷ The Japanese nation-state, in this view, developed to rival Euro-American civilisation while retaining its non-Western *bushido* morals and Shinto beliefs. However, this non-Western modernity, as Renée Worringer explains, was about ‘how to become modern by “Western” standards without losing one’s “Eastern” essence’.⁵⁸ Similarly, as Cemil Aydin states, ‘[w]hat Asian admirers learned from Japan’, following the Russo-Japanese War, ‘was in fact no more than a Japanese interpretation of Western modernity and a confirmation of the earlier Asian interest in universalizing modernity’.⁵⁹ After all, the nativist discourse of ‘Japaneseness’ was part and parcel of pursuing Western modernity (with their own twists). In such ways, non-Western modernity has largely been discussed within the paradigm of Western modernity, in which ‘the West ultimately retained its

⁵⁶ Ibrahim Kaya, *Social Theory and Later Modernities: The Turkish Experience* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 11.

⁵⁷ See Renée Worringer, *Ottomans Imagining Japan: East, Middle East, and Non-Western Modernity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁹ Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 80.

position in setting the standards for measuring “true progress”.⁶⁰

Conversely, for the Ōsui school, the standardised logic of Western modernity did not always offer true progress but rather retrogression. The finding of symbiotic modernity challenges an epitome of what we might call an epistemological obstacle, to borrow the words of Gaston Bachelard, which has, implicitly or explicitly, underpinned our historical writing – namely, Western modernity. Those who belonged to symbiotic modern temporality were not anti-West but rather sought to work with Euro-American religious practitioners and intellectuals for the shared goal of world reform.⁶¹ Nor did they envision an anti-modern, Pan-Asianist, nativist movement, Eastern exoticism, or Marxist revolution.⁶² Instead, these grassroots actors cooperatively pursued a competing, ‘symbiotic’ vision of universality, which therefore cannot be understood in the dichotomised paradigm of East and West. By decentring Japan, Asia, Euro-America, and the nation-state all together, diverse historical figures of the Ōsui school reimagined the world as a more symbiotic one. Symbiotic modernity thereby poses an epistemological question about the way we see and conceptualise history, culture, ideas, and society.

Lastly, the concept of symbiotic modernity is in a synergic relation with Konishi’s

⁶⁰ Worringer, *Ottomans Imagining Japan*, 261.

⁶¹ On the rise of anti-Westernist claims in modern Japan and Asia, see Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*.

⁶² On the rise of Pan-Asianism in modern Japan, see Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism, and Borders* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007); Selçuk Esenbel, ‘Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945’, *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (2004): 1140–70.

finding of ‘anarchist modern’ phenomena in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Konishi discloses how ‘cooperatist anarchists’ in modern Japan envisioned a non-hierarchical, interdependent world, accompanied by the reading and selective interpretation of a variety of different sources, including the Russian author Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910), the French entomologist Jean-Henri Fabre (1823–1915), the Nobel-Prize-winning Russian biologist Ilya Mechnikov (1845–1916), and the English biologist Charles Darwin (1809–82).⁶³ This phenomenon involved the process of what he conceptualises as the ‘history slide’ (*rekishi no jisuberi*) – ‘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’.⁶⁴ From capitalism to race and gender, problems concerning the Western civilisational model of progress had already been discussed before 1900 in Japan’s intellectual sphere. During and immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, the acute consciousness for change increased on at a large scale and was clearly articulated. With this slide of historical consciousness, ‘history’, which had been a means to justify the present in the Western modern construct, turned into a theory of social change to rectify the present for the

⁶³ Japanese anarchists, for example, translated Fabre’s writing that illustrated the life and mutual aid of dung beetles and other insects in nature – a popular children’s reading in Japan – which the Japanese state banned. The book embraces the anarchists’ conception of nature that everything, from microorganisms to human bodies and society, coexists in a mutually interdependent relationship. This worldview echoed Mechnikov’s study of microorganisms, which also informed Japanese anarchists about the symbiotic relationship of the human body with the natural world. Founded on the anarchist interpretation of nature and natural sciences was the objection to the hierarchical bifurcation of culture above nature and to the social Darwinist ideology. See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*. Also see Sho Konishi, ‘Provincialising the State: Symbiotic Nature and Survival Politics in Post-World War Zero Japan’, in *New Worlds from Below*, 15–26.

⁶⁴ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 226.

benefit of the future.

This thesis features historical actors different from cooperatist anarchists. While some followers of Ōsui interacted with them, the Ōsui school as a whole was not part of the anarchist circle. Nevertheless, both cooperatist anarchists and the Ōsui school shared a resonating intellectual and moral dynamic despite their differences, both standing in sharp opposition to the discourse of Western modernity. Indeed, symbiotic modern phenomena were inseparable from the urge to rectify the present and future direction of human progress, and involved a collection of critical moments when history 'slid'. While Ōsui had already been critical of Western civilisational narratives before 1900, numerous grassroots actors rushed to study his critical writings during and after the Russo-Japanese War and applied them in their own ways. Their history slides manifested in a variety of cultural and intellectual forms and spaces, including agrarian practices. These phenomena, accompanied by concrete actions, were their response to an urgent time when many people from socially and ideologically disadvantaged backgrounds were suffering in their everyday life. Such suffering was systematised and justified by the state, its policy, and international law. It was Ōsui and his adherents' intellectual call for immediate actions for rectification before it became too late.

Precisely because of such a similarity in the differences between anarchists' ideologies and Ōsui's, my finding of symbiotic modern phenomena and Konishi's finding of anarchist modern phenomena together suggest that, despite the

pervasiveness of Western civilisation discourse in the historiography, in fact, there existed a large number of competing ideas, actions, and reactions. Indeed, temporalities in modern Japan and beyond were, as Konishi suggests, not necessarily synchronised into ‘a single global time’ – Western modernity.⁶⁵ This thesis shows the emergence and development of an alternate, symbiotic modern temporality, which was rooted in the North and permeated in parallel with – and as a critique of – the state-endorsed Western modern temporality.

An Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1 begins by looking at the herald of Ōsui’s moral exploration through Orthodox Christianity in northern Japan, which offered him the principle of non-hierarchy in humanity. He further explored this vision in a forgotten mixed-race agrarian community in the US countryside, the Brotherhood of the New Life, where he lived and worked for almost three decades in the late nineteenth century. By employing what I would refer to as a non-state transnational historical perspective, the chapter shows that Ōsui and his comrades’ cooperative work at the Brotherhood exemplifies their original, egalitarian view of race and gender, in stark contrast to the racial and gender hierarchies justified in the Western modern discourse of civilisation. This chapter employs the Boshin Civil War, which has been discussed as a domestic incident in Japan, as a contextual framework in rural America and reveals

⁶⁵ Ibid., 6.

ideological conflicts involving the community's Japanese members from both the winning and losing sides of the war. The chapter shows the continuity of Ōsui's moral-religious view in contrast to his counterparts, who became leading statesmen of Meiji Japan. It was Ōsui who brought the legacy of the egalitarian ethos back to Japan at the turn of the century, sowing the seeds of what would later constitute symbiotic modern phenomena.

Chapter 2 recounts the birth of the Ōsui school of thought in early twentieth-century Japan, after Ōsui's return from the US countryside. Without prayers, churches, or rituals, Ōsui's religion of the 'Mother-Father God' upheld an egalitarian, mutually interdependent concept of the universe and rejected imperial wars and human hierarchies. His religion directly challenges the meaning of modern Japanese Christianity in the historiography, which has been contextualised as an integral part of the Western modernity of the nation-state. At the height of Meiji imperialism, Ōsui's competing moral-religious ideas were embraced and practised by Japanese locals of various backgrounds and professions. This widespread adoption of Ōsui's worldview developed into new symbiotic modern phenomena.

Chapters 3 and 4 expound upon the ways in which Ōsui's followers' concretely manifested symbiotic modernity in early twentieth-century Japan. Chapter 3 exemplifies symbiotic modernity from an educationalist aspect, specifically regarding the education of blind and deaf children. The educationalist manifestation is explored through Ōsui's passionate follower, Satō Zaikan and his comrades at the

Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf (HSBD) in Hokkaido – once the final battleground of the Boshin Civil War. The existing literature indicates that, by the end of the Russo-Japanese War, Christian humanitarian workers and institutions were co-opted by state ideology. This chapter, however, challenges the given meaning of Christian humanitarianism in modern Japanese history by examining competing humanitarian practices tied to the Ōsui school of symbiotic Christian religion. In the state-led endeavour to construct a strong and vigorous national body, blind and deaf people epitomised ‘weak bodies’ who were ‘inferior’ to the majority of the populace and were largely left out of state imperial education. Through their education for the blind and deaf, however, symbiotic modern practitioners at the HSBD directly countered the state-led vision of imperial progress. For them, blind and deaf children were an essential part of a symbiotic modern world, which would incorporate everyone into society without neglect and hierarchy. Zaikan’s symbiotic modern education at the HSBD was preceded by the transnational collaboration of the American women and Japanese men and women who developed the school. It was also preceded by the school’s development, outside of class hours, as a hub of the Nonwar Movement (*hisen undō*) during the Russo-Japanese War. These early intellectual phenomena contextualised Zaikan’s blind and deaf education at the HSBD, which, in the 1920s, also developed into an unofficial, after-hours ‘Ōsui school’ in Hakodate for training symbiotic modern practitioners. Through both in- and after-class activities, the HSBD played multiple leading roles in challenging the state-led

quest for Western modern progress.

Chapter 4 exemplifies an agrarian aspect of symbiotic modernity. It is discussed through the farmer and agrarian thinker, Eto Tekirei – now forgotten, but widely celebrated at the time – from Japan's defeated North. In stark contrast to the dominant ideological association of farming with the Japanese nation-state and its civilisation discourse, Tekirei envisioned farming outside of the state construct. Tekirei's non-exploitative agrarian practices and his symbiotic view of the human-natural world liberated humans, nature, and agriculture from the Western modern temporality endorsed by the Japanese state. Nature infused in him a symbiotic vision of the world that was neither divisible nor indivisible and enabled a holistic liberation of farmers' everyday lives from the nation-state. His farming practices were free of the conservatism, traditionalism, and nativism conventionally associated with agrarianism. Whereas farmers symbolised an antithesis to progress in the civilisation discourse, Tekirei redefined farmers as agents of progress for a symbiotic modern future.

'Defeat' in Japanese, *haiboku*, consists of two kanji characters: *hai* (indicating defeat) and *hoku/boku* (indicating north) – the defeated North. *Haiboku* originates from an ancient Chinese idea that the north signifies the ground where losers live. It was an ironic coincidence in modern Japanese history that the North became the defeated side of the Boshin Civil War. Tohoku lost the civil war, and through this, Tohoku lost

history. However, Ōsui's attempts to create his imagined ideal world did not end with the defeat – but were instead accelerated by it. Carol Gluck argues:

The nineteenth-century myths of progress, the Meiji dogmas of civilization, the political doctrines of constitutionalism, the social morality of success, the national and ethnic sense of being, “we, Japanese” – these generalities may have been as beguiling (and in the end as inescapable) as the more obvious elements of what was later called *tennōsei* [the imperial family system] ideology.⁶⁶

However, the following chapters will show the competing thoughts and actions of Ōsui and his comrades, whose philosophies escaped and resisted those ‘inescapable generalities’ of the nation-state. In so doing, they turned many of these concepts upside down; the ‘nineteenth-century myths of progress’ and the ‘Meiji dogmas of civilization’ became retrogressive, and the ‘national and ethnic sense of being, “we, Japanese”’ and the ‘*tennōsei* ideology’ as Japan’s morally unifying institution were displaced and overwritten by a symbiotic characterisation of human progress that transcended national boundaries. Tracing the intellectual trajectory of Ōsui and his comrades holistically challenges the established concepts, methods, and meanings in the historical writing of modern Japan. By revealing the emergence of symbiotic modern phenomena, this thesis offers a competing approach to modern Japanese history outside of the state-endorsed ideological paradigm of Western modernity.

⁶⁶ Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 257.

CHAPTER 1

A Civil War Loser's Search for Universal Morals and the Transnational Brotherhood in the Late Nineteenth-Century United States

In November 1983, Ronald Reagan made a historic speech in the Japanese Diet, the first American President to do so:

Being a Californian I have seen many miracles hardworking Japanese have brought to our shores. In 1865 a young Samurai student, Kanaye Nagasawa, left Japan to learn what made the West economically strong and technologically advanced. Ten years later he founded a small winery at Santa Rosa, California, called the Fountaingrove Round Barn and Winery. Soon he became known as the grape king of California. Nagasawa came to California to learn and stayed to enrich our lives. Both our countries owe much to this Japanese warrior-turned-businessman.¹

Reagan selected the Fountaingrove winery as an example of the 'miracles' brought to the United States by Japanese immigrants. However, what Reagan completely omitted from this particular story was that the community's original religious and intellectual vision of world reform behind their winemaking stood in opposition to the Western modern ideology of civilisation and progress. It was this religious-agrarian community in the US countryside where Arai Ōsui relocated shortly after the Boshin Civil War and ended up living for nearly three decades in the late nineteenth

¹ Ronald Reagan, 'Address Before the Japanese Diet in Tokyo', 11 November 1983, *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/111183a.

century. The America that Ōsui and a group of Japanese samurai encountered and wished to settle in was not the typical ‘modern’, scientific, rational, and Protestant country that we may associate with the time. Instead, in the heart of rural America, this group practised a radically different moral-religious idea that saw God as both male and female. The samurai and their comrades did not take up the hoe to be exploited by the capitalist modernity of the West but to challenge it.

This chapter examines Ōsui’s early exploration of moral-religious thoughts by first situating him in the defeated ground of the Boshin Civil War and ultimately in the Brotherhood of the New Life – the aforementioned religious-agrarian community where he resided for twenty-eight years. The Brotherhood was a mixed-race religious and agrarian community established by Thomas Lake Harris (1823–1906), who was – in the words of the American philosopher and psychologist, William James (1842–1910) – the ‘best known American mystic’.² Emerging in response to a socio-political and moral crisis in Euro-America and Japan, the Brotherhood network sought to revolutionise the course of civilisational progress at the universal scale through the practice of everyday labour, including winemaking, as a direct manifestation of their moral-religious worldview.

Reagan was by no means the only statesman to champion the Western modern

² William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 12. Even novelist Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) and poet Walt Whitman (1819–92) read and studied Harris’s writings. Joshua Paddison, ‘Disorderly Doctrines: Religion, Race, and the Fountaingrove Sex Scandal of 1891–1892’, *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 4 (2015): 479.

teleological view of progress. Such a view of civilisational progress has permeated our historiography. This applies not only to the traditional fields of historical studies, such as national and international history, but also to more recent fields, such as transnational history. Transnational history examines the ideas, practices, and institutions that transcend national boundaries in an attempt to overcome the confines of nation-state frameworks and national history.³ Nevertheless, most transnational historical studies – as well as many others in different modern history subfields – have, consciously or unconsciously, held up the understanding of ‘civilisation’ synonymous with the construction of socio-economically, technologically, and militarily ‘advanced’ nation-states led by Euro-American powers, as the universal teleological definition of progress. Associated with this dominant mode of historical writing tied to the Western civilisational ideology of the nation-state, our history has erased many ideas, actions, and reactions that have fallen outside of the ideological paradigm, including the Brotherhood community.⁴ Transnational history’s potential

³ Historians have discussed the emergence, development, and future direction of transnational history. See for example: C. A. Bayly et al., ‘AHR Conversation: On Transnational History’, *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–64; Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Akira Iriye, ‘The Transnational Turn’, *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 3 (2007), 373–76; Sheldon Garon, ‘Transnational History and Japan’s “Comparative Advantage”’, *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 43, no. 1 (2017): 65–92.

⁴ A few exceptional works that study the Brotherhood community include: Herbert Schneider and George Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim: Being the Incredible History of Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant; Their Sexual Mysticisms and Utopian Communities Amply Documented to Confound the Skeptic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); Gaye LeBaron and Bart Casey, *The Wonder Seekers of Fountaingrove* (Santa Rosa, California: Historia II, 2018); Slade, ‘Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris’. *A Prophet and a Pilgrim* (1942) covers some important primary sources, including the testimonies of former members and neighbours, and contains a collection of the community founder, Thomas Lake Harris’s writings and letters.

to overcome the teleological view of progress has been discussed in the literature.⁵ However, it has received scant empirical implementation.⁶

This chapter presents conceptually and methodologically a competing account of transnational history, detached from the Western modern ideology of civilisation. It showcases this by disclosing Ōsui and the Brotherhood's visions and practices of progress, which stood in opposition to this civilisational ideology. In doing so, it employs what I would refer to as a 'non-state transnational historical perspective', which challenges our universalising historiographical tendency tied to the Western modern discourse of civilisation and enables us to reveal their drive to achieve an alternate universal worldview. The 'non-state transnationality' in this perspective is interpreted in two senses: networks and ideas. Precisely, the non-state transnational perspective discloses not only a forgotten network comprising of Japanese, American, and British non-state actors but, more crucially, their shared vision of world reform that tried to defy and transcend the Western modern ideology of civilisation, in pursuit of a competing conception of universality. The 'transnationality' in this approach (and in this thesis as a whole) differs from, and would be invisible in, the study of modern transnational history that is bound by the framework of Japan vis-à-vis America, Asia vis-à-vis the West, or non-Western countries versus the West and its civilisational ideology; becoming Americanised was not the Brotherhood's aim.

⁵ Bayly et al., 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History'.

⁶ An exception to this would be Konishi's *Anarchist Modernity*.

Instead, the account of their non-state, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural encounters elucidate their firm desire to establish a new moral and ethical construct at the universal scale, unconstrained by racial, national, and gender hierarchies. This construct was founded on the interconnectedness of humanity as a whole and embraced and transcended differences under their ‘Mother-Father God’.

This chapter embraces this non-state transnational approach by foregrounding the defeated side of Japan’s civil war through Ōsui – the only Brotherhood member from the losing side – as a non-state transnational history of modern Japan. As the first section of this chapter will show, Ōsui’s search for universally applicable, egalitarian morals began first and foremost during the *bakumatsu* and the Boshin Civil War era. His search then continued into his moral-religious training at the Brotherhood, where, notably, the Boshin Civil War continued to play an important contextual role. The Boshin Civil War, generally discussed as a domestic incident in Japan, had an important historical meaning outside Japan at the Brotherhood – the community which attracted samurai from both sides of the war and manifested the civil war context in rural America. Precisely, this chapter shows, through its member Ōsui, that it was the hitherto understudied defeated side who continued to pursue the Brotherhood’s egalitarian ethos in opposition to the state-endorsed ideology of Western modernity and ultimately brought it back to Japan. Conversely, for his counterparts who won the civil war and contributed to Japan’s civilisational pursuit as renowned high-ranking officials of Meiji, the Brotherhood was simply a phase in

their early lives. Among the Brotherhood's Japanese members, Ōsui has been particularly absent in the historiography, in stark contrast to much attention and research conducted on those samurai on the victorious side who later served the Meiji state.⁷ Only through the scope of this defeated samurai, as an integral part of the non-state transnational approach, can we disclose further acts and thoughts of resistance against the Western modern narrative of civilisation, which led to the birth of a popular, anti-imperial, cultural-intellectual phenomenon in early twentieth-century Japan, which we will scrutinise in the following chapters.

Further showcasing what the non-state transnational historical approach does, this chapter particularly sheds light on the community's race and gender dimensions. I argue that this non-state transnational perspective illuminates their endeavour to free gender and race from hierarchical civilisational discourse. Accompanied by the emerging narrative of social Darwinism that provided justification for capitalist and imperialist pursuits, race came to occupy the ideological basis of civilisational discussion.⁸ The racialised discourse of progress was often gendered, and the

⁷ Indeed, there are no materials available in which Ōsui, in his own voice, explicates the details of his everyday life at the Brotherhood. Nevertheless, original letters, diaries, and publications written by his Brotherhood comrades, to which this chapter refers, give us a sense of the community's everyday life to which he was committed. On its Japanese members who later served the victorious Meiji state, see for example: John E. Van Sant, *Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850–80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Hayashi Takeji, *Mori Arinori: Higeiki e no Joshō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1986); Kadota Akira and Terry Jones, *Kariforunia no Shikon: Satsuma Ryūgakusei Nagasawa Kanae Shōden* (Tokyo: Honpō Shoseki, 1983); Andrew Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain: Japan's Early Search for the 'Essence of the West'* (Richmond: Japan Library, 2000).

⁸ A multitude of literature has been written on social Darwinism. In the Euro-American context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On the discussion of race and Meiji Japan, see Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan:*

hierarchical and bifurcated categories of male and female underlay the nineteenth-century logic of civilisation.⁹ This chapter reveals competing ideas and practices of race and gender at the Brotherhood. Their quest for racial equality offers a non-hierarchical meaning of race. Furthermore, their religious ideas and agrarian life under their ‘Mother-Father God’ not only challenged gender inequality and the roles of women but uprooted the bifurcation of men and women itself.

Transnational Search for Universal Morals in the Vanquished North

Ōsui was a highly educated samurai of the Sendai domain. Its domanical school, Yōkendō (‘The Hall of Nurturing Wisdom’), was a home of leading scholars renowned across the country, including Ōtsuki Bankei and Oka Senjin (1832–1913). Ōsui went through rigorous intellectual training at this school from the age of seven.¹⁰ He grew up to become one of the brightest students of Sendai; as the domain’s representative, Sendai sent him (in his early twenties) to study at the shogunate’s higher educational

Time, Space, Nation (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 79–109; Rotem Kowner, ‘Japan and the Rise of the Idea of Race: The Meiji Era Fusion of Foreign and Domestic Constructions’, in *Social Commentary on State and Society in Modern Japan*, ed. Yoneyuki Sugita (Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2016), 31–48; the special issue ‘Rethinking Race and Racism from Japanese Experiences’ in *Japanese Studies* (vol. 35, no. 1) in 2015; the special issue ‘Race and Empire in Meiji Japan’ in *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (vol. 18, no. 20) in 2020.

⁹ In US history, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995). In modern Japan, as we will see in Chapter 2, the gendered making of progress was accompanied by the state-led sloganeering of *ryōsai kenbo*, or ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’, to funnel women into supporting the patriarchal nation-state in the domestic sphere. See Shizuko Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’ in Modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Kathleen Uno, ‘Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations of “Good Wife, Wise Mother” before 1931’, in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, eds. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 493–519.

¹⁰ Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai, ed., *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 9, 9–10.

institution (Shōheizaka Gakumonjo). However, immediately after the collapse of the shogunate rule in the Boshin Civil War period, this hardworking samurai-intellectual radically deviated from the elite path; he began to study Orthodox Christianity – a strictly banned foreign teaching. He did so with the help of Ivan Dimitrovich Kasatkin (1836–1912), or ‘Father Nikolai’ of Russian Orthodoxy. Why did this bright samurai of Sendai, Ōsui, suddenly begin to study forbidden teachings, despite the fact that it could put his life in jeopardy? To solve this puzzle, first we must investigate both Ōsui’s educational background and the socio-political context of *bakumatsu* Japan.¹¹

Ōsui had been fully imbued with Western learning (*yōgaku*) since his childhood in Sendai. In the mainstream victors’ narrative of modern Japan, the promotion of Western learning has often been associated with southwestern Satsuma and Chōshū’s domanical education (*hankō kyōiku*). However, Sendai in northern Japan was, in fact, a pioneer of Dutch medical studies in late-Tokugawa Japan. The Sendai domain was the first in Japan to establish the Faculty of Dutch medicine (*ranpōka*, 1822) in the Sendai School of Medicine (*igakukan*).¹² This was founded alongside the Faculty of Dutch Studies (*rangakukata*, 1821) that the Sendai domain had already established in

¹¹ Here, I will explain an overview of his educational background and the socio-political context of *bakumatsu* Japan. I intend to further explicate Ōsui’s life trajectory in the *bakumatsu* era, particularly more on the contents of education he received and his thoughts emerging from it, in my future work. This will further clarify the earlier process in which the ideas leading to symbiotic modernity was formulated.

¹² See Wang Yibing, ‘Sendai Han ni okeru Rangaku no Hossoku to Ōtsuki Gentaku, Heisen, Hotta Masaatsu’, *Kokusai Bunka Kenkyū* 23 (2017): 107. Each *han* (domain) functioned as a quasi-state with a diversity of industrial, cultural, and educational characteristics. During the age of the shogunate’s isolationism, the Dutch was an exceptional counterpart with which the Japanese were allowed to communicate (albeit in an extremely restrictive manner), and through whom they acquired new knowledge from the West.

Yōkendō.¹³ Half a century before Ōsui's birth, Sendai had already produced one of Tokugawa Japan's most renowned scholars of Dutch medicine and language, Ōtsuki Gentaku.¹⁴ Gentaku is known to have reconceived nature as the first principle of knowledge and, based on his observation, advocated for the equality and universality of the human body regardless of racial differences.¹⁵ In addition to this distinctive tradition in Dutch studies, another characteristic of the Sendai school's curriculum was Russian studies (*rogaku*). Sendai was the first and only domain across Japan that had ever taught Russian studies in the mid-nineteenth century. Sendai is geographically close to Russia. The domain was attentive to Russian colonial threats and saw it crucial and urgent to study Russian language, science, and technology.¹⁶

This Sendai school's educational context coincided with the socio-political context of *bakumatsu* Japan in the 1850s–60s. It was a time of socio-political turmoil, as an entanglement of both internal and external factors. Externally, epitomised by US Commodore Perry's 'black ships', the arrival of the technologically advanced Euro-American powers to Japan's coast and their demand for 'Japan's Opening' seriously

¹³ For more on Yōkendō's curriculum, see Monbushō, ed., *Nihon Kyōikushi Shiryō* 1 (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1892), 697.

¹⁴ Gentaku was the father of Ōtsuki Bankei, Ōsui's teacher in Chinese classics at Yōkendō.

¹⁵ For more details on Dutch medical knowledge and implications of Dutch studies in *bakumatsu* Japan, see Sho Konishi, 'The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross', *The American Historical Review* 119, no. 4 (2014): 1129–53; Lewis Bremner, 'The Magic Lantern as a Lens for Observing the Eye in Tokugawa Japan: Technology, Translation, and the Rangaku Movement', *Modern Asian Studies* 54, no. 3 (2020): 691–729.

¹⁶ Yōkendō held Russian-written publications, which were mostly textbooks for Russian Imperial Navy schools. The textbooks covered such genres as marine navigation and surveying, astronomy for marine navigation, geometry, and physics. Iwai Noriyuki, 'Bakumatsu Sendai Han ni okeru Roshigaku Kenkyū no Kaishi to Sono Tenkai', *Meiji Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyūjō Kiyō* 81 (2017): 104–5.

threatened its security and independence for the first time in 250 years of relative peace under the shogunate. Internally, not only a series of political rivalry and strife, including the assassination of the shogun's chief senior councillor Ii Naosuke (1815–60), shook the shogunate's high politics; but also among commoners, their everyday life would have been felt radically different and wearing. This was due to: soaring prices; devaluation; heavy taxation; economic disparity; poverty; bankruptcy; high crime rates; earthquakes; droughts; floods; poor harvests; fires; and cholera and measles epidemics. Living through these difficult and unjust times, many contemporaries were discontent with their everyday life. These circumstances resulted in numerous protests, uprisings, and the call for social and economic justice.

The socio-political turmoil of the *bakumatsu* era ultimately led to the outbreak of the Boshin Civil War, in which Ōsui was deeply embroiled. Ōsui's compatriot, Takaya Chū (1840–1905), recounted that '[t]he man called Arai Tsunenoshin [Ōsui] was in charge of civil and literary affairs (*bunji*) in the Sendai corps, similar to Mr Ōtsuki Bankei'.¹⁷ On a par with Ōtsuki Bankei, a renowned Sendai scholar who was much his senior, young Ōsui was responsible for intellectually leading the Sendai domain. Together with a few other Sendai samurai such as Tamamushi Sadayū (1823–69) and Wakō Bunjūrō (1842–69), Sendai dispatched Ōsui to the Aizu and Yonezawa domains in the North as the domain's official envoy.¹⁸ Under the leadership of Sendai samurai,

¹⁷ Takaya Chū, 'Mukashi o Towarete', quoted in Kudō Shōzō, 'Arai Ōsui Sensei Goshoku, Seigo, Hoi', in *Arai Ōsui Sensei*, 5.

¹⁸ Kudō, 'Arai Ōsui Sensei Goshoku, Seigo, Hoi', 4.

the *Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei* (Northern Alliance) – a coalition of thirty-one northern domains – was established in 1868. Through the alliance, the Northern domains collectively stood up against the Satsuma and Chōshū domains of the Southwest that led the new Meiji government.

Even after the official surrender of the Northern domains, Ōsui continued resisting the Satsuma-Chōshū clique. He did so with the shogunate's army and navy officers and *shishi* (politically charged revolutionary samurai) from Northern domains. Roughly 3,000 revolutionaries (including Ōsui) gathered at Hakodate in the southern edge of the northern island Ezo (present Hokkaido), and this became the final battle of the Boshin Civil War.¹⁹

However, as the defeat of the Northern revolutionaries seemed virtually inescapable, Ōsui was faced with a harsh reality and consequence of the war – the victors became heroes, and the defeated were made into villains. The Meiji state began to punish Northern revolutionaries in the process of forging a new Japanese nation-state. The sanctions ranged from exile in barren lands in the far north to incarceration and, at worst, capital punishment. Ōsui's teacher at the Sendai domanical school, Ōtsuki Bankei was arrested and incarcerated as a ringleader of the

¹⁹ Hakodate Shishi Hensanshitsu, ed., *Hakodate Shishi Tsūsetsuhen*, vol. 2 (Hakodate: Hakodate City, 1990), 231. Ezo was considered as an ideal island for Northern rebels to establish a new polity – sometimes referred to as the Republic of Ezo (*Ezo Kyōwakoku*). This was not only because the island had been partly under the shogunate's control (and the Sendai domain had been ordained to guard parts of the island since 1807); but also because it located 1,000 miles away from Satsuma and Chōshū in the southwest, almost the opposite end of the archipelago. Fuji Kazuya, *Reimeiki no Sendai Kirisutokyō: Bōkeisha no Keifu* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha, 1985), 58.

civil war. Even worse, Ōsui's close Sendai colleagues Tamamushi Sadayū and Wakō Bunjūrō were caught and forced to commit *seppuku* (almost synonymous with capital punishment).²⁰ Similarly, as a crucial young samurai of Sendai, Ōsui was in serious danger as a wanted criminal of the Northern forces. It was a 'miracle' that he managed to escape capture and survived.

The severe socio-political disarray, which continued from the *bakumatsu* to the civil war era, proved that the existing institutions and faiths were malfunctioning. Indeed, as the Sendai Orthodox Church's historical record tells us, it was during this turmoil of the civil war that Ōsui urged, '[w]e must have a teaching (*hō*) that can deal with this time'.²¹ As a highly educated samurai, observing the fall of the shogunate's neo-Confucian system that was unable to respond to the mass cry effectively, Ōsui likely embraced a firm determination and responsibility to find new moral teachings to guide through the crises. In doing so, Ōsui told his Sendai samurai compatriots that '[we] must pursue the way that is morally perfect across the globe (*sekaiteki ni kanzen naru michi*)'.²² Ōsui began to search for a new moral teaching that would function, not only in and for Japan, but globally; something which may have partially reflected his background in the Sendai school's education system that promoted the learning of

²⁰ Kudō, 'Arai Ōsui Sensei Goshoku, Seigo, Hoi', 4.

²¹ Sasagawa, ed., *Sendai Kirisuto Seikyōkai Sōritsu Gojishūnen Kinen*, 1. The title would be translated as *The Commemorative Publication of the 50th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Orthodox Church in Sendai*. This private material was written and compiled by local church members in the early twentieth century and has been stored at the church since then. It documents the beginning of the Orthodox Church in Sendai.

²² *Ibid.*

foreign knowledge (through Dutch and Russian). Indeed, he emphasised that good aspects ought to be learned and applied even from the outside, and one ‘should not be content with the teaching of one country and one province’.²³

The best, universally applicable moral teaching Ōsui found was Orthodox Christianity. In the middle of the Boshin Civil War in Hakodate (by when the victory of the Northern revolutionaries appeared to be difficult), Ōsui was introduced to Father Nikolai, a Russian Orthodox missionary, by his Sendai compatriot. Nikolai was stationed in Hakodate following its opening to Western powers, and spoke fluent Japanese.²⁴ Going through the Sendai school of education, Ōsui would have had some knowledge of Russia but not Russian Orthodoxy. Ōsui discussed and learned the basics of Orthodoxy from Nikolai towards the end of the civil war.

Japan’s Orthodox Church’s record tells that Ōsui argued: ‘The Way [Orthodoxy], its sophistication is incomparable with Confucianism and Buddhism’ and is ‘the Righteous Way (*seidō*) that [one] should understand and acquire’.²⁵ This was because,

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Hakodate was one of Japan’s first ports that were opened outwards (*Kaikoku*) to major Western powers. After going through Orthodox education at St Petersburg Academy in Russia and being ordained a hieromonk (priest-monk), young twenty-five-year-old Nikolai arrived in Hakodate in 1861 to serve as a chaplain to the Russian consulate established after Hakodate’s diplomatic Opening. Nikolai’s interest in Japan began with his reading of *Memoirs of a Captivity in Japan*, which the Russian explorer and captain Vasilii Golovnin (1776–1831) wrote as a reflection of his two-year life in Japan in captivity in 1811–13. Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 81. Since the shogunate prohibited Christian missionary activities, Nikolai spent his early years in Japan studying the Japanese language, history, culture, and religion (including Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto). He became fluent in Japanese by the time he met Ōsui. Nikolai was later ordained the first Orthodox bishop of Japan (1880) and archbishop (1906). Charles Lock, ‘A Symphony of Concessions: Cables, Railroads, Orthodoxies in Harbin and Beyond’, in *Japan’s Russia: Challenging the East-West Paradigm*, eds. Olga Solovieva and Sho Konishi (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2020), 436.

²⁵ Ishikawa Kisaburō, *Nihon Seikyō Dendōshi*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Seikyō Henshūkyoku 1901), 57.

in Ōsui's view, Orthodoxy 'does not have a distinction between the noble and the commoner and between high and low'.²⁶ It was this non-hierarchical, egalitarian view of humanity, which he saw in Orthodoxy, that seems to have riveted him – he indeed admitted, he 'has mostly yielded to its teachings'.²⁷ While existing neo-Confucian institutions failed to offer a remedy to the suffering of ordinary people and samurai alike in *bakumatsu* and civil-war Japan, Orthodoxy and its egalitarian principle might offer a light at the end of the tunnel – not only for Japan and the Japanese, but as a universally applicable moral principle for humanity. We can infer that Ōsui therefore delved into egalitarian Orthodox teachings and attempted to morally restructure the unjust world from scratch, despite the continued ban on Christianity and the severe risk to his life as a blacklisted 'criminal' rebelling against the Meiji state.²⁸

This was the beginning of Ōsui's lifelong pursuit of competing universal morals vis-à-vis the victorious Meiji state's pursuit of progress. Ōsui was never an anti-West figure and rather sought to work with Euro-American people. However, as we will see throughout this thesis, he stood in constant opposition to the Western modern mode

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. Three discussion sessions with Nikolai were enough to convince Ōsui that Orthodoxy and its egalitarian principle were the moral teachings needed for a new Japan and the world. Ibid., 52. Nikolai soon returned to Russia in preparation for formally organising a Japan mission society and came back to Japan in February 1871. The Russian Holy Synod officially established Japan's mission in 1871. This allowed Japan's Orthodox Christians to better access the funds.

²⁸ For the names of the blacklisted Sendai samurai (including Ōsui, his teachers, and friends who later converted to Orthodoxy), see Fujiwara Ainosuke, *Sendai Boshinshi* (Sendai: Arai Kappan Seizōsho, 1911; Yamaguchi: Matsuno Shobō, 2005), 919–20.

of civilisation and progress and the associated hierarchical views of human relationality – the vision which the Meiji state ultimately endorsed.

To many on the victors' side, Ōsui would have appeared extremely dangerous and threatening, particularly if they found out what he was trying to instigate in the vanquished North. Precisely when the Meiji state was working on building a new Japanese nation-state, Ōsui was secretly recruiting comrades for Orthodox studies, strictly outside of the Meiji state's establishment of Shinto national morals in the name of the emperor. Despite the still-ongoing surveillance of 'Northern criminals', in 1870, Ōsui successfully brought eight young Sendai samurai to postwar Hakodate, who – in the words of their fellow Orthodox convert, Sawabe Takuma (1835–1913) – 'have had a hope of revolutionising the time (*kaiten no shibō*) from the beginning'.²⁹ These young Sendai *shishi* recruited by Ōsui included Ono Sōgorō (1841–1907), Sasagawa Sadakichi (1848–1912), Kageta Magoichirō (1837–1912), and Takaya Chū. They sold their chattels to cover travel expenses to Hakodate, and together they studied, debated, and created a new body of Orthodoxy in Japan with the support of

²⁹ Ishikawa, *Nihon Seikyō Dendōshi*, vol. 1, 64. Indeed, the Sendai samurai's initial motivations for Orthodox studies were as diverse as 'we shall restore the dying country (*bōkoku*)'; 'we must unify people's minds with Western religion'; 'if we wish to deal with state affairs, we must have the knowledge of civilisation, and thus, we must interact with foreigners and pursue their studies, and through this, make a business and reputation'; and even 'taking it as an opportunity, travel to Russia and convey the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, which we have been studying, to European people and evangelise them'. *Ibid.*, 66–7. Nevertheless, many of their concerns seem to have lain in how to reform and create a new Japan after the turmoil of the *bakumatsu* and civil war times. Sawabe was a cousin of Tosa's heroic samurai Sakamoto Ryōma (1836–67). Ōsui was introduced to Sawabe by Kannari Zenzaemon (1838–1915), a Sendai samurai and Ōsui's friend, at Hakodate during the wartime. Ōsui had studied the Bible with Sawabe before he was introduced to Nikolai.

Nikolai.³⁰ Through the work of the Northern samurai recruited by Ōsui, the vanquished North – particularly Sendai and Hakodate – became a hub of Orthodox Christianity in modern Japan. While these defeated samurai were once persecuted and incarcerated by the Meiji state for the crime of propagating the prohibited faith,³¹ they became the leading priests of Japan's Orthodox Church, which counted as many as 32,000 adherents by 1910.³²

Ōsui, however, did not stay long in this Orthodox circle. His encounter with Orthodoxy was only the beginning of his lifelong exploration into creating a new, egalitarian moral construct that would work perfectly and universally – an exploration that continued into a second phase at the Brotherhood community, rural America. In the meantime, his Orthodox Christian samurai compatriots played a leading role in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū Minken Undō*) in the defeated North, accompanied by a call for democracy and the criticism of the

³⁰ Ibid., 69. Ōsui and his Sendai comrades read and discussed Orthodox teachings based on *Tōkyō Shūkan* (1863) – an Orthodox catechism published in Beijing and translated from Russian to Chinese by Gury Karpov (1814–82) of the Beijing Mission Company. Ibid., 70–1. On *Tōkyō Shūkan*, see Fuji, *Reimeiki no Sendai Kirisutokyō*, 74–9. Indeed, it was not about implanting Russian ethics to Japan; instead, subjectivity in this moral-making was on the Japanese side, who learned from Russian Orthodoxy to invent morals for a new Japan. Based on Nikolai's belief that the Japanese church ought to be managed by the Japanese, not by Russians, the Orthodox Church in Japan was served by Japanese priests, particularly former Sendai samurai. One of a few exceptions to this was Nikolai.

³¹ Ono, Takaya, and Sasagawa moved from Hakodate to Sendai and started Orthodox missions in 1871–2. They set up four lecture rooms there, for which more than a hundred people came. Soon in the winter of 1872, the Meiji state persecuted, arrested, and incarcerated the Japanese Orthodox missionaries in Sendai. Iwama Masamitsu, *Sendai Kyōkai no Ayumi* (Sendai: Sendai Harisutosu Seikyōkai, 1982), 2.

³² Beginning with slightly over 100 (mostly Sendai people) in 1871, the number of Japanese Orthodox adherents grew steadily, particularly after an anti-Christian edict was lifted in 1873: 7,611 in 1882, 17,614 in 1890, 25,994 in 1900, and 32,000 in 1910. Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids, Mich: W. B. Eerdmans Pub., 1971), 350.

oligarchy of victorious statesmen. Certainly, the Sendai domain (like any other domains, societies, or communities) was not a monolithic entity and involved different visions among its samurai. Nevertheless, from the idea of human equality in Gentaku's Dutch medical studies to Orthodox Christianity's egalitarian ideals and the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, we can identify a distinctive cultural trend of the Sendai school: wherein various Sendai samurai pursued widely applicable and anti-hierarchical visions of humanity in their own way. Absorbing this distinctive culture and surviving through the crisis of *bakumatsu* and the civil war, Ōsui moved on to further pursue the vision of egalitarian human morals in the US countryside.

Japanese Samurai's Unexpected Encounter with an Emerging Counterculture in the US

Countryside

Ōsui travelled to the Brotherhood of the New Life in 1871 with the support of Mori Arinori (1847–89), a former member of the community from Satsuma. Mori was one of the first six Satsuma samurai who joined the Brotherhood in 1867, along with Yoshida Kiyonari (1845–91), Sameshima Naonobu (1845–80), Nagasawa Kanaye (1852–1934), Hatakeyama Yoshinari (1843–1876), and Matsumura Junzō (1842–1919). Mori and his five compatriots had previously been part of the Satsuma domain's secret mission to Britain in 1865 to study its advanced technology and military for Japan's

civilisational development.³³ Nevertheless, after experiencing Japan's socio-political renewal and observing in London, according to his and his countrymen's words, 'the nature of Europe and America', in which 'they completely forget the Way (*michi*) in pursuing personal profits, seize other states and islands, and befriend with the strong while refusing the weak',³⁴ Mori seems to have been through a radical conversion to the Brotherhood's egalitarian teachings.³⁵ While the details of why Ōsui joined the Brotherhood through Mori remain unclear, we ought not to see it as an accident that Ōsui, like Mori before him, relocated to rural America. Ōsui sought new moral ideas through Orthodox Christianity at a turbulent, unjust time of *bakumatsu* and civil-war Japan, because of the principle of egalitarianism he saw in its teachings. This egalitarianism, as we will see, was precisely what Ōsui would witness and further develop at the Brotherhood in rural America. We can infer that, amid the socio-political and moral crisis and the urgent calls for social justice both domestically and abroad, both samurai were seriously exploring a new moral code founded on the egalitarian principle of human relationality.

Notably, while nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries were sent across the

³³ After the Anglo-Satsuma War (1863) that showcased Britain's advanced militaristic and technological power, the Satsuma domain drastically shifted its political stance from *Jōi* ('Expel the Barbarians') to *Kaikoku* ('Opening the Country').

³⁴ Kōshaku Shimazuke Hensanjo, ed., *Sappan Kaigun Shi, Chū* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1968), 980. This phrase appeared in a proposal to the Satsuma domain co-authored by Mori and four other Satsuma samurai in the summer of 1867, all of whom soon after joined the Brotherhood.

³⁵ Harris even proposed the Satsuma students, faced with financial difficulty at the time, to offer material and financial support at the Brotherhood so that they could continue their tertiary education. Kadota and Jones, *Karifornia no Shikon*, 87. The financial incentive might also work favourably for (some of) their decision to join the community.

globe, the forgotten Brotherhood community had a far more global mindset than historians have ever imagined. The Brotherhood's mission was non-institutionalised, sporadic, and involved people from many countries, such as Americans, British, Japanese, Swiss, Tamil Indians, and Russian Mennonites. They constituted the global movement of the Brotherhood across various actual and potential sites of extended operation, such as the US, Britain, Mauritius, India, and Australia. In Britain, for example, the Department of Great Britain of the Brotherhood of the New Life (est. 1885) published the founder Harris's writings.³⁶ In Mauritius, the French-speaking Swiss missionary, François Louis Bugnion (1822–1880) learned about the Brotherhood and taught its teachings to 'men of all classes and countries,' including 'congregations of men from Madagascar'.³⁷ Bugnion relocated to Madras (present Chennai, Tamil Nadu) in India in the mid-1860s, where he propagated the Brotherhood's teachings using Tamil translation and allegedly attracted the attention of many locals – leading to the establishment of the Brotherhood of the New Life community there in March 1875.³⁸ The Brotherhood community (the one in the US)

³⁶ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 459, 464–65. Its Scottish branch seems to have survived until the 1920s. Slade, 'Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris', 191.

³⁷ Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 5 April [no year], in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 204. Laurence Oliphant (1829–88), as we will see later, was one of the closest followers of Harris. His letters to Cowper between 1867 and 1877 are accessible at the archival collection Harris-Oliphant Papers, 1867–1940 in Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. Some of the letters are reprinted in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*. Located in the southeast of the African continent, Mauritius was under British colonisation, and its major population group was Indian indentured labourers (60 per cent). James Urry and Victor G. Wiebe, 'Bishop Bugnion, the Mennonites and Australia: The Immigration-That-Never-Was, 1873–1880', *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 32 (2014): 176.

³⁸ Oliphant to Cowper, 5 April [no year], in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 204; 'Bugnion, François Louis (1822–1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1969, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bugnionfrancois-louis->

was praised in India's local English-language newspaper, the *Madras Mail*: 'A perfect social equality is enjoined between all the members of this strange community, who all work at the same tasks and enjoy the same privileges'.³⁹



Figure 1. The Map of the Brotherhood's Global Reach. The dark coloured pins indicate the locations where the people and/or land were part of the extended Brotherhood movement. The light coloured pins indicate the locations to which the movement planned (but ultimately failed) to expand.

The American countryside – where Ōsui and other Japanese samurai resided – was the movement's centre and place of birth. The founder, Thomas Lake Harris, established the Brotherhood of the New Life community in the small village of Wassaic (Dutchess County, New York) in 1861, which later moved to Amenia (1863) and Brocton (1867) in rural New York, before relocating to Fountaingrove, Santa Rosa (1875) in California. The Brotherhood originated as an urgent response to a moral and

3106/text4613. Bugnion further made two attempts (albeit failed) in the late 1870s; he tried to establish a Brotherhood community in North Australia, inviting his followers from India, America, and Mauritius, as well as 40,000 Russian Mennonites – a Christian minority group in opposition to mainstream Christianity and its ideological products, including war and conscription. We shall note, however, that Bugnion was at times self-contradictory to himself and the Brotherhood's ethos, accompanied by racist remarks against the inflow of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to Australia. *Ibid.*; Urry and Wiebe, 'Bishop Bugnion, the Mennonites and Australia'.

³⁹ 'Occasional Notes', *The Madras Mail*, 5 July 1869.

socio-economic crisis in Euro-America. It was the product of capitalistic and materialistic development, a situation which the group's founder Harris felt had to be cured immediately. This urge manifested itself in the form of various socialist organisations and religious movements by those dissatisfied with contemporary Christianity. The religious movements echoed the cries of socialist movements and social reformism in nineteenth-century America and, as with Harris, occasionally led to the pursuit of a commune/community that sought to establish a new social order. New York in particular, where Harris was raised and the Brotherhood originated, had been a key base of such emerging social and religious movements since the Antebellum period of the 1830s–40s. For Harris, the outbreak of the American Civil War further strengthened a sense of moral conviction that the war would ignite a spiritual revolution leading to the improvement of working-class living conditions.⁴⁰ Accordingly, he deemed this the perfect time to establish a new community and reaffirm his role as the man to lead the world into a new order. Therefore, the Brotherhood was not intended to be a small religious sect, but rather a movement capable of healing society from capitalist modernity at the universal scale – a movement which, much like Noah's Ark, would navigate through crisis to reach a new age.⁴¹

⁴⁰ John S. Haller, Jr, *Distant Voices: Sketches of a Swedenborgian Worldview* (London: The Swedenborg Society, 2017), 96–7.

⁴¹ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, xv, 48; Ivan Parker Hall, *Mori Arinori*, reprint edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 123.

This sense of urgency resonated transnationally with Japan's plight during the *bakumatsu* and *Ishin* times through the Brotherhood. Indeed, Ōsui's entry signalled the meeting of two civil war contexts outside of state diplomacy. Japanese samurai were vital members of the Brotherhood, together forming a mixed-race religious and agricultural community unusual in nineteenth-century America. The Brocton community numbered between seventy-five and one hundred members who originated primarily from England, Scotland, Japan, and different regions in the US.⁴² As well as Ōsui from Sendai, the members included a total of thirteen samurai from Satsuma, including Mori, who resided in the community in 1867.⁴³ The Brotherhood was also keen on recruiting more from Chōshū and Tosa domains, as well as from the official Tokugawa shogunate's student group in Britain.⁴⁴

Living through a time when ideas surrounding what civilisation should mean to Japan were yet unsettled during the turbulent final years of the shogunate era, some of these Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and shogunate samurai seemed to listen openly to the Brotherhood's teachings in search of new ideas that would benefit Japan. These

⁴² Many of these members, except for the samurai, seemed to have originally been Baptists who converted to the Brotherhood's teachings. The Americans were more likely from the Southern states, who became friends or admirers of Harris during his travels due in large part to his opposition to slavery. Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 147–50.

⁴³ Other Satsuma samurai members included Tanimoto Hyōemon (1845–1910), Nomura Ichisuke, Enatsu Sōsuke (1831–70), Nire Kagenori (1831–1900), and Yuchi Sadamoto (1843–1928). Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 29 September 1867, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 124–27, 238–39.

⁴⁴ Yūki Yukiyasu of the Tosa domain joined the Brotherhood but left within a week. This was after eight out of the twelve Satsuma samurai members had left the community. Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 6 November 1868, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 206. Harris also met the representatives of Satsuma at the *Exposition Universelle* in France, including Iwashita Michihira (1827–1900), Ichiki Masakiyo (1822–74), and Nomura Sōshichi (1831–73), as well as shogunate students in London. Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain*, 115.

samurai (primarily students in London) were acquainted with the Brotherhood through Laurence Oliphant – once a British diplomat to Tokugawa Japan – who was disillusioned with party politics and abandoned his successful political career (as a diplomat and parliamentarian) to join the Brotherhood in 1867.⁴⁵ Oliphant wrote joyfully that Minami Teisuke (1847–1915) of the Chōshū domain – a cousin of Chōshū's charismatic samurai Takasugi Shinsaku (1839–67) – returned to Japan with an aim of convincing the 'Prince' of Chōshū to join the Brotherhood.⁴⁶ Oliphant also claimed that the shogunate's student Fukuzawa Einosuke (1847–1900) – a younger brother of Fukuzawa Yukichi, Meiji's influential educator – 'has entirely accepted this [Brotherhood] life, and is striving to get to us'.⁴⁷ Oliphant continued: Fukuzawa's supervisors in Britain, Kawaji Tarō (Kandō, 1844–1927) and Nakamura Masanao (1832–91), 'appeared much impressed and listened attentively but they afterwards told Fukuzawa that no doubt we were very good people and that all that we said was true and that Faithful [i.e., Harris] must be a very great teacher, but that there was no use in going to him as he was struggling after the impossible'.⁴⁸ Yoshida and Sameshima of Satsuma seem to have been particularly impressed by meeting Harris in person, to

⁴⁵ See Laurence Oliphant, *Episodes in a Life of Adventure: Or, Moss from a Rolling Stone* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 342–3. Oliphant made frequent references to Japanese students from Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and the shogunate in his letters to Cowper between 1867 and 1877. Oliphant travelled worldwide from India and Nepal to Canada, Russia, China, as well as to Japan in 1858 and 1861 as a British diplomatic official.

⁴⁶ Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 26 November 1867, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 232.

⁴⁷ Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 1 December 1867, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 228.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

the extent that, in the words of the British parliamentarian John Bright, ‘one of them shed tears from the effect produced upon him’.⁴⁹ While Oliphant and Harris ultimately failed at many of these attempts, their attempts themselves indicate an ambitious scale of the Brotherhood’s world reform, for which the cooperation of the young Japanese samurai was deemed to be essential.

The Brotherhood’s interest in Japan was tied to Harris’s belief that the construction of a new world order shall include the people of Asia where major Christian teachings had a limited reach.⁵⁰ Proposing *A Prophecy of Japan*, Harris argued that the country would, through its socio-political crisis, be reborn under a *daimyō* (feudal lord) who would be ‘drilling himself as a soldier, setting aside all luxury and devoting all his means and power to the good of the people’.⁵¹ This leader could unite the young Japanese and thereby establish the Brotherhood of the New Life in Japan under the motto, ‘Christ for Japan’.⁵² In particular, ‘[t]he hope of Japan is in the young men. The old feudal system of Japan is rotten at the heart and very weak’, said Harris.⁵³ He considered it urgent to train the young promising Japanese, who would then return

⁴⁹ See John Bright, *The Diaries of John Bright* (London; Toronto: Cassell, 1930), 305–6.

⁵⁰ Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 101.

⁵¹ Thomas Lake Harris, *A Prophecy of Japan*, 2 July 1857 [1867], Box 21, Harris-Oliphant Papers, 1867–1940, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, 3. Although *A Prophecy of Japan* is dated 2 July 1857, it is likely a typo; given the timing of Harris’s encounter with the Japanese samurai, it is presumably 2 July 1867. Hasegawa Seiichi, *Mori Arinori ni Okeru Kokuminteki Shutai no Sōshutsu* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), 94.

⁵² Harris, *A Prophecy of Japan*, 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

to Japan to embark on their global revolutionary movement.⁵⁴

Reinventing Gender and Racial Relations

While Martin Luther and many Protestants upheld *sola fide*, or salvation solely by faith, as their key Christian principle, the Brotherhood emphasised the everyday practice of hard labour as a way to exterminate selfishness and consequently birth a new society. Borrowing the concept of the Swedish scientist and theologian, Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the Brotherhood called their everyday labour the ‘Use’.⁵⁵ This refers to every action undertaken for the sake of others. Brotherhood members, who initially behaved morally through thought, began instead to do good for others without and before thinking.⁵⁶ The members’ everyday life involved many hours of hard labour, the Use, ranging from farming and wine production to cleaning and other daily chores, all without pay.⁵⁷ Most members were from the upper social classes,

⁵⁴ Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 102.

⁵⁵ Spiritualism, including that of Swedenborg, had become a popular topic of debate in Europe and North America by the mid-1850s. Haller, *Distant Voices*, 83. As a youth, Harris was inspired by various religious teachings, including Christian Universalism, Andrew Jackson Davis (1826–1910), and importantly, Swedenborgianism. For more details, see Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*; Arthur Versluis, ‘Spiritualism and the American Swedenborgian Current’, in *Handbook of Spiritualism and Channeling*, ed. Cathy Gutierrez (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 40–55. Orthodox Swedenborgians, however, rejected Harris as heretical to their beliefs. Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 97.

⁵⁶ Senoue Masahito, ‘Suwēdenborugu Shingaku kara Mita Arai Ōsui no Shisō’, in *Shirarezaru Inochi no Shisōka: Arai Ōsui o Yomitoku*, 252–3.

⁵⁷ Nagasawa Kanaye, ‘Nagasawa Kanaye Eibun Nikki (3)’, transl. Kadota Akira, *Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo Nenpō 27*, (1998): 45–52. The Brotherhood at Brocton tried multiple agriculture-related projects, including vineyards, a wine shop, steam mill, nursery, and greenhouses. The members’ Use varied depending on God’s will (delivered via Harris) and could be practised at the community site or abroad. ‘The Community of Salem-on-Erie’, *Every Saturday*, 5 August 1871. In addition to the Use, Harris and his followers believed that a yoga-like practice of deep breathing, ‘divine respiration’ (also called ‘open breathing’, ‘open respiration’, and ‘internal respiration’), was one of the key methods with

including an agriculturist, a cotton plantation owner, a wine expert, a physician, a parliamentarian, and a Baptist minister, in addition to the Japanese members who were all from the samurai class.⁵⁸ However, their elite backgrounds were of no consequence to community life, where they wore farming clothes and led a self-sufficient life through the Use, growing vegetables and rearing cattle.⁵⁹ Indeed, we can see the sincerity of their egalitarian beliefs in the fact that the members willingly relinquished their class, status, and – if one was fortunate enough to have it – wealth to join the Brotherhood, often donating all of their property to the community. Nagasawa – known as a child prodigy for his academic excellence while in Satsuma – had a radical shift from the former life and began to take care of cattle and milking at the Brotherhood.⁶⁰ Similarly, Mori baked bread, cooked, and did laundry – all unthinkable tasks for the elite samurai.⁶¹

This routine work, the Use, served to connect Brotherhood members with God and allowed them to express their religiosity. Ōsui explains:

Except for the farmer we have no corn; except for the baker we have no bread; and except for the cordwainer no shoe. Without eating, without wearing, even the preacher cannot preach, nor worship the Beautiful Life. The practical farmer holding the Bible of the plow in the corn-field, his church, preaches his sermon; the practical baker kneeling humbly before the oven, his altar, reads the gospel of feeding. Setting the needle and thread in motion, a good woman

which to reach out to the celestial sphere and commune with God. Furthermore, the Brotherhood offered social activities, including a gym, music bands, and singing lessons. Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 163–4.

⁵⁸ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 148–50.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶⁰ Kadota and Jones, *Karifornia no Shikon*, 92.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

offers her prayer, without counting beads or turning any praying-wheel, nay, without going to church. These people have common-sense, and they love the Lord well.⁶²

The lofty goal of world reform thus began with the small steps of daily chores and the associated reform of the inner self through labour. The Brotherhood's emphasis on the individual Use for world rectification stands in contrast to secular socialist movements; Joseph W. Slade points out, '[u]nlike the secular socialist, who believed that perfecting society would perfect man, Harris believed that society could be perfected only after man had perfected himself'.⁶³

Importantly, the Use was not only a moral code for everyday life but was also a notion that competed with the state-led hierarchical vision of progress. As well as referring to the everyday practice of hard labour, the Use simultaneously referred to the Brotherhood's fundamental ontological and epistemological principle that each organism created by God works for the benefit of other organisms.⁶⁴ Indeed, this mutual interdependency serves to make the whole universe one.⁶⁵ In the mutually

⁶² Arai Ōsui, *Inward Prayer and Fragments* (1896; Kyoto: Horii Printing House, 1941), reprinted in *Naikan Kitōroku, Ōsui Sensei no Omokage*, ed. Fukuda Atae and transl. Kudō Naotarō (Tokyo: Aoyamakan, 1984), 32.

⁶³ Slade, 'Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris', 185. Instead of secular socialism, Harris proposed what he called 'theo-socialism', in which individuals must 'nucleate' or cooperate around God in respective communities. Harris criticised Utopian and Marxian socialism. For Harris, utopian socialism (including Brook Farm, Robert Owen, and New England transcendentalists) and Swedenborgians failed due to their lack of understanding of economics and the industrial world. While Marxists may have understood them, their over-focus on these topics and foundation on the principle of class conflicts, not cooperation (as with the Brotherhood), would ultimately lead to failure. *Ibid.*, 207–8; Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 455–6.

⁶⁴ Senoue, 'Suwēdenborugu Shingaku', 252–3.

⁶⁵ Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 95–6. Brotherhood members referred to their community itself as the 'Use', functioning upon this worldview.

interconnected universe, the path to regeneration lies in the effort to maintain and restore harmony through working for others, not through prayer, repentance to priests, or ceaseless competitions in capitalist modernity.⁶⁶ Thus, the Use is inherently 'transnational' in that it emphasises the organic bonding of different human beings regardless of their nationality, race, class, or gender. It offered the Brotherhood members a moral and intellectual basis of progress liberated from Western modernity. The vision of a symbiotic and interdependent universe, as we will see below, frees gender and race from the hierarchical civilisational ideology.

The issues of marriage and sexuality were popular concerns in nineteenth-century American socio-religious communitarian movements.⁶⁷ The restructuring of gender relationships was an essential part of challenging the contemporary world order. From the Oneida Perfectionists and Mormons to the Shakers, various groups had attempted to promote gender equality and redefine contemporary gender roles and sexuality. The Oneida Community's female members, for example, enjoyed greater freedom than the average woman of the time in that they shared political and administrative power with male members. That said, it should be noted that its

⁶⁶ Robert C. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 51.

⁶⁷ On the emerging religious communitarian movements in nineteenth-century America and their unorthodox views of sex, gender, and marriage, see Jean Harvey Baker, 'Women in Utopia: The Nineteenth-Century Experience', in *Utopias, the American Experience*, eds. Gairdner Bostwick Moment and Otto F. Kraushaar (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980), 56–71; Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

founder, John Humphrey Noyes, was ideologically in support of male supremacy.

A critical difference in the Brotherhood's view of gender compared to most of these contemporary groups lies in the androgyny of their idea of God. This conception of a God which is both male and female deconstructs the male-dominant Western civilisation discourse. Christianity generally describes God as the Father. In contrast, God in the Brotherhood's teachings – the pinnacle of the symbiotic Use – is 'our Mother-Father' and '[m]ost gracious and merciful Lord-Lady, our Savior-Savioress'.⁶⁸ Mother-Father God (also called Father-Mother God, Lord-Lady, and Savior-Savioress) means that God encapsulates both sexes. Thus, God is 'Two-in-One' in their teachings. God is neither Father nor Mother, nor Father and Mother separately, but is both Father and Mother within the same form. For the Brotherhood, God by definition vouches for the equality of men and women in the interdependent universe.⁶⁹

Emerging from the Mother-Father God was the Brotherhood's attempt to overcome the binary structure of male-female. Men and women were expected to acquire both maleness and femaleness in one, as with God, by overcoming their given sex. Harris argues: 'The true priest, with open respiration, both to the mind and heart of the masculine and the feminine spirit, proves the bisexual quality of his inspiration by an equal comprehension of woman and man.'⁷⁰ The term 'bisexual' here does not

⁶⁸ Ōsui, *Inward Prayer and Fragments*, 1.

⁶⁹ The Shakers also believed God to be androgynous. However, for them, God's androgyny was embraced through a male Christ and a female Holy Spirit, and gave particular importance to the female side.

⁷⁰ Thomas Lake Harris, *Arcana of Christianity: An Unfolding of the Celestial Sense of the Divine Word, Through Thomas Lake Harris, Part III. – The Apocalypse* (New York and London: Brotherhood of the New Life, 1867),

indicate sexual orientation but instead refers broadly to masculinity and femininity in one. Indeed, we would do well to remember that the nineteenth-century context the Brotherhood operated in was a time before the concept of gender emerged as opposed to sex. Harris endeavoured to overcome the original sin of Adam and Eve and the male-female binary by regaining the other half (in his case, female):⁷¹ '[N]o person of either sex can love the Lord with all the heart, mind, soul and strength, without becoming both a will, an understanding, and a person, in whom conjugal love is tabernacle, enshrined, ensouled, and embodied'.⁷² Symbolised through the Mother-Father God, not a male God, the Brotherhood therefore rejected both the patriarchy and the bifurcation of man and woman itself.

This ideology was reflected in the members' Use. Although the details of each female member's everyday Use remains unknown, we can state that – in contrast to the persistent issue of unequal pay between men and women in capitalist modernity – there was no hierarchy in pay at the Brotherhood regardless of job types, sex, or race. There was no inequality in pay because there was no pay in the egalitarian ethos of the Use.⁷³ The Brotherhood's alternative view of gender was also reflected in their numbers, attracting female members despite the name Brotherhood. Among the 75–100 Brotherhood residents at Brocton, 60–70 were adults, of which 40–50 were

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⁷¹ LeBaron and Casey, *The Wonder Seekers of Fountaingrove*, xiv.

⁷² Harris, *Arcana of Christianity*, 236.

⁷³ Baker noted a similar practice in the Shakers' community. Baker, 'Women in Utopia', 61.

women.⁷⁴ These female members, together with their male counterparts, worked cooperatively in their daily labour, thereby transgressing and rectifying the hierarchical gender ideology of civilisation.

The everyday Use of the female members also deviated from the conventional norm of womanhood as wife and mother. In the quest for civilisational progress, there emerged an ever-widening division in gender roles: between men working outside and women taking care of the home and children. Unlike the mundane world of civilisation, however, the Brotherhood had a strict principle of celibacy. This principle differed also from the Mormons' practice of polygyny (which it denounced in 1890) and the Oneida Community's practice of 'complex marriage', which referred to group marriages in which sexual relations with multiple members were developed. Whereas a woman gave birth to six children on average in nineteenth-century America, Brotherhood women hardly ever bore children after they had joined the community.⁷⁵ While celibacy certainly restricted the members' sexual and reproductive rights, it also meant that these women were comparatively liberated from the traditional nineteenth-century role of wife and mother.⁷⁶ They were ordained to work for the Brotherhood community itself – and, by extension, the Mother-Father God and humanity as a whole – rather than dedicating themselves to family and household.

⁷⁴ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 147–8.

⁷⁵ Baker, 'Women in Utopia', 61.

⁷⁶ Baker discusses a similar implication of celibacy in the Shakers' context. *Ibid.*, 60–1.

As with gender, racial equality was an integral part of its world reform. In many nineteenth-century American socio-religious communitarian movements, members predominantly (if not entirely) consisted of white Americans. As explained by Lawrence Foster in his study of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons, they 'can be viewed as part of an effort to create a distinctive Anglo-American ethnicity'.⁷⁷ Conversely, the Brotherhood was a mixed-race community. The vision of racial equality was promoted through the Use, in which, at Harris's discretion, the members performed their daily chores, even 'dirty' ones, regardless of their race, ethnicity, and nationality. Many members would have to work in unfamiliar and/or uncomfortable fields for their moral and spiritual training (although it was only possible with the help of workers hired from outside).⁷⁸ In the realm of agriculture in nineteenth-century America, field workers were often divided based on racial lines, and the heavier work typically fell to non-white labourers. However, even Laurence Oliphant, former British diplomat and parliamentarian, was not exempt from labour at the community. To purify the 'sins' of his political life, Harris assigned the former parliamentarian from white British high society to clean

⁷⁷ Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 7.

⁷⁸ Indeed, there was a certain discrepancy between their ideal and practicality. The Swedish helped cultivate their farmland at Brocton, and for cultivating the vineyards, they employed Chinese labourers followed by Italians and, after 1892, the Japanese. They could commit themselves to the Use, thanks to the help of these labourers. Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 161. Moreover, Schneider and Lawton mention in footnotes that a few black workers were employed as servants at Brocton. *Ibid.*, 148. However, no further information is given about them, their working conditions, or whether the Brotherhood continue employing them after the Brocton period; this makes it difficult to discuss them in detail.

a cattle cabin and carry dirt and rubbish as his first job.⁷⁹ On another occasion, Oliphant ploughed the vineyard with a hoe for a total of ten hours in a day.⁸⁰ As with gender, there was no racial disparity in pay because there was no pay. Furthermore, at one point Oliphant lived together with two samurai members from Satsuma, Sameshima and Yoshida, and four American members (two males and two females).⁸¹ Such a cross-racial cohabitation would have been virtually unheard of in nineteenth-century Euro-America and Japan.

Their alternative view of race is best epitomised by the fact that the head of viticulture (winegrowing), the community's largest project, was assigned to the former Satsuma samurai Nagasawa. Moreover, its second-largest project, the Fountain Grove Press, was headed by Ōsui rather than Caucasian Euro-American members.⁸² Conventionally, viticulture was known as one of the most colonialist fields of agriculture and was thought to show the civilising power of the West. Viticulture had accompanied Western colonial expansionism from the British colonisation of Australia to the French colonisation of Algeria.⁸³ It was the 'white' grape-farmers who represented elegant viticulture. Juxtaposing this 'white' Euro-

⁷⁹ Ibid., 127–8.

⁸⁰ Laurence Oliphant to William Frances Cowper, 1867, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 241.

⁸¹ Oliphant to Cowper, 1 December 1867, in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 226. While it seems that male and female members often lived separately (in line with their celibacy principle), this was not always the case as we can see in Oliphant, and importantly in Harris.

⁸² The Fountain Grove Press published Harris's numerous religious and spiritual writings. LeBaron and Casey, *The Wonder Seekers of Fountaingrove*, 92.

⁸³ Erica Hannickel, *Empire of Vines: Wine Culture in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 15.

American viticulture, the Brotherhood's mixed-race viticulture, led by a Japanese member, invalidated white supremacy as a defining feature of civilisation. Working under a transnational, symbiotic, and egalitarian ethos, the Brotherhood members attempted to liberate race, and the hierarchically racialised agriculture and viticulture, from civilisation discourse.

The Civil War Speaks: The Competing Ideological Trajectories of Winners and Losers

What became of the Japanese samurai members afterwards? What results did the Brotherhood's teachings yield in Meiji Japan? To answer these questions, we must examine closely the victors and vanquished of the Boshin Civil War, particularly the latter.

Broadly put, the Satsuma samurai escaped *for* the civil war, while Ōsui escaped *from* it. The ideology of nation-state and patriotism held sway with the Satsuma samurai, and many of them parted from the Brotherhood after less than a year in the late spring of 1868 shortly after the outbreak of civil war. According to Nagasawa, this departure happened after a quarrel over whether one should support Japan or the US if the two countries ever went to war.⁸⁴ Harris argued, 'if [the war] happened, we should fight for God [...] There is no distinction between the US and Japan. We should fight for

⁸⁴ Washizu Shakuma, *Nagasawa Kanaye Ōh Den*, in Kadota Akira, ed., *Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Kiyō* 14 (1990): 29.

justice just following God's order'.⁸⁵ For Harris, national differences were irrelevant in the face of God, and God comes before country.⁸⁶ Although he was not against patriotism itself,⁸⁷ his argument seems to have been unacceptable to the majority of the Satsuma samurai, leading to their quarrel and split from Harris.

Becoming high-ranking officials in the Meiji state was the last straw in their defection. Indeed, due to their background as highly educated samurai of the victorious Satsuma domain who had defeated the Tokugawa shogunate, they were likely to be chosen for key positions in the Meiji state regardless of the Brotherhood's moral and religious training. In addition to Mori Arinori becoming Japan's first Minister of Education, Matsumura Junzō was later appointed Vice-Admiral of Japan's Imperial Navy, Sameshima Naonobu as Ambassador to France, and Yoshida Kiyonari as Ambassador to the US, to name a few of the many former Brotherhood members' official positions. They became a crucial part of the so-called Meiji Oligarchy who governed the state at the top and were thus subsequently immersed in the state's making of the Western modern mode of progress. This made it impossible for them – whether they wished to or not – to publicly practise the religion of the Mother-Father God.

It is worth mentioning, however, that Mori, one of the Satsuma samurai most faithful to the Brotherhood, may have partially retained its moral teachings as a code

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ See Harris, *A Prophecy of Japan*, 3.

of ethics.⁸⁸ Unlike most of his countrymen who left the Brotherhood abruptly after the ideological conflict with Harris, Mori (and Sameshima) returned to Japan on Harris's orders, in their words, 'simply to discharge our duty to our country', during the Boshin Civil War.⁸⁹ Not only did Mori bring Ōsui, an opponent in the Boshin Civil War, to the Brotherhood but he also promoted freedom of religion and the abolition of the samurai privilege of wearing swords. Moreover, he had Japan's first 'Western-style' wedding based on a mutually agreed contract between him and his bride. We could infer that these were, at least in part, a legacy of the Brotherhood's egalitarian ethos that he brought back to early Meiji Japan.⁹⁰ However, even Mori eventually shifted his interests to more practical and secular issues, particularly the establishing of Japanese nationals as the proper subjects of the Japanese empire, and his move towards social Darwinist Spencerian thoughts.⁹¹ When the statesmen turned to maximising national interests, the Brotherhood's teachings of harmonious coexistence under the Mother-Father God were not useful for – and could easily be considered as being in opposition to – the state-led vision of progress. Thus, for the Satsuma samurai, the Brotherhood was more or less a phase in their early lives in

⁸⁸ See Hall, *Mori Arinori*, Chapters 3–7.

⁸⁹ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 214.

⁹⁰ Furthermore, Mori's farewell address to Sameshima in 1880 states, 'Sameshima! Ever since you began your uses in this world righteousness has found you a most faithful servant. You worked hard and well thirty-seven years worthily spent. No more, O precious soul! no more, O noble labourer! no more, O bright star! still you live, still you work, still you shine in the bosoms of your friends. You know me well!' *London and China Telegraph*, 8 December 1880, quoted in Hayashi, *Mori Arinori*, 196–7. Mori praised Sameshima's 'Use' despite over ten years having passed since their time in the community.

⁹¹ For more details, see Hall, *Mori Arinori*, Chapters 3–7; Hasegawa, *Mori Arinori*.

search of new ideas of civilisation and progress, before they fully committed themselves to the state-led construction of a modern Japanese nation-state.

It was Ōsui from the defeated North, rather than the victorious Satsuma samurai, who consistently adhered to the Brotherhood's egalitarian ethos – and further developed his own vision by building upon it – through his twenty-eight years of moral training in rural America. The very basis of his moral-religious idea lay in the symbiotic view of the universe under the Mother-Father God, which he termed the 'Infiniverse'.⁹² This term, of Ōsui's own invention, likely refers to the wide, undivided, and infinite nature of the universe under the Mother-Father God and is inherently transnational in that it embraces all the differences of nationality, race, ethnicity, and gender in one. Thus, instead of being a Japanese national or becoming an American citizen, Ōsui sought 'citizenship in God's Infiniverse'.⁹³ For Ōsui, it was not imperial and social Darwinist competition that humans ought to pursue, but interdependency and harmony in the universe – or Infiniverse – beyond national boundaries.⁹⁴ Ōsui's worldview belonged to neither Japan nor the US and transcended the hierarchical binary of West and non-West in civilisation discourse.

Ōsui's transnational vision of the Infiniverse categorically rejects such indicators of masculine progress, including wars, imperialism, and colonialism which offer a

⁹² Arai Ōsui, *Second Book of Fragments* (1897; Kyoto: Horii Printing House, 1941), reprinted in *Naikan Kitōroku*, 63.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ōsui, *Inward Prayer and Fragments*, 14–5.

normative logic of Western modernity as a legitimate and justifiable means of international relations. He argues:

It is clearly a mistake for a governor of one state to try to reform the policy of other states, while the people under him are dissatisfied with his internal management and are inharmonious. So with a king – who should above all things give peace and comfort to his people – it is contrary to the spirit of brotherhood, if he should deal with either the national or international affairs by such methods as carnal war, endangering and destroying the lives of men, be they his armies or his enemies [...]⁹⁵

For Ōsui, the focus should be on the rectification of themselves rather than directing, disturbing, or even conquering others. Humility was an essential step towards revolutionising the world: 'The logic is, always, to search inside first: a man should search things first in himself, – good or evil, sufficient or deficient, analysing the elements and their conditions.'⁹⁶ Critically lacking humility and disturbing the symbiotic coexistence of humanity, war should be an impermissible act, regardless of the reasoning behind its justification. Ōsui presses:

He [a king] may be an honest man, and may probably mean well, and think he is justified; but – unless every possible and rational means in his power of avoiding the war has been employed and is absolutely exhausted – he lacks one essential thing, the humane wisdom that works peace for his people and humanity.⁹⁷

Ōsui's absolute rejection of war and the masculine logic of civilisation stands in opposition not only to imperialist Meiji policy (as represented by the Russo-Japanese War), but also to Harris, who was inconsistent and self-contradictory in relation to

⁹⁵ Ōsui, *Second Book of Fragments*, 96.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

the Brotherhood's teachings. Harris, on the one hand, claimed a *daimyō* 'will declare himself neutral and a peacemaker in all Japanese conflicts' while he simultaneously supported the *daimyō* establishing a 'Military College' and 'Japanese Divine Army' that would suppress all opposition.⁹⁸ At times he expressed social Darwinist views and even came to support America's colonisation of the Philippines and imperial expansion as 'the schoolmaster of races' during the Philippine-American War in 1899.⁹⁹

Harris's contradictions, made all the more visible by Ōsui's consistency, exemplified why the Brotherhood project in rural America stalled. Its members had to abandon all earthly obsessions which would hinder their spiritual development, including hierarchies based on race, nation, and gender, and work on an equal basis to realise their mutually interdependent Use. Nevertheless, Harris saw himself as the pivotal man who was chosen by God to fight spiritually for heaven against hell; and through him, good and evil on the Earth battled each other for the benefit of all. His patriarchy and exceptionalism were reflected in his own activities in the Brotherhood. For instance, while many members engaged in arduous everyday labour with hands, Harris spent most of his time studying, writing, administrating, and in a trance at his

⁹⁸ Harris, *A Prophecy of Japan*, 1.

⁹⁹ Thomas Lake Harris to Edwin Markham, 5 April 1899, quoted in Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 487. He made further social Darwinist remarks elsewhere. He spoke highly of African people for their capability of reaching the Celestial Heaven. At other times, however, he spoke highly of the French and Japanese in surviving God's Final Judgement while perceiving the remaining majority, including most Euro-Americans and Africans, to be 'inferior'. Harris, *Arcana of Christianity*, 43; Thomas Lake Harris, 'Glimpses of Life in the New Time'(manuscript), 2–3, quoted in Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 312.

luxurious residence.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, Harris's exceptionalism contrasts with Ōsui's embrace of humility as a key step towards healing the world. Ultimately, Harris became a target of a religious and sexual scandal in 1891. Over 100 international media reports in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and London raised mounting scepticism that Harris seemed preoccupied with money-making and, despite his avowed principle of celibacy, had relationships with various women under the guise of searching for a celestial counterpart.¹⁰¹ It is unsurprising that Ōsui emphasised, potentially as a critique of Harris's alleged actions, that men and women should work on the regeneration of sexuality by overcoming their lustful nature: an important step for achieving the divine maleness and femaleness of God in one.¹⁰²

Ōsui left the Brotherhood for Japan in 1899 after Harris's scandal, and also after the community transformed its purpose from a religious to a non-religious one. The Brotherhood's winemaking – which was still on a small, experimental scale when Ōsui and Satsuma samurai joined the community – developed gradually to become big business by the mid-1880s, producing thousands of gallons annually thanks to the

¹⁰⁰ Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 186; Van Sant, *Pacific Pioneers*, 87.

¹⁰¹ On the media scandal, see 'Miss Chevailler's Story', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 December 1891, in Schneider and Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 534–43; Paddison, 'Disorderly Doctrines'. Harris's teaching of celestial counterparts states that one has a counterpart of the other sex in the celestial world. Although Harris was married on Earth, he insisted that, as a true counterpart, he was married to his celestial being, Lily Queen, and had children with her. Women were the central matter for Harris in a highly essentialised, and occasionally contradictory, manner. This was reflected in Lily Queen who had two conflicting sides: 'one was cruel and frowning, the other beneficent and smiling'. Slade, 'Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris', 188.

¹⁰² Ōsui, *Second Book of Fragments*, 114–5.

use of the advanced, steam-headed technology.¹⁰³ After Harris's departure (following the scandal) in 1892, Nagasawa, the only remaining Satsuma samurai, began to take control of the community, eventually inherited all of the Brotherhood's vineyards, and further developed the wine business into one of California's largest wineries – a 'miracle' in Reagan's words. He did so by employing Japanese labourers in 1892 and bringing his relatives from Japan in the mid-1890s. In short, as Gaye LeBaron describes, 'the "Jesus Ranch", as the townspeople had come to call it, became the "Jap Ranch"'.¹⁰⁴

For Reagan and countless others, the flourishing wine industry at Fountaingrove was a miracle and a success story of Japanese immigrants achieving the 'American Dream'. Managing one of the largest wineries in California, the Japanese were now becoming 'civilisers' in the West. This capitalist success, however, seems to have conflicted with Ōsui's lifelong commitment to establishing a universal, egalitarian moral construct. Indeed, while he had worked closely with Nagasawa for their everyday labour (the Use) during his early days,¹⁰⁵ it seems that he hardly interacted with Nagasawa and most Brotherhood members during his final years, staying alone

¹⁰³ Slade, 'Historical Sketch of Thomas Lake Harris', 204. Harris established 'Lay, Clark and Company' (headquarters in Santa Rosa and New York), which sold the bottles of their brand 'Fountain Grove Wine' in Eastern America and internationally in the 1880s and onwards. It became the first Californian wine to be commercially sold in Britain and was also sold in Tokyo, Yokohama, and Kobe, Japan. Ibid.; Kadota and Jones, *Kariforniā no Shikon*, 118; Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 334.

¹⁰⁴ Gaye LeBaron, 'Fountaingrove: An Old Winery's Link to Eden', *Golden Gate North Magazine* (Summer, 1972), 32.

¹⁰⁵ See Nagasawa's diary printed in Kadota Akira, 'Nagasawa Kanaye Kenkyū III', *Kagoshima Kenritsu Tanki Daigaku Kenkyū Nenpō* 9 (1981): 75–100.

in a retreat eight miles away from the community.¹⁰⁶ Although Ōsui never disclosed detailed reasons for his departure, it seems that the Brotherhood's 'capitalist success' marked the end of his moral training in rural America.¹⁰⁷

At a time of socio-political and moral turbulence in Britain, the US, and Japan, the paths of initially disparate non-state actors crossed unexpectedly in the American countryside. This signalled a collective effort to revolutionise the world order. The non-state transnational approach taken in this chapter has elucidated that the Brotherhood's religious and agrarian experiments posed a sharp critique of the white, male, Christian civilisation of the West, and presented a serious attempt to replace such a civilisation with a new egalitarian system. Their agriculture was conducted under the Mother-Father God in pursuit of such a new universality – not under a male God, the Star and Stripes, the Rising Sun, or the Union Jack. Conceptually and methodologically, the discovery of non-state, transnational cooperation would be a useful starting point from which to reconfigure modern transnational history, which has long been masked by the Western modern discourse of civilisation and progress.

Importantly, the symbiotic and egalitarian vision was embraced most fully by the defeated civil-war samurai, Ōsui, who contemplated a new, universally applicable

¹⁰⁶ Harimoto, *Arai Ōsui no Hito to Shisō*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Kadota Akira posits a similar conjecture in his short writing (in Japanese). See Kadota Akira, 'Arai Ōsui to Nagasawa Kanaye', in *Ōsuiron Shūsei*, ed. Shumpūsha Henshūbu (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2014), 139.

morality for human equality through Orthodoxy during the civil war and travelled abroad to further pursue this moral exploration. With Harris's inconsistency and the community's conversion to a civilising force, their moral-religious revolutionary endeavour failed to grow further in rural America. However, Ōsui's departure from the 'civilising' Brotherhood illuminated a new chapter of the revolutionary endeavour; through Ōsui, the Brotherhood's legacy of egalitarianism was introduced and further sophisticated in early twentieth-century Japan. Many returnees from Europe and America, including former Brotherhood members from Satsuma, became celebrities in Japan and served the Meiji state or other established institutions. Ōsui, by contrast, returned after almost three decades and remained in the non-state field of moral-religious training. Indeed, Ōsui's encounter with the US counterculture, outside of the state's diplomatic mission, far transcended a trivial historical episode of one man experiencing rural American life and its eccentric religion. Instead, his transnational encounter birthed a new current of anti-imperial morals and culture, which in turn captivated a multitude of non-state actors who rushed to study under him back in Japan in the very apotheosis of the Meiji state's imperialism during and after the Russo-Japanese War. The following chapter discloses the emergence of the 'Ōsui school of thought', which consistently defied the imperialist ideology of progress.

CHAPTER 2

Arai Ōsui's Symbiotic Religion and the Birth of the Ōsui School of Thought in Early Twentieth-Century Japan

Progress is neither masculine nor feminine – a conception which underlies the early twentieth-century moral-intellectual ideas of Arai Ōsui, the forgotten intellectual from the defeated side of Japan's Boshin Civil War. From this principle, a new world emerged free from dichotomised hierarchy, such as men over women or West over East. The series of Ōsui's national and transnational experiences (see Chapter 1) blossomed in 1900s–1920s Japan. Following on from the early chapters, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 will illuminate what he brought to early twentieth-century Japan – a new intellectual-cultural phenomenon which I term 'symbiotic modernity'.

As is conceptually set and discussed in the Introduction, symbiotic modernity embraced a powerful urge to rectify the course of human progress, which was then under the state-led temporality of Western modernity. Such a civilisational paradigm was, to Ōsui's network, regressing human progress by inducing imperial wars and imposing a racial, class, and gender hierarchy. In so doing, they worked at the grassroots level to realise a more equal and inclusive world. Interdependency and interconnectedness of different humans, nature, and the universe as a whole, as well

as the execution of these ideas in everyday life, were the keys to reconfiguring world civilisation. Through the Ōsui school's intellectual dynamics, symbiotic modernity joins hitherto unconnected historical figures, such as farmers and educators for blind and deaf children, and illuminates their intellectually and epistemologically competing visions of progress that emerged outside of imperial universities. Ōsui's worldview of a symbiotic and interdependent universe – scrutinised in this chapter – pivots the emergence of symbiotic modern temporality.

Ōsui returned to Japan in 1899 with only a piece of luggage in hand, after twenty-eight years of moral-religious training at the Brotherhood of the New Life, a mixed-race religious-agrarian community in rural California. Spending almost three decades in the US, Ōsui could have easily become a celebrity in Japan, if he had wished so. However, instead of attaining fame and influence as a statesman or church leader, Ōsui continued to practise and develop his moral-intellectual notions in suburban Tokyo without institutional affiliation. Some historians have designated Ōsui as a recluse, detaching himself from the world in contrast, for instance, to Mori Arinori, who underwent the same spiritual training in the Brotherhood community and became a leading statesman of the Meiji.¹ Indeed, Ōsui appreciated tranquillity and humility in his devoted religious life, wherein he described himself as a 'willing slave of Christ' (*Kuraisuto no shigan dorei*), without allowing neither a photograph nor portrait of him to be taken. However, this is not to say that he remained quiet in socio-

¹ See Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 206.

political affairs – indeed, the opposite was true. In suburban Tokyo, Ōsui proactively tackled moral, religious, and civilisational problems from the perspective of his own interpretation of Christianity, which he continued to work on from the time of the Boshin Civil War.

This chapter examines Ōsui's religion and discusses how it posed a sharp critique of the civilisation discourse which incurred war and imperialism, as well as class, national, and gender hierarchy. Christianity in Meiji Japan has largely been discussed as part and parcel of this civilisational paradigm. That is, Christian churches offered moral legitimacy to the Japanese state's civilisational building, giving their blessing to the state's wars and its hierarchical notion of humanity. Historians have shown that many Christian leaders not only avoided clashing with this state ideology but rather actively supported it during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars.² In other words, Christianity and its morals were identical and inseparable from state-centred civilisation discourse.

This chapter discloses a hitherto overlooked line of Christian thoughts that countered the Western modern mode of masculine, imperial civilisation in the 1900s–20s. It showcases this by analysing the religious-intellectual writings and practices of Ōsui and his followers. Unlike the conventional Christian reference to

² See for example, Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014); A. Hamish Ion, 'The Cross under an Imperial Sun: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Japanese Christianity, 1895–1945', in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–100; Helen J. Ballhatchet, 'The Modern Missionary Movement in Japan: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox', in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–68.

God as the Father, for Ōsui, God is the ‘Mother-Father’, encapsulating both male and female and residing in all humans equally, regardless of gender, class, or race. This chapter discusses how Ōsui challenged male dominance over females, wars, and class hierarchy through this Mother-Father God. I argue that Ōsui’s religion gave modern Japanese Christianity a new meaning which unshackled it from the Western modern paradigm of civilisation. Through Ōsui, Christianity was no longer a moral foundation for Western modernity but instead became a moral basis for challenging the very ideology of Western modernity. It might be worth noting that many members of the Ōsui school, including Ōsui himself, were not part of socialist activism (although some of them knew and cooperated with some Christian socialists). Indeed, the Ōsui school of Christianity developed as a new stream of competing thoughts and actions. It is, hence, distinguished from the existing studies of Christian socialists.³

The first two sections of this chapter show how Ōsui viewed and criticised the civilisation discourse by focusing on the contexts of the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War (1904–5 and 1914–18, respectively). Rather than discussing in detail the wars themselves, we shall instead disclose intellectual phenomena revolving around Ōsui that were underlain during these times of conflict. Indeed, while WWI Japan has been conventionally identified with a tacit (or, indeed, explicit) compliance with state imperialism, Ōsui continued to raise his voice and pen against imperialism,

³ On Christian socialists in Meiji Japan, see for example, Emily Anderson, ‘Evangelizing Socialism in Rural Japan: Imagining Utopia During the Russo-Japanese War’, *Japan Forum* (2021): 1–22.

even during WWI; these different periods and parts of his writings come down to one mode of thought in his symbiotic religion of the Mother-Father God. The perception of God as simultaneously *both* male and female developed into Ōsui's competing vision of progress, which championed neither masculinity nor femininity, but evenly blended both into one. The Mother-Father God epistemologically informed him about a new world that is divisible, yet fundamentally and simultaneously indivisible, interdependent, and symbiotic, and ensured the equality of all beings. Based on the two sections, the third reveals his practical ideas and methods of how humans could rectify world civilisation, as well as how he conceptualised these through the invention of an original language that would meet the urgent moral demand of the time. His symbiotic religion imbues all humans with new moral subjectivity and responsibility with which to rectify the course of civilisation. The final section expounds on how Ōsui's religion was embraced by diverse non-state actors, including many from the civil war's defeated North in early twentieth-century Japan. It shows that, sharing a sense of urgency, his informal private school in suburban Tokyo became a hidden grassroots base for the necessary moral training to rectify the present and future of civilisation; and this became the root of what I call symbiotic modernity, a new current of moral-religious phenomena in modern Japan.

This hidden network can be uncovered through studying the phenomena as an intellectual and cultural history of an unofficial time and space. This analytical approach is inspired by Sho Konishi's study of how Nakamura – a popular

sweetshop on its first floor during the daytime in early twentieth-century downtown Tokyo – became a hidden campus to study Esperanto among different non-state actors (from professors to actors) on the second floor during the night, who together envisioned replacing hierarchical civilisation with a new world founded on mutual aid.⁴ Ōsui's school also took place in an unofficial time and space, including the nights and weekends. This approach enables us to disclose the competing ideas and acts of Ōsui's followers. Students of Tokyo Imperial University serves as a prime example here, who, without this methodological approach, we might simply disregard as part of the state's imperial institution – despite their study and training to overcome the very ideology of imperial modernisation occurring at Ōsui's unofficial school, outside their official class hours.

As we have seen in the Introduction, Ōsui and many of his followers have been almost completely forgotten in the mainstream historiography constructed and reconstructed upon state-centric narratives. The same can be said of his numerous writings in Japanese and classical Chinese in the 1900s–20s, to which this chapter will often refer. These writings appeared as an act of urgency. The fact that Ōsui ceaselessly wrote hundreds of thousands of pages after his return to Japan reflects his urgent and fervent desire to change the course of present and future progress. Chapter 1 has shown how Ōsui and his samurai compatriots from the defeated North urgently began to work on creating a new moral and ethical construct through their

⁴ See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 5.

encounter with Russian Orthodoxy, an alternative to the renowned victorious Meiji state's *Ishin* projects. In the early twentieth century also, Ōsui shared this sense of urgency that change had to be made immediately before it became too late.

Uprooting Masculine Civilisational Progress in Japan during the Russo-Japanese War

I am as the world is, the world is as I am. At once discouraged and hopeful is the world, it is both wounded and enduring. And so am I: facing the world I behold myself. I am as other men of the same sort, only am worse.
– Arai Ōsui (1900)⁵

Religion was highly disputed in modern Japan. After the collapse of Tokugawa's neo-Confucian regime, it was widely discussed whether different faiths, such as Christianity, could offer new moral teachings that would help elevate Japan to civilisation (see the Introduction). On the one hand, various historical actors disagreed with the use of religion in moral-making. The Meiji state attempted to separate the private and public, in which *shūkyō* (religion) was deemed private and irrational as opposed to secular, public, and rational *dōtoku* (morals) of the nation-state, therefore superior to religion.⁶ This religion-moral bifurcation was founded on the teleological view of progression from primitive ritualistic cults to modern

⁵ Arai Ōsui to Edwin Markham, 4 October 1900, in Arai Ōsui *Chosakushū*, *Bekkan*, 220.

⁶ On religion and the Meiji state, see for example, Maxey, *The "Greatest Problem"*; Isomae Jun'ichi, *Religious Discourse in Modern Japan: Religion, State, and Shinto* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). The Meiji Constitution divided the private religious and the public secular on the basis of this ideological construct, and ensured freedom of religion *as long as*, as statesman Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) pressed, religion was kept in the inner self privately without disturbing social order. Hans Martin Krämer, *Shimaji Mokurai and the Reconceptation of Religion and the Secular in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 7.

Western religion, and then to rational moral ethics.⁷ Indeed, despite its initial recognition of Shinto as a national religion, the Meiji state ultimately treated State Shinto as a non-religious, rational, and scientific moral guide which applied to every Japanese national, and thereby differentiated Shinto and elevated it above its rivals (Christianity and Buddhism). In so doing, as part of constructing a unified nation-state, the Meiji state demanded that every Japanese followed this public Shinto morality tied to the imperial family, which traced all the way back to the goddess of the sun, while ‘saving’ Shinto, and more essentially the emperor, from the private, irrational, and competitive fields of religion.

On the other hand, others actively promoted the use of religion in the new moral-making. Christianity was a key protagonist in this discussion. Existing literature has shown that, with the symbolism of the advanced West, many young Japanese from the highly educated former samurai class absorbed Protestant moral teaching by building upon and replacing their Confucian educational background. Protestantism was not necessarily in the light of spiritual salvation, but instead as offering a set of morals and the civilising power that could strengthen an independent Japanese nation-state. In Irwin Scheiner’s words, ‘[t]he most consistently reiterated claim of the samurai was that Christianity had to be accepted for the sake of Japan’s modernization’.⁸ Richard Henry Drummond noted that, for Japanese Protestant

⁷ Isomae, *Religious Discourse in Modern Japan*, 46.

⁸ Irwin Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 61.

leaders, 'the welfare of the state and nation was of surpassing importance', and they 'became Christians with the hope that they could thereby better serve their country'.⁹

These narratives illuminate that, despite the seemingly bipolar position taken over religiosity and morality, both state and (most) Christian narratives fundamentally amounted to the shared ideological paradigm of the nation-state. These narratives emerged as part of contributing to the strength and independence of the Japanese nation-state in the competitive international order dominated by Western imperial powers. However, Ōsui combined religiosity and morality and, in stark contrast to both parties, liberated religion and morals from this civilisational ideology. This section explores why and how Ōsui's moral-religious ideas stood in opposition to the civilisational ideology by focusing on the Russo-Japanese War period.

Ōsui returned to Japan at the turn of the century when, for the state and its ideologues, the Western modern mode of civilisational development was the unquestionable direction of progress. In this ideology, world order was constructed, destroyed, and reconstructed through war as a legitimate and justifiable means of international relations. As Renée Worringer maintained, '[i]ronically, to become modern and civilised in this era was synonymous with the ability to sustain a bloody war and inflict the highest number of casualties upon your enemy as well as to have the most contemporary medical treatments available for your own wounded at the

⁹ Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, 186.

front'.¹⁰ One of the first encounters of such modern war in global history – occasionally even termed 'World War Zero' – was the Russo-Japanese War, which broke out in the era of technological and capitalistic development.¹¹ Historians have studied that a wide array of population groups in Japan, even most Christian leaders, openly supported this imperial war.¹² The majority of Christian leaders considered the conflict to be a 'holy war', as Emily Anderson pointed out, to perform their self-claimed role of offering moral guides for the sake of the wartime Japanese nation-state and fulfilling the God-given obligation to 'defend' China and Korea from Russian despotism.¹³

However, Ōsui negated these prowar narratives and instead maintained: 'Those who endorse war in the world are utmost barbarous'.¹⁴ For him, 'call the killing of enemies delightful, make their annihilation an honour, after that perhaps collect the remains and bury them, and thereby self-claim it a salute of civilisation. [...] Such a civilisation, even if the whole world sides with it, I do not believe in'.¹⁵ Ōsui was already scathingly critical of war and civilisation discourse in the US countryside in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 1). This critique continued during and after

¹⁰ Worringer, *Ottomans Imagining Japan*, 12–3.

¹¹ David Wolff et al., eds., *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005).

¹² See for example, Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, Chapter 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 380.

¹⁵ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 584.

the Russo-Japanese War.

Ōsui's emphatic denial of war and civilisation discourse resonates at its core with the 'Nonwar Movement' (*hisen undō*) widespread among Japanese anarchists, their comrades, and more, during the Russo-Japanese imperial clash.¹⁶ Ōsui was not always supportive of anarchists and instead seemed to be critical of those who were violent or selfish, disturbing the symbiotic relationality and subjectivity he was promoting.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Ōsui and the anarchists still shared core moral ideas, in which both sides refused to follow the state's ideology of war, hierarchy, and inequality.¹⁸ While the Nonwar Movement has often been identified with members and affiliates of the Heimisha publishing company, I hereby suggest that the resonating claims of Nonwar extended beyond this network to Ōsui and his followers at the grassroots level, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

The very basis of Ōsui's absolute rejection of war lay in his symbiotic view of the God-given universe. In Ōsui's view, the universe revolves around the logic of 二而一

¹⁶ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 3. This movement has often been referred to as the 'Antiwar' Movement (*hansen undō*), for example in Tierney, *Monster of the Twentieth Century*, 9. Konishi proposes the use of the 'Nonwar' Movement, through which to distinguish this movement in the Russo-Japanese War period from the post-World War II Antiwar movement. It also means to emphasise the nature of the Nonwar Movement which defied not only the Russo-Japanese imperial encounter, but more importantly, the fundamental logic of imperialism and warfare. This thesis refers to the movement as 'Nonwar'.

¹⁷ See for example, Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 20.

¹⁸ Indeed, contrary to many anarchists, Ōsui was not opposed to the concept of the nation-state because different nation-states, people, and the whole world were mutually interdependent. However, he stood in firm opposition to the Western modern ideology of civilisation that encouraged nation-states to climb up the ladder of competitive international order through wars. For Ōsui, it was morally and logically unjustified to situate one's own country at the summit, and instead, should be equally the same with others under the symbiotic universe. *Ibid.*, 19–20; Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 318.

(read *Ni-ji-Ichi* or *Ni ni shite itsu*) and 一而二 (read *Ichi-ji-Ni* or *Itsu ni shite ni*), which translates as ‘Two-in-One’ and ‘One-in-Two’. Despite the name, this principle does not indicate the dichotomisation of opposing ideas. Instead, it overcomes the taken-for-granted bifurcations in the civilisational ideology that hierarchically divides different beings, cultures, nature, and phenomena, such as male-female and East-West. Two-in-One implies that the countless number of different objects, concepts, beings, and phenomena are in fact an indivisible One. Simply put, they can be conceptualised as multiple things but simultaneously and essentially are a single large entity. Therefore, they are multiple but at the same time One, and *vice versa* – One-in-Two; a whole is made of two or more things. Thus, for Ōsui, all beings and elements in the universe are mutually interrelated and inseparable from one another equally and symbiotically. Indeed, a piece is part of a large whole, but the whole cannot function without each piece in the interdependent universe. They are all unique to each other and equally important.

Thus, in the middle of the Russo-Japanese War, he argued against its widespread public support: ‘All countries are one family, and the ill deed of brutal and bloody killing must be completely abolished eternally’.¹⁹ Since all humans are interdependent and together constitute the symbiotic universe, it is against the logic of the universe to kill others in war or subjugate them based on notions of race, gender,

¹⁹ Arai Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 1, ed. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai (Yokohama: Shumpūsha, 2002), 245–6.

class, or nationality. Ōsui emphasised once more: ‘Everything in the universe, large or small, is mutually interdependent to each other. The universe and the world are interdependent, the world and all countries are interdependent, and everything is mutually interdependent to each other’.²⁰ Ōsui’s symbiotic worldview rejects the masculine, competitive, and hierarchical logic of the world order in international relations.

This symbiotic logic functions for everything, everyone, and every connectivity in the world, with a special reference given to God as the most fundamental existence. God resides in each of the countless numbers of beings, all of which are unique and equally precious. What is striking about Ōsui’s religion is that, unlike conventional Christian teachings, God was *not* considered the male Father, but was *both* Father and Mother.²¹ Continuing the legacy of the Brotherhood’s teachings, God themselves embraced the Two-in-One principle by indivisibly embodying masculinity and femininity in one form. God in Ōsui’s language was interchangeably referred to as *Chichi Haha no Kami* (meaning the Father-Mother God) and *Haha Chichi no Kami* (meaning the Mother-Father God). This Mother-Father God and humans, as God’s children, are inseparably bound; indeed, Ōsui argues that ‘[k]illing their brothers means the killing of the Heavenly Father-Mother. They must know that the Father-

²⁰ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 18–9.

²¹ One of the idiosyncratic religious teachings, which upheld an androgynous conception of God, was Gnosticism emerging in the first and second centuries AD. On the comparative analysis of Ōsui and Gnosis teachings, see Arai Sasagu, ‘Arai Ōsui no “Chichi Haha Kami” to Gunōshisuha no “Bofu” naru Shikōshin’, in *Ōsuiron Shūsei*, 85–9.

Mother God stays with their children inside'.²²

The symbiotic principle of One-in-Two and Two-in-One embraces the equality of all people, regardless of wealth, gender, nationality, race, and class. Ōsui thereby challenged the constructed hierarchy in the civilisational ideology. This included his critique of the persisting norm of gender hierarchy and misogyny, which he considered to be tightly conjoined to the discussion of war both as the results of the Meiji state's masculine endeavour to progress. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki argues, 'male Japan was modernizing, militaristic, and menacing', and '[t]his association of modernity and national power with masculinity was reflected in, and reinforced by, the policies of the Meiji government'.²³ This male Japan was underpinned by the static idealisation of women, *ryōsai kenbo*, or 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' – the key gender ideology of the Japanese state from the late nineteenth century to the outset of the Asia-Pacific War.²⁴ Though a relatively broad range of interpretation was permitted and offered by different actors across different times, their shared characteristic was that 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' was a moral and ideological catchword to fully incorporate women in the collective efforts of the state-led masculine modernisation. For instance, the official fourth-year ethics textbook in 1903 stated that although '[i]t is a mistake to think that women are inferior to men', '[t]he man becomes the master of the house and works at the household occupation

²² Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 234.

²³ Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan*, 112.

²⁴ Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo*; Uno, 'Womanhood, War, and Empire'.

(*kagyō*). The woman helps the man and takes care of the household (*ie o sewa suru*).²⁵

The Japanese state upheld this ideology as an official educational principle for young girls and aimed to raise women who would support the patriarchal nation-state and its masculine imperialism (represented by the Russo-Japanese War), by acquiring domestic skills, caring for their family members, and thereby protecting the country on the home front.

While various educators at the time concerned themselves with female education in Japan, Ōsui's critique of the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' ideology differentiated him from many others who endorsed it. Contrary to his former comrade from the US Brotherhood, Mori Arinori's supportive claim of the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' ideology, Ōsui was critical of the state policy that unequally bifurcated men and women from childhood. He did so by cynically pointing out the noble absence of a 'Good Husband, Wise Father' (*ryōfu kenfu*) ideology.²⁶ Ōsui wrote during the Russo-Japanese War that female education of his time was:

just as if it emerged from a selfish, convenient household-making plan from the male side to the other. Now if these educators say that male education should be established on the principle of Good Husband, Wise Father [...] then males would not only laugh at the words but also get angry indignantly for sure. Why are they unable to accept this but are trying to force it on beloved girls? [...] Being equal to men is the right of women from the first, and this is not something that should be determined by men.²⁷

Ōsui thus sharply criticised the unequal nature of modern female education. The

²⁵ Ibid., 504.

²⁶ See Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 216–7.

²⁷ Ibid., 217–8.

‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’ principle, introduced as a ‘progressive’ educational policy, did not appear truly progressive to Ōsui. To him, it was simply a reflection of male desires in the establishment of a masculine, imperial civilisation.

For Ōsui, the equality of man and woman was logically supported by the Mother-Father God. He argues, ‘God created their portrait and named it human. That is the man. That is the woman. In this way, the human is originally a portrait of God and *Ni-ji-Ichi* (Two-in-One). [...] each woman herself is just a half-human. Each man himself is just a half-human’.²⁸ Both men and women originate in God, the true human, who is constituted of the equal combination of the two genders in one form and is inseparable from humans in a Two-in-One relationality. Under this Mother-Father God, gender inequality is anathema to the logic of human treatment; ‘Justice is equality. The man and woman are equal. If it is not equal, it is injustice. The equality of man and woman, we call it justice. If it is not equal, it is the defect of the human. He is a man but not a man. She is a woman but not a woman. Because it does not form the human’.²⁹ Men and women must be treated equally, in much the same way as masculinity and femininity are completely blended in the body of the divine. The hierarchically gendered ideology of progress is thus against the very definition of humanity. The Mother-Father God ensures and demands that progress is neither masculine nor feminine, but has to be both indivisibly.

²⁸ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 5, 351.

²⁹ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 43.

Uprooting the Christianity of Western Modernity in WWI

In contrast to the rise of the Nonwar Movement during the Russo-Japanese War, the proceeding period of the 1910s has been conventionally identified as the ‘Winter Period’. Historians argue that this Winter began after the incarceration and execution of anarchist/socialist leaders and the suppression of their movements in the Great Treason Incident (1910–11). Indeed, many of these activists went into ‘hibernation’ at least until the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. WWI occurred during this Winter Period. Accordingly, scholars have claimed that voices against state imperialism in WWI Japan were almost non-existent, with only a handful of exceptions, such as Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930), Kashiwagi Gien (1860–1938), and Abe Isoo (1865–1949); indeed, WWI sparked little interest in Japan compared to the Russo-Japanese War, which was more directly tied to the life-or-death future of the nation-state.³⁰

In stark contrast to this given chronology in modern Japanese history, Ōsui continued to tirelessly write critically throughout the Winter Period.³¹ At the time, anti-imperial claims continued to be highly taboo for the Japanese state, to the extent that the government immediately banned most of the issues of the monthly *Heimin Shimbun* (‘People’s Newspaper’) established and run by the anarchists Ōsugi Sakae

³⁰ See Ōta Masao, ‘Daiichiji Sekaitaisen o Meguru Hisenron: Kirisutosha, Shakaishugisha o Chūshin to shite’, *Kirisutokyō Shakaimondai Kenkyū*, no. 14–15 (1969): 94–129.

³¹ Konishi also points out the continuity of cooperatist anarchist movements at the grassroots level during the Winter Period. See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 255–6.

(1885–1923) and Arahata Kanson (1887–1981) during WWI in the Winter Period. Openly advocating anti-imperialist claims, the monthly paper, which began in October 1914, was forced to close in March 1915 due to intense state censorship and intervention. Ōsui ceaselessly wrote in this period despite the risks, discussing his anti-imperial thoughts in a grassroots space and time, thereby escaping state surveillance. His urgency could be explained by his claim that the complete abolition of war was the absolute principle to be championed by humanity, and ‘not something to be claimed only before the Russo-Japanese War or during the Sino-Japanese War’.³²

WWI involved the severe clash of the major imperial powers between the Central Powers (primarily Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) and the Allies (primarily France, Britain, Russia, Italy, and Japan, as well as the US from 1917). Although the main historical focus has largely centred on the Euro-American states, imperial Japan (under an economic crisis) also opportunistically decided to enter the war for colonial and capitalistic gains, using the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as an excuse. These major imperial powers engaged in this war for each of their ‘national interests’ and, with the recent technological and scientific advances, caused an unprecedented scale of destruction and millions of casualties. Opposing the war and the state’s official language, Ōsui argued: ‘Those who speak about national interests (*kokuri*) these days [...] not only lack the love for people but, from the beginning, are tyrannical without

³² Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 412.

any qualms about the massacre of them'.³³

His WWI writings critically illuminate that this state-led imperialism was conjoined by the acts of major Christian churches. Ōsui argued during WWI: 'Why don't they admit frankly the fact that the so-called civilisation is barbaric? Those which has been killing Jesus Christ in people till today is the fake civilisation of self-claiming Christians'.³⁴ Ōsui criticised those Christians who actively and irresponsibly pursued the civilisational ideology that supported, or even extolled, the killing of fellow humans. This was his response to the context of Christianity in WWI, in which different Christian institutions played an essential role, such as motivating soldiers in the battlefield, offering medical care to wounded soldiers, and justifying and sanctifying the war as a God-given holy mission.³⁵ The states of both sides utilised Christianity for implanting and boosting concrete morale that would unify soldiers, and churches worked beside the states for that shared purpose through Military Chaplaincies at a great scale. For instance, in France and Italy, several thousands of military chaplains worked for the war effort.³⁶ The military chaplains underpinned the moral side of WWI and helped the soldiers equip a sense of bravery

³³ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 159–60.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁵ On WWI and Christianity, see for example, Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005); Michael E. Shay, *Sky Pilots: The Yankee Division Chaplains in World War I* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2014). On religious women who took part in WWI's patriotic moral work, see Emily Machen, 'Soldiers of Faith behind the Lines: Religious Women and Community Patriotism during the First World War in France', *Women's History Review* 22, no. 1 (2013): 31–50.

³⁶ Angela Kallhoff and Thomas Schulte-Umberg, 'The Committed Soldier: Religion as a Necessary Supplement to a Moral Theory of Warfare', *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 16, no. 4 (2015): 442.

and virtue in fighting the war. Christian churches during WWI were part and parcel of the civilisational endeavour.

Ōsui's absolute rejection of WWI emerged in the context where Christianity was inseparably tied to imperial civilisational progress. Directly critiquing these Christian churches, Ōsui wrote that peace would only come after 'the war-murder church, arrogant church, selfish church, the church that seeks salvation based on their own view and for their own friends, and all those Christian churches with untrue Christ fall'.³⁷ The Christianity of Western modernity, which supported the killing of God and their children (i.e., fellow humans), was irreconcilable with his symbiotic Christian religion.

Ōsui thus avoided most Christian churches and denominations that embraced the civilisational paradigm throughout his life, as a self-claim 'adherent of Christianity, not an adherent of a denomination'.³⁸ He thereby redefined both Christianity and what it meant to be a Christian: 'Whatever religion or study it might be, it is Christian as long as it contains the true way of humanity (*shin no jindō*), and those which go against this are all false teachings. They are false teachings even if they put up the nameplate of Christianity. The more they put up the nameplate of Christianity, the falsier the teachings are'.³⁹ As the majority of Christian churches supported the imperial warfare in the name of God, they stood in stark opposition to the very

³⁷ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 63.

³⁸ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 88.

³⁹ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 175.

definition of Christianity and were, thus, 'non-Christian' in the eyes of Ōsui. Interestingly, for Ōsui, any religious groups that upheld a symbiotic egalitarian worldview would be a lot more 'Christian' in practice, regardless of their labels, than these technically Christian institutions. While Uchimura Kanzō's non-church Christianity is well-known in historiography, here we have uncovered another singular strain of non-church Christian teaching.

The Birth of a New Language and Moral Subjectivity

The conventional scholarly view explains that religion in Meiji Japan was primarily associated with private and inner belief, rather than practice – the Protestant definition of religion that came to hierarchically divide world religions into the 'advanced' Christian religion of Western modernity and other ritualistic 'backward' religions.⁴⁰ However, Ōsui removed the ritualistic aspect from practice and refuted the hierarchy of belief over practice. He then called for immediate action, transcending the verbal and written critiques of civilisation. He did so by practically demonstrating how to realise an imagined, just, and egalitarian world. Notably, this process required an invention of a new language that would represent his vision of a new symbiotic universe. Existing languages did not fully capture or let

⁴⁰ Maxey, *The "Greatest Problem"*, 8. Meiji's religious leaders quickly reacted to the threatening hierarchy of religion. While Buddhism and Shinto during the Tokugawa shogunate time had concentrated on ritual practices, their encounter with the Western modern discourse of civilisation in the 1870s brought about a radical change in them, from practices to the inner belief. Isomae, *Religious Discourse in Modern Japan*, XVIII.

him express his worldview. In this sense, his neologism was not purely linguistic, but concerned creating a new reality and morality that would meet the demands of a new, symbiotic modern temporality.

Scholars of modern Japan have studied various cases of importing new concepts and vocabularies from the West, particularly in light of translation. Maruyama Masao and Katō Shūichi discuss this Meiji culture of translating European concepts and languages to Japanese as an essential component of the building of the modern Japanese nation-state.⁴¹ As early as the beginning of the Meiji era in the 1880s, Japanese intellectuals actively translated a wide range of Western writing, beginning with military, scientific, and technological books, followed by legal, geographic, and historical works, with literary and artistic books being the last to be translated.⁴² It was in this context that Meiji intellectuals, including Fukuzawa Yukichi, strove to understand, translate, and introduce Japan to different Western concepts, such as society (*shakai*), liberty (*jiyū*), the individual (*kojin*), nature (*shizen*), debate (*tōron*), and religion (*shūkyō*), as part of their larger efforts of ‘civilising’ and ‘enlightening’ the Japanese nation-state.

However, there emerged a nativist countermovement that rejected what was perceived as Western concepts and vocabularies. In Christian contexts, some leaders

⁴¹ Maruyama Masao and Katō Shūichi, *Honyaku to Nihon no Kindai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998). It developed from the previous Edo culture of translating from Chinese to Japanese, widespread among Confucian scholars.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 149–50.

began to reconfigure their teachings and narrate 'Japanese Christianity' by the 1890s, amid doubts and suspicions that Christians would prioritise God over the emperor.⁴³ In so doing, they tried to dispose of 'Western elements' from Christianity and instead explore its 'Japaneseness' through Shinto and Confucian languages.

Contrary to both trends discussed in the historiography, Ōsui's invention of a language was not intended to either introduce Western vocabularies or bolster nativist efforts to reject Western imports. It was neither East nor West. Instead, Ōsui's methodology was to symbiotically combine different lines of thought in seeking a new universality of norms and morals, and provide new meanings that would meet his symbiotic worldview. It thus reflected his early samurai background in Confucian, neo-Confucian, and Dutch studies, Orthodox Christianity in the defeated North, Swedenborgianism, and the Brotherhood's teachings in his constant pursuit of competing universal morals, as seen in the earlier chapters.⁴⁴ From the

⁴³ See for instance, J. Nelson Jennings, 'Theology in Japan', in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191; Sumiya Mikio, *Kindai Nihon no Keisei to Kirisutokyō* (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 1961), 132.

⁴⁴ On this, see Daniel Corl, 'Ima, Watashi ni Mieru Arai Ōsui no Miryoku', in *Kōkyōsuru Ningen* 5, 5. Daniel Corl discusses how Confucian, Mencius, and Neo-Confucian teachings from his youth helped him develop his own Christian thought, and how his decades of Christian moral training in the US countryside helped him reconfigure Confucian teachings. Indeed, these Confucian and Christian teachings did not necessarily contradict with each other in Ōsui's thought. Ōsui found great value, for example, in the classical Confucian thought of Mencius, who argued the innate goodness of people and, reversing the ruler-subject hierarchy, put an emphasis on people for whom rulers should serve with benevolence and justice. This moral view blended well with Brotherhood teachings and other strains of his earlier studies indivisibly to structure his own symbiotic religion, in pursuit of an egalitarian moral world. Certainly, more investigation can be implemented on Confucianism: for instance, which texts or which verses he liked to use and why. We could then further investigate how each of the various kinds of Confucian teachings was similar to or different from Ōsui's teaching of the Mother-Father God. Such studies on Confucianism, however, could stand as independent research that require further materials and investigation. For more on Ōsui and Confucianism, see also Corl, 'Arai Ōsui to Jukyō o Megutte'.

civil war time, he continued to seek universal virtue which found value in all people regardless of their backgrounds and socially constructed hierarchies of personhood. He used the transnational intellectual sources he had encountered, which helped him concretise his moral-religious belief.

One of the many neologisms invented by Ōsui was *shinsen*, which can be translated as the Holy Battle. Contrary to the killing of others in war, *shinsen* refers to the divinely-inspired killing of one's anger, greed, and fundamentally, the love of self. While, as Harimoto Hideshi notes, during the time of the Brotherhood, Ōsui emphasised overcoming one's given sex and lust,⁴⁵ he later urged the annihilation of the love of self in the *shinsen*, which was one of the original notions that he developed after his time in the US. Through *shinsen*, people can be regenerated and spiritually reborn to attain what he calls *shinsei*, or New Life, and become a *shinjin*, or a New Person in the way that God planned. This abandonment of one's love of self does not mean the negation of individuality. Harmony emerges in the unification of different kinds of people,⁴⁶ and equality materialises through differences. However, simultaneously, people should maintain humility in the bosom of the Mother-Father God. Everyone is hence special and original while simultaneously nobody.

For Ōsui, this *shinsen* was a practical means with which to rectify the course of progress. Instead of fighting imperial wars against other nation-states, Ōsui urged

⁴⁵ Harimoto, *Arai Ōsui no Hito to Shisō*, 173–7.

⁴⁶ Nagashima Tadashige, *Arai Ōsui Sensei no Omokage to Sono Danwa oyobi Ikun* (Tokyo: Ōsui Kōroku Kankōkai, 1934), 211.

the battles within one's inner self. Fundamental solutions to destructive wars will not be found in diplomacy, alliances, and international relations (indeed, these appear to perpetuate the cycle of war), but in the renunciation of greed, anger, and selfishness. Such diplomatic alliances are rather, in Ōsui's view, 'a root of war conflicts'.⁴⁷ Ōsui believed that such supposedly cooperative alliances would remain superficial and were more likely to cause people harm while imposing heavy taxes to cover the military cost, placing them into an endless cycle of selfish competition, and drown in greed while allowing them no time to spend on the inner development.⁴⁸ Thus, to Ōsui, cooperative relations in diplomacy and international relations would not bring peace and security but would rather the opposite. He warned: 'If you want other countries to be righteous, you must first rectify internal affairs. [...] Prowar protagonists in the world largely have strong anger from their selfhood. Many of them struggle with greed too. Thus, it seems to always end up with arrogance, insolence, and abusive attacks. They lack the ability to carefully reflect on themselves and just fiercely detest others'.⁴⁹ World rectification for peace and security must begin with the most fundamental level within one's self, rather than others. The *shinsen* was an essential step towards saving the world from endless war and instead obtaining peace in the symbiotic universe.

In the *shinsen*, Ōsui was not referring to special people but everyone. In the

⁴⁷ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 7, 99.

⁴⁸ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 416.

⁴⁹ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 380.

interdependent and interconnected universe of the Mother-Father God, every single person has both subjectivity and the responsibility to rectify their inner self and consequently the direction of civilisational progress. Doing so does not require rituals, prayers, priests, churches, or tithes.⁵⁰ Ōsui's non-church religion teaches that such moral battles are to be fought in one's everyday life.⁵¹ His concept of *Nichiyō Jōkō* (日用常行) argues that each person should do their best in each of their given field of daily work, as a practice of God's teaching in everyday life. Each is expected to earnestly engage in their everyday work, overcome their selfishness, and fight the wrongdoings in their respective field.⁵² *Nichiyō Jōkō* is embedded in his symbiotic worldview that pieces of everyday life, regardless of how trivial they might appear, are connected to the whole world.

This emerging subjectivity differs from the state's invention of Japanese moral subjectivity *vis-à-vis* the Japanese nation-state.⁵³ Shinto, as a national moral compass, was a strategic umbrella under which to unify the Japanese of different socio-political, economic, cultural, and regional backgrounds under one nation-state. Shinto gave

⁵⁰ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 233.

⁵¹ Ōsui emphasises, 'Prayer is not only about verbal prayer. Everyday acts mean prayer.' Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 514. Whereas Christian churches often give importance to prayers as a way to connect to God, Ōsui teaches that the everyday moral training of one's inner self is a way to get closer to God. Similarly, whereas Christian churches give a sacred importance to the reading and teaching of the Bible, Ōsui sees that, although the Bible is 'no doubt a *vade mecum* for workers', it is ultimately a 'pocket notebook' (*techō*) for everyone to 'practise' in everyday life. Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 279–80.

⁵² Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 47.

⁵³ On the state's invention of subjectivity, see Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 255.

the state-driven subjectivity and obligation to all Japanese nationals as a rational *dōtoku* (moral), regardless of their faith. Unlike this national subjectivity, Ōsui's symbiotic religion frees subjectivity from the nation-state. Through this, it heightens the importance for everyone – regardless of nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender – to fight the moral battle in everyday life for personal and world rectification.

The creation of this new moral subjectivity and responsibility could only be possible by ensuring that 'there is no hierarchy of high and low in work, and all are precious and sacred'.⁵⁴ Ōsui emphasises that 'God [...] appears in farmers, appears in artisans, appears in scholars, or appears in politicians, and appears in the jobs of all other people, and always works together with them'.⁵⁵ At his time, male Japan was headed by the emperor, with Article 3 of the Meiji Constitution defining 'the emperor is sacred and inviolable'. Constitutionally defined and ideologically equipped with State Shinto, the emperor reigned from the top with an indisputable authority over the nation. While Ōsui never called for the abolishing of the emperor,⁵⁶ he instead maintained that '[t]he inviolable is not only about the emperor. All humans are sacred and inviolable'.⁵⁷ The symbiotic universe of the Mother-Father God logically assures

⁵⁴ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 309.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 5, 418.

⁵⁷ Nagashima, *Arai Ōsui Sensei no Omokage*, 142. This claim was a response to a visitor who argued that 'the emperor is sacred and inviolable' is ridiculous and Japan must amend the constitution. In contrast to the visitor who seems to have opposed the privileged emperorship, Ōsui was more acceptive of the emperor's special status; this indeed might have been a contradiction to his anti-hierarchical teaching. It seems that his point was that, rather than criticising the privileged emperor system, every human should be treated special, not only the emperor, in his symbiotic religion. In other words, rather than seeking to abolish the emperor who had a privileged and sacred status, he instead envisioned elevating

human equality. Indeed, everyone – from the emperor to poor people – is equally important, precious, and responsible.

Through ceaseless *shinsen*, Ōsui urged the coming of an ‘evolution’. It required Ōsui to invent a new translation to conceptualise this ‘evolutionary’ process of spiritual renewal and sublimation towards a New Life and a new world, so as not to confuse his meaning with that of social Darwinism. Ōsui named his version of evolution ‘*kaishin*’ (開新) as opposed to the conventional translation, ‘*shinka*’ (進化).⁵⁸ Ōsui’s *kaishin*, occurring in the course of the *shinsen* in everyday life, was radically different from the *shinka* popularly used by Meiji intellectuals as a key concept of the social Darwinist understanding of progress and the establishment of a masculine Japan. The Meiji state and intelligentsia, such as Katō Hiroyuki (1836–1916), promoted Japan’s socio-economic, political, and cultural *shinka* in order to evolve Japan into an advanced civilisation. On the contrary, Ōsui’s *kaishin* was never materialistic, capitalistic, or imperial. It was the process of overcoming the very idea and practice of civilisation embraced by the state and social Darwinist thinkers. It instead encouraged the moral evolution of each person, and humanity as a whole, through ceaseless inner battle.

the value of all other humans as important as the emperor, as it should be under the Mother-Father God.

⁵⁸ On this discussion, see Daniel Corl, ‘Arai Ōsui to Jukyō o Megutte’, in *Shirarezaru Inochi no Shisōka*, 88–9.

The Birth of the Ōsui School

Conventionally, imperial universities have been at the centre of knowledge-making in modern Japan, with Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) retaining the top authority and prestige. Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944), Japan's first professor of Philosophy, was a prime example of Tokyo Imperial University's renowned academics. In liaison with the state's modernisation ideology, in the 1900s and onwards, Inoue played a central role in the formulation of the country's new national morality, which subsumed different religions and placed the emperor at the summit as a drive to unify the Japanese populace.⁵⁹ His interpretation of *bushido* (the way of the samurai) – the ideology that emphasised loyalty, honour, sincerity, and benevolence, and morally justified and reinforced the state-led making of masculine modern Japan – particularly stressed patriotic loyalty to the emperor as a moral code.⁶⁰

We could easily imagine that many students at Tokyo Imperial University – particularly philosophy students – would listen to Inoue's teaching in class. However, it should not be overlooked what activities these students engaged in outside of class

⁵⁹ Inoue was more academically active in the earlier period between the late 1880s and the 1890s. During that time, he taught 'Comparative Religion and Eastern Philosophy' lectures, which introduced Western and Asian religious-philosophical thoughts, and were attended by future leading scholars in philosophy and religious studies, such as Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949) and Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945). On Inoue, see Isomae, *Religious Discourse in Modern Japan*, Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), Chapter 4. In addition to Inoue and the state's use of *bushido* in military and civilian education, religious thinkers too mobilised this ideology. Various Japanese Christian leaders combined biblical teachings with *bushido*, which served as an effective means of expressing their patriotism.

hours. The history of nighttime and weekend activities (in comparison to daytime and weekday) remains largely unexplored in historiography. An analytical approach of the history of these activities, I argue, would allow us to unveil the competing acts and thoughts of Tokyo Imperial University students (and their comrades), which emerged outside of class hours at Ōsui's hermitage and private school, Kenwasha (謙和舎), or 'the House of Obedience and Peace' in Sugamo, Tokyo.⁶¹

The barrack-like Kenwasha building – with no gates, fences, nor ostentatious decorations of any kind (as per Ōsui's request) –⁶² was not only the practice ground of his symbiotic moral-religious view, but also functioned as a hidden hub of moral, religious, and intellectual training for men and women in early twentieth-century Tokyo. While these students may perhaps have listened to Inoue's teachings on *bushido* and Japan's national morals during the weekdays, in other times (including the weekends), they used their free time to listen instead to Ōsui, who rejected this patriarchal and nationalistic ideology.⁶³ In contrast to Tokyo Imperial University producing future elites for Japan's civilisational development, the Ōsui school was

⁶¹ The English translation of Kenwasha follows the translation offered by Ōsui's follower Kudō Naotarō (1895–?). Kudō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, 274. Kenwasha was built thanks to a donation offered by businessman Hiranuma Enjirō, who visited Ōsui while in the US and, since then, had willingness and determination to contribute to Ōsui. Nagashima, *Arai Ōsui Sensei*, 56–7.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 146. This was contrary to Thomas Lake Harris's luxurious mansion built in the US Brotherhood community.

⁶³ Ōsui replaced it with the 'new *bushido*' (*shin-bushido*), which served for the Mother-Father God and all the fellow human beings whether male or female or Japanese or non-Japanese. Unlike the conventional *bushido* ideology accompanied by the suicidal killing for honour, the 'new *bushido*' 'does not terminate one's life' but instead 'kills one's selfishness completely'. Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 5, 418.

nurturing a new generation who would endeavour to rectify the course of progress in opposition to the very ideology of state-led civilisational development.



Figure 2. Kenwasha. Nagashima Tadashige, *Arai Ōsui Sensei* (Tokyo: Ōsui Kōroku Kankōkai, 1933).

Continuing the partial legacy of early civil war contexts we have explored in the previous chapter, the hidden Kenwasha network largely comprised of young, non-state figures from the defeated North – one of their commonalities in diversity. Certainly, the Ōsui school network was not limited to Northerners and cannot be reduced per se to the defeated North. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that many of them – who sought to learn from Ōsui by visiting him, boarding at Kenwasha, or joining his study groups – were from, or had lived in, Sendai, Akita, or Hokkaido (Hakodate and Otaru) in northern Japan.⁶⁴ Conventionally, members of the defeated side had been subsumed in – and even epitomised – Protestantism in modern Japan;

⁶⁴ Kudō Naotarō, 'Hito no Kokoro o Mitōsu Hito', in *Arai Ōsui o Kataru*, ed. Nagashima Tadashige (Ōzorasha: Tokyo, 1991), 5; Kudō Shōzō, 'Arai Sensei no Soba ni Iru Dakede', in *Arai Ōsui o Kataru*, 114–5.

indeed, many of Meiji's Protestant leaders were from the defeated side of the Boshin Civil War.⁶⁵ However, the Ōsui school of symbiotic religion also involved many youngsters growing up on the defeated Northern ground.

As seen in the early chapters, Ōsui was born in Sendai in the Tohoku region and fought for it during the Boshin Civil War, moving up to Hakodate in Hokkaido to continue the battle against the Meiji state forces. As well as attracting Sendai youths who admired the unusual Sendai-born intelligence, youngsters from Akita came to learn under Ōsui through the network of Nakamura Chiyomatsu (Bokkō, 1867–1941), a grassroots journalist from an agricultural family in Akita and one of Ōsui's early and dedicated followers.⁶⁶ Moreover, Ōsui had such dedicated Hokkaido followers studying at Tokyo Imperial University as Nakamura Shūzaburō (1878–1922) and his brother Fuse Gennosuke (1880–1946).⁶⁷ Nakamura became a lawyer working alongside the ecological and political activist, Tanaka Shōzō, and Fuse became a world-leading neuroanatomist. From the early on in the civil war, the Northern network continued to play a key role in forming the hidden grassroots hub of moral-intellectual training.

Established in 1904, Kenwasha and its network emerged around the Russo-

⁶⁵ Yamaji Aizan, 'Gendai Nihon Kyōkai Shiron', in *Kirisutosha Hyōronshū*, eds. Yabu Teiko, Yoshida Masanobu, and Izuhara Takatoshi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 375–76; R. David Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai: Gunpei Yamamuro and the Rise of the Salvation Army in Japan* (Lanham, Md.; London: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 4.

⁶⁶ Kudō, 'Arai Sensei no Soba ni Iru Dakede', 114.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 115.

Japanese War period. The Fuse-Nakamura brothers, who were then students at Tokyo Imperial University's medical and law schools respectively, visited Ōsui in 1903, slightly before Kenwasha was established. Although Ōsui was absent, the brothers pleaded to become his disciples, and Fuse even moved into Ōsui's hermitage next day without permission.⁶⁸ Similarly, inspired by Ōsui's personality and his sense of urgency and determination, even the anti-Christian Bokkō began to listen to Ōsui's lectures in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the Taikakai – one of Kenwasha's study groups established in 1906 (immediate postwar) – attracted forty-six adult men in the first year of its establishment, in addition to sixteen younger Kenwasha boarding students; despite the fact that Ōsui strictly refrained from public speeches, preaching, and advertisements.⁷⁰

The timing of Kenwasha's establishment and development was no coincident. The outbreak of war rendered a strong sense of urgency and moral subjectivity that changes had to immediately be made to rectify the course of human progress. Sho Konishi conceptualised this as the 'history slide' – or the slide of historical consciousness that liberates 'history' from the given meaning and means to justify the

⁶⁸ Nakamura Bokkō, 'Zuikanroku' (1932), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 636.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 660–62. Certainly, not every student was so quick to embrace the urgency. Compared to the Nakamura-Fuse brothers, Bokkō took it longer to convert to Ōsui's religion. He initially came to Ōsui only to study English in 1902. Nevertheless, what might have inspired Bokkō and other students for their later conversion was Ōsui's urgency and determination for change. Bokkō felt this even before his conversion; 'Arai [Ōsui] sensei is not an ordinary man. That man has a sense of determination that always transcends life and death. He would never be afraid of death.' Ibid., 662.

⁷⁰ Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai, ed., *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 457. Taikakai members consisted of former Kenwasha boarders who graduated from university, as well as other grown-up men who sought to learn from Ōsui.

present, which was then tied to the temporality of Western modernity, and worked urgently to obtain an imagined, new future.⁷¹ Indeed, the Russo-Japanese War (and its victory) denoted a critical moment when imperial Japan finally reached its long-awaited ambition since the *Meiji Ishin* – that it became part and parcel of ‘civilisation’ headed by Western imperial powers. However, for many ordinary Japanese people, what the war brought to them was, rather than the fame and new territory, the significant loss of male family members, breadwinners, and income sources amid the even heavier taxation. The feeling of loss and despair in their actual everyday life underlined the emerging consciousness for change, and a multitude of people started to write and act almost at the same time in seek of a new future, even without necessarily concerting with each other. The Kenwasha network grew out of this urgent socio-cultural context of the Russo-Japanese War period.

In this way, the forgotten hermitage connected a previously disjointed shared cause of personal and world rectification. One of the striking differences between Kenwasha and the US Brotherhood community was that, unlike the latter which was largely secluded from the outer world, Kenwasha was wide open to locals and non-members, thereby putting into practice the symbiotic worldview of human relationality. Bokkō estimated that, including both regular and infrequent followers, at least 200 people came to visit and interact with Ōsui.⁷²

⁷¹ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

⁷² Bokkō, ‘Zuikanroku’, 667–8.

The non-state actors attracted to Ōsui included, among others, university students, educators, medical doctors, farmers, intellectuals, housewives, artists, and lawyers. One of the largest groups of Ōsui's followers were male students boarding at Kenwasha, who were mostly studying at top Japanese universities, such as Tokyo Imperial University and Waseda and Keiō universities.⁷³ The Fuse-Nakamura brothers came to represent this group. Many more youngsters regularly visited Kenwasha and studied under Ōsui, including Watanabe Eiichi (Waisen), a leading educator for women, and Satō Masajirō (Zaikan), a passionate educator for women as well as for blind and deaf children. Farmers studying under Ōsui included pastoralist Harada Kanjirō and the agrarian thinker and practitioner, Eto Kōzaburō (Tekirei). Ōsui was popular among artists as well, such as the painter Yanagi Keisuke and photographer Nakamura Kinzō. Tanaka Shōzō, a leader of Japan's first modern environmental movement, as well as his nephew Harada Sadasuke and Harada's three children, also studied under Ōsui. The wives of these male members also became Ōsui's followers and studied with him, including Waisen's wife Sōko, Zaikan's wife Shikano, Bokkō's wife Nobu, Yanagi's wife Yae, Nakamura Shūzaburō's wife Chieko, and Fuse's wife Kiku.⁷⁴ These men and women trained themselves morally and intellectually with Ōsui at Kenwasha and came to develop their original worldviews, each with its own twist and expertise – some of which will be examined and

⁷³ One of Kenwasha's former residents, Kudō Naotarō recalls that Ōsui did not charge rent, only the meal cost. Kudō, 'Hito no Kokoro o Mitōsu Hito', 29; Kudō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, 128.

⁷⁴ Daniel Corl, 'Hajimeni', in *Kōkyōsuru Ningen 5*, vi–vii.

conceptualised in the following chapters.

Unlike university, the private teaching at Kenwasha offered no degrees or official credits. It was not a church either. Instead, it was an unofficial school that taught morals founded on Ōsui's symbiotic religion; even a small part of one's everyday life spent at Kenwasha with Ōsui, however trivial or negligible it might seem to others, was a vital part of a person's moral learning and training. Kenwasha boarders went to sleep at 9 pm and rose early at 5 am (and Ōsui an hour earlier), while also maintaining silence and tranquillity and guarding against fire.⁷⁵ These students returned to Kenwasha after their university classes and would read Ōsui's writings and listen to his worldview, as well as take up a hoe in the agrarian fields. Kenwasha life was in proximity to, and surrounded by, nature. Ōsui and his followers converted at least half (or more) of Kenwasha's ground (total 6,600 m²) into agrarian fields in its early years and also planted a flower garden.⁷⁶ Reminiscent of Ōsui's agrarian life at the Brotherhood, Kenwasha members lived in nature and practised farming – including Ōsui himself who wore Western clothes and tilled with a hoe – not for state-promoted commercial farming but for subsistence by growing different vegetables (e.g., cabbages, tomatoes, radishes, sweet potatoes, potatoes, taro, and wheat).⁷⁷ These Tokyo Imperial University students and other elite boarding students at Kenwasha

⁷⁵ Bokkō, 'Zuikanroku', 643, 647.

⁷⁶ Kudō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, 107; Bokkō, 'Zuikanroku', 644; 'Taikakaihō', no. 3 (1907), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 476.

⁷⁷ Bokkō, 'Zuikanroku', 644–45; Kudō, *Arai Ōsui no Shisō*, 107; Kudō, 'Hito no Kokoro o Mitōsu Hito', 29.

learned to live in symbiosis with nature.

The Kenwasha held their official study group gatherings on a Sunday of every month. This was in stark contrast to Ebina Danjō's (1856–1937) Protestant Hongō church that held prowar Sunday sermons during the Russo-Japanese War.⁷⁸ For Kenwasha members, Sundays were for studying how and why they should begin the work of personal and world reform for new symbiotic progress. Taikakai members worked in each of their job fields during the weekdays but gathered at Kenwasha on Sunday for its monthly study group and read Ōsui's 'textbooks' with him, as did the boarding students.⁷⁹ Kenwasha's 'textbooks' consisted of Ōsui's private writings that he wrote for each meeting (for free), and the writings were only to be circulated privately within the group. The Kenwasha textbooks were thus written in his own language that developed from different transnational sources he had learned, and were full of his urgent calls for rectifying the course of human progress, as we have seen, under the Mother-Father God.⁸⁰

Sharing this sense of urgency and moral conviction, Kenwasha meetings with Ōsui

⁷⁸ One of the sermons Ebina prepared in 1904 (during the Russo-Japanese War) was titled 'The Beauty of War' (*Sensō no Bi*), which explained how the pain of the war was necessary and was an inevitable suffering to create 'the great character of the nationals'. Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, 73.

⁷⁹ Besides, Kenwasha hosted a similar monthly Sunday study group for female followers, Haha no Kodomo no Kai (The Group of the Mother's Children), where the Mother referred to the Heavenly Mother and Children to female members, each of whom was a child of the Heavenly Mother (and the Father in Two-in-One). See Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 465–6. It is truly regretful that scarce sources have remain on these female members, compared to the male counterparts.

⁸⁰ Unlike most preachers or teachers, Ōsui did not preach to his followers nor general public, and instead told his followers that they should not recommend his writings to others publicly. Kudō, 'Hito no Kokoro o Mitōsu Hito', 9. Ōsui even refused to put his name on his writings, insisting that these words originated from the teachings of the Mother-Father God.

were rarely casual. Ōsui's student Nagashima Tadashige (1871–1938) recalls: 'Taking a step forward to the entrance of Kenwasha, it gives a feeling of a new world completely different from the mundane world. Therefore, it makes me feel strained naturally and reflect on my ugliness'.⁸¹ Similarly, for Bokkō, seeing and listening to Ōsui's everyday practice of his symbiotic religion offered him 'penitence, remorse, self-reflection, caution, and in a sense, a stimulus'.⁸² Ōsui maintained a solemn and humble attitude, more so than his students even, and wore Western formal attire, such as a frock coat and morning coat during the study meetings.⁸³ Despite the strict educational environment, Kenwasha did not embrace an authoritative atmosphere. Instead, applying the symbiotic worldview, Ōsui eschewed the hierarchical master-disciple, pastor-believer, or teacher-student relationships and instead attempted to cultivate an equal human relationship with Kenwasha members in their autonomous communal living. In opposition to the capitalist logic of possession, Ōsui did not own Kenwasha, nor did he retain any authoritative power in its management. Kenwasha was self-governed, and any decisions which needed to be made were taken based on discussion among all of the boarders under the supervision of Taikakai group members – not under Ōsui.⁸⁴

The life and training of Ōsui and his followers were the expression and

⁸¹ Nagashima Tadashige, 'Yasō' (1924), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 549.

⁸² Bokkō, 'Zuikanroku', 665.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 652.

⁸⁴ 'Taikakaihō', no. 1 (1906), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 464.

embodiment of Kenwasha's shared motto that members should work on their inner development by adhering to the principle of *kenwa*.⁸⁵ *Kenwa* suggests that each person should embrace humble obedience in the bosom of the Mother-Father God by fighting the everyday *shinsen* battle, thereby living peacefully and harmoniously with all beings in the symbiotic universe.⁸⁶ *Kenwa*, as a moral guide for regeneration, was inseparable from *taika* as its ultimate goal to be pursued in a Two-in-One relation. Similar to *kenwa*, *taika* – also the name of one of the study groups – was Ōsui's invention and embraced the peace, unity, and harmony of all of humanity in an open and interdependent relationality in the bosom of the Mother-Father God. Ōsui's invention of *taika* stands contrary to *yamato*, which is the conventional reading of the same *kanji* characters (大和) and is a way of referring to nativist Japan and Japanese-ness.⁸⁷ Ōsui avoided this conventional nativist reading and instead applied a classical Chinese-style reading (*kango*) to the word, echoing the classical Chinese style (*kanbun*) of much of his writing.⁸⁸ Accordingly, he liberated the word from the Japan-centric ideology and instead gave it a wider meaning of human harmony and coexistence. The challenging goal of *taika* is only achievable through the accumulation of virtue and the good practices of each human through the everyday battle. Through their regular visits and stays at Kenwasha, Ōsui and his followers reaffirmed their role

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ *Ken* (humble obedience) and *wa* (peace, unity, and harmony) are in a Two-in-One relation in *kenwa*.

⁸⁷ Abe Nakamaro, 'Nihon to iu Chiiki ni okeru Pauro no Shingaku no Igi ni Kansuru Ichikōsatsu: Arai Ōsui no Pauro Shingaku o Tegakari ni shite', *Katorikku Kenkyū*, no. 78 (2009): 27.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

and responsibility for initiating the reformatory work.⁸⁹

This chapter has elucidated Ōsui's vision of a symbiotic, interdependent world of the Mother-Father God in the early twentieth century. Ōsui's symbiotic religion challenges the civilisation discourse that has permeated modern historical narratives and presents a competing meaning to modern Japanese Christianity, free from such a teleological meaning of progress. His ideas were privately circulated and practically applied at Kenwasha, a forgotten grassroots hub of moral, intellectual, and religious cultivation by Northerners and their comrades in suburban Tokyo. This later developed to form what I have collectively termed symbiotic modernity.

As we have seen in this chapter, Ōsui's religion was action-oriented – urging each individual to take immediate action to change themselves and their experience of everyday life. This action-oriented Ōsui school of religious thought was actively applied by his followers. Chapter 2 has featured Ōsui's religion that underpins the larger symbiotic modern phenomena. Chapters 3 and 4 will showcase its concrete manifestations, disclosed through the Kenwasha network. In the next chapter, we shall return to Hakodate – the final battleground of the Boshin Civil War – in Hokkaido. There, an extended network of the Ōsui school manifested symbiotic modernity through a dedicated education for blind and deaf children, in opposition to the state's education and ideology of healthy national body.

⁸⁹ 'Taikakaihō', no. 3, 472.

CHAPTER 3

Beyond 'Japan's America':

The Ōsui School of Thought at a Blind and Deaf School in Early Twentieth-Century

Hokkaido

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, *Jikken Kyōju Shishin* (*The Guidance on Experimental Teaching*) – one of the best-known education journals in Japan – published an article written by its editor, Satō Zaikan, in which he stated the following:

Imperialism is an ideology of conquerors, wherein a handful of those who have the power to control the state attempt to expand national borders indiscriminately based on their self-interest and selfish minds; it is mandatory education that, aiming at fulfilling this goal, forces ordinary people to get used to the conquerors' competition.¹

Zaikan emphasised that state education was an underlying mechanism to produce Japanese nationals who would comply with and contribute to the civilisational agenda

¹ Ninten, 'Gimukyōiku Nengen Enchō', *Jikken Kyōiku Shishin* 5, no. 15 (1906), quoted in Ishitoya Tetsuo, *Nihon Kyōinshi Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Noma Kyōiku Kenkyūjo, 1958), 353. Ninten was Zaikan's penname at the time. The journal, *Jikken Kyōju Shishin* (*The Guidance on Experimental Teaching*), was renamed *Jikken Kyōiku Shishin* (*The Guidance on Experimental Education*) in 1906. For more on the popularity of the journal, see Seino Shigeru, *Satō Zaikan* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1998), 20–3; Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai, ed., *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 9, 335. The journal was first published in 1902 when Zaikan was still twenty-five years old, just one year after his graduation from college. It reached sales of 20,000 copies per issue, while the sales dropped to 700–800 copies towards the end of the Russo-Japanese War. This might be explained by the intensifying suppression of anti-imperial claims and the proliferation of prowar voices. Yōga Sanjin, *Zaikan Satō Masajirō Sensei Shōden* (Non-commercial material, 1959), 5.

of the Japanese empire. To him, the state education of his time was ‘just like an institution for the Satchō [Satsuma and Chōshū] government’² that ‘first and foremost teaches competition, war, ruthlessness, and atrocity’.³ He warned readers of the imperialist intentions embedded in the educational policy of the Meiji state, which was led by civil war victors.⁴

The anti-imperial educator, Zaikan – then the editor of the Tokyo-based journal in his twenties – was one of the most fervent yet forgotten disciples of Arai Ōsui.⁵ Following a decade of studying Ōsui’s religion in Tokyo, Zaikan relocated to Hakodate on the northern island of Hokkaido in 1915, pursuing further moral training. To Zaikan, the new site had to be Hakodate because ‘Hakodate was my master’s place of origin (*Hakodate wa shifu hasshō no chi*), and so I found it the very place where I would serve’.⁶ While his master Ōsui was born in Sendai, in Zaikan’s eyes, Hakodate was an important site where Ōsui began to develop universal moral thoughts during the Boshin Civil War (see Chapter 1). The civil war framework described in the early chapters still partially lingered in the mind and actions of Zaikan. In celebration of

² Ninten, ‘Chūkun Aikoku no Ben’, *Jikken Kyōju Shishin* 4, no. 12 (1905), quoted in Ishitoya, *Nihon Kyōinshi Kenkyū*, 352–53.

³ Ninten, ‘Gimukyōiku Nengen Enchō’.

⁴ Ishitoya, *Nihon Kyōinshi Kenkyū*, 352–53.

⁵ Zaikan was born into a merchant family in Tokushima, Shikoku Island. He studied Eastern and Western philosophy and religion at Tetsugakukan (now Toyo University) while struggling with financial hardship. Zaikan first met Ōsui around 1902, at which time Zaikan had graduated from Tetsugakukan and was self-studying the Bible with his friends.

⁶ Satō Zaikan, *Monzengo Sengo Zokuhen* (Hakodate: Mokuyōkai and Bonjinkai, 1956), 244; Harimoto Hideshi, ‘Satō Zaikan no Kirisutokyōkan’, *Kirisutokyōgaku* 43 (2001): 12.

his departure to Hakodate, Ōsui gifted him with the name ‘Zaikan’ – meaning clement, calm, and benevolent.⁷ The man originally named Satō Masajirō was thus reborn as Satō Zaikan, and this was the name he would use thereafter.

Chapter 3 centres on Hakodate in the early twentieth century. This chapter features the ideas and actions of the anti-imperial educator Zaikan, as well as his workplace, the Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf (Hakodate Mōain, hereafter the HSBD).⁸ The HSBD started as a pioneering, non-state-run, co-educational institution for blind children in northern Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. The school also began to offer education for deaf students in 1902 – becoming the first educational institution for the deaf in the north of Tokyo.⁹ After relocating to Hakodate, Zaikan became the principal of the destitute HSBD without collecting a salary (he sustained himself through part-time teaching at a local school of commerce).¹⁰ At the HSBD, he firmly demonstrated the Ōsui school’s vision of progress and humanitarianism in resistance to the imperialist ideology of progress.

Chapter 2 featured Ōsui’s religion, which challenged the Western modern mode of

⁷ Zaikan, *Monzengo Sengo Zokuhen*, 247; Harimoto, ‘Satō Zaikan no Kirisutokyōkan’, 12; Yōga, *Zaikan Satō Masajirō Sensei Shōden*, 6–7.

⁸ After working as a journalist and a teacher at a few other local schools in Hakodate, Zaikan ended up with the HSBD in the early 1920s. The HSBD was originally named Hakodate Kunmōkai (Hakodate Association for the Blind Training). It was then renamed as Hakodate Kunmōin (Hakodate School for the Blind Training) in 1901, Siritsu Hakodate Mōain (Hakodate Private School for the Blind and Deaf) in 1912, and then Zaidan Hōjin Hakodate Mōain (Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf) in 1925. For consistency, this thesis refers to the school as the Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf (HSBD).

⁹ Shinozaki Heiwa and Honma Suegorō, ‘Mōrō Kyōiku no Sōshi’, in *Hokkaido Kyōikushi: Zendō Hen San*, ed. Hokkaido Kyōiku Kenkyūjo (Sapporo: Hokkaido Kyōiku Iinkai, 1963), 1215.

¹⁰ Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 42.

civilisation and captivated diverse non-state actors – including young Zaikan – during the staunchly imperialist period of the Russo-Japanese War and its aftermath. Zaikan and the HSBD highlight an educationalist aspect of what I call ‘symbiotic modernity’ that emerged from the network of the Ōsui school. Symbiotic modernity, as I established conceptually in the Introduction, encapsulated the Ōsui school’s urge to rectify the state-led direction of progress – which was effectively regressing human progress by inducing wars and hierarchies – and pursue a more inclusive and interdependent world. Symbiotic modernity opposed hierarchies based on different human traits and backgrounds (e.g., race, nation, gender, class, disability). Instead, a new world, which would emerge in the bosom of the Mother-Father God of Ōsui’s religion, valued every individual. Symbiotic modern practitioners envisioned a way to incorporate everyone into a society without hierarchy, even those on the ‘losing side’ of state-led modernisation, including people with disabilities.

Hokkaido, where the HSBD was located, emblematised the state-led quest for civilisational development. The state and businesses perceived it as an empty, yet-to-be-excavated land rather than the Ainu’s land and promoted modern agricultural, industrial, and infrastructural development, often inspired by that of the modern West.¹¹ This process can be described as transforming Hokkaido into ‘Japan’s America’ (*Nihon no Beikoku*), to borrow the words of Satō Shōsuke (1856–1939), a professor at

¹¹ To my knowledge, Zaikan (as well as Ōsui) did not seem to discuss the Ainu in their writings. While the lack of sources hampers us from further investigating how they perceived of Ainu people, their (what seems like the) lack of attention to the Ainu might itself suggest a weakness in their view vis-à-vis their ideal of the symbiotic modern world.

Sapporo Agricultural College (SAC) in Hokkaido.¹² While Satō referred to the construction of ‘Japan’s America’ in the context of introducing large-scale, American-style farming to Hokkaido, ‘Japan’s America’ could holistically embody and represent the master narrative of civilisation and progress that the state and its associated political-economic cliques pursued through technological, scientific, capitalist, militaristic, moral-religious, and cultural development. The agricultural experiments can be contextualised within this framework. This chapter uses ‘Japan’s America’ as a shorthand to characterise the Japanese state’s holistic process of civilisational endeavour. In doing so, the chapter establishes how Zaikan and the HSBD opposed the ideology of ‘Japan’s America’ in the very heart of it.

In the extant scholarship on modern Japan, humanitarian work has been discussed as an integral part of the state-centred civilisational endeavour (or ‘Japan’s America’). That is, as Tanya Maus explains, ‘[w]ithin the recent historiography of Japanese social relief, it is commonly argued that relief workers facilitated the dissemination of Meiji state and institutional power as it sought to mold individuals even at the lowest levels of society into national subjects who would comply with its ideological objectives’.¹³ Even Christians, particularly Protestants, who played a leading role in humanitarianism in modern Japan, were no exception. Historians have studied how

¹² Satō Shōsuke, ‘Hokkaido Nōgyō no Shinpo’, *Hokkai no Shokusan* 7 (1890): 14.

¹³ Tanya Maus, ‘Rising Up and Saving the World: Ishii Jūji and the Ethics of Social Relief during the Mid-Meiji Period (1880–1887)’, *Japan Review: Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 25 (2013): 84.

Japanese Christian practitioners – such as Ishii Jūji (1865–1914), Tomeoka Kōsuke (1864–1934), and Yamamuro Gunpei (1872–1940) – engaged in humanitarian social relief work that served poor and injured people, orphans, women, and children with disabilities, both in peacetime and wartime in modern Japan, including during the Russo-Japanese War period.¹⁴ According to the historiography, most of them did not confront the Meiji state’s imperialist policy and were generally supportive of the Russo-Japanese War, including Yamamuro and Ishii.¹⁵ The existing literature has suggested that, by the end of the Russo-Japanese War, grassroots humanitarian workers and institutions (including Christians) had been largely co-opted by state ideology, and the state actively used them to maintain social order.

However, the HSBD’s humanitarian practices – tied to the Ōsui school of Christianity – challenged and reconfigured the meaning of Christian humanitarianism in modern Japan. I argue that the HSBD became a hidden hub of collective dissent against ‘Japan’s America’. The HSBD gave new meaning to the marginalised bodies of the blind and deaf by freeing them from the masculine national body and incorporating them as essential parts of the symbiotic modern world.

¹⁴ On humanitarianism and social relief work in modern Japan, including its intersection with Christianity, see Nihon Kirisutokyō Shakai Fukushi Gakkai, ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Shakai Fukushi no Rekishi* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2014); Kikuchi Masaharu et al., eds., *Nihon Shakai Fukushi no Rekishi* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2003); Konishi, ‘The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan’; Maus, ‘Rising Up and Saving the World’. On Yamamuro and Japan’s Salvation Army, see Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai*.

¹⁵ See Hosoi Isamu, ‘Nichiro Sensōgo no Kanka Kyūsai Jigyō to Kirisutokyō’, in *Nihon Kirisutokyō Shakai Fukushi no Rekishi*, 104.

Blind and deaf people epitomised the groups of people whose bodies disappeared from the sight of the masculine imperial body of the nation-state. For the state, they were 'disabled bodies' not contributing to war or the civilisational development of 'Japan's America'. The HSBD, however, gave an anti-hierarchical meaning to these marginalised bodies. As the chapter's first section discusses, it was not an accident that the HSBD's blind and deaf education aligned with the Ōsui school of thought and directly challenged 'Japan's America'. Instead, blind and deaf children were necessary for Zaikan and his comrades' vision of symbiotic modernity. The HSBD's deaf education, discussed in the chapter's second section, exemplified Zaikan's commitment to the symbiotic modern view of humanity. The HSBD rejected the prevailing hierarchy that placed oral language over sign language. Instead, the school implemented a pioneering form of multilingual education using both sign (primary) and oral (secondary) languages, an approach that was rarely seen in modern Japan (or even the US) at the time.

The historical significance of the HSBD lies not only in education; even outside of classes, the HSBD played multiple roles in challenging 'Japan's America'. Curiously, the school functioned as a northern hub of the 'Nonwar Movement' (*hisen undō*) during the Russo-Japanese War period, an aspect that will be discussed in the third section. The Nonwar Movement at the HSBD was not only concerned with opposing the Russo-Japanese War; their movement also sought to fundamentally replace the imperialist trajectory of civilisational progress with one founded on a less hierarchical

and more inclusive vision of humanity. This vision aligned the Nonwar Movement with their approach to blind and deaf education. Their movement was grounded in the transnational collaboration of Japanese-American philanthropists and educators. They collaborated to run the HSBD, the movement's venue, against the state's marginalisation of blind and deaf children. This transnational cultural space turned into a Nonwar hub during the evening. This early cultural-intellectual phenomenon contextualised Zaikan's symbiotic modern education for the blind and deaf at the HSBD in the 1920s.

Similarly, during Zaikan's principalship, the HSBD turned into what I call the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate' at night and weekends, which the final section addresses. This was an unofficial 'Ōsui school' – like Ōsui's original school, Kenwasha, in Tokyo – that aimed to nourish the next generation of symbiotic modern practitioners. Through this school and Zaikan's newspaper editorials, the Ōsui school's vision of symbiotic modern progress spread among the ordinary people of Hakodate more than historians would have ever imagined.

This chapter reveals the multiple roles and meanings of the HSBD emerging outside the classes (similar to Chapter 2), employing the perspective of a non-state history of the nighttime and weekend as a methodological strategy. History has often been narrated through the examination of ideas, actions, and networks that emerged during the daytime and weekdays. Much less attention has been paid to activities that take place in unofficial time and space, which, importantly, often operated differently

from official activities. Sho Konishi's study of Nakamura – a popular sweetshop in downtown Tokyo – revealed that during the night, its second floor became a hidden campus for studying Esperanto as a challenge to the Meiji state's civilisational ideology in the early twentieth century.¹⁶ Chapter 2 of this thesis also analysed how Ōsui's school, Kenwasha, connected diverse people after school or work (including during the nighttime and weekends) and morally trained them to challenge the civilisational ideology; this analytical approach has revealed that even students at Tokyo Imperial University – the state's elite institution that nurtured the leaders of the Japanese empire – were studying competing moral thoughts at Kenwasha outside their university classes, which challenged the very ideology of state-led imperial civilisation. Similarly, while the HSBD offered education for deaf and blind children during the daytime on weekdays, during the nighttime and weekends, the school became a hub of the Nonwar Movement, and later, the Ōsui school of thought. Only through the approach of a non-state history of nighttime and weekend activities, is it possible to relate not only the HSBD's cutting-edge education but also its roles outside of class hours. Through such roles, the HSBD attempted to rectify the state-led direction of progress from multiple angles.

Due in part to the nature of students' disabilities, it is difficult to find sources in which students recorded their experience at the school. The focus will, instead, be given to Zaikan and his like-minded colleagues and their actions and teachings at the

¹⁶ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 5.

HSBD, both in and out of classes. Primary sources do exist that were written by Zaikan, his comrades, and the HSBD's associates, including newspaper articles, the HSBD's publications, and private meeting records.¹⁷ Nevertheless, existing scholarship has largely ignored these figures and the school – a commonality seen among many members of the Ōsui school's network – without a single monograph published on Zaikan or other members of the HSBD in the English-language scholarship.¹⁸ As I have noted in the early chapters, I postulate that Zaikan and his comrades' cultural and intellectual history disappeared from the historiography despite the availability of sources, as a result of the tendency to write history based on state-centric narrativity and civilisational ideology.

Symbiotic Modern Progress Against the Mighty National Body

Education underpinned the state-led construction of a civilised national body. As

¹⁷ Many rich primary sources, including Zaikan's writings and the HSBD's historical records, are preserved in a local archive at the Hakodate City Central Library. Zaikan's editorials in a local newspaper in Hakodate are compiled in Satō Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, ed. Satō Zaikan Kenshōkai (Hakodate: Satō Zaikan Kenshōkai, 1995).

¹⁸ Zaikan and other HSBD associates have hardly been studied in Japanese-language scholarship either, with only a few exceptions (particularly by local historians based in Hokkaido). As one of the few exceptions, the local historian in Hakodate, Nakane Shin'ichi, wrote extensive research notes on Shinozaki Seiji (1881–1917), who had served the school as principal in the 1900s–10s, and collected primary data by interviewing Shinozaki's son. These notes and data were published locally by the Sapporo Association for People with Hearing Impairments. Nakane had hearing impairments himself, and he collected written and oral data with the support of a local deaf studies seminar. See Nakane Shin'ichi, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki o Tadotte: Hokkaido Rōkyōiku no Chichi* (Sapporo: Sapporo Chōryoku Shōgaisha Kyōkai, 1984). For an overview of Zaikan's life and thought (in Japanese only), see Seino, *Satō Zaikan*; Harimoto, 'Satō Zaikan no Kirisutokyōkan', 11–21. Even in the Japanese-language scholarship, no studies have contextualised the HSBD within the larger symbiotic modern phenomena in the early twentieth century.

early as the *bakumatsu* and early-Meiji eras, some statesmen and intellectuals did demonstrate interest in blind and deaf education, often viewing it as an integral process of catching up with the modern West. Fukuzawa Yukichi, for instance, learned in London, France, and the Netherlands how deaf students were educated through oral methods and conveyed the stories to the Japanese audience.¹⁹ Similarly, Yamao Yōzō (1837–1917) of the Chōshū domain was fascinated by how hearing and deaf labourers were working together at shipyards in Glasgow.²⁰ At the policy level, the School System Order (*Gakusei*, 1872) – known as Japan’s first modern law on education and the school system – acknowledged the need for educating children with disabilities. It held up the goal of ‘education for all Japanese nationals’ (*kokumin kaigaku*), providing the same basic content and quality of education to all children. The Meiji state and some local prefectures offered financial and logistic support for establishing some blind and deaf schools in Japan, notably Kyoto Mōain (The Kyoto School for the Blind and Deaf) and Tokyo Mōa Gakkō (The Tokyo School for the Blind and Deaf). Through these publicly sponsored institutions, some affluent urban children with visual and hearing impairments gained access to educational opportunities.

However, the vast majority of blind and deaf education in modern Japan relied on

¹⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi Chosakushū*, vol. 1 (*Seiyō Jijō*), eds. Marion Saucier and Nishikawa Shunsaku (Tokyo: Keiō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2002), 44–5; Karen Nakamura, *Deaf in Japan: Signing and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 40.

²⁰ Nakamura, *Deaf in Japan*, 40.

non-state actors, particularly local humanitarian philanthropists and religious practitioners. Blind and deaf children, after all, were of little importance for the Japanese state. Instead of relying on the state, those non-state humanitarian practitioners founded and ran small (and often poor) private educational institutions for blind and deaf children across the country, including the HSBD (established in 1895).²¹ Indeed, the Japanese government began to promote blind and deaf education more actively in the post-Meiji era through the ‘Schools for the Blind and Schools for the Deaf’ order (1923), which demanded that local prefectures set up public schools for the blind and deaf.²² Even so, contradictory to the principle of ‘education for all Japanese nationals’, blind and deaf children would not be counted towards the basic rule of compulsory education until the post-WWII era. Overall, blind and deaf children were long dismissed from the state’s national education, and blind and deaf education emerged primarily at the grassroots level.

²¹ A record from the late nineteenth century suggests that many students at the HSBD did not appear wealthy, sometimes carrying their baby siblings on their back and walking to the school in the frigid winter of Hokkaido. *Fujin Mesodisuto Kyōkai Nen kai Kiroku* (1896), quoted in Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 1 and 8.

²² Based on this law, the HSBD, a private educational institute, was granted official recognition as a school in the mid-1920s.

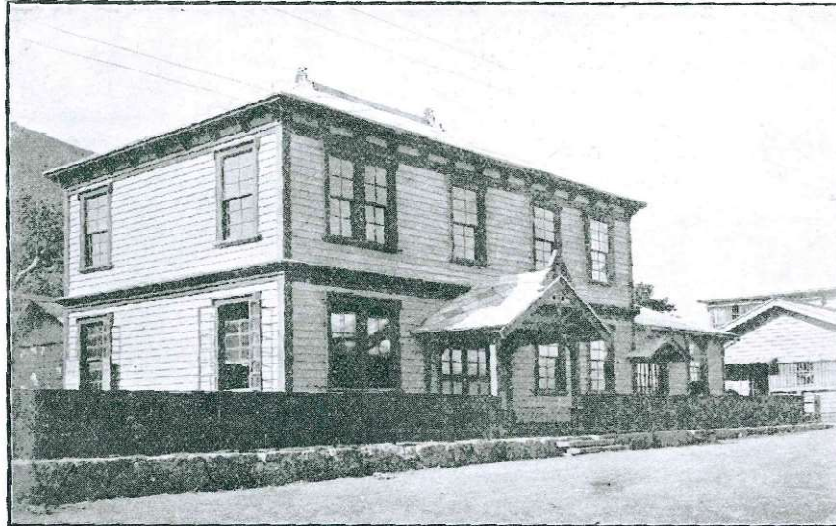


Figure 3. The Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf (HSBD). This building was in use between 1914 and 1918. Shiritsu Hakodate Mōain, Taishō 4 Nen 10 Gatsu Shiritsu Hakodate Mōain Yōran (non-published material, 1915).

People with disabilities epitomised ‘weak bodies’ in the context of *kokutai*, or the national body. While loosely defined and implemented, *kokutai* can be understood as a catchword that ideologically helped Japanese individuals constitute a unified, imperial nation-state under the emperor. This national body was supposed to be male-dominated, vigorous, and healthy.²³ Such a male-centred, vigorous national body conferred hierarchies on the human body, placing men above women and hearing people above deaf people.²⁴ State-funded, prestigious, all-male imperial colleges – such as SAC in Hokkaido – were producing ‘civilised’ boys who would serve

²³ Members of Dainippon Butokukai (The Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association), for example, are known to have promoted such a vision of the national body by promoting martial arts and emphasising the vigour of the Japanese male body. Denis Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

²⁴ From Michel Foucault to Pierre Bourdieu, extensive literature is available on the discussion of modern bodies. For recent works on bodies in modern Japan, see Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan*; Alice Bethany Susan Baldock, ‘Body (of) Knowledge: Women, the Body, and Dance in Postwar Japan’, *Journal of Asian Studies* (2022): 1–15.

as leaders in the construction of such a national body,²⁵ while women and blind and deaf people were unable to enter these institutions.

To the state and many educators, blind and deaf people were inferior to hearing and seeing people due to their disabilities. The School System Order, *Gakusei*, mentions that ‘there should be schools for *haijin*’, where *hai* means useless and *jin* means person/people. This widespread derogatory language referred to people with disabilities and diseases and contrasted them with the healthy national body. Accompanied by such derogatory terms, blind and deaf people were generally seen as less useful, if not useless, by the state. The ‘usefulness’ of such people was based on whether one could contribute to the construction of a civilised, and therefore modern, Japanese nation-state.²⁶ Based on this parameter, blind and deaf people were not helping the country; for instance, they could not fight wars on the frontline and thereby contribute to Japan’s national security and expansion.

The state and its sympathisers attempted to mobilise even those ‘inferior’ bodies as subordinative contributors to the national body and thereby make these bodies ‘valuable’. Accompanied by the state-endorsed ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’), the female body was given particular meanings, such as the body that gives birth and rears children; in this capacity, women could be ‘useful’ for expanding

²⁵ See Sakai Tetsuya, ‘Teikoku no Naka no Seijigaku Hōgaku Shokumin Seisakugaku’, in *Teikoku Hensei no Keifu*, ed. Sakai Tetsuya (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 4; Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

²⁶ See Hirata Katsumasa, ‘Nihon no Shōgaiji Kyōiku no Reimei’, in *Shōgaiji Kyōiku no Rekishi*, eds. Nakamura Makio and Arakawa Satoshi (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2003), 110–11.

the national body and underpinning the masculine imperial state from the domestic realm.²⁷ A similar logic was applied to blind and deaf people. For example, Rakuzenkai – an educational institution for the blind which later became the state-sponsored Tokyo School for the Blind and Deaf – used the following language in its advertising: ‘even those useless people with disabilities and diseases (*haishitsusha*) should be able to perform their abilities in studies and patience and become independent if they receive education to make them useful in this world’; ‘educate *haishitsusha* and guide them to become useful people (*yūyō no hito*) and the people of knowledge and virtue (*chitoku no tami*)’; and ‘let them enter our society of brothers’.²⁸ The advertisement effectively illuminates an underlying principle of the time – that all Japanese must somehow contribute to the larger national body. Children and youths with disabilities might be educated to fulfil this purpose despite their assumed inferiority to the healthy and vigorous populace. Through this education, they could be welcomed as part of the civilised national body. However, if they failed to become ‘useful’ in the state-led pursuit of ‘Japan’s America’, they would be among the first to be dismissed by the state and its associates as ‘useless’.²⁹

Without the use of such a hierarchical parameter of (un)usefulness and superiority-inferiority imposed on humanity, Zaikan embraced a competing moral vision. It was rooted in the Ōsui school of thought, which functioned upon the

²⁷ See Baldock, ‘Body (of) Knowledge’, 4.

²⁸ Hirata, ‘Nihon no Shōgaiji Kyōiku no Reimei’, 112.

²⁹ See *Ibid.*, 111.

symbiotic logic of ‘One-in-Two and Two-in-One’ – the concept Zaikan frequently referred to in his writings.³⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of One-in-Two and Two-in-One underlies Ōsui’s symbiotic view of the universe. Everything is interconnected in the bosom of the Mother-Father God; a greater whole consists of myriad unique existences (One-in-Two), but these existences and elements essentially comprise one consistent, inseparable whole (Two-in-One). Zaikan wrote that while humans shared some commonalities with each other, they simultaneously possessed an infinite number of distinctive, naturally given differences.³¹ Ōsui’s religion of One-in-Two and Two-in-One teaches that each element or individual in the interconnected universe has its own unique traits and talents and is equally valuable; the Mother-Father God, who resides in every single existence, ensures it. Seen through the lens of the Ōsui school, the inferiority imposed on blind and deaf people contradicted the fundamental logic of the symbiotic universe. Everyone, including blind and deaf children, ought to be incorporated into society without neglect and hierarchy, without which the Ōsui school’s ideal symbiotic modern world would not be realised. In this sense, it is evident that the practice of blind and deaf education – strictly without the use of such derogatory terms as *haishitsusha* – was tied to the core principle of the Ōsui school. Attempting to nourish the children neglected by state education was an important part of realising symbiotic modern progress.

³⁰ See for example, Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, 217, 372.

³¹ *Ibid*, 216–17.

Zaikan stood in sharp opposition to the state's national education, which, he argued, 'might be the best for a modern army using machinery' but not for educating diverse and unique individuals.³² He saw that state education was homogenising students to fulfil the state's imperialist aspirations, which he described as 'pencilism' (*enpitsu shugi*).³³ Zaikan explained:

The Ministry of Education's first-class education is a dead education that mechanises humans. Their education misconstrues humans with pencils. Twelve pencils with the same length, shape, and quality are collectively called a dozen, and twelve dozen is combined to constitute a gross. In this way, they have attempted to make them into dozen by ignoring people's natural gifts, character, traits, and genius.³⁴

Zaikan regarded the 'pencilist' education as the state mechanism through which the Japanese would learn to contribute to the imperial national body while killing individual traits. To Zaikan, the imperialist aspiration of the Japanese state, which underpinned its civilisational pursuit of 'Japan's America', was itself wrong:

Society and individuals have an inseparable relationship, and individuals cannot stay away from society and pursue their own happiness. Thus, to seek their own happiness, they shall first try to reform society as a whole. [...] Wrong patriots disturb world peace and dream of the expansion only of their country, and they have a delusion that ravages against neighbouring countries would eventually make these countries faithful to their own country; this is terribly wrong. [...] Japan does not exist separately from the world. Thus, Japan would not be improved without the world being improved. [...] We must engrave, thoroughly to the bottom of our spirit, that we are always part of a big whole, and the part cannot stand without the big whole standing.³⁵

³² Ibid, 216–17.

³³ Ibid., 216.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 212–13.

The Ōsui school of symbiotic modern thought consistently served as the intellectual basis, for Zaikan's opposition to the state-endorsed human hierarchy, the moulding of human individuality through national education, and the state's vision of civilisational progress itself.

Uprooting Western Modern Trends in Deaf Education

Zaikan's symbiotic modern ideals were most tangibly practised in the HSBD's approach to deaf education, which is featured in this section. In 1901 (before starting to teach deaf students in 1902), the HSBD had sixteen students and four staff members.³⁶ By the time Zaikan joined the school, the number of students had increased to approximately forty, of whom five had visual impairments, and all the rest had hearing impairments.³⁷ As will be explained below, the HSBD's deaf education stood in stark opposition to the Western modern mode of deaf education, which, to Zaikan, reinforced and justified the hierarchy of hearing people above deaf people.

During the 1920s and onwards, 'oralism' became increasingly popular in Japan's approach to deaf education. Oralism was a method of deaf education that exclusively used oral language, such as speech and lip-reading. Oralism began to replace

³⁶ Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 15–16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 41–2. At the time, the school had five Japanese full-time teaching and administrative staff headed by Zaikan. In the late 1920s and onwards, Zaikan's wife, sons, and daughters, as well as the son of former principal Shinozaki Seiji, began to work as teaching staff. *Ibid.*, 41–50.

‘manualism’, or the use of sign language in deaf education. The shift from manualism to oralism can be understood as the process of eradicating sign language in deaf education. As the US deaf education historian Douglas C. Baynton points out, ‘[t]he debate over sign language called upon and expressed the central debates of the time, involving such fundamental issues as what distinguished Americans from non-Americans, civilized people from “savages,” humans from animals, and men from women; what purposes education should serve; and what “nature” and “normality” meant and how they were related to one another’.³⁸ The promotion of oralism, in rejection of sign language, occurred as a component of pursuing Western modern progress, wherein the use of sign language was deemed inferior to oral language spoken by the majority (i.e., hearing people). Oralism was considered more ‘civilised’ and ‘progressive’ than manualism based on ‘primitive’ sign language.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, oralism had actively been promoted in Western deaf education as an attempt to integrate deaf children into the mainstream ‘normality’; indeed, nearly 80 per cent of deaf students in the US were taught using oralism (i.e., completely without sign language) by the end of WWI.³⁹ Similarly, most Japanese educators followed this Western modern path to progress in deaf education, through which deaf students were directed to study the standardised

³⁸ Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5. This had been the case despite the opposition of many deaf people to the oralists’ eradication of sign language. Some eugenicists were even afraid of deaf people’s intermarriage, promoted by their use of sign language, as it might create a new strain of humans that were deaf. *Ibid.*, 6.

national (*kokumin's*) language, spoken Japanese. An eminent expert in Japan's deaf education of the time, for example, proclaimed that sign language was used only by deaf people – a minority in contrast to spoken Japanese used by the majority – and was 'a product of an age that was not far from being distinguished from apes'.⁴⁰ The expert thereby supported oralism, explaining that 'we cannot help but come to a conclusion that the minority needs to be sacrificed for the majority' and, for the happiness of deaf people, it was necessary to incorporate them into the world of the majority hearing populace.⁴¹

However, to Zaikan, the Western modern turn in Japan's deaf education did not bring progress but rather retrogression. While he did not reject the use of oral language itself, he nevertheless rejected oralism – the idea of providing all classes in oral language by eliminating sign language.⁴² Zaikan directly criticised the aforementioned oralist claim associated with hierarchical evolutionary theory and questioned whether oralism was truly capable of bringing happiness to deaf people.⁴³ He observed that most deaf students were struggling with the oralist education that was becoming predominant in Japan; it deprived them of opportunities to study basic subjects (e.g., maths, history, science, ethics) in depth and instead drove them to

⁴⁰ Shikeisei, 'Katoki yo Toku Sare', *Rōa Kyōiku* 35 (1936): 4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4–5.

⁴² Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 65.

⁴³ See Zaikan, 'Risō to Jissai'.

spend many hours mastering pronunciation only.⁴⁴ He continued:

I believe that making the minority sacrifice for the majority is against the principle of humanitarianism (*jindō no shushi*). This is a utilitarian discourse and the way of the supreme ruler (*hasa no michi*), which cannot help but easily become a tyranny of the mightiest (*kyōsha no ōbō*). [...] Education should be founded on the spirit of love, and the spirit of love does not force sacrifices to any of the weak. [...] I must raise a big question mark over the fundamental principle of oralism which has been discussed from the viewpoint of normal people and has forced [deaf students] to become like them.⁴⁵

In Zaikan's symbiotic vision of the world, even the populations with the weakest social standing must not be sacrificed to promote the majority's benefits. He was strictly opposed to the hierarchical idea of 'acculturating' deaf people to the hearing national body by killing their naturally given talents, which was, to him, anti-humanitarian, utilitarian, and tyrannical. As previously explained, in the logic of the Ōsui school, everyone was equally important in their own way in the symbiotic universe of the Mother-Father God.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. While Zaikan was strictly opposed to the hierarchical power relationship of hearing people above deaf people, he used the term normal people (*seijōsha*) instead of the term hearing people. It certainly raises questions about 'normality' and 'abnormality'.



Figure 4. Japanese Syllabary in a Sign Language Invented by Furukawa Tashirō (1845–1907), a Leading Teacher of Deaf Education in the Meiji Era. Kawamoto Unosuke, *Rōkyōikugaku Seisetsu* (Tokyo: Shigarakikai, 1940), 143.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the HSBD developed a systematic curriculum, taught wide-ranging subjects, and provided vocational training.⁴⁶ Subjects that included Japanese classics, mathematics, geography, science, history, and Braille were taught to children with visual and hearing impairments who would otherwise be excluded from receiving a basic education. Since Zaikan categorically rejected the hierarchy of language embedded in civilisation discourse, the HSBD

⁴⁶ *Fujin Mesodisuto Kyōkai Nenkai Kiroku* (1900–1), quoted in Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 11,11; Shinozaki and Honma, 'Mōrō Kyōiku no Sōshi', 1215. Initially, the HSBD began as an institution that taught *anma* massage and Protestantism to blind children in addition to sewing classes for local girls and education for poor children from nearby fishing villages. *Fujin Mesodisuto Kyōkai Nenkai Kiroku* (1896), quoted in Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 1 and 8.

continued to teach most of these classes for deaf students in sign language as the primary language of instruction, which most of the deaf students found more familiar. The HSBD's sign language education was a highly unusual practice in Japan (or even the US) at the time.⁴⁷ To Zaikan, however, this approach was a practical means that allowed children to learn the subjects in depth, in contrast to oralist education which resulted in intensive yet superficial pronunciation training. Moreover, while maintaining sign language as a first language, the HSBD set up oral language classes as part of the curriculum wherein students studied spoken Japanese as a second language.⁴⁸ Accordingly, the HSBD's deaf students were given opportunities to try out oral language. This multilingual education allowed even those minority deaf students, who preferred oral language, to nurture their oral skills.

Recent research has revealed the inefficacy of oralist education; some have even described the difficulty of mastering spoken English for deaf people (particularly those who are deaf from an early age) by likening it to 'a hearing American trying to learn spoken Japanese while locked within a soundproof glass cubicle'.⁴⁹ Zaikan's observations and his consequent critique of oralism during the 1920s–30s were, indeed, aligned with the conclusion recent research has come to offer.

⁴⁷ Being a proponent of sign language did not mean 'conservatism', while civilisation discourse may interpret him as such. Instead, he supported the idea of constantly improving the usage of sign language. Zaikan, 'Risō to Jissai'.

⁴⁸ Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 65.

⁴⁹ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*, 5.

A Northern Hub of the Nonwar Movement Against 'Japan's America'

Even outside the classroom, often during the nighttime and weekends, the HSBD occupied multiple roles that opposed the Western modern discourse of civilisation and progress, or 'Japan's America', even before Zaikan's principalship. Indeed, it was *not* the case that Zaikan and the Ōsui school suddenly converted the HSBD to their own ideology in the 1920s. During the Russo-Japanese War period, the HSBD was already playing a leading role in the 'Nonwar Movement' (*hisen undō*) in Hakodate and embracing ideas that aligned with the symbiotic modernity of the Ōsui school. Shinozaki Seiji – a man with severe visual impairments and a graduate of the HSBD – was appointed as a new principal of the school in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War, and he soon began to use the school to advance the Nonwar Movement.⁵⁰ As seen in Chapter 2, the Russo-Japanese War period was a significant moment when the 'history slide' occurred.⁵¹ Pre-existing critiques of civilisation increased during and immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, accompanied by the sense of urgency that each individual ought to take some kind of action and rectify the present and future of human civilisation. One manifestation of this trend is exemplified by Shinozaki and his use of the HSBD as a hub of the Nonwar Movement – the movement for which the Meiji state blacklisted Shinozaki and his comrades with police

⁵⁰ Shinozaki was born in Tokyo into a family of a former lower-class samurai of Mikawa (present Aichi prefecture). In 1897, at the age of 16, he relocated to Hakodate following his sister's marriage there, and he graduated from the HSBD in 1898. He then became a teacher at the HSBD, and then the principal in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War (serving until 1917).

⁵¹ See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

surveillance and even fined a local newspaper that published an article on their activities.⁵² What was the Nonwar Movement? How can historians make sense of the fact that the HSBD, a school for the blind and deaf, functioned as a hub of the movement? This section explores the interconnection of the Nonwar Movement and the education for the blind and deaf at HSBD. This early cultural-intellectual phenomenon makes it possible to contextualise the intellectual trajectory the school would continue to take in Zaikan's time.

Around the Russo-Japanese War period, various Japanese intellectuals, religious leaders, and media supported the imperial war over the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. Nevertheless, opposition to the prowar claims spread at the same time. Referred to as the first antiwar movement in modern Japanese history, the Nonwar Movement has generally been understood as intellectuals' opposition to the Russo-Japanese War as well as their propagation of pacifism and anti-militarism.⁵³ The movement's main organ was *Heimin Shimbun* (*The People's Newspaper*) based in Tokyo – a newspaper published by Heiminsha (The People's Association), which was

⁵² Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 18, 11; Shinozaki Heiwa, *Hakodate Mōgakkō Hakodate Rōgakkō Enkakushi*, eds. Hakodate Mōgakkō and Hakodate Rōgakkō (Hakodate: Hakodate Mōgakkō, 1957), 18–19. Various Nonwar activists of the Russo-Japanese War period, including Shinozaki and some of his comrades, have sometimes been collectively labelled as socialists (or early socialists) in the historiography. Indeed, some of them, as well as state authorities, used the term to describe their ideas and actions. Nevertheless, the category of socialist was loosely defined and highly ambiguous, and it involved diverse visions within the same category. This categorisation might have prevented an interpretation of deeper and diversified meanings, ideas, and connectivity behind the labelling. This chapter, therefore, examines the ideas and actions of relevant historical actors without being constrained by the socialist framing. This will enable readers to see their connections with symbiotic modern networks.

⁵³ See Tierney, *Monster of the Twentieth Century*.

established when a group of writers who disagreed with the prowar shift of the newspaper *Yorozu Chōhō* left the company in 1903.

The Nonwar Movement has mostly been presented in the context of the small, Tokyo-based intellectual circles around Heiminsha. Nevertheless, although it has been rarely studied in the extant scholarship, the Nonwar Movement expanded to involve wider social and geographical networks.⁵⁴ As exemplified by its presence at the HSBD, it even reached Hokkaido – the home turf of state imperialism and hence, one of the most unlikely sites for the movement.⁵⁵ Indeed, from early on, Hokkaido was tied to the very core of the Meiji state's civilisational endeavour, to the extent that Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883) – a leading statesman of early-Meiji Japan – designated the colonial development of Ezo (present Hokkaido) as one of Japan's three most urgent matters, along with international relations and the tax revenue system.⁵⁶ Iwakura positioned the northern island at the forefront of constructing a civilised Japanese nation-state,⁵⁷ and SAC's elite education came to symbolise the state-led

⁵⁴ For a rare study on the emergence of local *heimin* groups across Japan, see Hashimoto Tetsuya, 'Chihō ni Okeru Shoki Shakaiishugi no Katsudō', *Kanazawa Daigaku Keizai Ronshū*, no. 21 (1984): 13–16.

⁵⁵ Hokkaido, seemingly the most unlikely periphery, had the second largest number of *Heimin Shimbun* readers in Japan after Tokyo. 'Heimin Shimbun Chokusetsu Dokusha Tōkeihyō', *Shūkan Heimin Shimbun*, 10 July 1904, no. 35, 1. Despite potential threats and everyday surveillance by military police, Hokkaido people established the Nonwar Movement's groups in various cities, such as Hakodate, Sapporo, Otaru, and Muroran, in 1904.

⁵⁶ Iwakura argued that 'it will raise unprecedented large profits inside, stop Russians from watering at their mouth outside, and enhance the empire's power abroad'; thus, he continued, 'whether we open Ezo or not is related to the prosperity and decline of the empire'. Iwakura Tomomi, 'Tomomi Gaikō Kaikei Ezochi Kaitaku no Sanken o Chōgi ni Fusuru Koto', in *Iwakurakō Jikki: Gekan 1*, ed. Tada Kōmon (Tokyo: Kōgōgūshoku, 1906), 700. Ezo was officially named Hokkaido in 1869.

⁵⁷ Iwakura even proposed that outcasts and felons, including Northern civil war losers, should serve as labour forces for Ezo's colonisation, incorporating these potential destabilisers into the state-driven order. Iwakura Tomomi, 'Tomomi Seido ni Kanshi Ikensho o Chōgi ni Fusuru Koto', in *Iwakurakō Jikki*,

efforts of 'Japan's America' in Hokkaido. The all-male, English-taught imperial college offered new American agricultural techniques, the military drill, Christianity, and scientific subjects. Agricultural studies and military training were closely linked at SAC; both were necessary means for colonising and defending the northern island. Indeed, as Sho Konishi points out, agricultural expansion was a typical method that imperial Japan utilised to settle and colonise Hokkaido, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria.⁵⁸

Emerging in the unlikely site of Hokkaido, the HSBD became a northern hub of the Nonwar Movement. The Nonwar activist Harako Motoi (1879–1933) advised his fellow activist Morichika Unpei (1881–1911): 'Principal of the School for the Blind Training in Aioi town, Mr Shinozaki, is our passionate comrade and is saying that whatever number it may be, he will harbour our comrades from the main island'.⁵⁹ The HSBD functioned as a shelter for Nonwar activists who were being pursued by state authority and had fled from Japan's main island (Honshu).⁶⁰ Principal Shinozaki, despite his severe poverty, harboured Nonwar fugitives at the school by sharing his food and clothes until they fled to the next destination.⁶¹

Moreover, on Friday nights in odd weeks, the HSBD became a hidden venue of the

601–2.

⁵⁸ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 245–46.

⁵⁹ Taigyaku Jiken Kiroku Kankōkai, *Shōkobutsu Utsushi: Taigyaku Jiken Kiroku*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Sekai Bunko, 1964), 291.

⁶⁰ Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 20, 15.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Hakodate Heimin Club (Hakodate Heimin Kurabu).⁶² The Hakodate Heimin Club was a grassroots intellectual space wherein local men and women – who were interested in reading newspapers published by Heiminsha – gathered together after work and exchanged their thoughts.⁶³ The members were not discriminated against for their faith, and these gatherings involved Christians and Buddhists in the same group.⁶⁴ The Hakodate Heimin Club posted logs of their meetings in Heiminsha-related newspapers (*Heimin Shimbun*, *Chokugen*, and *Hikari*) between October 1904 and November 1905.⁶⁵ Through these logs, the synopses of their activities were shared with Nonwar comrades across the country.

One of their priorities was the absolute objection to the Russo-Japanese War. Not only did Shinozaki proclaim, ‘I am a Nonwar activist (*musen shugisha*)’ before the outbreak of the war,⁶⁶ but another member, Watanabe Sakichi, published a poem entitled ‘The War of Mourning’ (*Tomurai Ikusa*) immediately after Japan’s victory in the

⁶² The group was initially named the Hakodate Heimin Newspaper Reading Association (Hakodate Heimin Shimbun Dokushakai) – which was renamed the Hakodate Heimin Club (Hakodate Heimin Kurabu) after the Meiji state banned the *Heimin Newspaper* in 1905. Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 17, 11. After the ban on the *Heimin Newspaper*, the group continued their activities reading *Chokugen*, the second generation of the Heiminsha’s newspaper. For consistency, this thesis refers to the group as the Hakodate Heimin Club.

⁶³ Tsujimoto Shigeru, *Shinozaki Sensei Shōden* (non-published material, 1933), published in *Hokkaido Rōshi Kenkyū Series 7* (Sapporo: Sapporo Rōshi Kenkyūkai, 2006), 24–5.

⁶⁴ Ibid. While it is difficult to know the denomination of each Christian and Buddhist member, it is known that some Christian members (including the leader Shinozaki) were Methodists.

⁶⁵ The Hakodate Heimin Club posted logs of their meetings thirteen times during this period. This was followed by eight posts by the Sapporo Heimin group, four by the Otaru Heimin group, and three by the Muroran Heimin group in Hokkaido. Kitamura Iwao, *Arishima Takeo Ron: Nijisseiki no Tozetsushita Yume to Sono Gunzō no Monogatari* (Sapporo: Hakurōsha, 2007), 99.

⁶⁶ Tsujimoto, *Shinozaki Sensei Shōden*, 25.

war.⁶⁷ In the poem, Watanabe mourned a friend who died 'like a scapegoat (*ikenie*)' in the war – a scapegoat who was 'deceived and torn apart by the sword of wealth'.⁶⁸ In his view, the political-economic cliques who led the imperial war hardly lent a helping hand to ordinary people. He called for the continued resistance to the injustice of the cliques rather than the celebration of the war victory: 'Let's mourn and fight the scene of the deadly strife'.⁶⁹

Intriguingly, amid the Russo-Japanese imperial conflict, the Hakodate Heimin Club discussed not only the war but wide-ranging social issues tied to people's everyday lives. Such issues included visual impairments, prostitution, socialism and humanitarian work, and vegetarian and meat diets.⁷⁰ Indeed, contrary to the typical description of Nonwar activism as an antiwar and antimilitarist movement in extant scholarship, the Nonwar Movement was not exclusively concerned with opposing the imperial war. Instead, it questioned the fundamental vision of civilisation and progress itself that Meiji's political-economic cliques were promoting.⁷¹ The Russo-

⁶⁷ Watanabe Wakakusa, 'Tomurai Ikusa', *Kaben*, 10 October 1905, vol. 1, no. 2, 27. He used the pseudonym Wakakusa, which meant young grass. He was born into a family of a rice shop owner in Hakodate and was baptised at the Hakodate Methodist Church in 1900, through which he was acquainted with Shinozaki. Sakichi contributed many poems to the Tokyo-based monthly journal in literature, *Kaben*, from Hakodate. *Kaben* was founded in 1905 by members of the *Kabenkai*, which consisted of students and intellectuals based in Tokyo Senmon Gakkō (present Waseda University) and Heiminsha a year after Sakichi returned to Hakodate from his study at Waseda. The Meiji state ultimately banned the publication of *Kaben*.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ 'Hakodate Dokushakai', *Shūkan Heimin Shimbun*, 2 October 1904, no. 47, 7; Kise, 'Hakodate Heimin Kurabu (Chokugen Dokushakai)', *Chokugen*, 2 April 1905, vol. 2, no. 9, 7; 'Hakodate Heimin Kurabu Dairokuji Shōshū', *Chokugen*, 14 May 1905, vol. 2, no. 15, 7.

⁷¹ On this, see Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 3.

Japanese War was a symbolic time when people clearly and widely articulated their discontent with the Meiji's state-led pursuit of civilisation, which had existed since the late nineteenth century. Thus, Nonwar advocates rejected not only the Russo-Japanese War but the state-centred vision of progress – which could be represented by 'Japan's America' – itself. To them, this civilisational vision promoted and justified imperial wars (including the Russo-Japanese War) and hierarchies in personhood, which constrained the everyday life of people, or *heimin*.

The invention of the '*heimin*' concept showcased the scale of the worldview that went beyond antiwar. From the *Heimin Newspaper* to the Hakodate Heimin Club, the Nonwar Movement was accompanied by the term *heimin*. The concept of *heimin*, the people, emerged alongside the state-endorsed concept of *kokumin*, the nation's people.⁷² The concept of *kokumin* was weaved into people's everyday lives, in juxtaposition to 'deviants' and 'enemies', in the state's endeavour to formulate a coherent, masculine, and civilised national body. The *heimin* concept was promoted by Nonwar activists in opposition to the hierarchy and exclusiveness that the *kokumin* concept entailed, and it reconfigured human bonding more inclusively, without national, racial, gender, and social hierarchies. Participants of the Nonwar Movement stood up against the Russo-Japanese War and the state-endorsed imperialist vision of the national body, which, rather than bringing good and peace, harmed the everyday life of ordinary *heimin* through poverty, uncertainty, and despair, and only

⁷² See Ibid.

benefitted political and economic cliques.

As was evident in its name, the Hakodate Heimin Club embraced the concept of *heimin* as its underpinning principle. Instead of contributing to 'Japan's America' and the *kokumin* ideology that supported its civilisational agenda, the Hakodate Heimin Club sought to build human relationships based on the principle of *heimin*. An anonymous member (referred to as *heimin*) set out the club's rule in propagating their vision: 'Use the same words to all people as much as possible, and do not use any class-based hierarchical words (*kaikyūteki no kotoba*)'.⁷³ The use of the 'people's words' – the words used in the everyday life of ordinary people – exemplified their *heimin* consciousness that required being inclusive of everyone without hierarchy.⁷⁴

The embrace of the *heimin* concept suggests that it was not an accident that the HSBD became a northern hub of the Nonwar Movement and challenged the imperial war and the pursuit of 'Japan's America'. Instead, the HSBD's education for a more inclusive sociality, which incorporated blind and deaf children excluded by the state's *kokumin* education, tangibly manifested the ethos of the Nonwar Movement. The concept of *heimin* was inclusive of those bodies disenfranchised by the national body, notably blind and deaf people, without hierarchy. To Shinozaki and his comrades, the *heimin* principle was not a mere ideology but an everyday practice. The education for the blind and deaf can be understood as an embodiment and concrete execution of

⁷³ Heimin, 'Hakodate Heimin Kurabu Dainanaji Shōshū', *Chokugen*, 28 May 1905, vol. 2, no. 17, 7.

⁷⁴ Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 20, 15.

the ideal of an inclusive *heimin*-centred world envisioned through the Nonwar Movement. Furthermore, Shinozaki and his house provided a safety net for a diverse group of people excluded from the benefits of state-led modernisation, such as *decchi* (young apprentices working at artisans/merchants' houses), local labourers, strangers, and the poor and homeless – all of whom occupied socially weak positions within the capitalist civilisational pursuit but were fully included in *heimin* without hierarchy.⁷⁵ It is notable that the leader of the Hakodate Heimin Club, principal Shinozaki, had severe visual impairments since childhood and was nearly blind, which hampered him from achieving socio-economic success in such a state-centred civilisation. The urges to pursue Nonwar and education for blind and deaf children were inseparably interconnected; both were attempts to create an anti-hierarchical and inclusive society where every individual ought to be cherished.

Notably, the Nonwar Movement that revolved around the HSBD – and later, Zaikan's blind and deaf education as a manifestation of symbiotic modernity – developed from the foundation of the transnational male-female collaboration. (Indeed, 'transnational' does not always have to take place outside of Japan.) The HSBD began as a non-state, transnational cultural space wherein American and Japanese philanthropists worked together to aid blind children neglected by the masculine national body. First established by Charlotte Pinckney Draper (1832–99) and Mira Enid (Haven) Draper (1859–1935) – who were respectively the mother and

⁷⁵ Ibid., no, 22, 15; Tsujimoto, *Shinozaki Sensei Shōden*, 13.

wife of the Methodist missionary Gideon Frank Draper (1858–1951) at Hakodate – the HSBD developed through collaborative work that involved these American Methodist women and local Japanese educators (both male and female) in its early years.⁷⁶ Even during the principalship of Shinozaki (who was a Methodist Christian), the financially struggling HSBD managed to persist partly thanks to donations from an anonymous American women’s organisation. The donations were arranged by the American Methodist Augusta Dickerson (1859–1946) – the principal of Iai Women’s School in Hakodate (the oldest women’s school in northern Japan), which was also established by American Methodists.⁷⁷ These American women’s humanitarian work for blind and deaf children dismissed by ‘Japan’s America’ contrast sharply with the work of American men at SAC, led by William Smith Clark (1826–86). Clark was at the forefront of promoting ‘Japan’s America’ through elite boys’ education.⁷⁸ While

⁷⁶ Shinozaki Heiwa, *Mira Enid Haven Draper Sensei Shōden* (non-published material, 1989). The Drapers had been stationed in Yokohama (before moving to Hakodate) and established Yokohama Mōjin Fukuinkai (The Yokohama Gospel Association for the Blind) in 1889. The HSBD’s early Japanese teachers included Nakajima Kenjirō (a blind teacher who taught Shinozaki), Arita Tama (a teacher of poor and blind children), Yamamoto Sukerokurō (in charge of the school management), Yamamoto’s wife (a sewing teacher), and Katō Miyo (a sewing teacher). *Fujin Mesodisuto Kyōkai Nenkaï Kiroku* (1896), quoted in Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 7, 9; Tsujimoto, *Shinozaki Sensei Shōden*, 7–8.

⁷⁷ Shinozaki, *Mira Enid Haven Draper Sensei Shōden*, 28, 30. Dickerson was born to a Methodist family in Milford, Delaware. She was sent to Hakodate in 1888 via the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society – the largest missionary organisation run by Protestant women in the US at the time. Protestant women contributed greatly to American missionary movements after the American Civil War, representing one of the largest movements in the history of the nineteenth-century US. Dickerson would represent such American Protestant women. Karen K. Seat, “*Providence Has Freed Our Hands*”: *Women’s Missions and the American Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 5, 38, 40.

⁷⁸ SAC was founded in 1876 under the instruction of William Smith Clark, Professor in Chemistry, Botany, and Zoology at Amherst College in Massachusetts. Clark was an *oyatoi gaikokujin* (Euro-American expert hired by the Meiji state) through whom the state intended to promote the learning of the ‘advanced’ technology and culture of the West. Clark was heavily involved in Hokkaido’s colonial administration. He worked closely with Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840–1900), Head of the Hokkaido Colonisation Agency (*Kaitakushi*) and later Prime Minister of Japan. For a more detailed account on

Western missionary women in Japan tend to be discussed in the context of civilisation discourse (represented by 'Japan's America'),⁷⁹ the American-Japanese collaboration at the HSBD developed precisely by responding to the failures of the state-led promotion of such civilisation.

These American Methodist women, although not direct participants in the Hakodate Heimin Club, were still a non-negligible part of the club's Nonwar Movement because they allowed Shinozaki and his comrades to use the school for that purpose. Although existing sources do not allude to Dickerson and other American Methodist women's views on Nonwar activism, it is known it was Dickerson who named Shinozaki's new-born son, Heiwa – meaning 'peace' in Japanese – at the end of the Russo-Japanese War.⁸⁰ It is possible to infer that this unconventional name, Heiwa, may reflect Dickerson's hope for peace – rather than the honouring of the war victory – during a time when ordinary people were experiencing loss and uncertainty in the aftermath of the imperial war.

To the same extent that the HSBD functioned as a northern hub of the Nonwar Movement, Ōsui and Zaikan acted as eminent proponents of Nonwar. The Ōsui school of thought – which uprooted the hierarchical state discourse about humanity – was

Clark, see John M. Maki, *A Yankee in Hokkaido: The Life of William Smith Clark* (Lanham, Md.; Oxford: Lexington Books, 2002).

⁷⁹ On Western women missionaries in the patriarchal Japanese nation-state, see Mara Patessio, 'Western Women Missionaries and Their Japanese Female Charges, 1870–1890', *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (2007): 59–77.

⁸⁰ Shinozaki, *Hakodate Mōgakkō Hakodate Rōgakkō Enkakushi*, 13.

in a symbiotic relationship with the vision of a *heimin*-centred world that underpinned the Nonwar Movement. Those who supported the vision of symbiotic modernity sided with the *heimin* rather than with the *kokumin* of the nation-state. ‘Who could deny’, Zaikan questioned, that the voice of *heimin* would grow day by day and be refined year by year, and ‘after tens or hundreds of years, will become the mother of civilisation and the source of public opinions of the wider world?’⁸¹ Zaikan clearly envisioned that the *heimin* would be the ones to inaugurate a new direction of human progress. Indeed, both Ōsui and Zaikan were integral parts of the Nonwar Movement. Zaikan’s aforementioned renowned journal, *Jikken Kyōju Shishin*, published not only his anti-imperial editorials but also Ōsui’s writings, such as the article ‘A Sin of War’ (*Sensō no Zaiaku*, 1903); the article emphasised that war was ‘absolutely impermissible in any situation’.⁸² From his time in the US countryside to early twentieth-century Tokyo, Ōsui consistently and continuously stood up against imperial wars, colonial expansionism, and human hierarchies (see Chapters 1 and 2). During the Russo-Japanese War period, his (and Zaikan’s) emphatic rejection of imperialist progress merged with the Nonwar Movement and, together, encouraged others to act against the imperial Japanese state. Through the writings of Ōsui and Zaikan, the journal played a leading role in the promotion of both Nonwar and Ōsui’s

⁸¹ Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, 294–95.

⁸² Arai Ōsui, ‘Sensō no Zaiaku’, *Jikken Kyōju Shishin* 2, no. 11 (1903), reprinted in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 383. The journal also openly expressed ‘sympathy for the *Heimin Shimbun*’. Ishitoya, *Nihon Kyōinshi Kenkyū*, 351.

religion in the educational field, functioning as one of a few venues through which the teachings of the Ōsui school of thought were made available to the public during the Russo-Japanese War period.

In these ways, the Ōsui school, blind and deaf education, and the Nonwar Movement intellectually reinforced one another in their pursuit of symbiotic and anti-hierarchical sociality. Thus, it is unsurprising that the HSBD, which first emerged through the Japanese-American Methodist Christian network in the late nineteenth century, began to interconnect with the Ōsui school when it was widely embraced in the early twentieth century, even before Zaikan's principalship. As previously mentioned, the state offered no funding for the HSBD. The school barely remained financially solvent and needed donations to continue offering education for blind and deaf children.⁸³ To gain further financial support for the HSBD from Hakodate locals, Shinozaki worked alongside Terai Shirobē (1867–1949), who was an external supporter of the Taikakai, a study group founded at Ōsui's school, Kenwasha (see Chapter 2).⁸⁴ Terai was a successful business owner based in Hakodate who used his assets to provide social relief work for those who were socio-economically

⁸³ Donations came from Hakodate, the US, and (particularly in their early years) the Methodist Church. According to a church record in 1899, while the Methodist Church's headquarter had offered twenty-five yen annually for the school's rent, the school needed 250 yen to sustain itself in the next fiscal year. The rest had to be covered primarily by individual donations from the US and Hakodate. *Fujin Mesodisuto Kyōkai Nenkai Kiroku* (1899), quoted in Nakane, *Shinozaki Seiji no Sokuseki*, no. 9, 8. The monthly tuition was 50 sen, which was the same as the tuition at official primary schools. Tsujimoto, *Shinozaki Sensei Shōden*, 10. Later, Zaikan changed the school's regulation and abolished tuition. Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 47.

⁸⁴ 'Taikakaihō', no. 2 (1907), in *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 8, 468–69.

excluded from the benefits of state-led modernisation. Such work included the establishment of Hakodate Jikeiin (The Hakodate Charity House), which offered aid to the poor and orphans free of charge in a slum district starting in 1900. Shinozaki and Terai founded the HSBD's support group (*kōenkai*) through which donations from Hakodate locals were collected, and he helped the school gain more financial stability.⁸⁵ Through Shinozaki's network, it is possible to see the beginning of the collaboration between Methodists and the Ōsui school at the HSBD. While Shinozaki's (principal, 1904–17) and Zaikan's (principal from 1922) time at the HSBD did not overlap, both were, to different degrees, tied to the Ōsui school network. This may suggest the extent of the Ōsui school's influence, as it even reached the northern vanguard of 'Japan's America'.

The Kenwasha of Hakodate

Building upon the preceding intellectual context as a northern hub of the Nonwar Movement, the HSBD not only offered blind and deaf education but also began to embrace a new role outside of class hours during Zaikan's principalship. During the nighttime and weekends, the HSBD turned into what I would call the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate' – an unofficial institution that nurtured a future generation of symbiotic modern practitioners in northern Japan, serving a similar function to Ōsui's Kenwasha in Tokyo.

⁸⁵ Shinozaki, *Hakodate Mōgakkō Hakodate Rōgakkō Enkakushi*, 9–10.

In the 1920s and onwards, a number of local young men and women visited Zaikan at the HSBD after the school finished classes. They did so to study his moral teachings, much in the same way his master Ōsui attracted young men and women at Kenwasha in Tokyo during and after the Russo-Japanese War period (see Chapter 2). For the interested locals who wanted to learn from Zaikan, he established Doyōkai (The Saturday Meeting) in 1925 – a study group held at the HSBD every Saturday evening and joined by roughly fifteen to twenty local men and women (aged between twenty and forty) each time. Similarly, he founded Mokuyōkai (The Thursday Meeting) in 1927 for young educators in Hakodate (mainly in their thirties), and each time, roughly fifteen to twenty of them gathered together at the HSBD on the second Thursday of every month. These local people attracted by Zaikan had diverse backgrounds and included teachers, entrepreneurs, shop clerks, medical doctors, and public servants.⁸⁶ These people would likely never have interacted through their official work. Nonetheless, when they were off work, they joined together at the HSBD at night and during the weekend, transcending the differences of occupation, gender, and class. These meetings at the HSBD generated a new non-state network that shared an interest in Zaikan's moral teachings.

Like Ōsui's Kenwasha, Zaikan's 'Kenwasha of Hakodate' was not a church, nor was it a school that taught state-endorsed morals, such as *kokutai* (national body) or 'loyalty and patriotism' (*chūkun aikoku shugi*) – the ideology that the state actively

⁸⁶ Munakata Tadashi, *Tomo ni Ayumu* (non-published material, 1987), 42.

promoted as Japan's national morals (*kokumin dōtoku*) and which underpinned its imperialist endeavours in Zaikan's time. Instead, it was a school that taught morals to nurture symbiotic modern thoughts and denied such national morals. Wakamatsu Mitsue, the wife of the Thursday Meeting's member Wakamatsu Yūsuke, recalled that her husband came home late at night on Thursdays, acted 'like a philosopher', and recited such phrases as 'One-in-Two' and 'Two-in-One'.⁸⁷ As a record of the Thursday Meeting shows, Zaikan's teachings, explained to the members through the use of multiple texts, were inseparably tied to the Ōsui school's religion of the Mother-Father God, who embraced both masculinity and femininity in Two-in-One, instead of the male Father of mainstream Christianity.⁸⁸

Zaikan's method of teaching his symbiotic modern worldview at the Saturday and Thursday Meetings was to read and discuss the Bible, Confucian texts, and Ōsui's writings (*Ōsui Goroku*) with group members.⁸⁹ Zaikan's combined use of different texts was consistent with Ōsui's approach – this was the same way Ōsui's religion took shape and was taught. On the wall of the Kenwasha's cafeteria, Ōsui posted a shortened extract of a verse from the *Analects of Confucius* – 'Act as if you were receiving an important guest, act as if you were officiating at a majestic ceremony' (*Taihin o miru*

⁸⁷ Wakamatsu Mitsue, 'Zaikan Sensei to Naki Shujin no Koto', *Kaikyō* no. 34 (1957): 25.

⁸⁸ Shinozaki Heiwa, *Satō Zaikan Sensei o Shinobu: Mokuyōkai Kiroku* (Hakodate: Hokkaido Hakodate Rōgakkō, 1959), 8.

⁸⁹ As with Ōsui's interpretation of different lines of Confucian teachings, details on how Zaikan interpreted each of the different strains of Confucian teachings, as well as different verses of the Bible, would require further materials and investigation, which I will leave for future research. Here, I will nonetheless point out a similarity between Zaikan and Ōsui in their way of combining different religious-intellectual sources to shape and share their worldview.

ga gotoku taisai o ukuru ga gotoshi).⁹⁰ The script was meant to remind Kenwasha members of the importance of embracing humbleness towards all people regardless of their backgrounds – a key ethos of Ōsui’s religion.⁹¹ Sometimes, such Confucian words helped him teach the essence of Ōsui’s religion. Indeed, Zaikan displayed this exact same script in the HSBD’s cafeteria.⁹² It can be understood that the members of the Ōsui school, including Zaikan, deepened and expressed their teachings precisely through the combined use of diverse transnational sources.

One of the ultimate goals of Zaikan’s study meetings was that his followers would reaffirm their moral responsibility through the groups; that, in pursuing symbiotic modernity, everyone would act consciously and rectify their inner selves and the wider world from their own fields of expertise. He told them:

Human society is one big organic body. And the universe itself is an even larger organic body. We are equivalent to its cells; in other words, there is no way we can exist separately from the universe or society, and so, we can contribute to the work of society and the universe by fulfilling our duty in our own field. We ought to know that we are weak and small but bear this big responsibility.⁹³

Ōsui’s religion conferred equal responsibility on all people for replacing the state-led Western modern mode of progress with a more inclusive and less hierarchical mode of symbiotic modern progress (see Chapter 2). Similarly, at the ‘Kenwasha of Hakodate’, Zaikan attempted to nurture such subjectivity and responsibility for a

⁹⁰ Zaikan, ‘Monzen Bangō’, 346.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Zaikan, *Monzengo Daiisshū*, 170.

symbiotic modern future as part of the large organic body, the universe – rather than the national body of imperial Japan. Indeed, despite its absence from the historiography, the HSBD was a crucial space of competing intellectual and cultural activities in northern Japan. Fifty years after the Boshin Civil War, the HSBD under Zaikan's principalship functioned as a northern hub of the Ōsui school of thought.

Moreover, Zaikan further disseminated the Ōsui school of thought through regular editorial contributions to the *Hakodate Mainichi Newspaper* (*Hakodate Mainichi Shinbun*), which complemented his direct moral teaching at the HSBD, or the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate'. Zaikan's editorials covered a wide range of topics, including a critique of the state's imperial education, gender inequality, and morality. Despite the wide range of topics Zaikan addressed, his thought remained fundamentally rooted in the Ōsui school. Similar to Ōsui (see Chapter 2), Zaikan sharply condemned Japanese Christian leaders and their promotion of the Christianity of Western modernity. For example, he criticised the eminent Protestant pastor, Ebina Danjō, who justified WWI as a meaningful war to attain the greatest peace for humanity; to Zaikan, Ebina's argument was against the very core of Christian teachings: that war was impermissible under any circumstances.⁹⁴ Women were also funnelled into such male-dominant imperial progress through the state-endorsed ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* ('Good Wife, Wise Mother'), which, in Zaikan's view, 'tends to place boys at the centre

⁹⁴ Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, 153–55.

and see girls as boys' accessories'.⁹⁵ Instead of fighting wars and envisioning imperialist progress, Zaikan pleaded with readers to engage in '*shinsen*' – the inner moral battle through which to fight against one's own greed, anger, and vanity.⁹⁶ As discussed in Chapter 2, the *shinsen* in Ōsui's religion was a practical and essential means with which to terminate the vicious cycle of war and realise peace in oneself and the wider world. Indeed, Zaikan lamented how the meaning and achievement of 'progress' (*shinpo*) largely remained in the realm of wealth, material, science, or knowledge, but not morality.⁹⁷ Unlike materials, wealth, knowledge, or noble ranks, he argued that

[V]irtue cannot be accumulated through selfishness or just pass down to the next, but requires every single person to make an effort fairly and accumulate it by themselves. [...] So long as it is called the progress of humanity, it must be the progress of human happiness. The progress of human happiness first and foremost depends on the progress of human morals.⁹⁸

Through his regular contribution to the *Hakodate Mainichi Newspaper*, Zaikan not only introduced the Ōsui school of thought as a counterpoint to the imperialist vision of progress, but he also gave practical suggestions for how each individual could contribute to greater human happiness, through engaging in the Ōsui school's inner moral battles.

It is notable that the *Hakodate Mainichi Newspaper* was one of the most-read local

⁹⁵ Ibid., 159–60.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 221–22.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 223.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 223–24.

newspapers in Hakodate in the 1910s–20s. It is likely that Zaikan’s articles were widely read by the local people of Hakodate. Indeed, Aizawa Katsusaburō (1901–?), a historical writer from Hakodate, recalled its vast influence; Zaikan’s editorials ‘unexpectedly created a sensation in the educational world’ and ‘became a great guiding principle (*ōkina shishin*)’ for ordinary people in Hakodate when journals and magazines were too expensive for them to buy, and newspaper articles were ‘virtually the only available textbook for social education’.⁹⁹ Aizawa even named Zaikan as one of the two most influential teachers who nurtured his personality (and the other was Shinozaki, also of the HSBD).¹⁰⁰ We can infer that, both through Zaikan’s study groups at the HSBD and his editorials, the Ōsui school of symbiotic modern thought was spread as moral guidance for ordinary people in Hakodate – to a greater extent than historians have previously thought – just as these ideas were spread in Tokyo through Kenwasha. On the very experimental island of ‘Japan’s America’, a competing, symbiotic intellectual-cultural trend was embraced and disseminated against and beyond ‘Japan’s America’.

⁹⁹ Aizawa Katsusaburō, *Hakodate no Ishibumi* (Hakodate: Dōnan no Rekishi Kenkyū Kyōgikai, 1974), 103.

¹⁰⁰ As for Shinozaki, his dedication in offering storytelling for local children seems to have impressed Aizawa in particular. Every month, Shinozaki came to read fairy tales for children at the library, Chiyomien, which the supporter of Ōsui’s Taikakai and the HSBD, Terei Shirobē, established on the site of the Hakodate Charity House in 1910. Among local children, Shinozaki was known as the ‘fairy tale uncle’ (*otogibanashi no ojisan*). Aizawa recalled that Shinozaki’s storytelling ‘was so impassioned with gestures that children gathered there were absorbed into his storytelling as if they had forgotten to breathe. I was one of such children, and it was always after he finished the storytelling that I finally snapped back to the reality’. *Ibid.*, 83–4. On the library Chiyomien, see Taniguchi Kazuhiro, ‘Hokkaido ni okeru Jidō Toshokan no Rekishi 1: Jidō Toshokan Chiyomien’, *Hokkaido Musashi Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kiyō*, no. 33 (2001): 77–90. It was a rarely seen children’s library founded in the late Meiji era.

The framing of children with disabilities as ‘useless’ as opposed to the healthy national body, the state’s lack of educational support for these children despite the policy of ‘education for all nationals’, the elimination of sign language in deaf education, the Russo-Japanese War, and colonial projects in Hokkaido were all intertwined. These were the products of the Western modern pursuit of civilisation and progress. Hokkaido was largely incorporated into the civilisation discourse by the Russo-Japanese War period and symbolised Meiji’s imperialist endeavour as ‘Japan’s America’.

This chapter has analysed the development of counterculture at this very unlikely site of state-led modernisation experiments. The HSBD’s education can be contrasted with SAC’s in many ways: state (SAC) versus non-state (HSBD), all-male versus co-educational, rich versus poor, and education for the construction of ‘Japan’s America’ versus education for rescuing children dismissed by ‘Japan’s America’. At SAC, Christianity was an integral part of producing ‘civilised’ boys to attain Western modern progress. In contrast, Christianity at the HSBD supported children disenfranchised by the state-led ideology of civilisation and national education.

Through Zaikan, the HSBD’s Christianity and Christian humanitarianism became inseparable from the Ōsui school of symbiotic Christian religion. It embraced a meaning in contrast with the Christianity of Western modernity that supported the state-endorsed imperialist ideology. Education for children significantly defines and alters the direction of the future. Education for children with visual and hearing

impairments was a necessary part of achieving the symbiotic modern world that Zaikan and his comrades envisioned. The HSBD's education for blind and deaf children, who were ostracised by the imperial, vigorous national body, was an essential step towards overcoming 'Japan's America'.

In the Russo-Japanese War period, the history of the HSBD was associated with both the Christian social relief movement – consisting of transnational Japanese-American collaboration – and the Nonwar Movement. Education for the blind and deaf and the Nonwar Movement were the school's intertwined attempts through which to rectify the state-led direction of progress and create a more symbiotic world of *heimin* – the world inclusive of people undermined and underrepresented by 'Japan's America', without hierarchy. This contextualised the intellectual trajectory the HSBD came to develop through Zaikan's principalship. Furthermore, similar to how the HSBD became a northern hub of the Nonwar Movement, the school became the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate' during the nighttime and weekend. Through the moral training at the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate', as well as the widely read *Hakodate Mainichi Newspaper*, the Ōsui school of thought was disseminated in Hokkaido – the heart of state-led civilisational experiments – in the early twentieth century. Indeed, both through in- and after-class activities, the HSBD played multiple leading roles – serving as a pioneering school for blind and deaf children, a Nonwar hub, and the 'Kenwasha of Hakodate' – all of which challenged the Western modern mode of civilisation and progress. The result of challenging 'Japan's America' was no longer

bound by Japan and America; instead, these historical actors surrounding the HSBD became part of symbiotic modern progress, which transcended state-endorsed boundaries and human hierarchies. The HSBD manifested and exemplified the socio-cultural and intellectual phenomenon of symbiotic modernity in early twentieth-century Japan.

The next chapter sheds light on a different dimension of symbiotic modernity – through agrarian practices. It features another member of the Ōsui school who came from the defeated North, Eto Tekirei, who referred to Ōsui as a ‘saint’ with much respect and admiration. As a figure deeply rooted in the context of the civil war’s defeated side, Tekirei relinquished his elite career trajectory and became a poor farmer. The soil, everyday agrarian practices, and the symbiotic natural-human world informed Tekirei of the urgent need to rectify the course of human progress and civilisation. Through the farmer Tekirei, the next chapter will illuminate an agrarian manifestation of symbiotic modernity.

CHAPTER 4

Reconfiguring Nature and Human in a Symbiotic Universe:

Eto Tekirei and a Farmer's Intellectual History in Early Twentieth-Century Japan

In 1901, a young aspiring student from rural Aomori, the northernmost edge of Japan's Honshu Island, was admitted to Tokyo Imperial University – the summit of academic hierarchy producing the future leaders of the Japanese empire. His elite career was largely guaranteed, and his relatives and locals would take pride in his achievement. Nevertheless, the student, Eto (Kōzaburō) Tekirei, quit Tokyo Imperial University suddenly, abandoning his bright path to success in capitalist modernity, and decided to become a farmer. Tekirei began an agrarian life on the outskirts of Tokyo during the post-Russo-Japanese War era, with his wife Sekimura Miki (1883–1971), who came from a distinguished family in Akita, northern Japan, and Kodaira Hideo, a younger brother of Tekirei's best friend, who had died in the war. This drastic change from a future leader of Japan's capitalist modernity to a poor farmer came as a shocking – if not traumatic – surprise, to the extent that his relatives and local acquaintances broke off relationships with him.¹

In the early days, Tekirei's agrarian life was so poor that, on the verge of starvation,

¹ Eto Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō* (Tokyo: Hikari no Ie Kyōkai, 1979), 9.

he, his wife, and Kodaira had no choice but to eat wild grass and wheat bran intended for cattle and horses.² They had to wake up at midnight and make a ten-hour return trip to a market in central Tokyo by foot, carrying their homegrown vegetables in a barrow for sale.³ As a result of abandoning the elite career path, Tekirei's extremely poor farm life would appear a miserable 'failure' by the standards of capitalist modernity. However, in the eyes of many of his contemporaries, Tekirei's agrarian life was not a laughing matter in the least. Almost completely forgotten in the historiography is the fact that Tekirei's first publication, *Aru Hyakushō no Ie* ('A Farmer's Household', 1922), detailing his everyday agrarian life and its underlying logic, recorded exponential sales in early twentieth-century Japan. The farmer's book was reprinted many times to meet the high demand, running into a seventh impression only a month after its publication in November 1922 and a twelfth impression in March 1923.⁴ From this point onwards, a multitude of people sought to directly converse with Tekirei and came to visit his farm one after another, every day.⁵ What, then, was so unique and attractive about Tekirei's agrarian attempt? Why was he so determined to become a farmer, in the first place, forsaking fame and status? What were the intellectual consequences of his agrarian turn?

This farmer Tekirei was, in fact, Ōsui's student, who challenged the ideology of

² Ibid, 9.

³ Ibid, 68.

⁴ Toyabe, *Kijin*, 36; Wada Kōsaku, *Eto Tekirei: Ba no Shisōka* (Tokyo: Kōyō Shobō, 1994), 246.

⁵ Tekireikai, ed., *Eto Tekirei Shoshi* (Tokyo: Tekireikai, 1973), 11.

civilisation with the hoe. Tekirei frequently came to study at Ōsui's hermitage and private school, Kenwasha, after the Russo-Japanese War period. It is said that Tekirei began farming, at least in part, due to Ōsui's influence, and he continued to embrace the highest reverence for Ōsui even long after their time at Kenwasha. This chapter examines the ideas and agrarian practices of Tekirei as a clear manifestation of symbiotic modernity. Symbiotic modernity was a series of urgent moral-intellectual phenomena through which Ōsui school actors endeavoured to rectify the state-endorsed direction of civilisational progress, which divided people, existences, and phenomena hierarchically. In doing so, these actors attempted to create a more egalitarian, interconnected, and symbiotic world. The agrarian turn was necessary for Tekirei to achieve a symbiotic human-natural world he envisioned, as much as the education for blind and deaf children was for Zaikan and his comrades during and after the Russo-Japanese War period (see Chapter 3). Following the educationalist manifestation of symbiotic modernity scrutinised in Chapter 3, this chapter returns to the post-Russo-Japanese War period and highlights an agrarian aspect of symbiotic modernity. That is to say, through his original agrarian practices, Tekirei exemplifies the large grassroots phenomena of symbiotic modernity.

Diverse agrarian thinking and practices in modern Japan have been studied in historiography.⁶ One of the dominant streams has been *Nōhonshugi*, or 'agriculture-

⁶ For example, see Thomas R. H. Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism, 1870–1940* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974); Morris-Suzuki, *Japan's Living Politics* (particularly Chapter 4 but throughout the book); Sho Konishi, 'Ordinary Farmers Living Anarchist Time: Arishima Cooperative Farm in Hokkaido, 1922–1935', *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no. 6 (2013): 1845–

as-the-essence-ism', which emerged in reaction to capitalist modernity and the associated rise of social conflicts between the 1890s and 1930s.⁷ Although *Nōhonshugi* agrarianists were never a unified group, they were, as Thomas Havens summarises, 'linked by a common exposure to the modernization process, a mutual concern for the nation's future, and a shared conviction that agriculture was crucial for creating a stable, harmonious Japan'.⁸ Many agrarianists perceived agriculture as the national essence of Japanese civilisation, not only practically as a source of nutrition, labour, cash, taxes, and conscription, but symbolically as Japan's national identity.⁹ This was particularly salient in the 1910s and onwards, when Tekirei underwent a radical moral conversion and took up the hoe.¹⁰ As Carol Gluck writes, '[i]n response to the sense of social crisis that seized the ideologues after the [Russo-Japanese] war, Japan's agrarian myth was refurbished for modern use, and village and family were reconceived as the social foundations of the state'.¹¹

In stark contrast to such an ideological association of farming with the Japanese nation-state, Tekirei envisioned farming without the state construct. This chapter,

87; Robert Kramm, 'Trans-Imperial Anarchism: Cooperatist Communalist Theory and Practice in Imperial Japan', *Modern Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (2021): 552–86; Iwasaki Masaya, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi* (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 1997); Nishimura Shun'ichi, *Nihon Ekorojizumu no Keifu: Andō Shōeki kara Eto Tekirei made* (Tokyo: Nōson Gyoson Bunka Kyōkai, 1992).

⁷ Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan*, 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰ On such a changing meaning of nature in modern Japan, particularly in the state and intelligentsia's political ideology, see Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001).

¹¹ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 41.

which consists of three subsections, reveals that Tekirei liberated nature, humans, and the agrarian everyday life from the hands and logic of the nation-state. This liberation means that, for Tekirei, nature was neither timeless nor static. The civilisation discourse of agriculture as Japan's essence embraced an invented 'tradition' and nostalgia, evoking romanticised images of rural life, farm villages, family and household, and rice farming. This traditional and nationalised nature was, as Stephen Vlastos points out, 'ahistorical, reproducing the linked binaries of premodern/modern and stasis/change central to the Western conception of modernity'.¹² In this civilisational ideology, agriculture, villages, and family were all intertwined and mobilised to justify the 'Japanese' present. For Tekirei, on the contrary, history was neither for the past nor for the present tied to the nation-state's logic. Nor was nature about the past, tradition, or premodernity. I argue that Tekirei offered a future-oriented meaning to nature and agriculture that leaned towards a new, symbiotic vision of the universe while discrediting the Western modern ideology of civilisation. His farming was strictly free of the conservatism, traditionalism, and nativism conventionally associated with agrarianism. Nor was it utopian. Instead, to Tekirei, farming was a practical way to progress and live a moral life. Whereas farmers symbolised backwardness, the past, and an antithesis to progress in the civilisation discourse, in Tekirei's view, the agents realising a newly imagined symbiotic future

¹² Stephen Vlastos, 'Tradition Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History', in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (California; London: University of California Press, 1998), 2.

were the farmers.

The first section of this chapter sheds light on a moment of the ‘history slide’ in Tekirei’s thought. As I have elaborated in the Introduction, the ‘history slide’ (conceptualised by Sho Konishi) delineates urgent moments after the Russo-Japanese War, when people’s historical consciousness slid radically to embrace a new subjectivity.¹³ According to it, they had to act *now* to rectify the present, tied to the temporality of Western modernity that the imperial Japanese state embraced, and attain a new future. This slide of historical consciousness was accompanied by concrete actions – in Tekirei’s case, a radical agrarian conversion.¹⁴ Tekirei’s conversion was deep-rooted in the historical context of Japan’s civil war losing North, the Ōsui school, and anarchist intellectual phenomena. Following this, the remaining two sections analyse the consequences of this agrarian turn between the post-Russo-Japanese War and the early 1920s, and in the late 1920s, respectively. From early on, Tekirei’s farm life manifested an inclusive and egalitarian vision of humanity and human-nature relations, liberating humans, nature, and agriculture from Western

¹³ See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

¹⁴ It was after the Russo-Japanese War that Tekirei began to embrace the competing vision of human progress. During the wartime, he was not opposed to the war and rather supported it as an unavoidable process for the absolute aim of world unification and peace. Eto Tekirei, ‘Shakaishugi no Hisenron’, *Nihonjin*, no. 198 (1903). After the conversion, however, Tekirei stood in opposition to Japan’s imperialist expansionism to Manchuria; although later at the height of the Pacific War, Tekirei came to embrace his agrarian worldview in a nativist manner in the name of the Emperor. Ōshima Yasumasa, ‘Eto Tekirei: Hyakushō no Jissen Tetsugaku’, *Eto Tekirei Kenkyū*, no. 8 (1963): 88; Takei Akira, ‘Eto Tekirei no ‘Ba’ Ron to Rekishiteki Sekai’, in *Gendai ni Ikiru Eto Tekirei no Shisō*, eds. Saitō Tomomasa, Nakajima Tsuneo, and Kimura Hiroshi (Tokyo: Nōson Gyoson Bunka Kyōkai, 2001), 244–76. This chapter focuses on Tekirei between the post-Russo-Japanese War period and the 1920s, as a constituent of symbiotic modern temporality of this particular historical time.

modern temporality. This view of the human-natural world was further concretised in the late 1920s when nature became Tekirei's only source of knowledge, phenomena, and morals of the whole universe. Nature infused in him a symbiotic vision of the natural-human world, which was neither divisible nor indivisible and enabled a holistic liberation of farmers' everyday life from the nation-state.

Methodologically, the present chapter approaches Tekirei's agrarian ideas and practices as an intellectual history of early twentieth-century Japan. Farmers have been a stark minority in modern intellectual history. This is well reflected in the fact that Professor of Kyoto Imperial University Nishida Kitarō and his concept of *basho* (place/field) have been extensively studied by philosophers and historians, while farmer Tekirei and his concept of *ba* (place/field), emerging from his farm life, have been largely forgotten in the historiography.¹⁵ This has been the case despite the availability of primary sources and Nishida and Tekirei's shared intellectual concerns and partial resonance in thought, which arose at approximately the same time from different sources of knowledge.¹⁶ This chapter challenges the prevalent assumption,

¹⁵ Tekirei has been hardly studied in the mainstream historiography, while in the Japanese-language scholarship, some efforts have been made to decode Tekirei's complicated conceptual thought and life. See Saitō Tomomasa, Nakajima Tsuneo, and Kimura Hiroshi, eds., *Gendai ni Ikiru Eto Tekirei no Shisō*; Wada, *Eto Tekirei*; Wada Kōsaku, *Baronteki Sakai no Kōzō* (Saitama: Esukomu Shuppan, 2012); Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*; Nishimura, *Nihon Ekorōjizumu no Keifu*; Toyabe, *Kijin*. There have hardly been any serious studies on Tekirei in the English-language scholarship. Only a few works do make a partial reference to Tekirei's thought. See James Mark Shields's *Against Harmony: Progressive and Radical Buddhism in Modern Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Nadine Willems, *Ishikawa Sanshirō's Geographical Imagination: Transnational Anarchism and the Reconfiguration of Everyday Life in Early Twentieth-century Japan* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Leiden University Press, 2020).

¹⁶ Both Tekirei and Nishida tried to overcome the subject-object dichotomy and, as a crucial space of their intellectual exploration, shed light on everyday life (within which they themselves were contextualised). What corresponds to Tekirei's *gyō* (行), which we will take a closer look later in this

in academia, that farmers are not the subjects of philosophical and intellectual thinking. The intellectual ideas and execution of such thoughts by the farmer Tekirei, forgotten in the historiography, provide a fresh insight into human-nature and human-human relationships in early twentieth-century Japan.

Moral Queries from the Vanquished North

Tekirei perceived a radical slide of history after the Russo-Japanese War. Many people experienced loss and economic hardship in the war and its aftermath, including the death of Tekirei's best friend. It was a time when various people, including Ōsui school members, began to see serious flaws in the state's pursuit of imperial Japan and explored a new direction to progress. 'I must mark an end to all the past and embark on a new future (*atarashiki shōrai*)', Tekirei proclaimed.¹⁷ 'The past' likely referred to his elitist life and status as a Tokyo Imperial University student, and the new future he sought was that of farmers. Beginning in the post-Russo-Japanese War era, he continuously embraced this acute consciousness of the urgency of change: '[W]e are now standing at a critical juncture where we shall, good or bad, determine the course of civilisation'.¹⁸ Furthermore, what he came to call the 'futuristic view of

chapter, would be the concept of 'pure experience' in Nishida's philosophy. A critical difference between them, however, lies in how Tekirei's philosophy was rooted in agrarian practices, in contrast to the thoroughly generalised philosophy of Nishida. On similarities and differences between their theories, see Kimura Hiroshi, 'Ba to Basho: Eto Tekirei to Nishida Kitarō', in *Gendai ni Ikiru Eto Tekirei no Shisō*, 181–217.

¹⁷ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 75.

¹⁸ Eto Tekirei, 'Non-Pāchizan-Rīgu no Atoni', in Horii Ryōho, *Nōmin Shinsei heno Michi: Han Nōmin Dōmei no Hanashi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1926), 176.

history' (*miraisei shikan*) during the Asia-Pacific War referred to 'the view of history that, being discontent with real everyday life, [we] must change the ongoing conditions of reality in history and somehow make the present time better. [...] I would like to stand on this futuristic view of history always and talk about the future forever', he maintained.¹⁹ For Tekirei, the means to rectify the present civilisation for this imagined future was consistently farming. By giving new subjectivity to farmers, history – which was narrated to the past in the state-imposed ideological paradigm – should now narrate to a new future. To do so, in Tekirei's view, the present must be rectified by the hands of farmers. But why farming? Why and how did Tekirei begin to question the direction of civilisation, and why was it in farming that he found an alternate trajectory for the future? This section features three important contexts that will help us answer those questions: the civil-war defeated North, the Ōsui school, and anarchist intellectual phenomena.

Tekirei's quest for an alternate moral life was first and foremost rooted in the historical context of the North – the defeated side of the Boshin Civil War. 'Tekirei' is a self-given name implying the North, where *teki* 狄 derives from *hokuteki* 北狄, Northern barbarians.²⁰ As his name indicates, Tekirei was a Northerner, born to an

¹⁹ Eto Tekirei, *Ba no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1958), 262–3. Here, Iwasaki Masaya makes an important reference regarding how, even in the Fifteen Years' War context, we can at least partially see his resistance to the state-imposed, past-oriented time and space that objectified nature and agrarian villages for their ideological purposes with constructed nostalgias, while ultimately ending up applying the state-led nationalist *kokutai* ideology to his time and space conception. Iwasaki Masaya, 'Eto Tekirei no Chiikiron: 'Ba' kara Mita Chiiki to Sono Seisaku Genri o Megutte', in *Gendai ni Ikiru Eto Tekirei no Shisō*, 33, 36.

²⁰ *Rei* was taken from the writer and philosopher, Miyake Setsurei (1860–1945). In his youth at Tokyo Imperial University, Tekirei seemed to have admiration to Setsurei and contributed articles to

established merchant family dealing kimono fabrics in the small village of Gonohe, formerly part of the Tonami domain in Aomori. This Tonami domain was a direct legacy of the Boshin Civil War and was established by the Meiji state, led by Satsuma and Chōshū samurai, to symbolise their victory. The history of Tonami has been buried under the historical narratives of modern Japan constructed and reconstructed by the discourse of the victorious Meiji state. The Meiji state imposed various forms of punishment on the ‘Northern rebels’ led by Sendai and Aizu domanical samurai after the Boshin Civil War. The mass relocation of Aizu samurai families to Tonami, which meant to reduce Aizu’s domanical land from 230,000 *koku* to 30,000 *koku*, was a representative case of state punishment, alongside the incarceration and execution of defeated influential samurai.²¹ The Meiji state’s policy directed Aizu samurai families to cultivate Tonami’s cold barren land in poverty and, in so doing, attempted to incorporate the rebels into the new Japanese nation-state and make them contribute to it.

Not only was Tekirei from this symbolic land of the vanquished North, but he was morally and intellectually educated by Kurasawa Heijiemon (1825–1900), a senior samurai of defeated Aizu.²² Kurasawa worked alongside the Aizu lord Matsudaira

Setsurei’s *Nihonjin* (‘The Japanese’) journal as a self-claimed nationalist. This happened before his agrarian turn. Indeed, his article contribution stopped after the Russo-Japanese War, beginning to open his eyes to alternate moral-agrarian thoughts.

²¹ In total, more than 15,000 Aizu samurai family members are said to have relocated to Tonami as a whole. Roughly 2,700 of them moved to the Gonohe area, where Tekirei was born and grew up. Gonohechō, *Gonohechōshi Gekan* (Gonohe, Aomori: Gonohechōshi Kankō Iinkai, 1969), 46.

²² On Kurasawa, see Gonohechō, *Gonohechōshi Gekan*, 975–84; Itō Tetsuya, ‘Kurasawa Heijiemon: Aizuichi no Shusse-gashira’, in *Bakumatsu Aizuhanshi Meimeiden (Jō)*, eds. Kobiyama Rokurō and Majima

Katamori (1835–93), fought the Boshin Civil War in besieged Aizu, and was also the father-in-law of Saitō Hajime (1844–1915), the renowned captain of the third unit of the samurai corps ‘Shinsengumi’ that fought the war on the frontline against Satsuma and Chōshū.²³ Responsible for taking care of the relocated Aizu samurai families, Kurasawa established at his house the Nakanosawa Juku, a small private Confucian classics school, where he taught the sons of Aizu (Tonami) samurai as well as the local children/youths of Gonohe, including Tekirei, free of charge.²⁴ Tekirei, who hailed from a merchant family, was imbued with Aizu’s elite samurai education – renowned for its top-level quality in the shogunate times – under Kurasawa from the age of twelve.

What mattered to Tekirei, however, was not so much the Confucian texts as Kurasawa’s moral principle as a samurai of defeated Aizu. Kurasawa ‘never served two masters’ (*nikun ni tsukaezu*), said Tekirei.²⁵ Kurasawa never yielded to the victorious Meiji state, despite enduring a punishing life journey in poverty on the barren land. This moral principle of Kurasawa underpinned Tekirei’s lifelong quest for morality and the moral question of life – that is, of how one should live. Tekirei recalls:

My personality was formed, rather than all by Confucianism, by the influence

Isao (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2004), 202–9. Some parts of Kurasawa’s original writing are reprinted as follows: Kurasawa Heijiemon, *Onshugoshoku Ikō Okusokushi*, in *Aizu Shidan*, no. 76–80 (2002–6), with commentaries by Itō Tetsuya.

²³ Saitō Hajime used the pseudonym, Fujita Gorō, when living with Kurasawa.

²⁴ Gonohechō, *Gonohechōshi Gekan*, 76. Kurasawa also supervised setting up workhouses for poor, starving relocated Aizu families, including women. These Aizu women engaged in silk and textile manufacture. *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁵ Eto Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Ge* (Tokyo: Hikari no Ie Kyōkai, 1979), 95.

of the surviving retainer of Aizu, Kurasawa Heijiemon sensei, who lived a life of the core Confucian morals and tacitly showed them through his personality. I was taught the reading of the Four Books and Five Classics of Confucianism, though I did not understand, by this old teacher who, adhering to his principles, abstained from a desire for fame and wealth and led a life of poverty throughout his life; and, combined with other senses, this sowed a seed of what later became my moral conscience (*ryōshin*) in my young personality.²⁶

Tekirei's moral training, overcoming the earthly desire for fame and wealth, first and foremost began on the vanquished Northern land that was left out of the Meiji state's capitalist civilisational flourishing.

Tekirei's moral and intellectual background in the defeated North parallels that of Ōsui, a civil war loser. Like Kurasawa, Ōsui not only fought and lost the Boshin Civil War as part of the Northern Alliance against the Meiji state but also led a moral life of humility in constant and consistent opposition to the state's pursuit of civilisation. As I have elaborated in Chapter 1, Ōsui explored new ideas of universal morality, which would replace the malfunctioning Tokugawa ideological system, while fighting and losing the civil war. This continued into nearly thirty years of moral-religious training in a mixed-race egalitarian agrarian community in the US countryside. With his background as a samurai of the defeated North, Ōsui continued to look for new moral-religious thoughts outside of the Meiji state's ideology of civilisation throughout his life.

The parallel between Ōsui and Tekirei, both from the defeated North, illuminates Tekirei's fascination with Ōsui, whom he referred to as 'a saint of the contemporary

²⁶ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 71.

time (*gendai no seija*).²⁷ Tekirei first met Ōsui after the Russo-Japanese War and became a member of the Taikakai study group, which studied Ōsui's religion and critique of civilisation at his hermitage Kenwasha, consisting predominantly of Northern youngsters (see Chapter 2). Tekirei seems to have been so interested in Ōsui's thought that he frequently visited him outside of the monthly Taikakai meetings.

It appears that one of the many things Tekirei learned from Ōsui was farming. One of the closest friends of Tekirei, Matsumoto Hikojirō (1880–1958) observed: 'I think Tekirei aspired to farm due to the instruction of Arai [Ōsui]'.²⁸ Matsumoto, a renowned historian and poet, was from Aomori (the same as Tekirei), and he lived with Tekirei in Tokyo.²⁹ Indeed, at Kenwasha, Ōsui and members practised farming as an integral part of their moral training (see Chapter 2). At least half of the Kenwasha's ground was agrarian fields. Contrary to the typical characterisation of Japanese farming with rice paddies, Ōsui and Kenwasha members' farming was to grow diverse kinds of vegetables (e.g., cabbages, tomatoes, radishes, potatoes, and wheat). They also planted a flower garden. Through these everyday farming practices, they learned to live in symbiosis with nature. As we will see later in this chapter, these

²⁷ Eto Tekirei, 'Baibun no Jifu o Hasu', in *Baibunshū*, ed. Sakai Toshihiko (1912), quoted in Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 108.

²⁸ Tsukidate Kinji, 'Eto Tekirei Nenpu', in *Kyōdo no Shisōka Eto Tekirei: Sonohito to Nenpu*, ed. Hachinohe Shiritsu Toshokan (Hachinohe: Hachinohe Shiritsu Toshokan, 1972), 109.

²⁹ Tekirei and Matsumoto were the former members of 'Seishinkutsu' – a communal living and study group in central Tokyo which Tekirei, while studying at Tokyo Imperial University, co-organised with his friends from Aomori in 1901.

farming practices at Kenwasha much resembled the farming Tekirei would later develop. We can infer that as an active member of the Ōsui school, Tekirei closely observed, if not regularly practised, the Kenwasha's farming. This would have deepened his knowledge in farming – something which he could not learn from Tokyo Imperial University classes.

Tekirei expressed in Ōsui's language his determination to work for realising the symbiotic modern world: 'I am the one to fight the *shinsen*'.³⁰ As seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the *shinsen* (Holy Battle) was one of the key principles in Ōsui's religion of the Mother-Father God. Contrary to the killing of others in imperial wars, *shinsen* refers to the killing of one's own anger, greed, and selfishness. He believed that diplomatic alliances and international relations would not solve wars. Instead, *shinsen* offered a practical means with which to break the perpetuating cycle of war and rectify the Western modern trajectory of human progress. In Ōsui's religion, every single person is interconnected and interdependent with each other as part of the wider world. Everyone is precious and unique, as the Mother-Father God ensures it, but simultaneously responsible for improving their inner self through everyday life, which would be directly tied to the rectification of Western modern progress as part of the symbiotic universe. Tekirei's determination to fight the *shinsen* illuminates his embrace of the fundamental principle of Ōsui's religion – the inner moral battle

³⁰ Eto Tekirei, 'Shuki – Torusutoi ni tsuite', *Eto Tekirei Kenkyū*, no. 18, quoted in Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 98.

through the process of his agrarian everyday life.³¹

In understanding Tekirei's agrarian turn, as significant as the Ōsui school and the defeated North was Russian anarchist thinkers.³² Indeed, through Tekirei, the Ōsui school of thought merged with anarchist intellectual phenomena in early twentieth-century Japan. Even though Tekirei did not identify himself as an anarchist, Tekirei showed particular reverence for the Russian anarchists Lev Tolstoy (1828–1910) and Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921).³³

Tekirei's interest in Tolstoy and Kropotkin resonated with emerging anarchist intellectual phenomena in post-Russo-Japanese War Japan. Japanese anarchist intellectuals began to link Tolstoy and Kropotkin to give a moral and theoretical

³¹ After all, Tekirei ended up quitting Taikakai. He explained the story behind; he got drunk and said bad things about his comrades during Taikakai's new year party. Ōsui then asked him to choose either a) alcohol or b) quitting alcohol and staying in Taikakai. Tekirei, a serious alcoholic, was unable to quit his habit and chose to leave the group. Nevertheless, Tekirei continued to embrace much reverence to Ōsui even after the parting, and wrote: 'Those who I consider as my teachers on the matter of instinct are only the two, Yoshida Seitarō sensei and Arai Ōsui sensei'. Tekirei, *Ba no Kenkyū*, 228.

³² Moreover, Tekirei studied a wide range of thinkers, including Japanese Christian and Buddhist religious practitioners and Western European and Russian intellectuals, who each fed into his thought. He read extensively, including the works of Giuseppe Mazzini, Thomas Carlyle, and Victor-Marie Hugo, as well as the Bible, during his high school days in Sendai in northern Japan. He also visited a wide array of religious thinkers and practitioners in Tokyo, including the Buddhists Kiyozawa Manshi and Watanabe Nan'in, the Christian Ishii Ryōichi of Takingogawa Gakuen (Japan's first school for children with intellectual disability, 1891), and the so-called Zen Christian Yoshida Seitarō, who baptised the Tekirei family in 1908.

³³ Already in his youth in the defeated North, Tekirei was an enthusiastic reader of the *Kokumin no Tomo* (*The Nation's Friend*) periodical and *Kokumin Shimbun* (*The Nation Newspaper*), to which his father was subscribed. Published by Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957) and his Minyūsha (The People's Friends Publishing Company), these were the key readings discussing Tolstoyan religion. Tekirei later recalled that the Tolstoyan teachings 'helped me determine my life. It contained almost all the seeds of my intellectual tendency'. Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 71. On Kropotkin, he recalls that he 'wanted a little more socioeconomic reason on top of Tolstoy's religious, moral foundation. It was Kropotkin who offered this, and these two made my character and consciousness in one at last, moved my whole moral conscience (*ryōshin*), and gave me the power to convert my everyday life.' *Ibid.*, 74.

background to their new vision of progress founded on the everyday practice of virtue and human equality.³⁴ They thereby attempted to rectify the course of state-led progress, which induced war, inequality, conflicts, slavery, exploitation, and all other forms of injustice and deteriorated people's everyday lives. Tolstoyan religion, translated and popularly embraced by Japanese intellectuals, discredited the state, church organisations, and other established institutions as authorities in defining human virtue and morality.³⁵ Instead, this authority should fall to ordinary people, from whom virtuous practices for fellow humans sprang naturally and intuitively in everyday life, as God ensured. In other words, everyone has virtue and can be moral. Tolstoyan religion, like Ōsui's religion, gives moral subjectivity to all universally. After the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese anarchist intellectuals combined this Tolstoyan religion with Kropotkin's anarchist theory. The latter negated the Western modern view of progress that hierarchically defined the culture-and-nature relationality based on the centrality of the civilised and cultured people as opposed to barbaric nature. Kropotkin's anarchist theory taught Japanese intellectuals that it was not Malthusian and social Darwinist competition that had enabled the survival of different species thus far, as in the civilisation discourse, but cooperation and mutual aid. As Konishi writes, it confirmed to the Japanese intellectuals that 'human civilization, based on the principle of mutual aid, had progressed from below without

³⁴ On Tolstoy-Kropotkinism in Japan after the Russo-Japanese War, see Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

³⁵ On the translation and wide-reaching spread of Tolstoyan religion, see *Ibid.*, Chapter 2.

the need for central governance'.³⁶

Emerging out of this Tolstoy-Kropotkinism was a 'back-to-the-land' agrarianism (*kinōshugi*) boom among a wide array of Japanese intellectuals, including Tokutomi Roka, Ishikawa Sanshirō (1876–1956), Arishima Takeo (1878–1923), Mushanokōji Saneatsu (1885–1976), and Tekirei. Roka returned from visiting Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana in Russia in 1906 and, emulating Tolstoy, began his own agrarian life in Setagaya, still a rural area in Tokyo, in 1907. Similarly, Tekirei rented a small field in Setagaya with Roka's help and began a farming life with his family in 1911.³⁷ The teachings of Tolstoy-Kropotkinism suggested to them that small-scale subsistence agriculture in nature without exploitation of fellow humans would enable the best and happiest form of human life and labour in realising a new moral world founded on mutual support and equality. In particular, critiquing the hierarchical division of labour in Western modernity, Kropotkin claimed the unification and synthesis of such a division, whereby each individual shall engage in both industrial and agrarian work as well as both manual and intellectual work, and in so doing, aimed for the holistic development of human capacity and ability.³⁸ Everyone produces and consumes in everyday life by using head and hands in cooperation with others; thus, there should be no more hierarchy of intelligentsia above labourers as seen in Western

³⁶ Ibid., 231–2.

³⁷ There, they rented a house with a small 0.1 *ha* field for farming. The Tekirei family relocated their farm to Takaido in 1913.

³⁸ See Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops: or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work* (London, Edinburgh, Dublin and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1912).

modern temporality. Incorporating Tolstoy-Kropotkinism, Japanese intellectuals, including Tekirei, began to offer a sharp critique of capitalist civilisation, return to the land for the moral cause, and attempt to organise agrarian cooperatives and/or farms.

Such anarchist intellectual phenomena were so popularly embraced by contemporary Japanese intellectuals that, according to writer and translator Uchida Roan (1868–1929), several thousand English-language copies of a collection of Tolstoy’s essays sold quickly ‘in a craze’ in the Maruzen Bookstore in Tokyo in 1901, and almost twenty thousand copies were sold in one year in Japan as a whole.³⁹ We can infer that these people watched what Tekirei was doing, underlining the overreaching popularity of his aforementioned agrarian book. Indeed, it was not a coincidence that his second publication, *Tsuchi to Kokoro o Tagayashitsutsu* (‘While Cultivating the Ground and Mind’, 1924) was published by Sōbunkaku, the anarchist publishing house founded by Asume Soichi (1878–1930).⁴⁰ Nor was it fortuitous that his best-selling agrarian writing introduced Ilya Mechnikov, the Russian biologist and winner of a Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1908, whom Japanese anarchists popularly embraced following Tolstoy-Kropotkinism.⁴¹ Mechnikov’s

³⁹ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 130–1.

⁴⁰ Asume supported leading Japanese anarchist intellectuals of the time, including Arishima Takeo, Ōsugi Sakae, and Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958). On Asume and Sōbunkaku, see Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 253–4, 322.

⁴¹ In *A Farmer’s Household*, Tekirei introduces Mechnikov’s findings that the prevention of harmful microbes produced in human intestines, with appropriate food and medicine that balances the intestinal microorganic condition, would pave the way for human longevity and natural death without pain and suffering. Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 153.

biological theory, which illuminates the symbiosis of the human body with bacteria and other microorganisms, helped Japanese anarchist intellectuals shape their vision of a new cooperative world founded on mutual aid, as a critique of the hierarchical social Darwinist mode of progress of the nation-state.⁴² Tekirei's agrarian turn, beginning with the competing moral-intellectual basis of the defeated North and embracing the Ōsui school of symbiotic thoughts, was closely tied to these anarchist intellectual phenomena that arose after the Russo-Japanese War.

Nevertheless, the intellectuals' reception and interpretation of Tolstoy-Kropotkinism were far from monolithic and even conflicted with each other. Indeed, despite sharing an interest in Tolstoy-Kropotkinist theories, Tekirei, with his lifelong moral conviction in nature, differed from many of the contemporary back-to-the-land intellectuals who, without prior farming experience, romanticised farm life and, gradually facing the reality and hardship of agrarian production, abandoned the soil after a few years. In other words, nature was for them a temporary means to explore their ideal forms of moral life. This view of nature is well illuminated by Mushanokōji Saneatsu, a leading back-to-the-land intellectual who proclaimed, '[w]e do not intend to become farmers'.⁴³ He continued: 'We begin with farmers in order to live a life that meets the will of humanity. We are the seekers of a true form of life (*shin no seikatsu*).

⁴² Various Japanese intellectuals of the early twentieth century, including Arishima Takeo, Ōsugi Sakae, Ishikawa Sanshirō, Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911), and Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961), read Mechnikov's biological theory. Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 315.

⁴³ Mushanokōji Saneatsu, *Mushanokōji Saneatsu Zenshū*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1988), 40; Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 224–5.

And we are the monks who try to experience true life as much as possible and preach it. [...] We shall work with the beads of sweat on the forehead at the beginning'.⁴⁴ For Mushanokōji, nature and farming were a temporary means to experience an alternative form of moral life, and, thus, he indeed left the agrarian field after approximately seven years. In stark contrast to Mushanokōji, the Tekirei family had a lifelong devotion to soil and nature, despite having to eat horse food – again, in contrast to Mushanokōji's wealthiness. In this sense, Tekirei's agrarian life is to be distinguished from the romanticised, hobbyist, and/or short-term farming as a temporary escape from capitalist modernity of much of the Tolstoy-Kropotkinist, back-to-the-land intelligentsia.

Indeed, marked by the consumption of wild grass and even horse food out of necessity, Tekirei's agrarian life might seem reckless, idealistic, or utopian. However, farming was Tekirei's practical and plausible solution to the moral crisis of civilisation, and, therefore, he continued ploughing the land throughout his life. An advertisement of his best-selling book, *A Farmer's Household*, remarks:

The agony of moral conscience (*ryōshin no kumon*) over harm and contradiction of contemporary civilisation led the author to throw off his coat of scholarship from the top educational institution and stand on the field of Musashino with a hoe in a style springing from the ground nakedly (*suhadaka no jiwaki no sugata*). [...] Labour on soil, hardship and joy of life, love and tear as a true form of human's moral conscience, and its light of hope are overflowing and shining throughout the book highly and purely.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Mushanokōji, *Mushanokōji Saneatsu Zenshū*, vol. 4, 40.

⁴⁵ This advertisement appeared in *Keimei Panfuretto*, as a back cover of Ishikawa Sanshirō's writing titled 'Domin Seikatsu ni tsuite'. *Keimei Panfuretto*, no. 7 (Tokyo: Minseikaku, 1923), quoted in Tekireikai, ed., *Eto Tekirei Shoshi*, 10.

The advertisement emphasises his moral conviction that a life of agrarian labour would offer ‘true’ morals, which in turn suggests that the pursuit of the contemporary civilisation would bring only ‘untrue’ morals. For Tekirei, Tokyo Imperial University – the elite institution representing the very ideology of success in civilisation – was unable to help him solve the moral crisis. It was not the civilisational ideology inseparable from capitalist competition, hierarchy, and inequality that offered Tekirei a practical clue to the moral question of how humans can live morally true to themselves, but ecological nature.

Nature and People without the State

About his agrarian turn, Tekirei declared:

Conversion of my life (*seikatsu no tankan*)!

“V-Narod” – going to the people, first, going to the same life of labour as the majority of them.

Exodus!

I must mark an end to all the past and embark on a new future.⁴⁶

His agrarian turn consisted in going ‘to the people’, or *v narod* in Russian. The expression *v narod* originated from the populist V Narod (‘To the People’) Movement in 1860s–1870s Russia, in which Russian intellectuals turned to the countryside and sought to learn the peasants’ everyday practices and disseminate revolutionary ideas

⁴⁶ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 74–5. For the popular use of the term *seikatsu*, among Japanese intellectuals of the early twentieth century, as a way to express an ideal of living a new moral way of life, see Ariel Acosta, ‘A Quest for Meaningful Living: Japanese Tolstoyans and the Idea of *Seikatsu*’, in *Japan’s Russia*, 177–208.

among them. Tekirei's 'going to the people', however, did not aim to civilise and enlighten the latter with the top-level education he obtained from Tokyo Imperial University to incite a revolution. Instead, he abandoned elitist education and sought to learn from and live with farmers, where a clue about 'true' human morals lay.⁴⁷ With his lack of practical knowledge and background in farming, Tekirei thus began his agrarian life by fully immersing himself in the *narod* – represented by the farmers –, learning from them, and gaining first-hand experience by trial and error on the land. Tekirei's *v narod* and agrarian life were made possible only by conceiving of the *narod* equally, without a hierarchy of placing the intelligentsia above the farmers.

This inclusive and egalitarian concept of humanity is evident in his original invention of 'the people', *hyakushō* (百姓). Similar to Ōsui (see Chapter 2), when existing terms and concepts were unable to fully capture his ideas, Tekirei freely invented new ones based on Japanese, English, German, French, and Greek words to make sense of the world he envisioned. Tekirei's *hyakushō* was a wordplay that deliberately replaced the everyday word *hyakushō* 百姓, meaning farmers in Japanese, with his original homonym *hyakushō* 百姓 to mean 'everyone'.⁴⁸ The two different

⁴⁷ See Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 88. Konishi also mentions a similar reference to *v narod* by Ishikawa Takuboku (1886–1912), a popular young poet from Iwate, northern Japan. Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 230.

⁴⁸ Amino Yoshihiko critically points out that although *hyakushō* 百姓 (farmers) originally meant 'people' in medieval Japan, the term came to be understood as farmers/peasants by the late Edo period. The change occurred amid the state's persistent use of the land-based taxation system and the associated emphasis on farming, for collecting taxes from the land. In medieval Japan, the category of *hyakushō* 百姓 in fact included many non-agrarian workers. See Amino Yoshihiko, *Zoku Nihon no Rekishi o Yominaosu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1996).

hyakushō projected different conceptions of humanity. Tekirei's word combined *hyaku* – literally, a hundred or an indication of almost uncountable large numbers – with *shō*, nature.⁴⁹ Although Tekirei did not describe its meanings in detail, based on the combination of *kanji* characters, we can infer that his *hyakushō* encapsulates the symbiotic coexistence of all different humans – and indeed, perhaps all beings – in agrarian nature. Tekirei writes: 'Although people with a variety of occupations and classes come to visit us, our state of mind in meeting them is just one. We are all "fellow human beings" (*ningen dōshi*)'.⁵⁰ This quote illustrates the idea of *hyakushō* 百性. With the invention of *hyakushō*, Tekirei proposed a new symbiotic perception of humanity that was inclusive of everyone, transcending hierarchically constructed boundaries such as class and occupation in the civilisational ideology.

Applying the *hyakushō* concept, Tekirei named his small farm on the Tokyo outskirts the Hyakushōai Dōjō (百性愛道場).⁵¹ In the English-language scholarship, the Hyakushōai Dōjō has been translated as the 'Farmer's Institute of Love', following the translation offered by James Mark Shields.⁵² This translation, which limits the scope of the farm to farmers only, derives from the misreading of Tekirei's inclusive

⁴⁹ His invention of *hyakushō* 百性 was inspired by *bussō* (仏性; Buddha-dhātu or Buddha-nature), which, in Buddhist teachings, refers to the nature of Buddha that every single living creature on the planet possesses. Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 136.

⁵⁰ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 19.

⁵¹ Later, the farm was also called Sanchōen ('The Three Ivies Garden'). It represents the cooperative work of the three – Tekirei, his wife Sekimura Miki, and Kodaira Hideo. The three ivies also represent the family crest of the Sekimura family. Tsukidate Kinji, 'Miki no Kiroku o Yonde', in *Kyōdo no Shisōka Eto Tekirei*, 69.

⁵² Shields, *Against Harmony*, 184.

hyakushō 百性 concept as *hyakushō* 百姓 (the existing word for farmers), which is then combined with *dōjō*, an institute/hall. I propose to translate the Hyakushōai Dōjō as the ‘Everyone’s Institute of Love’, in keeping with Tekirei’s invention of the new term of *hyakushō* and its broadened scope of humanity. Tekirei combined the inclusive *hyakushō* with *ai* (love) to constitute *hyakushōai*, the love of everyone. Thus, *hyakushōai* and its extension the Hyakushōai Dōjō farm seem to imply a cooperative life and labour based on the mutual love of all fellow (human) beings, whom he would welcome at his farm with open arms – indeed implying, in the words of his contemporary Ōnishi Goichi (1898–1992), that ‘everyone is welcome, let’s work together’.⁵³ Instead of a farm run by and for farmers only, he envisioned an open ground of moral agrarian training and collective living organised by and for all kinds of humans (and perhaps non-humans as well) in nature, inclusive of but not limited to farmers.⁵⁴

In accordance with his inclusive view of humanity, Tekirei was opposed to exploitative large-scale farming that enslaved fellow humans.⁵⁵ Nor did he wish to practise small-scale farming as a tenant under the control of landowners.⁵⁶ Instead,

⁵³ Ōnishi Goichi, ‘Eto Tekirei no Hito to Shisō’, *Eto Tekirei Kenkyū*, no. 17 (1971): 62, quoted in Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*, 54. The name Hyakushōai Dōjō might also reflect his belief at the time that farming enables people’s collective and cooperative life of love and is, thus, an ideal form of life for all people. Saitō Tomomasa, ‘Eto Tekirei no Kyōikukan’, *Bukkyō Keizai Kenkyū*, no. 19 (1990): 57.

⁵⁴ Although Tekirei’s preference shifted gradually from collective farming to an even smaller-scale agrarian lifestyle with his family, he remained open to the wider human-to-human interaction and welcomed visitors.

⁵⁵ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 61.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Tekirei envisaged small-scale farming based on the cooperation of independent humans, cattle, technology, and nature.⁵⁷ Opposition to the hierarchical and patriarchal landlord-tenant relationship was crucial for him. Already in his earliest (albeit unmaterialised) attempt at agrarian communalism, the farm – Taiyō Nōjō (the Sun Farm), at the border of Aomori and Akita in the North – was to be managed collectively by its members.⁵⁸ Its bylaw further adds that '[t]he way of an individual is the way of all people (*hitori no michi wa bannin no michi*)',⁵⁹ echoing his later invention of *hyakushō* and representing the symbiotic modern vision of humanity. This implies that injustice towards and exploitation of even a single human being is intolerable, non-negligible, and inseparable from the ultimate goal of human happiness inclusive of everyone, without hierarchy.

Tekirei's non-exploitative farming emerged against the socio-economic context of the time, in which the meaning of agriculture was largely tied to capitalist modernity. The number of tenant families increased from the 1880s and the Matsukata deflation

⁵⁷ Ibid. The Tekirei family regularly sold their homegrown vegetables and agrarian products at a local market, as a pragmatic means to sustain their life. While Tekirei was not opposed to economic transaction per se, he firmly rejected capitalist exploitation.

⁵⁸ One of his first agrarian projects – almost completely forgotten in historiography – was the Sun Farm on the northern land (650 *ha*) in 1909. See Toyabe, *Kijin*, 26; Nakajima Tsuneo, 'Sanchōen no Nōgyō Keiei', in *Gendai ni Ikiru Eto Tekirei no Shisō*, 72–3; Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 121–5. The religious-intellectual thinker, Nishida Tenkō (1872–1968)'s family purchased a mine owed by the family of Tekirei's wife (Sekimura family), but ran away without paying. The Tekirei family was relying on this income to establish the Sun Farm and support their farm life. The financial crisis made it impossible for them to materialise the Sun Farm project. Tekirei allegedly punched Tenkō on his face. Hachinohe Shiritsu Toshokan, ed., *Kyōdo no Shisōka Eto Tekirei*, 47; Tsukidate, 'Miki no Kiroku o Yonde', 72; Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 119–21.

⁵⁹ Toyabe, *Kijin*, 26.

to reach its peak in the early twentieth century.⁶⁰ By WWI, it stabilised at roughly 45 per cent.⁶¹ In other words, nearly half of Japan's overall farmland was under tenancy. These changes culminated in fundamental reconstructions of farm relationships, which Thomas Havens summarises as

a concentration of landownership in fewer hands, absentee landlordism by the 1890s, diminished face-to-face relationships between owners and tenants, a debt spiral that made it difficult to escape tenant status, and a gradual weakening of community ties and customary contacts, as control over landed wealth was no longer entirely in the hands of village residents.⁶²

The harshest context was perhaps that of Hokkaido, to which poor mainlanders (mainly from the Tohoku and Hokuriku regions) came with hope and expectations of a better life but, as the anarchist and Nonwar activist Harako Motoi reported, ended up becoming tenant farmers – again penniless – exploited by political-economic cliques investing from Tokyo.⁶³ Overall, in the 1920s, as many as a couple of thousands of cases of tenancy disputes (*kosaku sōgi*) occurred annually in Japan's countryside.⁶⁴ Tenants often stood up collectively by forming unions and negotiated to reduce rent and landlord-tenant inequality.⁶⁵ Given the prevalent capitalist

⁶⁰ Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan*, 35.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Harako Motoi, 'Hokkaido Imin no Hisan (Ichi)', *Nikkan Heimin Shimbun*, 15 March 1907, no. 49, 3; Harako Motoi, 'Hokkaido Imin no Hisan (San)', *Nikkan Heimin Shimbun*, 19 March 1907, no. 52, 3.

⁶⁴ Nishida Yoshiaki, 'Dimensions of Change in Twentieth-Century Rural Japan', in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, eds. Ann Waswo and Nishida Yoshiaki (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 14, 17.

⁶⁵ See Ann Waswo, 'In Search of Equity: Japanese Tenant Unions in the 1920s', in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, 79–125.

context of tenant farming and the discontent spreading across the country, we can infer that Tekirei's competing vision and practices of moral farming without exploitation – and his *A Farmer's Household* book that recorded the painful process of achieving a joyful life – would stand out freshly in their eyes. While it is difficult to grasp the details of the readership (i.e., what kind of farmers and/or non-farmers read the book) from existing sources, the nationwide context of tenant farming and the associated discontent offers us a further plausible hint, with which to consider why his agrarian life and writing gathered the extensive public attention.

Importantly, because of its inclusiveness, Tekirei's *hyakushō* illuminates the exclusiveness of the state-sponsored concept of *kokumin*, the nation's people. As discussed in Chapter 3, in the Western modern ideological paradigm, formulating a coherent body of nationals and national consciousness was an essential milestone. The formulation of an 'us' required the formulation of a 'them', and the concept of *kokumin* was weaved into people's everyday life in early twentieth-century Japan while 'deviants' – if not enemies – were invented, contrasting with *kokumin*. One such group was the Korean residents of Japan. The height of discrimination and tyranny against these Korean residents was the massacre that followed the Great Kanto Earthquake in Tokyo and its vicinity in 1923. Amid chaotic destruction, fires, and a lack of information in the aftermath of the earthquake, a number of Korean residents, or 'Korean malcontents' (*futei senjin*) as opposed to the Japanese nationals, were tortured

and killed primarily by local Japanese vigilantes (*jikeidan*).⁶⁶

Whereas the state-sponsored language of *kokumin* ideologically backed the exclusion and even the massacre of Koreans, the non-state language of *hyakushō* embraced the inclusion of those who were excluded from *kokumin*: the Koreans. As we have seen in the previous chapter, during the Russo-Japanese War, Nonwar activists invented the concept of *heimin* ('the people'), which, as Konishi points out, replaced 'social, national, and ethnic hierarchies with a concretized notion of humanity that extended beyond race, ethnicity, and the territory of the nation-state';⁶⁷ *heimin* thereby discarded the division between the *kokumin* (the nation's people) and the colonised people and emphasised the bonding of the people 'by empathy beyond the linguistic and cultural community of Japanese'.⁶⁸ Similarly, Tekirei's non-state *hyakushō* transgressed the very boundaries of the nation-state. Thus, during the Korean massacre, the Tekirei family secretly sheltered at their Hyakushōai Dōjō three young Koreans escaping the massacre and violence.⁶⁹ This safeguarding after the earthquake differed from the state-led 'protective custody' (*hogo shūyō*) of 'Korean

⁶⁶ There has been a wide range of research conducted on the Korean massacre. In English-language scholarship, see Sonia Ryang, 'The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Massacre of Koreans in 1923: Notes on Japan's Modern National Sovereignty', *Anthropological Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2003): 731–748; Hasegawa Kenji, 'The Massacre of Koreans in Yokohama in the Aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923', *Monumenta Nipponica* 75, no. 1 (2020): 91–122.

⁶⁷ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 145.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶⁹ The Korean student Kim Samgyu's recollection tells more details on this. Kim Samgyu, 'Kojinshi no naka no Chōsen to Nihon', in *Chōsen to Nihon no aida*, eds. Kim Samgyu et al. (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1980), 5–115; Kim Samgyu, 'Watashi no Hansei', in *Genronjin Kim Samgyu*, ed. Genronjin Kimsamgyu Kankō Iinkai (Kawasaki: Genronjin Kimsamgyu Kankō Iinkai, 1989), 22.

malcontents' (*futei senjin*), which, as Hasegawa Kenji emphasises, was not so much concerned with protecting Koreans as with protecting the state itself against Koreans by preventing them from collectively dissenting against it.⁷⁰ At Tekirei's Hyakushōai Dōjō, the earthquake started a continued friendship transcending the difference of nationality and the state imposition of a colonial hierarchy. One of the Koreans sheltered at Hyakushōai Dōjō was Kim Samgyu (1908–89), who later became a leading advocate of the independence and unification of Korea as a democratic and permanently neutral country, which he saw as the only way to end wars, military expansionism, and the international power struggle over the Korean peninsula.⁷¹ Kim Samgyu routinely visited Hyakushōai Dōjō and stayed there during the weekends for years after the earthquake,⁷² and Tekirei visited Kim Samgyu's parental home in Yeongam, Jeollanam-do, in rural Korea.⁷³ Emerging from the invention of *hyakushō* was this non-state Japanese-Korean friendship transcending national boundaries, which had been hitherto invisible in the hierarchical colonial discourse of the nation-state.

It is therefore unsurprising that Tekirei and his family practised farming at Hyakushōai Dōjō outside of the state-centred ideological construction of

⁷⁰ See Hasegawa, 'The Massacre of Koreans in Yokohama'.

⁷¹ The Korean government barred him from entering Korea in 1960 for his claim on permanent neutrality, which was considered 'heretical' at the time.

⁷² Kim, 'Watashi no Hansei', 22.

⁷³ It was part of a one-month tour to Manchuria and Korea in 1927 with Horii Ryōho (1887–1938) – an agrarian practitioner, writer, and good friend of Tekirei from Akita, northern Japan.

'Japaneseness'. As Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney discusses, in state-led modernity, rice and rice paddies were given a symbolic significance of the 'Japanese self' in opposition to Euro-Americans and other Asians.⁷⁴ It was those rice paddies that defined the supposedly 'pure' and 'original' Japanese landscape as a root of the Japanese nation-state building against a 'taint' of Westernisation. On the contrary, much similar to what Ōsui and his followers were practising at Kenwasha, Tekirei's Hyakushōai Dōjō freed farming from the rice-centricity and nation-state ideology and grew a wide variety of agrarian products. They started with floriculture (the cultivation of flowers) and the sale of eggs, then grew rice and vegetables (e.g., cucumbers, aubergines, tomatoes, and strawberries), and also raised cattle (chickens, goats, and pigs).⁷⁵ As Iwasaki Masaya points out, this multitude of agrarian practices was not only about self-sustenance but also about interacting with and immersing oneself in nature from different angles.⁷⁶ Thus, the farming at Hyakushōai Dōjō was neither nostalgic for the traditional Japanese taste nor was it to be practised within the nation-state's ideological framework. It was an exploration of a new relationality with nature outside of the state.

This world of nature, in Tekirei's view, is inseparable from human life in constant circulation. A key to investigate the secrets of the human-nature relation lies in

⁷⁴ See Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁷⁵ Tsukidate, 'Miki no Kiroku o Yonde', 72. The Tekirei family even baked bread and made croquettes. Ibid.

⁷⁶ Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*, 29.

everyday agrarian life. Tekirei argues that ‘nobility is found in our ordinary surroundings (*hikin*), and the whole secrets of the universe are embraced in trivial episodes of our everyday life’.⁷⁷ One of the most ordinary and trivial yet noble treasures he discovered was faeces. Faeces illustrate the symbiosis of nature and humans in the endless cycle of life in the universe, or *rinne*.⁷⁸ While many would see faeces as something dirty, mere waste, Tekirei perceived them as natural fertilisers that ensured harvest and kept myriads of beings alive, including humans, who in turn produced those natural fertilisers as part of the endless cycle of life. Certainly, the idea of faeces as fertilisers was neither new nor limited to Japan/Asia; in the Japanese historical context, their life cycle – faeces help rice production, rice nourishes humans, and humans produce faeces – had already been discussed in the Edo era.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, what Tekirei shed light on here was not necessarily the utility of faeces but the symbiotically circulating function of the universe, which human manure showed to him. Tekirei explains: ‘I believe that food and faeces are an endless cycle (*rinne*) of individual life, and each individual and their descendants are an endless cycle of the life of species, and the thoughts of predecessors and the thoughts of future generations are an endless cycle of world civilisation’.⁸⁰ What might look trivial and

⁷⁷ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 154.

⁷⁸ See *Ibid.*, 149–155.

⁷⁹ See David L. Howell, ‘Fecal Matters: Prolegomenon to a History of Shit in Japan’, in *Japan at Nature’s Edge: The Environmental Context of a Global Power*, eds. Ian Jared Miller, Julia Adeney Thomas, and Brett L. Walker (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013), 137–151.

⁸⁰ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 154.

even dirty reveals the hidden logic of the universe in constant circulation, which, as we will see in the final section, was a part of what Tekirei theoretically concretised in the following years.

Nature as the Only Teacher in a Neither-Divisible-nor-Indivisible Universe

Emerging from the years of agrarian life was a rediscovery of nature as the ultimate source of knowledge on the universe and a simultaneous departure from religious-intellectual teachings by the late 1920s. It developed from his awareness and doubt that, while he had endeavoured to live his everyday life on the land, he might in fact have lived in ‘theories’ that justified such a life in nature.⁸¹ This amounted to objectifying life in nature while living in thoughts and ideologies embellishing life and, therefore, made it impossible for Tekirei to fully immerse himself in actual life in nature.⁸² It is notable that Tekirei nevertheless continued to revere a few scholars including Ōsui, and what he had learned from Ōsui, Kurasawa, and Russian anarchist writings would likely have been inseparably embedded in the contours of his agrarian practices. Tekirei, however, was determined to abandon all the theories and teachings incentivising his ideal agrarian life.⁸³ Instead, he shifted his focus to a dialogue with sound and phenomena emerging from the ground in nature – what he called *jiyu/chiyu no sugata* (地涌のすがた). Nature became the only teacher and epistemic

⁸¹ Kimura, ‘Ba to Bashō’, 185.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Tekirei, *Ba no Kenkyū*, 228.

source of everything and everyday life, encompassing knowledge, virtue, salvation, arts, and the phenomena of the whole world.⁸⁴

In his continued moral conviction in agriculture, Tekirei consistently saw the farmers, who were in close contact with the ultimate teacher of the whole universe (i.e., nature), as the key subjects of the creation of a new future. Tekirei argues that ‘the power which saves the whole humanity from degradation and breakdown [...] comes not from the head of the elegant so-called idealists but the dirty hands of farmers’.⁸⁵ Tekirei discovered what he called *nōjō* (農乗) or Agrayana as an intellectual foundation for farmers to envision new progress, which further concretised and sublimated his symbiotic view of the natural-human world by reconceiving nature as the only source of knowledge. Indeed, as we will see, despite his departure from religious-intellectual teachings, at the fundamental level, his findings from a dialogue with nature echoed the symbiotic logic of the Ōsui school we have discussed throughout the chapters. The final section of this chapter explores the period following the exponential sales of his aforementioned agrarian book, during which his agrarian thought gained further thoroughness and complexity through the Agrayana.⁸⁶

The Agrayana’s fundamental pillar is what Tekirei calls the *Tatologie* (行論 *gyōron*) or the theory of *gyō* (行), which provides a new epistemic view of the universe that

⁸⁴ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Jō*, 202–3; Wada, *Eto Tekirei*, 172.

⁸⁵ Tekirei, ‘Non-Pāchizan-Rīgu no Atoni’, 177.

⁸⁶ This indeed made his ideas less accessible to the general public compared to the earlier period.

transcends all bifurcations and the states of divisibility and indivisibility. Tekirei categorises human acts and practices (行為 *kōi*) into *i* (為), *gyō* (業), and *gyō* (行), which are interrelated and cannot exist without each other. *I* (為) and *gyō* (業) refer to purposive acts – particularly the economic practice of earning a living in the case of *gyō* (業) – and are ‘divisible’.⁸⁷ The purposive and divisible human acts in *i* (為) and *gyō* (業) are contrasted with *gyō* (行). Whereas *i* (為) and *gyō* (業) denote purposive acts, *gyō* (行) refers to one’s purely spontaneous acts without purposes and objects in everyday life. Furthermore, while the world of *i* (為) and *gyō* (業) is divisible, that of *gyō* (行) negates not only the subject-object binary but all bifurcations of divisible and indivisible.

As a key to reconfiguring the present, Tekirei urges a step up from the purposive and divisible *i* (為) and *gyō* (業) to *gyō* (行), or from the concern of ‘living’ in capitalist civilisation to ‘life’ itself, however challenging it may be. Every person inevitably starts in the divisible realms of *i* (為) and *gyō* (業), sustaining their life within the civilisational construct. Nevertheless, the continuous and spontaneous practice in everyday life would gradually open their eyes, beyond capitalist progress, to the indivisible and, ultimately, to neither the divisible nor the indivisible realm. This shift was a product of ‘just farming’ without objects and purposes, or what Tekirei called *shikan hyakushō* (只管百姓), as a consequence of going through decades of moral-

⁸⁷ Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*, 63.

intellectual struggle in nature.⁸⁸ The everyday practice of *just* farming with the hoe – an epitome of *gyō* (行) – opens up a new world of human (un)consciousness and teaches a new intellectual paradigm emerging from the soil, not from the state, for an imagined future.

The Agrayana radically alters the meaning of agriculture, away from capitalist modernity. Similar to the invention of *hyakushō*, Tekirei replaces the conventional term for agriculture, *nōgyō* (農業), referring to farming as a livelihood in a business-economic sense, with his homonym of *nōgyō* (農行), or *just* farming as a spontaneous practice in everyday life. This conversion from *nōgyō* (農業) to *nōgyō* (農行) frees agriculture from the state-sponsored civilisational ideology, gives new subjectivity to farmers, and directs humanity towards a new future in dialogue with the land.

Thus, Tekirei sharply criticised the teaching of *nōgyō* (農行) at the state-run Nōmin Dōjō (The Farmer's Institute), which happened to use the same word with contrary meanings in 1930s–40s Japan.⁸⁹ The state-run Farmer's Institute aimed at nurturing the 'Japanese spirits' and letting students internalise the state-imposed ideology through the repetitive agricultural practice of what they called *nōgyō* (農行), which

⁸⁸ Tekirei's *shikan hyakushō* was inspired by the prominent Zen Buddhist, Dōgen (1200–53)'s *shikan taza* (只管打坐), or the practice of 'just sitting' as a Zen training without goals, aims, or purposes. Tekirei deepened his understanding of *shikan taza* through his encounter with the Zen Buddhist, Sawaki Kōdō (1880–1965), whom he first met in 1925. Likewise, Tekirei invented *nōjō* (Agrayana) vis-à-vis *butsujō* (仏乗, Buddhayāna). Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Ge*, 133. *Butsujō* refers to the vehicles that take people from this world to another world, through which to attain nirvana, in Buddhism. Tekirei's this-worldly *nōjō* replaces *butsu* (Buddha/Buddhism) with *nō* (farm), and is combined it with *jō* (vehicles) – *nōjō*. Similarly, Buddha+vehicles, or Buddhayāna, is converted in Tekirei to Agrarian+vehicles, or Agrayana. This *nōjō*/Agrayana, or the farm vehicles, would then take people from the world of *gyō* (業) to *gyō* (行).

⁸⁹ See Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*, 66–7.

Tekirei viewed not as *gyō* (行) but as the purposive act of *i* (為).⁹⁰ Tekirei maintains:

[The Farmer's Institute] is trying hard to give reasons and borrows explanations from elsewhere. They use various ways, such as Japanese spirits, *nōshi* (the farm samurai/man of integrity), counterfeit Buddhist monks, and counterfeit Shinto priests. And they juggle the patchwork. And they think that is education. It is the highest of the ignoramus.⁹¹

The state-run Farmer's Institute used nature and agrarian labour to justify its nationalist ideological purposes. Thus, it was irreconcilable with Tekirei's view of nature as the fundamental epistemic source and with his spontaneous, non-purposive *gyō* (行).

The liberation of everyday practice from the state-centred temporality of Western modernity, *gyō* (行), was accompanied by the liberation of the field. Another pillar of the Agrayana, invented after the *gyō* (行) theory, was the *Feldologie* (場論 *baron*) or the theory of *ba* (field/place).⁹² *Ba* refers to the field of the spontaneous *gyō* (行) and is thus inseparable from it. Tekirei writes: '[I]t is *ba* when you divide it [...] but is also *ba* when you do not divide it. [...] Presence and absence are both the state of *ba*'.⁹³ In other words, *ba* is non-objectified and spontaneous, beyond the divisible-indivisible bifurcation. Just as one cannot reach *gyō* (行) without initially going through the

⁹⁰ Ibid., 67.

⁹¹ Eto Tekirei, 'Kashoku Nōjōgaku Jikyo Josetsu no Teiwa' (1940), in *Eto Tekirei Kenkyū*, no. 7 (1962): 29.

⁹² The third pillar of Agrayana, in addition to *Tatologie* and *Feldologie*, was *Syndikatologie* (組論 *soron*). It refers to the organisational/association theory, and discusses different ways of combination and organisation in the natural-human world. Similar to the way that carbon can turn into coke or diamond depending on how it is combined with, different ways of combination and association lead to different phenomena and consequences. Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaishi*, 63.

⁹³ Tekirei, *Ba no Kenkyū*, 161.

divisible and purposive *i* (為) and *gyō* (業) in the capitalist civilisational construct, *ba* is inseparable from *kashoku* (家稷). *Kashoku* indicates the farmer's household and household-based production and community and is one of the various standpoints (*tachiba*) taken by different people, corresponding to the divisible and purposive acts of *i* (為) and *gyō* (業). *Ba* would fall into mere abstraction without the concrete standpoint of *kashoku*.⁹⁴ Simultaneously, however, if one exclusively holds on to the standpoint of *kashoku*, he/she/they would also fall into abstraction because it dismisses the wider interconnectedness.⁹⁵ Therefore, Tekirei urged all to see *kashoku*, the lively space of farmers' actual everyday life, through the lens of the neither-divisible-nor-indivisible field of *ba*.⁹⁶

This reconfiguration of place entails its liberation from the hands of the nation-state and its ideological construct. This is because, first, in the same way that *gyō* (行) conceptually liberates human acts from capitalist progress, *gyō*'s (行) field of *ba* posits a new spatial (un)consciousness that is neither divisible nor indivisible, in juxtaposition to existing forms of state-given divisible, territorialised places. Second, it is because Tekirei invented the *kashoku* concept in opposition to *shashoku* (社稷), associated with the state. Tekirei explains: "There is the word, *shashoku*. *Sha* means soil and *shoku* means grain, and it [*shashoku*] is fine but nowadays means the state;

⁹⁴ Kimura, 'Ba to Bashō', 208.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Tekirei did not force the idea of *kashoku* and Agrayana to non-farmers. He instead encouraged each individual to work in their own field, see each of their everyday life through *ba*, and formulate their own version of Agrayana.

thus, I thought farmers shall be farmers and made *kashoku*'.⁹⁷ Tekirei deliberately replaced *shashoku*, the gods of soil and grain that implied the state, with *kashoku*, in which *ka* means (the god of) the household and *shoku* means (the god of) the grain.

This farmer's household of *kashoku*, in rejection of the state's *shashoku*, contrasts with the way in which family and household were posited as a locus of the Japanese nation-state. The state firmly established the patriotic ideology of *kazoku kokka* (family-state) and educated children in the post-Russo-Japanese War era with this view that emphasised the 'kinship' of families and the imperial household, as well as the unity of the national family under the emperor.⁹⁸ Family, in particular the rural farm-based family, became a key marker that morally defined Japaneseness and the newly constructed Japanese tradition in the state and ideologues' agrarianist ideologies.⁹⁹ Freed from this state-endorsed meaning, the farmer's household of *kashoku*, on the contrary, was a non-state base for weaving new agrarian progress. A new world imagined in this *kashoku* – seen through the neither-divisible-nor-indivisible-scope of *ba* – was symbiotic, without the hierarchical boundaries based on class, status, and nation of the civilisation discourse. *Kashoku* is a holistic basis for farmers' everyday life in cooperation with others socio-economically, politically, technologically, and culturally. These elements of farmers' everyday life are tied and form a 'whole', not an 'all', which must be distinguished clearly in Tekirei's worldview.

⁹⁷ Tekirei, *Eto Tekirei Senshū Ge*, 133.

⁹⁸ Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity*, 198–200; Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 265.

⁹⁹ See Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan*, 133–162.

The 'all' consists of the aggregation of different divisible, dispersive, and unrelated elements – *bekko* (別個). On the contrary, the 'whole' consists of the elements that are indivisibly circulating and interrelated with no absolute beginning or end – *bunko* (分個). Fundamentally challenging the hierarchical and divisible logic in the state-centred temporality of Western modernity, it was this *bunko* and the 'whole' that constituted the farmers' *kashoku*.

Accompanied by the slide of historical consciousness after the Russo-Japanese War, Tekirei's lifelong agrarian practice affirmed that nature no longer belonged to the Japanese nation-state. He posited a competing, symbiotic view of the human-natural world by liberating his agrarian practices from the state's ideology, inventing 'the people' inclusively in opposition to the exclusive 'nation's people', and ultimately embracing nature as the only source of knowledge, freeing farmers' everyday life from Western modern temporality. Through such agrarian means and perspectives, Tekirei underlay and exemplified larger intellectual phenomena of symbiotic modernity and critically responded to the problems of civilisation, which constrained the everyday life of ordinary people both morally and materially. These ideas and practices of Tekirei's agrarian life give us a clue as to why his agrarian writing gained so much popularity. Unlike the civilisational ideology of the nation-state, which associated farmers with the old and traditional – and even Japan's authenticity before the encroachment of the Western industry –, farmers, in Tekirei's worldview, were

the very progressive subjects of world rectification. Indeed, farmers and farming were no longer a past-oriented device for the Japanese state and its nation's people. Nor was farming a utopian fantasy. Instead, it was a practical means to overcome the moral crisis of civilisation and live morally true to himself. Whereas the civilisation discourse claimed to rectify the troublesome present by invoking an imagined agrarian past, Tekirei envisioned the rectification of the troublesome present through the creation of an imagined agrarian future.

Through Chapters 3 and 4, the hitherto disconnected acts of Tekirei's agrarian practices and Zaikan's blind and deaf education were intellectually connected for the first time. Both were discontent with the state-led direction of progress and dedicated their life to its rectification. Their everyday efforts represented symbiotic modernity, in pursuit of a less hierarchical and more inclusive future of humans and nature.

Conclusion:

Towards a Symbiotic Future

The *heimin* activist, Nishikawa Kōjirō (1876–1940) recounts a conversation he had with Arai Ōsui in 1910:

I asked [Ōsui] *sensei* about his will and resolution (*kokorozashi*), and *sensei* responded, ‘forty years ago [circa 1870], I thought it was urgent and necessary to create men of character (*jinbutsu o tsukuru ga kyūmu*). It remains the same to date. I am incompetent, but my will and resolution stay there’.¹

Ōsui grew up in the socio-economic and political disarray of *bakumatsu* Japan, which culminated in the Boshin Civil War of 1868–69 and consequently, the execution, incarceration, and banishment of his fellow Northern compatriots by the victorious Meiji state. Ōsui – then a young, blacklisted samurai of the North – embarked on the strictly prohibited study of Orthodox Christianity a little before 1870. The *bakumatsu* and Boshin turmoil was enough to solidify in him that the predominant faiths and teachings were insufficient to offer moral guidance to the public and address social disorder. He thereby delved into the new Orthodox teaching, which fascinated him with its principle of human equality. His firm resolution in search of morals applicable to all people equally precipitated three decades of moral training in rural

¹ Hagumasei, ‘Shinshin Shūkyōka Retsuden’, 514. Haguma (or Hagumasei) was Nishikawa’s penname.

America. Indeed, the outcome of the civil war and Ōsui's ensuing trajectory was historically significant. In the dominant narratives of national history, a civil war – whether in Japan or the US – ultimately seeks to unite a nation-state. Nonetheless, in taking the perspective of Ōsui and his comrades, this thesis has illustrated a history of thoughts and actions consistently positioned in opposition to the victor-led civilisational endeavours. Far transcending the arena of 'national history', Ōsui developed a transnational comradeship, through which he formulated his own moral-religious vision of personal and world reform without belonging to state bureaucracy led by the victors, church, or imperial university.

The concept that I term 'symbiotic modernity' encapsulates Ōsui and his comrades' efforts to realise a non-hierarchical and inclusive world and illuminates their urge that human civilisation must be rectified by replacing the injustice of Western modernity with justice, inequality with equality, nationality with transnationality, and the state-centric with people-centric in early twentieth-century Japan. From Satō Zaikan's unprecedented implementation of multilingual (sign-oral) education for deaf students (Chapter 3) to Eto Tekirei's constant dedication to farming (Chapter 4), an important characteristic of symbiotic modernity lies in Ōsui and his comrades' view that world reform must be accompanied by concrete actions in everyday life rather than existing solely within the realm of thought. In Tekirei's words, instead of 'thinking' of life, what he did was 'living' in thought.² Similarly, Ōsui warned, the

² Iwasaki, *Nōhon Shisō no Shakaiishi*, 78.

Bible was just a pocket notebook (*techō*) important for those who ‘practised’ it.³ By seeing urgent issues arising from the state-led pursuit of civilisational development, diverse grassroots actors absorbed the Ōsui school of thought, formulated symbiotic moral-intellectual visions of their own, and executed them in their everyday lives. Symbiotic modernity manifested in a variety of fields, including education, agrarian practices, and the utter rejection of war and hierarchies.

The emergence of symbiotic modernity had important historical meaning and implications for modern Japanese history; Ōsui and his followers’ symbiotic modern thoughts and actions characterised the birth of an emerging socio-cultural and intellectual trend in the early twentieth century. In the historiography of modern Japan (and beyond), the discourse of Western modernity, including imperialism, has been tremendously difficult to break. The history of early twentieth-century Japan, particularly following the Russo-Japanese War, has often been associated with the rise of imperial Japan in the dawn of ultranationalism and fascism leading up to the Asia-Pacific War. In the widely held understanding of the history of early twentieth-century Japan, most thinkers of the time – often accompanied by the social Darwinist logic of international competition – accepted imperialist expansionism as an essential and unavoidable trajectory of civilisation and progress. Marius B. Jansen explains: ‘With the establishment of the Imperial Diet under the Meiji Constitution one might have expected critical discussion of imperialist trends from exponents of

³ Ōsui, *Arai Ōsui Chosakushū*, vol. 3, 279.

middle-class democracy, but such was not the case.⁴ Indeed, historians have pointed out that some important critiques of Japanese imperialism emerged after WWI – typically known as Taisho democracy –, led by the intellectual Yoshino Sakuzō (1878–1933).⁵ However, throughout the Meiji era, the scholarship has conventionally described that the state-led direction of imperialist progress was hardly challenged, and anti-imperialist voices were hardly heard of, with only a very small number of exceptional figures, such as Uchimura Kanzō and Kōtoku Shūsui.⁶

Indeed, the imperialist discourse of civilisation and progress did have a significant impact in Meiji Japan and onwards. In the intellectual Ukita Kazutami's (1859–1945) description, imperialism was a 'tide of the times', which had been promoted by Western powers and would become 'the leitmotif of the twentieth century'.⁷ However, through Ōsui and his colleagues, this thesis has disclosed the process of forming a hitherto forgotten, alternative tide of the times which defied the Western modern ideology of progress, including the policy of imperial Japan. Indeed, Ōsui was far from being a lone wolf in this effort. Instead, as we have seen in Chapter 2, many flocked to study Ōsui's competing, anti-imperialist moral teachings in the very apotheosis of the Meiji state's imperialism throughout and after the Russo-Japanese

⁴ Marius B. Jansen, 'Japanese Imperialism: Late Meiji Perspectives', in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, eds. Ramon Hawley Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 73.

War – at least a decade before the age of Taisho democracy. This fact alone demonstrates the striking contradiction between what occurred during/after the war and the historiography. It was not only Zaikan (Chapter 3) and Tekirei (Chapter 4) who begged to study his moral-religious teachings, but also countless educators, university students, housewives, medical doctors, farmers, thinkers, artists, and lawyers – most of whom had never been studied in the mainstream historiography. People of different professions and social strata begged to study Ōsui's moral-religious teachings and regularly stayed at his barrack-like hermitage in suburban Tokyo. Their critical writings and actions did not diminish even during the so-called Winter Period of the 1910s, when pronounced countermovement against the state is said to have largely disappeared at least until the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. These diverse grassroots actors together constituted the alternative tide of symbiotic modernity in the early twentieth century.

With the discovery of the symbiotic modern tide, readers might be curious to know what happened to symbiotic modernity afterwards, particularly vis-à-vis the emperor-centred ideology of imperial Japan. During the *bakumatsu* and Ishin period, the emperor-centred ideology was merely one of the various lines of thought, and the seeds of later symbiotic modernity were sown alongside this ideology.⁸ In contrast to the rise of the emperor-centred imperialist ideology towards the Asia Pacific War period, however, symbiotic modernity did not survive to become a mainstream line

⁸ Irokawa, *Meiji no Bunka*, 14.

of thought and social actions during the period. Ōsui had already passed away in the 1920s, and his young followers might have had difficulty in maintaining their moral principles and actions without the direct guidance of their master, in the face of the intensifying emperor-centred imperialist ideology and the suppression of countering voices. Many of them, including Ōsui, seem to have not opposed the existence of the emperor himself, which might have further affected this tendency.

Nevertheless, such a discontinuity in the 1930s and onwards would not weaken the significance of re-evaluating modern Japanese history through symbiotic modernity. At the particular time and space of 1900s–20s Japan, a competing, anti-imperial, and symbiotic modern tide of thought and culture developed in stark contrast to the predominant association of modern Japanese society (particularly of Meiji) with a lack of challenge to state-led imperialist ideology in the historiography. More diversity of competing thoughts and actions emerged and were put into practice beyond what historians know about the modern Japanese society of the time.

Moreover, this alternative tide, symbiotic modernity, further challenges one of the most recurring frameworks in modern Japanese history – a polarised discourse of the West versus Japan. It is well known in historiography that already at the beginning of the Meiji era, Japanese statesmen and intellectuals proactively adopted Western ideas, technology, and institutional systems that affected almost every aspect of their lives: from the army, the navy, and universities to architecture, moral codes, and even restaurant menus. Through this, they sought to achieve the independence and

civilisational development of the Japanese nation-state modelled after the modern West. These 'Westernisation' narratives have been contrasted with its countermovement – that some Japanese thinkers began to question the excessive absorption of Western morals and culture and instead revisited uniquely Japanese characteristics, while maintaining the pursuit of Western modern technology, arms, and capitalist and territorial gains. Following the victory in the Russo-Japanese War in the early twentieth century, such discourse of nationalist countermovement was popularly teamed up with 'pan-Asianism', with rhetoric that Japan should be the one to defend Asian neighbours against the encroachment of Western imperial powers.

However, in stark contrast to this ground framework in modern Japanese history, symbiotic modernity fitted into neither the discourse of Westernisation nor Japanese nationalism/pan-Asianism. Nor was symbiotic modernity about an amalgamation of the Western and the Japanese/Asian. Instead, as was well represented by Ōsui's concept of One-in-Two and Two-in-One, the Ōsui school's thoughts were characterised by a 'symbiotic' vision of the world, which emphasised the mutual interconnectedness of everyone and everything that transcended national boundaries, and thereby decentred Japan, Asia, and Euro-America all together. As an alternative, transnational current of thought and culture, symbiotic modernity breaks through both West-centrism and Japan-centrism, as well as the ideological paradigm of the modern nation-state itself, in the historiography of modern Japan.

This symbiotic modern current of thought and culture did not set off suddenly in

the early twentieth century. Instead, we have seen that Ōsui's serious search for new ideas of universal human progress, taking place outside of the Meiji state's endeavour to civilise the nation-state, was present as early as in the Boshin Civil War and *Ishin* period. The non-state lens of Ōsui and the defeated North, hitherto provincialized by historians, radically challenges some of the most firmly established understandings of modern Japan – chiefly that the Opening of Japan (*Kaikoku*) was the beginning of Japan's Westernisation, and henceforth, modernisation. The state-centric victors' narrative of Japan's Opening to the West and Western modernity is contradictory to Ōsui and his fellows' intellectual trajectory and their vision of world reform. Amid the internal and external socio-political upheavals of *bakumatsu* times and the ultimate defeat in the Boshin Civil War, Ōsui began to seek ideas for world reform from the moral and intellectual realm through his encounter with Russian Orthodox Christianity. Following this transnational religious-intellectual encounter, throughout the chapters, Ōsui and his Japanese and Euro-American comrades challenged the ideology of Western modern progress and showed how humans ought to reform themselves and the wider world in pursuit of a more inclusive, just, and symbiotic future. In stark contrast to the dominant narrative centred on the victor-led state, the historical meaning of Japan's Opening and its consequences, seen through Ōsui of the defeated side, was *not* a quest for Western modernity. Instead, it was the beginning of a quest for a competing vision of universal morality, leading to symbiotic modernity.

Importantly, symbiotic modernity was *not* some kind of ‘interesting but isolated cases’. Instead, the emergence of a resonating cultural-intellectual phenomenon has also been uncovered by Sho Konishi’s study of ‘cooperatist anarchists’ in modern Japan during the same period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹ Accompanied by the selective reading and interpretation of such figures as Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Fabre, and Darwin, cooperatist anarchists acted urgently to realise a less hierarchical and more inclusive society founded on the practice of mutual aid. In doing so, they contributed to various socio-cultural movements, including the Nonwar Movement, of which some of the symbiotic modern practitioners also became an active part (see Chapter 3). While Konishi’s study and this thesis cover different groups of historical actors from each other, cooperatist anarchists and the Ōsui school’s symbiotic modern practitioners shared a similar intellectual dynamic in differences, both acting in opposition to the state-centred vision of civilisation and progress. During and after the Russo-Japanese War period, many actors from both parties shared an acute consciousness to change the present, wherein many ordinary people were suffering in their everyday lives, and the suffering was justified and systematised by the state and associated political-economic cliques. Overall, my finding of symbiotic modernity and Konishi’s finding of anarchist modernity together suggest that, in juxtaposition to the salient state-centred discourses of civilisation and progress, an alternative socio-cultural and

⁹ Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*.

intellectual trend also developed in early twentieth-century Japan. A variety of competing thoughts and actions seems to have emerged, and modern Japanese history was far from being synchronised into the temporality of Western modernity and imperial Japan.

Moreover, further inquiry into the extended network of the Ōsui school will reveal more symbiotic modern ideas and practices, as part of this emerging current of competing thought and culture in early twentieth-century Japan. This thesis has featured those non-state historical figures who played a leading role in executing symbiotic modern ideals in their respective fields but nevertheless have been completely omitted from our historiography. Further research will showcase that even some well-studied historical figures can be understood in a new light by uncovering their forgotten intellectual ties with the Ōsui school of thought.

This includes Tanaka Shōzō, a renowned pioneer of Japan's first modern environmental activism.¹⁰ Tanaka critically addressed not only ecological-human damages caused by Asia's largest Ashio Copper Mine, but more crucially, the state-endorsed imperial ideology that underpinned the copper production. What has rarely been emphasised is the fact that he was a passionate follower of Ōsui's teaching. In the early 1900s, soon after his return from the US countryside, Ōsui reacted to Tanaka's protest and developed an intellectual comradeship with him. In fact, Tanaka

¹⁰ In my future work, I plan to expand on the thoughts and actions of Tanaka, which will allow us to discuss the ecological aspect of symbiotic modernity inclusive not only of humans but importantly non-humans as well.

frequently came to stay at Ōsui's hermitage and studied his teachings of the Mother-Father God.¹¹ Accompanied by Ōsui's moral-religious mentorship, Tanaka continued to act against the Meiji state's pursuit of civilisation, which, in his view, did not bring progress but retrogression and even 'Japan's death' (*bōkoku*).¹² This attitude stood in stark contrast to the Meiji state and intelligentsia's celebration of the strong and masculine Japanese empire. For Tanaka, the country was dying under the Meiji state's governance, which failed to protect its people's wellbeing and the symbiotic human-natural world in its quest for materialistic and civilisational achievements. The ultimate embodiment of his continued critique was when, in opposition to the state's policy of converting Yanaka village (near the mine) to a flood control reservoir, Tanaka relocated to this village and remained there until the end of his life, despite the state's forceful demolition of houses and the village's constant inundation. While Ōsui has been given only partial attention in most existing scholarship on Tanaka, including in its leading work in the English language scholarship by Robert Stolz,¹³ this thesis's finding of the Ōsui school of thought will allow us to see Tanaka's ideas and acts from a fresh angle, as an ecological manifestation of the larger symbiotic modern phenomena of the time.

¹¹ On Tanaka's thought and his everyday life, including his interaction with Ōsui, see Tanaka Shōzō, *Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū*, 20 vols., ed. Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū Hensankai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977–80).

¹² Tanaka referred to 'Japan's death' (*bōkoku*) multiple times throughout his writings. See for example, Tanaka Shōzō, *Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū*, vol. 18, ed. Tanaka Shōzō Zenshū Hensankai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980), 261.

¹³ Stolz, *Bad Water*.

Moreover, even Itō Noe (1895–1923), one of the most renowned female anarchist activists in Meiji Japan, could be understood differently when considering her exposure to the Ōsui school. Itō has been remembered for her association with the feminist movement of the Bluestocking Society (*Seitōsha*), as well as her relationship with anarchist Ōsugi Sakae and their tragic murder by military police.¹⁴ What has remained undisclosed, however, is her rich intellectual background nourished by the Ōsui school of symbiotic modern thought and its consequences. This will be revealed through an examination of Itō's alma mater, Ueno Jogakkō (Ueno Women's School) – a five-year private girls' high school near Ueno Park, Tokyo.¹⁵

Founded by Zaikan and his comrades in 1905, Ueno Women's School was one of the iconic sites where Ōsui school members executed their symbiotic modern worldview.¹⁶ It has a significant historical meaning that the school was established during the Russo-Japanese War; as is discussed in the early chapters, this era was a time when various grassroots figures embraced acute historical consciousness which amplified the idea that social actions and changes needed to take place immediately.¹⁷ Its teachers included passionate followers of Ōsui, notably Zaikan, who served as vice

¹⁴ See for example, Steve J. Shone, 'Itō Noe, Japanese Anarchist Follower of Emma Goldman', in *Women of Liberty* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 186–205.

¹⁵ As well as Tanaka, I intend to expand the discussion concerning Itō Noe and Ueno Women's School in my future work. This analysis will further illuminate the gender aspect of symbiotic modernity.

¹⁶ The school was first established as Uguisudani Jogakkō (Uguisudani Women's School) and was renamed as Ueno Jogakkō (Ueno Women's School) in 1908.

¹⁷ See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, Chapter 4.

principal, and Nishihara Kazuharu, as a Japanese teacher.¹⁸ Beginning at such a crucial time and served by the Ōsui school's teachers, Ueno Women's School radically differed from many women's schools that upheld the state-endorsed patriarchal ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* ('Good Wife, Wise Mother'). As I have discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the Japanese state and educators promoted the hierarchical gender ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* as an official educational principle through which to educate girls on becoming a good wife and wise mother and support the male-dominant Japanese empire. However, Zaikan argued that their promotion of *ryōsai kenbo* was 'ludicrous' (*kokkei*), and he 'categorically eliminated it' from the education of Ueno Women's School.¹⁹ Instead of funnelling females into the limiting role of supporting males, the school's agenda was to nurture women who would love and cooperate with people around them and act independently and responsibly without being distracted by the fame of civilisation.²⁰ Through the original subject *Kansatsuka* (Observation Studies) held every week, the school encouraged students to explore the outer world and critically examine it, like fieldwork, rather than restricting them to the home and domestic sphere.²¹ They visited such diverse places as museums, Ueno Park and Zoo,

¹⁸ Kitagawa Taichi, 'Ōsui to Bijutsuka Tachi: "Kaiga Sōshi" o Megutte', in *Ōsuiron Shūsei*, 141. Zaikan became a devoted student of Ōsui right after the Russo-Japanese War, which was precisely when he was busy managing and teaching at Ueno Jogakkō.

¹⁹ Zaikan, *Monzen-go Sengo Zokuhen*, 108.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai, ed., *Arai Ōrai Chosakushū* vol. 9, 336; Seino, *Satō Zaikan*, 33–5; Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, 652–3.

temples, rivers, orphanages, post offices, the Diet, and even the graves of the *shōgitai* troop defeated in the Boshin Civil War.²²

The school's guiding principle, which underpinned such competing female education, was *ken'ai* – a key concept in Ōsui's religion.²³ A graduate of Ueno Women's School, who later converted to Ōsui's religion, recalls how Zaikan taught *ken'ai*, essentially meaning to 'believe in God' and 'renounce selfish mind' (or, *yūshin muga* in Ōsui's language).²⁴ Students were told to relinquish greed and anger derived from their selfish mind (*ken*), and live in harmony with their friends (*ai*).²⁵ In Ōsui's religion, this was an essential step forward to rectify one's inner self and the larger society tied to the hierarchical ideology of civilisation, and construct a new symbiotic world. This *ken'ai* of the Ōsui school's religion was so central to Ueno Women's School that the school's daily newspaper was even named *Ken'ai Times* (*Ken'ai Taimusu*).²⁶ In line with the Ōsui school of thought, Zaikan, while teaching, openly criticised the ideology of loyalty and patriotism (*chūkun aikoku shugi*), which the imperial Japanese nation-state was promoting.²⁷

In these ways, Ueno Women's School became an integral part of the Ōsui school's symbiotic modern phenomena, both in terms of the teaching staff and the actual

²² Ibid.

²³ Zaikan, *Monzengo Sengo Zokuhen*, 112.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Zaikan, *Satō Zaikan Shinbun Rondan Shū*, 650.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Zaikan, *Monzengo Sengo Zokuhen*, 115.

contents of education in resistance to the state's androcentric view of girls' education. Itō absorbed this Ōsui school's female education and had even boarded at the Zaikan family's house.²⁸ What she intended to do with anarchist activism can be seen in a different light by understanding her background rich in symbiotic modern intellectual thought. Furthermore, we can postulate that the influence of the unconventional teachings of Ueno Women's School might have spread to many more students, who were often girls of lower-class families who commuted from unprivileged areas in Tokyo, including Yoshiwara, a red-light district.²⁹ Owing to their home addresses, girls from these areas were often rejected outright by elite, *ryōsai kenbo*, state and private women's schools, which were popular for enhancing girls' social status and helping them marry men of well-off families.³⁰ Tracing the impact of the Ōsui school's education through these female students, hitherto understudied in the existing scholarship, may offer further insights into the cultural-intellectual life of women in the post-Russo-Japanese War period. Zaikan left Ueno Women's School for Hakodate after ten years of teaching in 1915, when banks and investors began to intervene with the school's educational policy and he was no longer able to pursue his symbiotic modern teaching there. The site of his symbiotic modern

²⁸ She did so for half a year before graduation. Arai Ōsui Chosakushū Hensankai, ed., *Arai Ōrai Chosakushū* vol. 9, 336.

²⁹ Zaikan, *Monzengo Sengo Zokuhen*, 109.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

education then moved to the Hakodate School for the Blind and Deaf, which we have examined in Chapter 3.

Indeed, such a multitude of manifestations reminds us just how extensive symbiotic modern phenomena were, despite their almost complete absence from the historiography. Their absence leads us to critically reassess the existing mode of historical study, which has revolved around the Western modern ideological paradigm of the nation-state. For symbiotic modern practitioners, the rectification of the state-led direction of progress was extremely urgent and necessary; Ōsui, Tanaka, Tekirei, and Zaikan all devoted their lives to it, forgoing wealth and success as they were defined by the capitalist civilisational construct. Regardless of whether it was met with ‘success’ or ‘failure’, this seriousness, urgency, and dedication to build a new future – even at the cost of their lives – inspired and characterised the birth of symbiotic modernity in the early twentieth century. The Ōsui school’s animated pursuit of a symbiotic future offers us, in the twenty-first century, a critical wake-up call and practical clues with which to reimagine and reconstitute the human-natural world amid persisting wars, hierarchies, and nation-state conflicts.

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