

## Profile of Asian Minded Man -ix-

TŌKICHI TARUI

TADASHI SUZUKI

The aim of this article is to inquire how Tōkichi Tarui (1850-1922) developed and changed those political ideals which had flashed across his mind, from his political awakening as a youth with the Meiji Restoration, through the fluctuating internal and external circumstances of his time. First, therefore, I will outline Tarui's life to the extent necessary for an understanding of his thought. Second, I will relate his views on the Restoration and his interests in the democratic reform of the government to his views on Asia in which liberation and aggression were not yet differentiated conceptually. In so doing, I will concentrate my discussion on the activities of the Tōyō shakaitō (Eastern Socialist Party) which Tarui organized in 1882, and on the material in *Daitō gappō ron* (Discussion of a Great Eastern Union) which he published in 1893.

### 1. *A Short Biography*

Tōkichi Tarui was born in 1850 in the Province of Yamato (now Nara Prefecture), where his father was a timber dealer. In his childhood, he said afterward, he did not care much for learning. According to Aizan Yamaji (1864-1917), historian and critic, however, he was a genius who could cultivate his abilities on his own after receiving only rudimentary lessons as, for example, in mathematics. One fact that illustrates his native ability to "educate himself and mold his destiny" is that upon inheriting the family business while still a youth, he was able to maintain its waning fortunes for some time. In addition to his native ability, he admits that, like many other Japanese youths, his ambition was fostered through reading traditional saga, legends, and historical works.

The Meiji Restoration offered him an opportunity to realize his aspiration to become one of the leaders of Japan; if it were not for this great historical event his ambition might have been only a vision. At that time, the family business that he had taken over from his father had "declined gradually to the point where the property was insufficient to pay off the debts. Then the decree of amnesty of 1868 favored upon us, and I could barely retain the remaining fortunes."<sup>1</sup> It was Tōkichi's job to ship timber from Yamato to Kishū (Wakayama Prefecture) along the Yoshino River. This district is also

<sup>1</sup> Sōgorō Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō* (A Study of Eastern Socialist Party), Tokyo, Ichigensha, 1930, p. 50.

known as the site of the first anti-Shogunate uprising of the Tenchūgumi (1863), an incident which strongly shocked the country. Tarui was greatly influenced by this event, and in his last years, he wrote *Meiji ishūn hasshōki* (An Account of the Origin of the Meiji Restoration), 1919, to explain the purposes of his plan to form a Tenchūgumi Memorial Society and erect a monument to the Tenchūgumi.

Tarui, who had come of age by the time of the Restoration of 1868, showed that he was deeply impressed with this social change indicative of a nationalistic tendency. His state of mind at that time may be summed up in a passage taken from his autobiography.

In the first year of Meiji, I was twenty years old and supported the family. When I read the "Five Articles of the Charter Oath," I first orientated my life to service to the country. I thought that whether I ran the lumber business myself to make a great deal of money or whether someone else did so in my place to make that profit would make a great difference to my family. For the country, however, that would mean neither profit nor loss. If, under the new Meiji government, I wish to work out a policy to realize orderly government and a peaceful life, I should give up self-profit and devote myself to public activities. I would abandon self-interest and work resolutely for the cause of the country.

Generally speaking, the respectable and the wealthy, who lead an idle life, are in reality useless beings from the viewpoint of production, while those who undergo hardships in their labor are in fact productive citizens. The policy whereby a wealthy country and a peaceful life may be achieved should therefore be to engage the non-productive in labor so that all the people may cooperate and share the pleasures and pains of life. Then, if the merchants whose business has been suspended were also transferred into productive work, the nation's production would still increase to provide the basis for wealth. Such a simple idea like this was, however, the germ which was afterward to grow into my advocacy of socialism.<sup>2</sup>

Like many other memoirs, Tarui's rendition of his early life is not free from a certain embellishment by his later ideas. His socialism, too, was after all an interpretation of the benefits conferred by the Restoration on a man sinking into poverty. There certainly existed in his subjective world, however, an idea of a simple but harmonious relationship between society and the individuals unique to times of great change. The plan for a new Japan based on his view of the Restoration was not adopted by the government at that time and, as we will see later, was what he sought to actualize afterward by means of the Tōyō shakaitō.

With ambition and work for the cause of Japan Tarui came up to Tokyo in May 1873. It would seem that he had received some encouragement from Tominosuke Yasunaka, a man who was his senior from the same province and in the same line of work, and who, having left home after a business failure, had maintained close relations with Kiyotaka Kuroda (1840-1900), a statesman, and others from Satsuma. When Yasunaka went to recommend the newcomer as a student boarder to Takamori Saigō (1827-1877), Tarui was

<sup>2</sup> Tanaka, pp. 17-18.

still as ignorant about politics that he had to ask who Saigō was. With the dissolution of the government over the issue of the Korean expedition the recommendation came to naught, and he entered the private academy of Yorikuni Inoue (1839-1914) to study *kokugaku* (national learning.)

A scholar following in the tradition of Atsutane Hirata (1776-1843), Inoue was an unusual man of the sort, who would willingly keep company with public entertainers. At this school, Tarui heard such figures as Masatake Satō and Wataru Inazu conduct fiery discussions advocating the Korean expedition, and he was gradually influenced by such arguments. Following the example of his seniors, he presented a memorial to the government several times from the end of 1874. In general, he advanced suggestions for building up a fleet of warships and other vessels, choosing enterprising young men for the crew with an eye to developing the art of navigation, placing a ban on fiction and unauthentic histories for the purpose of promoting practical interests and thought, and ensuring that plays be based on facts in such a way as to help understand history. Among his suggestions to strengthen the country both materially and morally, he advanced with the greatest confidence a type of socialist policy which was, as mentioned before, to abolish commercial profits in the interest of the general public and to engage non-productive elements of society in productive labor. The government rejected this proposal on the ground that it ran counter to the existing policy of encouraging commerce and was contrary to the "principle of civilization." Thereupon, giving up a chance to enter government service, Tarui, along with some friends, launched a newspaper *Hyōron shimbun* (Review News) in 1875, which was to become known for the expression of radical views on the civil rights of ex-samurai. At one time he was so hard up financially that he was employed in the Peers' Club as a janitor and was bewailing the new government of Meiji.

Tarui was a voracious reader, and at that time had gone through most of Yukichi Fukuzawa's (1834-1901) writings but, as he himself admitted, he "was not acquainted with Western learning," the framework of his thought remained totally Eastern. This is attributable to the influence of the Inoue school, and particularly of Wataru Inazu who, because of his extremely anti-foreign position, was once suspected of conspiring with a group of ex-clan samurai who rose against the government under the leadership of Tatsuo Kumoi (1844-1870). Tarui's relationships with these men and his unsuccessful memorials to the government led him to judge that, rather than the exiled Saigō, it was the government which, preaching "civilization and enlightenment" and thus following in the wake of the West, was checking and distorting ideals of the Restoration. He quickly fell for the idea of a Korean expedition and took action to that end. According to a letter he wrote, he made an alliance with Hisashige Nagaoka (an ex-samurai of Aizu *han*) and Ryūkō Sugiyama (ex-councillor of the Tsugaru *han*) and traveled to the northeastern part of the country, for two months from June 1877, for the purpose of recruiting men to work with Saigō. His travel diary, written in

detail, is not without indications that his trip was partly for pleasure. And the fact that he called on Governor Michitsune Mishima (1835-1888) in Yamagata Prefecture shows that his opposition to the government was not consistently maintained; such contradictions between thought and behavior never left him all his life.

The following year, the difficulty of earning a living again forced him to seek a position as instructor at a Chinese classic school run by Tokitoshi Taketomi (1855-1938), who later became the Financial Minister of the Meiji government; and six months later, he and Tōmei Okumiya launched a magazine of Chinese verse, *Kinsei shūbun sen* (A Selection of Modern Verse). Later that year, joining with some exponents of the liberal and democratic movements in Saga district, he sailed out to the waters off the Korean coast in search of an uninhabited island. He jumped at that plan with great interest because when he had gone to the Gotō Archipelago to escape from an epidemic of cholera then prevailing, the Lord of Fukue *han*, Tadaatsu Matsuzono, told him of an uninhabited island about 146 miles west of Gotō Archipelago which he wished in vain to bring under his sway because he had been unable to find like-minded people.<sup>3</sup> In the autobiography, he writes: "When I first heard of this uninhabited island, . . . I felt it was very lucky for the country. I had been of the opinion that unless our country were to conquer Korea first of all, she could not open the way for development. If we were fortunate enough to discover an uninhabited island, we would be able to make it into a center of our operations, to which we could draw comrades one after another to build a base for a Korean expedition."<sup>4</sup> Thus, while his purpose in seeking an island was mainly to establish an operation center against Korea, he was at the same time dreaming that an ideal society of freedom and equality could be built on the island. It may perhaps be said that these two motivations were not contradictory to him.

In his search for an island he made four trips from Nagasaki over a period of three years; about one of the trips the story is told that after struggling against a violent storm at sea, Tarui's party thought they had discovered an island at last, but it was found to be one of the Gotō Archipelago.<sup>5</sup>

After the trips proved to be failures, Tarui stayed in Kyūshū for some time and, as political parties were mushrooming at that time, he too formed a party, the first to be called "socialist"—the Tōyō shakaitō (Eastern Socialist Party). This action was not unrelated to his scheme of search for an uninhabited island, while the ideal for the Korean expedition in fact left on the nature of the party and his subsequent moves the important mark of Asianism. The Tōyō shakaitō was immediately banned by the government, and

<sup>3</sup> Yoshiyuki Sakurai, "Tōyō shakaitō Tarui Tōkichi to *Daitō gapppō ron*" (Tarui Tōkichi of the Eastern Socialist Party and his "Discussion of a Great Eastern Union"), in *Meiji to Chōsen* (The Meiji Period and Korea), Tokyo, Sakurai Yoshiyuki sensei kanreki kinenkai, 1964, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Tanaka, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Sakurai, p. 16.

Tarui was taken to jail. The prison term given him was one year, but shortly after entering prison he contracted typhus and subsequent lung hemorrhages, which continued for twenty days left him weakened in both mind and body. This kept him from participating in the radical party movement. One of his letters immediately following his release from prison relates some of his sentiments at that time.

Now, thinking of my future, I intend to give up fame and fortune, social life and associations and thus attend to my studies with diligence. Although I might lose the fame I have so far enjoyed, I have more important things to do than be concerned about my fame. To earn my living, I may enter government service, but I will not want a large salary. For if my salary is large and my responsibilities heavy, they will keep me from studying. I wish to choose as light a position as possible.<sup>6</sup>

He thus sought to start his life all over, but actually there was no chance for him to go up to Tokyo or enter government service. On the advice of friends, he attended a convention of the Kyūshū kaishintō (Kyūshū Progressive Party) where he met Mitsuru Tōyama (1855-1944), a Pan-Asianist, for the first time. This meeting, together with his warm friendship with Taneomi Soejima (1828-1905), a leading exponent of tough foreign policy, proved decisive to Tarui's concern for foreign affairs.

Without entering into any detail of his personal trait, it may suffice here to say that he was never married all his life.

In 1884, he went to Shanghai for the purpose of participating in establishing the Tōyō gakkan (Eastern Academy) along with several advocates of popular rights movement and serving the interest of Japan with regard to the Sino-French war. He was eventually arrested. Subsequently he cooperated with Kim Ok-kiun (1851-1894) in a plan for reform of Korea, but when their scheme to proceed to Korea with bombs from Osaka (the Osaka Incident, 1885) was detected, he was again arrested and detained by the police. Then, in regard to the issue of unequal treaty revision, he was indicted on the charge of secret publication and was banished from Tokyo. All these events illustrate that he was active in the left wing of the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party).

With the promulgation of the Constitution, he was released on amnesty, and in 1892 he was elected to the House of Representatives from his home district, Nara Prefecture. While holding office in the Lower House, he published the *Daitō gappō ron* in 1893, which he had thought out while in jail and for which he had completed the first draft in Japanese in 1885, only to have it confiscated by the authorities. In 1890, he wrote the second draft in *kambun* (classical Chinese) and published it serially in the magazine *Jiyūbyōdō keirin* the next year. This article, put together with four others, was printed in book form two years later. In essence, the argument was an appeal for the union of Japan and Korea into a *Daitō koku* (Great Eastern State) which would then unite with China to resist the Western policy of colonization in

<sup>6</sup> Tanaka, p. 29 (entry of April 1, 1884).

Asia. Tarui hoped so eagerly that his appeal be widely read among like-minded people in Korea and China that he reviewed *kambun* in order to prepare the draft. It was for this reason that he was once a Japanese of fame in Korean eyes. In China, the article was read widely when Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) reprinted it with his own preface. On the eve of the annexation of Korea in June 1910, the second edition of this book was published with a new foreword which reads in part, "I am proud of my foresight to see that the Japan-Korea relations have developed to government by a Residency-General, and believe that even if Korea is annexed to Japan, she should not be allowed to participate in the governing process so long as she needs subsidies."<sup>7</sup>

The two factors of Asian solidarity and aggression in his thinking began to reveal their contradiction as Japan moved in the direction of imperialism. No matter how strongly he may have wished to see aggression from the West confronted by Asian solidarity, objectively it cannot be denied that historically he played the role of defender of Japanese aggression in Asia. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

At the turn of the century, Tarui published, through the mediation of Toshihiko Sakai (1870-1933), an article "Ginkō kokuyū ron" (Discussion of the Nationalization of Banks), 1897, in the magazine *Taiyō* (The Sun); and at the same time he was active as one of the executives of the Shakai mondai kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of Social Problems), which was the precursor of the Shakaishugi kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of Socialism). Instead of following this line, however, he continued to look toward the Asian continent in his later years. He played an active part in the development of Manchuria and Korea, where he explored graphite deposits supported by funds invested by Shōzaburō Tsuchikura, a wealthy merchant from Tarui's home town. He also contributed to the development of Mongolia. In his last year, he came home and lived with a woman named Uta Ohara for a short time, and after separating from her he lived a lonely life at the Wayō Club in Gojō, Nara Prefecture, until 1922 when he died in poverty.

## 2. *Tōyō shakaitō*

Tarui's *Tōyō shakaitō* was short-lived and, for all practical purposes, accomplished little. However, the ideas that it stood for were, like the ultranationalism of the 1930's and 40's, closely related to the entire question of modern Japan, in that they were directed toward achieving a certain political effect patterned on the ideals of the Meiji Restoration. And unless critical light is brought to bear upon this question, it will be impossible to clarify the nature of Japanese nationalism, which was constructed on the dual basis of Asianism and socialism.

First, the activities of the *Tōyō shakaitō* will be briefly outlined. The party originated in a preliminary meeting held by a handful of men on April

<sup>7</sup> Taishi kōrōsha denki hensankai ed., *Taishi kaikoroku* (Memoirs about China), Vol. 2, Tokyo, Taishi kōrōsha denki hensankai, 1936, p. 344.

18, 1882, and was formally established on May 25 at the instigation of Tarui and some others in Shimabara district, Hizen (presently Nagasaki Prefecture). Prior to this, a certain Yoshihiko Ienaga (1849-1913), an advocate of the Korean expedition who had taken part in a meeting in Nagasaki of the Kyūshū kaishintō (Kyūshū Progressive Party, a large local organization affiliated with the Jiyūtō), had called on Tarui and asked for advice, saying that "the [Kyūshū kaishintō's] policy was so common and vulgar that he wished to establish a new policy rising above all political parties and organizations in the country and organize a separate party."<sup>8</sup> At this opportunity Tarui attempted to put into practice the ideas he had expressed in his memorials to the government by beginning at the grass-roots level. He consulted with one of his friends, Taketomi, who told him that his plan for a political party had a number of similarities to the socialist parties of the West. Receiving encouragement from these remarks, Tarui made up his mind to form a party. The plank of the party's program which advocated equalization of property was to be disseminated, through the efforts of Masataka Watanabe, among the peasants of Nishi Matsuura *gun* (district) who had begun to demand that a system of per household land division initiated by the ex-lord of Saga be continued.

From the point of view of the police authorities, the potential danger of this peasant movement leading to an agrarian struggle was more direct and much greater than the danger of the Tōyō shakaitō's moralist ideals. As the police seemed to have been very nervous about it, in the period between April to December, 1882, all the moves of the peasants as well as Tarui and Watanabe were reported in detail by resident policemen to their superintendent, and then to the police chief of the Prefecture. According to these reports *Kokuji hōkoku* (Reports on Political Affairs),<sup>9</sup> the influence of the Tōyō shakaitō was not limited to the peasants. School teachers among the ex-samurai were also breaking away from the influence of the Jiyūtō's ideas:

We have learned that the local Kaishintō is breaking up and that they are going to adopt moralism in the place of their previous principles. It can be imagined that they are probably turning to such ideas under the influence of Tōkichi Tarui and others, now staying with Kahei Kitamura in Imari, who are attempting to organize a socialist party.

Most of the school teachers in this district are ex-samurai who, though not ostensibly affiliated with any political party, are in fact in agreement with the ideas of the Kaishintō or the former socialist party [i. e., Tōyō shakaitō] and tend to behave impatiently and violently. Accordingly their pupils copy their manner.<sup>10</sup>

In regard to size, the party had several leaders including Tarui who participated in the preparatory committee, plus about 70 to 80 people who attended the inauguration. When Tarui referred to 4,000 members, he probably counted among them the peasants in the locality. This is not strange in the light of his belief that "All men who have a keen moral sense are

<sup>8</sup> Tanaka, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Sōgorō Tanaka, "Tōyō shakaitō zengo," *Rekishi kagaku*, September: 1934.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

members of our Tōyō shakaitō."<sup>11</sup>

The real influence of the party extended to beyond the Nishi-Matsuura *gun* or the Imari and Karatsu area, to the neighboring Amakusa district of Higo Province (Kumamoto Prefecture) and penetrated among the peasants who were living in distress.

In Amakusa of Higo, there was originally an extreme gulf between the rich and poor. The wealthy oppressed the poor so harshly that the ideas of the Tōyō shakaitō of Nagasaki gradually penetrated the district, and not a few of the people below the middle classes approved of those ideas. In particular, given the continued monetary stringency of recent years, the wealthy have done business on exceedingly harsh terms, while the poor have often suffered. If therefore that party begins to expand actively it is likely that a majority of the poor will join it. This is really dreadful.<sup>12</sup>

Against a socio-economic background of forced development of capitalism and the consequent disintegration of the farming populace and the fall of the declassed samurai, the Tōyō shakaitō appeared to be expanding its influence among the lower classes, when on June 20 of 1882 it was banned by the police. Subsequently, for the purpose of rebuilding the party, Tarui published a revised draft of Party Rules, but the results were even worse than before—in January 1883, he was imprisoned and the party was completely destroyed.

What, then, were the objectives of the Tōyō shakaitō as a political party? First, it is necessary to inquire into its ideological characteristics. Chapter 1 (Program) of the Party Rules announced at the time of its inauguration includes the following three propositions.

Article 1. Ethical standards are to guide the speech and conduct of party members.

Article 2. Equality is to be the guiding principle of our party.

Article 3. The greatest happiness of the masses is to be the goal of our party.<sup>13</sup>

Tarui's own explanations of these basic objectives may be seen in a memorial he wrote to defend the party when he was questioned by the police.

The draft program is to clarify the significance of morality. Article 2 on equality is to indicate the operation of morality. All moral teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Western scriptures preaching morality invariably lead to equality.... Article 3 defines our goal to be the greatest happiness of the people, that is, morality itself; and, further stating that this goal cannot be achieved immediately, has taken it to be the goal of life. Ours is, therefore, on academic society designed to study the means of attaining the goal.<sup>14</sup>

The socialist party which he advocated was based upon the notion that society, which he conceived of as being a brotherhood of men, functioned as an organism according to the exercise of morality. The socialist party was

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Tokyo nichinichi shimbun*, July 10, 1882, in Bunshirō Ishida ed., *Meiji jidai bunka kiroku shūsei* (Collection of Cultural Records on the Meiji Period), Vol. 1, Tokyo, Jidaibunka kenkyūkai, 1934, pp. 329-330.

<sup>13</sup> Hisao Itoya ed., *Ōi Kentarō to shoki shakai mondai* (Ōi Kentarō and Early Social Problems), Tokyo, Aoki-shoten, 1961, pp. 129-130.

<sup>14</sup> Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō*, p. 6.



therefore thought to be "either a fraternal party or a moral party."<sup>15</sup> It was on the basis of this very position that Tarui could challenge the Home Minister's order banning his party on charges of violation of peace and order, and retort, "Does the Home Minister regard morality as violating peace and order?"

In regard to the question of why "Tōyō", a name specifying a region, was assumed by the party, it may be said that it was never for the purpose of expressing xenophobia or antagonism toward the white race, as has been the case in more recent years. As is apparent in the statement, the name signifies "a socialist party which sprang up in the East, not one for the East alone,"<sup>16</sup> further, the term "Tōyō" is worth noticing as an illustration of thought leading to universal values even in the academic context of the East. The revised program should make this point sufficiently clear.

You, who have been raised amid the current trends of Eastern civilization, are members of our Tōyō shakaitō; and it is upon the success or failure of our party that the rise or fall of human morality depends.<sup>17</sup>

On this point, even though Tarui had the same problem to solve as did the ultranationalists of the early Shōwa years (1930's and 1940's), he was less fanatic and far more rational in his attitude than they were.

This universality of morals beyond time and space was probably acquired through his thoroughgoing investigation of the concepts of Heaven's reason and Heaven's way in the Confucian tradition. As Aizan Yamaji has said:

In the tradition of Chinese learning, which Japanese scholars regarded as the common discipline of their class, there was a political school equating country to the family. It is not hard to extract from this school of thought social policy such as Mr. Tarui devised.<sup>18</sup>

That this universal law was immanent and that Tarui himself was also under the rule of that "Lord" is brilliantly stated in Article 6 (Pledge) of the Party Rules.

With you, I form this socialist party and propagate our party's purposes, not because you have had me join the party nor because I led you to do so; but because your sense of morality has responded to mine.

I devote myself to the Tōyō shakaitō; not to you, but to morality. There is no master who rules my mind. The only master that I have is morality. But again, morality cannot rule my mind, because my spirit is morality itself.<sup>19</sup>

When he looked at reality in the light of universal will as a law existing in yet transcending individual minds, Tarui was capable of passing trans-

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Itoya ed., pp. 130-131.

<sup>18</sup> Aizan Yamaji, "Genji no shakai mondai oyobi shakaishugisha" (Contemporary Social Problems and Socialists) (1908), in Meiji bunka kenkyūkai ed., *Meiji bunka zenshū: shakai-hen* (Collected Works on the Meiji Culture: Volume on Society), Tokyo, Nihonhyōronsha, 1928, pp. 374-375.

<sup>19</sup> Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō*, pp. 4-5.

cidental judgment on the actual policies of the Meiji government.

He skillfully used the same logic in a speech on "The Nihilists of the East." Following his introductory remark that "I chose this inflammatory subject for my speech, because the drift of the times in this country today demands it,"<sup>20</sup> Tarui declared that Nihilism had its origin in the application of the despotic rules of uncivilized ages to enlightened people and that, in this sense, the Czar was assassinated not by the Nihilists but by himself.

Tarui, who had eagerly expected that the Meiji Restoration would realize a moralistic ideal world, was not content with the already accomplished political and social restorations of the 1880's. The current of the age, he must have imagined, was demanding the complete fulfillment of the restoration.

He went on to say, "If the members of society are led to cultivate fully their natural sense of morality and the spirit of respecting the principle of equality and freedom, then government and law will finally become useless and obstructive. It is our purpose to bring about the day when we can live in such an ideal land. Government is originally an outcome of the evil which should be finally exterminated. When government is abolished, it will be when we attain the genuinely civilized world we wish to see."<sup>21</sup>

This ideal society would compare favorably with the concept of the state under the rule of a wise man which Chōmin Nakae, in his *Sansuijin keirin mondō* (Three Drunks' Conversations on State Affairs), 1887, had the "gentleman of Western learning" describe as "elevate the country and bring it to a garden of morality"<sup>22</sup> where capital punishment and boundaries would be abolished and where freedom, equality, and peace would be realized. Tenshin Okakura expounded the truth when he wrote on art, "Fine arts are a common property of heaven and earth. How could there then be a distinction between East and West. Sects are the home of abuses." This is, also true of the nation that the road from either East or West leads to the universal.

There is no doubt that to a certain extent Tarui's criticism of government was weakened by being too abstract and unrelated to actualize. While the early Shōwa ultranationalists, similarly vaunting morality, beautified the realities of an abhorrent war with abstractions, Tarui included the notion of history as a universal and progressive force in his conception of morality. This concept of Tarui's was related to his vision of the future, which was bound up with his idealized image of the Meiji Restoration. Herein lies the question of values in history, a question to which positivism could not give a satisfactory answer. It is also true that the view of values often helps discover some unknown aspect of the past and makes it possible to reappraise

<sup>20</sup> Itoya ed., p. 125.

<sup>21</sup> *Chōya shimbun*, July 5, 1882, in Meiji hennenshi hensankai ed., *Shimbun shūsei Meiji hennen shi* (A Chronological History of Meiji Period Through Compilation of Newspapers), Vol. 5, Tokyo, Zaisei keizai gakkai, 1935, p. 105.

<sup>22</sup> Chōmin Nakae, "Sansuijin keirin mondō" (Three Drunks' Conversations on State Affairs) (1887), in *Chōmin bunshū* (Anthology of Chōmin), Tokyo, Hidaka yūrindō, 1909, p. 35.

so-far "established" facts in history.

Among the passages quoted above, Tarui also wrote: "Even government proclamations refer to leveling the upper and lower classes and placing all men on an equal footing. This is based on morality and means socialism."<sup>23</sup> It is easy, from reading the above quotation, to laugh at Tarui, who saw socialism in the ideals of the Restoration. If, however, one is blind to an original mind in its practical efforts to lead the development of history in the direction of popular aspiration and human wishes, then one should be subject to the criticism of being blind to thought.

Kiyoshi Wakabayashi's *Dai Nihon seitō shi* (A History of Political Parties in Japan), 1913, gives the following account of the origin of the Tōyō shakaitō:

The Charter Oath of the Restoration contains the words of doing away with the evil customs of the past in conformity with universal justice; and the Imperial Edict on Conscription refers to equalizing the rights of the upper and the lower classes to enable everyone to enjoy freedom. Both of these impress us with the depth of the Imperial thought. Our party has come into being to uphold nothing but this Imperial thought. Therefore one who condemns our party is a traitor to the country because he condemns the Imperial thought.<sup>24</sup>

Tarui also denounced matters that ran counter to the principles and purposes he upheld, when he wrote:

Although men are equal in their rights, our country behaving in a manner extremely contrary to justice in that it distinguishes among peers, ex-samurai and commoners and thus qualifies the rights among them. . . . To take into account differences in tax payments and to place arbitrary limitations on electoral rights and eligibility are contrary to justice. . . . It is customary today that the landlord impose on his tenants exorbitant tributes in addition to public taxes; this is a practice to rob others of the products of their labor and as such is robbing the public. In conformity with the Imperial will, I seek to sacrifice my life to do away with the evil customs of the past and realize universal justice.<sup>25</sup>

These statements may reflect Tarui's precaution against any repressive actions to which he might provoke the government; but more importantly, they emphasize the universal justice for which he thought the Restoration stood and which he clothed in the phrases of the Imperial will or consideration, phrases the authority of which the government could not challenge at all. Thus, in the final analysis, it can be said that the Tōyō shakaitō, like the agitation for Korean expedition, was aimed at a "restoration of the Restoration," at least in the subjective sense. Likewise, witnessing government officials acting with arrogance and ex-samurai and peasants sinking into poverty, even Yukichi Fukuzawa himself expressed sympathy for Saigō's feelings that "if things are allowed to be as they are now, the civil war against the Shogunate will prove abortive" and wrote, "As long as despotism exists in the world, there is the need for the spirit of resistance. . . . Now, the views

<sup>23</sup> Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

of Saigō, who resisted the government with arms, are more or less different from mine, but his spirit remains above all criticism."<sup>26</sup> Also, Kanzō Uchimura (1861-1930) showed penetrating insight into the same issue of the times, when he wrote in his *Representative Men of Japan*, 1908, that Saigō "wanted to begin" where other statesmen, Kido Takayoshi and Ōkubo Toshimichi, "wanted to stop."<sup>27</sup>

In regard to resistance to the course of "progress" in which the advance of civilization coupled with the retrogression of morality, the general trend among the outstanding Meiji thinkers was to criticize on moralistic grounds the utilitarianism of the men in power.

If Tarui's thought could be called Eastern socialism, it was to be given a rational, Western quality, by his confidant, Tokitoshi Taketomi. Taketomi was one of the leading figures in Kyūshū, and had acquired knowledge of socialism from new periodicals sent to him by his friend studying in America and from the works of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Article 4 (Means) of the revised draft of Party Rules is attributed to him.

We are to rectify the abuses of the past and destroy the hereditary system both for the rich and poor, by the following means:

1. Common ownership of natural properties.
2. Cooperative companies.
3. Public education of children.
4. Scientific propagation.<sup>28</sup>

In his later years, Taketomi himself, interviewed by Sōgorō Tanaka, explained these as follows:

In Spencer's *Social Statics*,... there is presented the argument for state ownership of land. From this source I got the idea of common ownership of natural properties for our program. But "land" alone is too limited; minerals, rivers, and forests included in or on land should be commonly owned. I therefore borrowed the word "tien wu" meaning natural properties from the Shu Ching.

An interpretation was such that everything comes under natural properties, and among them what has been worked upon by man is acknowledged to be private property. At the same time, this program was to hold that man-made goods would be guaranteed to be distributed directly from producers to consumers. While upholding the spirit of common ownership of natural properties, Article 2 was to realize that by filling mutual needs through cooperative companies.

Mill says that everyone born to society has the same rights but nobody has the right to produce a man who will be a burden to society. As everyone born to society has the same rights, he should be taken charge of, raised, and educated by society until he comes of age. This is the meaning of public education for children.

Society depends on its members for development, while at the same time nobody has the right to produce a man who will become a burden to society. And so it is necessary

<sup>26</sup> Yukichi Fukuzawa, "Teichū kōron" (Discussion of 1877) (1877), in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū* (Collected Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi), Vol. 6, Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1959, p. 531.

<sup>27</sup> Kanzō Uchimura, *Representative Men of Japan*, Tokyo, The Keiseisha, 1908, p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> Itoya ed., pp. 129-130.

to ensure that a person of bad quality not be allowed to have a child. This is what in the program I call "scientific propagation." The original words I picked out of *The Nineteenth Century* published in Boston.<sup>29</sup>

While it aimed at reforming internal government, expanding the basic human rights for the people and improving the living standards of the nation, the Tōyō shakaitō was also strongly concerned with the affairs of Asia. One expression of this concern is found in Article 5 of the Party Rules which reads, "We seek to expand the understanding of our purposes in China and Korea by publishing a magazine in Chinese." The experiences of agitation for Korean expedition and the navigations in search for an uninhabited island were still alive in Tarui's mind.

The party is to work for the purposes of relieving the poor, achieving equality for every status, equalizing rights and improving the race. We can better attain these purposes by exporting them to Korea, China and other areas overseas, where we should awaken the enslaved people from their idle sleep and thus retrieve the declined destiny of the East, rather than by seeking to spread our ideas within the country.<sup>30</sup>

Such a positive approach to overseas affairs would lead directly to the argument for a union of neighboring countries.

### 3. *The Appeal for a Union of Japan and Korea*

We have already seen that, following the founding of the Tōyō shakaitō, Tarui experienced the hardships of imprisonment and that, emerging from his dark days, he sought to turn over a new leaf by starting his studies over again. In 1885, he entered the school of the Genyōsha (ultranationalist society of the Meiji period), where he learned, through reading in international law, that there was a federal system among Western states. Under the profound impact of the federal system in Switzerland, he drafted an article *Nissen rempō ron* (Discussion of a Japan-Korea Federation), which he showed to a school instructor, Jokei Kazuki, for comment. Although the latter did not pay much attention at that time, this draft was to provide the basis on which Tarui prepared his later work, *Daitō gappō ron* (Discussion of a Great Eastern Union), a work which is regarded as controversial for those who consider relations between Japan and Korea or Asia as a whole. I will try below to discuss the fundamentals of Tarui's view of Asia, through a close examination of this work.

In the light of what we have already seen, it may not be difficult to relate the appeal for a Korean expedition, the Tōyō shakaitō, and the appeal for a union of Japan and Korea by the common thread of Tarui's interest in Korea and Asian solidarity. Is it, however, possible to maintain for these reasons that Tarui sang the praises of Japan's expansion to the Asian continent and approved of the annexation or absorption of Korea into Japan? Is it that such aggressive policy was his consistent idea and also the natural

<sup>29</sup> Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō*, pp. 146-150.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

conclusion of his thoughts? The prevailing view of the progressive school of history since the Second World War has been to regard the movement from the Tōyō shakaitō to the appeal for a Japan-Korea union as identical with the deviation or retrogression from the position which held popular rights (or domestic affairs to be of primary importance) to that which held state power (or foreign affairs to be pre-eminent.) But has this point really been studied sufficiently and in depth?

Reading the *Daitō gappō ron* once again, I was surprised to find that Tarui was discussing a union of the two countries with a more advanced understanding of (and also with full respect for) the West than he did in the period of the Tōyō shakaitō. As he wrote in a letter following his release from prison, he turned to learning instead of fame, social life and association and, as we know, studied international law at the Genyōsha. Receiving scholarly incentive from Taketomi, who helped him prepare the program of the Tōyō shakaitō, Tarui may have turned his eyes to the West and continued studying and reading on his own for some time. In any case, the *Daitō gappō ron* is replete with quotations from John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Robert Owen as well as Confucius and Lao-tzu. In this sense alone, it is hardly possible to attach to him the simple label of an anti-Western and aggressive Asianist.

It is noteworthy that Tarui began to understand the significance of popular rights and their guarantees and the constitutional system first in the context of the traditional Confucian view of government which taught "fair government" to be a virtue of political morality; and that he subsequently had his eyes opened decisively by European thought.

When I read Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), I still did not understand the meaning of the passage reading "An official in the country is not to work the people. It is the people that pay tithes and employ officials to conduct fair administration for us." When I came to read Western books, I suddenly understood this.<sup>31</sup>

This part of his work explains how Tarui, who had found government for the people to be exceptional in the East, became aware of its universal and world-historical value for the first time, under the influence of Western democratic ideas. On this basis he declared: "From ancient times, there were countries which had no ruler but the people. There was no country which had no people but only a ruler. Now as the world becomes civilized, the justice the ancient sages taught is known to the public."<sup>32</sup> Chōmin Nakae, the most widely read in French democracy, also quoted from Liu Tsung-yüan in his *Ichinen yūhan* (One Year and a Half), 1901, to express a similar view which he reached from the opposite direction of West to East:

The popular rights represent the supreme principle: freedom and equality the great cause.... No matter how august a monarch may be, he cannot remain so unless he

<sup>31</sup> Tōkichi Tarui, *Daitō gappō ron* (Discussion of a Great Eastern Union), Tokyo, 1893, p. 111.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

respects this principle and this cause. These ideas were expounded in ancient China by Mencius and Liu Tsung-yüan. They are not a monopoly of the West.

A country always has its people even though it has no rulers. No country is without its people even when it has its rulers.<sup>33</sup>

It may be rather surprising to see that, as in the case of other exponents of the popular rights movement, Tarui's conception of a union of Eastern countries is, in its origin, more Western than might have been anticipated.

Union is universal reason in the world. Could not anything at all be accomplished by union? The system of federated states has its origin in Greece, and many Western countries today model their systems after Greece.<sup>34</sup>

Nothing can be better than the federal system as the policy for leading the country to prosperity. The Westerners, working within this system, have developed their countries and supported their people. We in the East had better adopt that system to lead our countries to prosperity. We have already imported postal service, telegraph, railways, steamships and many other things from the West. Yet we have not imported the general policy of developing the country and ensuring peace for the people. Does not this mean that we are giving priority to the unimportant and deferring the important?<sup>35</sup>

These passages may suggest that Tarui's study of Western examples eventually led him to a renewed appreciation of significance of Eastern political morality and to inform the traditional ideas with new life.

In light of the two essential attributes of government in the Eastern tradition, namely, the rewarding of good and the punishing of evil, the use of punishment for crimes as the sole basis of rule and the absence of the promotion of virtues by teaching represented, for Tarui, deviation from his accepted norms. Not only did he see in that deviation the reason why the recent examples of despotic rule in the East were no match for the ideal government of ancient China in the reigns of Yao and Shun, but he also commented on Western democracy from the same viewpoint:

Alas, the ideals of Yao, Shun and King Chou are practiced in Europe and America, not in East Asia. Europe, which was once barbarous in ancient times, is now wealthy, powerful and civilized, while the countries of the East are on the decline. Could not these changes of position between East and West over the ages be explained by ignorance of what is essential to government and adherence to the abuse of despotism?<sup>36</sup>

It is true that when Tarui observed that European countries had faith only in military power as the means to survive rivalry among imperialist powers, he viewed the East opposed to the West and urged that an alliance of the yellow peoples be formed against one of the white peoples. But this should be taken as an expression of the spirit of resistance of a man who had been awakened by the universal ideas of government taught by the West

<sup>33</sup> Toshisuke (Chōmin) Nakae, *Ichinen yūhan* (One Year and a Half), Tokyo, Hakubunkan, 1901, p. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Tarui, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

to the abuses stemming from the medieval type of reactionary government prevailing in the East and who was opposed to the realities of the "modern" West in so far as these ran counter to the universal ideals of political morals.

It was in such a position that a Japan-Korea union was appealed for internally and externally. This appeal was basically supported by the view of society he had cherished since the days of the Tōyō shakaitō (Eastern Socialist Party), a view that society was originally a group of men who helped each other through morality. It was also backed by his firm confidence in internationalism—that the world was bound to unite after all. He was thus full of confidence when he said, "When I appeal for union today, it is the trend of the times that makes me speak."<sup>87</sup>

His vision of a world which was to unite on some future day on the one hand, and the reality of imperialist aggression by European powers encroaching upon Asia, on the other, corresponded to the bright and dark sides of the Western civilization—the former being the idea that the political justice of democracy was widely accepted; the latter, that the actual state of things was stained by power politics for imperialist aggression. In this picture, he sought first to use the impetus forced externally by the West as a lever to awake the people to reality; and then, with this policy of changing the negative factor into a positive one, lead the current of the times toward a world federation of states. He writes:

If all Europe forms a federation and advances eastward in cooperation, Europeans will not find it very difficult to control the whole of Asia and unify all the world. It is lucky for East Asia that they do not adopt such a plan.... It is essential for us to establish immediately a plan to defend ourselves against them.

We in the East have the advantage of harmony and unity in our nature, while they in the West have the advantage of the independence of their spirit. By virtue of training in many arts, they have many chances of success. Our strategy today is therefore to develop what is to our advantage; to consolidate the foothold, and then to proceed to compete with them, thereby changing the position of defense into that of offense.<sup>88</sup>

The first step in that direction was his idea of a union of Japan and Korea (in which the tradition of harmony was to be made the most of). And the nature of this appeal for union was fundamentally conditioned, of course, by the matters relating to the status and powers of the two countries. In this connection, he clearly states his position that "equality between the two is the general principle of association." He thus remained faithful to the spirit of international law which led him to hit on the idea of uniting the two countries, when he wrote, "An exponent of international law does not draw a distinction according to the size of land or population."<sup>89</sup>

For his original purpose of achieving a union of Japan and Korea, he might well have given his work the title of *Nikkan gapō ron* (Discussion of a Japan-Korea Union); but he deliberately adopted the word *Daitō* (meaning

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.



Great East) instead of the names of both countries simply to avoid the charge of making a distinction. "A union is made feasible when the two countries are in harmony"<sup>40</sup> was his ideal. Accordingly, if one country for the sake of appearances depends on the other for protection, if one nation is deprived of the rights of self-government and independence, or if the people at large have no right of participation in government, he would regard the union of such countries as false. "The origin of feudalism is different from that of a federation."<sup>41</sup> In order to ensure a genuine federation of states, he would start his thinking from the ground of the people. This is clearly seen where he introduced into his arguments the concept of self-government.

In his own words, "Sovereignty means that a state handles its own domestic and foreign affairs without interference from other states. Self-government means complete possession of sovereignty."<sup>42</sup> The reason why self-government can not be fully expanded is because it is prevented from so doing by despotic government. Thus his thinking progressed to the idea that the people underlie the affairs of state.

If government is wrong, it is because the foundation of the state is not solid. The shaky foundation of the state is explained by the ignorance of the people. It is said, "The people are the foundation of the state. If the foundation is solid, the state remains secure."<sup>43</sup>

Underlying his appreciation of Korea was the judgment that the country was poor because it was wanting in the spirit of self-government. This was, however, also true of the Japanese people living before the Meiji Restoration, an event which somehow changed that state of mind. In Japan, "the constitutional system of government has already attained a beautiful form. If a further step is taken toward a federation, then it will achieve morality to the full."<sup>44</sup> Such was the political objective of his urge for a union of states, and it was reiterated in the following proposals:

In the world, a union of states will make contracts through consultation so that the states may unite to enable their peoples to participate in the government of united countries. And the key to such a union lies in making the government of self-reliance and autonomy equal between the countries.<sup>45</sup>

Under the federal system, each country will fully enjoy self-government and enable its people to participate in the government of the united countries. A union of Japan and Korea must of course be like that.<sup>46</sup>

Tarui referred to how to preserve the royal family of Korea, but this was a matter of less importance to him. He took the same position as Chōmin,

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

when he wrote, "The monarch depends on the people's enlightenment for respect and prosperity."<sup>47</sup> Tarui, who did not identify the state with the monarch, would take no account of a union of two monarchs which did not mean combining the administration of affairs of two states.

One thing which calls for attention here is that his idea of uniting Japan with Korea, but not with China under the Ching dynasty, was motivated by his wish to see every people remain independent. In this connection, the following remarks he made are of particular importance.

If we in the East are to unite and participate in our government, then it follows that China under the Ching dynasty, Tartary, Mongolia, Tibet and other states must recover independence and enable their peoples to participate in the government of their own countries.<sup>48</sup>

Since the Ching dynasty had not annexed these states through consultation, it would not agree to give them independence and participation in government. Thus there was no equality of rights, and so he took the position that "Japan and Korea should first unite and then form an alliance with China under the Ching dynasty, thereby keeping away the trouble other peoples experienced."<sup>49</sup> He never antagonized, nor had contempt for China. On the contrary, he fully recognized the greatness of the Chinese people who produced sages and great minds, and predicted that if they were to discard their attitude of seclusion and effect a domestic reform, they would presently grow into a great world power and that in time, a great Asian federation would come into being. This Asian federation would of course develop into a world-wide one.

The Japan of the early 20th century was no longer what she was before the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. In recognition of her real strength as an imperialist power, Britain and America gave tacit approval to Japan's rule over Korea in order to cope with the Russians advancing southward. When the Russo-Japanese war was over, the predominant political, military and economic interests which Japan had in Korea and the Japanese rights to give Korea direction and protection deemed necessary to defend and increase those interests, as stipulated in the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance Agreement, were given international recognition in the Portsmouth Peace Treaty. They were given positive support by the United States in the Katsura-Taft secret agreement. It was in such circumstances that the actual "Japanese annexation of Korea" was carried out.

At that time, the Japanese rulers firmly rejected the "idea of Japan and Korea uniting on equal terms" as advocated by private individuals in the past (such as Tarui's appeal for a union of the two countries), and deliberately chose the word *heigō* (annexation) in the sense that "Korea ceases to exist to become a part of the Empire."<sup>50</sup> And, indeed, this was the objective they

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

made every possible effort to achieve.

Such moves on the part of Japan were responded to favorably by the Ilchin hoe (Ilchin Society) led by Song Pyong-chun and Yi Yong-koo. These men were not a Kim Ok-kiun. Without zeal for the independence and reform of Korea, they merely out of their concern for personal safety and political ambition, sought protection from Japan and supported the annexation of their country.<sup>51</sup> According to a right-wing history, when he was asked by Ryōhei Uchida if he would cooperate for Japanese annexation of Korea, Yi Yong-koo said to him, "Originally I set my hopes on Tanhō's<sup>52</sup> [Tarui's] plan for a great Eastern union," and the two agreed on the future of Japan and Korea, expressing heartfelt confidence in each other.<sup>53</sup> Although it can be imagined from the analysis already made that Yi Yong-koo was deeply impressed with the moral ideals and constitutional ideas in Tarui's *Daitō gappō ron*, the suspicion remains that, in supporting the annexation, he did find in Tarui's writing a suitable theory to justify his own political ambitions, rather than to give consideration to the future destiny of the Korean people.

On the part of Uchida, too, it is doubtful that he really believed that he could convince the Koreans of the feasibility of Tarui's type of federation. Even though he was admittedly well-intentioned in a personal sense, the truth remains that he was too superficially optimistic to see objectively what would be the actual course of events that the annexation was bound to follow under the historical conditions of the "Protection Treaty" signed to govern Japanese-Korean relations following the Russo-Japanese war. This can be said not only of Uchida but also of others including Tarui himself, who was acquainted with the former. In 1909-1910 when the Japanese "annexation" of Korea came into question, Tarui is said to have been in Korea. In publishing the second edition of his *Daitō gappō ron*, he, now as an eye-witness in Korea, certainly did not revise the main body of writing but made the following statement in the "Purpose of the Second Edition": "Although agreement has been reached on the Japan-Korea federation, the Koreans should not yet be allowed to participate in the government of the combined country. For Korea is now under our protection and receives a grant-in-aid of over 10 million yen annually. It is obvious that her wealth is not yet sufficient to share the administrative expenses of the combined country."<sup>54</sup> No matter what interpretation may be made of this statement, there is no denying that Tarui retrogressed

<sup>50</sup> Kentarō Yamabe, *Nikkan heigō shōshi* (A Short History of the Japanese Annexation of Korea), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1966, pp. 220-221.

<sup>51</sup> Yamabe, pp. 230-234. See also, Kentarō Yamabe, *Nihon no Kankoku heigō* (The Japanese Annexation of Korea), Tokyo, Taihei shuppansha, 1966, pp. 251-258.

<sup>52</sup> Tarui adopted the pseudonym of Tanhō as he used characters drawn from names of the two rivers in the district where he was born.

<sup>53</sup> Kokuryūkai ed., *Nikkan gappō hishi* (A Secret History of the Japanese Annexation of Korea), Vol. 1, Tokyo, Kokuryūkai shuppambu, 1930, pp. 40-41. See also, Ryōhei Uchida, *Nihon no Ajia* (Japan's Asia), Tokyo, Kokuryūkai shuppambu, 1932, pp. 253-255.

<sup>54</sup> Tōkichi Tarui, *Daitō gappō ron*, 1910 (Second Edition), p. i.

greatly from his original idea of union on equal terms or from its democratic nature. Can this be anything other than defection from his moral refutation of the argument against federation, that if Japan should combine with such a poor country as Korea, she would compromise her interests as do the rich who form a pool of properties together with the poor?

Although Tarui, like others, had keen, perceptive critical abilities and a vigilant eye directed towards the Western powers, he was completely blind to the inevitable development of history that was to follow Japan's joining the ranks of the Western powers. Rather it should be admitted that his fatal weakness lay in his lack of knowledge that imperialism is a universal phenomenon in the nature of aggression both in the East and the West. It is no wonder, therefore, that the idea of reform was to fade out from his subsequent activities.

#### *A Short Life History*

- 1850 Born April 14 in Nara Prefecture, the second son of Yōsuke (father) and Tsune (or Sato) (mother).
- 1868 Meiji Restoration. Inspired by the Five Articles of the Charter Oath, decided to enter political world, while undertaking timber dealing.
- 1873 May, entered private academy of Yorikuni Inoue in Tokyo. December, presented a memorial to *udaijin* Tomomi Iwakura suggesting building up of a fleet of warships and other vessels; memorial was rejected.
- 1875 February, published the *Hyōron shimbun* with several comrades.
- 1877 For two months from June, travelled through the northeastern part of the country to recruit soldiers for the Seinan war.
- 1878 Became lecturer at the private academy of Tokitoshi Taketomi. From December of this year to December of 1881, searched in vain for an uninhabited island said to exist in the Korean Strait.
- 1882 May 15, established the Tōyō shakaitō (Eastern Socialist Party) with other comrades, including Yasusuke Akamatsu, Masataka Watanabe, and Yasuhiko Ienaga. June, the Tōyō shakaitō was prohibited from assembling by the Home Minister.
- 1883 January 6, accused on grounds of violating the Assembly Act by printing and distributing the Party Rules Draft of the Tōyō shakaitō; January 25, sentenced to imprisonment for one year at Nagasaki.
- 1884 After release from prison, joined the staff of the *Saga shimbun*. Became acquainted with Taneomi Soejima and Mitsuru Tōyama. In this year, went to Shanghai to promote the establishment of the Tōyō gakkan (Eastern Academy).
- 1892 Was elected from Nara Prefecture to the House of the Representatives.
- 1893 Published the *Daitō gappō ron* (Discussion of a Great Eastern Union).
- 1897 April, organized the Shakai mondai kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of Social Problem) with Taihachirō Nakamura and others. In this year, contributed an article "Kokuyū ginkō ron" (Discussion of the Nationalization of Banks) to the *Taiyō*.
- 1910 Published second edition of the *Daitō gappō ron*.
- 1910's After Japanese annexation of Korea, undertook various expeditions to Manchuria, Korea, and Mongolia, but only to return to his hometown heartbroken.

- 1919 Published *Meiji ishin hasshōki* (An Account of the Origin of the Meiji Restoration) to honor the historical uprising of the Tenchūgumi; raised funds to erect a memorial monument to the Tenchūgumi.
- 1922 October 25, died at 73 in his hometown, Gojō, Nara Prefecture.

### A List of Works

- Tōkichi Morimoto (Tarui), *Daitō gappō ron* (Discussion of a Great Eastern Union), 1893. (Reprinted in 1910 with new preface by the author.) Japanese versions of the *Daitō gappō ron*, which was originally published in *kambun*, are as follows:
- Masaharu Kageyama, trans., *Gendaiyaku: Daitō gappō ron* (*Daitō gappō ron* Translated into Modern Japanese), Tokyo, Daitōjuku shuppambu, 1963.
- Yoshimi Takeuchi, trans., "Daitō gappō ron" in *Ajia-shugi* (Asianism), (*Gendai Nihon shisō taikai* [Series on Modern Japanese Thought] Vol. 9), Tokyo, Chikumashobō, 1963.
- Meiji ishin hasshōki* (An Account of the Origin of the Meiji Restoration), 1919.
- "Kokuyū ginkō ron (Government Banks)" (Discussion of the Nationalization of Banks), *Taiyo*, Vol. 3, Nos. 6-10 (1897: March 20-May 20 [semi-monthly]).
- "Tōyō no kyomutō" (The Nihilists of the East), *Kinkō shinshi*, March 2, 1882, (extra edition), in Sōgorō Tanaka, *Tōyō shakaitō kō* (A Study of Eastern Socialist Party), Tokyo, Ichigensha, 1930.

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- Kokuryūkai ed., *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden* (Historical Records of East Asian Pioneer Adventurers) Vol. 3, Tokyo, Kokuryūkai shuppambu, 1936.
- Taishi kōrōsha denki hensankai ed., *Taishi kaikoroku* (Memoirs about China) Vol. 2, Tokyo, Taishi kōrōsha denki hensankai, 1936.
- Yoshiyuki Sakurai, "Tōyō shakaitō Tarui Tōkichi to *Daitō gappō ron*" (Tarui Tōkichi of the Eastern Socialist Party and his *Daitō gappō ron*) (1937) in *Meiji to Chōsen* (The Meiji Period and Korea), Tokyo, Sakurai sensei kanreki kinenkai, 1964.
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