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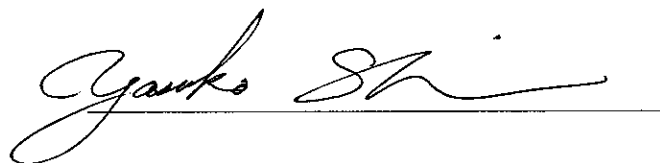
The Family and Freedom
Anarchist Discourse about Love, Marriage, and the Family
in Japan and China, 1900s – 1930s

Yasuko Shin

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Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is based on my own original research.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Yanko Shi", is written over a horizontal line.

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Abstract

From the early 1900s to the late 1930s, anarchists in Japan and China formulated revolutionary social changes related to the family, including issues of love, marriage, child-rearing and sexuality. A proposed "family revolution" in the late Qing period has often been quoted as representing the social impact of Chinese anarchists, but anarchist debate over fundamental family issues in both Japan and China continued into the 1930s, ranging over wider aspects, and reflecting a variety of radical approaches.

Anarchist ideas and debates challenged conventional social norms and value systems, and rejected traditional ethical systems. Anarchists criticised and sometimes wholly rejected the family as an oppressive system; they proposed instead a society without authority and oppression, based on a spirit of mutual aid, in forms of various idealistic alternatives. These included a family consisting of free individuals, anarchistic village communities, and a *datong* (great harmony) society without family which combined modern anarchist ideals with indigenous traditions. From its beginnings, anarchism emphasised the essential importance of the individual and of individual will. Anarchist radicalism exerted a subversive effect in society through its critique of oppression in daily life. However, its influence may be seen as much in the lives of individual anarchists as in the tangible effects of anarchism as a political and social movement.

Material for this study has been derived mainly from contemporary anarchist writings, including magazines and other publications, official records and anarchist memoirs. It is based not only on the statements of prominent anarchists, but also on the opinions of ordinary people, gathered from a variety of sources.

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interesting in itself because it called into question conventional ideas of what is normal, natural and desirable in human relationships. Theories entailing radical change to family systems had been part of the nineteenth-century intellectual ferment in the West, though they were not the exclusive domain of people identified as anarchists. Perceptions by Western anarchists of family-related issues along with economic policies and programs often overlapped with those of other radicals such as socialists and communists.¹ Fledgling radicals and revolutionaries in Japan and China were heirs to this ideological mix, which they interpreted through their own history and culture and perceptions of the world. Japanese and Chinese anarchists often gave special priority to family matters in their programs of social reform. As will be noted from time to time in the following account, other radical groups and movements in Japan and China also took an interest in issues associated with the family and contributed to debates on such issues. But in China especially, though also in Japan, the anarchists were the group most closely identified with family change as a central issue of concern within their world-view and the group that took the most extreme positions in this area.

Although Japanese and Chinese anarchists entered the stage almost simultaneously at the beginning of twentieth century, they took almost opposite attitudes towards the family at first. Japanese anarchists deplored the critical impact on the family of the development of capitalism in the Meiji era, and thought that the family needed to be rescued as part of a necessary change to the economic and social system. On the other hand, Chinese anarchists called for destruction of the family. This was because they perceived the family system to be inseparable from oppressive Confucian ethics. For them, people could only be emancipated from authoritarian oppression if the family system was eliminated.

What underlay the difference between Japanese and Chinese anarchist discourse about the family? Though families are denoted in similar terms, *ie* in Japanese and *jia* in Chinese, they are not identical in substance. There are differences in the structures, history, and nature of Japanese and Chinese families. To understand how anarchist discourse about the family developed along different lines in the two countries, we need to take note of such fundamental differences.

In addition to the structural features of anarchist discourse largely defined by intellectual writers, we also need to consider others who helped to formulate anarchist views about the family. From anarchist magazines, union organs and publications for

¹ Until the formation of institutional Communist parties, many anarchists would also describe themselves as holding communist ideals.

farmers, I collected the voices of largely unknown people. They were workers, farmers, artisans and 'lumpen proletariat'. It is difficult now to identify most of these contributors because they often provided only their given names or sometimes used pseudonyms to avoid being identified. Many names appeared in publications only once. Their voices were not raised in ideological debate, but largely demonstrated their simple opinions based on their personal feelings and life experiences. Portraits of the family gathered from such publications were naturally different from concepts of the family as ideological constructs. My account of anarchist discourse partly relies on those unknown people's voices. I hope that they provide some additional depth and humanity to this study.

Anarchist considerations about the family were closely related to their ideas about a desirable society. Anarchists differed as to whether changing the family would be a necessary cause or an inseparable effect of replacing existing society. Those who saw the family as an embodiment of natural human feelings and detected an essence of anarchistic mutual aid in contemporary rural society aimed to regenerate society from within. But if, in pursuing a practical approach to reality, anarchists formulated a proposed anarchist society based on existing models, that society could not help having an inbuilt negative strain derived from its environment. For example, rural communities were often seen as having anarchistic elements, but also included aspects that anarchist women could not turn a blind eye to. Idealism about rural society was thus pulled back by the gravity of reality. Those who saw the existing family as quite incompatible with anarchist principles argued the need to destroy the family in order to create a brand-new community. The most radical form of ideal society was one consisting of free individuals detached from family bonds and all other forms of dependency. In such a utopian society, the family, and consequently the special roles of family members, would vanish.

But again, this led to a paradox in anarchist discourse in that eliminating differences between individuals and the sexes to achieve equality would produce other forms of oppression involving the denial of individual personality and women's femininity, and especially of women's role as mothers. A more radical critique of the family that revealed women's unique but subordinate situation enlarged anarchist critiques of the family by providing them with a new dimension from the viewpoint of gender. Furthermore, a novel drive for women's emancipation based on respect for femininity became the hallmark of one group of anarchist women. However, giving

special respect to femininity, especially motherhood, also risked possible oppression resulting from exclusiveness and emphasising differences between women.

In addition to these different elements or emphases within anarchist thought, anarchist discourse about the family should be understood against an historical background of creating the nation state. Especially in Japan, but also in China, the family was seen as the centre in creating a new society for a new nation state. In the process, the government intended to reconstruct the nation state through the family. The family was thus to be the place in which the new social norms that were considered appropriate to the modern state were to be created. In this historical process, what kind of meaning did anarchists' challenges to the family have? This is an interesting question because anarchism is a system of thought that rejects the state.

Although anarchist discourse about the family shows paradoxes and contradictions, and although anarchists were ultimately unsuccessful in finding a way to achieve an anarchist utopia, they daringly attempted it by various means, such as propaganda, education, workers' and farmers' movements, and at different levels of endeavour, ranging from promoting individuality to encouraging mutual aid in rural communal life. What can we extract from their untiring efforts to achieve a community in which people could live freely as themselves? Was there then any possibility that anarchism could have overcome its problems? This is another theme I pursue throughout this study.

Western anarchism

Almost all studies relevant to anarchism have to start with explaining or defining it. This is partly because people who recognised themselves or were regarded as anarchists had diverse beliefs, and partly because anarchism is a term that has many different formulations depending on the person who uses it.

The prominent Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin (1842 – 1921) explained anarchism in the eleventh edition of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* as follows:

ANARCHISM (from the Gr. αν-, and αρχη, contrary to authority), is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely

constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being.²

Who were the anarchists? Kropotkin first cited a series of people who had shown a tendency similar to anarchism, such as Aristippus (430 BC) and Zeno (342 – 267 or 270 BC). Regarding the more significant modern anarchists, Kropotkin referred to the Englishman, William Godwin (1756 – 1836), as the first to formulate the political and economic concepts of anarchism, and as the first person who believed that a society can perfectly well exist without any government. He also cited the French theoretician and activist, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809 – 1865), who first used the word “anarchism” non-pejoratively to describe this concept, and the German philosopher Max Stirner (1806 – 1856), who advocated not only a complete revolt against the state and its enforced servitude, but also the full liberation of the individual from all social and moral bonds.

Michael Bakunin (1814 – 1876), a leader of the international anarchist movement, advocated the complete abolition of the state, which he held was a product of religion, belonged to a lower stage of civilization, represented the negation of liberty, and spoiled general well-being. Bakunin called himself a ‘collectivist anarchist’ to express his view that all things necessary for production belonged in common to labour groups and free communes, while redistribution of labour, communist or otherwise, should be settled by each group for itself.

Western anarchism continued to develop in the nineteenth century with a number of different strands, including the Christian-anarchism of Tolstoi (1828 – 1910) and the literary-anarchism of prominent modern writers such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), Ralph Emerson (1803 – 1882), Henrik Ibsen (1828 – 1906), and Walt Whitman (1819 – 1892). The works of these writers often reflect contemporary anarchist theories, such as the liberation of mankind from the bonds of capitalism and of the state. The economic theories of Western anarchism included Proudhon’s mutualism—involving the mutual exchange of services—and collectivism within workers’ communes. However, although they were in rivalry and even in conflict with Marxism, most European anarchists in the late nineteenth century supported some form of non-coercive communism as their economic goal. Leading European anarchists, such as Elisée Reclus (1830 – 1905), and Errico Malatesta (1871 – 1932), were commonly described as anarchist communists. Kropotkin aimed to prove that anarchist

² Kropotkin, Peter, “Anarchism,” in *Kropotkin’s Revolutionary Pamphlets: A Collection of Writings by Peter Kropotkin*, Roger N. Baldwin, ed., New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1927 (1968), p. 284.

communism was the only form of communism that had any chance of being accepted in civilised societies; for him, communism and anarchism were two terms of evolution which complemented each other. However, it is difficult to generalise about the specific characteristics of anarchism because prominent individual anarchists advocated different tendencies in realising anarchism.

A modern account of anarchism—*Anarchism*, by George Woodcock—defines the term “anarchism”:

as a system of social thought, aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society and particularly—for this is the common element uniting all its forms—at the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals.³

In this study, I use this definition as a starting point for identifying anarchists. Further, I associate with anarchism those attitudes and theories that accord with this definition, even though their proponents might not have identified themselves as anarchists. However, I describe Western anarchism only to trace anarchism’s historical and intellectual origins and to exemplify anarchistic tendencies. I do not necessarily restrict the scope of Japanese and Chinese ‘anarchism’ by the above definition. This is because I recognise that, although anarchism has a core of anti-authoritarianism, its specific theories, principles and goals have often changed over time and place; it does not have a fixed doctrine or sacred book to refer to, or a supreme leader or prophet to be followed. In other words, it does not distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy.

There is another point that we should note when we study anarchism in Japan and China. As the Japanese translator of *Anarchism* explains, there is a difficulty in finding a satisfactory Japanese equivalent for the word ‘libertarianism,’ although it is a key concept of the book. The translator, with Woodcock’s consent, uses the term *jiyū ishi o kyōchō suru* (asserting individual free will) for anarchist libertarianism.⁴ Woodcock sees that “a real difference does exist between anarchist direct-actionism and the methods of other left-wing movements. For what unites and characterizes all the various tactics advocated by the anarchists [...] is the fact that they are based on direct individual decisions.”⁵ In this sense, ‘libertarianism’ means “extreme concern for the sovereignty of individual choice.” However, it is often translated misleadingly as *zettai*

³ Woodcock, George, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. London: Penguin Books, 1986, p. 14.

⁴ Shirai Atsushi, “Yakusha jogen” (Translator’s preface), in George Woodcock, *Anarchism*, Shirai Atsushi, trans., Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1968, vol. 1, p. xii.

⁵ Woodcock, *ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

jiyū in Japanese or *juedui ziyou* in Chinese, with a literal meaning of ‘absolute freedom’; a condition of being free from all restrictions. Use of the terms *jiyū* or *ziyou*, which often have negative associations, is apt to produce an imprecise understanding of anarchist libertarianism, and therefore of anarchism of which it is an important feature. Following from this difficulty of translation, the element of libertarianism has not been adequately considered in studies of anarchism in Japan and China. For example, in Chinese studies, the term ‘*juedui ziyou*’ (absolute freedom) is often used in the context of anarchism, thereby misrepresenting its nature, as in: “advocacy of individual absolute freedom as common nature in anarchists,”⁶ “anarchists generally advocated absolute freedom.”⁷ As shown in these examples, Chinese scholars often do not adequately understand or describe the aspect of ‘libertarianism’ in anarchism. On the other hand, a Japanese scholar has emphasised that, to properly understand anarchism, it is essential to recognise the components of both individual will and anti-authoritarianism (anti-government, anti-parliament).⁸ In this study, I will consider ‘libertarianism’ in the sense of asserting individual free will as an important ingredient in the nature of anarchism.

Western anarchists’ discourse about love, marriage and the family

Western anarchists showed diverse attitudes towards love, marriage and the family. It is not unusual to find conflicting opinions on these topics in anarchist literature that can be traced to the writers’ different social backgrounds, or their different personal experiences. I mention here prominent Western anarchists’ opinions about family issues; the discourse on these topics needs to be understood within the matrix of radical social currents in nineteenth-century Europe, where marriage and the family came increasingly under the regulation of the state. The change in this relationship naturally affected the meaning of anarchists’ rejection of marriage and the family.

Hostility towards aspects of the family is often associated with a more general opposition to authority. In criticising the corrupting nature of authority, the leader of the English Diggers movement, Gerrard Winstanley (1609 – 1660?), combined his

⁶ Hu Qingyun and Gao Jun, “Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo” (Anarchism in China), in *Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo* (Anarchism in China), Chen Jing, ed., Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1984, p. 4.

⁷ Xu Shanguang and Liu Jianping, *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi shi* (A history of anarchism in China). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1989, p. 110.

⁸ Komatsu Ryūji, “Nihon ni okeru anakizumu undō no shūen—senzen Shōwa ki no ashiato” (The end of anarchist movement in Japan: traces in the pre-war Shōwa era), *Gendai to shisō*, no. 3 (March 1971).

condemnation of political and economic power with a sensitivity to forms of authority exercised within the family, especially the familial power of the father over the child and the husband over the wife.⁹ Winstanley, who nevertheless thought that family life must be private and monogamous,¹⁰ believed that wife and child in a family were entitled to “an equal privilege to share in blessing of liberty” and that the authority of husband and father offended this principle.

William Godwin, in his role as philosopher and author of *Political Justice* (1793), displayed an extreme resistance to all kinds of coercion and interference with the individual. He saw institutional marriage as ‘a system of fraud’ that deceived young people into living together, and as ‘the worst of monopolies’ that involved subordination of one personality to another and implied ownership of one party by the other. He maintained that abolition of marriage would lead to relationships that would to some degree be permanent rather than promiscuous.¹¹ Thus, Godwin rejected any need for marriage.¹²

Early nineteenth-century socialists Robert Owen (1771 – 1858) and Charles Fourier (1772 – 1837) also criticised conventional marriage and the family, but it is noteworthy that, as socialists, their criticisms were based on economics and a strong moral viewpoint rather than the anti-authoritarian ideas of the anarchists. Owen referred to marriage at that time as “the sole cause of all prostitution, of all its incalculable grievous evils, and of more than one half of all the vilest and most degrading crimes known to society”¹³ and believed that society, which consisted of isolated families, “continually generates selfishness, vice, and misery, and will keep man [...] in an immoral state of great degradation and universal disunion.”¹⁴ Fourier also cynically described the state of love and marriage as follows; “Of all our social relations there is none more false than that of love,”¹⁵ and marriage “has produced widespread secret debauchery and it has given legal protection to those who are most audacious in

⁹ Woodcock, *ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹ Godwin, William, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice: and its Influence on Modern Morals and Happiness*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1976, pp. 762 – 763.

¹² It is noteworthy that, in 1797, William Godwin married Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1791). It has been said that he overcame his theoretical opposition to marriage by the fact of Mary's pregnancy and his own developing taste for domestic life. Tomalin, Claire, *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975, p. 213.

¹³ Owen, Robert, *Selected Works of Robert Owen*, Gregory Claeys, ed., London: William Pickering, 1993, vol. 2, p. 265.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁵ Fourier, Charles, *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*. Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenue, eds., Boston: Beacon Press, 1971, p. 169.

violating its sanctity.”¹⁶ He even called marriage “a plague on both sexes.”¹⁷ These moral elements are broadly indicative of the basis of socialist theorising about the family and married sexual relations.¹⁸

Proudhon believed that the real laws by which society operates have nothing to do with government but stem from the nature of society itself. He therefore rejected institutionalised forms of authority, including national borders and the notion of a ruling God, in favour of the free and naturally-occurring bonds of fraternity. Nevertheless, although a major figure in anarchism, his rejection of authority did not extend to the private world of the family. He thought highly of marriage as “the union of the two heterogeneous elements, *power* and *grace*” and believed that, through marriage, man and woman “form one organic whole composed of two persons, one soul endowed with two minds and two wills.”¹⁹ However, Proudhon’s recognition of marriage was inseparably related to his opinion of women. According to Proudhon, women were equal to men “in the intimacy of the bridal chamber and in their hearts,” but not “in *social* and *public life*.” This was because women’s “faculties do not bear any comparison with those of a man” in those realms. He even said that “[w]oman really has no place in the world of politics and economics.”²⁰ Proudhon’s comments on women were indicative of his low opinion of women.²¹ It was not a view that was acknowledged in later anarchist writings in Japan or China, but was often unconsciously assumed through the failure of male anarchists to take adequate account of the economic, social and personal difficulties of women inside and outside the family.

By contrast to Proudhon, Bakunin, who admitted women’s equal political, social, and economic rights, demanded “[a]bolition not of the natural family but of the *legal* family founded on law and property. Religious and civil marriage to be replaced

¹⁶ Fourier, *ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁸ Riley, Denise, “Left Critiques of the family,” in *Women in Society: Interdisciplinary Essays*, Cambridge Women’s Study Group, ed., London: Virago, 1981, pp. 76 – 77.

¹⁹ Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, *Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, Steward Edwards, ed., Elizabeth Fraser, trans., London: MacMillan, 1970, p. 254.

²⁰ Proudhon, *ibid.*, p. 255.

²¹ James Joll attributes Proudhon’s low opinion of women’s roles largely to the influence of his own family and social background. The kind of family that he proposed as the foundation of a desirable society was one close to his own simple and comfortable family. He regarded his mother’s peasant virtues of frugality and self-abnegation as representing the ideal nature of woman. James Joll, *The Anarchists*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964, p. 73. On the other hand, Saitō Yoshihiro understands Proudhon’s idea about marriage in the context of his opinion about society. Proudhon, who regarded gender difference as the most fundamental division in society, admitted the sacredness of marriage as the union of two different elements, requiring equally the authority of the father and the affectionate care of the mother in order to shape and maintain family members’ morality. His emphasis on gender-based roles in society was an expression of his respect for the differences between the sexes. Saitō Yoshinori, “Purūdon no kazokuron” (Proudhon’s opinion about the family), *Shōkei ronsō*, no. 36 (March 1988), pp. 43 – 60.

by free marriage.”²² He supposed that, with the abolition of the patriarchal family law and traditional rights of inheritance, men and women would live in free unions more closely united to each other than before.²³ The Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta formulated an Anarchist Program, adopted by the Italian Anarchist Union in 1920, that envisaged “reconstruction of the family in such a way that it resulted from the practice of love, freed of any legal chain, any economic or physical oppression, any religious prejudice,” and concluded “we want bread, freedom, love and science for all.”²⁴ The family in the program was described as based on love without oppressive characteristics.

With the exception of Proudhon's views, those anarchists' critiques of the family generally stemmed from their respect for individual freedom and for non-authoritarian relationships, both between the individual and the family, and between the individual and society. To those anarchist critiques, Marx and Engels' historical examination of the family provided new perspectives, such as the relationship between the mode of production, the origin of women's oppression and the private family. In *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels called for “Abolition of the family!” meaning the bourgeois family that they regarded as morally corrupt. Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) portrayed the historical origin of the private family as instrumental in the creation of private property and the state, and associated it with the oppression of women. Women's subordination had come about through the ‘world-historic defeat of the female sex’ as a result of the development of patrilineal kinship that had earlier replaced matrilineal kinship. Based on this perspective, Engels explained that the dominance of the man in marriage was a consequence of his economic predominance and asserted that the oppression of women would be ended by abolishing private property. Engels also made a distinction between bourgeois marriage that was false and economically determined and proletarian marriage that would be based on true affection under socialism. The Marx/Engels critique of conventional marriage was to influence many radical reformers, including anarchists, in both Europe and Asia.

Elisée Reclus (1830 – 1905), who was an eminent geographer as well as a leading French anarchist, attributed women's subordination to the emergence of

²² Bakunin, Michael, *Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism*, Sam Dolgoff, ed., London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973, p. 93.

²³ Maximoff, Grigori, ed., *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1964, p. 326.

²⁴ Malatesta, Errico, “An anarchist program,” in *Errico Malatesta: his Life and Ideas*, Richards Vernon, ed., London: Freedom Press, 1965, p. 184.

patriarchy which had replaced a conjectured earlier social stage of matriarchy and had created private property. He contested a current view that patriarchy was a higher stage than matriarchy, and argued that patriarchy, based on the brutal sexual force of man, had emerged when men began to claim women as private property. On the other hand, matriarchy, based on the natural attachment of the child to the mother, was a higher stage of social evolution. Like Marx and Engels, he envisaged that women would be truly liberated only when private property had been eliminated.²⁵ Reclus admitted "they [socialists] desire that unions should be free, depending only on mutual affection and respect for self and for the dignity of others."²⁶ Kropotkin, who also admitted an indivisible relationship between women's emancipation and the abolition of private property, shared Reclus' moderate approach to the family. He prudently advocated women's liberation from housework because "half humanity subjected to the slavery of the hearth would still have to rebel against the other half."²⁷ However, he did not support communal life in communes. This was because he regarded privacy as essential for human nature.

This anarchist and socialist discourse should be understood in the context of shifts in social norms, in which gender issues were often closely involved. For example, in the early nineteenth century, concubinage, common law unions, and illegitimate births were common among the French working-class. Moral Economists and Social Catholics attempted to persuade couples to regularise their marriages under the laws of both state and church. Actually many working-class couples, especially women, held ideal values of marriage and family life, but could not realise them. If they failed to follow institutional family models, this does not appear to have stemmed from the kind of rejection of bourgeois values associated with the later practice of 'free union' by social or political militants; in other words, a bourgeois style of marriage and family was regarded as an ideal by many of the French working-class.²⁸ This working-class mentality had also reflected the current of the times after the French Revolution when society became increasingly atomized as a result of the break-down of traditional communities and the development of industry. In this situation, the family was praised by both conservatives and anarchists for its functions (production, reproduction and

²⁵ Marshall, Peter, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*, London: Harper Collins, 1992, p. 341.

²⁶ Reclus, Elisée, *Evolution and Revolution*, London: W. Reeves, 189-, p. 12.

²⁷ Kropotkin, Peter, *The Conquest of Bread*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1913, p. 166.

²⁸ Lynch, Katherine A., *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France: social policy and the working-class family, 1825 – 1848*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

morality) as the foundation of society.²⁹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century in France, the anarchist-based syndicalist workers' movement³⁰ perceived the family as an ethical core. Although syndicalists came to accept the existence of women workers, their anti-capitalism stemmed from their recognition that capitalism forced women to work outside the family and was thus destroying the family. In a hierarchy of priorities in workers' culture, the world was divided into political activism (the world of men) and married life (the world of women). Women, who played fixed gender roles, were given the image of victims, characterised by female passivity.³¹ Thus workers' actual mentality contrasted strongly with the theories of anti-family radicals.

In a study of French anarchism in the late nineteenth century, John Hutton points to the existence of a deep current of anti-feminism under the surface of an apparently supportive anarchist political culture rooted in working-class people. He holds that this French anarchist anti-feminism originated in social groups who hoped to avoid disruptions to established patterns of industrialization and urbanization that might threaten the home. Proudhon had provided them with theoretical support for the inferiority of women and the sanctity of the home. In this context, the capitalist state was denounced for destroying home and conjugal family, for abolishing the sacred role of wife or mother. There was a strong tendency to hope to restore an idealised family that had been threatened under the economic system of late nineteenth-century capitalism.³² Other writers also describe an anti-feminist tendency within French anarchist political culture which appealed to Proudhon's discourse in support of working-class people's desire for a 'proper' family life. However, there was always a place to discuss women's emancipation in the more fundamental context of labour movement activities because of divergences within the anarchist tradition.³³

This kind of ambivalence towards women and the family also appeared in the French Labour Party. The Party, under the influence of Marxist Jules Guesde (1845 – 1922), ridiculed the marriage bond, attacked the institution of the family, and

²⁹ Perrot, Michelle, "Vie Privée et Politique ed France au XIX^e siècle," Fukui Norihiko, trans., *Shisō*, no. 765 (March 1988).

³⁰ Syndicalism generally denotes a social movement in the form of syndica (unions). In France, under anarchist syndicalist influence, the Confédération Générale de Travail (the General Confederation of Labour, 1895) upheld revolutionary syndicalism, which insisted on independence from all political parties and aimed to achieve social revolution through union movement at the beginning of the twentieth century.

³¹ About diversity in anarchist culture, see Sonn, Richard D., *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

³² Hutton, John, "Camille Pissarro's turpitudes sociales and late nineteenth-century French anarchist anti-feminism," *History Workshop: A journal of socialist and feminist historians*, no. 24 (Autumn 1987), pp. 32 – 61.

³³ Gemie, Sharif, "Anarchism and Feminism: a historical survey," *Women's History Review* 5, no. 3 (1996), pp. 417 – 443.

denounced female domesticity. But workers themselves perceived “the socialist revolution would dismantle not only the vicious bourgeois institution of prostitution but the family itself. The discourse of the Guesdist movement was characterised by oscillation between gender radicalism and patriarchal reaction.”³⁴ This was another case that showed that radical anti-family discourse did not necessarily represent the prevailing social mentality. Interestingly, these conflicting currents of thought about the family contributed to the intellectual background and development of a group of Chinese anarchists in Paris around 1907 (see 2.2).

Internationally, the most radical critiques of the family came from female anarchists, such as Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman (1869 – 1940), American anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre (1866 – 1912), and Spanish female anarchists during the Spanish Civil war (1936 – 1939). De Cleyre³⁵ rebelled against male dominance and attributed sexual inequality to the Church and the State. She not only rejected formal marriage as reducing women to sex objects and servants, but also was negative about cohabitation between men and women due to her caution about the intrusion of family life into individual life. Emma Goldman, who was one of the most powerful advocates of free love, examined the family from the viewpoint of women’s emancipation. “Marriage and love have nothing in common,”³⁶ Goldman stated definitively. Rejecting marriage as “an economic arrangement, an insurance pact”, which condemned women “to life-long dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness,” Goldman insisted that “Love is free”, by which she meant that love did not need protection by a mechanism such as marriage. Furthermore, Goldman called for ‘free motherhood,’ by which women could freely become mothers by the men they loved. She believed that “if the world is ever to give birth to true companionship and oneness, not marriage, but love will be the parent.”³⁷

The shift in viewpoint of the family from individual freedom to women’s emancipation provided anarchists with an additional perspective. Consequently, even the image of the family that some anarchists praised as the embodiment of mutual love was not necessarily a flawless image for women anarchists. This feminist viewpoint revealed women’s problem with some aspects of the family that other anarchists had

³⁴ Sturt, Robert, “Whores and angels: women and the family in the discourse of French Marxism 1882 – 1905,” *European History Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1997), pp. 339 – 369.

³⁵ Avrich, Paul, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

³⁶ Goldman, Emma, “Marriage and love,” in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1917.

³⁷ Goldman, *ibid.*, p. 245.

tacitly avoided. Furthermore, problems with the concept and functioning of the family gave rise to specifically feminist questions that portrayed the patriarchal family system as synonymous with men's oppression of women. Recent studies about the relationship between anarcho-feminism and anarchist movements in Europe and the USA reveal the diversity in anarchists' attitudes toward the family and the existence of differences between anarchism and feminism in terms of women's issues. In the actual programs of various social movements, love, marriage and the family came to be perceived in different ways by the members of those movements.

In practical terms, studies of Spanish anarchist women's activities during the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) also provide us with clues to understanding the difficulties that anarchist women faced when they undertook activities relevant to the woman question within the anarchist movement. I will mention these matters in chapter 4.

Previous approaches to the family in Japan and China

What was the family, that it became a focus of attention for Japanese and Chinese anarchists in the early twentieth century? As mentioned above, although the family in Japan and China has been described in both countries by similar terms such as 'traditional family system' 'feudalistic family' or 'Confucian family system',³⁸ they are actually different in nature. Their differences can be represented, for example, by images of the families in two novels: Shimazaki Tōson's *Ie* (The family, 1910 – 1911) and Lin Yaohua's *The Golden Wing*.³⁹ Both are the stories of old families; their family members' lives and deaths, and the ups and downs of the families involved. Two remarkable differences between the two novels are their accounts of different inheritance systems and structured personal relationships in the family. The two novels illustrate the differences in the form and functioning of the family, and in the personal

³⁸ The Japanese terms *ie* and *kazoku* have been controversial. This is because the definitions of the terms have differed with periods, writers and disciplines. For example, *ie* has become the term to express customs relevant to the family and peculiar to Japan, in contrast with *kazoku* that simply means family in the 1960s. The concept of *ie* has been shaped as a pair concept of Western family (*kazoku*) that was idealised as the democratic, modern family. See Senda Yuki, "‘Ie’ no meta shakai gaku—kazoku shakai gaku ni okeru ‘Nihon kindai’ no kōchiku—" (Meta-Sociology of the Japanese ‘Ie’: constructing ‘Japanese modernity’ in sociology of family), *Shisō*, no. 898 (April 1994), pp. 75 – 103. I employ the terms "traditional family", "Confucian family" and "feudalistic family" according to the usage of writers of historical materials I used. These terms show people's perception of the family at that time.

³⁹ Lin Yaohua, who received a PhD at Harvard and held a post of assistant professor at that university, wrote *The Golden Wing: A Family Chronicle* (1944), a novel that was based on his sociological study of Chinese families in the 1930s. In 1947, he revised the novel and published it with a new title *A Sociological Study of Chinese Familism*. The Chinese translation of the book *Jinyi: Zhongguo jiazu zhidu de shehuixue yanjiu* (The Golden Wing: a sociological study of Chinese family system) was published in Taiwan in 1977.

relationships of family members, in Japan and China. These differences can be seen as stemming from differences in family types. According to Emmanuel Todd's classification, the Japanese family is authoritarian and inegalitarian (an authoritarian "stem" family), in which patrimony is passed to only one of the sons who cohabits with his parents. This type of family promotes inequality among brothers and strong ideas of authority and dependence. The Chinese family is authoritarian and egalitarian (a patriarchal "community" family), in which property is ideally held in common by all sons, but is managed by one authority figure. Married sons and their parents cohabit. This is said to foster ideas of authority and equality.⁴⁰

Different kinds of families have different kinship groupings. In Japan, *dōzoku* is a group of the male line that has the same ancestor. It begins with a kinship core of *honke* or the head family, which accumulates *bunke* or client units. *Dōzoku* males usually live in the same village and together undertake ancestor worship, economic support of families in the *dōzoku*, and control of members. Marriage is not ruled by exogamy. Some Japanese villages consist of a few influential *dōzokus*. Others consist of more numerous but smaller-sized *dōzokus*. In China, the *zongzu* or clan is a kinship group, which consists of males who can trace themselves to a common ancestor. Members of a kinship group are equal. There is strict exogamy. The *zongzu* perform certain general socioeconomic and political functions. There are multi-surname villages and single-surname villages.⁴¹ These are some of the more tangible differences in the family environments of Japanese and Chinese anarchists.

In addition to structural differences, Japanese and Chinese families were conceived as occupying different positions in history. The Chinese family was seen as traditional, with a heritage going back as far as Confucian ethics. As recent studies show, the Japanese family that anarchists dealt with can be called a 'modern family'. It was devised in the Meiji era according to government policy.⁴² Before the Meiji Restoration, Japan had various customs involving the family. In the case of inheritance,

⁴⁰ Todd, Emmanuel, *The Explanation of Ideology: family structures and social systems*, David Garrioch, trans., Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1985.

⁴¹ For a comparison between Japanese and Chinese kinship, see for example, Pelzel, John C., "Japanese Kinship: a comparison," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, Maurice Freedman, ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970; Hsu, Francis L. K., "Filial piety in Japan and China: borrowing, variation and significance," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 2, no.1 (1971), pp. 67 – 74; Fukuda Ajio, "Ajia ni okeru ie to sonraku," in *Ajia no nakano nihonshi* (Japanese history in Asia), Ishii Masatoshi, et al. eds., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1992, pp. 191 – 222; Tominaga Ken'ichi, "Weber to Chūgoku oyobi Nihon no kindaika" (Weber and the modernisation of China and Japan), *Shisō*, no. 767 (May 1988), pp. 120 – 155.

⁴² For example, Ueno Chizuko summarises this process. Ueno Chizuko, "Modern patriarchy and the formation of the Japanese Nation State", in *Multicultural Japan: Paleolithic to Postmodern*, Donald Denoon, et al. eds., Hong Kong: Cambridge University Press, 1996 (2001), pp. 213 – 223.

besides the primogeniture custom of the *bushi*-class, there were also, in non-*bushi*-families, *ane-katoku* or elder sister patrimony (the first child regardless of sex succeeded to the patrimony), *masshi-sōzoku* or youngest child inheritance, selective inheritance, and so forth.⁴³ Customs relating to marriage and divorce also varied.⁴⁴ Among the middle and lower classes, some young people could marry with considerable freedom of choice. These diverse customs ruled out a single, normative family model.

The Meiji government adopted a policy to enforce a family system that should be the foundation of a family-state. As early as 1868, through *Gobō no keiji* (the Imperial Charter Oath), the government had proclaimed its support for Confucian morality in respect of the five personal relationships: monarch and subjects, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, brothers and brothers, and friends and friends. By the *koseki hō* (the Family Registration law) of 1871 (which was enforced the following year), the government situated the family within the national administrative system. Through the system, all family members were registered in the family register in relation to the head of the family. The government thus gained control over all people through the family register, and the family, in effect, became the fundamental unit of the nation state. It was a process that ignored the family's membership of its community and connected it directly with the state.⁴⁵

Together with enforcing new administrative structures, the government also employed education to promote an ideology of 'the traditional patriarchal family system'⁴⁶ as the foundation of the family state. The essence of education was regarded as cultivating the basic moral concept, *jingi chūkō* (benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety) in children's minds.⁴⁷ And the *Kyōiku chokugo* (the Imperial Rescript on Education) of 1890 embodied a policy of 'samuraization' to diffuse ethical concepts

⁴³ Suenari Michiko, "First child inheritance in Japan," *Ethnology* 11, no. 2 (April 1972), pp. 122 – 126; Hayami Akira, "The myth of primogeniture and impartible inheritance in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Family History*, (Spring 1983), pp. 3 – 29.

⁴⁴ Cornell, Laurell L., "Peasant women and divorce in preindustrial Japan," *Signs* 15, no. 4 (Summer 1990), pp. 710 – 732.

⁴⁵ Koyama Shizuko, "Kazoku no kindai—Meiji shoki ni okeru kazoku no henyō" (Modernisation of the family: the transformation of the family in the early Meiji era), in *Bakumatsu Meijiki no kokumin kokka keisei to bunka henyō* (The formation of the nation state and the transformation of culture in the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate and Meiji), Matsumiya Hideji and Nishikawa Nagao, eds., Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1995, pp. 167 – 189.

⁴⁶ Before the Meiji era, there were a variety of forms of marriage and family in Japan. "The traditional patriarchal family system" was a model that had been extracted from the customs of the samurai (warrior) class as the foundation of the nation state under the Meiji government. Therefore its supposed traditional character was actually a creation of the modern political process.

⁴⁷ Kunai chō, "Kyōgaku taishi" (The purpose of education), in *Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei* (The collection of materials about women's problems in Japan), Yuzawa Yasuhiko, ed., Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1983, vol. 5, p. 350.

(loyalty, filial piety, friendship, harmony and belief) to support the patriarchal family system. It is noteworthy that loyalty was given priority over filial piety in the *kyōiku chokugo* so as to avoid a conflict between the national ethic and family ethic. The family was carefully designed to fit the family state with the emperor pictured as the head of all families.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, in time this family system came to be regarded as 'traditional'. In the early Meiji era, Enlightenment thinkers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834 – 1901) and Nishi Amane (1829 – 1897), and an advocate of the Movement for Civil Rights and Freedom in the 1880s, Ueki Emori (1857 – 1892), raised questions about the family system in relation to building a modern civilised nation. They described actual families as possessing uncivilized elements that should be changed through eliminating irrational elements contrary to the democratic nuclear family. They demanded a liberal family system, equality of the sexes, monogamy, abolition of the custom of keeping mistresses, and so on.⁴⁹ In their arguments, they contrasted an undesirable traditional Japanese family with a desirable Western-style family. But it is noteworthy that the family type that they criticised was mainly the *bushi* family, which had become the model of the family under the Meiji regime.

This comparison also appeared in the 'Civil Code debate' (1890 – 1892).⁵⁰ Hozumi Yatsuka (1860 – 1912), a professor at Tokyo University and a representative figure of the conservative group, insisted that the traditional family system was the foundation of the state based on *sosen kyō* (ancestor worship), and the new law then being proposed would be a menace to the spirit of the family system. The famous title of his 1892 article, "*Minpō idete chūkō horobu* (A Civil Code will extinguish loyalty and filial piety)" shows his concern that the introduction of rights and duties into the family would be incompatible with an existing order based on Confucian ethics and governed by loyalty and filial piety. It was a conflict between family ethics, that were simultaneously state ethics, and a proposed Civil Code based on individual rights in modern law. Conservatives believed that Japan was a state that should be ruled not by law, but by morality. In addition, it was unacceptable to them that family members could sue other family members in order to protect their rights. For them, this meant nothing but moral decay. In the debate, the putative traditional family was defined by

⁴⁸ Ueno, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Mackie, Vera, "Freedom and the family: gendering Meiji political thought," in *Asian Freedom*, David Kelly and Anthony Reid, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (1999), pp. 121 – 140.

⁵⁰ The Civil Code that was finally enacted in 1898 was in line with opinions promoting a conservative family system, though it included some characteristics of modern civil law.

Hozumi. This was the process by which the newly determined desirable family became the 'traditional' family.

By contrast, a promoter of a new liberal code, Ume Kenjiro (1860 – 1910), another professor at Tokyo University, strongly defended the draft Code from conservative critical opinion based on the officially-approved family system. As he described it, that family system was one where the head of the family could rule family members' activities, and where only the eldest son had inheritance rights. And, by contrast with this family system, he recommended a small family based on democratic principles as suitable for a capitalist society. From the viewpoint of the nature of the state, Ueki Emori publicly questioned whether civil law should reflect a society composed of individuals or of families. Ueki insisted on an individualist conception of society because a state composed of families lacked a spirit of personal autonomy, while a state composed of individuals would have a spirit of autonomy and independence. In his argument, the conventional family was characterised as a system incapable of producing people with autonomy and independence. Thus the conventional or 'traditional' family was contrasted with the 'modern' family.

In the early Meiji era of the 1870s, Enlightenment thinkers had raised questions about the family system as an uncivilised element in terms of building a modern civilised nation. They identified irrational, inhumane, and unsuitable points in the existing marriage and family system, and advocated democratic reforms, such as equality of the sexes, monogamy, abolition of the custom of keeping mistresses, and so on, to create a 'modern family' following the example of Western families. This was because they acknowledged that the family had a pivotal role in reforming society. Mori Arinori (1847 – 1889) expressed it well as follows:

The relationship between husband and wife is the original source of humanity. After the basis is laid, then a moral principle is practised. A moral principle is practised, and then the nation is established.⁵¹

Fukuzawa Yukichi, who regarded the family as a place for the expression of human feelings, called people's attention to the importance of the family in social norms.

Human society consists of families. The evils of society originate in the family. The family is the school of society. Those who practise despotism are graduates

⁵¹ Mori Arinori, "Saishō ron" (On wife and mistress), *Mei roku zasshi*, no. 8 (December 1874), in *Nihon fujin mondai siryō shūsei*, Yuzawa Yasuhiko, ed., Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1983, vol. 5, p. 341.

of the school. Therefore, when you want to reform society, you should reform the school.⁵²

The Enlightenment thinkers had taken on the task of changing the nature of the family from despotism to democracy in order to create a civilised nation, based on independent individuals. Following the Enlightenment thinkers, in the 1880s, Christian educator Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863 – 1942), journalist Tokutomi Sohō (1863 – 1957) and others had proposed a model of a modern and more democratic family, which was called *katei* or *hōmu* (home), in opposition to the patriarchal family system. This radical concept consisted of husband, wife and children, with the husband-wife relationship at the centre. Furthermore, *katei* indicated a place where family members would be attached to each other and enjoy each other's company. This model anticipated the Western ideal of love-based marriage, or 'companionate marriage' of the future. They regarded this type of family as the core element in a reformed society and as the foundation of the modern state that they desired.

The family that was being set into the state system was not the same family as in Tokugawa society (1603 – 1867). In the Meiji period, the nature of the family itself had begun to change, becoming located more in the private sphere after the family separated from the feudalistic system of the Tokugawa regime. Advocacy by Enlightenment thinkers and Christian reformers of a new type of family was associated with this change.⁵³ However, the role of the family did not go in the direction that they had hoped. As the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 and the Civil Code of 1898 showed, the family was given a role as the foundation of the nation state with the emperor as the head of all families in a hierarchical and despotic structure. At the same time as interest in women's education began to rise, making women 'good wives and wise mothers' became the guiding principle of women's education. Women were officially encouraged to embrace the roles of wives and mothers at home as their vocations to serve their families and the state.⁵⁴ Thus the family became a focal point for both sides in terms of creating a new society.

⁵² Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Kyōiku no koto" (A matter of education). This article was originally published in *Fukuzawa bunshū* (An anthology of Fukuzawa) in 1878. In *Fukuzawa Yukichi kazoku ronshū* (The collection of Fukuzawa Yukichi's works about the family), Nakajima Toshiko, ed., Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999, p. 212.

⁵³ Muta Kazue, *Senryaku to shite no kazoku* (The family as a strategy), Tokyo: Shinchō sha, 1996.

⁵⁴ Nagahara Kazuko, "Ryōsai kenbo kyōiku ni okeru 'ie' to shokugyō" ('The family' and occupations in education for good wives and wise mothers), in *Nihon joseishi* (Women's history in Japan), Joseoshi sōgō kenkyūkai, ed., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppan kai, vol. 4, pp. 149 – 184; Smith, Robert J., "Making village women into 'good wives and wise mothers' in pre-war Japan," *Journal of Family History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 70 – 84.

The state-approved family was officially set up as a normative model and underwent a process of promotion throughout the Meiji era.⁵⁵ In the process, a self-portrait of Japanese society composed of families, which was accepted as if it was self-evident, was created by a comparison with Western society, said to be composed of individuals. This was further developed after the Sino-Japanese War (1884 – 1885) in arguments about the relationship between the state and individuals in terms of what Japanese society should be, including contested support for the government policy of ‘a rich country and a strong military’ based on creating a centralized state. Therefore, the concept of a nation composed of families also had strong political meaning.

This characteristic view of the Japanese family becomes clearer in a comparison with the Chinese family. In China, the family was a hot issue in the Enlightenment movement in the late nineteenth century in terms of creating a strong and wealthy state. China’s low international status stimulated people to think of Chinese society, and the traditional Chinese family system in particular, as part of the reason for Chinese weakness. Reformist Kang Youwei (1858 – 1927) criticised the evil and oppressive nature of the conventional family. This led him to the most radical conclusion about the family, that is, the necessity for its abolition. His book, *Datong shu* (Book of Great Harmony) set out his vision of an ideal society, in which the family was completely eliminated.⁵⁶ Other Chinese thinkers of the time also focussed on the family. Journalist and enlightenment thinker Liang Qichao (1873 – 1929) advocated democratic reform of the family in order to make China a strong and wealthy state like its Japanese counterpart. Reformist Tan Sitong (1865 – 1898), in his book *Renxue* (Study of sensitive concern for others), severely criticised Confucian ethics as dehumanising humanity. He rejected all imposed ethical systems and accepted only equal relationships. Tan supported monogamous marriage based on individual free will and a free association between the sexes. Unlike the debate in Japan, reformist arguments about the family system were not about what the traditional family system really was, but how to reform it.

⁵⁵ About the gap between the *bushi* family and the commoner family in customary laws related to the family, see Kanno Noriko, “Edo jidai no kafuchōsei ideorogī to shomin no kazoku kankei” (Patriarchal ideology and commoner’s family relationships in the Edo era), *Rekishi hyōron*, no. 517 (May 1993), pp. 39 – 55.

⁵⁶ Kang wrote the first draft of this book in 1884 – 85. According to Liang Qichao, it was completed in 1902. The book was partly published in 1913, but did not appear completely until 1935, eight years after Kang’s death. About Kang Youwei’s concept of *datong*, see Hsiao Kung-Chuan, *A Modern China and a New World: K’ang Yu-Wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858 – 1927*, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1975; Tikhvinsky, *Zhongguo bianfa weixin yundong he Kang Youwei*, (Chinese reform movement and Kang Youwei), Zhang Shiyu, et al. trans., Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1962.

A debate in China about the Criminal Procedure Act and Civil Proceedings Act in 1906 showed a parallel with the Japanese debate over the Civil Code. The point at issue was whether the objective draft law was compatible with the actual family system based on discriminatory structures and Confucian ethics that governed relationships between family members. Opponents were strongly against the draft because it was irreconcilable with Confucian ethics, and was not based on familism, which regarded the family as the foundation of the state. There were opposing opinions about the need to change familism and to free individuals from the family so that individuals could have a responsibility for the state as subjects. Like their Japanese counterparts, both conservatives and reformers placed the family at the core of their arguments about creating or strengthening the state. Similarly, the image of Chinese society composed of families became clearer when compared with Western society.⁵⁷ The Qing Court promulgated the Criminal Law and the Provisional Law in December 1910. A draft of the Civil Law that was prepared in 1911 was criticised for its violation of fathers' and husbands' rights. But it was never proclaimed due to social turbulence at the end of the Qing era.

The point at issue in the dispute was whether the nature of the proposed law was compatible with the principles of the Confucian family system. Unlike the newly formulated Japanese 'traditional' family system, the Chinese traditional family system had clear-cut features that were self-evident in the debate. The traditional family was, however, an ideal model that needed a large, extended, multigenerational structure to exemplify the full range of Confucian ethics. Only a small number of wealthy families, some of whom had been praised by emperors,⁵⁸ could afford to fully realise it. But because the ideal traditional family had been a model held up not only for elite, rich people but also for peasants, it was well-understood in principle, and the Confucian family ethics on which it was based permeated Chinese society.

⁵⁷ The Western perception that Chinese despotism was supported by the family system based on Confucian ethics that forced individuals to be subordinate to fathers and seniors was mentioned as early as Montesquieu (1689 – 1755). Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Thomas Nugent trans., New York: Hafner Publishing, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 301 – 304.

⁵⁸ The Zheng family in Zhejiang was famous for 'jiushi tongju' (nine generations living together). After the family was praised by the emperor of Yuan dynasty in 1311 for first time, the family was praised by emperors during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Suzuki Mitsuo, "'Kyūsei dōkyō'—Chūgoku sekkōshō no aru jukyō kazoku no rekishi—" ('Nine generations living together': history of a Confucian family in Zhejiang in China), *Shisō*, no. 849 (March 1995), pp. 90 – 110.

The literature on anarchism in Japan and China

Any study of anarchism in twentieth-century Japan and China needs to take account of, first, radical Western thought, its introduction, interpretation, development and decline; second, various elements of indigenous anarchism, such as group customs of a communal nature; third, strands of traditional thought interpreted as relevant to anarchism; fourth, contemporary social conditions and current discontents, including radical political reactions to circumstances in Japan and China

Existing studies of Japanese anarchism shift their focal point in line with the way that anarchism developed. At an early stage before 1907, anarchism, which at that time was not clearly differentiated from socialism, has been largely examined from a political viewpoint. And anarchism in the Taishō era (1912 – 1925) has mainly been studied in the context of the labour movement in the form of syndicalism. The decline of anarchism in the late 1920s has been studied from various viewpoints. There have also been studies on particular topics, such as the High Treason Incident (1910), anarchist thought,⁵⁹ syndicalism,⁶⁰ the village youth movement, and the anarchist communist party incident (1935).⁶¹ Some studies provide a general overview of Japanese anarchism.⁶²

However, it is the studies of individual anarchists that most vividly convey the shape of Japanese anarchism. Because of their personal magnetism, prominent anarchists such as Kōtoku Shūsui,⁶³ Ishikawa Sanshirō,⁶⁴ Ōsugi Sakae,⁶⁵ Hatta Shūzō,⁶⁶ Kanno Suga,⁶⁷ Itō Noe,⁶⁸ Kaneko Fumiko,⁶⁹ and Takamure Itsue,⁷⁰ are

⁵⁹ Akiyama Kiyoshi, *Nihon no hangyaku shisō* (Revolutionary thought in Japan), Tokyo: Gendai shichō, 1972.

⁶⁰ Gotō Akinobu, *Nihon sanjikirizumu undo shi* (A history of syndicalism in Japan), Tokyo: Keishū shinsha, 1984.

⁶¹ Aizawa Hisao, *Nihon museifu kyōsan tō* (Anarchist Communist Party of Japan), Tokyo: Kaien shobō, 1974.

⁶² Komatsu Ryūji, *Nihon anakizumu undō shi* (A history of anarchism in Japan), Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1972.

⁶³ Notehelfer, F.G. *Kōtoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971; Itoya Toshio, *Kōtoku Shūsui kenkyū* (A study of Kōtoku Shūsui), Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1967; Ōhara Satoshi, *Kōtoku Shūsui no shisō to taigyaku jiken* (The thought of Kōtoku Shūsui and the High Treason Incident), Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1977.

⁶⁴ Kitazawa Fumitake, *Gakumon to ai, soshite hangyaku—Ishikawa Sanshirō no shōgai to shisō* (Learning and love, and rebellion: the life and thought of Ishikawa Sanshirō), *Orokana kare, orokana michi—Ishikawa Sanshirō no shōgai to shisō* (Foolish him, foolish path: the life and thought of Ishikawa Sanshirō), *Teiryoku, wareni nanika aranya—maboroshi no shakai shugisha Ishikawa Sanshiro no shōgai to shisō* (The emperor has nothing to do with me: a dreamlike socialist Ishikawa Sanshirō), Tokyo: Hato no mori shobō, 1974 – 1976.

⁶⁵ Stanley, Thomas, *Ōsugi Sakae: Anarchist in Taishō Japan*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982; Ōsawa Masamichi, *Ōsugi Sakae kenkyū* (A study of Ōsugi Sakae), Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppan kyoku, 1971.

⁶⁶ Crump, John, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

attractive figures to many researchers. Less prominent anarchists and local sympathisers who were involved in anarchism have also been researched.

Some Japanese studies have made reference to anarchist discourse about the family, citing anarchists' critical views of the traditional family, as understood through their behaviour in relation to free love and marriage. This is well-illustrated in the cases of Kōtoku and Ōsugi. But like the socialists, Japanese anarchists did not elevate family issues to their main agenda. It was women's questions that predominantly brought Japanese socialists/anarchists to notice problems of the family. As a result, their views on family issues have not been identified specifically as anarchist concerns, although studies of individual women anarchists, such as Kanno Suga, Itō Noe, Kaneko Fumiko, and Takamure Itsue yield comprehensive considerations about the family in the context of anarchism. Anarchist women's discourse in Japan has hitherto been treated almost exclusively from the viewpoint of feminism.⁷¹ This does not always do justice to the anarchist principles which motivated Japanese anarchist women and underlay their discourse. Existing studies have been mainly in Japanese where there has developed a substantial and continuing body of research. There is also an increasing volume of materials in English. For example, regarding Japanese women's history, Sharon Sievers' *Flowers in Salt: the Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (1983)⁷² is a pioneering work, which includes a chapter on Kanno Suga. However, as new historical materials have become available, more detailed and deepened studies based on primary sources have come out, notably series of studies by Vera Mackie⁷³ and by Helene Bowen⁷⁴ on Japanese socialist and anarchist women. In references for

⁶⁷ Itoya Toshio, *Kanno Suga—Heimin sha no fujin kakumeika zō—* (Kanno Suga: portrait of a woman revolutionary in *Heimin sha*), Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970.

⁶⁸ Ide Fumiko, *Jiyū sorewa watashi jishin—hyōden Itō Noe—* (Freedom It is myself: biography of Itō Noe), Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1979; Bowen-Raddeker, Helene, "Anarcho-feminist discourse in prewar in Japan: Itō Noe's autobiographical social criticism." *Anarchist Studies* 9, no. 2 (2001), p. 97 – 125.

⁶⁹ Yamada Shōji, *Kaneko Fumiko—jiko, tennōsei kokka, chōsen jin—* (Kaneko Fumiko: the self, the imperial state, Korean), Tokyo: Kage shobō, 1996.

⁷⁰ Nishikawa Yūko, *Takamure Itsue—mori no ie no miko—* (Takamure Itsue: a spirit medium in a forest), Tokyo: Daisan bunmei sha, 1990; Tsurumi, Patricia E., "Feminism and anarchism in Japan: Takamure Itsue, 1894 – 1964," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 17, no. 2 (1985), pp. 2 – 19; Kanō Masanao and Horiba Kiyoko, *Takamure Itsue* (Takamure Itsue), Tokyo: Asahi shinbun sha, 1977.

⁷¹ The woman question of Japanese anarchism has been referred to mainly in biographical studies of famous anarchist women, such as Kanno Suga, Itō Noe, and Takamure Itsue, and in studies of women's history.

⁷² Sievers, Sharon L., *Flowers in Salt: the Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, California: Stanford University Press, 1983.

⁷³ Mackie, Vera C., *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900 – 1937*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997; *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

⁷⁴ Bowen-Raddeker, Helene, *Treacherous Women of Imperial Japan: Patriarchal Fictions, Patricidal Fantasies*, London: Routledge, 1997; "Anarcho-feminist discourse in prewar in Japan: Itō Noe's

this and other areas of my thesis, I have given precedence to those researches that rely on primary sources and on studies that provide broad and tested perspectives.

The study of Chinese anarchism has not been seriously undertaken in the PRC, and was first developed by foreign scholars. The gradual accumulation of such studies is now helping to restore Chinese anarchism to its rightful position in Chinese history. Research has followed various interests and approaches. Like Japanese anarchism, the ways in which anarchism was accepted has been one of the subjects investigated. There are studies about the influence of traditional thought in accepting or understanding anarchism.⁷⁵ The intense interest by writers of Chinese modern history in the rise of the Chinese Communist Party has attracted attention also to the role of anarchism in the origins of Marxism in China. It is well known that prominent CCP members, including Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, were once influenced by anarchist doctrines.⁷⁶ Anarchism also occupied a certain role in changing political circumstances in China.⁷⁷ However, anarchism has been studied not so much as a social or political movement, but mainly as an aspect of social thought in China. Although anarchism once influenced the labour movement, there are few studies of anarchist activities in the actual movements.⁷⁸

Studies of Chinese anarchism by Chinese scholars have been directly influenced by contemporary politics. In the PRC, there was a long blank period of anarchism studies. Since the late 1970s, detailed studies of Chinese anarchism have begun to appear.⁷⁹ In these studies, positive or negative evaluations of Chinese anarchism seem to largely depend on political considerations, such as how events relate to the CCP.⁸⁰

autobiographical social criticism." *Anarchist Studies* 9, no. 2, 2001, pp. 97 – 125; "Resistance to difference: sexual equality and its law-ful and out-law (anarchist) advocates in imperial Japan." *Intersections*, no. 7(March 2002).

⁷⁵ For example, Saga Takashi, *Kindai Chūgoku anakizumu no kenkyū* (A study of Chinese Anarchism), Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1994; Furth, Charlotte, "Intellectual change: from the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895 – 1920," in *The Cambridge History of China*, John K. Fairbank, ed. Vol. 12, part 1, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 322 – 405.

⁷⁶ Bernal, Martin, *Chinese Socialism to 1907*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976; "The triumph of anarchism over Marxism, 1906 – 1907," in *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900 – 1913*, Mary C. Wright, ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Gasster, Michael, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911: the Birth of Modern Chinese Radicalism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969.

⁷⁷ Scalapino, Robert A. and Yu, George T, *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*, Berkeley: University of California, 1961; Zhang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi sichao* (Anarchist thought in modern China), Jinan: Shandong renmen chubanshe, 1991; Zarrow, Peter, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990; Dirlik, Arif, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

⁷⁸ Kosugi Shūji, "Shanghai kōdan rengōkai to Shanghai no rōdō undō" (The Shanghai federation of trade unions and the labour movement in Shanghai), *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, no. 393 (February 1973), pp. 14 – 31. The comments by anarchists or communists are the main source regarding anarchist participation in social movements.

⁷⁹ Saga Takashi, "Saikin no Chūgoku ni okeru anakizumu kenkyū no dōkō" (the recent trend of study on anarchism in China), *Ajia keizai kenkyū* 25, no. 11 (November 1984), pp. 32 – 45; Jiang Jun and Li

Such studies have so far hardly gone beyond the official theoretical framework which regards anarchism as belonging to the prehistory of the CCP, to be shortly thereafter superseded by Marxism. Some published memoirs of former or veteran anarchists have concluded by remarking that their adherence to anarchism had been a youthful indiscretion. Their statements indicate the official status of anarchism in the PRC. In Taiwan on the other hand, though study of Chinese anarchism is not very active, it is not limited by political considerations. This is because anarchists kept an amicable relationship with the Guomindang through prominent anarchists, such as Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui, who eventually took up respectable positions in the Guomindang. But Taiwanese accounts of anarchism seem to have been reduced to innocent philosophy or ethics, without anarchism being perceived as achieving a significant role in history.

The lives of some Chinese anarchists, for example, Li Shizeng, Liu Shipai,⁸¹ Shifu,⁸² and Bajin,⁸³ have been studied at length. But these are very limited cases. The lives of most anarchists are unknown and are not expected to come to light. This is also the case with anarchist women. In contrast to Japanese anarchist women's histories, little material has been produced. Only fragments of information about them are mentioned in texts about anarchist men.

Chinese anarchists' rejection of the family has certainly achieved prominence as radical opposition to the family system, and evaluated as anti-feudalism and pro-women's emancipation. But it has been given only isolated attention outside the context of their political anarchism. The stereotype of anarchists as advocates of abolishing the family and introducing free love is often regarded as representing anarchist opinion in general, regardless of time and circumstances. Chinese scholar Xu Jiangshen divides reform thought from the late Qing era to the New Culture Movement

Xingzhi, "Jianguo yilai Zhongguo jindai wuzhangfu zhuyi sichao yanjiu shuping" (A review of studies about modern anarchism in China from the founding of the state), *Jindaishi yanjiu*, no. 4 (1985), pp. 193 – 209.

⁸⁰ Anarchism is perceived positively as anti-feudalism and as a part of the revolutionary camp before 1911. Then, although its anti-feudalism is admitted, anarchism became an obstacle to the diffusion of Marxism in China. Anarchists' later courses (some joined the Guomindang, some abandoned anarchism) have also contributed to a low evaluation of anarchism.

⁸¹ Saga Takashi, *Kindai Chūgoku no kakumei gen'ei—Ryū Shibai no shisō to shōgai* (A dream of revolution in modern China: the thought and life of Liu Shipai), Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1996; Maruyama Matsuyuki, "Ryū Shibai ryakuden" (A short biography of Liu Shipai), in Maruyama Matsuyuki, *Chūgoku kindai no kakumei shisō* (Revolutionary thought in modern China), Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1982, pp. 42 – 71; Onogawa Hidemi, "Ryū Shibai to museifu shugi" (Liu Shipai and anarchism), in Onogawa Hidemi, *Shinmatsu seiji shisō kenkyū* (A study of political thought in the late Qing period), Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1969, pp. 339 – 366.

⁸² Krebs, Edward S., *Shifu, Soul of Chinese Anarchism*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998.

⁸³ Lang, Olga, *Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

into three stages: "bourgeois advocacy of freedom of choice in marriage and family composition from the viewpoint of democracy, liberalism, and humanism; petit-bourgeois anarchist advocacy of abolition of the family; and radical democracy within socialist thought advocating a reformist revolution of marriage and the family."⁸⁴ This is an over-simplified summary of anarchists' discourse.

The Chinese anarchists, as Judith Stacey describes,⁸⁵ can be regarded as acting as a bridge between late imperial Confucian reformers and May Fourth radicals in a transition period. Their critique of the authoritarianism of Confucian patriarchy provided a stage for the later development of radical feminism, such as anti-patriarchy from the viewpoint of feminism in the May Fourth era. However, it is not clear that their rejection of family was a form of feminism, as is often suggested; this still requires detailed research into the nature of their opinions. However, due to lack of an accurate grasp of anarchist discourse,⁸⁶ there has clearly been a missing link between accounts of the late Qing era and the May Fourth Movement in terms of a critique of the family. The difficulty of distinguishing anarchist discourse from other radical approaches in both eras has also prevented anarchists from being evaluated properly.

As the case of Chinese anarchists will show, complex family issues cannot be adequately covered by reference only to a feminist perspective. Many family aspects that are omitted from feminism help to make up a complicated web of family relationships that had an important meaning for Chinese anarchists. These include the domination of sons by their fathers, and the growth of autocratic power within the family dynamics of many mothers who were once themselves in subservient positions. Thus, the family issue, although relevant to the individual situation of women in their most intimate personal relationships, cannot be fully grasped without recourse to the broader viewpoint of anarchism.

Dimensions of the thesis

In this thesis, most of the primary materials on which the discussion is based were published by anarchists and other radicals from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1930s in Japan and China. Primary sources include magazines,

⁸⁴ Xu Jiansheng, "Jindai zhongguo hunyin jiating biange sichao shulun" (A study on the reform thought about marriage and the family in modern China), *Jindaishi yanjiu*, (March 1991), p. 162.

⁸⁵ Stacey, Judith, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, pp. 73 – 76.

⁸⁶ There is obscurity in anarchist discourse on the family. For example, Furth cites "rotation of residence and partner," but neither Tokyo nor Paris group advocated this. Furth, Charlotte, "Intellectual Change: From the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895 – 1920," in *The Cambridge History of China*, John K. Fairbank, ed., New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972, vol. 12, part 1. p. 383.

newspapers, pamphlets, letters, memoirs and autobiographical texts. Some are in the form of microfilm. Some of the magazines and newspapers that were published by socialists or anarchists pre-war have been reprinted, and complete or selected works of some anarchists (Japanese and Chinese) are now available in Japan. Compared with Japanese facilities for research, it is not easy to collect materials relevant to anarchism in China. But some collections of items from anarchist magazines, which cover the relevant period, have been published in China. Complete works or selections of some prominent anarchists are also available in China and some are in Taiwan. Besides such primary materials, I have also used biographies of anarchists and the memoirs of associated people.

My thesis covers anarchist discourse and practice relevant to the family from the beginnings of the anarchist movements in Japan and China up to their effective end before the Second World War. I mainly examine anarchist thought, which includes views, critiques, and policies related to the family, but also mention some activities to show the practical influence of anarchist thought. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with anarchist discourse about the family. Chapter 2 covers the era from the beginning of Japanese and Chinese anarchist activities from around 1907 up to 1911, and Chapter 3 deals with the period from 1911 to the 1930s. The year 1911 has been chosen because it marks a division of history from the Meiji era in Japan and the Qing era in China to the Taishō era and Minguo era. After the 1911 revolution and change of political climate in China, Chinese anarchists shifted the stage of their activities from Tokyo and Paris to China. This date is also significant because in 1910, the High Treason Incident had put a seal of harsh government oppression on the very early stage of the anarchist movement in Japan. From 1911, anarchist movements in both countries proceeded to a new stage.

Chapter 4 also deals with anarchist discourse, but gives particular attention to the concerns of women anarchists. Chapter 5 deals with anarchist visions of the kinds of society that embodied anarchist ideals. In that chapter, I examine the position of the family, the relationship between the individual and the family, the family and society in the anarchist social vision. In some social visions, the family vanished, while in others, the family was seen as the foundation of a transformed society. Chapter 6 examines anarchist policies (thought) through their practical consequences, which included anarchists' personal experiences and social movements.

Chapter 2 Anarchists against the Family in Japan and China

In this chapter, I examine the origins of anarchism in Japan and China, and consider how the early anarchists in each country defined the parameters for debate about family issues. Through the debates of anarchists (and also of socialists in Japan) about family issues, differences emerge between Japanese and Chinese anarchists in their positions on society and their stances on the family.

2.1 The family in Japan

Introduction of anarchism to Japan

The history of anarchism in Japan can be dated from around 1906,¹ but we need to go back to the earlier introduction to Japan of socialism as an undifferentiated matrix of Western social thought in order to understand the situation in which anarchism made its appearance. Information about Western radical thought started to come into Japan from the early 1870s,² but at that time it was discussed mainly in the context of preventing the growth of such ideas in the country. The introduction and systematic study of socialism began in the 1890s, particularly after the Sino-Japanese war,³ when social problems (the labour problem, the urban problem, and the poverty problem) were becoming important issues. These had resulted from the development of the Japanese

¹ Some anarchists have referred to a doctor and naturalist philosopher Andō Shōeki (1703? – 1762) in the Tokugawa era as an anarchistic thinker. See Ishikawa Sanshirō, *Jijoden* (Autobiography), Tokyo: Riron sha, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 111 – 112; Suzuki Yasuyuki, *Nihon museifu shugi undō shi* (A history of anarchist movement in Japan), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1932 (reprint Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1990), p. 29.

² The terms 'communism' and 'socialism' were used first by Katō Hiroyuki in his 1869 book *Shinsei taii* (The substance of politics), then in 1875, some articles in *Meiroke zasshi* (Meiroke magazine) referred to 'communists' and 'communism,' though with meanings far removed from the later institutionalised terms. See Yamaizumi Susumu, *Shakai shugi kotohajime* (The beginning of socialism), Tokyo: Shakai Hyōron sha, 1990, pp. 283 – 284.

³ There were translations and books about socialism, such as *Kōsai ron* (An essay on association, 1878) by Takahashi Tatsurō, a translation of *Communism and Socialism* of T. D. Woolsey, titled *Kokon shakai tō enkaku setsu* (The history of Socialist Parties, 1883), *Genji no shakai shugi* (Socialism at present, 1894) edited by Minyū sha, Richard Ely's *French and German Socialism*, had selected passages translated and published in *Genji no shakai mondai* (The present social problems, 1898) by Tajima Kinji, and became one of the key books in terms of introducing socialism to Japan, together with a translation of W. D. P. Bliss' *Handbook of Socialism: A Statement of Socialism in its Various Aspects, and a History of Socialism in All Countries*. *Shakai shugi* (Socialism, 1899) by Murai Tomoyoshi, and *Kinsei shakai shugi* (Modern Socialism, 1900) by Fukui Junzō.

capitalist economy and from the government's post-war policies, which continued the build-up of armaments, imposed new burdens of colonial administration and increased land tax. Social problems were regarded as not only symptomatic of a malfunctioning economic system based on free competition or capitalism, but also symptomatic of a corruption of society. Socialism was perceived as a means to resolve such social problems.

On the other hand, anarchism first became widely known through the notorious activities of Russian populists or nihilists. These activities, mainly political assassinations, were given publicity in Japan as early as 1880.⁴ A book that provided comprehensive information about anarchism was Kemuyama Sentarō's *Kinsei museifu shugi* (Modern Anarchism, 1902), which included an introduction to nihilism and Western anarchism. And journalist Kutsumi Kesson (1860 – 1925)'s *Museifu shugi* (Anarchism, 1906) introduced anarchism as a form of individualism and as peaceful and humanistic thought, which was different from its popular image of violence and destruction. But anarchism was not clearly distinguished from nihilism or socialism until Kōtoku Shūsui (1871 – 1911) identified it as direct action. Kōtoku, who first showed his inclination to anarchism around 1905, demonstrated a change in his attitude from social democrat to anarchist, indicating a preference for direct action after his return to Japan from the USA in 1907.⁵ Finally, at the second conference of *Nihon shakai tō* (Japan Socialist Party)⁶ in February 1907, a dispute took place over the Party rules between the direct action faction and the parliamentarianism faction. After that, the direct action group gained a firm foothold in Japanese socialism. Thus the appearance of anarchism is explained by the Kōtoku group's split from 'socialism.'⁷

⁴ Kawashima Tadanosuke, trans., *Kyomutō taiji kidan* (The strange story of exterminating the nihilist party, 1882), Nishikawa, *Rokoku kyomutō jijō* (The nihilist party affairs in Russia, 1882) and Tarui Tōkichi "Tōyō no kyomutō" (The nihilist party in the East) in *Kinko shinshi* came out in 1882. The very popular story of Vera Zasulich who shot the Russian Superintendent-General was published repeatedly. For example, in Japan, Tajima Shōji, trans., *Fujo risshi ōshū bidan* (The stories of women who achieved success in Europe, 1881), Senda Sakutarō trans., *Retsujo no gigoku* (A courageous woman's trial, 1882), Miyazaki Muryū, trans., *Ki shūshū* (A cry of the demon, 1883) mention the story of Vera Zasulich.

⁵ At his welcome-home party in June 1906 after his ten-month visit to San Francisco, Kōtoku made a speech, "A tide of world revolutionary movement," that showed a change in his attitude. Then in February 1907 he published an article, titled "A change in my thought," in which he unequivocally supported a doctrine of direct action. See Komatsu Ryūji, "Nihon ni okeru anakizumu no seisei to tenkai" (The formulation and development of anarchism in Japan), *Shakai sisō* 2, no. 4 (February 1972), pp. 76 – 86.

⁶ It was formed in February 1906 and banned in 1907.

⁷ Not only Kōtoku, but also other people showed their interest in and learned about anarchism around this time. For example, Umeda Toshihide publicised Ishimaki Yoshio's life. Umeda Toshihide, "Meiji ki ni okeru chokusetsu kodō ron sha no shisō—sono shakai shugi ron to anakizumu ron—" (The thought of "direct action" group of the Meiji era: their views on socialism and anarchism), *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 472 (September 1979), pp. 1 – 13.

Kōtoku deepened his systematic understanding of anarchism through translating Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*⁸ and German anarchist Arnold Roller's syndicalist classic *General Strike*.⁹ However, soon afterwards the development of anarchism in Meiji was checked abruptly by the High Treason Incident¹⁰ (1910), in which anarchists and their associates were arrested and persecuted.

Who were the Japanese anarchists?

Anarchism developed from socialism in the Meiji era mainly due to differences in political tactics. In the process, it was not always clear who were the anarchists. The High Treason Incident was labelled by the authorities as "a conspiracy to assassinate the emperor by anarchists." However the term 'anarchism' was used by the authorities as a derogatory label for any kind of direct action against the state; consequently, very few people acknowledged themselves as anarchists. There was no identifiable group who professed themselves to be anarchists at that time. Only remarkable individuals such as Kōtoku Shūsui and Kanno Suga (1881 – 1911) did so. The public image of anarchism was still mixed up with terrorism or nihilism in common perceptions. After Kōtoku's conversion to a policy of direct action, the division of opinion in the socialist movement seemed somewhat clearer. People who supported Kōtoku tended to have an anarchist approach in terms of supporting direct action, but there still remained vagueness and confusion in making this distinction.¹¹ It was only in the 1920s that anarchism and communism clearly set up rival camps and demarcated their respective positions through debate, the so-called *ana-boru* (Anarchist-Bolshevik) debate. It is safe to say that, at first, anarchism principally existed as a like-minded and distinctive element

⁸ The original book, *The Conquest of Bread* in French, was published in France in 1892. A revised English edition was published in London in 1906. Kōtoku translated the English version of the book. The sale of the book was immediately prohibited and the representative of the publisher was prosecuted and fined. It was also secretly published in 1909. About publishing the book, See Komatsu Ryūji, "'Keizai soshiki no mirai' hoka—Kōtoku Shūsui to anakizumu—" (Economic system's future and others: Kōtoku Shūsui and anarchism), in *Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū* (The complete works of Kōtoku Shūsui, hereafter *Kōtoku zenshū*), Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū henshū iinkai, ed., Tokyo: Meiji Bunken, 1968 – 1973, vol. 7, pp. 430 – 438.

⁹ Arnold Roller was the penname of German anarchist Siegfried Nacht (1878 – 1956). The pamphlet was secretly published in 1907 titled *Keizai soshiki no mirai* (The future of the economic structure) to avoid the notice of government authority. See Komatsu Ryūji, *ibid.*, pp. 424 – 428; and Kanzaki Kiyoshi, "Nihon no himitsu shuppan" (Secret publication in Japan), *Daigaku* 2, no. 7 (1948), pp. 25 – 27.

¹⁰ Kōtoku Shūsui, Kanno Suga and others were prosecuted for planning to assassinate the emperor. Twenty-four accused were sentenced to death, 12 of whom had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment under an amnesty. Kōtoku and ten other accused persons were executed on 24th January, 1911. Kanno was executed on 25th January, 1911.

¹¹ This split in the socialist camp did not simply mean that some socialists replaced socialism with anarchism in their beliefs. It was rather that many socialists regarded anarchism as an ultimate ideal and accepted a progression from socialism to anarchism as a natural development. Therefore, choice of anarchism did not necessarily mean a negation of socialism. See Umeda Toshihide, *ibid.*, pp. 1 – 13.

within various streams of reformist social thought. In formal terms, it often seems to be more appropriate to recognize people who had sympathy with anarchism as early socialists rather than as anarchists.

Some sources can provide an idea of the number of anarchists and socialists. First, the circulation of socialist weekly paper *Heimin shinbun* (1903 – 1905) was 3,700 to 4,500,¹² which gives a rough indication of the people who had sympathy with, or at least were interested in socialism. The confidential government reports *Shakai shugisha enkaku* (The history of socialists) give the figures 460 in 1908, 532 in 1909, and 1,975 in 1911¹³ as the number of socialists and anarchists in Japan to be investigated.

Although their numbers were not large, anarchists/socialists could not be represented by a simple profile. For example, the readers of *Heimin shinbun*, and related groups (reading groups or study groups) were distributed throughout Japan. Their occupations, social classes, and locations were diverse. They included men of religion, manual workers and farmers, social movement activists, and intelligentsia.¹⁴ Christianity was an important feature of early socialists. The various professions and occupations of the 26 people accused in the High Treason Incident give us another clue about what kinds of people were involved in socialism/anarchism. They included a journalist, medical practitioner, Buddhist monk, farmer, mechanic, plant grower, trader in general goods, tinsmith, unemployed, hospital clerk, and poultry man.¹⁵ Furthermore, there were numerous people who were involved in or supported the anarchist movement in their own way. Many of them were unknown and will never be mentioned in history.¹⁶ The existence of these people indicates that, even before

¹² The first number, and no. 53 of the magazine that published "The Communist Manifesto" published 8,000 copies. Hayashi Shigeru and Nishida Taketoshi, eds., *Heimin shinbun ronsetsu shū* (A collection of articles in Heimin shinbun), Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1961 (1997), p. 274.

¹³ Matsuo Takayoshi, "Kaisetsu" (Introduction), in *Shakai shugisha enkaku* (The history of socialists), Matsuo Takayoshi, ed., Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1984, vol. 1, p. xxxi.

¹⁴ Hashimoto Tetsuya, "Minshū undō to shoki shakai shugi" (People's movements and early socialism), in *Nihon rekishi* (Japanese history). Rekishigaku kenkyūkai and Nihonshi kenkyūkai, eds., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1985, vol. 8, part 2., pp. 229 – 236.

¹⁵ Kashiwagi Ryūhō, ed., *Taigyaku jiken no shūhen* (The surroundings of the High Treason Incident). Tokyo, Ronsō sha, 1980; Ueda Jōichi and Okamoto Hiroshi, eds., *Taigyaku jiken to Kumamoto hyōron* (The High Treason Incident and Kumamoto hyōron), Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1986.

¹⁶ Matsuda Michio described anarchism as the thought representing the mentality of people at the bottom of the social pyramid. Matsuda Michio, "Nihon no anakizumu" (Anarchism in Japan), in *Anakizumu* (Anarchism), Matsuda Michio, ed., Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1963, p. 53. Mukai Kō introduces people who supported prominent socialists/anarchists. For example, rickshaw men Nozawa Jūkichi, an artisan of metal combs Saitō Kanejirō, street candy man Sakurai Shōtarō, and artisan of wooden clogs Morioka Eiji. Mukai Kō, "Ameya to shafu to kanagushiya" (A candy man, a rickshaw man, and an artisan of metal combs), *Gendai no me*, no. 3 (March 1973), pp. 238 – 247, "Shisha ga kieta atoni—himitsu shuppan to Morioka Eiji" (After the deceased disappeared: secret publication and Morioka Eiji), *Gendai no me*, no. 4 (April 1973), pp. 192 – 201, and "Chika kara no isho—Totsune Yasuzō to Pan ryaku" (A will from underground: Totsune Yasuzō and Conquest of Bread), *Gendai no me*, no. 6 (June 1973), pp. 216 – 225.

socialism/anarchism extended its influence to the labour movement in the Taishō era, socialism/anarchism touched commoners to some extent and was supported by them. This aspect should be considered when we examine their views about the family because how the family was defined in their arguments depended on their life experiences. As their wide range of occupations and addresses indicates, socialism/anarchism was, even if not accepted comprehensively, more than an imported Western theory with a handful of followers.

Family and society at the turn of the century

The socialists were about one generation younger than the Enlightenment thinkers. When they appeared after the failure of the Movement for Freedom and Civil Rights and the Sino-Japanese War, what they saw was the Japanese family at the end of a process of change. Some socialists expected that Meiji society would be a new society. Socialist Sakai Toshihiko (1870 – 1933) recognised that, after the Meiji Restoration, ‘feudalism’ (*hōken seido*) had collapsed and a new state had emerged, in which the classes of warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesmen were equal. He attributed the change to the corruption of the family system due to the evils of the hereditary system.¹⁷ Christian socialist Kinoshita Naoe (1869 – 1937) also perceived that the previous age had been one of a ‘familism’ society, consisting not of individuals but of families, but that the time had come in which ‘familism’ was collapsing. After the Meiji Restoration, the social unit had changed.¹⁸ Their views showed an expectation that the family would change just as society had changed.

However, contrary to their expectations, what they saw was not only a lack of beneficial change in the family and society, but also that the family was in crisis within a distorted society. Socialist Yamaguchi Gizō (1883 – 1920) criticised the present family, in which parents and husbands who held dominant positions regarded their children and wives as their property and their subjects. He also pointed out that wives were disadvantaged in the Civil Code’s conditions for divorce.¹⁹ Socialist Fukao Shō (1880 – 1963) saw a relationship of enslavement between parents and children, and

¹⁷ Sakai Toshihiko, “Wagahai no konpon shisō” (My fundamental thought), *Katei zasshi* 1, no. 1 (3 April 1903), p. 3.

¹⁸ Kinoshita Naoe, “Haishō undō shi no hitokoma” (A page of history of abolishing prostitution), in *Kinoshita Naoe shū* (Selected works of Kinoshita Naoe), Yamagiwa Kenji, ed. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 1965, pp. 478 – 479.

¹⁹ Yamaguchi Gizō, *Shakai shugi to fujin* (Socialism and women), Tokyo: Heimin sha, 1905, pp. 61 – 64.

between husbands and wives in the family system.²⁰ The family not only had such inherent problems, but also was being driven into a difficult situation in society. The development of capitalism and the dissolution of pre-modern society in Japan around the 1890s were producing a lower stratum of society. Strains on the social system shifted onto unprivileged people. Journalist Shimada Saburō (1852 – 1923) described social change in Meiji:

Society had entered the time of free competition [...] Dissolution of feudalistic restrictions and application of machinery resulted in an increase of wealth. Is society getting closer to an ideal civilisation due to this? Free competition has resulted in the phenomenon that the strong crushed the weak. Mechanisation resulted in the phenomenon that capitalists oppressed workers.²¹

A report by journalist Yokoyama Gennosuke (1871 – 1915) about lower levels of society illustrated people's difficult lives in a Tokyo slum as follows:

Five to six people [husband, wife, children, and lodgers] live together in a small room. One small room includes two or three families. Few couples are husbands and wives by a legal process. Many children are not on the family register, which means they don't even have Japanese nationality. Husbands and wives often quarrel.²²

Although people in the slums kept some good customs such as stopping work to help at a neighbour's funeral, people suffered from dire poverty. Contributions by labour movement activist Takano Fusatarō (1868 – 1904) to magazines of American workers' unions conveyed some idea of the lives of Japanese workers, artisans, and rickshaw men; in spite of their hard work and their wives' income from piecework done at home, they always ran into the red because of extremely low wages.²³ A report in *Kumamoto hyōron* about life in a slum terrace house described the destitute lifestyles of rickshaw men, day labourers, ragmen, and lower artisans. For example, a family of eight

²⁰ Fukao Shō, "Katei mondai no konpon teki kaiketsu" (The fundamental solution of family problems), *Katei zasshi* 4, no. 8 (1 August 1906), p. 21.

²¹ Shimada Saburō, "Jo" (A preface), in Yokoyama Gennosuke, *Nihon no kasō shakai* (Lower society in Japan), Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1899. Reprint Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2000, p. 3.

²² Yokoyama Gennosuke, *Nihon no kasō shakai*, p. 57.

²³ Takano Fusatarō, "Nihon no tenkei teki rōdōsha" (Typical Japanese workers), *Far East* 2, no. 4 (April 1897), in Takano Fusatarō, *Meiji Nihon rōdō tsūshin—rōdō kumiai no tanjō* (Japanese labour correspondence in Meiji: the establishment of workers' unions), Ōshima Kiyoshi and Niimura Kazuo, eds and trans., Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997, pp. 114 – 128.

lived in a space of one *tsubo* (3.3 square metres). Tenants hardly made a bare living with low incomes and large families.²⁴

Many socialists indicated that their motivation for becoming socialists was their concern with social problems and their resentment of injustice in conventional society.²⁵ The resentment was expressed in Kōtoku's description of the great gap between rich and poor in society.

Even though these people have done their best in their working lives and have contributed to social production without malice or delinquency for several decades, once they get ill or old, they become threatened with starvation. On the other hand, there are people who become rich by accepting bribes, who enjoy gambling, and who live in splendour evading the law although they swindle and steal.²⁶

In this situation, socialists assumed the tasks of rescuing the family from corruption and destitution, reforming the family, and advocating socialism.

The family in social reform

Socialism, for those who had concern for the struggles of the poor, seemed the answer to those social problems.²⁷ As expressed in their handbills distributed on recruiting drives, socialists explained socialism as a remedy for sick society.

Today's society is a society that produces every misery and sin, such as poverty, scarcity, hunger, disease, oppression, frustration, abuse, plunder, corruption, crime, prostitution, and suicide. Socialism aims to get rid of every one of these sins and miseries from society.²⁸

In the process of reforming corrupt society, socialists aimed to rescue poor families from destitution. Socialism had been perceived by some people as a doctrine that would destroy the family, but socialists themselves believed that socialism would rescue the family.²⁹ And as to the relationship between society and the family,

²⁴ Mokawa, "Kisha nagaya" (A slum terrace house), *Kumamoto hyōron*, no. 1 (20 June 1907), p. 5.

²⁵ Matsunaga Shōzō, "Shakai mondai no hassei" (The occurrence of social problems), in *Nihon rekishi*, vol. 16, part 3. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976, pp. 241 – 280.

²⁶ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Shakai no daizai" (The deadly sin of society), *Yorozu chōhō*, (27 July 1901), in *Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū* (here after *Kōtoku zenshū*), Kōtoku Shūsui henshū iinkai, ed., Tokyo: Meiji bunken, 1968 – 1973, vol. 3, p. 275.

²⁷ Hashimoto Tetsuya, "Minshū undō to shoki shakai shugi" (People's movement and early socialism), in *Nihon rekishi*, Rekishigaku kenkyūkai and Nihonshi kenkyūkai, eds., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1985, vol. 8, part 2, pp. 202 – 240.

²⁸ "Shakai shugi no geki" (The Socialist Appeal), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 35 (10 July 1904), p. 8.

²⁹ *Heimin shinbun*, no. 28 (22 May 1904), p. 5.

socialists thought that family reform was a basic prerequisite for changing social organization. Sakai showed his intention to achieve social reform through individual family reform. Sakai set out the aims of the magazine *Katei zasshi* (the home magazine) as follows:

To let people know that the family is the union of husband and wife, and the home is the place they live together.[...] Second, [...] to insist that the ideal family (*ie*) is husband and wife, who are equal, and have a cooperative life through communal love and cooperation. [...] to make people aware that the home is the place to realise this ideal.³⁰

In this magazine, other socialists shared Sakai's opinion that the family was the key place for social reform. For example, in comparing family members to small branches of a large tree of love, Andō³¹ asserted that there was no justification for the husband to look down on his wife and children, or for parents-in-law to bully their daughter-in-law, because all family members belonged to the same tree. Furthermore, society and the world itself were also branches of the tree. Therefore, if only people would think of all humankind as belonging to the same tree, their minds would be filled with peace and affection, thus creating happy families and society.³² Fukao Shō put forward an opinion that people should abandon small, unenterprising and effeminate individual families in order to devote themselves to the large, manly and aggressive family of society. This opinion was the antithesis of the family-oriented way of life, by which people engaged in their family life without concern for society. Fukao posed a question whether people could live in a large family [society] without a small family, or whether it was right to admit the large family and deny the small family. Fukao insisted on the important role of the family as mediator between the self and society as follows:

If the primary unit of life is the self, the second unit is the family and the third is society, it is natural to discuss family life before discussing social life. Society is a large family and the family is a model of society. All social improvement originates in the family. The family has the primary meaning for life.³³

Thus, Sakai and other socialists placed family reform as the first step on the path to social reform. Compared with previous social activists in the Movement for Freedom

³⁰ Sakai Toshihiko, "Wagahai no konpon shisō" (My fundamental thought), *Katei zasshi* 1, no. 1 (3 April 1903), p. 6.

³¹ Andō Tokeki contributed to *Katei zasshi* and *Heimin shinbun*, but his career is otherwise unknown.

³² Andō sei, "Ai no ki" (The tree of love), *Katei zasshi* 3, no. 3 (2 March 1905), pp. 8 – 9.

³³ Fukao Shō, "Shūaku naru katei" (The ugly family), *Katei zasshi* 4, no. 2 (February 1906), p. 3.

and Civil Rights who had focused on the political arena, they adopted a more balanced stance that took people's daily lives into consideration. Though not all socialists shared Sakai's enthusiasm for family reform,³⁴ in general socialists admitted that people's lives formed the most important issue in social problems. This approach sounded similar to the Enlightenment thinkers' opinions in an earlier era, but the situations were different. At a stage when the family was being involved in a process of creating a theoretical nation state, the Enlightenment thinkers had sought a democratic family that would be suitable for 'civil' society within the framework of Meiji government policy. Through creating a 'modern family,' people would become a 'nation.' However, for socialists, reform of the family was aimed more for people's happiness than for creating the ideal of a nation state. In addition, the type of family that socialists supported would eventually come into conflict with the family that the government promoted. This conflict did not occur in the transitional era in which the Enlightenment thinkers put forward their ideas of the modern family.

The family as a metaphor for socialism

For the socialists, such as Sakai, family life was thus a crucial feature of society in need of rescue and reform. Yet the fundamental respect in which socialists held the institution of the family can be seen by the way they often spoke about socialism using metaphors of the family to explain the nature of affection and communal life. Under the bad influence of corrupt society, they said, the nature of the family had changed. But socialists kept calling up positive views of the family to create a contrast with corrupt society. Kōtoku's words clearly expressed his admiration for the family.

The most respectable, purest and warmest consolation is the home. The place in which elegance, innocence, and peaceful pleasure co-exist is the home. Nine out of ten people think home is the heaven in this world. But once we leave this home, how are things? Society as an improved home should be pure and happy, but it is dirty and ugly.³⁵

³⁴ Hayashi Hisao distinguished Sakai from Kōtoku and other socialists in this aspect. Hayashi valued Sakai's approach to socialism through commoners' daily lives. Hayashi attributed the gap between the socialist movement and the mainstream to lack of this kind of approach by other Japanese socialists. Hayashi Hisao, *Hyōden Sakai Toshihiko* (A critical biography Sakai Toshihiko), Tokyo: Orijin Shuppan sentā, 1987, p. 65.

³⁵ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Shakai shugi to katei" (Socialism and the home), *Shakai shugi*, (3 September 1904), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 428.

The cause of corruption in society, according to Kōtoku, was economics, which meant that people had to scramble selfishly for food in a freely competitive society, which did not have a communal rice box. Therefore, he insisted,

The ideal of socialism aims to make the whole of society a large home that is happy, pure, beautiful, and peaceful. Just as work and rice [food] in the home are communal concerns, socialism aims to make work and rice in the whole of society communal [...] after that, society will become pure, like a happy home. Home and society will become identical.³⁶

In his influential book, *Shakai shugi shinzui* (The Quintessence of Socialism, 1903), Kōtoku compared socialist society to a family and explained the socialist ideal of a distribution system according to the needs of each person.

In a family, if parents distribute good food and beautiful clothes to talented children, and poor food and bad clothes to inferior children, could our conscience allow it? What socialism insists on is nothing less than making society a big family. Society is parents. People are brothers and sisters.³⁷

The socialist principle that society should meet the needs of all people regardless of their ability was explained by other socialists in the same way.³⁸ Socialists thus supposed that the family and socialist society would share the same nature. This perception was a natural result of socialist respect for the family in society. As mentioned, when Sakai and other socialists took family reform as the first step of social reform, they assumed society was an expansion of the family, and both had the same nature.

In this regard, there was a sharp contrast in social principle between the Enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi and Japanese socialists. Fukuzawa proposed a concept of civil society, in which people dealt with each other a market system in impersonal relationships based not on benevolence but on self-interest. For him, the family was the world of affection, while society was the world of free competition. Confucian-ruled society, which Fukuzawa had bitterly experienced in the Tokugawa regime, was controlled by favour (*on*), authority (*i*), and personal considerations

³⁶ Ibid., p. 430.

³⁷ Kōtoku Shūsui, *Shakai shugi shinzui*, in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 492 – 493.

³⁸ For example, Yamaguchi Gizō regarded socialism as “making society into a big family. Giving all people who live there food and clothing, and jobs to devote themselves to. Making all people, high and low, rich and poor, and men and women, enjoy benefits and happiness equally.” Yamaguchi Gizō, “Yo ha ikanishite shakai shugisha to narishika” (How I became a socialist), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 44 (11 September 1904), p. 4.

(*jōjitsu*). In such a society, the relationship between high and low dominated all relationships. By contrast, in his version of civil society, Fukuzawa supposed that government and people should be equal, in the way that individuals were equal in nature, regardless of their ranks. Fukuzawa distinguished between family and society in terms of this dominant principle.³⁹

On the other hand, Kōtoku expressed the relationship between individual and society by use of terms that expressed personal relationships, such as service (*kōrō*), reward (*hōshū*), and favour (*on*). He explained the relationship between individuals and society as people rendering distinguished service to society and receiving a reward for their service. In other words, society would repay obligations to its members. According to Kōtoku, the aim of socialism was to achieve happiness for society as a whole through individuals' efforts. And because individuals were members of society, happiness for society would then mean that each member of society would be happy. 'Individualism,' in Kōtoku's perception, was the opposite of socialism in regarding an individual's merit and happiness first and not considering the aims of society, even though an individual was a member of society.⁴⁰ Kōtoku criticised individualism as being self-interested due to its lack of a cooperative sense of the public interest.⁴¹ Although admitting that 'independence-and-self-respect-ism' (*dokuritsu jison shugi*) were people's salvation in a situation of slavery under 'aristocratic tyranny' or 'feudal classes', Kōtoku thought that it was dangerous to make independence and 'self-respect-ism' people's main ethics in the present world where the weak were victims of the strong.⁴² Rejection of 'free competition', 'individualism,' and 'self-respect-ism' because they caused social corruption led Kōtoku and other socialists to idealise the family as a symbol of community without such harmful effects.

It is remarkable that the socialist concept of society as an expansion of the family had a strong affinity with society in the family state that the government

³⁹ Sakamoto Takao, *Shijō dōtoku chitsujo* (Market, morality, order), Tokyo: Sōunsha, 1991 (1995), pp. 7 – 10.

⁴⁰ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Shakai shugi no mitaru Seisei gakusha" (Socialist's view of *Seisei* school), *Shakai shugi*, (18 October 1904), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 439.

⁴¹ Kōtoku Shūsui's perception of society based on morality is similar to journalist Kuga Katsunan (1857 – 1907)'s perception of the fundamental principle of society. In various groups, individuals can display higher feelings and overcome their selfishness. Such individual ability to be unselfish is the moral foundation of society as a free union of individuals. Kuga, in contrast to his contemporaries' perception of society as a place of struggle for existence and as a world of inequality, regarded such unequal society as a corruption of society. Miyamura, "Jiyū shugi ikan—Kuga Katsunan no seiji shisō—" (What is liberalism?: political thought of Kuga Katsunan), in *Ajia kara kangaeru* (Think from Asia), Mizoguchi Yūzō, et al. eds., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1994, vol. 5, pp. 194, 212.

⁴² Kōtoku Shūsui, "Shūshin yōryō o yomu" (Reading the main point of ethics), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 308.

advocated. Both applied the same principle based on family ethics to the family and society, and regarded society as an expansion of the family. Nevertheless, socialists often confronted the government in relation to the family system and could be radical critics of the family system in the Meiji era. Socialists' arguments about the family, though they had a similar structure to the government's rationale, would develop within a strained relationship with the government.

Women's subordinate position in the family

Enlightenment thinkers had debated the issue of women's subordinate position and this now received close attention from socialists. On this question, representative Western socialist works, which had been translated piecemeal,⁴³ provided a quasi-historical explanation for the development of forms of marriage and the family, and women's subordination. Christian socialist Murai Tomoyoshi (1864 – 1944) mentioned the relationship between socialism and women in his introductory book on socialism. According to Murai, socialism would rescue women from their unhappy and corrupt situation, and enhance their status and happiness. He saw women's situation as resulting from an extension of women's rights and from women's participation in social competition as workers. This resulted in evils: damaging women because it was against women's nature, reducing men's wages because of women's lower wages, and having a bad influence on morality due to declining marriage and increasing divorce. Murai supposed that, in a socialist society in which state ownership and cooperation took the place of private capitalism and competition, women would become partners and friends of men instead of being their slaves and competitors. They could then carry on vocations by which they were fitted by their nature, and be economically independent due to the contribution they would make to society. Furthermore, men and women could marry for love, which was prevented in current society by women's economic

⁴³ A part of *The Communist Manifesto* that included a chapter on the abolition of the family was translated by Sakai Toshihiko and Kōtoku under the title "Kazoku seido no haishi (Abolition of the family system)" in *Heimin shinbun*, no. 53 (13 November 1904), pp. 1 – 7. Sakai translated a passage from Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State* under the title "Kekkon ha kane ni yoru" (Marriage only for money) in *Chokugen*, no. 12 (23 April 1905), p. 7, and did an abridged translation of English socialist and poet Edward Carpenter (1844 – 1929)'s *Love's Coming Age* in *Chokugen*, no. 13 (30 April 1905), p.4, and no. 17 (7 May 1905), p. 4, and "Genkon no kekkon seido" (The marriage system at present) in daily *Heimin shinbun*, nos. 69 – 72 (7 – 11 April 1907). Ishikawa Sanshirō published "Danjo kyōsō shi ron" (A history of competition between the sexes) in *Sekai fujin*, no. 1 (7 January 1907), p. 9, which was an abridged translation and introduction to the theories of Engels and anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan.

dependence.⁴⁴ Subsequent socialist arguments about women's problems would basically follow this line.

For example, Kōtoku's perception was that women had been reduced to playthings, slaves or parasites because of an existing social organisation that did not give women education, property or independence in a social climate of free competition and a world where the weak were victims of the strong. Therefore Kōtoku concluded that socialism, that would change society from free competition to a cooperative society, was the only solution to women's problems. In a socialist society, women would share equally in knowledge and property, and would have complete personal independence.⁴⁵ Sakai also concluded that socialism would emancipate wage slaves or the proletariat, and automatically emancipate women since they could then become economically independent of men. In a socialist society, the family system based on private property would change, women and men would become completely equal and could realise free love. Sakai thought that, as a result of free love, permanent monogamy might appear. However, in conclusion, he added that women's education and women's work opportunities, since they contributed to men's unemployment, were not fundamental solutions leading to women's emancipation.⁴⁶

Toward the working women of Japan at that time, a negative view, which saw working women as victims of society⁴⁷ and women's employment as producing men's unemployment, was common among socialists.⁴⁸ Kōtoku, from a slightly different viewpoint, cited *The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation* by Emma Goldman to show that while women might acquire economic independence by participating in the workforce, they did so at the cost of women's nature. Moreover, such independence did not provide women with true emancipation. Kōtoku concluded that it was only

⁴⁴ Murai Tomoyoshi, "Shakai shugi to fujin" (Socialism and women), *Shakai shugi*, 1899, in *Shakai shugi kotohajime*. Yamaizumi, ed., pp. 21 – 25.

⁴⁵ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Fujin mondai no kaishaku" (The interpreter of women's problems), *Yorozu chōhō* (10 October 1902), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 544 – 548.

⁴⁶ Sakai Toshihiko, "Fujin mondai gaikan" (An outlook on women's problems), *Chokugen* 2, no. 12 (23 April 1905), pp. 5 – 6.

⁴⁷ Nishikawa Kōjirō emphasised the miserable situation of working women in the factories. He described how women workers easily became victims of sexual abuse by male employees and, as a result, became prostitutes. Nishikawa Kōjirō, "Fujin to shakai shugi" (Women and socialism), *Katei zasshi* 2, no. 2 (2 February 1906), p. 10. Kōtoku Shūsui impartially regarded women students, women workers, prostitutes and wives as victims of a society with individual competition. Kōtoku Shūsui, "Shakai shugi to fujin" (Socialism and women), *Yorozu chōhō*, (10 October 1902), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 547.

⁴⁸ About the negative view of women's working by Japanese socialists see Shimazu Chitose, "Nihon ni okeru fujin kaihō undō to sono shisō" (Women's emancipation movement and its thought in Japan), *Shisō*, no. 526 (April 1968), pp. 78 – 91, and Ōki Motoko, "Meiji shakaishugi undō to josei" (Meiji socialist movement and women), in *Nihon joseishi* (Women's history in Japan), Joseishi sōgō kenkyūkai, ed., Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1984, vol. 4, pp. 115 – 148.

socialism that could protect women's nature and enable women to eat, to love, and to bear and rear children freely.⁴⁹ In general, Japanese socialists believed that "women's problems could be completely solved by socialism."⁵⁰ Socialists demonstrated a mixture of radical yet ultimately vague ideas about women's emancipation. Their view was in clear contrast to a claim by socialist woman Kamikawa Matsuko (1885 – 1936). She insisted that women's economic independence in the present society could only be achieved by working, and thus women's employment was crucial as the first step in women's emancipation.⁵¹ The gap between socialists' recognition of women's position, which depended on their interpretation of socialist theory, and women's real situation often appeared in issues about the family and women's problems.

Women's problems in the family needed more detailed consideration than socialist theory offered. Nevertheless, women's problems could not be separated from economic factors. Sakai, who was attentive to opinions about women's issues, rejected a fixed role of 'good wives and wise mothers' as women's vocation. Reproduction was the only special role for women that Sakai conceded.⁵² Sakai criticised ancestor worship for its emphasis on the importance of continuing the family line, and the blame often given to women for failure to bear sons. But in the present situation, Sakai continued, women who did not have economic freedom had no alternative but to obey their husbands and submit to oppressive family customs. Together with the state-supported family system, the economic system forced women into unhappy and painful situations.⁵³ As Sakai mentioned, women's economic independence was pivotal in women's marriage and remarriage problems. However, most of those who fully recognised that old morality, current social and family customs, and the family system were violating women's and children's rights could only suggest changes in people's thought and greater economic independence for women as the answers to women's problems.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Fujin kaihō to shakai shugi" (Women's emancipation and socialism), *Sekai fujin*, no. 16 (1 September 1907), p. 1.

⁵⁰ "Shakai shugi to joshi" (Socialism and women), *Chokugen* 2, no. 22 (2 July 1905), p. 8.

⁵¹ Kamikawa Matsuko, "Fujo kaihō kanken" (My opinion about women's emancipation), *Sekai fujin*, no. 12 (15 June 1907), p. 6.

⁵² Sakai Toshihiko, "Fujin no tenshoku" (Women's vocation), *Sekai fujin*, no. 1 (1 January 1907), p. 5.

⁵³ Sakai Toshihiko, "Ima no katei seido no tsumi" (The sins of the present family system), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 25 (1 May 1904), p. 2.

⁵⁴ Oda Nosei, "Saikon ron ni tsuite" (On remarriage), *Muro shinpō*, nos. 376 – 378 (12, 15, 18 July 1904) in *Muro shinpō*, in *Shoki shakai shugi siryō: Muro shinpō*, Sekiyama Naotarō ed., Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1959, pp. 76 – 81, and "Shisō no kakumei" (The revolution of thought), *Chokugen* 2, no. 7 (19 March 1905), p. 5.

By contrast to those socialists who only referred to the family system from the viewpoint of the economic system, a male writer called Hoteisei attributed women's subordinate situation to the family system, promoted by religion (ancestor worship), and Asian ethics (the Three Bonds⁵⁵ of Confucianism). In comparing the Western and Japanese family systems, the author pointed out that the Japanese family system was based on ancestor worship, which "had lasted thousands of years and had become a national characteristic." But he admitted that the Japanese family system was losing its foundations with the rapid rise of 'individualism,' women's rights reinforced by individualism, and the spread of Western religion and ethical beliefs. According to the author, 'individualism' regarded the individual as the basic unit of society, whereas 'familism' regarded the family as the foundation of society. The theory of equality of the sexes had its roots in 'individualism,' while the practice of male dominance was based on 'familism.' Therefore, having rejected 'individualism' because it would cause conflict between the sexes, the author suggested that a joint unit of man and woman should be regarded as the basic component of society.⁵⁶ Although his conclusion could not be a direct answer to women's current problems, it was notable as an explanation of women's subordination not by economics, but by fundamental social principles, such as religion, ethics, and familism.

Kanno Suga had, at an early stage before she declared herself an anarchist, expressed her preference for monogamous and companionate marriage by quoting a scene from a Japanese poem, that depicted a husband and wife together in the evening after a hard day's work, having had a bath and dinner, enjoying a chat and cooling off under a moonflower trellis in perfect harmony. She observed that this kind of marriage was found only among the middle or lower classes, whereas the upper classes did not have the desirable habit of monogamy.⁵⁷ Kanno also believed that socialism was the fundamental solution to women's problems, but she did not stop there. Kanno placed importance on women's self-awareness and their will to become independent and liberate themselves as well as on the need for men to change their attitudes to women. Therefore, she called on women not to marry in haste, not to submit tamely to marriage

⁵⁵ Ruler guides subject, father guides son, husband guides wife.

⁵⁶ Hoteisei, "Kazoku seido no hōkai to joken kakuchō ron" (The collapse of the family system and expansion of women's rights), *Muro shinpō*, no. 585 (30 April 1906) and no. 586 (3 May 1906) in *Shoki shakai shugi siryō: Muro shinpō*, pp. 177 – 180.

⁵⁷ Kanno Suga, "Yūgao dana" (A moonflower trellis) in "Gyōzui banashi" (Essay on a quick bath), *Osaka chōhō*, no. 6 (8 July 1902), in *Kanno Sugako zenshū* (The complete collection of Kanno Sugako, hereafter *Kanno zenshū*), Shimizu Unosuke, ed., Tokyo: Kōryūsha, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 26 – 27.

as a commercial transaction, but to train themselves in order to make an ideal family.⁵⁸ Her suggestions about women's emancipation were more concrete than most of the theoretical proposals put forward by socialists. And, as Kanno said, marriage was a pivotal point in women's lives. How did socialists recognise the issues associated marriage?

Free love and free marriage

Japanese socialists advanced 'love' as an essential element in marriage, and attacked conventional marriage and the family system from that point of view. Though there were some differences of approach, socialists condemned as immoral contemporary marriages that were contracted for money, trade, or similar reasons of convenience. They confronted the accepted social norm that marriage should be undertaken for continuation of the family line. They took issue with established notions that parents should decide their children's marriage arrangements, and that children who took those decisions themselves were guilty of unfilial or immoral behaviour. Socialists thus reversed established morality by taking love to be the only valid reason for marriage.

While socialists supported free choice in marriage, their approach often involved a challenge to the conventional forms of marriage as well. Christian socialist Ishikawa Sanshirō (1876 – 1956) took over ideas of 'free love' from English socialist Robert Blatchford (1851 – 1943).⁵⁹ For Ishikawa, 'free love' (*jiyū ren'ai*) meant that, if men and women fell in love, they could live together without marriage registration, and separate again without a formal divorce procedure, after which either could choose another spouse. Ishikawa insisted that love should be the only qualification for marriage. He did not agree that the family had an important social function to mediate between individuals and the state. A family should be built on the loving relationship between husband and wife, and it would come into being as the natural outcome of their love, not because they were performing a duty for society. Individuals should have individual personalities, and should not be sacrificed to anyone.⁶⁰ He focused in his argument on the importance of love, reflecting his opposition to conventional Japanese marriage undertaken for the family's sake, and reiterated the socialist critique of

⁵⁸ Kanno Suga, "Hiji deppō" (The brush-off), *Muro shinpō*, no. 580 (15 April 1906) in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 111 – 114.

⁵⁹ Ishikawa Sanshirō, "Jiyū ren'ai shiken" (My opinion on free love), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 45 (8 September 1904), p. 1.

⁶⁰ Ishikawa Sanshirō, "Kekkon dōtoku" (Morality of marriage), *Sekai fujin*, no. 34 (3 May 1909), p. 1.

bourgeois marriage as a commercial transaction. His ideas exemplified a certain attitude, so-called 'love for love's sake', in the context of socialism.

To follow Ishikawa's comment on free love, which had upset some fellow-Christians,⁶¹ Sakai offered further explanation of socialist attitudes, based on an account of marriage and love in W. D. P. Bliss' *The Encyclopaedia of Social Reform* (1898). For Sakai, modern free love meant that the state or religion should not interfere in the relationship between men and women. Love should be for love's sake, and as a result of people's complete economic independence, should not be subject to external controls. Sakai supported the ideal of free love, though he denied any inevitable link between socialism and free love. He explained that in a socialist society, people would be able to achieve economic freedom, and thus women could enjoy the economic benefits of equality of the sexes. In such a society, a man-woman relationship would be freer. Therefore, the introduction of socialism would result in a situation conducive to free love. Sakai acknowledged free love as an abstract ideal; however, he warned people that the current situation would not allow people to practise free love; only after a socialist society had been achieved could free love become possible.⁶² Sakai made it clear that free love was not an alternative to conventional marriage at present. Other socialists also supported free love as an ideal. Ōsugi Sakae (1885 – 1923) simply commented that free love would exist in a communist society of the future. He attributed obstructions to love in conventional society to the economic system, namely 'capital.'⁶³

As both Ishikawa and Sakai were inspired by Western socialists, Japanese socialists often talked about the ideal of free love by employing a literal translation of the Western term. However, there was always a gap between Western models of free love and Japanese reality. Enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa illustrated this disjunction. As early as 1886, Fukuzawa had introduced the term 'free love,' derived from the Modern Times movement in the USA in the 1850s,⁶⁴ but rejected it in favour of

⁶¹ Ishikawa Sanshirō, *Jijoden* 1, p. 65. Ishikawa's article "Jiyū ren'ai shaken" had insisted that it would be true virtue for husband and wife to divorce if love between them was lost, because he believed in love for love's sake in married life. This incurred criticism from Christian readers who believed in the sanctity and permanence of Christian marriage.

⁶² Kosen (Sakai Toshihiko) "Jiyū ren'ai to shakai shugi" (Free love and socialism), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 47 (2 October 1905), p. 6.

⁶³ Ōsugi Sakae, "Yo no sōbō suru jiyū ren'ai" (Free love that I hope for), *Katei zasshi* 5, no. 2 (December 1906), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 4, pp. 12 – 13.

⁶⁴ Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Rikon no heigai" (Evils of divorce), *Jiji shinpō* (28 July 1886), in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Kazoku ronshū*, pp. 185 – 186. About the movement of Modern Times in the USA, see Chapter 4, in Spurlock, John C., *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-class Radicalism in America, 1825 – 1860*, New York: New York University Press, 1988.

monogamy as a desirable objective because he thought some aspects of Western forms of free love were inappropriate for Japanese society. Later, however, socialists also faced the gap, but without rejecting monogamy, nevertheless used the term 'free love' to criticise existing marriage and conventional morality by the ideal of free love. Socialist Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880 – 1958) defended free love and criticised moralists, religionists, and educators for condemning young people's 'corruption.' Yamakawa argued;

Corruption in the relationship between the sexes does not mean corruption of love [...] but means their free love is damaged by economic problems. [Corruption] is not present in their tendency to free love, but in marriage for money, marriage for power, marriage for political reasons or success.⁶⁵

Yamakawa even concluded that an attack by socialism could destroy any kind of authority, superstition or hypocrisy that was an obstacle to free love. From the viewpoint of morality, socialist Akaba Hajime (1875 – 1914) strongly condemned all men as buyers of prostitutes and all women as prostitutes, and characterised conventional marriage as a union of the two. A home based on marriage undertaken for carnal desire or economic need was a hell. He attributed the evils of conventional marriage to bad social and economic systems, and believed that socialism was the only solution to those problems.⁶⁶

Socialists in their answers to a questionnaire about 'free marriage' (*jiyū kekkon*)⁶⁷ in *Katei zasshi* in 1909 gave supportive opinions about free marriage (i.e. marriage for love) though they differed in their stances. Socialist and medical practitioner Ōishi Seinosuke (1867 – 1911) rejected any form of authority over marriage, and Christian socialist Kinoshita Naoe (1869 – 1937) supported free marriage as the natural form of marriage and thought it should not be restricted in any way. If free marriage meant that men and women fell in love, had sex, and cohabited, then free marriage was quite natural, Kōtoku said; he explained that many socialists rejected marriage that was regulated by religious ceremonies and legal procedures as cruelly restrictive. Morichika Unpei (1881 – 1911) supported free marriage as a natural process in line with reality.

⁶⁵ Yamakawa Hitoshi, "Danjo kankei no kaihō" (Liberation of the relationship between the sexes), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 8 (26 January 1907), p. 1.

⁶⁶ Akaba Hajime, "Baiinfu to baiinfu" (Buyers of prostitutes and prostitutes), *Sekai fujin*, no. 17 (15 September 1907), p. 3, and "Mutō mubi" (No head, no tail), *Sekai fujin*, no. 22 (5 February 1908), p. 1.

⁶⁷ "Jiyū kekkon wa yoki ka ashiki ka" (Is free marriage good or bad?), *Katei zasshi* 6, no. 1 (1 April 1909), pp. 2 – 8. Questions were as follows: 1. Is free marriage natural marriage? 2. Should free marriage be constrained by conventional morality? 3. Should free marriage be recommended or abolished? 4. Should free marriage be limited? It obtained opinions of 32 well-known people, ranging from a count and viscount to a poet, novelist and socialist leaders. The magazines intended to provide those readers who were confused about aspects of society with well-known people's suggestions.

Due to his commitment to freedom, he rejected man-made morality and any other kind of restriction.⁶⁸ Persons who supported free marriage were not limited to socialists, and thus the opinion that marriage should be based on love had become popular, at least as an idea. In the Taishō era, free love and free marriage were to be argued widely.

However, those opinions should be considered in the context of changes in social customs. Writing in a radical magazine, Murensei's view illustrates the twisted situation in Meiji society. Murensei saw that free love was not new to some commoners who were already marrying for love; advocacy of free love or marriage for love was needed for the bourgeoisie and students. But he admitted that the economic system prevented commoners from engaging in free love.⁶⁹ Socialist discourse about free love was against the social norm based on the newly established family system. The Enlightenment thinkers, although insisting on modern marriage and family, had not mentioned free love or marriage for love. Rather they had seen commoners' customs related to sex, love and marriage as 'barbarous' customs to be eliminated. On the other hand, what socialists encountered was a newly-established rigid marriage system that oppressed free love. In this situation, those socialists who did not have an historical perspective criticised conventional marriage customs in a comparison with the socialist ideal marriage. Later developments are discussed in Chapters 3, and 4.

Family ethics and familism

The socialist critique of conventional morality was not limited to marriage, but also included objections to family ethics as a system that supported the state. Kanno Suga, in a newspaper story, criticised filial piety for its character of one-sided morality in Eastern thought (*tōyō shisō*) and for reducing people to slaves without freedom.⁷⁰ She recognised the fact that loyalty and filial piety were playing a crucial role in forcing people to submit to their parents and to the emperor, and opposed the unreasonable claims of filial piety to be the supreme morality. To demonstrate that filial piety was not a moral absolute and to locate it relative to other systems of human morality, she advanced certain truths, such as a broad love of humanity, as a higher morality.⁷¹ Socialist and medical practitioner Ōishi Seinosuke (1867 – 1911) also analysed filial

⁶⁸ *Katei Zasshi* 6, no. 2 (1 May 1909), pp. 12 – 20.

⁶⁹ Murensei, "Heimin to ren'ai" (Commoners and love), *Tōhoku hyōron*, no. 1 (1 August 1908), p. 10.

⁷⁰ Kanno Suga, "Tsuyako" (Tsuyako), in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 153. "Tsuyako" was an unfinished serial story, which appeared in *Muro shinpō*, nos. 529 – 575 (6 November 1905 – 30 March 1906), in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 83 – 128.

⁷¹ Kanno Suga, "Ko nari oya nari" (Being children, being parents), *Muro shinpō*, no. 591 (18 May 1906), in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 153.

piety from a similar viewpoint to Kanno's. Ōishi placed the love between parents and children, and filial piety, on the lowest level of human feelings, which should develop into a broader form of love, which would be altruism. Then Ōishi analysed filial piety, finding that it basically required children to repay kindness (*hō'on*). He pointed out that filial piety, by which parents expected children to look after them in their old age as repayment for parental nurture, was a kind of balanced account between investments in children and repayments from children. He believed that this kind of relationship no longer matched the social situation due to social and economic change, and suggested reforming it in the light of the socialist principle that people should work according to their abilities, and receive according to their needs.⁷² Ōishi thus tried to change the character of filial piety from tight moral fetters to pure affection between parents and children through broadening such love to altruism. Neither Kanno nor Ōishi rejected filial piety completely, but both intended to change the nature of filial piety from a forced norm that children should follow, to pure affection without obligations.

However, a difficulty with criticising filial piety lay in its nature as both an internalized morality and as an accepted and widely practised ethical system. Socialists had to deal with a conflict between their filial emotions and their faith in anarchism in the family. Kōtoku's tender affection for his mother was widely acknowledged as praiseworthy even by people who condemned him for treason. Kanno testified in court that Kōtoku had said that he could not take on a planned task because of his mother, to whom he owed a great debt of gratitude. For him, his life's work was dedicated to his mother as a manifestation of filial piety.⁷³ This was because rising in the world and becoming famous is a form of praise for one's parents and the ultimate in filial piety, according to *kōkyō* (the classic work on filial piety).⁷⁴ For persons like Kōtoku, it was natural to express their feelings to their mother through normative behaviour of filial piety. Although he even supported the radical idea of abolishing grave burial and had said that he wanted to have his own ashes made into fertilizer or scattered on the sea,⁷⁵ his critique of the family system was not directed at his own family. Socialist Watanabe Masatarō (1873 – 1918) was a similar case. Being the eldest of three sons and six

⁷² Ōishi Seinosuke, "Kōkō no igi" (The meaning of filial piety), *Sekai fujin*, no. 22 (5 February 1908), p.4.

⁷³ Kinoshita Naoe, "Kirisuto kyō massatsu ron o yomu" (Reading *An essay on erasure of Christianity*), in *Kinoshita Naoe shū*, P. 360.

⁷⁴ *Kōkyō* (*Xiaojing*) was a book that collected the teachings of Confucianism about filial piety. The book was introduced into Japan and became one of essential books for intellectuals before the middle of the 8th century.

⁷⁵ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Ōkubo yori" (From Ōkubo), *Heimin shinbun*, (7 March 1907), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 6, p. 188.

daughters in a poor family, he had to support his family by working as a spinning-mill hand and a barber. When his father died, he succeeded his father as the head of the family and had responsibility for his mother and six of his brothers and sisters. When he decided to go to Tokyo to study, an event that forced his mother to stay at her sister's place with small children,⁷⁶ he felt guilty about his family members, especially about his mother because he had abandoned his duty as the eldest son in order to devote himself to a social movement. For Watanabe and Kōtoku, filial piety was not an object of critique, but an internalised norm that influenced their natural feelings. Thus socialists found a difficulty in criticising filial piety as oppressive in that the nature of filial piety was a mixture of natural feelings and forced ethical behaviour.

However, some socialists had more critical insights into the nature of the family system or 'familism.' Socialists hoped to rescue and reconstruct the family in a different form from that intended by the state. In this sense, their advocacy of gender equality, free love, and anti-filial piety inevitably meant anti-'familism,' anti-authoritarian family, and ultimately anti-government. A more serious challenge by socialists to the family system lay in their questioning 'familism' as the foundation of *kokutai*, which expressed the superior character of the state ruled by the Emperor in an unbroken line.⁷⁷ Kinoshita Naoe declared frankly that 'familism' was parallel to despotism, in that 'familism' reduced family members to slaves without personal freedom, and that the state was nothing but an expanded version of the family. He argued that despotic 'familism' nourished the nature of the Japanese people, who were slavish and accepted despotism. Kinoshita considered this alleged nature of the Japanese family in terms of its relation to the army. Having seen the Japanese victory over Russia, foreigners attributed the strength of the Japanese army to Japanese 'familism.' Concerning such comments, Kinoshita described the characteristics of 'familism' as follows: a model of military discipline, patriarchal despotism, and disregard by the family head for wife, children, and other family members. Japanese who had been brought up in such families and in such a state naturally lacked awareness of personal identity and freedom. This kind of despotism and disciplined obedience were crucial to the army.⁷⁸ He recognised

⁷⁶ Tada Shigeji, *Taishō anakisuto no yume—Watanabe Masatarō to sono jidai* (Dream of a Taisho anarchist: Watanabe Masatarō and the era), Tokyo: Tsukushi sha, 1992, pp. 11, 31.

⁷⁷ The term *kokutai* (*koku* means the state and *tai* form) or nationality was used by nationalistic scholars to insist on Japanese nationality against 'Western barbarians' at the end of Tokugawa era. In the Meiji era, the concept of *kokutai*, which was connected with the myth of an unbroken line of the imperial family, had been enforced by the government to prove the legitimacy of the emperor's rule and to unify the nation.

⁷⁸ Kinoshita Naoe, "Nihon kokumin no dai yūwaku" (A great temptation for Japanese), *Shinkigen*, no. 12 (10 October 1906), pp. 7 – 8.

state despotism as something that 'familism' and patriarchy promoted, and *kokutai* based on 'familism' infringed the spirit of liberty and humanity.⁷⁹ Thus Kinoshita pointed out the inseparable relationship between 'familism' and *kokutai* and, at the same time, clearly rejected negative elements in the family system.

Ōishi Seinosuke's critique of *kokutai* took a different form from that of Kinoshita. First, he accepted a concept of *kokutai* that regarded Japan as one family and the emperor as a father or a head of the family who rules the people in peace. From that premise, he supposed that the essence of *kokutai* was nothing but the moral relationships within a large family, Japan. Ōishi rejected any claims that Japanese *kokutai* was unique, or that it characterised Japan. The morality of *kokutai*, Ōishi explained, should have universal characteristics, which should be consistent with the progress of morality in the world. From the viewpoint of progress, Ōishi wrote that the Japanese realised the emperor was a monarch who saw all people as his children (*sekishi*) with love. However, he continued to criticise negative phenomena associated with *kokutai*. Although it was common to love one's own family or country, so-called loyalists and patriots accused people who had different opinions of being traitors. By regarding the idea of *kokutai* as a universal spirit of a nation and as a moral relationship in the family, he proposed a completely different image of *kokutai* from the sacrosanct government version. Through this manipulation of the argument, Ōishi intended to emasculate *kokutai* and reject any attempts to control people in its name.⁸⁰

Thus the socialist critique of family ethics went beyond the family and attacked *kokutai*. In other words, the authoritarian family system that was established in the Meiji era could only exist as a part of *kokutai*. Ōishi's words fully illustrated the situation: "The Japanese government believes that the family system peculiar to Japan is the foundation of the state and implies that if the family system is destroyed, the state will collapse immediately."⁸¹ This integrated structure of the family system and *kokutai* made it difficult to criticise the family system without offending the government.

The family in communal society

The attitude of a Japanese socialist towards the family is summarised by an article "The family in communal society" by Takabatake Motoyuki (1886 – 1928).

⁷⁹ Kinoshita, *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Ōishi Seinosuke, "Kokutai ron" (An essay on kokutai), *Kumamoto hyōron*, no. 14 (1 January 1908), p. 3, no. 15 (20 January 1908), p. 3, no. 16 (2 February 1908), p.3.

⁸¹ Ōishi Seinosuke, "Kazoku seidono ketsuron" (A solution to the family system), *Katei zasshi* 5, no. 6 (1 April 1907), p. 20.

First, the writer admitted that there was a perception in society that socialism was anti-family, and his article showed the anti-family aspect of socialism well. Takabatake described the direct relationship between abolition of the family and abolition of capitalism and private property, which was the ultimate aim of socialism. He declared that workers were oppressed by capital and that women were victims of the family system, and set the task for men of the 'commoner' class to struggle against capital, and the task for women as advocates of free love to struggle against the family. According to the relationship among the three—private property, the family, capital—Takabatake presumed that once workers and women stood up for the revolution, capital would be overthrown and the family would be destroyed. In another way, the abolition of capital and the family would lead to the death of private property.⁸²

However, the author supposed that the family would continue to exist in a socialist communal society. The author doubted whether it accorded with human feelings to take children away from parents and put them into nurseries, or to separate aged people from their families for the purpose of looking after them. The form of the family had often changed in history, but the core of the family, the shared, communal life of husband and wife, parents and children, had never been eliminated and would continue to exist, even though people's lifestyles became diverse. The human feelings that had been repressed by economic obstacles would become purer in a communal society. Socialists sometimes disparaged the love of wives and children as self-interest, but the author insisted that though such love might conflict with the public interest in society at present, it should not involve mutual conflict. If it did, socialists had to build a society in which the love of wives and children were harmonious.⁸³ This article indicates that socialists saw the family as the site of communal life and believed in the possibility of finding a desirable form of the family to suit communal society. Japanese socialists could thus be radical critics of current social systems, such as marriage and the family, using socialist ideals as a yardstick. However, they did not abandon the tasks of rescuing and reforming the family as a way of reforming society, although there would inevitably be a gap between their ideal and reality that they could not bridge until after socialism had been achieved.⁸⁴

⁸² Moto (Takabatake Motoyuki), "Kakumei gū" (My thought about revolution), *Tōhoku hyōron*, no. 2 (1 September 1908), p. 10.

⁸³ "Kyōsan shakai no katei" (The family in communal society), *Sekai fujin*, no. 31 (5 December 1908), p. 1.

⁸⁴ This article represented a socialist view of marriage and the family. Economist Kawata Shirō (1883 – 1942) provided a highly critical socialist view of marriage as prostitution or traffic in human beings, and the family system as based on wives' economic subordination to husbands. He repeated the socialist

Socialism/anarchism at the end of the Meiji era

I have described in the previous sections Japanese socialists' discourse about the family, including statements by Kōtoku, Kanno and others who were only later described as anarchists. This is because anarchism did not emerge as a clear tendency until around 1907. Even after 1907, people can seldom be identified simply as anarchists, but rather should be called people with anarchist sympathies, such as those with an inclination for direct action. But in this section, I examine writings in the magazine *Jiyū shisō* (Free Thought) that Kōtoku, Kanno and others published in 1909. These writings can justifiably be taken to express anarchists' opinions about the family in Meiji. This is not only because Kōtoku, Kanno and Uchiyama called themselves anarchists, but also their writings show the nature of the anarchism in which they believed. They show that anarchists capped Meiji socialist arguments about the family issue with their own emphasis on individual liberty and iconoclasm.

Destroy all superstitions, throw all old customs away, and shake yourself free from all secular and superstitious oppression. And then, think whether your beliefs, your life, your acts satisfy the theory of your conscience and universal reason.⁸⁵

This is a passage in the opening paragraph of the preface to the publication *Jiyū shisō*. Kōtoku used the term *jiyū shisō* or free thought, meaning the attitude that reason is the one and only and ultimate judgement, not only in religious belief, but also in political, moral, economic, and women's issues. Having free thought, by which individuals would decide their minds not by external coercive force, but by their conscience and universal reason, made a human being close to a truly free person, Kōtoku said. Kōtoku called on readers to "awake from superstition," "knowledge is progress, courage is freedom, and fraternity is supreme morality"⁸⁶ from the twin viewpoints of religion and science.

belief that marriage would become based on individual will and affection and the family system would lose its power of restriction in socialist society, in which complete economic freedom could be achieved. Kawata's summary of socialist opinion about marriage and the family can be regarded as a general perception of the socialist view. Kawata Shirō, *Fujin mondai* (Women's problems), Tokyo: Kōbunkan, 1910, pp. 148 – 150.

⁸⁵ Kōtoku Shūsui, *Jiyū shisō*, no. 1 (25 May 1909), p.1. About the influence of John M. Robertson's ideas about free thought on Kōtoku, see Yamaizumi Susume, "Kōtoku Shūsui no naka no anākizumu—jiyū shisō to taigyaku to" (Anarchism in Kōtoku Shūsui: free thought and high treason), *Gendai shisō* 32, no. 6 (May 2004), pp. 108 – 111.

⁸⁶ Kōtoku Shūsui, *Jiyū shisō*, no. 2 (10 June 1909), p. 1.

With this radical attitude, *Jiyū shisō* reproduced an article “Katei hakai ron” (An essay about destruction of the home) by Ōishi Seinosuke.⁸⁷ It criticised the situation of a husband and wife who had married only for economic reasons without love or common ideals, and then said that humans who respected personality and freedom could not be satisfied with such a family and would wish to escape by breaking the superficial moral bonds involved. By any measure, a reformist society needed to begin with the family. “What we should do with the family is not reform, but destruction.” The article encouraged behaviour that revolted against conventional morality and its condemnation of customs such as divorce, sexual relationships without marriage, and the birth of illegitimate children, who, it argued, should not be discriminated against in any way.⁸⁸ Kōtoku’s comment on this article asserted that it was time that old ethics and forms of the family system and relationships between the sexes fell from power, and that this article represented the current wave. Kōtoku, who had once admired the home as an ideal place, did not contest the writer’s call for destruction of the home. But, in view of Kōtoku’s belief in free thought, it is possible that he envisaged that new forms of the family and relationships between the sexes, based on individual free thought, would emerge after the traditional family was destroyed.

Buddhist monk Uchiyama Gudō (1874 – 1911), who had alleged in a secret pamphlet that the tradition of the ‘sacred and inviolable’ emperor had been fabricated,⁸⁹ emphasised individual free will in a note written in gaol. Liberty meant, according to Uchiyama:

Persons do everything in accordance with their will. He/she is not disturbed by other factors. Liberty means to live peacefully, using his/her will as well as respecting the will of others. In a word, humanity’s ultimate aim is independence and mutual aid.⁹⁰

Uchiyama was of the same mind as Kōtoku in terms of understanding the nature of liberty. Uchiyama’s opinion about individual-oriented organisations in society also represented the anarchist ideal. He simply stated:

⁸⁷ *Jiyū shisō*, no. 2 (10 June 1909), p. 3. The article was published in *Hinode shinbun* on 23 May 1909. According to Ōishi, the article was sent to him by somebody. After he corrected it, he sent it to the newspaper.

⁸⁸ The second issue of *Jiyū shisō* was banned due to this article.

⁸⁹ Uchiyama Gudō, *Nyūgoku kinen Museifu kyōsan* (Commemoration of imprisonment: Anarchism). Secret publication. 1908. About details of the publication, see Kanzaki Kiyoshi, “Nihon no himitsu shuppan—taigyaku jiken bunken kaidai” (Secret publication in Japan: a bibliographical introduction to the High Treason Incident), *Daigaku* 2, no 7 (July 1948), pp. 27 – 31.

⁹⁰ Uchiyama Gudō, “Heibon no jikaku” (Self-awareness of a common man), in *Taigyaku jiken kiroku*. Kanzaki Kiyoshi, ed., Tokyo: Sekai bunko, 1964, vol. 1, p. 374.

The family, nation, and the world all are gatherings of individuals. Therefore, only if an individual behaves with a spirit of independence and liberty, with a heart to help the weak, and with love for neighbours, all people can have a harmonious communal life.⁹¹

According to him, individuals were people who could be free thinkers. The idea that individuals compose society, which had been mentioned by the Enlightenment thinkers at the beginning of the Meiji, thus appeared again. But this time, individuals were supposed to exercise subjectivity through their own will.

Kōtoku Shūsui's anarchism has been characterised as a struggle against the exercise of state and capitalist power that oppressed the people. He is said to have sought 'liberation' of the people from oppressive power structures, not liberation in the sense of establishing personal autonomy or individualism.⁹² But *Jiyū shisō* and writings by people around Kōtoku, although they were often fragmentary, showed their belief in individual freedom and personal autonomy.⁹³ This aspect of anarchism in Meiji was taken up and developed by anarchists in the Taishō period.

2.2 The family in China

Introduction of anarchism to China

Like Japan, anarchism was first introduced to China through publicity about the activities of Russian nihilists. Especially from around 1903, Chinese publications gave intensive coverage to Russian nihilist assassinations.⁹⁴ Translations of books, such as *Wuzhengfu zhuyi* (Anarchism, 1903) by Zhang Ji (1882 – 1947), and *Ziyou xue* (Blood of Freedom, 1904), which was a translation from Japanese of Kemuyama's *Modern anarchism*, provided information to Chinese readers about assassinations in Russia and

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ōhara Satoshi, *Kōtoku Shūsui no shisō to taigyaku jiken*, p. 132.

⁹³ Komatsu and Umeda admit the change in Kōtoku's anarchism around 1908 in terms of an emphasis on individual free will. Komatsu Ryūji, "Nihon ni okeru anakizumu no seisei to tenkai" (The formulation and development of anarchism in Japan). *Shakai shisō* 2, no. 4 (February 1972), pp. 76 – 86; Umeda Toshihide, "Meiji ki ni okeru chokusetsu kōdō ron sha no shisō—sono shakai shugi ron to anakizumu ron—," pp. 2 – 8.

⁹⁴ A periodical *Wanguo gongbao* had carried several articles from 1879 to 1883 on Russian nihilists and assassination. *Xiguo jinshi huibian* reported populist activities in more detail from 1882. Chinese reformers also reported populist activities in their magazines. For example, Liang Qichao published "Lun Eluosi xuwudang" (Discuss Russian nihilists) in *Xinmin congbao* in 1903. In addition, they translated Japanese books on anarchism, such as *Jinshi shehuizhuyi* (Socialism of the present and the past) in 1903. Chinese revolutionaries also paid attention to Russian populists. Zhang Taiyuan published *Eluosi de dafengchao* (Unrest in Russia) in 1902.

other countries and combined this with explanations of anarchism. Many magazines, including various reformist magazines, also published details of nihilist activities. Regardless of the original authors' intentions, those materials strongly influenced some people by inspiring resistance and encouraging terrorism against the Qing court. In the social turbulence of the late Qing era, revolutionaries and other radicals showed a strong interest in and admiration for the deeds done by nihilists as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals.⁹⁵

Chinese anarchists began their activities to introduce and propagate anarchism in 1907. This first took place outside of China, in Tokyo and Paris where Chinese revolutionaries and students acquired radical thought such as socialism and anarchism directly through Japanese or Western radicals or by learning about their activities. In Japan, Zhang Ji, who had been active as a revolutionary, became an anarchist under the influence of Kōtoku Shūsui.⁹⁶ Liu Shiwei (1884 – 1919)⁹⁷ and his wife He Zhen also accepted anarchism in similar circumstances soon after they came to Japan. Liu Shiwei and Zhang Ji hosted *Shehui zhuyi jianxi hui* (Society for the Study of Socialism) for which many Japanese socialists and anarchists, such as Kōtoku, Sakai, Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Ōsugi Sakae, gave lectures on broad topics ranging from the theory of socialism and anarchism to social problems in China and Japan.⁹⁸ In June 1907, they started a magazine, *Tianyi* (Natural Justice), to promote women's emancipation and anarchism, which was succeeded by the magazine *Hengbao* (Balance) in April 1908. However, as the Japanese government tightened restrictions on radicals, *Hengbao* was banned and Zhang Ji fled to Paris to escape from the threat of arrest by the Japanese police and joined the group of Chinese anarchists there. Liu and He left Japan for

⁹⁵ Shen Jun, "Zhongguo zaoqi wuzhengfu zhuyi sichao chutan," *Huazhong shiyuan xuebao*, no. 2 (1981); Jiang Jun, "Xinhai geming qian youguan wuzhangfu zhuyi de shukan ziliao shuping" (Review of publication and materials related to anarchism before the 1911 revolution), *Zhongguo Zhexue*, no. 13 (April 1985), pp. 45 – 55.

⁹⁶ Zhang Ji had published *Wuzhengfu zhuyi* (Anarchism) in China in 1903. He also translated *Museifushugi* (Anarchism) by Errico Malatesta in 1908 from a Japanese translation by Shiroyanagi Shūko, and *Keizai soshiki no mirai* (Roller's *General Strike*) from Kōtoku's Japanese translation.

⁹⁷ About Liu Shiwei and the Tokyo group, see Yang Tianshi and Wang Zuezhuan, "Lun 'Tianyi bao' Liu Shiwei deng ren de wuzhengfu zhuyi" (On anarchism of *Tianyi bao* Liu Shiwei and others), in *Jindai Zhongguo renwu*, 1983, pp. 448 – 477. See also Maruyama Matsuyuki, "Ryū Shibai ryakuden"; Onogawa Hidemi, "Ryū Shibai to museifu shugi"; Saga Takashi, "Bunka teki hoshu shugisha no kakumei gen'ei—Ryū Shibai—" (A dream of revolution of cultural conservative: Liu Shiwei), in *Kindai Chūgoku anakizumu no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1994, pp. 67 – 136; Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990; Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

⁹⁸ Yang Tianshi, ed., "'Shehui zhuyi jiangxihui' ziliao" (Materials of Society for the Study of Socialism), *Zhongguo zhexue*, no. 1 (1979), pp. 373 – 450, *Zhongguo zhexue*, no. 9 (1983), pp. 461 – 511.

Shanghai in August 1908. This meant the end of anarchist activities for Liu and He who were subsequently induced to collaborate with the Chinese government.

At almost the same time in June 1907, an anarchist magazine started in Paris. In 1906, Zhang Jingjiang (1876 – 1950), who ran a business in Paris, Li Shizeng (1881 – 1973)⁹⁹ and Wu Zhihui (1865 – 1953)¹⁰⁰ had established a publication *Xin shijie she* (New World Association) and began publishing an anarchist magazine *Xin shiji* (New Era). At the time, France was a stronghold of anarchism. Li Shizeng and others accepted anarchism through their association with French and other Western anarchists.¹⁰¹ Chinese anarchists intended to provide material for use by Chinese students to attack corruption and support the revolution in China.

For Chinese intellectuals, anarchism was against the evolutionary theory of survival of the fittest that dominated social thought at that time.¹⁰² Although weak in the world political arena, anarchism seemed to provide them with the possibility in moral terms to surpass Western civilisation and its theory of evolution without following the same path as Western societies. As another political reason, the power struggle in the Zhongguo Tongmenghui in Tokyo led Liu Shipai, who was against the leader of the Tongmenghui, Sun Zhongshan (1866 – 1925),¹⁰³ to accept anarchism as a tool to attack Sun's strategy of armed struggle against the Qing court.¹⁰⁴ For Li, Wu, and Zhang in Paris, who were also members of the Tongmenghui, anarchism promised them a different way from armed struggle to achieve the Chinese revolution.

⁹⁹ *Minguo Li Shizeng xiansheng Yuying nianpu* (The chronological record of Li Shizeng in the Republic of China). Wang Yunwu, ed. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1980.

¹⁰⁰ *Minguo Wu Zhihui xiansheng Jinghenmg nianpu* (The chronological record of Wu Zhihui in the Republic of China), Wang Yunwu, ed. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1981. About Li Shizeng's association with French and other Western anarchists in France, see Xu Wentang, "Li Yueying yu Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi yundong" (Li Yueying and the Chinese anarchist movement), in *Jindai Zhongguo lishi renwu lunwenji* (The collection of articles about historical people in Modern China), Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, ed., Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yajiusuo, 1993, pp. 175 – 198.

¹⁰¹ About Wu Zhihui's activities in Shanghai and Tokyo before he came to Paris, see Mary B. Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902 – 1911*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

¹⁰² Maruyama Matsuyuki, "Chūgoku ni okeru museifu shugi to minzoku shugi/kyōsan shugi" (Anarchism and nationalism/communism in China), in *Chūgoku kindai no shisō*, p. 85.

¹⁰³ Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) was the founder of the revolutionary association Zhongguo Tongmenghui (The China League, 1905), which became the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party) in 1925.

¹⁰⁴ Onogawa Hidemi, "Ryū Shibai to museifu shugi," pp. 355 – 356; Hazama Hideki, "Kōtoku Shūsui no dai ikkai shakai shugi kōshūkai ni okeru enzetsu ni tsuite" (On a speech of Kōtoku Shūsui at the first meeting of the Society for the Study of Socialism), *Keiryō shigaku*, no. 1 (March 1975), pp. 63 – 84.

Who were the Chinese anarchists?

At the first stage of their operations, anarchists were limited to the founders of the magazines in Tokyo and Paris, and people associated with them. Those who founded the anarchist magazines in Tokyo and Paris were intellectuals and came from the gentry or from scholarly families. Liu Shipai was a prominent scholar of Han learning and had acquired *juren*¹⁰⁵ in the imperial examination. Liu's wife He Zhen seems to have received a traditional education at home, then studied at Aiguo nüxue (Patriot Girls' School) in Shanghai after she married Liu. Zhang Ji also came from a scholar-gentry family. Chinese anarchists in Paris had similar backgrounds. One of the founders of the magazine *Xin shiji*, Li Shizeng, came from a privileged family.¹⁰⁶ Of the others, Wu Zhihui was born to a poor but scholarly family, and had acquired *juren*. Zhang Jingjiang and another main writer Chu Minyi (1884 – 1946) came from rich merchant families. Though their family conditions varied, their intellectual environments were similar. All of them had received a traditional education in China. Li, Wu, and Chu had received further education abroad, in France, Japan, or London.

Participants in the Society for the Study of Socialism in Tokyo, which met fourteen times between August 1907 and June 1908, were Chinese students in Japan. The number of participants ranged from twenty to seven hundred. The number of Chinese students in Japan, which rapidly increased after the abolition of the civil examinations in 1905, reached about eight thousand in 1905 – 06. Instead of studying a traditional body of knowledge to acquire a degree, intellectual youth now pursued new studies and went abroad, especially to Japan, as a way to acquire careers. Those Chinese students formed the nucleus of anarchists in Tokyo. The situation in Paris was similar to Tokyo, although there were far fewer Chinese students than in Tokyo. The Tokyo and Paris groups' activities were limited to publications, holding study associations, and supporting revolution by propaganda abroad. There is no evidence that they had direct contact with workers and farmers in their home country, unlike their Japanese counterparts. These conditions should be noted when considering their discourse about the family.

¹⁰⁵ A successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level.

¹⁰⁶ He was a son of the Grand Secretariat Li Hongzao and a nephew of influential politician Li Hongzhang. About his life, see *Minguo Li Shizeng xiansheng Yuying nianpu* (The chronological record of Li Shizeng in the Republic of China), Wang Yunwu, ed., Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1987.

Introduction to the family revolution

After the failure of the Chinese reform movement in 1898, reformers had urged people to create a new nation. Kang Youwei pointed out the non-existence of *gongmin* (citizens), who had a right to participate in national politics and who had a sense of responsibility for the nation.¹⁰⁷ Reformer Liang Qichao, who was also concerned that the Chinese people were not competent to form a nation due to a lack of public morality, called for the creation of a 'new people.' 'New people' should have two categories of morality: private morality and public morality that were essential to a nation. But according to him, the Chinese overemphasized private morality and lacked public morality. The old morality emphasized the relationship between individual and individual (monarch—subject, father—son, elder brother—younger brother, husband—wife, friend—friend), while new ethics (Western ethics), which was categorised into family ethics, social ethics, and national ethics, respected relationships between individuals and groups or society. He thought reform of people's awareness was important for the cause of public morality, the growth of new ethics, and the rise of new people.¹⁰⁸

The term 'family revolution,' which had already appeared before anarchists took it up, gained currency in this recognition of the social situation in the late Qing era. By 'family revolution,' persons who sought revolution against the Qing Court had to break the yoke of the family in order to devote themselves to political activity. Familism, which was based on the developed family system and had confined people within the family, was said to be the main reason for China's lack of nationhood. Originally the family had been set as a model of the nation, but had now become seen as an enemy of the nation. The head of the family was another monarch. Royalty and filial piety were not compatible. "Political revolution was caused by the nation's lack of freedom, and the family revolution was caused by individuals' lack of freedom." "If you want political revolution, carry out the family revolution first."¹⁰⁹ Political revolution should be preceded by the family revolution (anti-despotism), and the family revolution should be preceded by individual self-revolution to become independent.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Kang Youwei, "Gongmin zizhi bian" (On citizenship and self government), *Xinmin congbao*, no. 5 (April 1902), in *Xinhai geming qian shinianjian shilun xuanji* (A collection of essays on current affairs during the ten years before the Revolution of 1911, hereafter *Xinhai qian shilun*), Zhang Nan and Wang Renzhi, eds., Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1963, vol. 1, part 1, p. 173.

¹⁰⁸ Liang Qichao, "Xinmin shuo" (On new people), *Xinmin congbao*, nos. 1, 3, 6–8, 10, 11 (February to July 1902), in *Xinhai qian shilun*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ Jiating lixuanzhe, "Jiating geming shuo" (On the family revolution), *Jiangsu*, no. 7 (January 1904), in *Xinhai qian shilun*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 833–837.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

For those who sought women's emancipation, a 'family revolution' meant removing the oppression of women in the family. "If you want to bring forward a nation, you need to bring forward the family. If you want to produce a nation (people), you need to produce women. Political revolution aims at the whole nation's freedom. The family revolution aims at the individual's freedom." The author named the head of the family, senior family members who represented the three obediences and the four virtues,¹¹¹ brothers, parents-in-law, and husband, who was seen as a monarch, as all oppressors of women. The process of the revolution was to be the same: self-revolution, the family revolution, and political revolution. After individuals acquired independence (autonomy), the group (organisation) could be built. First, acquire the gift of independence, and then you can demolish the system. The author mentioned freedom of choice in marriage as the most important issue in China, but called for developing women's rights first.¹¹²

Thus, in the dualism of public morality and private morality, the family revolution, which aimed at creating 'new people' for a new nation, was argued in the framework of political revolution (creating a new nation)—family revolution (anti-familism, anti-despotism)—individual cultivation (creating independent individuals). A prototype of the family revolution was presented, which included two meanings: breaking the family boundaries for the public benefit, and liberating individuals from the oppression of the family. However, first of all, individuals were asked to cultivate public morality through individual moral training.

The family revolution that Liu Shiwei advocated before 1907 can also be seen in this context. As a revolutionary, Liu throughout criticised the family system (the Three Bonds) to create a sense of public morality among Chinese people. He pointed to three evils of the family: 1) oppressing women, 2) oppressing children, and 3) oppressing children of concubines. He attributed those problems to the Three Bonds.¹¹³ These oppressions stemmed from family thought. Chinese people who had defined their moral obligations according to the Three Bonds infringed each other's rights and gave private morality priority over public morality. Without a family revolution, the nation's sense

¹¹¹ Three obediences required a woman to obey her father before marriage, her husband during married life, and her sons in widowhood. Four virtues were fidelity, physical charm, propriety in speech and efficiency in needle-work.

¹¹² Ding Chuwo, "Nüzi jiating geming shuo" (On women's family revolution), *Nüzi shijie*, (April 1904), in *Xinhai qian shilun*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 925.

¹¹³ The Three Bonds means that ruler guides subject, father guides son and husband guides wife.

of public morality would not develop, and unification could not be achieved. This is the reason that he rejected the Three Bonds.¹¹⁴

In his book, *Rangshu* (the Book of the Expulsion, 1904), which supported the nationalist revolution, Liu had argued that the Three Bonds had had an evil effect on the Chinese. Liu pointed out that Confucian ethics regarded private morality (*sien*) as different from and more important than public ethics (*gongde*).¹¹⁵ Liu discussed family ethics in more detail in another book, *Lunli jiaokeshu* (the Textbook of Ethics, 1905). In this, he believed that family thought originated in ancestor worship and that family ethics were old traditions and customs of the *zongfa* (patriarchal clan system) era. Liu pointed to two evils of family ethics: one was that family ethics were limited to the family circle. This meant that there was private morality but no public morality. Besides the family, there was no other moral obligation on people. Even state ethics were an extension of family ethics. The other major evil was its wide inequalities. The family ethics that had originated in *zongfa* required sons and younger people to obey their fathers and other seniors. After the Three Bonds appeared, fathers and husbands were given the right to rule sons and wives. Even if sons and wives lodged an objection based on reason, their rights were disregarded. People had become ruled by fallacious principles (*kongli*). Power was regarded as reason enough. The weaker were put under an obligation to serve the stronger.¹¹⁶

How then to correct family ethics? Instead of going on to simply condemn the institution of the family, Liu attributed the evils stemming from the family to a concept of family ethics that had originally embodied equality in human relations but which had become distorted over time. According to Liu, originally there were only human relations (*renlun*) involving husbands and wives. Then the Five Teachings (*wu jiao*)¹¹⁷ evolved to cover wider human relationships. King, father and husband could not come into being without subject, son and wife. Father and son had kinship (*qin*), king and subject had justice (*yi*), and husband and wife had differentiation (*bie*). Originally, this simply meant there was a balance between them. Liu's solution for the evils of the Three Bonds, which to him had distorted an idea of Confucius, was to practise the forbearance (*shu*) of Confucius, but to base it on the non-exclusive love (*jian'ai*)

¹¹⁴ Liu Shiwei, "Lun Zhongguo jiazu yazhi zhi yuanyin" (The cause of oppression of the Chinese family), *Jingzhong ribao* (13 April 1904), p. 2, (14 April 1904), p. 2, (15 April 1904), p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Liu Shiwei, "Zui gang pian" (Article about evil of the Bonds). In *Rangshu* (The Book of the Expulsion, 1904), in *Guocui yu Xihui: Liu Shiwei wenxuan*, Li Miaogen, ed., Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 1996, p. 94.

¹¹⁶ Liu Shiwei, *Lunli jiaokeshu*, in *Liu Shiwei quanji* (The complete works of Liu Shiwei, hereafter *Liu quanji*), Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyang dangxiao chuan, 1997, p. 145.

¹¹⁷ Being benevolence, rightness, propriety, knowledge and sincerity.

advocated by Mozi. Liu argued that the Three Bonds was a theory from which wrong conclusions had been drawn by false analogy in books of divination, combined with mystical Confucian beliefs that had appeared after the Han era. After the Three Regents era,¹¹⁸ justice had been replaced by power. Because of the Three Bonds, kings, fathers and husbands had rights without duties, while subjects, sons and wives had duties without rights. The Three Bonds had abandoned justice so as to maintain order (*shunni*) in human relations. In time, these practices had become fixed in the people's minds and Confucians in later eras had maintained them as sacred and inviolable.¹¹⁹

In addition to restoring the correct meaning of family ethics, Liu suggested that to reform its limitations, ethics should not be based within the family. In history, there had been cases that gave priority to public matters over private matters. Family ethics were capable of expanding from their narrow compass to universal application. He asked, if people could not have good relations within their small family group, how could they extend affection to more distant people? Liu gave his opinion of people who were advocating abolition of family ethics, which he did not insist upon, as follows:

People who want to abolish family ethics are wishing to break the restrictions on them by their families in order to get their own way (many are children of noble and wealthy families who are gaining new ideas in this way) or to escape from burdens of family life in order to be indolent (many of the poor are gaining new ideas in this way). They are deceiving themselves grossly on the pretext of giving the nation priority over the family.¹²⁰

Thus Liu Shiwei argued for a family revolution with the same framework as his contemporaries, but by a family revolution he meant reforming family ethics through reinterpretation of the classics. The Tokyo group's argument about the family developed on the basis of Liu's argument, but in the context of anarchism.

The Tokyo group

Arguments about the family system by the Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists were divided into two approaches: ethical and economic. The ethical approach meant reinterpretation of Chinese classics. They corrected Confucian ethics as Liu had done. And using an economic approach, they analysed family problems, mainly women's problems. Liu Shiwei and He Zhen simply remarked that "people all know the falsity of

¹¹⁸ The ancient three dynasties Xia (2100 – 1600 B.C.), Yin (1700 – 1050 B.C.), and Zhou (1050 – 221 B.C.).

¹¹⁹ Liu Shiwei, "Zui gang pian," pp. 94 – 96.

¹²⁰ Liu Shiwei, *Lunli jiaokeshu*, in *Liu quanji*, p. 146.

Confucian ethics and the failure of the Three Bonds and the Five Teachings”¹²¹ which indicates the Tokyo group’s starting point: propagating correct family ethics. They followed Liu Shiwei’s earlier articles, in which the Three Bonds had been refuted in the classics and proved to actually mean freedom and equality. In *Tianyi*, Chinese anarchists took the same stance as Liu had taken in terms of re-evaluation of historical scholars to refute Confucian ethics.¹²² Li Zhuowu,¹²³ Tang Zhuwan,¹²⁴ and Dai Dongyuan¹²⁵ were thus given credit for their criticism or reinterpretation of Confucian ethics. Li Zhuowu was compared to the Russian anarchist Bakunin because of his insistence on freedom and his distrust of conventional ideas about right and wrong in all ages. According to Li, freedom of action meant that man was not restrained by others, and freedom of thought meant destroying conventional concepts of right and wrong. A *Tianyi* author singled out as unique Li’s insistence on destroying the division between the sexes. His unbiased attitude rejected the conventional low opinion of women and wives, and advocated the equality of the sexes and a new concept of partnership between husbands and wives. The author claimed that the notion of equal education of the sexes had started with Li.¹²⁶ Tang Zhuwan is also given prominence for his rejection of male-dominated morality based on the Three Bonds. He called for equality of the sexes, especially in marriage and within the family. He said that the Three Bonds were fallacious (*kongli*) and had killed more people than cruel officials had done. Tang insisted on the equality of husbands and wives based on respect and harmony instead of a notion of superiority and inferiority; the equality of male offspring and female offspring; the equality of the paternal side and maternal side; and the equality of brothers and sisters. He claimed that parents’ benevolence (*ciyou*) towards their children was in fact a variety of selfishness. They preferred male offspring, seeing in them their lineal successors and insurance against their old age. He argued that these biases were

¹²¹ Zhen and Shenshu, “Lun zhongzu geming yu wuzhengfu geming zhi deshi” (Discuss the relative merits of national revolution and anarchist revolution), *Tianyi*, no. 6 (1 September 1907), p.15.

¹²² Zhao Yantai argues that Liu changed his attitude toward Chinese traditional ethics and culture from reform to complete denial after he became an anarchist. For example, Zhao insists that Liu criticised family ethics to revise its defects in 1904, but after Liu became an anarchist, he wanted to abolish the family by radical means. However, Zhao does not explain the change with reference to appropriate sources. Zhao emphasises disconnection too heavily and disregards continuation in Liu’s thought and tendency. Zhao Yantai, “Liu Shiwei wuzhengfu zhuyi lunli daode sixiang zhelun” (Analysis of Liu Shiwei’s anarchist ethics), *Jianghai xuekan*, no. 2 (2001).

¹²³ Li Zhi (1527 – 1602), a philosopher who belonged to the left wing of Wang Yangming school, at the end of the Ming.

¹²⁴ Tang Zhen (1630 – 1704), a scholar of Lu-Wang school, which comprehended thoughts of Lu Jiuyuan (Xiangshan, 1139 – 93) and Wang Shouren (Yangming, 1472 – 1528).

¹²⁵ Dai Zhen (1723 – 1777), a scholar of textual research in the middle of the Qing.

¹²⁶ Bugongjiu, “Li Zhuowu xiansheng xueshuo” (The theory of Li Zhuowu), *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), pp. 17 – 22.

irrational.¹²⁷ And Dai Dongyuan also pointed out that reason (*li*) in the Three Bonds was actually dependent on a person's social rank (*mingfen*) or power (*shi*). Dai claimed that inequality of the sexes in the Three Bonds was irrational because the sexes were both of the same humanity.¹²⁸ Thus, the Tokyo group insisted on the equality of the sexes in family ethics through reinterpretation of the classics.

The family revolution for women's emancipation.

The characteristic thrust of *Tianyi*'s arguments about the family was shown concretely in He Zhen's series of articles, which made stronger appeals. He Zhen's argument about women's liberation followed Liu, but went further by adopting the theories of socialism. "Women's Declaration"¹²⁹ by He Zhen was published in the first issue of *Tianyi*, and outlined her basic opinions on and requirements for women's issues. Pointing out the unfair and unequal situation of women in China, she declared her reform agenda. Her declaration made the following demands:

1. Practise monogamous marriage.
2. Women to take both father's and mother's surnames after marriage.¹³⁰ (Abolition of surname would be considered desirable after the Manchu revolution.)
3. No discrimination against female offspring.
4. Equality of the sexes in education.
5. No remarriage before divorce.
6. Only previously unmarried men should be permitted to marry previously unmarried women.¹³¹
7. Abolition of prostitution.¹³²

The declaration justified equal rights for men and women on the grounds that they shared a common humanity. Inequality between the sexes was regarded as being against universal truth (*tianli*) and as a betrayal of the moral ideals of equality and liberty. To achieve equality of the sexes, she suggested three things. The reason why women could not carry out the same duties as men was that women had a duty to rear children. The women's revolution should be a social revolution, which would enable women to send their infants to public nurseries so that women could carry out the same duties as men. To equalize the balance of the sexes, which were unequal as a result of

¹²⁷ Yagong, "Tang Zhuwan xiansheng xueshuo" (The theory of Tang Zhuwan), *Tianyi*, no. 2 (25 June 1907), pp. 23 – 28.

¹²⁸ Qufei, "Dai dongyuan xiansheng xueshuo" (The theory of Dai Dongyuan), *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), pp. 31 – 32.

¹²⁹ He Zhen, "Nüzi xuanbu shu" (The women's declaration), *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), pp. 1 – 7.

¹³⁰ He Zhen practised this herself. She used both her father's surname He and mother's Yin.

¹³¹ Kōtoku Shūsui agreed with He Zhen in terms of women's emancipation, except for no. 5 demand, which seemed to him irrational. "Xinde Qiushui laihsan" (Kōtoku Shūsui's letter), *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), pp. 45 – 46.

¹³² He Zhen, "Nüzi xuanbu shu," *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), pp. 3 – 6.

men's deaths in warfare, she recommended that women also participate in revolution.¹³³ And to stop polygamy, she dared to suggest coercion. She regarded the equalisation of men and women as a social change that would be an essential part of the coming racial, political and economic revolutions.

He Zhen mentioned monogamy as the form of marriage that should replace conventional and polygamous marriages. But there was an alternative option to replacing polygamy and enforcing monogamy: abolishing marriage itself. As early as 1904, Liu Shiwei had mentioned in his explanation of anarchism that, for anarchists, freedom meant following natural law; therefore, anarchism rejected agents of tyranny, the representatives of institutional marriage, classes, and private property in order to realise equality in politics and society.¹³⁴ Liu included the abolition of marriage in his list at that time of the characteristics of anarchism. In addition, as mentioned, 'free love' and 'the abolition of the family' were broadly known to be associated with socialism in Japan at that time. There was a suggestion of the abolition of marriage. But like many of the Japanese socialists, He Zhen took monogamy as a practical alternative to abolition of marriage. Her careful choice indicates her caution about women's sexuality. She rejected polyandry (plural husbands) as equivalent to polygyny (plural wives) because it amounted to prostitution.¹³⁵ In her argument, He Zhen even said that emperor was equal to a prostitute in terms of having sex with an indefinite range of people. He Zhen's iconoclasm was fully expressed in her comparison of the emperor with a common prostitute.¹³⁶

She was negative about a new phenomenon of 'free marriage' or 'equality between the sexes' among Chinese women students in Japan. In her eyes, instead of devoting themselves to study, they were practising 'free marriage,' which meant that they married without telling their parents or friends. Some repeatedly married and divorced within a short period of time. He Zhen criticised them for "talking barbarous freedom and abandoning true study, and lying about equality."¹³⁷ A letter to the magazine even stated that the goal of women students was only to seek marriage or

¹³³ Huiquan also mentioned the same idea to achieve equality of numbers between the sexes through women's participation in war. "Ping quan lun" (Essay on equality), *Tianyi*, no. 2 (25 June 1907), p. 40.

¹³⁴ Liu Shiwei, *Zhongguo minyue jingyi anyu* (Note on the essence of the theory of social contrast in China). In *Liu Shiwei wenxuan: Guocui yu xihua*, P. 30.

¹³⁵ He Zhen, "Nüzi xuanbu shu," *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), p. 6.

¹³⁶ He Zhen, "Diwang yu changji" (The emperor and prostitute), *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), pp. 13 – 14.

¹³⁷ He Zhen, "Zhen zhi liuri nüxuesheng shu" (A letter from He Zhen to Chinese women students in Japan), *Tianyi*, no. 1 (10 June 1907), p. 40.

divorce.¹³⁸ There was also a report from Shanghai, where unprincipled men were indulging in unbridled loose behaviour in the name of 'free marriage,' while educated women were behaving immorally in the name of freedom without regarding it as shameful.¹³⁹ He Zhen expressed her concern that people were confusing freedom with licence.

The meaning of true emancipation for women was another point that He Zhen considered. She thought that women in Western society, though it featured freedom of marriage and divorce, the practice of monogamy, and equal education for both sexes, were not truly emancipated, though their situation was better than their Chinese counterparts.¹⁴⁰ This was because, she argued, Western marriage was based on religion and the law, and Western people were therefore still bound by religion and the law, though in a different way from the Chinese, whose marriages were based on custom and obligation (proprieties).¹⁴¹ This perception of Western marriage and Chinese marriage often appeared in *Tianyi*. For example, Zhida described Western marriage as restrained by law and religion, while Chinese marriage was restrained by rites (*lifa*) and the patriarchal clan system (*zongfa*), and by the family. Both types of marriage, Zhida thought, ran counter to the principle of liberty (*ziyou zhi gongli*).¹⁴²

In addition, He Zhen did not believe women's participation in production would necessarily provide all women with independence.¹⁴³ Her low evaluation of female workers was shared by Weigong, who argued about the servile state of some women, such as prostitutes, concubines, bonded servants, and manual workers, from the viewpoint of economics. The author regarded women's employment in factories as an evil that destroyed peaceful families and made women the slave maidens of capitalism.¹⁴⁴ The author, who admitted no essential differences between Chinese and Western marriage in terms of having substantial defects, attributed distorted marriage

¹³⁸ Liuxuejie yi fenzi, "Tongjing laihan" (A letter from Tokyo), *Tianyi*, no. 2 (25 June 1907), pp. 41 – 42.

¹³⁹ Zhida, "Nantou nüshang zhi Shanghai" (A thief if a man and a whore if a woman in Shanghai), *Tianyi*, no. 5 (10 August 1907), p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ He Zhen, *ibid.* In a review of new books, *Tianyi*, no. 6 (1 September 1907), p. 36, introduced a magazine *Mother Earth* edited by Emma Goldman, which was advocating equality of the sexes and anarchism, and a book, *Marriage and Divorce* by Josephine K. Henry of the USA. It said this book described American men's tyranny and women's submission, and rejected Christianity. The report illustrates anarchist interest in, and concerns about marriage problems in Western countries and about Western forms of marriage as alternatives to Chinese. These publications would have been a source of information about Western society.

¹⁴¹ He Zhen, "Nüzi jiefang wenti" (Problem of women's emancipation), *Tianyi*, no. 7 (15 September 1907), pp. 8 – 9.

¹⁴² Zhida, "Jiehun qitan" (Strange stories of marriage), *Tianyi*, no. 7 (15 September 1907), pp. 29 – 30..

¹⁴³ He Zhen, "Nüzi jiefan wenti," *Tianyi*, no. 8-10 (30 October 1907), pp. 5 – 6.

¹⁴⁴ Weigong, "Lun nüzi laodong wenti" (Discuss women's labour problems), *Tianyi*, no. 5 (10 August 1907), pp. 14 – 16.

forms not to morality or customs, but to harsh economic conditions. For example, the author pointed out the phenomenon that the rich could keep concubines, but the poor could often not afford to marry.¹⁴⁵ Although the author mentioned marriage and the family system as background to those women's problems, he did not conclude that abolition of marriage or the family was the solution; rather, he concluded that the solution was public ownership.¹⁴⁶

Family problems as economics

Thus, besides their ethical approach, the Tokyo group had an economic perspective of the family. This economic viewpoint was common in the Tokyo group. Liu Shipai had mentioned people's difficulty living under new policies of the Qing court and/or with the development of industry.¹⁴⁷ Just as Japanese socialists were provoked by social problems, the Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists paid much attention to people's lives. They placed a great deal of weight on reports from China of the state of women, workers, and peasants in order to spread knowledge of the problems. This tendency was clear in the magazine *Hengbao*. For example, peasant life in Sichuan was reported, showing that women with bound feet worked in the fields as hard as men during the day, then worked spinning and weaving at night with only two or three hours sleep. Many peasants died before the age of 40, some of them even in their twenties, from starvation or other hardships.¹⁴⁸ Reports were also published about poor townspeople's lives in Shanghai¹⁴⁹ and Tianjin,¹⁵⁰ and about peasant lives in Shanxi, Shandong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang.¹⁵¹ Those reports portrayed peasants' miserable lives under heavy rents, levies, and landlords' abuses. There was a clear

¹⁴⁵ Weigong, "Nüzi laodong wenti (xu)" (Women's labour problems 2), *Tianyi*, no. 6 (1 September 1907) p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Weigong, *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Liu Shipai, "Lun xinzheng wei bingmin zhi gen" (Discuss the New Policy as the cause of injuring people), *Tianyi*, no. 8-10 (30 October 1907), pp. 11 - 12.

¹⁴⁸ A contributor, "Chuansheng nongmin jiku tan" (Peasant distress in Sichuan), *Hengbao*, no. 6 (18 June 1908), p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ "Qing kan canwu tianri zhi Shanghai" (Look at the extent of suffering in Shanghai), *Hengbao*, no. 8 (8 July 1908), a supplement.

¹⁵⁰ "Tianjin pinmin zhi canyu" (The misery of people in Tianjin), *Hengbao*, no. 8 (8 July 1908), a supplement.

¹⁵¹ Contributions, "Shanxi dianmin zhi jiku" (Suffering of tenant peasants in Shanxi) "Jiangxi Yuanzhou nongmin zhi jiku" (Suffering of peasants in Yuanzhou Jiangxi), *Hengbao*, no. 7 (8 June 1908), p. 2; "Shandong Yizhou dianmin zhi jiku" (Suffering of tenant peasants in Yizhou Shandong), "Wanbei dianmin zhi ku" (Suffering of tenant peasants in northern Anhui), "Jiangsu Songjiang nongmin zhi kunku" (Suffering of peasants in Songjiang Jiangsu), "Zhejinag Huzhou nongmin zhi jiku" (Suffering of peasants in Huzhou Zhejiang), *Hengbao*, no. 7 (8 June 1908), a supplement.

difference between the two magazines *Tianyi* and *Hengbao*. In *Hengbao*,¹⁵² the family was not examined in terms of women's emancipation, or as an object of criticism in terms of family ethics, but investigated regarding its actual economic conditions. Anarchism was discussed in the context of rescuing those people who suffered from harsh conditions.

Abolition of the family in *Tianyi*

The earlier magazine, *Tianyi*, had different approaches to marriage and the family. A contributor to *Tianyi* called Hanyi who regarded the family as an isolated sphere separated from society, described the function of the family in society as follows:

The family is the worst of all evils. After the family appeared, people became selfish, women came under the control of men, and harmful, trivial things multiplied. After the family appeared, world humanity (*shijie gonggong zhi ren*) became self-centred (*si yu yiren*), women were forced, as a necessary burden, to undertake the task of rearing the children of the world.¹⁵³

Here the family is seen as a device that can turn humanity with communal characteristics into humanity with 'private' characteristics. The contributor explained a meaning that the family had for women according to the Chinese classic, *Shuowen*. This was that the original meaning of the family was a place for keeping pigs; later it became a place of residence or a gaol for people. In this context, he said, women are comparable to pigs in terms of their value for reproduction. Because of the family, men could be self-indulgent, lock women up to be their concubines, or take others' children as their own descendants. Therefore, he concluded, once the family was destroyed, men would have no basis for their dominance, and all humanity would be transformed from private individuals (*simin*) to members of a community (*gongmin*). The article called on people with the phrase, "the social revolution should begin with the destruction of the family."¹⁵⁴ It is an interesting side-light that a similar slogan "the social revolution should begin with the family" was used by contemporary Japanese socialists, but with a

¹⁵² It set out generally to cover: 1. Anarchist communism 2. Antimilitarism and general strikes 3. Notes about peoples; worries 4. International revolutionary and labour associations. "Hengbao dazhi" (General objects), *Hengbao*, no. 1 (28 April 1908), p. 1.

¹⁵³ Hanyi, "Huijia lun" (Essay on destroying the family), *Tianyi*, no. 4 (25 July 1907), p. 43.

¹⁵⁴ Hanyi, *ibid.*, p.44. Peter Zarrow suggests the possibility that Liu Shiwei wrote this article. Zarrow, Peter, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, p. 291n40. But the argument of this article is rough, and its way of citing classics is different from Liu. Furthermore, Liu did not insist on the abolition of marriage or the family.

completely different meaning. Japanese socialists intended to reform the family in order to reform corrupt society through the family's good influence, while Hanyi intend to destroy the family in order to eliminate the cause of evil and selfishness.

Regarding marriage, a contribution to *Tianyi* by Gao Yabing called for the abolition of marriage so that the name of father-son would disappear. He argued that the relationship between husband and wife should be abolished, because sexual relations could not be abolished but the relationship of husband and wife could be abolished.¹⁵⁵ What he meant by the relationship of husband and wife was the marriage system. Gao's way of thinking was based on the logic of concepts having an objective existence, that is, if it has no name, an object cannot exist. This argument about abolishing marriage, which was intended to be part of elimination of the private sphere, took a different stance from that of Liu Shipai, who accepted the coexistence of the private and the public, and from He Zhen, who insisted on the reform, not the abolition of marriage and the family. The editor of *Tianyi* showed some agreement with the abolition of marriage in a comment on Gao's opinion. The Tokyo group did not reject the idea of abolition of marriage and the family, but negative ideas about the family and its future existence did not dominate discourse in *Tianyi*.

The Tokyo group's opinion about the family can be broadly summarised as follows. The family revolution advocated by the Tokyo group targeted Confucian ethics as a way to reform the nature of the family and women's emancipation. At the same time, they were concerned about economic issues behind the family and women's problems. Some not only insisted on reforming the family; there were also opinions that insisted on the abolition of the family. However, in general, they had a tendency to consider the family as a place of living, production, and consumption for poor people in the city and peasants in rural areas, and to include family reform, rather than abolition, within the anarchist program of social revolution.

As one of reasons for this more moderate, reformist approach to the family, the influence of Japanese anarchists/socialists should be considered. The Tokyo group shared their attitudes and, especially, their opinions about women's emancipation with Japanese anarchists/socialists. Chinese anarchists studied and understood Japanese society through Japanese publications and probably through their association with Japanese anarchists/socialists. For example, *Tianyi* published an article and letter by

¹⁵⁵ Gao Yabing, "Feigang bian" (An essay of abolishing the bonds), *Tianyi*, no. 11-12 (30 October 1907), p.1.

Kōtoku Shūsui about women's emancipation,¹⁵⁶ and introduced Japanese books and magazines, such as *Fujin mondai* (Women's problems) by Sakai Toshihiko, *Sekai fujin*,¹⁵⁷ and *Katei zasshi*.¹⁵⁸ He Zhen contributed a number of interesting observations on Japanese society in terms of social principles. She thought that the Japanese paid more respect to the Three Bonds than the Chinese did, and loyalty to the emperor and the power of the husband were stronger in Japan than in China. Though family abolition was not being mooted, she noticed some new developments in Japanese radical circles; a revolutionary newspaper published in the USA, that attacked loyalty to the emperor;¹⁵⁹ an article entitled "Kick out your parents" published in *Heimin shinbun*, that attacked filial piety;¹⁶⁰ and women's magazines questioning the traditional relationship between husband and wife. He Zhen had an insight into the role of the Three Bonds by which the Japanese government sought to control its people.¹⁶¹ Thus, the Tokyo group's views about the family and women's emancipation were based on their wide knowledge of the Chinese classics and Chinese society, and were influenced by their understanding of Japanese anarchist/socialist opinions and Japanese society.

The Paris group

One of the central figures of the Chinese anarchist group in Paris, Li Shizeng, wrote a critique of traditional family ethics (Confucian ethics) that well illustrates the Paris group's approach to the family. Li was a scientist, who had graduated from the agricultural school École Pratique du Chesnoy in Montargis and had studied at the Institut Pasteur. He was acquainted with Paul Reclus, a nephew of the anarchist

¹⁵⁶ "Furen yu zhengzhi" (Women and politics), *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), pp. 41 – 44, "Xinde Qiushui lai han" (A letter from Kōtoku Shūsui), *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), pp. 45 – 46.

¹⁵⁷ *Sekai Fujin* reported the formation of *Nüzi fuquan hui* (Women's right recovery association), which published *Tianyi*, and introduced its regulations. "Joshi fukken kai" (Women's right recovery association), *Sekai fujin*, no. 13 (1 July 1907), p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ Japanese in San Francisco founded Shaki kakumei tō (the Social Revolutionary Party) on 1 June 1905 and published its organ *Kakumei* (the Revolution). The first issue (20 December 1906) was banned by the Japanese government and an article, which included "overthrow of Mikado, King, President" caused a so-called "incident of the revolution" in San Francisco. The incident was reported, titled "So called incident of the revolution" in *Heimin shinbun*, no. 48 (14 March 1907), p. 1, no. 49 (15 March 1907), p. 1. About Japanese activities in San Francisco, see Nishikawa Masao, *Shoki shakai shugi undō to bankoku shakai tō* (The early socialist movement and the International Socialist Party), Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985.

¹⁶⁰ Yamaguchi Koken, "Fubo o kere" (Kick out your parents), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 59 (27 March 1907), p. 1. Author of the article, Yamaguchi and editor and publisher Ishikawa Sanshirō were found guilty for an offence against the newspaper regulations (disturbing public order) and sentenced to three months' and six months' imprisonment, and the newspaper was banned on 14 April 1907.

¹⁶¹ Minghu sangang zhi guo (Alas, a country of the Three Bonds), *Tianyi*, no. 4 (25 July 1907), pp. 33 – 34.

geographer Elisée Reclus, and with other Western anarchists in Paris.¹⁶² His three articles relevant to the family, “The ancestor revolution”, “The revolution of the Three Bonds” and “The revolution of the sexes”, which were published in early editions of the Chinese anarchist magazine *Xin shiji*, clearly show the principles underlying Li’s and the Paris group’s anarchism.

Li’s attack on the family system started with an attack on ancestor worship. In “The ancestor revolution”, he held that, “whatever is against science and truth is superstition and the power of coercion.” From this point of view, “the family is the place in which superstition and the power of coercion in a religious and political sense harm people the most, especially through ancestor worship.” Li regarded the family as the most harmful place for people, and therefore insisted on an ancestor revolution as the first step of the anarchist revolution. He drew a distinction between attitudes towards ancestors in superstition and their place in science; an ancestor was a deity in superstition but, for scientific purposes, simply constituted the human element in pre-historic periods. In the name of science, he got rid of all metaphysical overtones associated with ancestors by appealing to biology, genealogy and evolutionary science. He rejected any notion of the soul, and reduced ancestors to the mere material remains of the deceased. Ultimately, he traced the ancestors of humanity to an ape species. He argued that the popular conception of the role of the ancestors was parallel to that of the gods: people had attributed the unknown phenomena of nature to ancestors or gods, and interpreted economic inequality in society as punishment for sin imposed by ancestors or gods. Li focused his critique on people who used ancestor worship as a tool to rule other people though they knew it was superstition. He also drew a parallel between parents teaching their children to perform ancestor worship and rulers encouraging the practice of religion in order to keep the people in a subordinate position. Li even regarded the rejection of ancestor worship as a touchstone of the revolutionary who would seek the truth. This was because, if people could not recognise the falsity of ancestor worship or could not reject ancestor worship, they were incapable of becoming revolutionaries.¹⁶³ Thus Li argued against and dismissed ancestor worship through contrasting science with superstition.

¹⁶² Xu Wentang, “Li Yueying yu zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi yundong” (Li Yueying and the Chinese anarchist movement), in *Jindai Zhongguo lishi renwu lunwenji* (The collection of articles about historical people in Modern China), Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, ed., Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yajiusuo, 1993.

¹⁶³ Li Shizeng, “Zuzong geming-jiating geming zhi yi” (The ancestor revolution), *Xin shiji*, no. 2 (29 June 1907), pp. 3 – 4. Besides this article, he criticised as a barbarous custom the traditional funeral rites

Science and the family revolution

We can find a similarity between Li's explanation of natural phenomena and Kropotkin's description in *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1901). Kropotkin commented as follows:

[U]p to the present, nine hundred and ninety-nine persons in a thousand still believe that natural calamities—droughts, floods, earthquakes, and epidemic diseases—are sent by a Divine Being for the purpose of recalling sinful mankind to the right path. In this belief an enormous majority of our children are being brought up to this very day.¹⁶⁴

Kropotkin also explained anarchism in terms of scientific method.

Anarchism is a world-concept based upon a mechanical explanation of all phenomena, embracing the whole of Nature—that is, including in it the life of human societies and their economic, political, and moral problems. Its method of investigation is that of the exact natural sciences, by which every scientific conclusion must be verified.¹⁶⁵

This method was identical to that of French anarchist Paraf-Javal, whose book *Free Examination* (1901) was translated by Li and published in 1907 as one of a *Xin shiji* series of guides to society and social theory.¹⁶⁶ In the book, Paraf-Javal refuted many commonly accepted social theories, basing his conclusions on universal truths and scientific facts. It was a demonstration of free enquiry, by which he meant a rejection of prejudice and an examination of everything by correct processes in order to acquire the truth. He dismissed all references to gods as irrational, and called for all ideas to be based on scientific truth, such as French mathematician and astronomer Laplace's theory of the solar system, Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859), and French physicist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier's law of conservation of mass.¹⁶⁷

that a Chinese minister had held in Italy for his late wife. "Zai ouzhou zhi zhinaren" (Chinese in Europe), *Xin shiji*, no. 15, 27 (28 September, 30 November 1907), p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ Kropotkin, Peter, *Modern Science and Anarchism*, New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1908, p. 47.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁶⁶ Zhen (Li Shizeng), "Tan xue" (An essay on studies), *Xin shiji*, no. 7 (7 August 1907), p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Paraf-Javal, *Free Examination*, Li Shizeng, trans., 1907.

Paraf-Javal developed his scientific method and his campaign for social change in the Group of Scientific Studies (Le Groupe d'Études Scientifiques, the G.E.S.), which was founded by him in Paris in 1907. He defined an anarchist as follows:

The term 'Scientific' is derived from the term 'Free-thinker' [...]. The characteristic of the true anarchist is being a free-thinker in all cases.¹⁶⁸ Only anarchists can be called scientific; true anarchists seek to know the truth; they are individuals who have decided to be reasonable in all circumstances and are able to be such.¹⁶⁹

On the basis of scientific method, Paraf-Javal referred to 'a priori' ideas as an authoritarian method of reasoning, and to 'a posteriori' ideas as empirical scientific method and the essence of anarchism.

The authoritative method (nearly universally practiced in the actual society) consists to try to *impose upon others*, BY FORCE, opinions without any guarantee of their being reasonable... *The scientific method* (which alone, among the humans, is practiced, even in social matter, by the anarchists) consists to *impose to oneself*, BY REASON, what one has recognised to be just after examination.¹⁷⁰

This dichotomy of the authoritative [sc. authoritarian] method and the scientific method is argued consistently by Li in three articles about Confucian ethics. Li applied scientific truth to argue against coercive power in respect to the sexes. For example, scientific truth said that men and women were the same in constitution and physiology, except for their reproductive organs. Men's and women's reproductive organs each had special qualities, which enabled conception to take place. Therefore, there was no difference in importance between the sexes. On the other hand, coercive power said that women's bodies were weaker, and became more ineffective after they fell pregnant. This was the reason why women were despised by those with coercive power. In the light of scientific truth, Li attacked the superstition, social customs, and morality that

¹⁶⁸ "The social problem: How and by whom it will be solved." In *The GES: its work and method*. Groupe d'études Scientifiques, ed. Sydney: Communist-Anarchist Press, 1914. A Sydney anarchist group, whose members called themselves the Australian branch of the Groupe d'Études Scientifiques, located at 151 George St West Sydney, translated the *Bulletin* of the G.E.S. and other works of Paraf-Javal. Sentences I cite here are extracted from the Sydney group's books and translations from French. I do not cite page numbers because the books originally did not have page numbers.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ "The correct method." In *The GES: its work and method*. [The wording has not been altered.]

had restricted and depreciated women in terms of their sex, intelligence, and practical abilities.¹⁷¹

In "The revolution of the Three Bonds,"¹⁷² Li rejected the unequal human relationships of the Confucian Three Bonds, describing their appeal to religion and superstition as contradictory to scientific truth that held that all humanity was equal. According to the Three Bonds, rulers, fathers, and husbands were superior to and had the right to control subjects, sons and wives. He insisted that having sons was, like having sex, simply a physical matter, and that in society, fathers and sons, and husbands and wives were alike humans and had the same duties and rights. He rejected any kind of inequality or double standard between the sexes.

The dichotomy of science and superstition is the basic schema of the Paris group's arguments in *Xin shiji*. Another member of the group, Chu Minyi, was against religion because of its contradiction with science. Chu contrasted science with religion: "religion and science are just the opposite of each other. Science seeks truth, but religion values fantasy; science respects free enquiry and examination, but religion values falsehood."¹⁷³

Not only the scientific approach of the Paris group, but also their program of revolution was parallel to French anarchists. The G.E.S.'s program explained its intended means to change society.

This [an absurd and vexatious] state of affairs continue, because the individuals have the prejudice of considering it as unchangeable, and that, because they reason incorrectly (most often 'a priori'), also because they are too ignorant to DETERMINE THE MOVEMENTS TO DO TO CHANGE IT. The precise object of the 'GROUPE d'ETUDES SCIENTIFIQUES' is to clearly show to individuals what they ought to do:

- I --- To reason correctly;
- II --- To methodically acquire the knowledge constituting the fundamentals of reasoning.¹⁷⁴

Li's program for the ancestor revolution was a mixture of proposals both moderate and radical, general and particular: 1) Spreading the truth among the people.

¹⁷¹ Li Shizeng, "Nan nǚ zhi geming" (The revolution of the sexes), *Xin shiji*, no. 7 (3 August 1907), p. 4. In another article, "Women's Revolution", he insisted on the equality of the sexes and mentioned the names of French revolutionary Louise Michel and scientist Marie Skłodowska (Curie) as eminent women to prove women's ability was not at all inferior to men's. "Nǚjie geming" (The women's revolution), *Xin shiji*, no. 5 (20 July 1907), pp. 2 - 3.

¹⁷² Li Shizeng, "Sangang geming" (The revolution of the Three Bonds), *Xin shiji*, no. 11 (31 August 1907), pp. 1 - 2.

¹⁷³ Chu Minyi, "Zai puji geming" (Diffusion of anarchism 2), *Xin shiji*, no. 18 (19 October 1907), p.3.

¹⁷⁴ "Our Groupe d'Etudes Scientifiques and its 'Bulletin'," in *The GES: Its work and method*.

2) Rejecting any kind of superstitious funeral rituals. 3) Smashing ancestors' graves.¹⁷⁵
 4) Asking offspring not to perform ancestor worship for them after death.¹⁷⁶ Although the program included radical actions like smashing ancestors' graves, it relied on individual needs and individual awareness through diffusion of knowledge. With the revolution of the sexes, Li's program admitted that women's revolution needed an economic revolution for equality, political revolution for freedom, destruction of false morality for truth, and promotion of women's independent abilities; but according to Li, destroying false morality was the most important among them.¹⁷⁷ This was because he believed that the economic system was part of the system of coercive power, and that coercive power originated in false morality. In the revolutionary destruction of the Three Bonds, Li believed that the ultimate liberation of children and women could be achieved after communism had been introduced to solve economic problems. In a society where communist economic principles applied, men and women would be able to associate equally, and restrictive family and ethical codes would cease to exist. However, that stage had not yet been reached, and a family revolution was needed to promote evolutionary social progress.

In practical terms, as parents, people should not do to their children what had been done to them by their parents. People who were now children should not do to their future children what was now being done to them by their parents.¹⁷⁸ Thus, Li suggested beginning the family revolution with oneself. Li's suggestion of the family revolution is indicative of Li's own situation. A person who had already married could only assist the family revolution as a parent by refraining from doing what he had not wanted to be done to himself. It sounds simple, but when we think of Lu Xun's agonised cry to "rescue children" ten years later,¹⁷⁹ Li's suggestion cannot be taken as frivolous. In spite its references to science, Li's suggestion that each individual should undertake the family revolution by themselves laid an emphasis on voluntarism.

The abolition of the family

¹⁷⁵ Japanese radicals also discussed the abolition of graves. For example, Hayashi Zanchō, "Hifunbo shugi siken" (My opinion about anti-grave thought), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 52 (19 March 1907), p. 1. The author said the grave was a custom from the era of savages, and that it should be abolished with the advance of civilisation. His argument was in the context of Buddhism.

¹⁷⁶ Li Shizeng, "Xu Zuzong geming" (The ancestor revolution), *Xin shiji*, no. 3 (6 July 1907), p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Li Shizeng, "Xu nannü geming" (The revolution of the sexes 2), *Xin Shiji*, no. 8 (10 August 1907), p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Li Shizeng, "San'gang geming," *Xin shiji*, no. 11 (31 August 1907), p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Lu Xun's marriage had been arranged by his mother. About its details, see Nakajima Osafumi, "Fukurou no koe—Shu An to Ro Jin" (The owl's hoot: Zhu An and Lu Xun), in *Fukurou no koe Rojin no kindai* (The owl's hoot; Lu Xun's modern period). Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001, pp. 81–102.

The Paris group insisted on abolishing the family in order to eliminate selfishness. Chu Minyi used a number of metaphors for the family and society. According to him, contemporary society was a selfish society. People only pursued their self-interest, and didn't care about the public interest at all. Myself, my family, my country and my race, all belonged to self-interest. All institutions, such as marriage, private property, the family, nations (*guo*) and races, acted to divide the sphere of self from that of others. Therefore he called for the abolition of marriage and private property, destruction of the family, elimination of boundaries between nations (*guo*) and races.¹⁸⁰ In this metaphor, the family is a cell enclosing the private self. His other image of contemporary society was a tower, built on a foundation of marriage, private property, the family, the nation (*guo*), and race, all heaped up together as layers, with the government located on top. Marriage in this structure was the foundation for the whole of society.¹⁸¹ Both of his pictures indicate that society consists of cells in which individuals are imprisoned.

From the existence of the family, self-interest was created. Li Shizeng noted the functions of the family that had changed the nature of things. Originally, he supposed,

People are born into society and live on the property of society. This property does not belong to individuals, neither to fathers, nor to sons, but belongs to the mass of the people. It is the property of the public.¹⁸²

However, once the family exists, the public quickly becomes the private, and freedom becomes despotism. People come to love only themselves. They love their sons and fathers because of their own fathers and sons. In this sense, the closer people are to oneself, the more one loves them. Therefore benevolence (*ci*) and filial piety (*xiao*) are used for their own self-interest. Husbands love their wives and prohibit their wives from loving other men because they think their wives belong to them. Self-interest was a pivotal issue for anarchists as well as for other Chinese political thinkers at that time. Unlike Liu Shipei, Chu insisted on eliminating the physical foundation of family ethics so that people could become 'public people.' It is also different from Liang Qichao's 'new people' who were supposed to have both private and public ethics.

Chu argued that this kind of family was an obstacle to evolution through using the concept of *ai* (love),¹⁸³ and categorised it into three stages, that is: affection (*youqin*

¹⁸⁰ Chu Minyi, "Xu wuzhengfu shuo" (On anarchism), *Xin shiji*, no. 35 (22 February 1908), p. 3.

¹⁸¹ Chu Minyi, "Xu wuzhengfu shuo," *Xin shiji*, no. 38 (21 March 1908), p. 4.

¹⁸² Li Shizeng, "San gang geming," *Xin shiji*, no. 11 (31 August 1907), p. 2.

zhi ai) among family members and close relatives, love without knowledge (*wu zhishi zhi ai*), which was the attachment that subjects felt towards their sovereign, state or race, and love with knowledge (*you zhishi zhi ai*), which is also called *ren* (a sensitive concern for other people)¹⁸⁴ and the supreme love that was essential for achieving and practising social revolution. According to Chu, what prevented people from turning their lower love into general love of humanity and the world was the practice of forming relationships, both close and distant, and personal self-interest, both of which were generated through the family. Therefore, Chu concluded, the family should be abolished.¹⁸⁵ In his theory, the family was an obstacle that disturbed the development of love, and its destruction would remove the bars that prevented progress of love.

Many articles in *Xin shiji* argued along these lines that regarded the family as an obstacle. For Jupu, the family was a barrier to achieving the ideal. He regarded private organizations (the family, the village, the nation, the race) as causing social evils based on selfishness. It was difficult to achieve the generally acknowledged principles of great harmony unless people eliminated private groups that gave rise to a competitive spirit, jealousy, and other conflicts. The family was an organization that everybody belonged to and thus was the origin of all private organizations; it was consequently the most difficult to eliminate.¹⁸⁶ The family was also a device, for Jupu, which changed freedom, equality and morality into their opposites. Because they belonged to a family, people who were free by nature became preoccupied with subsistence needs and lost their freedom. People in a family also had to experience the joys and sorrows of meeting and parting. Furthermore, all of humanity who were naturally equal without distinctions of wealth and poverty, high and low classes, knowledge and ignorance, became unequal after the family appeared. The family weakened people's morale; this lessened public interest and morality, which disturbed social evolution. For those three reasons, he concluded that to obtain freedom, equality and high morale, and to promote social evolution, people had to destroy the family.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Chu's opinion about development of *ai* is quite similar to Liu Shipai's explanation of development in public ethics by *aili* (power of love) in *Lunli jiaokeshu*, in *Liu chuanji*, p. 156.

¹⁸⁴ This interpretation of *ren* is based on M. Elvin, "Between the Earth and Heaven: Conceptions of the Self in China", in M. Carrithers, S. Collins and S. Lukes, eds., *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

¹⁸⁵ Chu Minyi, "Sixu puji geming" (Diffusion of the revolution, 4), *Xin shiji*, no. 23 (23 November 1907), pp. 3–4.

¹⁸⁶ Jupu, "Jue hunpei yi jie si tuanti" (Dissolve private groups through abolition of marriage), *Xin shiji*, no. 35 (22 February 1908), p. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Jupu, "Hui jia tan" (Destroying the family), *Xin shiji*, no. 49 (30 May 1908), p. 4.

Furthermore, not only the family, but also marriage, which was the origin of the family, should be abolished as an obstacle. Chu Minyi wrote:

Distinctions of closeness and remoteness originated from the family, which was men's and women's union. Therefore if you want to destroy preferences based on closeness and remoteness, you have to begin with destroying the family. If you want to destroy the family, you have to begin with the abolition of marriage.¹⁸⁸

The destruction of the family was also argued from the point of view of eugenics. Jupu regarded promiscuous sexual relations based on physical attraction as primary factors to make a race develop, stronger, brighter and healthier and rejected marriage as an obstacle to such relations.¹⁸⁹ In an editor's note to Jupu's article, Wu Zhihui simply commented that men and women should freely become a couple according to their love for each other. Children of loving couples were better than children of coerced relationships. He took care to say that two people's coupling and having children should come entirely from their mutual attraction and should not include any intention of genetic improvements, but Wu admitted that improving the quality of pregnancy was naturally part of the process of evolution.¹⁹⁰

Wu Zhihui's opinions about human evolution were expressed in a schematic comparison between the races in a letter to the emperor criticising national essence (*guocui*) policy. The progress and relative positions of the White, Chinese and Japanese races currently, one hundred years later, two hundred years later, and three hundred years later, were illustrated by bar graphs. Both Chinese and Japanese would fail to catch up with the White race even after three hundred years. Wu believed that humanity in the East was in an inferior situation and threatened with extinction (*liewang*). The only way to survive was to work diligently, aiming for the universal public good (*gongshan*). Knowledge would be a crucial factor.¹⁹¹

The family revolution of the Paris group

Although they used violent language in their argument about the family, the Paris group did not suppose that the family revolution would be associated with

¹⁸⁸ Chu Minyi, "Puji geming," *Xin shiji*, no. 23 (23 November 1907), p. 4.

¹⁸⁹ Jupu, "Nannü zaijiao shuo" (An idea of promiscuous sexual relations), *Xin shiji*, no. 42 (11 April 1908), pp. 3–4.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁹¹ "Zhi aixin jueguo dai jun shu" (A letter to Mr. Aixin jueguo dai), *Xin shiji*, no. 99 (29 May 1909), pp. 5–10.

physical destruction. As Wu Zhihui insisted, the political/economic revolution should be achieved through education,¹⁹² the family revolution was also supposed to be achieved through education, i.e. change of thought. Chinese anarchists in Paris decisively rejected the Three Bonds and the institution of the family in the name of science, but the natural or conditioned feelings of family members were still a factor for them to deal with. They tried to analyse the family not only as an oppressive organization but also as a place that generated psychological problems among family members.¹⁹³ For the anarchists, these latter were the essential elements underlying theoretical arguments about family problems. After they rejected the forms of the family, they found their struggle to define a proper form of relationship among family members was more difficult to resolve than their struggle against the power structure of the family. This was a question that subsequent anarchists also had to deal with.

The Paris group's scientific approach and concentration on the ethical aspect of the family system provide a pronounced contrast with the humanistic approach through re-interpretation of classics and concentration on the economic aspect that the Tokyo group took. However, these differences cannot be regarded as features that rigidly characterised each group. There was an interesting report in the *Xin shiji* about the custom of 'buluojia,' by which women in Xunde Guangdong resisted arranged marriage. Those Guangdong women were mainly silk reelers and could support themselves. The author cited this case as proof that women's economic independence enabled women to free themselves from the family system. Unlike the Tokyo group, the author had a positive view of women's working, which enabled women to be independent from their families. And he condemned the conventional marriage customs for their inhumanity in ignoring the parties concerned.¹⁹⁴ The author paid attention to

¹⁹² Wu Zhihui, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi yi jiaoyi wei geming shuo" (Anarchism is the theory of revolution by education), *Xin shiji*, no. 65. (19 June 1908), p. 11.

¹⁹³ Two different critical perspectives on the family had been provided before the anarchists appeared: the family as an organization of oppression (Tan Sitong) and the family as a source of guilt (Kang Youwei). Furth, Charlotte, "Intellectual change: from the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895 – 1920," pp. 384 – 385.

¹⁹⁴ Laohan, "Yue zhong nüzi zhi bujia zhe" (Women who don't marry in Guangdong), *Xin shiji*, no. 60 (15 August 1908), pp. 9 – 11. According to Laohan's report, women formed groups to promise that they would never become wives. When a woman had married her husband, she refused to have a sexual relationship with him. After staying at her husband's house for three days, she was allowed to go back to her home and did not live with her husband after that. Women in Xunde seemed to be regarded as a model that proved that economic independence emancipated women in general. For example, Hu Hanmin (1879 – 1936), who was a leader of the GMD, also referred to their case in a comparison with Hakka women who were in a subordinate position due to lack of economic independence. Hanmin, "Nüzi jiefang cong nali zuoqi?" (Where should women's emancipation begin?), *Xingqi pinglun*, no. 8 (27 July 1919), p. 1. About this custom, Chen Yuceng, Li Sifu and Wu Qingshi show a similar evaluation to Laohan. Chen Yuzeng, Li Sifu and Wu Qingshi, "'Zishun' yu 'buluojia'" ('Women who dress their own hair' and

the economic aspect of marriage and the family system and indicated his support for changing marriage customs instead of abolishing the family. Thus, there were some Chinese anarchists with opinions different from the main writers in *Xin shiji* and *Tianyi*. Those different opinions and approaches show the diversity in Chinese anarchist discourse.

Neither group denied the other group's viewpoints and opinions, though each sometimes criticised details of the other party's ideas and rejected different opinions within the magazines. By means of animated and diverse discussions about the family, Chinese anarchists in Tokyo and Paris formulated the theoretical framework of an anarchist approach to the family system, which was the approach that Chinese anarchists followed after the 1911 revolution in China.

Conclusion

The family was pivotal for both Japanese and Chinese anarchists in terms of social reform. But the meanings of the family revolution for them were almost opposite. Rescue the family and destroy the family; thus we can roughly summarise the respective Japanese and Chinese anarchists' attitudes towards the family. Although both admitted that conventional society was corrupt, Japanese socialists/anarchists attributed the cause of corruption to capitalist society without blaming the family. For them, socialism was aiming to change the economic system to protect or restore the desirable family at the present time. On the other hand, those Chinese anarchists, especially in the Paris group, who saw the family as the cause of all evils in society, advocated the abolition of the family in order to change society. If Japanese socialists/anarchists and the Paris Chinese anarchist group offer a contrasting perspective on the family, the Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists is located between them. There was a strong similarity between Japanese socialists/anarchists and the Tokyo Chinese group in terms of recognition of

'bridedaughters'), *Guangdong wenshi ziliao*, no. 12 (1964), pp. 172 – 188. However, recent studies of the custom from economic, cultural and ideological viewpoints reveal more complicated aspects of the custom. Janice Stockard attributes the origin of the custom to early fusion of local non-Chinese or "non-Han" cultures with Han Chinese culture. And Helen Siu sees the custom as a rather prestigious form of marriage in the complicity of family and community customs. Janice E. Stockard, *Daughter of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860 – 1930*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989; Siu, Helen F., "Where were the women? Rethinking marriage resistance and regional culture in South China," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990), pp. 32 – 62. Based on those studies, Eng considers that "'marriage resistance' did not constitute a rebellion against traditional Chinese patriarchy, for the women did not gain individual economic independence but remained economically responsible to their natal family." Robert Y. Eng, "Luddism and labor protest among silk artisans and workers in Jiangnan and Guangdong, 1860 – 1930," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990), p 84.

the family from an economic viewpoint, and with their similar intentions for family reform.

The Japanese family, which had been formulated in the Meiji era as a compound of the family state structure, had been the core of society. It did not have a long-established shell of tradition and custom to protect it from external interference. Even the authority of the head of the family was given by the state, and filial piety was designed to be subordinate to loyalty to the emperor so that both did not conflict each other. In this structure, Japanese socialists/anarchists, who were part of Japanese society and saw the family as the place of people's living, regarded family problems as social problems. Therefore, through social revolution, they took on the task of reforming it into a democratic and modern family, in which individual freedom would be respected and people would live together harmoniously.

By contrast, the Chinese traditional family had a strong shell that could isolate people in the family from the outer world. This characteristic is shown by the different meanings of the family. Filial piety could even conflict with loyalty to emperor or nation, and family ethics (the Three Bonds) had a long history of firmly dominating people's lives. Therefore, the family revolution had the meaning of an ideological revolution. Chinese anarchists also began with the family revolution as the first step towards social revolution, like other Chinese reformers and radicals. But as anarchists, they aimed at creating an anarchist society instead of a nation in the form of the state. Those anarchist discourses about the family developed in the next stage of anarchism after 1911 in Japan and in China.

Chapter 3 The Self, Marriage and Parenthood, 1910s – 1920s

In this chapter, I examine the development of Japanese and Chinese anarchist discourses about the family in the new social context after 1911. Japanese and Chinese anarchists showed contrasting characteristics in their discourse. In Japan, discourse about family issues, which were often regarded as women's issues, did not occupy the mainstream of anarchism, although anarchist women's debate on such family issues underlay anarchism as an indispensable element. On the other hand, in China, the family issue was an essential aspect of Chinese anarchism. But Chinese anarchists gradually lost the novel impact of their radical discourse on the family and, without a clear way forward, it gradually merged with the social discourse of the New Culture Movement. They failed to shift their challenge to the family system from the context of the 1911 revolution to the context of an anarchist revolution (social revolution) in the course of the creation of a new nation.

3.1 Family debates in Japan

The self

Meiji anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui, in his short-lived, last magazine *Jiyū shisō* (Free Thought) in 1909, emphasised the importance of free thought and defined a free individual as a person who decided his beliefs, his life, and his behaviour according to his reason and his consciousness of the universe. In the Taishō period from 1912, Ōsugi Sakae took over Kōtoku's emphasis on individual freedom, but shifted the viewpoint from society to the viewpoint of the individual and developed a form of anarchism based on the self (*jiga*). After the High Treason Incident (1910), the Japanese government maintained a tough policy towards radicals, which included anarchists, socialists, and people who were regarded by the government as involved in social movements. Anarchists and socialists could only assert their existence through *Kindai shisō* (Modern Thought), edited by Ōsugi Sakae and Arahata Kanson (1887 – 1981), which commenced in October 1912. Under severe restrictions, Ōsugi and other radicals attempted to convey their opinions in nominally literary articles in this officially recognised literary magazine. Ōsugi appealed for 'the expansion of self' (*jiga no*

kakujū), a concept which was later promoted in association with labour awareness. What was self? According to Ōsugi, self was thinking and acting freely, and was creative. But self was presently suppressed by almost all social systems. Therefore self, as an object, offended social systems.¹

The discussion about self was sited in the tide of individualism, but Ōsugi and others in *Kindai shisō* regarded individualism in a different way. Ōsugi later recalled, "It was the golden age of individualism in the world of literature. Achievement of self meant, first of all, enrichment of the inner life, freeing oneself from one's surroundings, escaping from an environment that harmed the self or destroyed quiet introspection and contemplation. This was the theory and practice of individualism at that time." Ōsugi objected to this kind of attitude and claimed, "to fulfil or realise one's potential, one needed more than quiet introspection and contemplation, one needed more aggressively to face and challenge one's harmful surroundings."² Arata explained the difference between their individualism and others, such as the so-called 'new women' group of Seitō, which advocated 'complementary personalities' (*kosei no kansei*) and critic Sōma Gyofū (1883 – 1950)'s *Waseda bungaku* (Waseda Literature), which called for 'igniting the inner life' (*jiga no seimei no nenshō*). He criticised the two groups for their belief that complementary personalities or expansion of self could be achieved without social reform.³ Ōsugi and other radicals attempted to create self as the core of 'social individualism' that did not separate self from society. They recognised that development of individual personality could only be possible in a close relation with social reform.

In order to liberate the self, Ōsugi insisted on the need to overcome a servile spirit. This spirit originated, according to studies of anthropology, in captives of war in ancient times and in the disparities of wealth as a result of private property. Winners and owners had all rights, while slaves had all duties without rights. The absolute submission required by slavery produced a spirit of slavery, which influenced general morality. This was because allowing people to be cruel to defenceless people without punishment corrupted morality. People in a middle position abused the weaker and submitted to the stronger. Thus, the slavery system produced a morality of blind

¹ Ōsugi Sakae, "Sei no sōzō" (Creation of life), *Kindai shisō* 2, no. 4 (January 1914), pp. 4 – 5.

² Ōsugi Sakae, "Saikin shisōkai no keikō" (A current trend in the world of thought), *Bunmei hihiyō*, (January 1918), in *Ōsugi Sakae Itō Noe senshū* (hereafter *Ōsugi senshū*), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1986 – 1992, vol. 3, pp. 101 – 102.

³ Arataha Kanson, "Kindai Shisō to bundan: kindai shisō mukashi banashi 2" (*Kindai shisō* and the literary world: reminiscences about *Kindai shisō* 2), *Kindai shisō kaisetsu* II, Tokyo: Chiroku sha, 1961, pp. 1 – 2.

submission to the strong. The sole aim of conventional ethics was to please, to obey, and admire the master. It was the only ethics that was built on violence and fear in the whole social system. Ōsugi even dared to write that it was not so difficult to change the form of government or a provision of the law, but it was not easy to eliminate this servile spirit that had conditioned human psychology for tens or hundreds of thousands of years. But, Ōsugi concluded, "we have to complete this task by any means to become free people."⁴

Ōsugi then analysed the nature of conquest. He explained the history of conquest based on studies of sociology. Before the advent of class struggle, there had been struggle between races and the fact of conquest. As humanity spread over the world, conflicts between races occurred. The race that had superior weapons and better strategy could win and become the conqueror, while others became the conquered. Conquerors invented law to control the conquered and education to teach the conquered that they were an inferior race. Later, conquerors co-opted some of the conquered to help them. Politics, law, religion, education, morality, the army, police, trials, parliament, philosophy, literature, and all social systems, were nothing but a means to vanquish and tame people. Ōsugi insisted that this was the root fact of human history. Without knowing this fact, people could not understand anything rightly.⁵ On the grounds of human history, Ōsugi believed that people had to revolt against conquerors in order to live.⁶ Unlike the Chinese anarchists who focused their attacks on the family system, Ōsugi did not define concrete targets, such as the family system or Confucian ethics, but held up the servile spirit as an inner obstacle to becoming a free individual. Ōsugi appealed to people to revolt against society and reconstruct themselves as free people. For Ōsugi, anarchism was expressed by a rebellion of the self, which was thus the centre of social reform. In this way, Japanese anarchists situated the centre of social reform not in the family but in the individual.

Women's self in the family

For women, self was given a clear shape through women's struggle against the family. Although Ōsugi criticised other groups for their lack of connection with society

⁴ Ōsugi Sakae, "Dorei konjō ron" (An essay about the spirit of slaves), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 5 (February 1913), pp. 2 – 5.

⁵ Ōsugi Sakae, "Seifuku no jijitsu" (The fact of conquest), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 9 (June 1913), pp. 3 – 5.

⁶ Ōsugi Sakae, "Sei no kakujū" (The expansion of life), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 10 (July 1913), p. 4.

in seeking self, *Seitō* (Bluestocking),⁷ first published by Hiratsuka Raichō (1886 – 1971)⁸ in 1911, was important in advancing women's viewpoint and in advocating emancipation of the individual within the family and society. *Seitō* was not specifically an anarchist magazine, but was the place where unreserved radical arguments about women's emancipation appeared. Anarchist Itō Noe (1895 – 1923) developed her ideas through her participation in *Seitō*. If the self that Ōsugi discussed was neutral, the self that Hiratsuka and other women pursued was deeply coloured by their gender. It had taken concrete shape through their struggles against the family system and conventional morality, which women inevitably came up against once they attempted to pursue their selves. What the women who gathered around *Seitō* insisted on was a quite basic claim for individual freedom. But even such moderate insistence was regarded by some as advocacy for destroying the family or an offence against social order.

In the beginning, woman was the sun.
An authentic person.
Today, she is the moon.
Living through others.
Reflecting the brilliance of others.⁹

This famous manifesto by Hiratsuka was an appeal to the selves of women to awake. Women's emancipation, she clearly said, did not mean an independent life through escape from external oppression or restrictions, through higher education to gain jobs, through achieving suffrage, or through leaving the small world of the family

⁷ In 1911, *Seitō sha* (Bluestocking Association) started with, not including Hiratsuka, seven supporting members and 18 members. The name *Seitō* was a translation of the term 'Bluestocking' that had been used to designate and ridicule women intellectuals in Britain. Itō Noe, who would later become an anarchist, joined the association in 1912 and developed her ideas through participation in this group.

⁸ Hiratsuka Raichō (Haruko) was well born and graduated from Nihon Joshi Daigakkou (Japanese Women's University). During university, she was interested in literature and religion, and practiced Zen meditation. She attracted a great deal of public attention by her attempted double suicide with novelist Morita Sōhei in 1908. In 1911, she founded the women's literature group *Seitō sha*. Hiratsuka, who rejected the family system, cohabited with artist Okumura Hiroshi without registration of marriage. She exerted herself for women's emancipation.

⁹ Hiratsuka Raichō, "Genshi josei wa taiyo de atta" (In the beginning, woman was the sun), *Seitō* 1, no. 1 (1 September 1911), p. 37; translation in Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: the Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, p. 163. Hiratsuka, in her autobiography, explained that she used the metaphors for the sun and the moon as women in primitive society and women in their present situation. Takamure interpreted Hiratsuka's manifesto as a women's voice from primitive communist society, in which women played a central role in worship and also as a reflection of Japanese mythology. Hiratsuka Raichō, *Watakushi no aruita michi* (The path I followed), Tokyo: Shin hyōron sha, 1955 (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā, 1994), pp. 92 – 93; Takamure Itsue, *Josei no rekishi* (Women's history), in *Takamure zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 723. About the interpretations of the metaphors in the manifesto, see Mackie, Vera, *Imagining Liberation: Feminism and Socialism in Early Twentieth Century Japan*, Nepean: Women's research centre, University of Western Sydney, 1995, pp. 14 – 15. And Arai Tomiyo, "Bosei ishiki no mezame—*Seitō* no hitobito" (The awakening of motherhood-consciousness: people of *Seitō*), in *Bosei o tou—rekishi teki hensen*, Wakita Haruko, ed., Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1985, vol. 2. pp. 133 – 134.

and their parents' or husbands' protection. These were only means to an end.¹⁰ The emancipation that she wanted was to bring one's abilities into full play.¹¹ Although they sought emancipation in an introspective way, their radical questions about conventional customs and concepts led them to a striking figure called 'the new woman (*atarashii onna*).'

Ōsugi took a favourable but qualified attitude towards the new woman. This was because he regarded the so-called new woman as a woman who wanted to become a member of the dominant class after being a man's plaything or luxury. He mentioned that 'real' women revolutionaries Louise Michel,¹² Emma Goldman, and Vera Figner¹³ did not participate in 'feminism.' Ōsugi highly esteemed the fact that they had not demanded higher education, higher jobs, or suffrage, and they had not emphasised realization of the self first.¹⁴ Ōsugi did not necessarily understand the women's emancipation that Hiratsuka meant, but he hoped the 'new woman' understood the relationship between self and surroundings.

By contrast, critic Uchida Roan (1868 – 1929) pointed out the lack of attention to social and economic aspects in the new woman's theories. He mentioned the stern realities surrounding women as follows:

According to today's law and customs, free love cannot be regarded as rightful marriage. It is regarded as immoral and is condemned by society; the persons engaged in it are afraid of being known. Their children are registered as illegitimate, and are socially ostracized. If the man ignores the relationship, there is no way for the woman to appeal.¹⁵

He urged women to notice that if they wanted to change their situation, there were laws and customs about marriage (the imbalance between husband's rights and wife's rights, punishment for adultery, the public prostitution system), which the new woman had not challenged, but which had to be reformed.¹⁶ However, although he

¹⁰ Hiratsuka, *ibid.*, p. 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 – 50.

¹² (1830 – 1905) French revolutionary, who participated actively in the Paris Commune in 1871.

¹³ (1852 – 1942) Russian revolutionary.

¹⁴ Ōsugi Sakae, "Atarashii onna" (The new women), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 10 (July 1913), p. 1.

¹⁵ Roansei, "Nihon ni okeru fujin mondai" (Women's problems in Japan), *Chūō kōron*, no. 7 (July 1913), p. 70.

¹⁶ Later Hiratsuka, together with Ichikawa Fusae (1893 – 1981), founded *Shin fujin kyōkai* (the New Women's Society) in 1920 and lobbied the Diet to revise The Public Peace Regulation, which banned women's involvement in political movements.

pointed out the weakness of the new woman's voice, he admitted it echoed women's inner agony against inequality in morality and social rights.¹⁷

The differences between Ōsugi and Uchida directly reflected their different perceptions of women's emancipation and social reform. Ōsugi, as an anarchist, did not consider legal reform to be the way to liberate women, while Uchida regarded change of law and customs as a necessary process for achieving it. However, both of them treated the individual as their point of departure in spite of their different attitudes toward the connection between the individual and society. Furthermore, by a curious coincidence, the differences between them reflected differing attitudes to the phenomenon of the new woman, including some negative views of it by society and by Emma Goldman in the USA.

'The new woman' was a phenomenon that had first appeared in the 1880s and 1890s in the USA. 'The new women' were generally women who came from good families, had received high education, were single, and had professional jobs within government organizations or the public sector. They had struggled to secure their professional positions in competition with men, and had supported women's political and economic rights through social movements. They had been condemned by some people who regarded them as a threat to society, first, because of their 'rejection of motherhood' (the gender roles of housekeepers and mothers), and second, because of their 'rejection of men'; they often chose to be single and to live in women's communities, e.g. Settlement Houses.¹⁸

From a different viewpoint, Emma Goldman criticised the way to women's emancipation that the new woman represented, noting that acquisition of political or economic rights by a few privileged women did not amount to women's emancipation; furthermore, that the new woman's emphasis on independence was rather against women's nature, the 'instinct of love' and the 'instinct of motherhood.' Goldman asserted that women's true emancipation must be emancipation of all women, including proletarian women, and must include spiritual liberation.¹⁹ In this context, Ōsugi's critique of the new woman was quite close to Goldman's; on the other hand, Uchida's

¹⁷ Roansei, *ibid*, p. 73.

¹⁸ Muta Kazue and Shin Jiweon, "Kindai no sekushuaritei no sōzō to 'anatashii onna'—hikaku bunseki no kokoromi" (The making of sexuality and the 'New Woman' in Japan, Korea and the United States), *Shisō*, no. 886 (February 1998), p. 107.

¹⁹ Itō Noe translated Emma Goldman's "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," *Mother Earth*, no.1 (March 1906) under the title "Fujin kaihō no higeki" (The tragedy of women's emancipation), *Seitō* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1913), pp. 1 – 15. About details, see Yamaizumi Susumu "Kaidai" (Introduction), in *Teihon Itō Noe zenshū* (The complete works of Itō Noe, the standard edition, hereafter *Itō zenshū*), vol. 4. Horikiri Toshitaka and Ide Fumiko, eds., Tokyo: Gakugei shorin, 2000, pp. 462 – 470.

critique endorsed a concept like that of the American-style new woman. In this regard, paradoxically, the new woman of *Seitō* had a similar idea about women's emancipation to Goldman in terms of emphasis on spiritual emancipation. Ōsugi's concept of self was the core of social reform, and women's self could be the core of family reform from within the family.

Women's questions and anarchism

Hiratsuka's words described women's real situation related to marriage and the family.

Even if we are not against marriage, we cannot accept the conventional concept of marriage and the marriage system. In today's social system, marriage is a lifelong relationship between power and subordination. A wife is regarded the same as the under-aged or disabled. She does not have the legal right to possess property, nor rights over her children. A husband is not impeached for adultery, while a wife is. We don't want to marry and conform to such an unjust, absurd system.²⁰

The women of *Seitō* sha not only revolted against the irrational marriage system and the family system, but also questioned social norms about women's sexuality. An important debate took place about virginity and fidelity; whether virginity and fidelity were valuable (1914).²¹ Ikuta Hanayo claimed the commercial value of virginity was a product of the invented morality of chastity, and women could use that value.²² Yasuda Satsuki insisted that nothing was more important to women than their chastity, and that a woman's surrender of her virginity was precious as a complete expression of love.²³ Itō Noe exposed the irrationality of popular conceptions of chastity, which did not allow women to marry two men, but allowed men to be unchaste, thus placing unequal

²⁰ Hiratsuka Raichō, "Yo no fujin tachi ni" (To women in society), *Seitō* 3, no. 4 (April 1913), pp. 162 – 163.

²¹ The concepts of virginity and chastity in this debate differed from earlier. The former concept of virginity (*shojo*) was a young woman who had not yet married, still lived in her parents' home, and had had no sexual experience. Chastity (*teisō*) meant that widows did not remarry. In the debate, both virginity and chastity meant that women had had no sexual experience. About the change of concepts, see Muta Kazue, *Senryaku to shitenno kazoku* (The family as a strategy), Tokyo: Shinyō sha, 1996, pp. 138 – 144.

²² Ikuta Hanayo, "Taberu koto to teisō to" (On living and chastity), *Hankyō* (September 1914), in *Shiryō sei to ai o meguru ronsō* (Materials on the debate about sex and love), Orii Miyako ed., Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1991, pp. 13 – 18.

²³ Yasuda Satsuki, "Ikiru koto to Teisō to" (Survival and chastity), *Seitō* 4, no. 11 (December 1914), pp. 1 – 9. About the debate on the issue, see Muta Kazue, "Senryaku to shitenno onna" (Women as a strategy), *Shisō*, no. 812 (February 1992); Arai Tomiyo, "Bosei ishiki no mezame" (Awakening of motherhood), in *Bosei o tou* (Questioning motherhood), Wakita Haruko, ed., Tokyo: Jinbun shoin, 1985; Mackie, Vera, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, p. 50; Orii Miyako, "Kaidai" (Bibliographical introduction), in Orii ed., *ibid.*, pp. 274 – 284.

penalties on women. But she would not accept women's commercial exploitation of their virginity, as she felt that something precious attached to virginity.²⁴ In this debate about virginity and fidelity, Ōsugi interposed his question of why virginity was important. According to him, a sense of shame and moral rules about virginity and fidelity appeared in society only after private property had displaced primitive communism. Those things were mere devices of men to control women.²⁵ Ōsugi's historical perspective of the origins of morality called on women to examine their internalised morality.²⁶

There was also a debate about contraception and abortion, which was a criminal offence at that time (1915).²⁷ Harada Satsuki claimed women's rights over their bodies.²⁸ Hiratsuka, although admitting people's right to practise contraception as she herself did, expressed her feelings of disgust for it.²⁹ Itō supported contraception, but opposed abortion because to kill a life was assaulting nature, and because an unborn child had its life even in its mother's body. She respected an unborn child as having an existence and a future.³⁰ Emma Goldman had claimed that women had a right to avoid unwanted children and championed women's rights to their own bodies. In practice, as a midwife she had helped women workers to acquire knowledge about contraception.³¹ But Japanese anarchists did not publicise this side of Goldman's activities, and showed little interest in the issue. For example, regarding contraception, anarchist Ishikawa Sanshirō's comment showed his lack of real concern about the issue. He said, "members of Seitō sha seem agitated about it. But it must be an empty theory. It is a matter that gentlemen, rich men, businessmen, or the intelligentsia are cultivating in order to give themselves up to pleasure. Anarchists might advocate it for the poor, but poor people

²⁴ Itō Noe, "Teisō ni tsuitemo zakkan" (Impressions of chastity), *Seitō* 5, no. 2 (February 1915), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 167–172.

²⁵ Ōsugi Sakae, "Shōjo to teisō to shūchi" (Virginity, chastity and shame), *Shin kōron*, (April 1915). In *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 3, p. 218.

²⁶ Ōsugi Sakae, "Shūchi to teisō" (Shame and chastity), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 6 (March 1913), pp. 2–5, "Danjo kankei no shinka" (Evolution of the relationship between the sexes), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 3, pp. 153–173.

²⁷ The woman who had an abortion and the person who conducted it could be sentenced to up to five years.

²⁸ Harada (Yasuda) Satsuki, "Gokuchū no onna yori otoko ni" (From a woman in gaol to a man), *Seitō* 5, no. 6 (June 1915), pp. 33–45.

²⁹ Hiratsuka Raichō, "Kojin toshiteno seikatsu to sei toshiteno seikatsu tono aida no kattō ni tsuite" (On a conflict between life of an individual and life of a sexual being), *Seitō* 5, no. 8 (1 September 1915), pp. 1–22.

³⁰ Itō Noe, "Shishin—Nogami Yae sama e—" (A letter to Mrs. Nogami Yae), *Seitō* 5, no. 6 (June 1915), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 224.

³¹ Emma Goldman admitted the need for birth control as part of women's emancipation and was committed to the birth control movement. About Goldman's participation in the birth control movement, see Candace Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*, Rutgers University Press, 1990.

are having many children without giving it consideration, despite their difficulties.”³² Anarchist Miyajima Urako’s comments put forward an anarchist point of view on the issues. She did not debate the rights and wrongs of abortion or contraception, but attributed the ‘unnatural acts’ of abortion and contraception to an unnatural society. Miyajima concluded that women’s emancipation would be complete only when a new society based on a new social system appeared, but did not explain what the new social system would be, nor how to achieve it.³³ Male anarchists did not have positive comments on contraception or abortion in terms of women’s autonomy over their own bodies. They failed to recognise the wider implications of women’s protests and challenges on women’s issues, or to see the coercive legal and social restraints on women’s liberty as an affront to anarchist principles.

In a later public debate about protection of motherhood (1918 – 1919),³⁴ three prominent persons made their stances clear. Female poet Yosano Akiko (1878 – 1942) insisted on women’s economic independence, which would avoid the need for special protection of motherhood.³⁵ On the other hand, Hiratsuka claimed a need for the state to protect motherhood because childbirth and child-rearing were matters of public concern in producing the next generation.³⁶ Socialist Yamakawa Kikue (1890 – 1980) proposed a third way to solve the question by socialism. She admitted the necessity for women to achieve both economic independence and protection of motherhood, but criticised both proposals for compromising within a conventional social system, i.e. capitalism. She insisted that the final resolution lay in changing the economic system in favour of socialism.³⁷ This debate assumed the location of motherhood within society in terms of its relation to the state, and Hiratsuka and Yamakawa both expected to have

³² Ishikawa Sanshirō, “Shokumin to hinin” (Colonisation and contraception), *Shin shakai*, no. 11 (1 June 1916), in *Ishikawa Sanshirō zenshū* (The collected works of Ishikawa Sanshirō, hereafter *Ishikawa zenshū*), Tokyo: Seidosha, 1977 – 1979, vol. 2, p. 214.

³³ Miyajima Urako, “Hinin to datai” (Contraception and abortion), *Kindai shisō* 3, no. 1 (October 1915), p. 29.

³⁴ About the debate, see Mackie, *ibid.*, pp. 55 – 58; Kouchi Nobuko, “Kaidai” (Bibliographical introduction), in *Shiryō bōsei hōgo ronsō* (Materials on the debate about motherhood protection), Kouchi Nobuko, ed., Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1984, pp. 289 – 320.

³⁵ Yosano Akiko, “Bōsei henjū o haisu” (Rejecting overemphasis on motherhood), *Taiyō*, no. 2 (February 1916), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 28 – 38; “Joshi no tettei shite dokuritsu” (Women’s complete independence), *Fujin kōron*, no. 3 (March 1918), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 85 – 86; “Nendo jizō” (Clay self-sculpture), *Taiyō*, no. 7 (June 1918), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 96 – 104.

³⁶ Hiratsuka Raichō, “Bōsei hōgo no shuchō wa irai shugi ka” (Is mother protection dependence?), *Fujin kōron*, no. 5 (May 1918), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 86 – 91; “Bōsei hōgo mondai ni tsuite futatabi Yosano Akiko shi ni kisu” (To Mrs Yosano about mother protection problem), *Fujin kōron*, no. 7 (July 1918), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 105 – 117.

³⁷ Yamakawa Kikue, “Bōsei hōgo to keizai teki dokuritsu—Yosano Hiratsuka nishi no ronsō” (protection of motherhood and economical independent: a debate between Ms Hiratsuka and Mrs Yosano), *Fujin kōron*, no. 9 (September 1918), in Kouchi, *ibid.*, pp. 132 – 146.

the protection of the state though in different ways. By contrast, Itō's insistence on 'free motherhood', which I go on to describe, clearly shows its anarchistic character.

Toward 'free motherhood'

Itō Noe began her intellectual progress with *Seitō*, which was a fertile ground for thought about individualism and femininity, and developed her own ideas, which gradually assumed an anarchistic tendency.

She pointed out the gap between the ideal and reality in the present environment of marriage; this was "although there were loud cries, such as 'marriage without love was a sin,' actually, this was completely ignored by people. Marriage had been decided on by a third person without consideration of the parties concerned."³⁸ While she accused parents of ignoring the opinions of the parties concerned, Itō saw implicit in women's condition a lack of self-awareness that induced women to follow the will of others. She attributed this situation to men's chronic suppression of women, and asked men to become self-aware before asking women to do so.³⁹

However, Itō did not simply blame men, but questioned the meaning of being faithful to oneself. She observed that many women lived conventional lives, following a false path without thinking for themselves. But if people wanted to be faithful to themselves, they had to see inside themselves to find their own path, even though it was a painful task. From this viewpoint, it was unacceptable behaviour to interfere in the inner lives of others.⁴⁰ She sought a desirable state for individuals in society, where each individual with their own inner life did not interfere with others.

From a viewpoint of respect for the individual, Itō was fully aware that the family system did not allow individuals to be themselves.

Even though family members were tolerant, as long as their tolerance was not beyond the family system based on convention, it forced me to be subordinate.⁴¹

This was the nature of the family system; even though senior family members were kind to junior members, it was not because they respected others' human rights, but because they did it as a favour. There was no concept of respect for people's rights in the family.

³⁸ Itō Noe, "Konogoro no kansō" (Recent impressions), *Seitō* 3, no. 2 (February 1913), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Itō Noe, "Konogoro no kansō" (Recent impressions), *Seitō* 3, no. 4 (April 1913), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 24.

⁴¹ Itō Noe, "Moushiwake dakeni" (As an excuse), *Onna no sekai* 2, no. 7 (June 1916), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 374.

Therefore once a person went beyond family members' (parents) tolerance, he/she would be accused of selfishness. Itō remarked that it would be a miracle if a person who had an awareness of self and respected individuality could be satisfied with the Japanese social system and family system. This was because all Japanese ethics ignored individuals.⁴²

Nevertheless, Itō never intended to escape from commitment to the family. She refuted people's misunderstanding about the liberation of women that she and other *Seitō* members sought as follows:

We returned to normal life after having children, though we had previously insisted on liberation. Everyone saw us with a cold smile on their lips. But we are pursuing the way we should follow. We can acquire external freedom by avoiding marriage or not having children, but we do not call that liberation. We want to be free from people who hold a rope to control us.⁴³

A call to "Destroy the conventions!"⁴⁴ was Itō Noe's slogan for women to liberate themselves by their own efforts. Her iconoclastic call was aimed at dismantling woman as an ideal, a stereotype that neglected individual women's personalities and put all women into the same mould of Woman. Therefore, Itō called for women to destroy the ideal, restore their personalities and achieve freedom. Her insistence on self was associated with a rejection of the idealisation of women, of women who submitted to being idealised, and also of the men who forced women to comply with their ideals. She called for women to liberate themselves from idealism and to return to their original natures, which were different in every woman.⁴⁵ Thus individual (women's) emancipation in the family began with women's self-awareness and iconoclasm. Itō's words were similar to expressions used by the Paris group of Chinese anarchists. But there was a difference: Itō did not refuse to have a role as a mother, wife and daughter, but refused being fixed in a mould that others had made. This amounted to a destruction of the family from within.

Itō's insistence on pursuing self-hood and her tendency to individualism were generated from fertile arguments in *Seitō*. Itō recalled that she grew up in individualism

⁴² Itō Noe, "Shimoda Jirō shi ni" (To Mr. Shimoda Jirō), *Seitō* 5, no. 6 (July 1914), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 93.

⁴³ Itō Noe, "Dansei ni taisuru shuchō to yōkyū" (The opinion and claim on men), *Fujin kōron*, no. 2 (February 1916), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 334.

⁴⁴ Itō Noe, "Teisō ni tsuite no zakkan" (My impressions of chastity), *Seitō* 5, no. 2 (1 February 1914), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 172.

⁴⁵ Itō Noe, "Yonda mono kara" (From books I read), *Seitō* 5, no. 8 (1 August 1914), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 84 – 85.

in *Seitō* sha.⁴⁶ And her arguments were consistent with others in *Seitō*. For example, Iwano Kiyō (1882 – 1920) explained individualism as a rejection of false consciousness, and required taking the self seriously, which was an opposite concept to familism that neglected the self. She went on to argue that the family should be a union that provided each member with benefits; if not, members had a right to destroy it. Individuals in a family based on individualism were only connected by love and lived together with respect for each other's freedom and rights. Individualism meant that people tried to develop the self and did not interfere with each other's acts as long as they did not disturb the self.⁴⁷ Hiratsuka recorded her design for individualism in an article "Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta", which appealed to women to liberate their inner selves, to destroy all conventions that deprived women of light and life, and to live according to their own inner needs, so that women could return to the origin of life. She understood individualism in a spiritual sense, namely that individualism's self was the ultimate stage one could reach through investigating the self thoroughly and identifying one's universal needs.⁴⁸ Itō's individualistic attitudes towards family life and marriage were produced in an environment of such discourse in *Seitō* sha.

After the *Seitō* era,⁴⁹ Itō developed her own distinctive and anarchistic opinions about those issues through her experience of the failure of her marriage to Dadaist and critic Tsuji Jun (1884 – 1944) and her new life with anarchist Ōsugi Sakae. Especially, the failure of her original marriage for love led her to consider the nature of institutional marriage. Itō cited the family system as one of the reasons for the failure of her marriage to Tsuji because she and her husband had spent their married life with his family, including his mother and sister; she had had various conflicts with his mother. She thought she and Tsuji had been successful in love, but had failed in marriage. In addition, she realized that she and Tsuji took different attitudes toward communal living and children, which became another reason for the failure of her marriage.⁵⁰

However, her experience had helped to deepen her understanding of the nature of the institution of marriage, the relationship between husband and wife, and parenthood. She pointed out that according to conventional ideas, 'true love' means not

⁴⁶ Itō Noe, "Seichō ga unda watashi no ren'ai hatan" (A failure of my love due to my growth), *Fujin kōron*, no. 10 (October 1921), "Jiko o ikasu koto no kōfuku" (A happiness in fulfilling the self), (April 1923), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 298.

⁴⁷ Iwano Kiyō, "Kojin shugi to katei" (Individualism and the family), *Seitō* 4, no. 9 (1 October 1914), pp. 1 – 6.

⁴⁸ Hiratsuka Raichō, "Saikin no kansō" (Recent impressions), *Seitō* 4, no. 9 (1 October 1914), p. 161.

⁴⁹ Itō took over editing from Hiratsuka in January 1915. But *Seitō* was discontinued in February 1915.

⁵⁰ Itō Noe, "Jiyū ishi niyoru kekkon no hakai" (Destroying marriage by free will), *Fujin kōron* 2, no. 9 (September 1917), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 437 – 440.

only to love and to believe in each other, but also two persons trying to assimilate each other and lead a unified life. As a result, they come to have a conventional relationship of husband and wife, which makes a woman incapable, obedient and a nuisance to man.⁵¹ She admitted her case was not exceptional.

"We must always be ourselves," Itō came to believe. Women should not be the property of others.⁵² Through her life with Ōsugi, Itō tried to build her life according to this belief. She thought that, in daily life, independent people should keep to themselves and be indifferent to others' lives, not invade others' territory. However, she noticed that people, in actual fact, took the opposite approach. For example, parents took wrong attitudes toward children. Persons who had previously been angered by their parents' interference now behaved in a similar way towards their own children.⁵³ This behaviour exceeded parents' rights. It was similar in the case of the relationship between husband and wife. Some people, who cannot be satisfied with 'understanding' each other, force their partner to 'assimilate' to them in the relationship between husband and wife. That was a kind of exceeding their rights.⁵⁴ She repeatedly insisted that "in terms of association with others, it is important to become more self-centred and not to interfere in others' lives unnecessarily."⁵⁵

About her relationship with Ōsugi, she explained that the aim of their union was to become comrades who shared the same path and the same work and believed in each other the most rather than becoming husband and wife.⁵⁶ Itō asserted that the most important thing to connect the sexes was not "the differences between the sexes" (*sei no sabetsu*) but a friendship that transcended the differences.⁵⁷

Together with her individualism, motherhood was another important aspect in her anarchism. Although Itō emphasised comradeship in her married life with Ōsugi, this did not necessarily mean that Itō fought for or claimed equality of the sexes.⁵⁸ She

⁵¹ Itō Noe, "Jiyū boken no hōe," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 171.

⁵² Itō Noe, "Seichō ga unda watashi no ren'ai hatan," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 306.

⁵³ Itō Noe, "'Aru' tsuma kara ryōjin e" (From a wife to a husband), *Kaizō* 3, no. 4 (April 1921), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 256.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 257.

⁵⁶ Itō Noe, "Jiko o ikasu koto no kōfuku" (A happiness in fulfilling the self), *Fujin kōron* 8, no. 5 (May 1923), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 364.

⁵⁷ Itō Noe, "Jiyū boken no hōe," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 170 – 171.

⁵⁸ Arai Tomiyo argues the important meaning of maternal awareness in Itō and other member of Seitō sha. See Arai Tomiyo, "Waking of 'Bosei ishiki no mezame—Seitō no hitobito" (The awakening of motherhood-consciousness: people of Seitō), in *Bosei o tou—rekishi teki henshen*, vol. 2, Wakita Haruko, ed., Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1985, pp. 130 – 157. On the other hand, Helene Bowen says Itō subscribed to a feminism of equality and de-emphasised specifically female aspects of her life such as motherhood. See Bowen-Raddeker, Helene, "Resistance of difference: sexual equality and its law-ful and out-law

shared with Hiratsuka and Goldman the idea that emancipation did not simply rely on equality to men. The true happiness was to fully realise the self,⁵⁹ she affirmed. In addition, Itō became aware within herself of a deep meaning for motherhood. She admitted that it was after she had had a child that she fully realized the attendant problems and formulated her own thoughts on the matter.⁶⁰ Once she became a mother, she could realise that a mother's love for her child was strong enough to sacrifice everything for the child.⁶¹ She thus accepted a responsibility for her children. The self included all aspects of a person including motherhood, which was an essential factor in Itō's personality, as expressed in her anarchism.

Although she believed that a mother's love for her children could not be denied by anything, she was not absorbed in motherhood. She felt obliged to reject an accusation that she had abandoned her own children, and hoped that her children would come to understand her divorce. But even if they didn't, that would be the end of it. Children have their own lives. Even if her children were to feel bitter about her, this would be much better than sacrificing herself for her children and living meaninglessly—in the end, becoming heavily dependent on her children.⁶² Apart from any claims of motherhood, Itō respected children's lives and even acknowledged the right to an independent life for the unborn child in the abortion debate.

'Free motherhood' (*jiyū boken*), which meant that motherhood was to be given unconditional approval in society, was an outcome of her consideration about motherhood. She adopted Goldman's words, "if motherhood is the highest fulfillment of woman's nature, what other protection does it need save love and freedom? Marriage but defiles, outrages, and corrupts her fulfillment,"⁶³ in her article "Towards free motherhood."⁶⁴ She also clearly indicated her rejection of any form of interference—either by protection or control—with motherhood. Goldman had expressed motherhood in the context of anarchism, and Itō incorporated the following ideas in her article:

(anarchist) advocates in Imperial Japan," *Issue*, no. 7 (March 2002) and "Anarcho-feminist discourse in prewar Japan: Itō Noe's autobiographical social criticism," *Anarchist Studies* 9, no. 2 (2001), p117.

⁵⁹ Itō Noe, "Jiko o ikasu koto no kōfuku," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 361.

⁶⁰ Itō Noe, "Seichō ga unda watashi no ren'ai hatan," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 300.

⁶¹ Itō Noe, "Jiyū ishi niyoru kekkon no hakai" in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 438.

⁶² Itō Noe, "Seichō ga unda watashi no ren'ai hatan," in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 303.

⁶³ Emma Goldman, "Marriage and love." Itō had translated this article and published it in 1914.

⁶⁴ Itō Noe, "Jiyū boken no hōe" (Toward free motherhood), *Kaihō* 2, no. 4 (April 1920), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 174.

The defenders of authority dread the advent of free motherhood, lest it will rob them of their prey. Who would fight wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? [...] The race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine,— and the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex-awakening of woman.⁶⁵

Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes.⁶⁶

Itō translated Goldman's "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" in 1913,⁶⁷ and also published it together with other Goldman's writings including "Marriage and love" as a book in 1914. When Itō cited Goldman's words from "Marriage and love" in 1920, Goldman's opinion about love, marriage and motherhood had become Itō's opinion, which Itō had reached by her own path. Itō sought a society where women could enjoy free motherhood, a society that did not control reproduction but respected reproduction as nature.

In the context of creating a social norm for mothers of the nation, Itō's anarchistic opinion about motherhood, which ideally even rejected the institution of marriage, was incompatible with conventional motherhood within the frame-work of government policy. There were also differences between Itō's opinions and contemporary discourse about love in literature, as outlined in the following section.

Opinions about 'love' in the Taishō era

Compared with the Meiji era, attitudes toward love and marriage became more open-minded in Taishō era. Socialists and anarchists were not the only people who talked about free love, though in the general community this tended to be in terms of freedom of choice and inter-personal relations within marriage. A leading article in the general-interest magazine *Chūō kōron*, "Marriage and love," summarised a broadly accepted social attitude at that time.

Marriage should be a union of men and women by love. If existing married life cannot achieve love, it should be destroyed at any cost. Today's social system has become a target of criticism because it has the tendency to allow such irrational married life to exist, or even support it.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Emma Goldman, "Marriage and love," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 243.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 243.

⁶⁷ Itō Noe, "Fujin kaihō no higeki' ni tsuite" (On *The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation*), *Seitō* 4, no. 3 (March 1914), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 63 – 65.

⁶⁸ The leading article "Kekkon to ren'ai" (Marriage and love), *Chūō kōron* 38, no. 6 (May 1923), p. 2.

Based on the idea that “love or marriage is a chance to express human nature,” and had the potential to develop human nature, the article supported the opinion that married couples should maintain their love throughout their relationship.⁶⁹

Throughout the Taishō era, love and marriage were argued from different points of view. The term ‘free love’ (*jiyū ren'ai*) was often used to denote sexual relationships outside of formal marriage. However, although individual anarchists disregarded many of the conventional constraints of marriage, few developed the concept of free love to include the rejection, in principle, of monogamous unions or fidelity between lovers. As illustrated by anarchist dislike for the behaviour of woman anarchist Yasuda (described in chapter 4), anarchists did not see complete freedom in sexual relationships to be consistent with their commitment to freedom from convention in other areas of politics or society.

Nevertheless, the great majority of people were developing their views on love and marriage. Essays on love, in a series of newspaper articles “Kindai no ren'ai kan” (Views of love in the modern period),⁷⁰ by critic Kuriyakawa Hakuson (1880 – 1923) and a succession of famous people's love scandals⁷¹ provided material for argument about what marriage should be. People criticised the conventional form of marriage as lacking in love. A vague consensus in favour of companionate marriage and a view that marriage should be based on love were gradually being formulated. Although other conditions also needed to be achieved, such as freedom to meet and associate with the opposite sex, and education about the physical aspects of sex, the importance of love in marriage was gaining approval in society.

The nature of public approval for free choice in marriage, nevertheless, was not necessarily intended to change the component of marriage within the existing family system. Emphasis on the importance of love in marriage resulted in little change in actual family roles or life styles because the desirable pattern did not stray from conventional social norms. The introduction of choice of marriage partner did not

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁰ Kuriyakawa Hakuson, “Kindai no ren'ai kan” (Views of love in the modern period), *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, which was run in 20 parts from 30 September to 29 October 1921. Kanno Satomi, *Shōhi sareru ren'ai ron—Taishō chishikijin to sei* (Consumed essays on love: intellectuals in Taishō and sex), Tokyo: Seikyū sha, 2001.

⁷¹ For example, the double suicide of countess Yoshikawa Kaneko and her chauffeur in 1917, suicide of actress Masui Sumako after the death of Shimamura Hōgetsu in 1919, love affair of physicist Ishihara Jun and poet Hara Asao, double suicide of philosopher Nomura Waihan and Okamura Umeko, elopement of poet Byakuren and Miyazaki Ryūsuke (revolutionary Miyazaki Tōten's son) in 1921, double suicide of novelist Arishima Takeo and journalist Hatano Akiko in 1923. Asahi shinbun sha ed., *Asahi shinbun no kiji ni miru ren'ai to kekkon [Meiji/Taishō]* (Love and marriage in news articles in *Asahi shinbun*, Meiji/Taishō), 1997.

revolutionise the pattern of love—marriage—childbirth—child rearing which continued to be regarded as a desirable life process.⁷² In addition, although people's concept of love was changing, even if in a moderate way, government control (censorship, propaganda) and social norms still tightly restricted people, especially women, in the name of good manners and decency. There was little radical change in the male-dominated society of Japan.⁷³

Unlike Kuriyakawa's writings and other literary opinions about love, in which love was not connected with social reform, anarchist Katō Kazuo (1887 – 1951) argued about love in the context of reforming society. However, his opinions were restricted to women's problems. Katō recognised that all authority in morality, ideals, and the social system had broken down and postulated the existence of two slaveries: of workers and of women. The former were exploited in a capitalist economy. The latter were slaves of their parents, husbands and families because of women's lack of independence in the economy. Katō thought women's self-awareness was not as great as that of workers. Women only acknowledged their servile position, but did not yet recognise that it originated in the irrationality of the economic system. Therefore women still wanted self-revolution but without an associated social movement. Katō looked back: "we previously believed that individual revolution could achieve the right life due to lack of knowledge of social science. But now we have realised that we cannot achieve the right life only through self-revolution. Women, who have not reached this level, will join social movements after they are disillusioned about the possibility of self-revolution."⁷⁴

Like Takabatake, Katō reduced the family problem to women's problems. Katō suggested women's emancipation needed a social movement, but he did not explain how the social movement could solve family problems. In addition, he did not mention what the family problem was and how women related to the family, and to society. As Katō's article shows, as long as the family problem was regarded as a woman's problem, it remained a secondary issue in anarchism and male anarchists took the stance of outsiders. Though recognising the unequal situation of women and sometimes deploring their hardships, the family problem was not regarded by male anarchists as an issue specifically to be addressed by anarchism.

⁷² Sugimori Kōtarō, "Konponteki ren'ai no hogo kaihō oyobi seiyō" (Protection, liberation and correct usage of true love), *Chūō kōron*, (June 1923), p. 71.

⁷³ Kiyonaga Takashi, *Sabakareru Taishō no onna tachi—fūzoku kairan toiu na no dan'atsu* (Judged women in Taishō: oppression in the name of corruption of public morals), Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1994.

⁷⁴ Katō Kazuo, "Seiteki jiken no shakai teki kōsatsu" (Social considerations of sexual incidents), *Chūō kōron*, no. 6 (June 1923), pp. 114 – 117.

Women in the family and workplace

The family was a problematic issue for the Japanese labour movement in general. For example, workers' diverse perceptions of the family and the role of women appeared in the printers' union magazines *Shinyū* (Sincere Friends) and *Seishin* (Righteous Progress).⁷⁵ Women's situation was directly described by a contributor called Hatsuko as follows:

Women who are slaves of the family at home and slaves of the capitalists in industry have no amusements, no hobbies, and no education. In addition, they are said to be subject to seven-reasons for divorce, the three-obedience rule and have no home in the three worlds.⁷⁶ How can one say that women are a part of humanity?⁷⁷

A female worker's hard life with its double burden was also extensively reported in Itō Noe's interviews with striking women workers.⁷⁸ Female workers explained their situation: after working at their jobs for 12 hours under poor conditions, women then had to do housework at home. It was impossible for them to get enough sleep to recuperate, especially married women who needed to care for husbands and children. Given the harsh demands of women's daily lives, Itō emphasised that calls for shorter working hours and a rise in wages reflected their urgent needs.⁷⁹

The family system was mentioned as one of the main causes of women's miserable situation. An article picked up a common complaint of women; "being a woman is the most worthless thing in the world." The writer attributed this to the irrationality of the family system, which "upheld the conventional view that women were men's belongings, and therefore a woman should be 'a good wife and wise

⁷⁵ The workers' union of the newspaper industry, *Seishin kai* (Righteous Progress Society) was founded in December 1919 under the strong influence of anarchism and had about 500 members. *Seishin* was a union organ that began publishing in April 1920. *Shinyū kai* (Sincere Friends' Society), the union of Western language compositors, was founded in 1916. About the characteristics of the unions see Mizunuma Tatsuo, *Meiji Taishō ki jiritsu teki rōdō undō no ashiato-insatsukō kumiai o jiku toshite* (A footprint of the independent labour movement in the Meiji and Taisho era: introducing the printers' union), Tokyo: JCA shuppan, 1979. Gotō Nobuaki, *Nihon sanjikirizumu undō shi* (History of syndicalism in Japan), Tokyo: Keishūsha, 1984.

⁷⁶ There were seven grounds on which husbands could divorce their wives. The three obediences were that a woman was required to obey her father before marriage, her husband during her married life and her sons in widowhood. Women did not have a place to live in the three worlds (the past, present, and future).

⁷⁷ Hatsuko, "Shin no ningen ni" (Becoming truly human), *Seishin* 1, no. 1 (5 April 1920), p. 24.

⁷⁸ Type-setting workers, who belonged to *Shinyū kai*, conducted an allied strike with a demand for eight working-hours (six working-hours for women) in October 1919. Itō interviewed women workers of a printing house, *Sanshū sha*. *Shinyū* demanded eight-working hours and other requests and promoted the strike. About details of the strike, see Mizunuma, *ibid.*, pp. 99 – 107.

⁷⁹ Itō Noe, "Hikō fujin ra to kataru" (Talking with striking women), *Rōdō undō* 1, no. 3 (1 January 1920), p. 8.

mother', which required women to devote themselves to care for their husbands and follow them in all matters." The writer also believed that there was only forced and false affection between husbands and wives instead of true love in the family. This situation was described as one where "women had duties and no rights, while men had all of the rights."⁸⁰

Reflecting this view, some male workers directly expressed their disdain for women. One criticised women: "women are loose. The more I become aware, the more I feel repelled by women. It is safe to think of women as living toys and friends for play."⁸¹ Interestingly, he used the terms "the family revolution" and "the family struggle" in a different context from women. He thought it was male workers who were suffering pain for 'the family revolution' and 'the family struggle.' He even doubted whether workers with wives could ever be awakened workers. From the viewpoint of men, he criticised family ethics as follows; "I cannot help feeling how dreadful the old ethics are. Even though workers suffer hardships and lose their personalities due to their wives and children, they still believe that having a family proves they are adult."⁸² His misogynist attitude towards women might be extreme, but contemptuous opinions about women were not unusual in the magazines. Another man had doubts about women's awareness. He questioned, "I wonder whether we are hearing the real voice of awakened women. It is still the case that many male workers do not understand the workers' movement even though we have worked hard to educate them. It is futile to give more ignorant women space to put their views in every issue."⁸³ The reason for providing a women's section in the magazines was to improve women's understanding of the workers' situation. The editor explained women's influence behind the strike. Women who were in charge of the kitchens complained about a shortage of money to feed their families, or said that those who wanted to spend more money on leisure forced their husbands to go on strike. But when the strike continued without wages, it made their lives difficult. Women then asked husbands to give up the strike. "Husbands were first forced to go on strike and then forced to stop it by their wives." Therefore, the editor called on women to "wake up at the crack of dawn."⁸⁴ In another letter, women were simply regarded as the object of the writer's sexual desire. "I want a woman, but

⁸⁰ Ogura sei, "'Bakabaka shii' tane no konzetsu ni tsutome mashō" (Let's make efforts to eliminate 'rubbish' sources), *Seishin* 1, no. 3 (5 June 1920), pp. 20 – 21.

⁸¹ Chikuyō, "Rodosha to nyōbo" (A worker and his wife), *Shinyū*, no. 4 (5 April 1921), p. 7.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ MU sei, "Majime de atte hosii" (I want women to be serious), *Shinyū*, no. 4 (5 April 1921), p. 11.

⁸⁴ Ogura Chūzō, "Yo ga aketara mezamete kudasai" (Wake up at the crack of dawn), *Seishin* 1, no. 1 (5 April 1920), pp. 21 – 22.

buying a prostitute is not so much fun in spite of the expense: *shirakubi*⁸⁵ is tasteless, *geisha* is too expensive. Taking my wife is not good because she will have a baby. Give me satisfaction of my instincts.”⁸⁶ Those voices reflected male workers’ disdain and distrust of women, which came from a conventional concept that men were in a superior position to women, and their pride that they were knowledgeable self-aware workers belonging to a union.

However, not all male workers had the same attitude towards women. There were workers who were looking for wives as comrades. “Almost all workers who are seeking marriage mutter, ‘I want a wife who knows the hardships of life and has a strong feeling of revolt against the existing system.’” A contributor acknowledged “the day when men hold women in contempt has passed. As *Sekiran kai* (the Red Wave Society)⁸⁷ participated in the demonstration on May Day, women workers realised the meaning of starvation.”⁸⁸ He appreciated women’s struggle in the labour movement. Conventional doctrines of familism and filial piety were also regarded as unrelated to worker’s real lives. A man ridiculed familism by saying, “Stupid men say that Japanese beauty lies in familism or that the Japanese spirit is still hanging around in these days when prices are rising rapidly. But where can we find the beauty of familism in our lives? We have to work from early morning to late at night in order to live.”⁸⁹ He also criticised filial piety; “You (female workers) and we have to stop sacrificing our children to earn our living. It is a sin that people teach filial piety to their children and then live off them, even though it was their desire to have children. This is a kind of sin.”⁹⁰ Beautified familism and filial piety were nothing but a falsehood for him.

Although the existence of women workers was not a new phenomenon, women workers were not given a proper position in the unions. For some male workers, the existence of women workers was not desirable. But there was no choice because husbands’ wages were not enough to feed their wives and families. This became a reason for demanding a rise in their wages from the capitalists.⁹¹ Some interpreted the existence of women workers as a cause of the reduction in men’s wages and the number of men employed. Furthermore, women’s reproductive function was damaged by hard work. One writer also compared the old days and the present. When capitalism had not

⁸⁵ White neck, which meant low-grade prostitute.

⁸⁶ A contribution, *Shinyū*, no. 2 (22 February 1922), p. 16.

⁸⁷ The first society of socialist women, which was founded in 1921.

⁸⁸ Amen sha, “Kaka totsutotsu” (a loud laugh and a cry of surprise), *Shinyū*, no. 6 (30 May 1921), p. 15.

⁸⁹ “Ningen damashii” (Human spirit), *Seishin* 1, no. 2 (5 May 1920), p. 24.

⁹⁰ KTsei, “Waga jokō shokun ni mukatte” (To our women workers), *Shinyū*, no. 5 (27 April 1921), p. 8.

⁹¹ Tomokasegi sei, “Nyōbo ga kasegu nowa naze hajika” (Why is it shameful that a wife is earning?), *Seishin* 2, no. 3 (5 March 1921), p. 13.

developed like today, workers could support their families. But now they could not. Therefore, “we want to struggle against capitalism without letting wives and children work.”⁹² He hoped to let women return to nature. Not only men, but also women recognised as undesirable the situation that forced them to work. “Unlike in the old days when women could stay at home to look after their families, women today have to shoulder a double load. This is because of capitalists’ tyranny. Therefore, women should join the union (*Seishin kai*) to get rid of capitalism to realise a better life for workers.”⁹³ Thus the workers’ struggle against capitalism often included a hope to restore the old days as well as to improve working conditions.

Negative perceptions of female workers also stemmed from the development of the modern family, *katei* (home). As mentioned, from the 1920s, the urban middle classes formed a new type of home, in which wives as housewives stayed to care for husbands and children. Women were expected to bear responsibility for managing the home and bringing up the next generation for the state. In this situation, the concept of women’s emancipation became complicated. Women’s participation in production was not accepted straightforwardly as the way to liberate women, either by male or female workers. Workers, both men and women, wished that they could afford to keep wives at home like a middle-class family. This entangled situation affected discourse about women’s emancipation in the family and in the working place.

Although female workers believed that “women’s true emancipation should progress along with the worker movement and reach ‘social revolution,’”⁹⁴ there was no clear explanation of how proletarian emancipation would link up with women’s emancipation. To revolt against men’s tyranny, a union member Ueda Seki, who acknowledged men’s lack of motivation to solve discrimination against women,⁹⁵ suggested forming a women’s union in order to struggle against men as well as men forming the union to struggle against capitalists.⁹⁶ But her suggestion was rather exceptional. Most women workers regarded self-awareness and joining a union movement as the solution.

⁹² Kyokusen sei, “Shihon shugi tōkai shudan no daiichi toshite fujin rōdōsha no yūtai o nozomu” (As the first step to overthrow capitalism, hoping for women workers’ voluntary retirement), *Shinyū*, no. 2 (February 1921), p. 6.

⁹³ Tko, “Mukashi to ima” (The past and now), *Seishin* 1, no. 5 (5 August 1920), p. 21.

⁹⁴ Kiyoko, “Shinyū o tsūjite fujin shokun ni tsugu” (Through *Shinyū*, tell women), *Shinyū*, no. 8 (20 August 1920), p. 12.

⁹⁵ Ueda Seki, “Danshi no fujikaku o ureu” (Worry about men’s unawareness), *Seishin* 1, no. 2 (5 May 1920), pp. 21 – 22.

⁹⁶ Ueda Seki, “Onna datte betsuni kawari arimasenyo” (Women are not different), *Seishin* 1, no. 3 (5 June 1920), p. 22.

What should we do for that? I can say without hesitation that we should unify, i.e. printers join the *Shinyū* [...] It is urgent to unify in order to insist on our rights.

As a result, conventional customs will be changed thoroughly, and we will not have to work long hours. Women should try winning a six-hour working day so that we can do washing after work and go out on Sunday as much as we like. I would like to say that this is the way of human life.⁹⁷

This was a typical opinion about women's emancipation and the union movement. Women workers, as well as male workers, believed that the union movement could ultimately achieve "a new society with economic freedom and free love."⁹⁸

There were various reasons for women's inactivity and lack of awareness. For example, it was not unusual for men as fathers or husbands to forbid their wives or daughters to join a union.⁹⁹ At a meeting in 1926, female anarchist Kodama Haru (1906 – 1988) mentioned men's prejudice towards women as one of the reasons for the inactivity of women workers. She asked the union not only to found a women's division in the union organisation, but also to basically support the women's movement.¹⁰⁰ Although many women's issues were related closely to "feudalistic ethics" and the family system, women workers resolved them into class issues. As far as they could see, the only solution for women's problems relating to the family lay in supporting the union movement to fight against capitalism.

Individual rebellions against the family system

Besides the critiques of the family system in relation to free love or women's emancipation, hostile reactions were published from individuals, such as Nanba Daisuke (1888 – 1924)¹⁰¹ and Kaneko Fumiko (1903 – 1926).¹⁰² They recognised the

⁹⁷ Tsukishima Mimeko, "Fujin no tachiba kara" (From women's position), *Shinyū*, no. 7 (20 September 1920), p. 10.

⁹⁸ Ueda Seki, "Jibun no tame kumiai undō" (Union movement for ourselves), *Seishin* 1, no. 4 (5 July 1920), p. 23.

⁹⁹ Ueda Seki, "Danshi no fujikaku o ureu," *Seishin* 1, no. 2 (5 May 1920), p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Mizunuma, *ibid.*, p. 279.

¹⁰¹ He was born as the third son of a landlord and member of parliament Nanba Sakunoshin. He withdrew from Waseda high school and became a day worker. In 1923, he attempted to assassinate the prince at Toranomon (the Gate of the Tiger). He was sentenced to death for it and executed in 1924.

¹⁰² While she was working in Tokyo, she became acquainted with socialism and anarchism. She met a Korean revolutionary Pak Yol and devoted herself to social activities with Korean activists. They founded *Futei sha* (Malcontents Association), published magazines and supported terrorism. In the confusion after the Kantō earthquake, Kaneko and Pak were arrested by police and then prosecuted for high treason. They were sentenced to death in 1926, but this was commuted to life imprisonment by a pardon. Kaneko was found dead. It was said that she committed suicide by hanging herself. Her opinions were expressed at the trial and in her writings in gaol. Her prison manuscript was published through editing by Kurihara Kazuo, a member of *Futei sha*, as a book titled *Naniga watashi o kō sasetaka* (What made me like this,

family system as a power system that oppressed men and women, and challenged the family system, together with the state. Their words, though we only know them in fragments, represented anarchistic opinions sharply opposed to the family system, expressed in terms of individual rebellion against authority.

Nanba Daisuke's family had been a supporter of the Imperial cause for generations. His father was also a devout worshipper of the Imperial Household, and had forced Nanba to make obeisance to a picture of the emperor on the emperor's birthday. Nanba himself had been a passionate loyalist for a period under the influence of his father. At the same time, his father as the head of the family was an ardent ancestor worshipper. According to Nanba, a dead ancestor returned to dust was more important to his father than his living offspring.¹⁰³ In the family, Nanba's father was a tyrant. Nanba even believed his mother died from worry because of his father. His father decided Nanba's schooling, and tightly controlled his life both economically and in thought. Not only Nanba, but also his brothers and sister, were victims of his father's tyranny in his eyes. In his perspective, not only women, but also men were oppressed by the head of the family.

Nanba, through his short but hard experience of daily employment in his attempt to become independent, came to superimpose the family system on the class system, and the hierarchical structure in the family onto that of society. He described the social system as a simple structure as follows:

Parent's attitude toward son
Elder brother's attitude toward younger brother
Thank you! Thank you!
Thanks to you, I've understood well
Old nation, the family system
The classes not only exist in real society
There are classes in the family¹⁰⁴

Worker class antagonism—family antagonism
Family antagonism The Imperial House— the peerage— the family system¹⁰⁵

hereafter *Naniga*) in 1931. According to Kurihara, her writing was cut off throughout so that it looked like a reed screen when he received it from gaol. Therefore we cannot read what she wrote as it was. But it is possible to know her opinion considerably well by using trial records and statements of people who knew her. My citations are from the edition published by Chikuma shobō in 1984.

¹⁰³ Ōshima Eizaburō, ed., *Nanba Daisuke taigyaku jiken—Toranomon de gen tennō o sogeki—* (Nanba Daisuke the High Treason Incident: shooting at the present emperor at Tora no mon), Isezaki: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1979, p. 184.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 172.

In this hierarchical schema, the individual family was the foundation of the hierarchical social system with the emperor at the top, which was expressed by the phrase *kazoku-kokka*. Parental authority was directly connected with the authority of the emperor, and each individual was placed according to his/her status in the family and in an extended family, i.e. the state.

Once Nanba had recognised this insight into the family system, he ridiculed the false morality of loyalty and filial piety that demanded people follow fixed behaviour regardless of their beliefs. When he was forced to stay at home under his father's restrictive supervision, Nanba pretended he had changed his attitudes in order to wait for a favourable opportunity for his plan to assassinate the emperor.

Nothing could be easier than being a loyal subject or a dutiful son, if only you killed all your will and followed somebody blindly. Even I—a communist and a scoundrel to my father and brothers—could be a dutiful son.¹⁰⁶

Kaneko Fumiko also had a tyrannical family experience. Her father Saeki Bun'ichi, who was proud of his family's nobility, ordered his family to bow to the Saeki family genealogy every morning.¹⁰⁷ However, Kaneko had been a person without a family register because her father had not allowed her as an illegitimate child to be entered in his family register nor permitted her mother to have Kaneko entered in her family register. Later, when Kaneko cohabitated with Korean anarchist Pak Yol, her father disowned her because "to cohabit with a lowly Korean is a disgrace to the glorious Saeki lineage."¹⁰⁸ For her father, her cohabitation with a Korean should be condemned because, in his order of social hierarchy, Koreans were placed in a lower position than the lowest Japanese. Kaneko had thus been discriminated against even by her family in this social hierarchy and value system.

The authority of law or morality never existed for Kaneko. She was refused entry to primary school¹⁰⁹ due to her lack of family registration. She described the irrationality of the law, which "is a falsehood that denied real existence, but

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁰⁷ Kaneko Fumiko, *Naniga*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁸ Saishin junbi kai, ed., *Kaneko Fumiko Boku Retsu saiban kiroku* (The record of the trial of Kaneko Fumiko and Pak Yol, hereafter *Saiban kiroku*), Isezaki: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1977, p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ The modern school system was rapidly set up after the Meiji Restoration. Compulsory school education was enforced in 1900. In 1910 when Kaneko entered school, the compulsory school attendance rate became 98.14%. In the process of completion of the unified public school system, the private schools (*shijuku*) were abolished. Sakurai Tetsuo, *"Kindai" no imi—seido to shitenno gakkō/kōjō* (the meaning of "modern": the school and factory as system), Tokyo: Nihon hōso shuppan kyōkai, 1984, pp. 178 – 179.

acknowledged me after I was registered as a sister of my parent.¹¹⁰ Society is cruel to that whipped innocent little child.”¹¹¹ But the law gave parents absolute rights over their children. Although her parents did not carry out their duty as parents, the law admitted their rights to sell her to a brothel or to arrange her marriage without concern for her wishes or interests. The unjust treatment she suffered led her to believe that morality was nothing but a device that forced the weak to obey the strong. It always favoured the strong. For the weak, submission to the strong meant morality. Parents’ love for their children would only operate if it did not conflict with the parents’ egotism and did not offend their interests. Parents’ love was nothing but their desire for possession. Morality forced Kaneko to obey her parents in the name of filial piety. It was a one-sided duty for children. She recalled, “I unbearably hate authority: parents’ authority that trampled me in the name of parents’ love, and the authority of the state and society that oppressed me in the name of Japanese communal solidarity.”¹¹²

Kaneko developed her own perception of the nature of the family, the law, and the emperor. In society, being an illegitimate child, and a woman, Kaneko was forced to fit into a fixed mould and her treatment depended on that fixed position. Through her experience, she came to believe that humanity was equality. This was because she believed that all humanity as a natural existence was equal in value and had an equal right to live.¹¹³ Kaneko’s life embodied her revolt against authority, morality, and social order. Furthermore, Kaneko’s experience in Korea, where she stayed as an adopted daughter of her aunt until she was sent back to Japan as unfit for the family, enabled her to observe Japanese society through the eyes of an outsider. She could question the oneness of the Japanese, a self-evident concept to most Japanese, and was sensitive to the exclusiveness of the Japanese community.

For Nanba and Kaneko, it was easy to understand the nature of *kazoku-kokka* as an enlarged family. They revolted against the family system through their rejection of the authority of the father or the head of the family, and their disobedience to them. Furthermore, they revolted against the emperor and the state through being terrorists or devoting themselves to activist social movements.

In his last letter, Nanba recommended his father to “liberate everything. [...] Humanity possesses tremendous power of rebellion against tyranny. You should

¹¹⁰ Kaneko Fumiko was registered as the fifth daughter of her maternal grandparents when she was adopted into the family of her paternal aunt.

¹¹¹ “Boku Retsu Kaneko Fumiko shuyō chōsho” (The main record of Pak Yol and Kaneko Fumiko), in *Anākizumu*, Komatsu Ryūji, ed., P. 198.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 199.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 233 – 234.

tremble with fear of a human being's power."¹¹⁴ Although Nanba sometimes called himself a nihilist, he held to his belief that humanity was the most precious thing on earth. Therefore Nanba asked his father to respect humanity. On the other hand, Kaneko could still believe in her own will after she became disillusioned with all authority of the family system, law, and morality. For Kaneko, self was literally created by herself. When she realised that "I have been a slave for others. I have been a plaything for many men. I have not lived my life,"¹¹⁵ she began to live her life according to her will. She described desirable society as follows:

I am inclined to draw an illustration of the society I desire, which is a place where all people are living autonomously. All people become masters of their lives and manage their lives correctly. Autonomy means that individual acts come from self-motivation and each has responsibility for their own acts.¹¹⁶

Their own family experience helped them to recognise injustice in society. But they did not mention any relationship between change in the family and the reform of society. They could only imagine a desirable society in terms of the relationship between the individual and society. They criticised the family system and tried to overcome family influence, but were not in a position to change or improve the family situation.

Nanba and Kaneko referred to their family experiences as a cause of their opinions and actions. On the other hand, ironically, the authorities also emphasised their unfortunate family experiences, which were caused by their parents' treatment, as the reason for their delinquent acts. This was because such parents' maltreatment of their children could not bring out voluntary feelings of filial piety and obedience. Their families had not fulfilled their function to nourish a desirable nation and to protect the social order. However, what Kaneko and Nanba had revolted against was the very nature of the family system, which did not admit individual personality and rights, and was directly related to the state morally and legally. They did not set out to destroy the family, but confronted the family as independent individuals in order to acquire their freedom to be themselves.

¹¹⁴ Ōshima Eizaburō, ed., *Nanba Daisuke taigyaku jiken—Toranomon de gen tennō o sogeki—*, p. 186.

¹¹⁵ Kaneko Fumiko, *Naniga*, p. 195.

¹¹⁶ Kaneko Fumiko, "Nijū roku nichi yahan" (At night on the 26th), in *Saiban kiroku*, p. 740.

Positive views of the family

The family, however, was not always seen as an agent of authority. As Meiji socialists described it, the family was a place of pleasure. Furuta Daijirō (1900 – 1925)¹¹⁷ described his view of the family, which made a sharp contrast with Nanba and Kaneko in terms of recognition of the family system. He did not portray his family as authoritarian, but as a place of tender interpersonal relationships. Although he committed terrorism for his belief in anarchism, his affection toward his family was praised by people. Furuta wrote his thoughts and life as an anarchist terrorist in gaol. It was published in a book *Shi no zange* (penitence through death) after he was executed, and became a best-seller. His warm affection toward his family and pure love for his lover touched people, because he followed the norms of society in terms of morality.

He repeatedly expressed his great regret to his family for his acts, even though he believed in the rightness of what he had done.

I regretted that I did only what I wanted to do without consideration for my little sisters. Nothing would bother me now as long as I could live with my gentle brother, innocent sisters and old father together, helping each other and loving each other in our small world.¹¹⁸

For Furuta, his family was the most precious thing in the world. His affection for family members was appropriate to his status in his family as the third child of five children and the second son in the family. His feelings of filial piety were unconditional reliance on his father, trust and obedience for his elder brother, and love for his little sisters. He received deserved affection from them. He expected family members to understand and love him unconditionally. It was a comfortable and harmonious situation for him. The family was not connected with the outer world as a part of the social structure, but was a small, closed world.

Beside his feelings for his family, Furuta mentioned his lover as an object of his affection. His concept of love was simple and naive. The woman whom he loved was already married and had a child. But he kept her image as a lovely innocent soul and everlasting idol in his mind. He identified his lover with his late mother in some sense. He admitted that he had kept his virginity because he respected platonic love and wanted to keep his love pure forever. Unlike Itō's thoughts about love, Furuta's concept

¹¹⁷ Furuta was a founder of Kosakunin sha (Tenant association), which aimed to follow the farmer's movement. After he met anarchist Nakahama Tetsu, he became a terrorist and founded Girochin sha (Guillotine association) in 1922. Furuta killed a bank clerk when the group attempted to rob a bank to raise money for their activities, and was arrested and executed.

¹¹⁸ Furuta Daijirō, *Shi no zange* (Penitence through death), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1988, p. 27.

of love did not include any possibility of changing his circumstances in order to achieve love. He only idealised the woman he loved and cherished his feelings for her in his mind. Thus, Furuta's image of the family was completely different in nature from what Nanba and Kaneko described. As his family was isolated from society in his mind, his belief in anarchism was irrelevant to his family life, which had no conflict but only harmony and affection among family members.

On the other hand, the family was a practical place of living for the majority of workers. For Enishi Ichizō (1901 – 1984), who was a worker in an ironworks and a leader of the union movement, the family was what he should support. He became an anarchist because of his fatherless family's financial distress during his early life. To support his family he began work selling newspapers from the age of ten. After graduating from primary school, he was apprenticed to several shops and helped his mother selling in the theatre. He supported his family, consisting of his mother and young brother, and his grandmother who had divorced and come to his house with her small son to depend on him for support.¹¹⁹ After his mother died, he could go to Tokyo to devote himself to the labour movement. His situation represented that of many workers who were the main breadwinners for their families. For many anarchist workers, the family was not regarded in terms of emotional relationships, or as an object of critique in terms of the family system, but as the setting for their everyday life. Enishi recalled that a union leader had recommended him to read Kōtoku Shūsui's book and had said that Kōtoku was a person who became a victim for attempting to change society so that people could live happily without poverty or inequality. Enishi came to decide to fight against the poverty and oppression of workers after he read such anarchist books.¹²⁰ Socialism and anarchism were regarded by him as promoting people's better life. But for him there was no clear connection between social reform and family reform. Rather, individual will was the core of social reform.

Some workers could not even afford to have families. Wandering poet and anarchist Gotō Kentarō (1895 – 1925)¹²¹ lost his father soon after he was born and began working in a coal mine at a young age. In a poem about the worker's life of extreme poverty, he described his life without reserve. Workers were restricted just like

¹¹⁹ Enishi Ichizō, *Enishi Ichizō jiden—rōdō undō hitosuji no shōgai* (Autobiography of Enishi Kazumi: his life for the labour movement), Tokyo: Enishi Ichizō jiden kankōkai, 1976, pp. 2 – 3, 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

¹²¹ He had joined groups of *Rōdōsha* (workers) and *Kansai rōdō* (workers in the Kansai region), and also participated in an abortive assassination of the British Prince of Wales by the Guillotine group. He was arrested for distribution of anti-militarist propaganda into barracks in 1922. He committed suicide in gaol in 1925.

prisoners in chains and did not have homes.¹²² Having children was simply the reproduction of future workers who would have the same fate as their parents.¹²³ He was all alone in the world. Even his hometown meant for him darkness, cruelty and harshness.¹²⁴ There was no hope or expectation from life, family or society.

It is difficult to summarise Japanese anarchist discourse about the family in this era. This was because the viewpoint shifted from society to the individual, and as the shift occurred, the family came to have different meanings depending on the individual thinker. The family itself was changing its appearance and functions in the framework of the family state, which reached a different stage from the previous formative era. Therefore, although individual acts against the family did not lose the meaning of revolt against the family system and the family state, the family was identified less as representing a system or a component of the state. In the previous era, family reform had been the core of social reform, but in the Taishō period, individual awareness was emphasised more as a crucial element in family reform and social reform. In this situation, anarchist women's discourse about family issues from women's viewpoints would provide a new dimension to anarchism.

3.2 The family revolution in China

Individual morality

After the *Xinhai* Revolution of 1911, Chinese anarchists shifted their theatre of operations from abroad to China. Former members of the Paris group now pursued the family revolution through efforts to improve individual morality in China. Wu Zhihui, Li Shiceng, Zhang Jingjiang and Zhang Ji returned to China and in January 1912 founded an association *Jinde hui* (the Society to Advance Virtue), which aimed to reform corrupt society through individual moral development. The *Jinde hui* incorporated into its rules the basic principles of the Paris anarchists in terms of a strict lifestyle. The Society had a membership system of three grades, in which different covenants applied to different grades of membership, but the three fundamental covenants for all grades, except for probationary members, were: do not buy prostitutes,

¹²² Gotō Kentarō, "Tetsu no mado yori" (From the iron window), in Gotō Kenjirō, *Rōdō, hōrō, kangoku yori* (From work, wandering and gaol), Osaka: Shūbun sha, 1926, (Reprinted by Kokushoku sensen sha, 1991), p. 3.

¹²³ Gotō Kentarō, "Noroubeki seikatsu" (Accursed life), in *ibid.*, p. 115.

¹²⁴ Gotō Kentarō, "Kōjō no sumi yori" (From a corner of factory), in *ibid.*, p. 84.

do not gamble, and do not keep concubines. In addition to those three covenants, higher grade members were instructed: do not become a public officer and do not become a member of parliament. The highest grade members were enjoined: do not smoke, do not drink, do not eat meat.¹²⁵ Although the Paris group had demanded the abolition of the family in *Xin Shiji*, the *Jinde hui* covenants were intended rather to support monogamy and to reform double standards of sexual morality. The former Paris group of Chinese anarchists thus began their social reforms in China by assuming a standpoint of the individual as father or as husband.

The *Jinde hui* was not the only association aiming to reform society through improving individual morality. The *Shehui gailiang hui* (Society for Social Reform), which was founded by Cai Yuanpei,¹²⁶ Song Jiaoren, Wang Jingwei, Li Shizeng and others in February 1912, had 36 covenants including: do not buy prostitutes, do not keep concubines, abolish early marriage, promote free choice of marriage, promote freedom of divorce and remarriage, do not gamble, and so forth.¹²⁷ Anarchist advocacy of moral reform, which was not directly relevant to anarchism, was in line with a more general social movement to reform Chinese society at that time.

Anarchist Shifu (1884 – 1915) and his followers also intended to improve individual morality, but they did it in the context of anarchism. *Xinshe* (the Conscientious Society), which was founded by Shifu, Bi'an (1879 – 1975)¹²⁸ and Jipeng (1891 – 1972)¹²⁹ in July 1912 in Guangzhou, had a twelve-point covenant: do

¹²⁵ "Jinde hui huiyue" (The commandments of the Society to Advance Virtue), *Minli bao*, (2 February 1912), in *Wuzhengfu zhuyi sixiang ziliao xuan* (Selection of materials on anarchist thought, hereafter WZSZX), Gao Maochun and Jiang Jun, eds., Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1984, pp. 336 – 337.

¹²⁶ Cai married his first wife according to traditional custom in 1889. After his wife died of disease in 1900, he proposed the following conditions for an acceptable marriage, including: the woman should not have bound feet; she should know how to read and write; the man should not take concubines; the woman could remarry if her husband died or if the man and woman felt they were incompatible, they could divorce. In November 1901, he married Huang Shizhen, who met the conditions. They held a speech meeting instead of a traditional wedding ceremony, where guests and Cai spoke about equality between the sexes. Gao Pingshu, ed., *Cai Yuanpei nianpu* (A chronological record of Cai Yuanpei), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980, p. 13.

¹²⁷ "She hui gailiang hui zhangcheng" (The regulations of the Society for Social Reform), in *Cai Yuanpei zhuangji*, Gao Pingshu, ed., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 138 – 139.

¹²⁸ A founder of a newspaper *Xiangshan junbao* in Guangdong in 1908. About his life, for example, see Zheng Peigang, "Xiangshan junbao ji qi chuanganren zheng anfu" (*Xiangshan junbao* and its founder Zheng anfu), *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao*, no. 25 (1982), pp. 143 – 155, and Yu Yunjie, Wu bin, and Xu Qini, "Zheng Bian xiansheng sixiang yanxing chutan" (About the thought, words and deeds of Mr. Zheng Bian), *Zhongshan wenshi ziliao*, no. 11 (1987), pp. 49 – 59.

¹²⁹ As a member of the Tongmenghui, Mo took an active part in the 1911 Revolution in Guangdong. After the revolution, he advocated anarchism with Shifu. He helped Chen Jiongming who governed the Guangdong and Guangxi area in the 1920s. *Mo Jipeng xiansheng fangwen jilu* (The Reminiscences of Mr. Mo Jie-peng), Guo Tingyi, Wang Yujun, and She Wensun, eds., Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1997.

not eat meat,¹³⁰ do not drink, do not smoke,¹³¹ do not keep servants, do not use a sedan chair or rickshaw,¹³² do not marry (eliminate the titles of 'husband' and 'wife'), do not use a family name, do not become a public officer, do not become a member of parliament, do not join a political party, do not join the army or navy, and do not observe religion. Shifu thus embodied elements of the family revolution in the form of covenants—do not marry and do not use a family name—which individual members were voluntarily to observe. The family revolution was expressed as anti-familism in *Huiming xueshe* (the Cock-crow Society), which was founded by Shifu and his followers simultaneously to spread anarchism. The society stood for no government, that is, no kind of authority at all, including the family, religion, nationalism, militarism, or parliamentarianism, and no private property, and had eight disciplines: communism, anti-militarism, syndicalism, anti-religion, anti-familism, vegetarianism, unification of language, and internationalism.¹³³ Thus reforming individual morality was placed in the context of anarchism.

Both the family and marriage, which had helped to give rise to the family, were categorised as authorities. Marriage, according to Shifu, was a device for the stronger to oppress the weaker. Women, who were the weaker due to their reproductive role, were suppressed by marriage and false ethics. Institutional marriage retained a coercive meaning, regardless of its form or style, which included not only Chinese-style marriage that oppressed women by its evil form and false ethics, but also Western-style monogamy, marriage for love, and marriage with freedom for divorce. Therefore, the forms of marriage themselves should be abolished.¹³⁴ And in the Republic of China, although the authority of emperor over subject had already been abolished, the authority

¹³⁰ Shifu gave both health and ethical reasons: eating meat that included poisonous matter could cause health problems; and killing and eating living things, to which human beings belonged, was against fraternity. Shifu, "Susho zhuyi cianshuo" (A view on vegetarianism). In *Shifu wencun* (hereafter SFWC). 85. Shifu suggested not eating eggs and milk, which were not prohibited by vegetarians in general. This was because taking milk away from calves and breaking off possibility of the life in future hurt their mothers. In addition, milk contained unwanted bacteria and eggs were perishable. Shifu, "Da Henchi" (Answer to Henchi), in SFWC, p. 175.

¹³¹ Shifu regarded drinking and smoking as bad habits and mentioned the bad effects on health of drinking (alcohol) and smoking (tar and nicotine). To improve personality for social and humanity's evolution, people should stop bad habits against scientific truth. Shifu, "Bu yinjiu bu xiyan yu weisheng" (Do not drink, do not smoke and health), in SFWC, pp. 93 – 100.

¹³² Keeping servants and using a sedan chair or rickshaw were exploitation of other's sacred labour for one's own self-interest. This was the same as capitalists exploiting workers. It was against the truth of equality. Shifu, "buyong puyi bucheng qiao ji renliche yu pingdeng zhuyi" (Do not keep servants and do not use a sedan chair or rickshaw, and egalitarianism), in SFWC, pp. 101 – 105.

¹³³ "Huiming lu fakan ci" (Publishing address of *Huiming lu*), *Huiming lu*, (20 August 1913), in SFWC, p. 58.

¹³⁴ Shifu, "Fei hunyin zhuyi" (Abolition of marriage), in SFWC, pp. 107 – 108.

of father over son and authority of husband over wife were still solidly entrenched. The family was nothing but an authority that should be abolished.¹³⁵

Shifu followed the Paris group's objective of giving public interest priority over private interest in the context of abolishing the family. Shifu thought that the most common immoral act in the present society was that people only looked after their own self-interest and did not look to the public interest. Abolishing the family meant extinction of private interest. Ideally, society would consist of individuals, and individuals would become the elements of society. People would share everything they made. Everything that people did for themselves would, at the same time, be done for others. Then there would be no division between personal and communal, private interest and public interest. Consequently, people would naturally acquire a morality of looking beyond their own interests.¹³⁶ Here we can see a tendency to assume private and public interest as inevitably being in conflict, and to solve the conflict through eliminating private interest or the private sphere itself. There could only be one sphere of interest—public interest—which would absorb private interests. Shifu supposed that affection and mutual aid among people could be expected to result when people had built up community life and communal interests.¹³⁷

To refute theories justifying inequality of the sexes, Shifu also adopted a scientific argument. Shifu had argued for the equality of the sexes in his earlier articles, "View of equality between the sexes in the age of literacy" and "View of equality between the sexes in Buddhism."¹³⁸ In the former, he based his argument on the meaning of the character "qi" (wife), which, he said, meant the equal of men, according to *Shuowen*.¹³⁹ Shifu insisted that inequality of women had only appeared after the ancient totem era and the clan era in Chinese history. Regarding Buddhist ideas on women, he cited passages to show that Buddhism did not have a tendency to neglect women. However, Shifu only cited Li Shizeng's article "The three bonds revolution," which insisted on the equality of father and sons and equality between the sexes, as a well-argued critique of the three bonds based on scientific principles, and did not mention his own articles.

¹³⁵ Shifu, "Fei jiazhu zhuyi" (Abolition of the family), in SFWC, pp. 113–116.

¹³⁶ Shifu, "Wuzhneqfu qianshuo" (On anarchism), in SFWC, p. 1.

¹³⁷ Shifu, "Da Hencang" (An answer to Hencang), in SFWC, pp. 281.

¹³⁸ Shifu, "Zaozi shidai zhi nannu pingdeng guan" (The view of the equality of the sexes in the time of creating characters) and "Fojiao zhi nannu pingdeng guan" (The view of the equality of the sexes in Buddhism). Both were written by Shifu in gaol in 1908, and published in *Xiangshan Xunbao*, in *Zhongguo zexue*, no. 12 (April 1984), pp. 507–508.

¹³⁹ The book *Shuowen* explains the origin and meanings of Chinese characters. It was edited by Xuzhen in the Han dynasty.

Society without family

In Shifu's plan, anarchist society would be realized as a result of the abolition of private property and the family, and would be a society to which individuals directly belonged, and of which individuals would be the elements.¹⁴⁰ This social vision was shared by contemporaries who had anarchist tendencies. The *Zhongguo shehui dang* (Chinese Socialist Party), and the *Shehui dang* (Socialist Party) had a common social vision though their programs differed in appearance. The *Zhongguo shehui dang*, founded by Jiang Kanghu (1883 – 1945) in Shanghai in November 1911, advocated socialism to reform society in a moderate way. The eight disciplines of the Party included reform of the law to respect individuals, and abolition of the inheritance system.¹⁴¹ The former was intended to change the law from the old one that regarded the family as the primary unit of society or the state and thereby sacrificed individual freedom, to a law that recognised the individual as a constituent element of society, and society as a direct association of individuals. The latter aimed to confiscate inherited property and realise communal ownership of property. If put into practice, this would eventually wipe out the traditional family system.¹⁴² Jiang Kanghu explicitly insisted on abolition of the family in his theory '*san wu er ge xueshuo*' (the theory of three-no and two-each), which meant no religion, no government, no family, and from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs. The *Shehui dang* was founded in November 1912 by Buddhist monks Taixu (1890 – 1947),¹⁴³ Shagan¹⁴⁴ and others who parted from the *Zhongguo shehui dang* due to conflict with Jiang Kanghu about party policies. It had two principles: the elimination of classes—rich and poor, high and low, educated and ignorant—and the elimination of national boundaries, family and religion.¹⁴⁵ The aim of eliminating the family was that individuals would become the simple elements of society, and society would become an organization of

¹⁴⁰ Shifu, "Wuzhengfu qianshuo," in SFWC, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ Other rules were: approval of the republic, unification of races, foundation of public organizations and diffusion of education for ordinary people, single land tax system, restriction on the military. "Zhongguo shehuidang xuangao" (The declaration of the Chinese Socialist Party), in *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi he shehui dang* (Chinese anarchism and the Chinese Socialist Party), Di er danganguan, ed., Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1981, p. 173.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁴³ About his activity in the New Buddhism movement in the 1920s, see Ge Zhaoguang, "Kaichōn no jūnen—Chūgoku 1920 nendai bukkyō shin'undō no naiteki ronri to gaiteki shikō—" (A study on inner logic and tendency toward the outer world in the 1920's Chinese New Buddhism Movement as expressed in *Haichaoyuan*), *Shisō*, no. 943 (November 2002), pp. 108 – 127, no. 945, (December 2002), pp. 110 – 128.

¹⁴⁴ (? – 1913) A member of Sun Zhongshan's Revolutionary Alliance. He was killed due to his anti-Yuan Shikai activities.

¹⁴⁵ "Shehui dang yuanti ji yuezhang" (The origin and rules of the Socialist Party), in WZSZX, p. 250.

individuals.¹⁴⁶ Its regulations were as follows: don't become an officer of the state, don't join a political party, don't join the army or navy, don't believe in religion, don't use a family name, and don't marry (married persons should stop using the titles of 'husband' and 'wife' through agreement between both parties).¹⁴⁷ These regulations were based on their idea of *san wu zhuyi* (Three No's thought): no religion, no family, no government.

A member of the *Shehui dang* explained that the essence of "radical socialism" was the Three No's thought. According to this explanation, 'no religion' actually meant denial of *zongfa* (the patriarchal clan system) and the Three Bonds. He regarded *zongfa* based on Confucian ethics as the counterpart of religion in Western society, which restricted people's freedom of thought, speech, and love. In the same sense, the Three Bond was nothing but a means for rulers to control the Chinese people. Once people realized the falsity of the Three Bond, its evil stain would be washed away, *zongfa* would be eliminated, and freedom would be realised. In the explication of the *Shehui dang* principles, the boundary of the family was regarded as distinguishing compatriot from non-compatriot, and in this originated the concepts of closeness and remoteness (*qinshu*) in personal relationships. Therefore, once the boundaries of the family were destroyed, individuals would simply become elements of society, and society would become a group that individuals would directly belong to. In such a society, older and younger members would become the parents and children of everyone.¹⁴⁸ Anarchism was expressed by Jiashen in five anti-isms; anti-militarism, anti-nationalism, anti-religion, anti-private property, and anti-familism with the aim of seeking equality and opposing authority.¹⁴⁹

Anti-familism was also one of the main principles in the anarchism of *Datong she* (the Great Harmony Association), which was founded by anarchist Yuan Zhenying and his classmates in Hong Kong in 1912. The Association supported no-family and

¹⁴⁶ "Shehui dang gangmu shuoming shu" (Exposition of the Socialist Party Rules), in WZSZX, p. 252.

¹⁴⁷ "Shehui dang yuanqi ji yuezhang," in WZSZX, p. 250. Shifu commented that these rules adopted *Xinshe*'s commandments. "Lun shehui dang," in SFWC, p. 43. The Yuan Shikai government took notice of the rules of the Socialist Party including 'the practice of communism' 'practice of elimination of authority' 'preparation for the world revolution' and 'the renunciation of marriage (married persons should eliminate the name of husband and wife through agreement between both parties).' They regarded the two former as inviting plunder and disturbance, and the latter as leading to the decline of morality. The government notified local authorities of the ban on the party. "Dazongtongfu mishuting deng jiansong shehui dang yuanqi yuezhang bing tongxing geshengqu yanxing jiejing wenjian" (A document that the secretariat of the Presidential Palace checks and sends 'the origin and rules of the Socialist Party' and notifies each province to control the party), in *Zhongguo wuzhenfu zhuyi he shehui dang*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁸ "Shehuidang gangmu shuoming shu" (Exposition of the Socialist Party Rules), in WZSZX, pp. 252 – 253.

¹⁴⁹ Jiashen, "Wuzhengfu zhi yanjiu" (Study of anarchism), *Liangxin* (20 September 1913), in WZSZX, pp. 260 – 261.

no-state programs, and a theory of great harmony as its general theme.¹⁵⁰ Anarchism was thus widely perceived as a synonym of no marriage and no family. Thus a social vision consisting of individuals was also shared by contemporary radicals.

Shifu derived much of his view of family revolution from the Paris group, but still expressed anarchism in his own terms. Compared with the *Jinde hui*'s covenants, which required members to improve their lives while maintaining the status quo in terms of their marital situation, the *Xinshe*'s two covenants relating to the family revolution required its members to undertake a further act: rejection of marriage or dissolution of marriage. Through their rejection of marriage and use of a family name, individuals could undertake an active role in the family revolution.

Shifu drew an image of the family:

The Chinese family (*jiazu*) is not a family, but a dark gaol. This strong gaol has walls of marriage, bricks of family name, and concrete of Confucian ethics. The head of the family is the head warder and pitiful youth are the prisoners. Though abused by the head warder, they get used to living in gaol. After the death of the head warder, one of the former youths succeeds to the position. This has repeated itself for thousands of years. All Chinese men have been both prisoners and head warders, and all women have been the prisoners of (male) prisoners. What a pitiful situation!¹⁵¹

He intended to cut off this perpetual rotation of power from fathers to sons. Li Shizeng's article "The three bonds revolution" had suggested beginning the family revolution as if they themselves were in the position of parents. On the other hand, Shifu insisted on starting the family revolution as children who had been forced to marry or as husbands/wives who were already married. Both Li and Shifu intended to break the unbroken chain of the family, but Shifu changed the standpoint from parents to children, which meant Shifu refused to become a head warder. While Li Shizeng proposed calling on the head warder to liberate prisoners, Shifu called on prisoners to revolt against the head warder and, furthermore, the family system itself. Unlike the Paris anarchists who were married and had families, Shifu was never married and did not use a family name. By practising free love and refusing to become a husband or father, he never made a family. For him, the family revolution was not set in the future, but could be practised at any time by individuals through rejecting marriage and not using the family name. It was an attitude that the younger generation could share with him. Young people could have sympathy for Shifu's life and its struggle against the

¹⁵⁰ "Yuan Zhenying huiyi" (Memoirs of Yuan Zhenying), in WZSZX, p. 972.

¹⁵¹ Shifu, "Fei jiazu zhuyi" (Abolition of familism), in SFWC, p. 116.

family system and take it as a model for their own lives. This unyielding stand in support of the family revolution characterized Shifu and his group.

The family revolution in anarchism

Another aspect which characterized Shifu's view of the family revolution was the relationship between the family revolution and the whole anarchist revolution. On the relationship between the family and the state, Shifu regarded the abolition of the state as a precondition for the abolition of the family.

Familism is based on coercion, but if the government does not exist, and if private property does not exist, the family will not exist. When the legal system is abolished, the system of institutional marriage will naturally be extinguished. If a public education system is established, people will not pursue self-interest nor identify with their own family (*jiashi*). I cannot believe there would still be the family then.¹⁵²

Shifu believed that abolition of the government entailed the collapse of other structures. Shifu adopted the Paris anarchist Chu Minyi's second strategy of destroying the family, which involved getting rid of the government situated like a tower on the foundation of the family.¹⁵³

However, vagueness about strategy that had appeared in the Paris group theories persisted with Shifu. In the *Xin shiji*, Jupu had claimed that the authority possessed by husband, father and monarch originated in the family, which was the origin of all evils. Therefore, to eliminate authority, you had to destroy the family first.¹⁵⁴ Chu Minyi's first strategy had given the highest priority to destroying the family. Chu explained that, in order to destroy the government, it was necessary to abolish marriage and private property. This was because, if the family could not be created, states and races also could not be created. But having considered the enormous damage that would be incurred through this way of destroying authority, Chu chose the second strategy. Shifu, who pictured society as the land, and the state and the family as constructions on it,¹⁵⁵ did not clearly show the relation between the state and the family. Like Jupu, Shifu well recognized the Chinese social structure that had produced tyranny.

¹⁵² Shifu, "Lun shehuidang" (On the Socialist Party), in SFWC, p. 41.

¹⁵³ Chu Minyi, "Xu wu zhengfu shuo," *Xin shiji*, no. 38 (14 March 1908), p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Jupu, "Huijia tan", *Xin shiji*, no. 49 (30 May 1908), p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ Shifu, "Da Lewu" (Answer to Lewu), in SFWC, p. 208. Shifu rejected Lewu's opinion that society is the term that meant a human group above the family and under the state.

When people are equal, they cannot control each other. But since the family appeared, young people have become servile and obedient and have no independent personalities. Chinese have a common saying that after husband and wife, father and son appear; after father and son, monarch and subject appear. Therefore, the family is an embryo of tyranny.¹⁵⁶

It followed from this that, unless the basic model of tyranny, i.e. the family, was first abolished, you could not permanently abolish the authority of the state.

Giving priority to family revolution led Shifu to emphasise individual will as the basis of revolution. Consequently, the family revolution was not set in the context of abolishing government, but in terms of psychological change. In this aspect, Shifu followed Li Shizeng's view that eliminating the family only needed reform of thought, and destroying superstition and false morality. Shifu's following words were suggestive of Li's logic.

If you want a good and beautiful society, you should start with abolishing the marriage system and practising free love. To abolish marriage, you should start with destroying superstitions and false morality. Therefore if you want to abolish marriage, you have to destroy superstition first.¹⁵⁷

Shifu thus argued that abolition of marriage was basically a problem of individual awareness, apart from structural socio-economic issues. This tendency is shown in his opinion on women's independence. He stated, "Advocating abolition of marriage promotes women's awareness and develops their ability to live independently and thereby to restore their original personality."¹⁵⁸ Shifu supposed it was possible to practise free love before women achieved economic independence. Thus his argument about the family revolution was not necessarily tied to economic reality.

Taixu's plan for family revolution was in line with that of Li and Shifu. Taixu thought that the family revolution would be easier than the political, racial or economic revolution, and would be achieved through sons and wives remonstrating with fathers or husbands by gentle persuasion. But if this did not work, sons and wives should break out of their family hell. He thought that active resistance by the oppressed was the only realistic method of family revolution. Although Taixu recognised that economic reasons also prevented a family revolution, he did not cover economic aspects in his account. Taixu also looked to psychological motivations as the key to realising anarchism.

¹⁵⁶ Shifu, "Fei jiazu zhuyi," in SFWC, p. 116.

¹⁵⁷ Shifu, "Fei hunyin zhuyi," in SEWC, p. 110.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 114.

The circular tendency of arguments about family revolution is similar to anarchists' abstract arguments about anarchist revolution. Taixu admitted the complexity of the anarchist strategy. To rouse fraternal solidarity was the first prerequisite for the practice of anarchism. But the existing false system had produced a false morality. Therefore after destroying the system, false morality could not exist. On the other hand, however, without destruction of the false morality, the false system could not be destroyed. Eventually, Taixu concluded that the practice of anarchism was the cause and creating fraternity was the effect. At the same time, by creating fraternity, you could practise anarchism, and by the practice of anarchism, fraternity would become perfected.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Shifu on the one hand admitted that improving individual morality was impossible unless society changed,¹⁶⁰ and on the other hand insisted that to destroy marriage it was necessary to destroy superstition and arouse women's awareness. This anarchist strategy stemmed from a situation in which anarchists with no prior background in the anarchist movement could begin to advocate anarchism with a strong emphasis on individual voluntary acts.

Shifu was an influential figure in the diffusion of anarchism in China. His major achievement was thought to be his creation of "pure anarchism" excluding Chinese elements.¹⁶¹ The positive effect of Shifu's anti-familism is recognised in terms of anti-feudalism¹⁶² but is often discussed by researchers in isolation from his whole perception of anarchism.¹⁶³ However, Shifu's contribution was not limited to diffusion of anarchism. Shifu further developed the Paris group's approach in terms of placing the family revolution in the context of anarchism. The family revolution (abolition of marriage and not using family names) not only consisted of individual efforts to advance morality and change individual lives, but also was also associated with a plan to change social structure. In his perception, anarchism and abolition of the family became inseparably linked.

¹⁵⁹ Taixu, "Hanqi renlei benyou zhi boai xin" (Rousing altruistic spirit of human nature), *Liangxin*, no. 2 (August 1913), in WZSZX, pp. 266 – 267.

¹⁶⁰ Shifu, "Da hencang" (Answer to Hencang), in SFWC, p. 281.

¹⁶¹ Ren, "Weishenme women yao fakan Shifu jinian hao ne?" (Why do we issue a commemorative number on Shifu?), *Jinhua* 1, no. 3 (20 March 1919), p. 5.

¹⁶² Ye Zhangyong, "Shifu de fei hunyin zhuyi he fei jiazu zhuyi" (Shifu's anti-marry-ism and anti-familism), *Yangcheng jing*, no. 3 (1993), pp. 4 – 7.

¹⁶³ Regarding recognition of Shifu's anarchism in terms of family revolution, there are different evaluations. For example, Maruyama Matsuyuki regards Shifu's advocacy of the family revolution as important, but as irrelevant to the nature of anarchism. Maruyama Matsuyuki, "Chūgoku ni okeru museifu shugi to minzoku kyōsan shugi" (Anarchism and nationalism, communism in China), in *Chūgoku kindai no kakumei shisō*, p. 104. On the other hand Edward Krebs recognises that for Shifu, removal of the family system had become the essential feature of social revolution. Only with that achieved could the people of China reclaim their humanity. Edward Krebs, *Shifu, Soul of Chinese anarchism*, p. 107.

However, Shifu's anarchism had potential problems. First, the perception of the family became over-simplified as just a form of authority and power structure. Shifu omitted any aspect of affection based on blood ties. He promoted a tendency to regard the parent-child relationship as simply a biological fact. In addition, Shifu seldom mentioned the economic functions that the present family actually performed. He perceived the family as a product of the private property system and a result of women's economic and other dependency. This over-simplified perception hardly fitted existing families.

Second, there was a lack of clear connection between the family revolution and the anarchist revolution. The *Xinshe*'s covenants were only for its members. Shifu did not request ordinary people (workers and peasants) to follow the same covenants. Nevertheless he proposed free love, which could only be realized in anarchist society as an alternative to marriage. And abolition of marriage was expected to lead to abolition of the family. Although the anarchist revolution presupposed a transition period between the initiation and realization of policies, there was no program to cater for existing families during the changeover. This gap was inevitable in his program. This was because Chinese anarchism, as formulated by Shifu, could not separate out abolishing the family. If the existence of the family were to be admitted, the program of anarchist revolution would be forced to undertake fundamental change in its social model from 'individual-society' to 'individual-family-society' to allow for the existence of the family in its social vision. Shifu's program of anarchist revolution lacked the flexibility to include such change. Anarchist discourse about the family during the New Culture Movement era would develop with these problematic characteristics.

Anarchists and the New Culture Movement

A critique of the family system was developed in the radical magazine *Xinqingnian*, which was first published by Chen Duxiu (1880 – 1942) in Shanghai in September 1915. Confucian ethics and other traditional thought and customs that prevented Chinese people from progress were thoroughly attacked. The conventional family system, which was regarded as producing people with slavish characteristics, was one of the main targets. The editor Chen Duxiu¹⁶⁴ argued that familism in China

¹⁶⁴ He married Gao Shaofeng through an arranged marriage in 1897. Chen left Gao Shaofeng without divorce to live with Gao Junman in 1910. See Sun Qiming, *Chen Duxiu—shenshi hunlian houdai* (Chen Duxiu: life, love, and offspring), Jinan: Jinan chubanshe, 1995, pp. 30 – 42.

should be abandoned in favour of Western morality, which he regarded as superior.¹⁶⁵ Wu Lu (1872 – 1949)¹⁶⁶ criticised what he saw as an indivisible relationship between the family system and despotism in terms of ethics that produced a subordinate mentality.¹⁶⁷ Lu Xun (1881 – 1936)'s short story "Kuangren riji" (A madman's diary) described Chinese society based on Confucian ethics as a world where men ate men.¹⁶⁸ Lu Xun's critique of the family system was associated with his determination that his generation should pay the price in order to bury the past and liberate their children.¹⁶⁹ Educator and introducer of pragmatism Hu Shi (1891 – 1962)¹⁷⁰ criticized enforced fidelity as irrational and inhumane. Li Dazhao (1888 – 1927) wrote, "In present Chinese society, the origin of all evils is the family system."¹⁷¹ These writers unveiled the dark side of the family system and Confucian ethics.¹⁷² Their personal experiences of traditional arranged marriage gave added weight to their opinions about marriage. They made an appeal to young people to have the courage to smash the long-standing evils of the family system. They were ready to sacrifice themselves to liberate the next generation. Their appeal shows the same stance as Li Shizeng took in 1907.

If the appeals by Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Li Dazhao, and Lu Xun in *Xin qingnian* were regarded as the voice of a transitional generation that took a middle position between old and new generations, young anarchists spoke for the same generation. Young anarchists who were students at Beijing University founded an anarchist group *Shishe*¹⁷³ (Truth Society) in 1917 and began agitation for a family revolution. They took the same position on family issues as had *Xinshe*. Their platform can be summarised as: rejection of marriage and the family, and advocacy of free love. This

¹⁶⁵ "Dongsi minzu genben sixiang zhi chaiyi" (The fundamental differences between East and West nations), *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 4 (15 December 1915), pp. 1 – 4. (pages not numbered sequentially)

¹⁶⁶ About his critique of the family system, see Ono Kazuko, *Goshi jiki kazoku ron no haikai—keihōten ronsō* (The background of the discourse about the family in the May Fourth era: the debate about Civil Code), Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1992, pp. 67 – 86.

¹⁶⁷ Wulu, "Jiating zhidu wei zhuanzhi zhuyi zhi genju" (The family system is the origin of despotism), *Xin qingnian* 2, no. 6 (1 February 1917). (no page number)

¹⁶⁸ *Xin qingnian* 4, no. 5 (6 May 1918), pp. 414 – 424.

¹⁶⁹ Lu Xun, "Suiganlu 40" (Essay 40), *Xin qingnian* 6, no. 1 (15 January 1919), pp. 66 – 68; "Women xianzai zenme zuo fuqin?" (How should we become fathers now?), *Xin qingnian* 6, no. 6 (1 November 1919), pp. 555 – 562.

¹⁷⁰ Hu Shi, "Zhencao wenti" (The question of fidelity), *Xin qingnian* 5, no. 1 (17 July 1918), pp. 4 – 5. About Hu Shi's life, see Shen Weiwei, "Hu Shi hunyin lüelun" (Outline of Hu Shi's opinion about marriage), *Minguo dan'an*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 81 – 90.

¹⁷¹ Li Dazhao, "Wan'e zhi yuan" (The origin of all evils), *Meizhou pinglun*, no. 30 (13 July 1919), in *Li Dazhao xuanji*, (Selected works of Li Dazhao), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1978, p. 227.

¹⁷² Ono Kazuko, "Goshi undō ki no fujin kaihō shisō—kazoku seido ideorogī tonō taiketu—" (Women's emancipation thought in the May Fourth era: confrontation with the ideology of familism), *Shisō*, no. 590 (August 1973), pp. 103 – 120.

¹⁷³ It was founded by Zhao Ji, Zhenying, Jingcheng, and Huang Lingsguang at Beijing University in May 1917. It aimed to study and diffuse anarchism. *Ziyou lu*, which was its organ, ran to only two issues.

basic stance of the Shishe group was shown by two reprinted articles, "Liyun datong shiyi" (the explanation of *datong*) by Jupu from *Xin shiji*¹⁷⁴ and "Marriage and love"¹⁷⁵ by Emma Goldman in the first issue of the magazine.

An article by a member of the group, Zhenying, gives an outline of anarchist advocacy of the family revolution. He singled out the family as the origin of all evils including the three evils of religion, government, and the family. Then he turned his attack on marriage as the origin of the family. He explained how the marriage system had oppressed people and had harmed people's real affections, just as other false morality, fraudulently dignified as loyalty, filial piety, fidelity, and honesty (*zhong, xiao, jie, lian*) had forced people to die.¹⁷⁶ He called for youth in the new era to give the highest priority to abolition of marriage, even over dismantling the government and the elimination of religion. Once marriage became extinct, the family would not exist, and people would become free citizens (*ziyou min*) of the world. And thus problems of government and religion would be resolved naturally. As a way to achieve it, he suggested non-marry-ism, which meant practising free love (having free sexual relationships) without marriage. If people did not marry, the family would not exist. People would be free from problems related to the family as a private institution and could devote themselves to public affairs without considering self-interest. He respected pure love between men and women and believed that free love based on pure love would be more enduring.¹⁷⁷ According to him, his program would mean that 'marriage-less love' would take the place of 'loveless marriage.' Based on this opinion, Zhenying, in his comment on the *Jinde hui* (The Society to Advance Virtue)¹⁷⁸ at Beijing University, claimed that the Society should include non-marry-ism or unmarried-ism in order to disabuse wrong-headed men of their mistaken idea that concubinage was men's privilege, to free students to concentrate on their studies, and to eliminate the sense of family loyalty and filial piety.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ *Xin shiji*, no. 38 (14 March 1908), p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Emma Goldman, "Jiehun yu lianai" (Marriage and love), *Xin qingnian* 3, no. 5 (11 July 1917), no page number.

¹⁷⁶ In 1918, Lu Xun and Hu Shi criticised 'feudalistic' ethics for killing people, especially women. *Ziyou lu*'s tone of argument should be understood in the context of the social tide of the New Culture Movement.

¹⁷⁷ Zhenying, "Wan'e zhi yuan," *Ziyou lu*, no. 2 (May 1918), pp. 11 – 15.

¹⁷⁸ It was founded by Cai Yuanpei and others at Beijing University in 1918. The society had the similar structure of memberships and covenants to Jindehui, which was founded by Li Shizeng and other anarchists in 1912.

¹⁷⁹ Zhenying, "Beijing daxue zhi jinde hui" (The Society to Advance Virtue at the Beijing University), *Ziyou lu*, no. 2 (May 1918), pp. 81 – 82.

Anarchist discourse that developed in anarchist magazines in the late 1910s and the 1920s was in accordance with this basic line. Anarchist Liangji summarized the evils of the family, in terms widely used at the time, in the following four points: 1. Familism denies independent individual personality. 2. Familism inhibits personal development. 3. Familism oppresses personal freedom. 4. The family is the origin of the class system. Liangji, from the viewpoint of social evolutionism, saw that the kind of family that occupied a place between the tribe and the state could not fit into a cosmopolitan society. Outdated social systems, including the family and state, were expected to disappear as social evolution progressed. Liangji suggested two ways to abolish the family: a positive contribution would be to destroy ancestral clan shrines in imitation of the French government's 1906 separation of government and religion. And a more indirect way would be to eliminate all kinship relational terms, such as grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt, to achieve mental liberation. Then, people who could support themselves would live by themselves. If this were not possible, people would support themselves through mutual aid; some families would make a new village and fund social facilities, such as public nurseries and old persons' homes.¹⁸⁰

The attacks on filial piety were often based on the viewpoint that parents used filial piety, which originated in despotism and superstition, to hide their sexual misconduct and to make their children obedient. Jianmin took issue with the idea that filial piety was a kind of reward for parents, who had borne, reared and educated their children. It required children to repay their parents for what they had done for them. He said that having children was a natural occurrence and a duty to maintain human society. Child-rearing was a duty that all humanity should shoulder. This kind of responsibility was not just for individual parents, but for the whole of society and the whole of humanity. His article was in response to the theme of Hu Shi's poem "Wode erzi" (My son), which he cited. Hu Shi had brought up his son because it was his humanistic duty and, for doing so, only hoped his son would become a person with a fine character; he did not require him to be a dutiful son.¹⁸¹ Thus Jianmin definitely rejected irrational pressure from parents and an enforced response of gratitude or repayment from children. He regarded caring for aged persons, the weak and disabled,

¹⁸⁰ Liangji, "Jiazu de chufen" (The disposition of the family), *Minfeng*, no. 16 (7 September 1919), pp. 1-3.

¹⁸¹ About the background of this poem, see Shen Weiwei, "Hu Shi hunyin luelun."

not as a personal duty of filial piety, but as a universal social duty.¹⁸² According to scientific truth, the facts that father was a man, son was also a man, and father had a child (son) were no more than biological matters.¹⁸³ The idea that children should be regarded simply as the product of their parents' sexual acts had wide currency at that time.¹⁸⁴

More objectively, anarchist Yi Jiayue rejected filial piety from an historical viewpoint. Yi argued that filial piety, which had had significance in the remote past, had currently become insignificant in the present day and should become extinct.¹⁸⁵ As well as a critique of filial piety, Yi proposed a program for young people: disregarding society's accusations, scorn and abuse, young people should ignore filial piety and follow their own beliefs. Then people could become completely 'human.'¹⁸⁶

Like Shifu, young anarchists proposed free love in place of marriage. But some of the reasons anarchists gave seem arbitrary, especially to women. Taiyi gave three reasons for supporting free love. First, biology showed the different mating seasons and different reproductive abilities of the sexes. For example, a man could father more than a hundred children, while a woman could have only one child a year. Forcing the sexes to observe monogamy was therefore irrational. His words suggest that he believed that reproduction was the only conventional justification for marriage. Second, psychology proved that people preferred the new to the old, therefore affection between the husband and wife naturally got weaker as time went on. Third, women who were economically dependent on men became a heavy burden on society. Without marriage and the family, women would have no support and would become economically independent.¹⁸⁷ It is doubtful whether this kind of argument contributed much to the case for anarchism.

In anarchist arguments about free love, love was often idealized. Huashan insisted that free love was humanity's most sacred feature. Without free love, marriage

¹⁸² Jianmin, "Feixiao" (Unfilial piety), *Xuehui*, nos. 118 – 120 (15 – 17 February 1923), in *Zhongguo Wuzhengfu Zhuyi Ziliao Xuan* (Selected materials on Chinese anarchism, hereafter ZWZZX), Zhongguo renmin daxue zhonggongdangshi xi, ed., Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 1982., pp. 371 – 375.

¹⁸³ Taiyi, "Jiating geming" (The family revolution), *Xuehui*, nos. 133 – 136 (9 – 12 March 1923), in ZWZZX, p. 393.

¹⁸⁴ The Vice-chancellor of Beijing University, Cai Yuanpei, was even called upon to account for the spread of the so-called new morality that prevailed at that time, which claimed that a child was not in its parents' debt for its parents having given free rein to their sexual desires. Cai rejected the claim that academic staff at Beijing University had taught students to explode the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, and maintained that these ideas of the students could be found in the classics. Cai Yuanpei, "Da Lin Qinnan de jienan" (Answer to Lin Qinnan's interrogation), *Beijing daxue rikan*, no. 338 (21 March 1919), in *Cai Yuanpei quanji* (The complete works of Cai Yuanpei), Zhongguo Cai Yuanpei yanjiu hui, ed., Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 3. pp. 571 – 576.

¹⁸⁵ Yi Jiayue, "Wo duiyu 'xiao' de guannian" (My opinion about filial piety), *Shaonian zhongguo* 1, no. 10 (April 1920), pp. 48 – 50.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸⁷ Taiyi, "Jiating geming," in ZWZZX, pp. 396 – 397.

degenerated into a union of bodies without personality. He asked men to respect women as fellow members of humanity when they sought free love. Rejecting arranged marriages in which men and women entered a sexual relationship without knowing each other, he insisted that love should come first, and only then should physical relations occur. Huashan praised free love as being completely free of any kind of restrictions, and sought to destroy the marriage system in order to attain free love.¹⁸⁸ Qiulin even dismissed exclusiveness in love. In an answer to the question of what should be done with inequality between the parties to a relationship and how to deal with plural partners,¹⁸⁹ Qiulin suggested 'communal love' (*nannü gongtong lian'ai*). This meant that love would be based on a general or group relationship between men and women. A man could not have exclusive affection for a woman, or a woman for a man. This would mean a kind of inter-group marriage. Furthermore, after unfair social systems had been eliminated, all differences among people would vanish. Where there was no difference, there would be no cause for special affection to the exclusion of others.¹⁹⁰

Radicals' discourse about the family

Followers of anarchism, socialism, and Marxism often merged indistinguishably in terms of their rejection of the family.¹⁹¹ To a question whether the family would exist in a socialist society, anarchist Yi Jiayue clearly answered, "Socialism and the family system are irreconcilable! In other words, there will be no family in socialist society and in a society that possesses the family system, socialism cannot be achieved."¹⁹² Yi predicted the fate of the family according to the following logic:

1. The family system is a product of private property. Therefore, when capitalism and private property are abolished, the family will cease to exist. 2. The capitalist state is based on private property and the family system. On the other hand, the socialist state does not allow the existence of the family system. "If the family

¹⁸⁸ Huashan, "Shejiao gongkai yu ziyou lian'ai" (Open association between men and women, and free love), *Minfeng*, no. 20 (4 October 1919). (a copy of original magazine without page number)

¹⁸⁹ Qiulin, "Nannü de xingyu wenti" (The problem of sexual desire of men and women), *Minxing* 1, no. 6 (18 December 1919), p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Qiulin, "Nannü xingyu wenti de jieda" (The problem of sexual desire of men and women), *Minxing* 1, no. 7 (22 December 1919), pp. 11 – 12.

¹⁹¹ Xu Jiansheng groups reform thought about marriage and the family in modern China into three: thought for freedom of choice in marriage, abolition of marriage and marriage revolution. Xu categorized anarchists into the second. But these three groups are not fixed by time or by party affiliation, especially in the era of New Culture Movement. Besides anarchists, people who took various other stands also advocated abolition of marriage. Xu Jiansheng, "Jindai zhongguo hunyin jiating biange sixiang" (Review of thought about marriage and the family in Modern China), *Jindaishi yanjiu*, no. 3 (March 1991).

¹⁹² Yi Jiayue, "Shehui zhuyi yu jiating zhidu" (Socialism and the family system), *Minduo* 3, no. 2 (1 February 1922), p. 4.

system exists for one day private property can last one day. If private property exists for one day, the capitalist state can exist for one day.” 3. Individual equality is the ideal of socialism. This idea is irreconcilable with the idea of the family, which is based on inequality.¹⁹³ 4. Socialism is the extension of altruism, but the family system is the source of egoism. 5. Most socialists regard the system of marriage, which is the basis of the present family system, as prostitution, commercial, inhumane, and as killing the spirit. 6. Socialists advocate public child rearing. The essence of the family system is private child rearing.¹⁹⁴

Yi supposed that social welfare systems, such as public provision of food, clothing and shelter, public child-rearing, maternity homes for childbirth, and homes for the aged or disabled, could take the place of the family system. From a historical perspective, Yi foresaw the inevitability of the extinction of the family in a socialist society.¹⁹⁵ Yi did not mention the relation between the family and anarchism, but his opinion was comparable to anarchism’s view of the family.

Other non-anarchists also followed socialist opinion about the family. Shen Yanbing (1896 – 1981)¹⁹⁶ summarised socialist opinion that establishing public kitchens, nurseries, communal supplies of necessities, and aged care could solve the problems of the Chinese family system, such as over-close association (control-obedience) between parents and children, family ethics that prevented the development of individualism, and the family’s role in fostering dependency due to undeveloped industry and women’s lack of economic independence.¹⁹⁷

The issue of public child-rearing was widely debated. Liu Bannong¹⁹⁸ admitted the need to socialise housework, nurseries, kindergartens, public kitchens and so on to replace the conventional marriage that he considered was equivalent to ‘long term prostitution.’¹⁹⁹ Shen Jianshi (1891 – 1934) regarded public child-rearing as one of the necessities of women’s emancipation, and to be good for children who were abused at

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 4 – 16.

¹⁹⁴ Yi Jiayue, “Shehui zhuyi yu jiating zhidu (xu)” (Socialism and the family system 2), *Minduo* 3, no. 3 (1 March 1922), pp. 1 – 12.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹⁶ Novelist and later a member of the CCP. His pen name was Maodun.

¹⁹⁷ Shen Yanbing, “Jiating gaizhi de yanjiu” (A study of family reform), *Minduo* 2, no. 4 (15 January 1921), pp. 1 – 14 (pages not numbered sequentially).

¹⁹⁸ Poet, prose writer and linguist.

¹⁹⁹ Liu Bannong, “Nanguai zahua” (Return to the South Essay), *Xin qingnian* 5, no. 2 (15 July 1918), pp. 125 – 129.

home. He even called for public child-rearing in order to dismantle the family. Thus, among radicals, there was a common recognition of the need for public child-rearing.²⁰⁰

In a public debate over the child-rearing issue, one of the main points at issue was whether the family should be destroyed or not. Anarchist Yun Daiying (1895 – 1931)²⁰¹ strongly insisted on the abolition of the family. He asserted flatly that “public child-rearing is rational and liberates men and women. It will enable them to have a pleasanter life, and to devote themselves to reform the whole of society.”²⁰² Chen Jianshi thought that traditional families engendered a slavish personality in their children. Advocates of public child-rearing aimed to end this family-induced subordinate mentality, even if for some of them it meant the total elimination of the family.²⁰³

Communist woman Xiang Jingyu (1896 – 1928) also believed that, without destruction of the family, either old or new style, women could not be emancipated. Society should take over all functions of the family, such as child-rearing, aged nursing, and providing food, clothing and shelter. As long as the family existed, women would only be “members of a permanent resident committee.”²⁰⁴ Women who were encumbered with children could not be emancipated, and emancipated women never had time for child-rearing, she said. Public child-rearing had the advantage of increasing social production and decreasing consumption. It would also be good for children who were treated improperly by ignorant mothers.²⁰⁵ Thus, for various reasons, advocacy of public child-rearing and radical changes to the family was not confined to anarchists and socialists but became common topics in public debates about the future of Chinese society.²⁰⁶

Among other radical alternatives, Zhang Houzai called on youth to support themselves as a way to create a new style of family. This was because he thought that it

²⁰⁰ Shen Jianshi, “Ertong gongyu” (Public child-rearing), *Xin qingnian* 6, no. 6 (1 November 1919), pp. 563 – 567, and Yang Zhongjian’s refutation, “Ertong gongyu—zhi jizhe” (Public child-rearing: to the author), *Xin qingnian* 8, no. 1 (1 September 1920), pp. 1 – 3 (in correspondence section).

²⁰¹ Yun and his friends founded a mutual aid group based on anarchism in his hometown Wuchang. In 1921, he became a member of the CCP.

²⁰² Yun Daiying, “Bo Yang Xiaochun jun fei ertong gongyu” (Refute Yang Xiaochun’s anti-public child-rearing), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2, no. 16 (15 August 1920).

²⁰³ Shen Jianshi, “Ertong gongyu.”

²⁰⁴ Xiang Jingyu, “Nüzi jiefang yu gaizao de shangque” (Discussion about women’s emancipation and reform), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2, no. 2 (August 1920), p. 32.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 34 – 35. Hamaguchi Nobuko examines Xiang’s opinion about the women’s movement. Hamaguchi Nobuko, “Kō Keiyō ni okeru josei no chikara to socikika” (Xiang Jingyu’s recognition of women’s power and its organization: an examination of women’s movement in China), in *Josei to bunka—shakai, bosie, rekishi—* (Women and culture: society, motherhood, and history), Ningen bunka kenkyūkai, ed., Tokyo: Shiratori shuppan, 1979, pp. 32 – 54.

²⁰⁶ A.M., “Da jianshe di da pohuai shidai” (The era of great construction and great destruction), *Fendou*, no. 5, (30 March 1920), pp. 9 – 10.

was impossible to destroy the family in the environment in which he had been brought up. Therefore, the only way to family reform was for young people themselves to become independent and build a new style of family. Being independent was important not only as a fundamental element of a new family, but also as a crucial issue in creating new thought, new morality, new life, new society and a new nation.²⁰⁷ The concept of the family changed with the times. Women's emancipation was generally argued in the context of the nuclear family. In *Meizhou pinglun*, one author said achieving equality between the sexes was not difficult, but the difficulty was rather in finding a proper position for women in the hoped-for new society. He did not agree with the idea that women's emancipation would be achieved through women doing the same things as men, i.e. by abolishing gender roles. What he suggested was reorganising the family; socializing the family. Several families might found a cooperative group to communally manage the housework. Women would divide up the housework as a job for which they could earn money. The author obviously regarded housework as a task where women could make the most of their talents. It would be a good influence on children by showing them a desirable model. The editor agreed with him and said this proposal for a new form of the family was an effective way to make up for the failure of the nuclear family.²⁰⁸

Another proposal for a communal family organization different from the anarchist model was published in a progressive magazine *Shaonian Zhongguo* (Young China)²⁰⁹ which had a special issue featuring articles on family reform. The problems of the Chinese family were examined in a comparison with Western families.²¹⁰ The desirable family model was a nuclear family, consisting of husband, wife and a small number of young children, united by mutual affection. Both husband and wife were economically independent. The model family was aimed at improving the race and reforming the environment at home.²¹¹ In this case, the family was regarded as an important element for social and economic development.

What distinguished anarchist discourse about the family from other radical proposals was the strong stand by anarchists on the fate of the family: abolition of the

²⁰⁷ Zhang Houzai, "Shenghuo duli" (Independent life), *Xinchao* 1, no 4 (1 April 1919), pp. 663 – 667.

²⁰⁸ Weici, "Nüzi jiefang yu jiating gaizu" (Women's emancipation and family reform), *Meizhou pinglun*, no. 34 (10 August 1919), pp. 1 – 2.

²⁰⁹ The magazine made its first appearance in July 1919. It aimed, in a scientific spirit, to undertake social activity and to create young China.

²¹⁰ Wu Ruonan, "Lun zhongguo jiating yinggai gaizu" (Discussion on the Chinese family's need for reform), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 1, no. 4 (October 1919), pp. 5 – 7.

²¹¹ Huang Ai, "Mofang jiating wei shehui jinbu de zhongxin" (The model family is the core of social development), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 1, no. 4 (October 1919), pp. 23 – 24.

family. In the May Fourth era, there was an animated argument about reforming the family and seeking a new model of the family from various stances,²¹² but anarchists did not change their views on measures like public child-rearing with a view to reforming the family. They regarded the family as an obstacle to social development which must be abolished. Anarchists perceived the family revolution as a part of social revolution (anarchist revolution). And they often emphasized the urgency of the family revolution.

Anarchist discourse and young people

Jianmin, who regarded questions of food (*shi*) and sex (*se*) as the most crucial to society, believed that the former could be resolved through the labour movement, but the latter could not be resolved because of the marriage system. He discussed and rejected marriage, which he said was destroying the instinct of love, hampering women's emancipation, preserving private property, which was the base of the family, and preventing social development. Jianmin claimed that after abolishing marriage, there would be free love and public child-rearing.²¹³

This emphasis on the importance of abolishing marriage and the family resulted in a program of social revolution, put forward by Taiyi, which regarded destroying the family as the most urgent issue.

Even if the overthrow of the government or elimination of religion and private property may have to be delayed, the family that is the origin of all evils should be destroyed immediately. This will set free the people of the world who now are unable to exist. Consequently, all other problems, such as problems of government and religion, will be solved automatically.²¹⁴

Private property, religion, and the state are all products of the evolution of the family. Without the family revolution, the social revolution cannot be possible. Implementing the family revolution is nothing but promoting great social harmony.²¹⁵

This illustrates a common tendency among Chinese anarchists to give high priority to the family revolution. An influential anarchist magazine *Minzhong* named the

²¹² About models of new family argued in two magazines, *Xin qingnian* and *Shenbao*, see Nishikawa Mako, "Minkoku shoki katei zō o meguru chishiki seinen no gensetsu—'Shinseinen', 'Shinpō' o chūshin ni—" (The voice of young intellectuals concerning the image of the family in the early republican period: focusing on the *Xin Qingnian* and *Shenbao*), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 59, no. 3 (December 2000), pp. 63–95.

²¹³ Jianmin, "Feichu hunyin zhidu de wo yijian" (My opinion about abolishing the marriage system), *Minzhong* 1, no. 1 (1 July 1922), pp. 8–10 (page number in reprint by typing)

²¹⁴ Taiyi, "Jiating geming" (The family revolution), *Minzhong* 1, no. 1 (1 July 1922), in ZWZZX, p. 398.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

family as one of their enemies. The family was regarded as an obstacle to women's emancipation, and a tool that generated humanity's selfishness and self-interest. Therefore,

If the family is not drastically reformed, social evils cannot be stamped out, free love cannot be realised... The state and government, private property and the employment system, religion and the family are the people's enemies.²¹⁶

Such impetuous words coincided with the suffering expressed by young people's voices. Young people put their hatred for the family in blunt terms.

What is the family? The family is the prison that Chinese sages created. Filial piety is a device to suppress youth. I don't accept the family. I don't accept filial piety. Sexual desire is the motive for having children. Child rearing stores up debts for children in order to support ageing parents. Me! Why do I have to be dutiful to my parents who happened to bear me? Filial piety! It is a poison that kills me...I am striving for social happiness. I will take responsibility for society. Therefore, my parents have a responsibility for bearing me.²¹⁷

Together with resentment, rebellious spirit, and an impulse to destroy, the foregoing author denounced the irrationality of filial piety and confirmed his belief in the rightness of his cause. Others' opinion that children should not feel filial piety for their parents who bore them supported his claim.

Rejection of arranged marriages was the urgent issue for many young people who sought a means of escape. One young man went to Japan in order to escape from a marriage arranged for him by his parents to a bride from a rich family. This marriage meant for him a sexual union without spiritual pleasure. He considered he was fighting a dismal family fate.²¹⁸ A seventeen-year-old girl student also escaped from an arranged marriage. She recognised her experience as an example of China's defective marriage system. She thought marriage should be based on mutual affection and free will. She explained her act as, "To sacrifice a person's happiness for the whole of her life is regarded as trivial, but to be unfaithful to social customs is considered a grave sin. Therefore I will never compromise with the old society. This is the most important reason to escape from marriage."²¹⁹ A reader expressed sympathy for her and praised her bravery compared with his friend who had submitted to his family. The reader

²¹⁶ "Minzhong xuanyan" (The declaration of *Minzhong*), in *ZWZZX*, 37 – 38.

²¹⁷ Tongzhe, "Jiating" (The home), *Xuehui*, no. 130 (6 March 1923), pp. 6 – 7.

²¹⁸ Juezi, "Yi feng hunyin bu ziyou de xin" (A letter from a married person), *Xuehui*, no. 105 (1 February 1923), pp. 6 – 7.

²¹⁹ Zhang Xiyuan, "Taohun xuanyan" (A declaration of escape from marriage), *Xuehui*, no. 440 (13 December 1924), p. 6.

hoped that after the destruction of the old social environment, new things could emerge.²²⁰ The girl and her reader believed that her struggle against the old custom was important for the coming new society although they did not specify what new things they hoped for.

On the other hand, how should people who had already married in the old style deal with their marriages? Young people who had been forced to accept arranged marriages later attempted to escape from their blindfolded marriages by divorce.

We, the young people who have suffered blind marriage! Let us divorce soon! Divorce is a gate to rescue people from unhappiness! Divorce is the means to remove obstacles for humanity!²²¹

The author, who had been divorced, considered women's miserable situation after divorce. He thought women felt miserable after divorce because not many other people had so far divorced. Therefore, if many more people became divorced, nobody would look down on divorced women. And then women might become happy. He believed in the necessity and rightness of divorce, which was becoming a strong current in society.²²²

But with both divorce and rejection of arranged marriage, people had to pay a heavy price for challenging custom. An anarchist who lived in Baoding described his bitter experience of marriage. He had resisted his arranged marriage, even though he had never previously heard the words 'free marriage' or 'free love.' He had escaped on his wedding day, but was caught and forced to marry a girl he had never met before. But he never had any relationship with the girl up to the time she died eight years later. He regarded his bride and himself as victims of Confucian ethics. He called on people to recognise that Confucian ethics killed people without bloodshed, and to destroy it as soon as possible.²²³

In contrast to such calls to young people to divorce or to escape from arranged marriages, there were critical reactions to such behavior. From the viewpoint of family members who suffered the negative impact of broken marriages, a young woman published her poem that described how aged parents, young brothers and sisters, and the abandoned wife were bewildered. The writer showed her strong sympathy with the

²²⁰ He Kai, "Dule 'taohun xuanyan' zhi hou" (After reading a declaration of escape from marriage), *Xuehui*, no. 442 (17 December 1924), p. 7.

²²¹ Jiangeng, "Du jimiao shaosong jun lihun yijian de yingsheng" (My impression about Shaosong's opinion about divorce in *Jimiao*), *Minzhong* 1, no. 6 (25 September 1923), p. 9 (reprint by typing).

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Mochi, "Wo ziji de yuyin shi" (My marriage history), *Huzhu* 1, no. 2 (15 April 1923), pp. 54 – 56.

abandoned young wife, who was innocent, helpless and unskilled, but, following her conscience, continued to look after parents and children. The writer asked whether those who escaped from the family could imagine the wife's agony.²²⁴ Anarchist calls to young people to escape from arranged marriages or to divorce their spouses could not help causing serious difficulties to the people who were left behind when society and individuals were not prepared to cope with the consequences of these actions.

Even among radicals, there were ambivalent feelings toward people who abandoned old-style marriages. Yuan Zhenying mentioned Chen Duxiu's behaviour as the reason for his withdrawal from the CCP in 1921. Yuan accused Chen Duxiu, who had been elected secretary of the Central Committee, of immorality due to his desertion of his family and remarriage to a young woman.²²⁵ But Chen Duxiu's first marriage to Gao Xiaolan had been a traditional arranged marriage. As he developed his ideas, his relationship with his wife, who insisted on traditional thought, deteriorated. It was actually in 1910 that Chen left his family and began to live with Gao Junman, a half-sister of Gao Xiaolan.²²⁶ Chen's act, which destroyed an arranged marriage and united him with a loved woman, could be regarded as radical and praiseworthy according to anarchist standards. We must consider that although Yuan criticised Chen to justify Yuan's withdrawal from the CCP, a comment by Yuan who had translated "Marriage and love" by Emma Goldman indicates there was a gap between theory and feelings in terms of 'morality' over marriage at that time.

Another way to deal with arranged marriage was illustrated in a magazine article. The husband in an arranged marriage encouraged his wife, who had not been able to receive an education, to undertake studies. As her study progressed, their relationship became better and their feelings toward each other deepened.²²⁷ This showed that a couple in an old-style marriage could renew and strengthen their relationship by their own willpower. Nevertheless, anarchists consistently called for arranged marriages to be abandoned, and paid no attention to the consequences. But people who had to deal with their marriage and answer for the consequences must hesitate about bringing their marriage, which involved various factors, to a conclusion. Anarchist arguments about marriage and the family were only based on theory, and offered little scope for taking account of complicated personal situations.

²²⁴ Mo Shenwo, "Ji youren langyou" (A poem ridicules friends who loaf about), *Xuehui*, no. 242 (7 July 1923), p. 8.

²²⁵ Yuan Zhenying, "Yuan Zhenying de huiyi" (Yuan Zhenying's reminiscence), in WZZXJ, p. 978.

²²⁶ Sun Qiming, *Chen Duxiu—shenshi hunlian houdai*, pp. 40–41.

²²⁷ Ruchun, "Jiu hunzhi xia de rendao fuqi-ziyou fuwi" (A humanitarian couple or a free couple in the old marriage system), *Xuehui*, no. 170 (17 April 1923), pp. 3–4, no. 171 (23 April 1923), pp. 5–6.

One letter to an anarchist magazine illustrates the relationship between a son in the city and his father in a rural area. The father had managed to raise money to send his son to study in Beijing. However, the son believed in anarchism and had a critical view of the family system though he still accepted financial help from his father. He was annoyed by the gap between his own beliefs and his father's expectations of him, and said that from now on, he would attempt to persuade his family to accept anarchism too.²²⁸ His situation was perhaps not unusual among young anarchist students at that time. They were struggling with and attempting to cut themselves off from their parents and their families, which they perceived as embodying a traditional and oppressive social system. As independent individuals, they insisted on the abolition of the family to gain individual freedom for themselves with little consideration for the realities of the family situation. It seems to have been a kind of token revolt by the younger generation against their families who they believed represented an out-worn society. However, there was no clear future in prospect for young people who had abandoned or were eager to destroy their families. Anarchists could not provide young people with a direction in which to carry out an anarchist revolution through individual family revolution.

As the 1920s progressed, however, a few new proposals emerged about anarchist society. Jing Meijiu (1882 – 1959)²²⁹ explained anarchism in everyday life as well as taking a wide view. He described anarchist society in a weakened form. To argue against a distinction between inner and outer spheres of the family, and the division of labour by sex, Jing envisaged a humorous but satirical picture: if the whole world became one family, the whole earth would become the inner sphere and men who believed the outer sphere was their territory should fly around the earth in space.²³⁰ In addition, he believed that there were no differences between the sexes in ability; he quoted the custom of polyandry in Tibet, in which, he said, women and men played opposite roles; women dominated the outer sphere and men managed the inner sphere. Women in Guangdong and Jiangnan also did the work that men did in the fields.²³¹ These examples showed that women could do what men did, he said.

²²⁸ Li Shuting, "Fuzi jiating" (A motherless family), *Xuehui*, no. 176 (23 April 1923), pp. 6 – 7.

²²⁹ An editor of *Xuehui*. He was 41 years of age when he wrote articles about love, marriage and the family in the magazine. Compared with many young anarchists and readers, his mature experience in revolutionary and anarchist activities as well as in his personal life provided his articles with a degree of depth. He had married twice—first, when he was only 14 years old—and had two children. After his first wife died, he remarried when he was 26 years old.

²³⁰ Laomei (Jing Meijiu), "Shuo neiwai 2" (Theory of inner and outer 2), *Xuehui*, no. 120 (24 February 1923), p. 1.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

If men's and women's knowledge becomes equal, women will not necessarily stay submissively inside the inner sphere. Men can do inner jobs. Then, men don't need women's support, and women don't need men's help. People do what they can for humanity. It is a natural division of labour and mutual aid. How then could there be a distinction between inner and outer?²³²

This approach was unique in that *datong* society was described not as the expansion of the public sphere through extinguishing the private sphere, but through extension of the inner sphere of the family. Equality between the sexes was expressed by men's participation in housework (inner sphere). Jing eliminated division of labour between the sexes by reversing the usual argument: if women could do men's work, men also could do women's work. This distinction was associated with destruction of the value system which valued the outer sphere and men's labour more than the inner sphere and women's labour.

Jing's interpretation of food (*shi*) and sex (*se*) differed from that of Jianmin. He admitted that labour and love were based on human instinctive desires, appetites and sexuality, therefore cooperative labour (*gonglao*) and cooperative love (*gongai*) by husband and wife should be indivisible. The most desirable way for people to live and work, according to him, was either to labour together and then love each other, or to love each other and then labour together. In such cases, people would not work for money, but for the love of humanity, love of the world or love for an idea. They would work without seeking any rewards. He regarded mutual aid as expansion of this cooperative labour and cooperative love between husband and wife towards other people in the world. A desirable situation in the relationship between the sexes, according to Jing, was for men and women to be free, comfortable and trusting each other. Instead of demanding perfunctory equality of the sexes, Jing suggested a way to be comfortable for both sexes.²³³ Jing thus described daily life free from oppression without resorting to an image of *Datong* society.

Jing Meijiu's flexible ideas about life stemmed from his opinion about the essence of liberty. He thought there were two kinds of freedom. One was freedom from restriction and the other was liberty, which meant following one's own discipline. In his words, he defined liberty as 'following oneself (*youzi*).'²³⁴ Using the Buddhist term

²³² Laomei, "Shuo neiwai 3" (Theory of inner and outer 3), *Xuehui*, no. 121 (25 February 1923), p. 2.

²³³ Laomei, "Shuo 'lao he ai'" (Theory of 'work and love'), *Xuehui*, no. 111 (7 February 1923), pp. 3 - 4, no. 117 (14 February 1923), pp. 3 - 4.

²³⁴ Laomei, "Ziyou zhendi de yanjiu" (Study of the true meaning of freedom), *Xuehui*, no. 26 (6 November 1922), p. 3.

zixing and Zhuangzi's *zixing*, Jing explained anarchism meant for him restoring *zixing*.²³⁵

Although people took different stances on the family revolution, as seen in Jing's thought in the 1920s, most young anarchists did not explore the implications of their opinions about the family.

Critique of anarchist discourse

The restricted parameters of anarchist discourse prevented people from appreciating anarchism properly. Although the anarchist appeal for a family revolution often attracted young people, the significance of the anarchist ideas of destroying conventional personal relationships in the family, and instead embracing a universal but unspecific principle of community, was not fully appreciated by the public.

Anarchists themselves could not show a clear connection between the abolition of the family and the achievement of anarchism beyond a generalised denial of authority of all kinds. This deficiency of explanation was expressed in the lack of connection between aims and means. For example, the anarchist group *Shishe* in 1921 had the following aims: A. Public ownership of the means of production, abolition of private property and currency. B. Public ownership of products and people enjoying them freely. C. Abolition of all sorts of government systems. D. Dismantling of public organizations. E. Abolition of the marriage system, establishment of public nurseries and aged homes. F. Diffusion of education, including abolition of specialisation on the basis of gender. It also involved the destruction of all superstitions, creating a natural ethics of mutual aid, and working in accordance with humanity's instincts. Their means to achieve these aims were given simply as infusing culture and arousing proletarian awareness. The bourgeoisie and economic authorities should be overthrown through 'economic revolution.'²³⁶ The abolition of marriage was thus included with all other aims. But it remains difficult to understand the strategic significance of abolishing marriage in an anarchist revolution.

The same pattern of sweeping aims and inadequate means was seen in anarchist magazines. In one of these magazines, an anarchist called Juhua listed the aims of revolution as eradicating authority, abolishing private property, and reforming inferior social organizations (prostitution, marriage system, concubinage, slave-like women

²³⁵ Laomei, "Ziyou zhendi de yanjiu" (Study of the true meaning of freedom), *Xuehui*, no. 33 (14 November 1922), pp. 4.

²³⁶ Jianchu, "Zemeyang zuodao 'sheying renlei quanti shengcun' de yaoqiu" (How to comply with the request for the whole of humanity), *Banyue*, no. 16 (15 March 1921), in WZSZX, pp. 530 – 532.

servants). He simply mentioned that these inhumane systems originated in authority and private property; therefore, after both were eradicated, derivative evils would naturally cease.²³⁷ According to Sanpo, eliminating all government organizations, eliminating capitalism, and eliminating distinctions among states, races, religions and classes, and practising human fraternity were aims of anarchism. As means to achieve them, he thought that by eliminating old ethics of state, family and religion, and replacing them with autonomy, work, and mutual aid which would become natural human ethics and by eliminating the marriage system, men and women would unite freely.²³⁸ Thus the family revolution continued to be included in the anarchist program, but its operational or strategic significance for the anarchist revolution was not spelled out in any detail.

How did contemporaries perceive anarchist advocacy of abolition of the family? Gu Chengwo observed that advocacy of 'no-family' and 'free love' by the Socialist Party in 1912 became only an excuse by hooligans for licentiousness. Men and women joined the Party in order to make casual liaisons. Gu believed these features did not provide any advantage for socialism, but only for people to express their sexual desires.²³⁹ Having sympathy with anarchism, Li Hao thought that advocacy of free love in the anarchist magazine *Fendou* was separate from the main context of anarchist ethics:

This kind of advocacy [such as free love] is a part of the whole anarchist ethics, in other words, a part of awakened anarchists' ethics. But to advocate only a part of them means disregarding the whole ethics and loudly crying for practice of the part. This kind of advocacy only incurs misunderstanding in society. It becomes a tool to do evil.²⁴⁰

Zhang Dongsun (1886 – 1973),²⁴¹ who was a moderate socialist, regarded 'free love' as 'a dream of extreme socialists.' Zhang dismissed this kind of dream as worthless. He made it clear that 'free love' without marriage and 'love-based marriage' were two different things. What Westerners were doing was not 'free love,' but 'love-based marriage.' He was concerned that unrealistic demands for free love would

²³⁷ Juhua, "Women wei shenme yao geming" (Why we need the revolution), *Xuehui*, nos. 30 – 33 (10, 11, 13, 14 November 1922), in WZZX, pp. 295 – 297.

²³⁸ Sanpo, "Wo de shehui geming de yijian" (My opinion about social reform), *Xuehui*, nos. 62 – 63 (13, 14 December 1922), in ZWZZX, pp. 299 – 300.

²³⁹ Gu Chengwu, "Duiyu jiu jiating de ganxiang" (My opinion about the old family), *Xinchao* 1, no. 2 (1 February 1919), .

²⁴⁰ Li Hao, "Wo duiyu funü jiefang de zui yan" (My opinion about obstacles to women's emancipation), *Shaonian shijie* 1, no. 7 (July 1920), pp. 95 – 96.

²⁴¹ Zhang founded a radical magazine *Jiefang yu gaizao* (Liberation and reform) in 1919 and advocated guild socialism.

invite a furious reaction and discredit other reforms. Therefore he insisted not on 'free love,' but on 'love-based marriage' and adherence to monogamy. Zhang believed that a system of marriage helped people's feelings of love to continue longer by stabilizing their relationship.²⁴² Zhang saw the relationship of husband and wife as fundamental in society. Although he admitted that, after social welfare systems such as public child rearing and public nursing of aged people had been realised, the family might no longer exist, he felt that institutional marriage should not be abolished. He shared a common perception of such radical advocacy about marriage and the family, that is, "social organization has not reached a level that can sustain Cai Yuanpei's vision of 'free love' 'public child-rearing' 'prohibition of private property' and 'complete equality of education'; therefore, the family system cannot be abolished immediately."²⁴³

Those critiques indicate that anarchist assertions about the family revolution had indeed made an impact on people, but were widely perceived as too radical and impracticable. Anarchists could not provide a clear image of the future anarchist society in the context of creating a new nation. A critique of anarchist discourse by an anarchist himself describes this situation.

Anarchist publications are full of words of denial, opposition, and attack. It makes readers doubt whether anarchists have any positive assertions, only negative critiques. There are many reasons for that. But I think anarchists have no understanding of the true value of anarchism, and the clear relationship between anarchism and reality.²⁴⁴

In his popular novel *Jia* (The Family, 1931), the anarchist novelist Bajin depicted the characters of family members according to Confucian ethics and illustrated the structure of a family in terms of personal relationships ruled by Confucian ethics. Crucial aspects of the family such as blood relationship and economic functions were hardly mentioned. Young people simply parted from the family and abandoned blood relationships without revealing the wider implications of their actions.²⁴⁵ These characteristics of Bajin's *The Family* reflected anarchists' superficial approach to the family revolution.

²⁴² Dongsun, "Funü wenti zaping" (My impression of women's problems), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1, no. 8 (15 December 1919), p. 4.

²⁴³ Zhu Xizu, "Xu" (Preface). Shen Junxun, *Jiating xinlun* (The new idea of the family), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923.

²⁴⁴ Junyi, "Junyi tongzhi laixin" (A letter from Junyi), *Minzhong*, 1927, p. 382 (copies are bound in one volume).

²⁴⁵ Yamaguchi Mamoru, "Pakin shiron—Ie no kōzō" (An essay on Bajin: the structure of *the Family*), *Maotouin*, no. 3 (June 1984), pp. 31–32.

It was an advantage for the anarchists of the time to have a legacy of ideals and aims from their predecessors. At the beginning of the New Culture Movement, when people sought alternative beliefs, theories, and ethics in a confused but optimistic society, anarchists proposed a comparatively clear social vision that they had inherited from previous anarchists. This attracted many young people. On the other hand, having an existing theoretical framework and readymade if sometimes glib answers seems to have prevented them from examining real problems by themselves or deepening their arguments. Furthermore, by contrast with newly visible discourses, anarchist discourse about family issues was completely inconsistent with those that gave the family a new role in creating a new nation. This was because anarchist arguments about abolition of the family were rooted in the fundamental principle of anarchism: denial of the nation and the state.

Conclusion

Both Japanese and Chinese anarchists started their activities at the beginning of the 1910s with an emphasis on the individual, but took different courses.

Japanese anarchists considered family issues more deeply through examining the meaning of emancipation. They did not think that destroying the family was the answer to family problems. Their arguments about the family were intended to change the family from inside. It was a great advantage for Japanese anarchism that they had a rich fund of women's discourse about the family. Anarchist arguments could draw on and incorporate women's arguments about women's emancipation in the process of developing their discourse on social issues.

On the other hand, Chinese anarchists, who were living in an era similar to that of Meiji society in terms of creating a new nation, proposed individuals as the basic components in creating anarchist society. This social vision, of a society consisting of individuals, was similar to the idea held by Japanese Enlightenment thinkers and socialists in the Meiji era that society consisted of individuals. In both, individual reform was seen as the core of social reform. But the fundamental difference between them was that Chinese anarchists, in their vision, literally meant a society consisting of individuals without family, while the Japanese meant an individual-oriented society in principle, in which the family still existed, though not as a fundamental unit of society. Furthermore, in Japan, the family had a positive value as the centre of social reform, but in China, the family was not given any positive value, at least in anarchist discourse.

When Shifu and his group began their activities, they started with the family revolution. But Chinese anarchists' rejection of the both family and the state made it difficult for them to develop their argument within their rigid doctrinal framework of a society composed of individuals. They kept the idea of achieving individual freedom only through destroying the family and could not develop their opinions in pace with the development of social discourse about the family and young people's actual situation in the New Culture Movement era. This stance isolated them from other contemporary social discourse that aimed at creating a new individual for a new society and for the new nation. Throughout the 1920s, anarchists who followed the original line of the family revolution, which lacked the economic perspective of the former Tokyo group, seemed to find themselves losing momentum and reaching a dead end. The differences between Japanese and Chinese anarchists in terms of their attitude to family reform will be shown in their arguments about women's emancipation.

Chapter 4 Anarchism, Women's Emancipation and Motherhood, 1920s – 1930s

Many Japanese and Chinese anarchists proposed either a 'family revolution' or 'free love' as a means of changing the oppressive nature of the family system. But actually what did those proposals mean for women, with their systemically subordinate status in the family? In this chapter, I examine another anarchist approach to the family, this time in terms of women's emancipation. Japanese anarchist women searched for and developed a distinctive theory of anarchism especially for women that would express the voice of silent women, and would emancipate women in terms suited to their own gender. In their search for women's true emancipation, 'motherhood' became the key concept for some anarchist women. Their approaches to women's emancipation had the potential to complement the limited critique of the family and the social visions presented by earlier anarchists, and furthermore, to make anarchism more relevant to oppressed people. On the other hand, Chinese anarchist women did not focus on motherhood as the essence of woman's nature. Their arguments about women's emancipation followed patterns established mainly by Chinese male anarchists and, at some points, appeared to conflict with those of their Japanese counterparts in terms of femininity.

4.1 How should women be emancipated?

The images of women described by male anarchists did not necessarily portray women's reality. Women in the family appeared in male anarchists' eyes as innocent victims of the family system or as the objects of oppression by male authority: the household head, father, or husband. The mother primarily represented this stereotyped image. They used to refer to their mothers with sympathy, a sense of solidarity, and pity. Their critical feelings about their fathers contrast clearly with the intimate affection they showed to their mothers. Mothers became symbols of natural feeling while fathers, as the household head, were symbols of authority.

For example, Japanese anarchists expressed their feelings for their mothers in various ways. Kōtoku Shūsui was a dutiful son to his mother, who had suffered all sorts

of privations within the family system after his father died, and he often expressed concern for her. Ōsugi Sakae was against his father's authoritarian attitude, but in his autobiography mentioned his closeness to his mother who had died early. Nanba Daisuke remembered his late mother with strong sympathy, seeing her as a fellow-victim of his father's tyranny. Sympathy for mothers was thus reinforced by recognition of mothers as fellow-victims of the household head within the family system. In their writings, male anarchists looked beyond their own mothers, or at least claimed to be theorising about mothers in general. Early Chinese anarchists, such as Li Shizeng, and those who followed later, explained women's subordinate status within the family in the context of the three bonds. Jupu was tormented by an emotional debt of gratitude to his mother because he had witnessed her hardship over many years in bringing him up. He resented the fact that he would forever be unable to repay his obligation to his mother due to her death.¹ Like Japanese anarchists, Chinese anarchists perceived the mother as a victim, but as a victim whose role and victimisation had been created by the family system. This perception produced very different attitudes toward the mother, even to the extent of denying any necessity for a mother's role apart from procreation. The abolition of the family, by which Chinese anarchists intended to erase all kinds of authority and power in personal relationships in the family, was intended to result eventually in effecting the disappearance of mothers as well as fathers.

The wife in a conventional marriage was seen as another victim of the family system. She was described in anarchist writings as if she were a woman without personality, being depicted in three different ways. Firstly, in the context of family ethics based on Confucianism, a wife should be unconditionally subordinate to parents-in-law and husband. Therefore wives were necessarily regarded as victims to be rescued from this subordination. Secondly, anarchists, being opposed to arranged marriage, ignored the possibility of affection between husband and wife or any important role for the wife. The wife in an arranged marriage could only be a stranger and a hindrance to her husband. And thirdly, according to socialist theory adopted by the anarchists, conventional marriage was a commercial transaction, in which a wife was a person who thereafter relied economically on her husband. This explanation added a parasitic element to the image of a wife. Shifu described all women, including wives in a family situation, as parasites who could produce nothing and even belonged to the same category as social parasites, such as capitalists, landlords, and government

¹ Hsiung Ping-chen, "Constructed emotions: the bond between mothers and sons in late imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 15, no. 1 (June 1994), pp. 87 – 117.

officials. He showed little sympathy for wives in such situations. Later, reflecting their own personal interests, young Chinese students in the May Fourth Movement often regarded a wife as someone to be divorced or, in the case of an arranged fiancée, a future wife to be rejected.

As an alternative to these stereotypes, the female partner in an ideal relationship of marriage for love was seen, first of all, as an independent person, and then as a comrade or collaborator for male anarchists. Contrary to conventional marriages, companionship, sexual partnership, and comradeship should have an important meaning in an acceptable relationship between husband and wife. Kōtoku's two opposite experiences of marriage are symbolic of these different models: his first and second wives in conventional relationships were criticised for their lack of understanding and sympathy for him, but his third and common-law wife, Kanno Suga, was hailed as a revolutionary comrade.

Anarchist images of such ideal women reflected popular images of heroines in revolutionary circles throughout the world. They were poles apart from women in the mould of traditional virtues in Europe or Asia. For example, stories of Russian populist revolutionaries² provided images of young people of both sexes who had abandoned their privileged families in order to devote themselves to social reform or activism, including assassinations. Chinese anarchist magazines *Tianyi* and *Xin shiji* published pictures of female activists such as the French anarchist Louise Michel, Russian revolutionaries Vera Figner and Sophie Perovskia, and stories of Chinese revolutionary Qiu Jin (1875 – 1907). Qiu Jin abandoned husband and children to devote and ultimately sacrifice herself for the Chinese revolution. Her behaviour is similar to those male revolutionaries who abandoned their families and sacrificed themselves for the revolution. Qiu Jin herself intended to prove that women could do whatever men did for the Chinese revolution. These women activists, who were praised as models of revolutionary martyrdom by Japanese and Chinese anarchists, were far removed from the image of women as victims.

Why did anarchists produce only these extreme images of women? Women's emancipation was included in the aims of anarchism. Anarchists—mostly males—had argued a case for women from the beginnings of their movement in Japan and China. But could they accurately represent women? It was simplistic of them to typify all women in the family just as victims to be rescued. In fact, in conflicts within the family,

² They were introduced by Kemuyama Sentarō's influential book *Kinsei museifu shugi* (Modern anarchism, 1902) and its Chinese translation *Ziyou xue* (Freedom's blood, 1904), and other publications.

women had different roles and status and did not necessarily share the same interests. In their writings, women anarchists portrayed real pictures of women, including their own portraits based on self-awareness. Women were not always oppressed and powerless victims of the family system. The female Chinese anarchist He Zhen described how women's status changed within the family—daughter to wife, mother and mother-in-law—and how women's situations varied according to their status—as mistress, woman servant, woman slave. Consequently, there were always differing and conflicting and changing interests among women in the family. Her description of the actual dynamic state of women in the family contrasts with theoretical, static and nostalgic descriptions of women by male anarchists.

Male anarchists failed to understand the significance of women as a different sex because they had become fixated on the need for recognition of the truth that women belonged to the same humanity as men, differing only in their reproductive functions. This article of faith was common ground for Chinese anarchists and an essential part of their argument that women should be equal to men.³ However, a result of their insistence on the common humanity, and therefore the equality, of men and women was a program directed at removing practical obstacles to women achieving the same independence as men. In attempting to deal with women's sexuality, male anarchists regarded it as analogous to man's sexuality. As a result, they supposed that women had the same sexual desires and expectations as men from a sexual relationship. Sexual desire was often equated with the biological needs or drives of the body without considering psychological aspects. The term 'free love' (*ziyou lian'ai* in Chinese) was often used as synonymous with sexual relationships without a marital bond or any longer-term responsibility. An underlying assumption was that women's reproductive function was to be regarded as a handicap for women. This handicap was accorded a simplistic solution in order to achieve women's emancipation. This was to be public child-rearing that would be provided to overcome women's gender disadvantages in participating in public economic activities. Although reproduction itself was regarded as important, this was for producing a healthy society, and some Chinese anarchists supported 'free love' from the viewpoint of eugenics to improve the quality of the nation. In this way, male anarchists failed to recognise the difference between reproduction as a biological function and 'motherhood' as an essential element in the nature of woman. It is ironic that male anarchists, with their strong attachment to their

³ Feminist theory today refers to this approach as a 'feminism of sameness.' It is distinguished from a 'feminism of sexual difference' which was to emerge among Japanese women anarchists.

own mothers, did not pay much attention to the special tie between mothers and children.

Based on their perceptions of women as victims of the family system, Chinese anarchists believed that the road to women's emancipation lay through abolition of the family. This was a mixture of two theory-based programs: first, in order to liberate individuals (mother, wife, daughter) whose roles were inescapably defined by Confucian ethics, it was necessary to abolish the family so that a human being could emerge who was not stereotyped as 'mother,' 'wife,' or 'daughter.' And second, to enable women to participate in public production and thus achieve economic independence, it was necessary to abolish the family with its gender-based tasks and responsibilities. A system of public child-rearing was to fill the gap in child-care left by the abolition of the family and to liberate women to achieve independence. It is noteworthy that this system had also been adopted within the framework of socialist and Marxist theory and was not essentially anarchistic. After the Russian revolution of 1917, Chinese anarchists strongly criticised many Bolshevik social reforms because of the authoritarian way they were implemented. However, their criticism was not directed at women's emancipation and social welfare objectives in Russia, including public childcare. Nevertheless, Chinese anarchists might have wondered at that time how their own major social engineering objectives such as the abolition of the family system and its replacement by public child-rearing could be achieved without the type of coercive methods employed by the Bolsheviks.

By contrast, Japanese anarchists were never convinced of a need to completely destroy the family. They believed that women's emancipation from the family would be achieved automatically after a socialist revolution, as a result of which the family would cease to exist. But abolition of the family itself was not argued for in terms of women's emancipation from the family. Consequently, there was little room for the anarchist movement in Japan to develop a characteristically anarchist theory about the family. Marriage for love and love without marriage, which could be possible in a socialist society, were their answers to women's emancipation from the family.

He Zhen, an early Chinese woman anarchist, had called for women's emancipation to be achieved by women themselves, just as it had been part of radical theory that the proletarian revolution should be carried out by the proletariat. She noted that women's liberation had been often used by men as a pretext for their own agendas and that the movement for women's emancipation in China was being largely carried on by men. He Zhen attributed women's subordination not only to Confucian ethics, the

family system and economic dependence, but also to women's lack of awareness.⁴ She believed that true emancipation could be achieved for the whole of womankind through communist (i.e. economic) anarchism, but recognised that the happiness of emancipated women lay in developing themselves and becoming engaged in social reform.⁵ Her opinions about women's emancipation could also have received inspiration from Emma Goldman's "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation,"⁶ which had denied that true emancipation could result simply from economic independence. Interestingly, He Zhen had questioned Kōtoku closely about the women's emancipation movement in Japan and Kōtoku had lamented a lack of women activists in the movement. But actually He Zhen's opinion was closer to that of Kanno Suga and opinions in *Sekai fujin* (Women of the World). Kanno had exhorted, "Rouse up, women!" and warned women not to hurry into marriage for commercial reasons, but to marry only with the aim of making an ideal home.⁷ Both He Zhen and Kanno saw women's self-awareness as the most important factor in liberating women.

Searching for what was 'women's true emancipation' became a key point for anarchist women. Not only changes in organization, customs, or situation (abolition of the family, love without marriage, marriage for love, or economic independence), but also women's spiritual emancipation was needed. In Japan, Itō Noe was the main figure who gave voice to women's opinions and developed consideration of women's emancipation in the anarchist camp during the Taishō era (1912 – 1925). Her unrefined but unconventional opinions about individualistic anarchism and 'free motherhood,' which were derived mainly from her own experiences, and the opinions of members of Seitō sha who were concerned about women's issues including pregnancy, abortion, contraception and motherhood, carved out a new path in terms of women's emancipation. Anarchist women, particularly Japanese anarchist women, continued to develop opinions about women's true emancipation, which would make a striking contrast with anarchist men's opinions about women's emancipation.

⁴ He Zhen, "Nūzi jiefang wenti," *Tianyi*, no. 7 (15 September 1907), pp. 10 – 14. Women's subjectivity, as portrayed in stories about Chinese women in fiction magazines, including the case of He Zhen, are the subject of Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p. 261.

⁵ He Zhen, "Nūzi jiefang wenti," *Tianyi*, no. 8-10 (30 October 1907), pp. 5 – 6.

⁶ Kōtoku Shūsui, "Fujin kaihō to shakai shugi" (Women's emancipation and socialism), *Sekai fujin*, no. 16 (1 September 1907), p. 1.

⁷ Kanno Suga, "Hiji deppō" (The brush-off), *Muro shinpō*, no. 580 (15 April 1906), in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 2, p. 114.

4.2 Women's emancipation and Japanese anarchists

The new feminism of anarchist women

In Japan, from the latter half of the 1920s, anarchist women's discourse about the family and women's emancipation was formulated mainly by Takamure Itsue (1896 – 1964), Matsumoto Masae and other women who wrote for the anarchist magazine *Fujin sensen* (Women's Front). Under the strong influence especially of Takamure, they created a women's anarchism, centred on motherhood. Through their debates with Japanese Marxists (who, from this time on, were increasingly identified as communists) and critiques of social reform in Soviet Russia, they clarified and developed both their anarchism and its relevance for women. Although their opinions were not fully appreciated by male anarchists, they contributed to Japanese anarchism by adding a new dimension to its theory and practice. However, in the broader social current of women's nationalisation in 1930s Japan, anarchists could hardly escape merging into the current.

Just as Chinese anarchists in 1907 had condemned the family system, almost 20 years later poet Takamure Itsue cried out against the marriage system:

It is the proletariat who feel keenly the irrationality of private property.
It is women who feel keenly the irrationality of the marriage system.
True awareness of women demands not reform of the marriage system,
But abolition of the marriage system.⁸

Throughout her married life, in which she had been forced into a conventional role of wife,⁹ like Itō Noe, Takamure clearly expressed the view that women were oppressed in institutional marriage. She did not criticise the family system itself, but the relationship between husband and wife, and customs in marriage that victimised the wife. Takamure's opposition to marriage was part of a constructive endeavour to create a new value system.

In seeking her own way to women's emancipation, Takamure located her position within the historical development of international thought about women's emancipation. She saw this as proceeding from various strands of thought about women's rights (*joken shugi*) in England and the USA, feminism (*josei shugi*) in

⁸ Takamure Itsue, "Iede no uta" (The poem of a runaway) In *Takamure Itsue zenshū* (The complete collected works of Takamure Itsue, hereafter *Takamure zenshū*), Hashimoto Kenzō, ed., Tokyo: Rironsha, 1966 – 1997, vol. 8, p. 315.

⁹ Takamure had married Hashimoto Kenzō out of love, but became exhausted in discharging her endless duties as housewife and frustrated by the lack of time available to fulfill her impulse to write. Pent-up frustration drove her to leave home. She was located by police and eventually returned home. *Takamure zenshū*, vol. 7, p. 9.

Scandinavian countries, new women's rights thought (*shin joken shugi*) in Soviet Russia, and new feminism (*shin josei shugi*) in Japan.¹⁰ In more detail, the first element was represented by Charlotte Gilman (1860 – 1935), who thought that women's special function, especially child-rearing, was the source of women's problems and had proposed public child-rearing so that women could have the same conditions and opportunities to work as men did. This solution aimed to reduce the differences between men and women. Marxist advocacy of public child-rearing merely inherited this unisexual feminist mantle. On the other hand, Ellen Key (1849 – 1926) represented feminism by emphasising women's special nature as the central reference point for defining women. According to Takamure, the Leninist policy for women's emancipation in Soviet Russia was a mixture of bourgeois thought regarding women's rights, as in achieving equality of the sexes and socialisation of the family in the USA, and of feminist thought in Europe in reforming the marriage system and protecting mothers.¹¹ What Takamure aimed to do was to develop a proletarian women's thought that had not previously been created. Her program was an attempt to find a meaningful substitute for the doubts left in women's minds by the anodyne socialist doctrine that once socialism had been realized, women would be automatically emancipated, a doctrine that even anarchists believed and recited. Japanese anarchist women wished that "women will be emancipated as women."¹² The nature of their theory became clearer through their debates with Japanese Marxists in evaluating women's emancipation in Soviet Russia.

Anarchists' views of women in Soviet Russia

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 provided anarchists in Japan with material for their arguments about social revolution. As accurate information came to hand about the October Revolution and Russian society under a Bolshevik government, anarchists basically took a critical view. Ōsugi Sakae¹³ severely criticised the

¹⁰ Takamure Itsue, *Ren'ai sōsei* (Creation of love), Tokyo: Mansei kaku, 1926, in *Takamure zenshū*, vol. 7, p. 9.

¹¹ Takamure Itsue, "Warera no fujin undō" (Our women's movement), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 1 (January 1931), in *Anakizumu josei kaihō ronshū* (Collected materials on women's liberation, hereafter *Anakizumu josei*), Sakai Yōko and Mizumori Yōko, eds., Tokyo: Kokushoku josei sha, 1982, p. 223.

¹² Matsumoto Masae, "Sei seikatsu no keizai gaku teki kansatsu: fujin undō to shite no katei hitei" (Economic examination of sex life: denial of the home as women's movement), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 1 (January 1931), p. 18.

¹³ Ōsugi Sakae had not up till then clarified his attitude to the October Russian Revolution, but began openly to attack the Bolsheviks in 1922 after his attempt to form a united front between anarchists and communists ended in failure. He eagerly disseminated critical information about Russian society under the Bolsheviks derived from various sources, such as books and pamphlets by Russian-American

dictatorial nature of the Bolshevik government, its capitalistic economic policies, and its oppression of labour movements and anarchists. But how did anarchists evaluate Bolshevik social policy, especially that dealing with women's emancipation?

As to women's situation under Bolshevism, Marxist Yamakawa Kikue published information about Soviet Russia and translated Kollontai's works. The Bolshevik program for women's emancipation was developed under the care of Alexandra Kollontai. She thought three tasks were necessary to liberate women: achieving women's economic independence, protection of workers' maternity rights, and political freedom.¹⁴ As early as 1917, proclamations had been issued on divorce, marriage, children, and identity, foreshadowing legislation intended to abolish the patriarchal and feudalistic Russian family system. Then the 1918 Code on Marriage, the Family and Guardianship brought in a new form of marriage, in which husband and wife had equal rights to property and children, and did not have a duty of cohabitation. In addition, the law recognised no difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. In 1920, freedom of abortion was approved. A series of legal measures changed the concept of marriage: it would be an equal partnership, and a union of comrades founded on mutual affection and united by common interests. 'Free union' or 'free love' could expect to be realised in such a society.¹⁵

Yamakawa reported that, as well as a new equality between the sexes in politics, society, and economics, Russian society also defended the rights of women, mothers and children, and protected their incomes and eliminated every infringement.¹⁶ As her typical comment shows, Japanese socialists accepted the new Russia as a successful model of a desirable socialist society.¹⁷ Against the Marxists who held that Russian

anarchists Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, and anarchist publications from England, France, and elsewhere.

¹⁴ Alexandra Mikhailovna Kollontai (1872 – 1953) Russian revolutionary, diplomat, and novelist. She was born the daughter of a general and married a czarist officer. She joined the revolutionary movement and was forced to flee abroad in 1908. She returned to Russia to take part in the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. In 1920, she became People's Commissar for social welfare and promoted women's and children's interests. After the "Worker's Opposition" group of which Kollontai was a leader was suppressed by Lenin in 1921, she was consecutively minister to Norway, Mexico and Sweden.

¹⁵ Abortion was outlawed by a decree of 1936. About women's life in the society of Soviet Russia, see Goldman, Wendy Z., *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917 – 1936*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. And also see Shlapentokh, Vladimir, *Love, Marriage, and Friendship in the Soviet Union*, New York: Prager, 1984.

¹⁶ Yamakawa Kikue, "Hiratsuka Haruko shi e" (To Ms Hiratsuka Haruko), *Fujin kōron*, no. 4 (April 1921), in *Yamakawa Kikue hyōron shū* (The collection of Yamakawa Kikue's criticism, hereafter *Yamakawa hyōron shū*), Suzuki Yūko ed., Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990 (1999), p. 112.

¹⁷ The goal of women's emancipation did not necessarily take first priority in Soviet Russia. Social policy to liberate women from housework was insecure as a result of changes in the political and economic situation. Russian women actually had to shoulder double burdens due to insufficient social facilities, such as nurseries and public cafeterias, and party leaders' lack of a determined attitude toward

society was an actual proof of the rightness of their theories, anarchists quoted counter-arguments derived from different sources. Regarding social welfare for mothers and children, Itō Noe translated two of Goldman's articles, "Bolshevik tyranny 1: the care of children"¹⁸ and "Bolshevik tyranny 2: dead souls,"¹⁹ which were part of Goldman's reports²⁰ on Bolshevism, and published them in *Rōdō undō*. The two articles revealed children suffering under malfunctions of the social welfare system due to economic difficulties and fundamental faults of the communist state mechanism. However, Japanese anarchists went no further than criticising the authoritarian nature and harsh treatment involved in the Russian reforms.

A more serious debate about women's emancipation and the social welfare system in Soviet Russia took place between anarchist women and Marxist women after 1927. The women's magazine *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's art), which originally started as non-partisan, became a forum for debate between anarchists and Marxists. Reports about the lives of liberated women in Soviet Russia were actively promoted in the magazine. Pictures of women and children in Russia, portraying their bright and happy lives, were in striking contrast to pictures of the miserable lives of women in capitalist societies. These had an influential visual appeal to readers. In addition, stories and articles about the new lives of Soviet women could provide solid support for belief in the practical validity of Marxism. Persons who supported Soviet Russia believed that the Russian Revolution had achieved the aims of the long-awaited socialist revolution, and had realised a new life for the proletariat. Novelist Chūjō Yuriko (1899 – 1951), who had visited Russia from 1927 to 1929, was a witness to the radical changes that had been achieved in Russian society, even in the sphere of personal relationships. Chūjō explained that in Russian society, men and women were equal in terms of participating in production. Moreover, on the basis of equality, 'proletarian sexual morality' had been

women's emancipation and women's participation in production. Women's emancipation was given less value than the main national task: increasing production. See Thomas G. Schrand, "The Five-Year Plan for women's labour: constructing socialism and the 'double burden', 1930 – 1932," *Europe-Asia Studies*, (December 1999), pp. 1455 – 1478.

¹⁸ Itō Noe, "Borushebiki no bōsei 2" (Bolshevik tyranny 2), *Rōdō undō* 3, no. 7 (1 September 1922), pp. 8 – 9.

¹⁹ Itō Noe, "Borushebiki no bōsei 3" (Bolshevik tyranny 3), *Rōdō undō* 3, no. 8 (1 October 1922), pp. 8 – 9. Yamakawa Kikue translated a letter of a man called Alexander Narugin, in which he accused Emma Goldman of betraying the revolution, and branded her reports as falsehoods. Yamakawa Kikue, "Boriseviki no 'bōsei' to anakisuto" (Bolshevik 'tyranny' and anarchist), *Kaizō*, (October 1922), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 6, pp. 376 – 387. This illustrates the limits on information about the Russian Revolution, and, at the same time, how selection of information strongly depended on party affiliation.

²⁰ Itō translated "The care of the children" from Emma Goldman's pamphlet, *The Crushing of the Revolution*, London: Freedom Press, 1922. Yamaizumi Susumu, "Kaidai" (Bibliographical introduction), in *Ito zenshū*, vol. 4, pp. 470 – 471.

realised.²¹ Russian women now chose their husbands as their comrades and companions whom they went on to accompany throughout their lives. The family consisted of independent individuals and the relationships between husband and wife, and between parents and children, were not relationships between higher and lower, but between equals.²²

"Farming village women in Russia,"²³ which was a section of Jessica Smith's report about Russian society, described changes in women's lives in farming villages. Rural women now had the opportunity to learn to read and write, attend conferences, and demand respect from their husbands. There had been a slow but significant change for women in rural areas as a result of the Revolution. Smith's report about mothers' and children's welfare mentioned the progress of social policy with an increasing number and variety of supportive institutions (such as nurseries, mothers' and children's homes, consultation centres), changing rates of abortion since its legalisation, and promotion of birth control.²⁴ Daily life, social policy (including the social welfare system) and economic policy were described as completely separate from politics. There was no sign of political oppression or political struggle in those stories. Sophie Kropotkin's "Russian farmers' reality"²⁵ was the only report on Soviet production from an anarchist viewpoint. It contrasts strangely with the almost universal praise of the new Russia in the radical literature of that time. And it is the only report to imply that workers' and farmers' lives were in difficulties.

In such a pro-Bolshevik atmosphere, Japanese anarchist women nevertheless challenged the Marxists. There was a crucial issue for anarchists in such rosy pictures of Russian society. Where were freedom and personal autonomy? Yagi Akiko was sensitive to the nature of liberty. She criticised the quality of freedom in a communist society, in which people cease to be aware of the pain of deprivation after their free will has been worn away. The kind of freedom that they obtained, Yagi argued, was not what people acquired by their own free will, but what they got from acquiescence and submission. This kind of freedom had already lost its essence. A truly ideal society

²¹ Chūjō used the term "proletarian sexual morality" as an opposite term to "anarchist morality," which was said to express conventional man-centred and double standard sexual morality.

²² "Sovieto shin shisetsu no nakade fujin wa ikani ikiteiru?" (How are women living in new Soviet institutions?), *Nyonin geijutsu* 5, no. 3 (1 March 1932), p. 7.

²³ "Roshiya no nōson fujin" (Farming village women in Russia). Kamichika Ichiko, trans. *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 1 (1 January 1929), pp. 74 – 83. The author Jessica Smith (1894 – 1986) was an American writer and editor.

²⁴ "Sovieto no boshi hogo shisetsu" (Mothers' and children's protection institutions in the Soviet Union), *Nyonin geijutsu* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1930), pp. 2 – 25.

²⁵ Mochizuki Yuriko translated, *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 7 (1 July 1929), pp. 58 – 60.

should be realised in the form of a free federated society.²⁶ But for Marxists who categorized freedom into bourgeois freedom and proletarian freedom, Yagi's opinion was nothing but anarchist opportunism.²⁷ Anarchist Matsumoto Masae had earlier made clear the fundamental difference between Bolsheviks (and Marxists) and anarchists in respect of dictatorship and freedom. Matsumoto argued for a different concept of autonomy. For anarchists, farmers' emancipation would mean that farmers acquired autonomy and freedom to produce and to consume.²⁸ She later compared anarchist ideas with communist ideas about organization: the former advocated free soviets (local producers' autonomous communes) in charge of productive facilities and controlling production and distribution. The latter emphasised the dictatorship of the Party and its plans to centralise every aspect of production and distribution in the hands of the central government. For Bolsheviks, a soviet was an organization of state rule.²⁹ Matsumoto pointed out that not only anarchists, but also many communists, were reporting that only the Communist Party members were enjoying special privileges, and that ordinary workers and farmers were unhappy in Russia.³⁰

Less predictably perhaps, Japanese anarchists also strongly resisted doctrines of love and sexual liberation emanating from Soviet Russia. Kollontai's opinions about love in a communist society as portrayed in her novel *Great Love*³¹ became another point of controversy. Takamure as early as 1928 had contested the views of Hayashi Fusao about Kollontai's novel *Three Generations' Love*. Kollontai had envisaged a new concept of love in a socialist state, which Hayashi had praised as a new form of love by the proletariat. But Takamure criticised it as "a view of bureaucratic love" that relegated love to a personal and private concern, contrary to her own concept of love as part of a publicly recognised complex of behaviour ultimately supportive of motherhood.³² After Kollontai's first novel was translated in 1927, the model of love portrayed in the novel

²⁶ Yagi Akiko, "Kōkaijō Fujimori Narukichi shi he" (An open letter to Fujimori Narukichi), *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 7 (1 July 1929), in *Yagi Akiko chosakushū* (hereafter *Yagi chosakushū*), Tokyo: JCA shuppan, 1978, vol. 1, p. 57.

²⁷ Sumida Tatsuko, "Yagi, Takamure ryōshi no anakizumu ni taisuru hanron" (A refutation of the anarchism of Yagi and Takamure), *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 11 (1 November 1929), pp. 5 – 6.

²⁸ Matsumoto Masae, "Nōmin jichi towa nanzoya" (What is a farmer's autonomy?), *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 1 (1 January 1929), p. 73.

²⁹ Matsumoto Masae, "Burujowa ideorogī to puroretaria no jiyū" (Bourgeois ideology and proletarian freedom), *Nyonin geijutsu* 2, no. 12 (1 December 1929), p.40.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³¹ Kollontai's *The Love of Worker Bees*, which consisted of *Red Love*, *Three Generations' Love* and *Sisters*, was published in 1923. In Japan, its translation was published in 1927. Kollontai's novel "Great Love" which included "Three Generations' Love," was translated by Nakajima Sachiko in *Nyonin geijutsu* in 1930.

³² Takamure Itsue, "Kanryō teki ren'ai kan o haisu" (Rejecting bureaucratic view of love), *Chūō kōron*, no. 8 (August 1928), in *Anakizumu josei* 2, pp. 101 – 102, 109 – 110.

became popular in Japan as “communist love,” together with a rumour of communal ownership of women in Russia. The phrase ‘a glass of water,’ which meant that having sex was equivalent to drinking a glass of water when people felt thirsty, was welcomed by some Japanese youth as the expression of a new concept of love. The heroine of the novel separated love from sexual desire, and pragmatic fulfillment of sexual desire was therefore seen as modern behaviour for women in Soviet Russia. Yamakawa, who was against Kollontai’s attitude to love, tried to make it clear that such love was completely irrelevant to Marxism.³³ Takamure, who designated Kollontai’s portrayal of love as a ‘communist’ attitude’ attacked the idea that love was strictly a private matter without wider social connotations, and was also against the idea that true love, as a high-grade psychological phenomenon, required people to have an ability to enjoy it and that, to acquire this ability, people needed to experiment with ‘love play.’ She rejected the latter concept of love as sexual games that women bureaucrats created to cater for the inclinations of ruling male officials in their leisure time. Takamure declared that Kollontai and other socialist women were no different from bourgeois women as long as they had this bureaucratic outlook.³⁴ For Takamure, the truly liberated way of love depended on natural, artless spontaneity.³⁵

Furthermore, from the viewpoint of respect for motherhood, Takamure was against Yamakawa’s opinion that a centralised communist society could emancipate women only through public child-rearing. Takamure asserted, “socialisation of child-rearing is against women’s needs.” This was because she believed that “a mother’s instinct is a natural instinct. Women can only be liberated by a society that

³³ Yamakawa Kikue, “Kyōsantō jiken to fujin tōin” (The Communist Party Incident and women party members), *Fujin kōron*, no. 1 (January 1930), in *Yamakawa hyōron shū*, p.171.

³⁴ The ideas represented by ‘free love’ or ‘a glass of water’ were actually far from Kollontai’s original ideas. Kollontai recognised that after the failure of bourgeois sexual morality, the proletariat was seeking a new sexual morality for the new society. “Sex is not shameful or sinful, but a natural act, and will be recognised as one of the natural desires, like fulfilling a thirst.” This statement of hers could be interpreted out of its original context as her unconditional approval of sexual desire. But she also clearly stated that communist sexual morality would liberate sexual desire from hypocritical disdain, while, on the other hand, restricting it if it was unhealthy or damaged the energy of the proletariat for building a new society. And Kollontai expected that proletarian sexual morality would improve young people’s sensitivity to others, and diminish rudeness and egoism through social education. Alexandra Kollontai, “Shin shakai no sei dōtoku” (Sexual morality in a new society), *Sanji chōsetsu hyōron*, no. 1 (February 1925), pp. 11 – 15. These concerns by Kollontai about a new morality could have been shared by both Yamakawa and Takamure, and their criticism of Kollontai was made on mistaken grounds that were far from her true intention. See Sugiyama Hideko, *Korontai to nihon* (Kollontai and Japan), Tokyo: Shinjusha, 2001.

³⁵ Takamure Itsue, “Kanryō teki ren’ai kan o haisu,” *Chūō kōron*, no. 8 (August 1928), in *Anakizumu josei* 2, p.104. About a debate between Takamure and Yamakawa on marriage and motherhood, see Tsurumi, Patricia E., “Feminism and anarchism in Japan: Takamure Itsue, 1894 – 1964,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 17, no. 2 (1985), pp. 9 – 11.

accepts and protects the natural situation where mothers and children stay together.”³⁶ This was another point on which anarchist women could not accept Soviet-style women’s emancipation. Takamure did not appreciate the ‘Lenin government’ policies about women because she saw them as a mere combination of notions about women’s rights derived from US and European feminism, that failed to solve women’s basic problems.³⁷ For her, women’s problems were nothing more than a conflict between women achieving economic independence through the labour force and fulfilling their essential roles as mothers.

The debate between anarchists and Marxists in *Nyonin geijutsu* had been rather limited to theoretical argument and the two sides had generally failed to engage each other because of the gap between their basic concepts. This led the anarchists to leave the magazine in order to pursue their radical critiques of Bolshevism, to comprehensively debate women’s issues, and to actively seek new insights on women’s emancipation in the anarchist magazine *Fujin sensen* (Women’s front). This was published by Takamure supported by her husband, editor Hashimoto Kenzō (1897 – 1976).

Women’s situation in Japan

Women were hedged about with multiple difficulties, such as the family system, complex personal relationships, traditional customs, psychological restrictions, etc. In the villages, as Japanese farmers themselves pointed out, traditional thought and the family system, including the one-son inheritance system, maintained the farming class and at the same time ruined the farmer. It was widely accepted that simplicity, frugality, and diligence were the best morality for the farmer. But that very morality led the farmer to believe that powerlessness and submission were virtues.³⁸ Some criticised the farmer’s way of life. “Farmers’ blood-tie solidarity depends on a traditional lack of consciousness; collective life depends on a habitual sense of life without recourse to personal will. They cannot get rid of old thought due to lack of reform or evolution.”³⁹ Japanese women’s low status and their customary domination by men indicate a darker

³⁶ Takamure Itsue, “Muson kaikyū to fujin” (Proletariat and women), *Fujin undō*, (March 1928), *Anakizumu josei kaihō ronshū* (Collected materials on women’s liberation 2. hereafter *Anakizumu josei* 2), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1989, p. 52

³⁷ Takamure Itsue, *Fujin sensen ichi nen: fujin shisō shi* (One year of Fujin sensen: a history of women’s thought), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 3 (March 1931), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 238.

³⁸ XYZ, “Nōson shinkō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu” (Opinion about promotion of farming villages), *Nōmin* 1, no. 5 (December 1928), p. 5.

³⁹ Harasawa Ryōshi, “Nōmin no shūdan seikatsu” (Farmers’ cooperative life), *Nōmin* 2, no. 1 (1 January 1928), p. 25.

side of village life. A doctor's report on the situation of women said that, according to village custom, women had to resume work only a few days after childbirth due to an incessant need for their labour. He deplored the fact that women in farming families could be described as persons born into a hopeless fate.⁴⁰ A woman, especially a *yome* or daughter-in-law,⁴¹ had absolutely no time for herself all day long. Rural women had to do chores around the house, farm work and childcare from early morning to midnight without rest. They were groaning in silence. Their agony was attributed to the traditional family system and the defects of the social system. A woman contributor did not believe the slogan that emancipation of the proletariat would liberate women. Rather, she called for women to speak out.⁴² A woman writer in the anarchist magazine *Nōmin jichi* (Farmer's self government) felt sad that inequality permeated the farming villages. But women were no longer going to be weak or subordinate to men. They were looking for a path to take.⁴³ Some anarchists developed sympathy with this point of view and suggested they should pay more attention to the situation of women and children in the villages.⁴⁴

In such a harsh life, those who had observed their mothers' miserable lives sought a different life for themselves. A daughter's eyes on her mother would be severe. "Look at my silly and hysterical mother and her work, which is useless because it does not have any aim. My father is a bourgeois; I am going to fight against such men."⁴⁵ Daughters' words were full of pent-up anger: anger at their mothers who had been subordinated in a slave-like status by an oppressive social system, and at themselves who still could not cast off their fetters. As a daughter, a woman who called herself Shizuko saw her mother as a "silly and hysterical mother" without according her any pretended respect derived from family ethics. But Shizuko knew it was the family that had forced her mother to waste her life. And also Shizuko did not miss the fact that her mother could live only in that way. Her anger was directed against women's situation in the family that was so narrow and constricted and without freedom. Another woman

⁴⁰ Sasaki Toshirō, "Inaka isha no techō kara—aru nōfu no ikei—" (From the notebook of a rural doctor: a woman farmer's stomach cramps), *Nōmin* 2, no. 4 (1 April 1928), p. 68.

⁴¹ *Yome* is usually translated as 'a daughter in law'. But the original meaning of *yome* is a woman who married into the family. The woman is regarded as belonging to the family.

⁴² Yamagami Kimiko, "Nōson fujin to kazoku seido" (Village women and the family system), *Mirai*, no. 3 (May 1926), in *Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei*, vol. 8, part 1, pp. 578–580.

⁴³ Takano Yoshiko, *Nōmin jichi*, (1 August 1930), pp. 2–3.

⁴⁴ Matsubara Kazuo, "Wareware no undō o ikani tenkai suruka" (How should we develop our movement?), *Nōmin* 2, no. 2 (1 February 1928), p. 15, and Yaritha Ken'ichi, "1930 nendai ni okeru wareware no tōsō o ikani gutaika subekika" (How should we put our struggle into effect?), *Nōmin* 2, no. 2 (1 February 1930), p. 22.

⁴⁵ Shizuko, "Kyōjō yori" (From a class room), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 9 (November 1930), p. 45.

who also perceived her mother's situation as miserable called on women who were bound in this slave-like system to stand up. She believed that submission was not a virtue any more. "I, who have grown up knowing my mother's agony deeply, have a hatred of coercive power," "my anger drives me to revolt and resist on behalf of my mother."⁴⁶ In magazines, unknown women expressed their difficulties and feelings through their letters, which often showed only their given names or pseudonyms. Their voices were simple and humble, but portrayed their actual situation in the factory or at home.

A reader of *Fujin sensen* showed her gratitude in the following way. She was aware of two targets for emancipation: emancipation of the proletariat and emancipation of women. She called on women to daringly throw off their mothers.

Alas, your mothers are the most miserable, living corpses. Mothers who are tired out from their struggles with money, children and [being an object of] sexual desire. I don't want to see them any more. If you don't separate from your mothers, you may unwittingly repeat your mothers' silly mistakes. Throw them away. We should not compromise, even though a tie of affection still binds you to your mothers and your families. Comrades, you are at a crossroads; don't accept tradition, and don't accept your mothers.⁴⁷

For daughters who closely observed their mothers' miserable situation, women's emancipation meant breaking free from chains that their mothers had not and could not escape. For them, a mother was not an object to admire and recollect with warm feeling, but a person who served as an example of how not to act. Mothers' passive attitudes to life and their lack of self-awareness infuriated these daughters. They knew they could not expect help from anybody, but had to emancipate themselves. They wanted to decide their own destiny. It was in effect a declaration by women that they had decided to cut the chains binding them and to do so by themselves.

But how could they cut the chains? They could have little realistic hope for their own future. A comment on current events in the magazine pointed out that the increasing number of women who were leaving farming villages indicated that the villages were in an exhausted state and had reached a point where despised and harshly treated women were being compelled to leave.⁴⁸ Those who left the villages had little

⁴⁶ Nakamura Keiko, "Zekkyō" (A cry), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 4 (June 1930), p. 33.

⁴⁷ Noguchi Matsuko, "Fusen no hito tachiyo, dōshi yo" (People of *Fujin sensen*, Comrades!), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 4 (June 1930), p. 33.

⁴⁸ Kawai Kiwa (Matsumoto Masae), "Haishō mondai, fujin rison" (The problem of abolition of prostitution, women leave their villages), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 2 (February 1931), pp. 30 – 33, and "Buru otoko no kamen o hagu" (Unmask a bourgeois man), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 4 (June 1930), pp. 4 – 6.

choice but to become prostitutes to earn money to support themselves and their families back in the villages. There was a direct relationship between prostitution and the economic situation in the farming villages.⁴⁹ Yagi Akiko claimed angrily that women in farm villages were the most miserable of persons. They had been tied to their families, and had worked their fingers to the bone until their deaths. This was the manner of women's life in farming villages. She asked, "Was it good for them? How long can this unreasonable situation be permitted?"⁵⁰ Not only women in the farming villages, but also women workers in the silk mills and spinning mills, a high proportion of the women workers in Japan, were facing a crisis of unemployment or cuts in wages due to the industry's rationalization in order to survive.⁵¹ As an earlier report had said, although prostitution and women workers' problems were commonly discussed only from the viewpoint of urban socialism or Marxism, they were structurally related to the situation of village women.⁵² Anarchist women faced this reality and sought answers to help liberate women in rural areas.

What was anarchism for women?

In their magazine, *Fujin sensen*, anarchist women in Japan aimed to transcend Soviet-style women's emancipation, which was, they thought, a negation of a mother's nature, and to create new concepts of women's emancipation. Their thought consisted of two cores: opposition to 'women's emancipation' in its sense of gaining equality to men based on a production-centred value system; and constant adherence to 'nature' through reproduction (love, pregnancy, childbirth, child-rearing, education).⁵³

First they dismissed the idea that 'public matters are more important than private matters.' In existing authoritarian society, everything was evaluated by its contribution to public matters, and women's special concerns (such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, child-rearing) were regarded as private matters and therefore as valueless. Public matters meant labour in a broad sense that was profitable for the ruling classes; on the other hand, private matters meant aspects of an individuals' life, such as tastes and sexual appetite, which were regarded as inefficient and non-productive. Women

⁴⁹ Kamiya Shizuko, "Baishunfu to nōson keizai" (Prostitutes and the rural economy), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 2 (February 1931), pp. 10 – 11.

⁵⁰ Yagi Akiko, "Mura no musume san tachi e" (To young girls in villages), *Pan to jiyū* (10 May 1931), in *Aruwanaku*, no. 10 (10 June 1979), p. 5.

⁵¹ Yagi Akiko, "Chōsa ran: Shihon shugi keizai to rōdō fujin" (Investigation section: capitalist economics and working women), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 3 (May 1930), in *Yagi chosakushū*, vol. 1, pp. 165 – 171.

⁵² Nakanishi Inosuke, "Nokosare taru nōson fujin no mondai" (Neglected problems of women in farming villages), *Fujin kōron*, no. 11 (November 1926), in *Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei*, vol. 8, part 1, pp. 580 – 583.

⁵³ Takamure Itsue, "Fujin sensen ichi nen: fujin shisō shi," in *Anakuzumu josei*, p.243.

who shouldered biological burdens (private matters) were discriminated against in this value system. From this viewpoint, evaluation of women by their participation in production was part of a conceptual framework rejected by women anarchists.

Second, they down-graded the family. They had two reasons for this: 1) from the viewpoint of women's social status, women would be subordinate to men as long as the conventional family existed. This was because, as anarchists and Marxists both believed, in an era of private property, the family was an economic unit and people would be evaluated according to their value in production. Women, with their biological disadvantages, would inevitably be ranked lower than men in the family. This situation, they supposed, would contrast with women's status in a communist society in which all property belonged to the community. Women could then use property freely and women's status would not be lower than men's. 2) in terms of sex and reproduction, in the current male-dominated family, men controlled sexual life. A wife served her husband as a 'sexual organ' and a mother was merely an unpaid worker in the family. Even the nature of reproduction in the family was warped by economic considerations. Thus the family was a system to regulate reproduction and institutionalise women's low status.

This man-centred value system was supposedly based on the labour theory of value. Takamure criticized the theory for ignoring natural instincts.

The theory puts all value on labour. Labour has the right to take all the value produced. In other words, people who don't work should not eat. There is no theoretical base to support the existence of people like children, the aged, the sick, and women with children. It is a major flaw in the theory. On the other hand, anarchism, which insists that people's existence is supported by the instinctive ethics of mutual aid, has a theoretical foundation for all people's existence.⁵⁴

Anarchists adopted the communist principle "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs" instead of "to each according to their work" in order to look after the socially weak, such as children, aged people and the sick.

In addition to theoretical flaws in the labour theory of value, anarchist women were aware of women's actual situation in rural areas, where women were oppressed even though they engaged in economic production and worked as hard as men. This was incompatible with the labour theory of value.⁵⁵ Consequently, they regarded as a simple

⁵⁴ Takamure Itsue, "Kaikyū dōtoku to museifu dōtoku; tokuni fujin no tame ni" (Class morality and anarchist morality: especially for women), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 9 (November 1930), pp. 196 – 197.

⁵⁵ A case of an owner and tenant farmer shows that the wife and a sister of the head of the household worked more than 25% of all work in the field, and furthermore, the wife made sales of vegetables and

myth the socialist doctrine that once women could participate in production as well as men, women would be emancipated.⁵⁶ Therefore, they believed that women's true emancipation could be realised only after a change in the prevailing value system through breaking down divisions between private and public matters, and negating the structural reliance of the family on private property.

Anarchist women criticised Marxists, socialists, and even other anarchists for their incomplete commitment to eradicating these two aspects. For example, Matsumoto Masae declared that, for Marxists, marriage simply meant a trivial feature of their private lives. Husbands did not even talk about their political activities to their wives and were proud to sacrifice their wives and children to their noble mission. Moreover, women could not be recognised by Marxists as fully-fledged persons unless they acted in a masculine way.⁵⁷ Not only Marxists but also socialists became a target of criticism by Matsumoto from the viewpoint of the new anarchist value system based on human reproduction. Matsumoto, in a review of socialist history in Western countries, particularly criticised French socialists for insisting that women's place was in the family, not in public. In addition, they were said to insist that men should study labour and social problems, while women should devote themselves to child rearing and to beautifying workers' homes. Socialists acknowledged that there was a historic relationship between women's subordinate position and the development of private property, but their theory of women's emancipation did not progress beyond calling for women's support of men's socialist movements in order to realise a socialist society in which women would then acquire equality and freedom automatically. Matsumoto also criticised Japanese communists for following in the footsteps of Western socialists by regarding love and its attendant responsibilities as simply a private affair and women as tools. Matsumoto criticised even anarchists like Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy for their attitudes to their own wives. She noted that men's achievements had usually been built on women's sacrifices, and questioned whether such achievements genuinely deserved praise.⁵⁸

How to give effect to this negation of traditional family value systems? In her

the sister worked in another place during the agricultural off-season. Intensive agriculture required considerable labour, which was fulfilled by family members' labour and exchange labour without compensation. Tamaki Hajime, *Nihon kazoku seido ron* (A study of the Japanese family system), Tokyo: Hōritsu bunka sha, 1971, pp. 246 – 247.

⁵⁶ Takamura Itsue, "Warera no fujin undō" (Our women's movement), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 1 (January 1931), in *Anakizumu josei*, pp. 221 – 222.

⁵⁷ Matsumoto Masae, "Komyunisuto no jyosei kan o haisu" (Opposing the communist view of women), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 1 (March 1930), pp. 40 – 41.

⁵⁸ Matsumoto Masae, "Josei no shakai shugi" (Women's socialism), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 2 (April 1930), pp. 6 – 8.

article entitled “An opinion about rejection of the family (*katei*),” Takamure argued why and how women rejected the family. In doing so, Takamure used the same literal analysis of Chinese characters as Hanyi,⁵⁹ in that *ka* (home) meant a pigsty, namely private property, and *tei* (court) meant a place to judge criminals. Therefore *katei* meant a place where a wife and children were kept and imprisoned. The owner of the family was a man.⁶⁰ From such an origin, the family had become one of the systems that oppressed the desirable relationship between the sexes that should naturally be based on an instinct of mutual aid or of primitive mutual love. The family had become an instrument of oppression, especially of women’s personalities.⁶¹ Therefore, Takamure proposed the rejection of conventional family values. She suggested practical ways in which women could immediately free themselves from the family: freeing their minds from allegiance to the family; taking jobs outside the family unit; refusing to have children without financial security; preparing to be thrown out from the family at any time.⁶² This was to be the individual woman’s challenge to the family through establishing her independence mentally and economically. By practising these means, even within the family, a woman as a wife or a mother could stop being the private property of a man or being effectively an employee engaged for the purpose of breeding and child-rearing.

Many anarchist women thus sought women’s emancipation not through women’s participation in production according to a production-centred value system, but through establishing a reproduction-centred value system. This meant elevating reproduction as an essential element of nature, and according special respect to motherhood. This was to be a restoration of nature, in which motherhood could be fully realised within a natural society—within a community without artificially rigid institutions such as the family system.

Motherhood as women’s nature

Strong respect for women’s reproductive function as expressed in motherhood motivated and characterised this school of anarchism for Japanese women. Originally, Takamure did not accept that the highest value in motherhood lay in terms of reproducing the species, as Ellen Key had insisted. Takamure had then regarded

⁵⁹ Hanyi, “Huijia lun,” *Tianyi*, no. 4 (25 July 1907).

⁶⁰ Takamure Itsue, “Katei hitei ron” (Opinion about denial of the family), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 2 (April 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, pp. 61 – 65.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66 – 67.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

motherhood simply as a phenomenon of biology and physiology. Maternal love (*bosei ai*) was to her a kind of instinctive self-love.⁶³ However, the perception of motherhood as essentially a women's instinct inclined her and other women anarchists to take such "essentialist" attitudes to women's issues. For example, when Takamure examined the meaning of sex for men and women, she expressed it by a simple schema: men's sexual desire and women's reproduction.⁶⁴ According to Takamure, for women, love was a practical matter directly connected to pregnancy and childbirth. Ifukube Toshiko's arguments took on a more intense character of essentialism. She supposed there were fundamental differences between the sexes: men were good at developing culture and women were good at maintaining culture. Women were always conscious of reproduction and considered everything in terms of blood ties. Furthermore, Ifukube insisted that women could only be complete personalities through having children and that women had to fulfil the task of being mothers. To have excellent children, according to her, women needed freedom to love and marry men they judged to be excellent according to their maternal instincts. She even asserted that, if love did not consider children, it was not worthy of the name of love, and that women needed freedom to divorce when they did not want children by their husbands.⁶⁵ Ifukube concluded that women should be mothers not only for individual motives, but also for the sake of society. It was the social function of mothers to bring children into society.⁶⁶ The idea that motherhood was essential to women was shared with other women anarchists. Sumii Sue believed that women naturally identified with their children because of motherhood.⁶⁷ All women would become mothers in an ideal society (though there might be exceptions) and devote themselves to perfecting the next form of society for their children.⁶⁸ This would give motherhood a wider meaning than just an individual one and justify it in terms of improving society. Thus motherhood would become an integral part of women's nature and a defining characteristic of women's anarchism.

⁶³ Takamure Itsue, "Wagakuni marukusu fujin no zunō haiken" (Have a look at the brains of Marxist women in Japan), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 1 (March 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, pp. 39–40.

⁶⁴ Takamure Itsue, "Museifu shugi to sei no shori" (Anarchism and management of sex), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 5 (July 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, pp. 88, 94.

⁶⁵ Ifukube Toshiko, "Bosei no jiyū kakutoku undō no ichi konkyo" (A reason for acquiring maternal freedom), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 1 (January 1931), pp. 12–13.

⁶⁶ Ifukube Toshiko, "Bosei shugi shisō no tenkai" (The development of motherhood thought), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 3 (March 1931), p. 24.

⁶⁷ Sumii Sue, "Bosei ai no kakumei to sono shuppatsu" (Revolution and departure of maternal love), *Nōmin*, no. 12 (December 1932), in *Sumii Sue sakuhin shū* (The collected writings of Sumii Sue, here after *Sumii sakuhin*), Tokyo: Shinchō sha, 1999, vol. 7, p. 38.

⁶⁸ Sumii Sue, "Sei ni jiyū ariya?" (Does sex have freedom?), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 5 (July 1930), in *Sumii sakuhin*, vol. 7, p. 19.

Why did they put so much emphasis on motherhood? Official doctrines hailing women as the mothers of the nation, which appeared in the late 1920s and more strongly in the 1930s, in some ways resembled anarchist women's motherhood-centred arguments, but in a different context. After the concept of the housewife had appeared in the 1890s, the idea that women should look after their children as mothers at home had become popular in urban areas.⁶⁹ Motherhood as a social principle was actually a concept created in the 1920s through a public debate about the protection of motherhood. Hiratsuka Raichō strongly insisted that motherhood was women's vocation based on women's instinct. The term *bosei* (motherhood) did not immediately take a firm hold as a term to express motherhood in Japan. It was only after the debate that the term became fixed. Through the process whereby the government mobilised women as mothers, and women identified themselves as mothers for women's emancipation, women came to be moulded into 'mother.' In addition to this ideological process, the fact that married women had five or more children on average indicates that childbirth and child-rearing ruled almost the whole life of women, whose average life span was only around 43 years in the 1920s. Therefore anarchist women's definition of women as mother was consistent with current social attitudes, and their preoccupation with the complex of behaviours associated with motherhood represented the voice of the silent majority of Japanese women. Surprisingly, in this matter, anarchist women appeared to occupy common ground with the nationalistic concept of the mothers of the nation.

As her personal background, Takamure regarded herself as a spiritual daughter of Hiratsuka Raichō and the successor to Hiratsuka's feminism based on women's distinctive attributes. Takamure had a strong inclination to motherhood, although she herself had only had a stillborn baby and had never become a mother. But the fact that she could not become a mother seems to have led her to idealise motherhood and overestimate the meaning of motherhood in women's lives, although she kept describing being a mother as a simple biological function. In addition, her interpretation of motherhood was supported by her opinions about 'nature.' Takamure differed from some other women anarchists in her interpretation of what was entailed by naturalness. Takamure divided the major issues for women into equal rights and natural values as in sex and motherhood. For her, natural values were more important than equal rights which were being pursued through the women's rights movement. She gave her attention to systems, such as the family system, marriage system, child-rearing,

⁶⁹ Sawayama Mikako, "Kindai nihon ni okeru 'bosei' no kyōchō to sono imi" (The emphasis of 'motherhood' and its meaning in modern Japan), in *Josei to bunka—shakai, bōsei, rekishi—*, Ningen bunka kenkyūkai, ed., Tokyo: Shiratori shuppan, 1979, pp. 167–180.

education and so on, that had oppressed motherhood and distorted the nature of sex.⁷⁰ She saw a perpetual conflict between nature and the systems used to adapt nature. According to Takamure, 'nature' meant '*jinen*', or the situation in which 'things are as they are', and applied systems meant artificial interference that distorted the natural situation. Motherhood was a symbol of such 'nature' and for Takamure, should not be interfered with. She thus ignored the fact that motherhood is actually affected or defined by social conditions, social norms and other historical factors. For example, arguments about birth control reflected the fact that motherhood could be affected by external factors. Some women anarchists were against birth control as conflicting with the political interests of the proletariat by controlling their numbers.⁷¹ They also believed that having children without restriction was natural for women. However, others also invoked motherhood to support birth control in that they did not wish to produce children to be potential cannon-fodder for the government.⁷² Motherhood was thus given various meanings by different persons, and in different contexts. Nevertheless, Takamure regarded motherhood as if it were women's unerring and unchangeable instinct. Her unconditional opposition to technical innovations and her inclination to what was natural were embodied in her views on motherhood. Anarchist women's arguments about women-centred anarchism were based to a greater or lesser degree on such dogmatic concepts of naturalness and motherhood.

It is worthwhile to consider the relationship between Takamure, Hiratsuka and Itō Noe in terms of motherhood as an order of nature. A common emphasis on motherhood by Takamure and Hiratsuka is widely acknowledged, while its shared relevance to Takamure and Itō is not usually mentioned. Hiratsuka called Takamure her longed-for "sister" and Takamure termed herself Hiratsuka's "daughter." On the other hand, differences are often emphasised between Hiratsuka and Itō in terms of motherhood. For example, Hiratsuka realised her ideals of motherhood only after experience of inner conflicts, while Itō was described as a person who was, by constitution and temperament, naturally suited to motherhood. Hiratsuka had written, "I was surprised by your [Itō's] instinct for maternal love, as if you don't feel any

⁷⁰ Takamure Itsue, "Kaikyū dōtoku to museifu shugi – toku ni fujin no tameni" (Class morality and anarchism: for women). *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 9 (December 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 201.

⁷¹ Ifukube Toshiko, "Sanji seigen undō to tatakau beshi" (Motherhood struggling with birth control movement), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 4 (April 1931), pp. 9 – 10, Sumii Sue, "Sei ni jiyū ariya?" (Does sex have freedom?), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 5 (July 1930), in *Sumii sakuhin*, vol. 7, pp. 18 – 19.

⁷² Kawai Kiwa (Matsumoto Masae), "Sanji seigen to bōsei" (Birth control and motherhood), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 10 (December 1930), p. 35.

contradictions or pain in sacrificing yourself for your child.”⁷³ Such differences between Hiratsuka and Itō seem to emphasise all the more the closeness between Takamure and Hiratsuka. Furthermore, Itō displayed a different approach to motherhood: while she paid tribute to motherhood, she also recognized children as distinct and separate personalities, and showed little tendency to regard mothers as a unity with their children. She regarded being a mother as just one possible option for women.⁷⁴ These are admittedly differences between the attitudes of Takamure and Itō; however, both shared the same tendency in regarding motherhood as an essential part of nature. Itō did not refer at length to motherhood itself in her writing, but her discussion of “free motherhood,” though directly inspired by Emma Goldman, indicated her willingness to support motherhood unconditionally. In addition, her belief that even an unborn baby has its own rights and her condemnation of abortion as profanation against nature show her support of motherhood based on her faith in nature. Itō’s naturalistic attitude towards motherhood had the same quality as that of Takamure. It can be said that motherhood is the element that underlay the anarchism of both Itō and Takamure.

Women’s sexual freedom

Femininity and women’s sexuality, which the anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* defined in a scope related to women’s maternal nature, could be extended to justify a preferred moral code of behaviour. Thus Matsumoto and Takamure insisted that sexual monogamy (in both short-term and permanent union) was a desirable form of sexual relationship since, they believed, it was based on natural maternal instinct.⁷⁵ Matsumoto put forward the view that a wife’s desire or demand that her husband/lover be faithful to her, which had commonly been regarded as women’s jealousy according to a male-centred sexual morality, was in fact a request for ‘justice’ (*seigi*).⁷⁶ This was because, according to Takamure, once a woman became aware of their true nature; the sincerity of her desire for sexual reproduction was expressed through seeking reproduction with the partner with whom she shared her loving relationship.⁷⁷ As a consequence, women were justified in insisting on monogamy from the man in their

⁷³ Hiratsuka Raichō, “Kojin toshite no seikatsu to sei toshite no seikatsu tonon aida no tōsō ni tsuite (Noe san ni)” *Seitō* 5, no. 8 (1 September 1915), pp. 1 – 22.

⁷⁴ In this aspect, Itō was closer to the stance of woman poet Yosano Akiko in a debate with Hiratsuka over protection of mother and children in society. Yosano had insisted that she was not living only for motherhood.

⁷⁵ Takamure Itsue, “Watashi wa kō omou” (I think in this way), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 227.

⁷⁶ Matsumoto Masae, “Shittoshin no mondai—josei no tachiba kara no kōsatsu” (A problem of jealousy: a study from viewpoint of women), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 5 (July 1931), p. 30.

⁷⁷ Takamure Itsue, “Museihu shugi to sei no shori” (Anarchism and its coping with sex), in *Anakizumu josei*, pp. 89 – 90.

sexual relationship and rejecting indiscriminate sexual unions based on male promiscuous sexual instincts.

Anarchist woman Yasuda Rikiko (1909 – 1987)⁷⁸ who displayed a different sexuality from that of Takamure and others in *Fujin sensen* illustrated this possibility. The life of Yasuda who became famous as *onna ryakuya* (woman bandit), shows an anarchist living in accordance with her own morality through so-called anti-social behaviour, regardless of her sex. Some male anarchists were disgusted by Yasuda's uninhibited love affairs, showing they were not completely free from conventional morality. She accused male anarchists of inconsistency between their stated principles and their real intentions about sexual morality.⁷⁹ Yasuda applied to sexuality the same anarchist approach as to ideas about freedom: if you did not want be restricted, you should not restrict other people. People should be free to behave according to their desires. She emphatically insisted on the equality of the sexes in sexual mores and demonstrated this by extramarital sexual relationships. When she was condemned by her comrades for having lovers even though she had a husband, anarchist Noguchi Ichirō, she rebutted them as follows:

You [Hayashi and Komatsu] did not say anything to Noguchi when he stayed at Seiryōken [his lover's place]. Why are you only accusing me? Is it that men are allowed, but women are not? It seems as if we are still in the Tokugawa era. Is it in name only that anarchists are crying for the destruction of the feudal system and equality of the sexes? Anarchism is not true to its words of equality.⁸⁰

Yasuda, who refused to accept her comrades' condemnation, based as it was on sexual double standards, did note, however, that it must be extremely difficult for her husband, as a man, to accept the situation. She wondered if he was paying for what he had previously said about freedom and equality by putting up with the situation.⁸¹ Nevertheless her concern about her husband did not prevent her from having sexual relationships with other men to whom she was attracted. Anarchist men's comments on

⁷⁸ From a young age, she was interested in socialism and social movements. When only fifteen years old, she was arrested for lese-majesty when she jumped out in front of the carriage of the prince on his wedding day, and was sentenced to six years' penal servitude. After she was discharged, she married anarchist Noguchi Ichirō. After Noguchi was arrested, she began conducting *ryaku*, which was a means of plundering money from 'capitalists' (I mention this in chapter 6), to support her family (her baby son and her brother). She became famous for her novel way of *ryaku* and her many love affairs. She was involved in the movement for abolition of prostitution, the movement to emancipate *burakumin* (a discriminated people) and labour agitation.

⁷⁹ Yasuda Riki (Rikiko), "Akujo no bohyō" (A gravestone of a wicked woman), no. 28. *Ise shinbun* (1983).

⁸⁰ Ibid., no.27.

⁸¹ Ibid.

her numberless sexual relationships conveyed men's viewpoint about sexual morality. According to her, some told her with admiration, "Women who have had sexual relationships with five or ten men seem dirty. But I can feel the sanctity of a person like Riki."⁸² It seems that male anarchists were sometimes able to accept her ways as uniquely beyond their conventional framework of morality, but not necessarily to understand her acts in the context of anarchism.

Yasuda's case is remarkable in casting light on the sexual morality of anarchists. She believed in complete freedom in sexual relationships, and put her beliefs into practice. In addition, she was not deterred by fear that people would accuse anarchists of being unprincipled and of being a dangerous group because of their licentious sexual relationships.⁸³ Her definition of free love was different from that of anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* who discussed free love only in association with marriage or their emphasis on motherhood as women's nature. They rejected free sex (having sexual relationships promiscuously) as being a man-centred idea, although one notable exception, Yasuda Riki, insisted on the equality of the sexes in sexual behaviour. Yasuda, who had a son, did not reject motherhood, but claimed sexual freedom for women in her own way. Yasuda's case indicates the potential for an intersection of motherhood and Eros. However, anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* did not examine or explore that potential, or consider that sexual freedom, unconnected with motherhood, might be possible for women within a future anarchist society. In this respect, Yasuda's attitude is similar to that of Kaneko Fumiko, who did not admit the conventional meaning of sex for women. It was a serious loss for the scope of anarchism that those different opinions about women's sexuality did not intersect with or even recognise each other.

Women's emancipation and humanity's emancipation

Anarchist women's views about women's emancipation had difficulty in gaining acceptance in the mainstream anarchist movement in Japan. Takamure explained why women anarchists should pay attention to women's special issues as follows, "it is not wrong for women to consider only their special issues in society. This is because other elements are universal, and will be considered by the whole of society even if we [women] don't consider them. Therefore women's special issues play a central role in

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

women's awareness."⁸⁴ But women anarchists' arguments were not necessarily in line with the main current of anarchism of that time. Their ideas were often dismissed as frivolous or simply ignored, even in anarchist circles. Compared with the consideration given to the movement for farmers' self-government, Hatta Shūzō (1888 – 1934) and the group for *junsei museifu shugi* or pure anarchism⁸⁵ paid little attention to the women's point of view. Indeed, Hatta criticised the discourse of *Fujin sensen* on the ground that anarchist women were dividing society into two classes—men and women—and insisting on a class struggle between the two classes.⁸⁶ He seems to have misunderstood and perhaps was incapable of understanding what anarchist women were demanding in their magazine articles and even failed to grasp the nature of the issues they raised. Anarchist Suzuki Yasuyuki (1903 – 1970), who was one of leaders of the Village Youth Movement, castigated *Fujin sensen* as women's imperialism, or *Onna daigaku* (women's school).⁸⁷ He accused *Fujin sensen* of confusing syndicalism with anarchism, and of arbitrary attacks on men by prejudiced minds distorted by capitalism.⁸⁸ Both these male anarchists only ridiculed *Fujin sensen* without trying to understand the meaning of the arguments in the magazine. In taking issue with comments by Hatta, a reader of *Fujin sensen* admitted that anarchists were not necessarily ready to realise the significance of women's proposals.⁸⁹ Takamure was aware of the usual anarchist men's ignorance about women, and of the conflict between anarchist women and such anarchists.⁹⁰ Women anarchists had to carry on their

⁸⁴ Takamure Itsue, "Fujin undō no tanitsu taikai no shin teishō" (A new suggestion about a single system for the women's movement), *Fujin undō*, (January 1928), in *Anakizumu josei* 2, p. 26.

⁸⁵ Hatta advocated a theory that developed anarcho-communism on the base of a critique of syndicalism and Marxism. He criticised the labour theory of value, and the materialist view of history, and insisted on pure anarchism that advocated a production-based economic system, expanding the means of production, economic decentralisation, abolishing the division of labour and exploitation, and taking consumption as its basis. The pure anarchist group condemned anarcho-syndicalism as a compromise of Marxism and anarchism. The conflict between the two groups produced a split in the anarchist camp in the late 1920s and became a reason for the decline of the anarchist movement in Japan. John Crump evaluated Hatta's pure anarchism in terms of the theoretical development of anarcho-communism. See Crump, John, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*. Houndmills: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

⁸⁶ Yuri Kenzō (Hatta Shūzō), "Jūnō shugi ni hantaisū" (Opposing physiocracy), *Nōmin jiyū rengō* 1, no. 2 (27 August 1930), p. 2.

⁸⁷ A textbook of ethics and morality that women should follow, published in the *Kyōho* era (1716 – 1736). It instructed women to be obedient to their fathers and husbands.

⁸⁸ Suzuki Yasuyuki, "Museifu shugi bungaku no genjitsu to risō" (Reality and ideal of anarchist literature), *Kokushoku sensen* 1, no. 1 (1 September 1931), in *Shiryō Nōson seinensha undō shi—jiyū konmyūn no juritsu to sono jissen 1930 nendai ni okeru Nihon anakizumu kakumei undō* (Materials on the history of the Farming Village Youth Association movement: the establishment of the free communes and their practices anarchist revolution movement in the 1930s in Japan), *Nōson seinensha undōshi kankōkai*, ed., Kyoto: Tōyō bunka sha, 1972, p. 234.

⁸⁹ Izumi Reiko, "Museifu shugi ni kansuru oboegaki sonota" (A memorandum on anarchism), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 10 (December 1930), p. 53.

⁹⁰ Takamure Itsue, "Warera no fujin undō" (Our women's movement), *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 1 (December 1931), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 216.

activities under such conditions, which stemmed not only from factional disputes within anarchism, but also from men's lack of awareness of a need to consider women's issues in the anarchist movement.

This was not an unusual situation in social movements. But it was also a weakness in Japanese anarchism to refuse even to consider women's ideas within the anarchist camp. Endless splits between anarchist factions characterised the anarchist movement in this era; these divisions drastically reduced anarchist power in the labour movement. Although anarchist women's suggestions deserved consideration and had the potential to profoundly shape anarchism itself, the attitudes of Hatta and others to anarchist women show they were not ready to do them justice. It is ironic that the consumption-based economy that Hatta advocated in opposition to a production-based economy was appreciated and used by anarchist women in their arguments for women's emancipation. The women anarchists of *Fujin sensen* seem to have seen theoretical merit in pure anarchism. But they were less successful in establishing a clear relationship between women's emancipation and humanity's emancipation. Takamure was giving her directives as to the general direction that anarchism should take at a time when the anarchist movement was getting more and more chaotic. "Our common slogan is 'Towards an anarcho-communist society'. Under this slogan, we advance the labour movement, farmers' movement, women's movement, *suihei* movement,⁹¹ movements in colonies, and thought movements, all of which are separately derived from one root."⁹² But in what way could women anarchists carry forward their own movement within their dedication to a universal purpose? The answer was, as Yagi Akiko insisted, that women who were concerned about women's emancipation should join the anarchist camp in order to achieve the anarchist aim: emancipation of all humanity. Although she conceded women's special situation, she emphasized the universal purpose that women anarchists should struggle for in combination with men.

Ahead of us on the way to freedom and the great task of revolution, there can be no distinction between the sexes, who are combined in solidarity. It has been an old misunderstanding to attribute women's oppression to past and present restrictions by men's power. It is not only women who have become miserable and irrational by control and exploitation; this is the reality for all the proletariat. We now have to begin to struggle against the common enemy, i.e. every power

⁹¹ The liberation movement for *burakumin*, who were historically discriminated against as people at the bottom of the social pyramid in society.

⁹² Takamure Itsue, "Museifu shugi no mokuhyō to senjutsu" (The aims and tactics of anarchism), *Fujin sensen* 11, no. 4 (June 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 82.

and institution of the bourgeois landlord ruling class.⁹³

Anarchist [revolution] aims not at sexual and class emancipation of men, women, workers and farmers, but complete emancipation of all people. Therefore, we women should unite with men to struggle against the common enemy."⁹⁴

As concrete examples, she mentioned women's activities, such as spreading propaganda publications generally and especially in factories, supporting fathers, brothers or lovers who were active anarchists, undertaking important roles in secret activities, helping the movement financially, rescuing comrades, and so forth.⁹⁵ However, the measures she listed sound similar to women's programs called for by the socialist or Marxist camps. Although she believed that women's emancipation could be achieved through anarchist revolution, anarchist women were not necessarily to display their abilities in characteristically anarchist ways different from others.

Nevertheless, the claims of anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* supported the view that there were other oppressed people apart from the proletariat, i.e. women, children, the weak, and farmers. If anarchism was a movement that sought to restore the distorted nature of humanity, these oppressed groups could also be the concern of anarchism. Their struggle should not be relegated to a secondary position and disregarded in favour of the main struggle. Their diverse viewpoints could widen and deepen the significance of anarchism. Socialists, syndicalists, even anarchists had said glibly that once workers and farmers had been liberated, women would also be liberated. Women anarchists had reservations about this dictum. This was because all previous liberation movements had aimed at some kind of hegemony. People who insisted on hegemony for the proletariat or farmers would ignore women's problems and regard them as non-essential phenomena. As a result, women would remain in a subordinate situation even in a socialist society as long as power was a controlling principle of society. Anarchist women did not want to replace men's hegemony with women's hegemony, but wanted to abolish the concept of hegemony itself, and social hierarchies embodying hegemony. They advocated changing the fundamental social value system from a production-centred or men-centred system to a reproduction-centred or non-centred system so that women could be liberated in such a society, in which differences between the sexes would mean not superiority or inferiority, but just differences.

⁹³ Yagi Akiko, "Dakkan seyo" (Recover them), *Kokushoku sensen*, (April 1932), in *Aruwanaku*, no. 11 (20 August 1979), p. 13.

⁹⁴ Yagi Akiko, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Yagi Akiko, *ibid.*, p. 14. In 1930 – 32, she had been following the Village Youth Association Movement, which aimed at founding anarchist communes in rural areas. The roles of anarchist women that she mentioned were exactly what she was carrying out in the Movement.

4.3 Chinese women, anarchism, and the war

The new women

In strong contrast to the May Fourth era, it is difficult to locate anarchist statements about family issues in China after the middle of the 1920s. This was partly because the number of anarchist magazines suddenly declined, and partly because anarchists hardly talked about the family from around that time.⁹⁶ In this section, I use articles mainly from two magazines—the radical women's magazine *Xin nǚxing* (The New Woman) in the late 1920s and one of the last anarchist magazines *Jingze* (The Waking of Insects) in the late 1930s—to trace anarchist opinions about family issues. Family revolution was mainly discussed in these magazines in terms of women's emancipation and individual problems. Unlike in Japan, female anarchists in China did not form a strong and distinct group who enunciated their own characteristic approach to women's emancipation. Male anarchists continued to be the main writers.

In a different social and political atmosphere from the May Fourth era, a public debate took place in the latter half of the 1920s over new women and a new sexual morality in the context of recreating China as a new nation state. Many of the ideas were no longer novel but followed a history of argument over women's emancipation that had been developing since the late Qing era in relation to nation building, and in the May Fourth era about the desirable form of the new family in the new nation, and about female sexuality and issues such as fidelity and sexual morality. Two magazines, *Xin nǚxing* and *Xin wenhua* (The New Culture), were the main places where anarchists argued about women's sexuality and a new sexual morality in the context of the creation of a new nation state.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Journalist and Sinologist Tachibana Shiraki (1881 – 1945) observed that the main force of the liberation movement against the *zongfa* system comprised students, women, and workers. Students and youth were junior in the family and the *zongfa* system, therefore those who became conscious of individualism naturally revolted against oppression by seniors. But it is natural that students, many of whom came from middle class families, relied on *zongfa* or the local party when they joined gentry circles or lived in the city. Students who lived in such circumstances gradually lost the feeling of anti-family. On the other hand, those women who lived in slavish circumstances as property, had strong reason to curse the family system. Tachibana Shiraki, "Shina kazoku seido no hatan" (The breakdown of the Chinese family system), in *Shina shakai kenkyū*. Tokyo: Nihon hyōron sha, 1936, pp. 559 – 561.

⁹⁷ Peng Xiaoyan, "Wusi de 'xin xing daode' nuxing qingyu lunshu yu jiangou minzu guojia" (May-Fourth New Sexual Ethics: Female Sexuality and Nation-Building Discourse), in *Zhongguo funü yu wenxue lunwen ji diyi ji* (Critical Essays on Chinese Women and Literature), Wu Yenna, ed., Taipei: Taoliang chubanshe, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 195 – 226. Within the discourse of women-centred morality, Peng did not mention the difference between anarchists and other revolutionaries or reformers. Anarchist discourse aimed to create an anarchist society, sometimes in line with the intention of reforming people's character in order to create a strong and wealthy nation state. This tendency had existed since the late Qing era. In terms of reforming people's character in order to create an anarchist society, a new morality was crucial. The anarchists' intention to create an anarchist society was one of the blueprints for a new

It is interesting that, almost at the same time in Japan and China, there were debates about women's issues, such as sexuality, new sexual morality and women's emancipation. However, the main protagonists in Japan were women such as Yosano Akiko, Hiratsuka Raichō, Yamakawa Kikue and Takamure Itsue, whereas in China, it was mainly men who debated the issues in print. In *Xin nüxing*, male anarchists such as Lu Jianbo (1904 – 1991), Zhang Qiandi, and Li Feigan (Bajin) participated in the debate by writing articles about women's issues or by translating and publishing articles to introduce Western and Japanese thought about topics of concern. For example, Emma Goldman's "Marriage and Love"⁹⁸ was translated by Jianbo,⁹⁹ and "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" by Feigan.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, *Xin nüxing* translated and published extracts from a novel by Kollontai, "Three Generations' Love,"¹⁰¹ Takamure Itsue's "rejecting bureaucratic view of love,"¹⁰² and Japanese critic Hayashi Fusao's "A new art of love"¹⁰³ in the same issue. These articles were a source for arguments about new morality and women-centred culture, which became a trend in China at that time. Chinese anarchists agreed to respect women's autonomy, but generally did not support the idea of a women-centred society due to characteristic anarchist rejection of all forms of hegemony.¹⁰⁴ Instead of a women-centred society, Lu Jianbo proposed a new society called '*liangxing xietong de shehui* (men and women's cooperative society),' that would transcend the notion of the sexes as separate classes in society: either as higher and lower classes, or as conflicting classes.¹⁰⁵ Male anarchist Zhang Qiandi also rejected a women's movement hoping to take over men's power and place themselves in men's position to dominate society. This was because society could not belong to one sex, but

China circulating in the 1920s.

⁹⁸ It had already been translated by anarchist Zhenying as early as 1917 in the first issue of *Ziyou lu*, (May 1917).

⁹⁹ Emma Goldman, "Hunying yu lian'ai" (Marriage and Love), Jianbo trans., *Xin nüxing* 2, no. 1 (1 January 1927).

¹⁰⁰ Emma Goldman, "Funü jiefang de beiju" (The tragedy of woman's emancipation), Feigan trans., *Xin nüxing* 1, no. 7 (1 July 1926).

¹⁰¹ Keluntai (Kollontai), "Sandai de lian'ai" (Three Generations' Love), *Xin nüxing* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1928).

¹⁰² Takamure Itsue, "Pai guanliao de lian'ai" (Rejecting bureaucratic love), Fangzi, trans. *Xin nüxing* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1928). Takamure's original article "Kanryō teki ren'ai kan wo haisu" (Rejecting bureaucratic view of love) was published in *Chūō kōron*, no. 8 (1 August 1928).

¹⁰³ Hayashi Fusao, "Xin 'lian'ai dao'" (A new 'art of love'), Moyuan trans., *Xin nüxing* 3, no. 9 (1 September 1928). The original article "Shin ren'ai dō" (A new art of love) was published in *Chūō kōron*, no. 8 (August 1928).

¹⁰⁴ Lu Jianbo, "Wo de nüxing jiefang guan" (My opinion about women's emancipation), *Xin nüxing* 1, no. 9 (1 September 1926), pp. 664 – 665. (page number of reprint)

¹⁰⁵ Lu Jianbo, "Wo suo renwei xin nüzi zhe" (New woman who I recognise), *Xin nüxing* 1, no. 11 (November 1926), p. 825.

consisted of both sexes.¹⁰⁶

Apart from the public discussion of ideas about a desirable society, how was women's situation in China at that time? Jianbo described unfavourable attitudes towards women's emancipation which were masked by a measure of progress in women's situation in the later 1920s. One factor was people's indifferent or conservative attitudes towards the movement for women's emancipation, which hindered its progress. Another was men's inappropriate attitudes, regardless of whether they were conservative or politically-awakened, more specifically, whether they belonged to the GMD, "the Lenin party," or "the anarchist party." Although all political activists welcomed women's participation in their camps, their ingrained attitudes insulted women's personality and held back women's emancipation. Some women were captured by vanity; some 'emancipated women' cried for economic independence and an equal chance in education, but always looked up to men as their superiors; some demanded political equality and consequently were undergoing political and economic stresses.¹⁰⁷

Against this background to Chinese women's situation, Jianbo mentioned three obstructions that reduced women to slaves: Chinese traditional *zongfa* (patriarchal clan system) thought, the manufacturing industry, and private property. The first made women the slaves of men, the second made them slaves of wages, and the third made them into prostitutes. Emancipation meant not only women breaking the restrictions of *zongfa* thought and liberating themselves from domination by men or the family, but also proletarian women liberating themselves from factories and from prostitution.¹⁰⁸ Jianbo hoped that new women would not only liberate themselves from the "slavery of traditional ethics and customs" such as the behaviour patterns imposed by the social ideals of "virtuous women" and "good wife and wise mother," but would also form ranks with proletarian women to help liberate them.¹⁰⁹ A noteworthy aspect of his article was that he supposed that emancipation of women from the family and Confucian ethics still needed an indomitable spirit, but would be easier than emancipation from the tyranny of wages and prostitution.

In defining the meaning of women's emancipation, Jianbo rejected the kind of 'feminism' (*funü zhuyi*) that demanded political rights, equal opportunity in jobs, the

¹⁰⁶ Zhang Qiandi, "Duiyu Jin Luo shijian de piping" (Review of Jin Luo incident), *Xin nüxing* 2, no. 3 (1 March 1927).

¹⁰⁷ Jianbo, "Wo de nüxing jiefang guang," *Xin nüxing* 1, no. 9 (1 September 1926), pp. 661 – 662.

¹⁰⁸ Lu Jianbo, "Wo suo renwei xin nüxing zhe" (New woman who I recognise), *Xin nüxing* 1, no. 11 (1 November 1928), p. 819.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 819.

same wages as men, etc, within a conventional social system, as reformist or bourgeois feminism because it did not aim at emancipation of all women or all humanity. Quoting Emma Goldman's words from "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," he concluded that women's emancipation should aim to make women true persons.¹¹⁰ From this viewpoint, he called on new women to understand 'emancipation' and 'organisation,' to have a 'rebellious' spirit and 'sympathy,' and to acquire the spirit of 'autonomy' and 'self-sacrifice.'¹¹¹ Those elements were essential for new women, who were mainly middle-class women, to emancipate themselves and to join in solidarity with proletarian women to emancipate them.

So then who was the ideal new woman for Chinese anarchists? Russian women who were struggling for freedom under their Bolshevik government were introduced to Chinese anarchists as a model of the new woman. "Women in the Russian Revolution"¹¹² by Emma Goldman, translated by Lu Jianbo, and its supplementary article by Feigan,¹¹³ described Russian revolutionary women's courageous struggle under the Bolsheviks in order to show the oppressive nature of the Bolshevik regime. Besides Russian anarchist women, Louise Michel, Emma Goldman and Itō Noe¹¹⁴ were also portrayed as models of new women. Those women anarchists were regarded as being independent and brave, devoting themselves, of their own free will, to anarchist movements and to women's emancipation; above all, they were against the coercive authority of government.

Jianbo thus described women's emancipation not only in the context of the family system, but in the broader context of society. He considered the meaning of women's emancipation and, in line with Emma Goldman, interpreted it as the fulfilment of personality. His opinions were similar to those of He Zhen who, in 1907, had also raised her voice against the miserable situation of women workers and prostitutes and had called for all women's emancipation, but unlike He Zhen, he had an audience to

¹¹⁰ Lu Jianbo, "Wo de nǚxing jiefang guan" (My opinion about women's emancipation), *Xin nǚxing* 1, no.9 (1 September 1926), pp. 665 – 666.

¹¹¹ Jianbo, "Wo suo renwǐ xīn nǚzǐ zhe," p. 820.

¹¹² Emma Goldman, "Eluosi geming zhong de funǚ" (Women in the Russian Revolution), Jianbo trans., *Xin nǚxing* 1, no. 4 (1 April 1926), pp. 253 – 260.

¹¹³ Li Feigan, "Eluosi geming zhong de funǚ bù" (Women in the Russian Revolution 2), *Xin nǚxing* 1, no. 4 (1 April 1926), pp. 261 – 264.

¹¹⁴ Itō was shown as a suitable model of a new woman seeking to be a 'perfect person' within existing society. But this gives a superficial picture of her. It omits Itō's spiritual development through the conflicts she experienced when she chose to join Ōsugi, abandoning her two sons with her then husband Tsuji, and during her life with Ōsugi. She believed that people's real emancipation would be realized through social revolution, but had been seeking and examining the meaning of freedom and women's emancipation through her own life. She emphasized that women's emancipation needed to be achieved within themselves as well as through social revolution. Wen Bin, "Yiteng yezhi nǚshi" (Ms Itō Noe), *Xin nǚxing* 2, no. 3 (1 March 1927), pp. 285 – 288.

address.

Though Chinese anarchists gave some attention to women's disadvantages, this fell a long way short of identifying a women's agenda as part of anarchism. There were also changes emerging in attitudes towards the family system and its problems. A Chinese translation of Kropotkin's article "On Marriage"¹¹⁵ explained Kropotkin's negative attitude to marriage. Kropotkin's opinion was clear. "We anarchists are opposed to the marriage system. We think that two persons' cooperative life based on love does not need a third party's permission. When the persons concerned agree, society has no right to interfere with them." In addition, Lefu described Western anarchists' practices, such as Kropotkin's marriage without wedding rites, his daughter's birth out of wedlock, and Elisée Reclus' supportive attitude to his daughter's practice of free love.¹¹⁶ As well as publicising negative opinions about institutional marriage by some prominent foreign anarchists, this article is remarkable in that Lefu clearly regarded marriage as a women's issue. He introduced Kropotkin to his readers by saying that he was not a specialist on woman's problems, and was not an activist for women's emancipation, but was a strong supporter of the movement¹¹⁷.

Although family problems did not disappear at this time as a matter of concern for male anarchists, earlier priorities were being modified, for example, enthusiasm for free love and free marriage was no longer so evident. Anarchist Zhang Kebiao's novel, based on his experience, titled "A person's marriage" described the attitude to marriage of a young man wavering between his ideal and reality. The man, who had once broken off an engagement that had been contracted for him when he was a child, was again facing an arranged marriage. But this time, he could not reject the marriage. This was not only because he was concerned for his aged parents, but also because he had changed his opinion about marriage after seeking in vain for his ideal woman; he now doubted that marriage based on love was the ideal and the only way he should take. He expressed his mixed feelings by mentioning that he preferred marriage based on 'free will' (*ziyou yizhi*) to a love marriage (*lian'ai jiehun*). He saw that this arranged marriage would amount to ruining his life, but "with affectionate smiles, his parents were holding up a glittering knife." Although this marriage meant for him "his mental life's bankruptcy and the collapse of his rational ideas," he could not find a way out and could

¹¹⁵ Lefu (Zhu Yongbang) translated Kropotkin's article that first appeared in the French anarchist magazine *La Révolte* (27 November 1891).

¹¹⁶ Kelubaotejin (Kropotkin), "Lun hunyin" (On Marriage), Lefu, trans., *Xin nüxing* 2, no. 9 (1 September 1927), p. 955.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

only sit in silent thought.¹¹⁸

What distinguishes these opinions about family issues from previous anarchist discourse is a tone that, although they still admitted the evils of the family system and other traditional social customs, they no longer directly connected family problems with demands for a family revolution. As Kebiao's story shows, difficulties related to the family were recognized not simply as evils generated by the family system, but as products of people's acts in real life. Various problems in people's personal lives could not be simply abolished; now individuals had to face the problems in their own lives.

Nevertheless, anarchists did not stop arguing for radical change in society. Jianbo's argument about sexual issues maintained a balance between recognition of social reality and his own uninhibited tendencies. He was fully aware that a change in sexual relationships and sexual morality would require a change in the base of the socio-economic system, and a reform of social values. Also, he acknowledged that sexual relationships were distorted by private property, male-centred morality, the marriage system, and the existing taboos about sex in society. Therefore, sexual liberation was essential to human liberation.¹¹⁹ In a free society, he supposed, the sex act would become an ordinary act like eating; cuddling would indicate intimate feelings; and support for pregnancy and reproduction would become a responsibility shared with society. People would no longer have an institutionalised relationship of husband and wife, but would become companions or partners (*ailü*). Sex would thus be a natural part of humanity, and contribute to harmony between men and women, Jianbo thought. Women's ultimate emancipation meant not only enjoying equality with men, but also enjoying free love (*ziyou jiaoi*), free sex (*ziyou xingjiao*), and free motherhood (*ziyou muxing*).¹²⁰ Thus Jianbo specifically mentioned women's sexuality, a matter which had hardly been referred to before.

However, anarchists did not show unified opinions about women's issues. For example, one writer, who believed in a future free communist society, discussed public child-rearing in the magazine, almost the same logic as the Chinese Paris Group twenty years previously. The writer believed that a newborn baby lacked genetically acquired or instinctual behaviour and would acquire character or personality only through experience in the family or society. Thus the writer emphasised the important role of the family and the mother. However, the writer continued, the present situation, in which

¹¹⁸ (Zhang) Kebiao, "Yi ge ren de jiehun" (A person's marriage), *Xin nüxing* 4, no. 5 (May 1929), pp. 629 – 635.

¹¹⁹ Jianbo, "Tan 'xing'" (A talk about 'sex'), *Xin nüxing* 3, no. 7 (August 1928), pp. 870 – 873.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 872 – 873.

the family could not afford to equip a proper environment for children, and the mother could not be a proper children's teacher due to lack of specialised knowledge, meant that children could not avoid getting bad influences from their external environment. Therefore the writer proposed the need for suitable facilities with scientific equipment and specialists that would create desirable children. "For the children's welfare, for the production of better children, and for producing individuals for a future society, they would have to take children from their mothers' arms and send them to public facilities so that children could receive a proper education."¹²¹ The writer then discussed the necessity of public child-rearing from the viewpoint of women's emancipation. This was a repetition of previous arguments: women were the same as men except for their reproductive functions. Therefore, public child-rearing was essential for women to enable them to enjoy equality between the sexes.

In response to an accusation that public child-rearing would lead to destruction of the family, he contended that the family should be destroyed because it would no longer have reason to exist. The family had already lost its economic function as the economic system had changed, the bourgeois family had collapsed, while proletarian families were being destroyed in the capitalist system. The writer described the evils of the family, including both the old-fashioned large family and the new-style small family, he mentioned its conservative character that prevented social development, and its oppressive character that restricted individual freedom. The necessity for social change required eliminating the family, which was the residue of the 'feudal system' and *zongfa* society. The writer dismissed parents' affection toward their children as a mere phenomenon of stimulus and response, and said that it was caused by self-interest. This sense of the family as private property, based on self-interest, would be extinguished when public child-rearing was practised. And then people's affection could expand to encompass children who were not theirs. The article concluded that, from the viewpoints of children's welfare, women's emancipation, and social interest, public child-rearing and the abolition of the family were essential.¹²² This article was a faithful summary of previous anarchist arguments. The writer minimized the importance of women's reproductive function and dismissed parents' affection toward their children as self-interest or as an unnatural feeling to be overcome. It did not consider the arguments about women-centred society, women's sexuality or women's autonomy.

Anarchists' arguments about women's emancipation broadened the scope of

¹²¹ Xi Su, "Ertong gongyu" (Public child-rearing), *Xin nixing* 4, no. 6 (May 1929), p. 764.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 759 – 777.

Chinese anarchism. However, a significant difference between Chinese anarchists and Japanese women anarchists emerged in the argument about motherhood. Chinese anarchists hardly mentioned or ignored this issue, while their Japanese counterparts took it as a pivotal issue in arguments about women's emancipation. This difference is also clear in Chinese evaluation of policies in Soviet Russia and the 1927 Wuhan government.

Critique of Soviet Russian and Wuhan government policy

Although Chinese anarchists initially perceived the Russian October revolution as an 'anarchist' revolution due to lack of information,¹²³ they gradually realised the nature of the Bolsheviks who had taken power and changed their attitude towards it. But some anarchists continued to be ambivalent, depending on the individual.¹²⁴ Even though Chinese anarchists were against Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet Russia provided them with a new model of marriage, the family, and social welfare. Chinese anarchists shared the same vision in many aspects of family issues, such as anti-family views, anti-institutional marriage, support for public child-rearing, and so on. Articles in a section of "Russia and women,"¹²⁵ which were parts of a series of special articles introducing Soviet Russia in *Xin qingnian*, reported a picture of Russian women who were enjoying freedom in marriage and divorce, economic independence, public child-rearing, and described public dining rooms that helped women to liberate themselves from the old family yoke and to devote themselves to work for communism. It was a society in which the government apparently met the needs of children. Lenin's words in the article described women's emancipation from the old society in terms similar to those frequently used by Chinese anarchists: women had been slaves of the family to which they had been confined by child-rearing and cooking. This had been a harsh and despised situation for women.¹²⁶ Chinese anarchists did not express a clear or concerted attitude toward the Soviet Russian style of women's emancipation.

¹²³ For example, a handbill that was distributed in Shanghai settlement described the Russian Revolution as follows. "Do you know that the Russian revolution has been successful during the past three years? Although Russia has not yet come to the stage of anarchism, the people have freedom and equality, and live happily." Translation of a Bolshevik circular of 10 October 1920, Shanghai Archives

¹²⁴ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi sichao* (Anarchist thought in modern China), Jinan: Shandong renmen chubanshe, 1991, pp. 222 – 228.

¹²⁵ "Eguo yu nüzi" (Russia and women), which consisted of six articles, derived from a New York weekly magazine *Soviet Russia* translated by Zhenying, *Xin qingnian* 8, no. 5 (January 1921), pp. 1 – 13 (not continue page number).

¹²⁶ "Lening de funü jiefang lun" (Lenin's view on women's emancipation), Lida, trans. *Xin qingnian* 9, no. 2 (June 1921), pp. 1 – 2 (not continue number).

For Chinese anarchists who were falling silent about the family revolution and the model of socialist society emerging in Soviet Russia, the case of Wuhan was another litmus test. In 1927, this city was under the Wuhan government.¹²⁷ Contradictory reports about the social situation in Wuhan appeared in *Xin nixing* and in another anarchist magazine *Geming zhoubao* (Revolution Weekly).¹²⁸ A letter from Wuhan in *Xin nixing* reported favourably on life under a Communist regime. People enjoyed freedom of divorce and marriage, including marriage between people with the same family name. Women cut their hair, joined the army and unbound their feet. Every day, newspapers published announcements of people's divorces. Most divorces were cases where marriages had been undertaken under the rule of 'white' regime, or under duress. Some divorces were simply due to incompatibility. Marriages now omitted complicated rites and procedures.¹²⁹ The picture of Wuhan in this letter was positive and the reporter recognised that the reforms met a long-felt need. On the other hand, a report on Wuhan in *Geming zhoubao* conveyed a different picture. It was a life of horror under the CCP.¹³⁰ Organizations such as the workers' pickets and the farmers' association consisted of hoodlums and employed arbitrary violence against 'capitalists' and 'landlords.' For example, "the Peasant Association is destroying family mortuary tablets, which causes public indignation...leaders of the association send corps to kill people in order to extinguish the evils of the feudalistic family."¹³¹ This picture from an anti-Communist point of view reported that the Wuhan government controlled society through the power of coercion. Anarchists who supported the GMD accused the CCP of

¹²⁷ In opposition to the right wing of the GMD, which was led by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), the left wing founded the Wuhan National government in January 1927. The government, following pro-communist policies, promoted radical worker and peasant movements. Communists occupied the posts of head of the agricultural administration department and head of the labour department. But the GMD and the CCP split in July 1927 due to a change of policy. The Wuhan government joined the GMD Nanjing government in February 1928. See Yamada Tatsuo, *Chūgoku kokumintō saha no kenkyū*, (A study of the left sect of the Guomindang), Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshin, 1980.

¹²⁸ This was published from 1927 to 1929 in Shanghai. Shen Zhongjiu, and later Bi Xiushao, were the chief editors. This magazine was regarded as being close to the GMD because anarchists Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui financially supported it. See also footnote 133.

¹²⁹ Shaonian, "Dang zhengfu xia de Wuhan funü" (Women in Wuhan under the Party government), *Xin nixing* 2, no. 6 (June 1927), pp. 687 – 690. About the CCP's policies related to women's emancipation, see, Luo Suwen, *Nixing yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* (Women and modern Chinese society). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1996, pp. 499 – 508.

¹³⁰ Shang Shichang, "Zhonggong Nanchang baodong beijing zhi fenshi" (An analysis of the background of the Chinese Communist Party's Nanchang uprising), *Zhongguo lishi xuehui shixue jikan*, no. 22 (1990), pp. 269 – 290.

¹³¹ Feitian, "Wuhan nonggong de canzhuang" (The miserable condition of Wuhan peasants and workers), *Geming zhoubao* 1, no. 6 (July 1927), in *Genten Chūgoku anakizumu shiryō shūsei* (The collection of original materials on Chinese anarchism, hereafter *Genten*), Sakai Hirobumi and Saga Takashi, eds., Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō, 1994, vol. 1, p. 178.

'excesses' (*guohuo*).¹³² The novelist Bajin admitted the Chinese revolution appeared to have exceeded GMD policies, but supported 'labour class excesses from the viewpoint of self-government; peasants and workers intended to manage their affairs by themselves.'¹³³ Facing two different perceptions of society under the Communists, how could anarchists evaluate the social policies involved?

From these conflicting anarchist responses to the case of Wuhan, two points become clear. First, while the CCP and the GMD in Wuhan enforced the law relating to family reform (marriage and divorce) through legal sanctions, anarchists took a middle position; they supported policy outcomes for the family, but opposed the method of resorting to legal sanctions, or Soviet-style enforcement. Anarchists believed they could achieve an anarchist society, with almost the same social welfare outcomes as Russian society, but in a different way without resorting to law or any other kind of coercion. Anarchists, who could not propose any practical alternatives, now had to resort to their fundamental tendency to condemn all authoritarian systems in favour of their theoretical justifications regarding the naturally benevolent nature of humanity.

Second, these anarchist responses to the Wuhan case reflected their split situation at that time. The group associated with *Geming zhoubao*, such as Shen Zhongjiu and Bi Xiushao, supported the GMD and opposed the CCP, and *Minfeng*¹³⁴ group, such as Jianbo and Zhang Lūqian, took an attitude of neutrality because of their opposition to both parties.¹³⁵ To Chinese anarchists, who had been thrown into confusion and were searching for survival, their evaluations of actual policies and methods for dealing with the family were influenced by their factional positions rather

¹³² There was a problem of *guohuo* or excesses in Wuhan government. The CCP promoted radical workers' and peasants' movement in Wuhan, which produced conflict with Wuhan government whose intention was to restrict these movements in order to create a balance of power between the CCP and an army that consisted of warlords. Evaluation of Wuhan government is relevant to the legitimacy of the Chinese government. About this issue see Huan Jinlin, "Geming yu fan geming—'qingdang' zai sikao" (Revolution and counterrevolution: rethinking 'purge within a political party'), *Xin shixue* 11, no. 1 (March 2000), in *Xingbie, zhengzhi yu jiti xintai: Zhongguo xin wenhua shi* (Gender, Politics and Group Psychology: Chinese new history of culture), Lu Jianying ed., Taipei: Maitian chuban, 2001, pp. 365 - 409.

¹³³ Feigan (Bajin), "Wuzhengfu zhuyi yu shiji wenti" (Anarchism and practical problems), in *ZWZSX*, p. 837.

¹³⁴ Anarchist magazine published by Lu Jianbo, Zhang Lūqian, and other anarchists, who mainly came from Chengdu. The group of *Minfeng* attempted to purify the theory of anarchism, and took an uncompromising stance to both the GMD and the CCP.

¹³⁵ Li Shizeng's and Wu Zhihui's involvement in the GMD since the 1911 revolution had been criticised by some anarchists as an unacceptable involvement in a political party. After 1924, and especially after the GMD suppressed communists in 1927, some anarchists agreed to collaborate with the GMD, responding to Wu's appeal to join the GMD, but some anarchists even refused to regard Wu and Li as anarchists and strongly opposed it. Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi de sichao*, pp. 369 - 378. About Li Shizeng's arguments in support of the GMD, see Sakai Hiroshi and Saga Takashi, "Bibliographical introduction to volumes 1 - 6," in *Genten*, a separate volume, pp. 24 - 34.

by their own opinions about the family revolution.

Women's education and emancipation

A few anarchist magazines in the 1930s, such as *Jingzhe* and *Poxiao* (Dawn), displayed a practical approach to social revolution. The two magazines have subsequently been evaluated as attempting to revive anarchism through a change from dogmatism to pragmatism.¹³⁶ In *Jingzhe*, Lu Jianbo, Shiya, and other anarchists in Chengdu admitted the need for various social programs to improve people's lives, such as education, promotion of science, and a movement against superstition, as part of the anarchist revolution. But *Jingzhe* was also remarkable in that anarchist women contributors wrote about women's emancipation in the first person 'we.' The main writer Shiya (Deng Tianyi, 1906 – 1986), who was a teacher at Leshan jiashu lianli high school (Sichuan) and Jianbo's partner, also talked about women's emancipation in practical ways.

The purpose of education, for Shiya, was clear: to encourage persons with a capacity for independent thought and judgment, and the ability to support themselves and act freely.¹³⁷ But Shiya's articles must be set against the reactionary atmosphere of the world of Chinese education in the late 1930s. This directed women educators to subservient positions and can be illustrated by a slogan 'women return to the kitchen.'¹³⁸ These views reflected a swing in public opinion after the May Fourth Movement away from women's education. Shiya regarded conventional education designed to create 'a good wife and wise mother', as nothing but a thin disguise for the Confucian 'three-obediences and four-virtues.'¹³⁹

Shiya did not regard women's employment in itself as women's emancipation. This was because the work-place environments of working women were unaccommodating or hostile; male clients and colleagues had disdainful attitudes towards even professional working women. Women's wages were kept down to lower levels. On the other hand, Shiya admitted that being a wife or mother was a part of the biological nature of women, but that the roles of wife and mother would change as society changed. She saw the family as follows: "The family, in workers' eyes, is

¹³⁶ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *ibid.*, P. 389.

¹³⁷ Shiya, "Lun funü jiaoyù" (Women's education), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 4 (31 July 1937), p. 21.

¹³⁸ Shiya, "Da-'ming jiaoyùjia' (?) she ** de guanyu gan funu hui chufang de jianyan (sic)" (A reply to a famous educator (?)'s speech on women going back to the kitchen), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 2 (25 May 1937), p. 16. Shiya, "Guanyu funü jiefang" (On women's emancipation), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 3 (25 June 1937), p. 20.

¹³⁹ Shiya, "Guanyu funü jiefang" (On women's emancipation), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 3 (25 June 1937), pp. 19 – 21.

almost a transitory place of stay. Workers spend just a short time at home. The homes of public servants, teachers, and educated men, are little different from a hotel.”¹⁴⁰ In this kind of family (home), the meaning of wife had changed. This was so in the case of mothers too. Being a mother was the result of a sexual act and was essential for preservation of the species, but as society changed, “professional nannies at nurseries will take over tasks that now cause mothers hardship. The ideal of public child-rearing in a future society cannot be impossible to realize.” Shiya thought this change was a social trend that individual will could not alter. “Therefore, it is impossible that emphasis on motherhood and limiting women’s tasks to motherhood can be achieved by the state, law, or public opinion to protect motherhood or secure mothers’ lives.”¹⁴¹ Thus, Shiya described the continuing process of family dissolution, which was associated with extinguishing the gender roles of wife and mother.¹⁴² Wife and mother were not seen as women’s vocations, but inappropriate women’s education did not help women to obtain jobs. Women became easily unemployed.

In her eyes, contemporary education was dedicated to the status quo, which meant protecting China’s male-dominant society, and conventional economic and social systems.¹⁴³ Therefore, she demanded that awakened women should take responsibility for directing women’s education and for creating a new and rational social system to replace the conventional ones. She called for women’s solidarity to achieve women’s emancipation.¹⁴⁴ Her argument about women’s emancipation was focused on women’s efforts to create awareness among individual women.

In her conclusion, she admitted that in society under a conventional social, economic, and political system, women’s education was irrational. To achieve rational education for women, Shiya only suggested that awakened women have responsibility for analyzing irrationality in people’s lives and in various systems that restricted the potential of women and humanity, and for showing women how to substitute a rational system. Women’s sexual emancipation could be realised in association with political and economic emancipation. She concluded with a call for women to organize themselves at all levels to carry out the necessary tasks.¹⁴⁵

In her other articles arguing for women’s emancipation, Shiya did not mention the family as the main problem. She was, however, wary of a contemporary social trend

¹⁴⁰ Shiya, “Lun funü jiaoyu xu” (Discuss women’s education 2), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 4 (1 March 1938), p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ Shiya, “Lun funü jiaoyu ” (Discuss women’s education), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 5 (20 April 1938), p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 15 – 16.

that intended to restore traditional ethics and conservative opinions about women's sexuality and which would force women to be subordinate. Shiya's comments covered various situations that young women would face in their lives. She focused on education to foster women's ability to carve out a career for themselves. Just as she described the family (home) to be just like a hotel, the family seems for her to have lost a feeling of oppression, but was now regarded with a measure of indifference. Another woman's article on the government regulation of family names, which ruled that husband and wife could keep their own family names, and children could take either their father's or mother's family name, similarly displays an unconcerned attitude to what was formerly an important family issue for anarchists. Her article pointed out that, although the traditional family name showed the paternal line, the blood of a paternal ancestor in a body was progressively diluted with passing generations.¹⁴⁶ Far from calling for the abolition of the family, the author dealt with family topics as trivial matters.

As to women's sexuality, Shiya followed Goldman's opinion that love and marriage were two different things. Marriage, she said, amounted to not only a biological act and reproduction, but was also a social system. It possessed features of subordination of one sex to the other, or possession by one sex of the other, which were parallel to their relations in the political and economic spheres. She rejected the idea that marriage protected women, quoting Emma Goldman—that marriage provided husbands with rights to rule their wives and violate women's dignity. Not only Goldman's views, but also other negative opinions about marriage were introduced in the magazine.¹⁴⁷ Shiya was critical of the situation where education moulded women so they were not in control of their sexual lives, but were slaves of a received sexual morality in a man-centred society (*nanquan shehui*).¹⁴⁸ Therefore, from the viewpoint of an educator, she gave consideration to women's sexuality in order to enable women students to acquire the initiative in their sexuality. She concluded that neither love nor the continuation of the human species needed the marriage system.¹⁴⁹ The difference

¹⁴⁶ Shatuo, "Tantan Zuxing" (A talk about family names), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 6 (20 October 1937), pp. 26 - 27.

¹⁴⁷ She referred to western thought about love and marriage ranging from Ellen Key to Emma Goldman. In this magazine, Western thought was translated broadly, for example, "Love and marriage" by V. Aretta in *Jingzhe* 1, no. 3 (25 June 1937) and "Love and marriage" by French anarchist Sebastien Faure (1858 - 1942) in *Jingzhe* 1, no. 5 (25 August 1937). Both writers criticised the marriage system for destroying natural feelings.

¹⁴⁸ Shiya, "Lun funü jiaoyu xü" (Discuss women's education), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 4 (1 March 1938), p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Shiya, "Lun funü jiaoyu xü" (Discuss women's education), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 3 (10 January 1938), p. 7. Shiya regarded child raising as important in anti-Japan wartime. She called for young women to look after children whose parents participated in fighting. Children would take the leading role in a future society. They should have healthy bodies and receive good education so that they could devote themselves to

between Shiya and Japanese anarchist women is striking in their perceptions of motherhood. Unlike her Japanese counterparts, Shiya regarded motherhood as a part of women's broader life and did not emphasise motherhood as the essence of women's nature.

Women at war

Unlike some other Chinese anarchists, members of *Jingzhe* magazine supported armed resistance against the Japanese invasion.¹⁵⁰ Women's emancipation was pivotal not only for the anarchist revolution, but also for the war against Japan. Shiya believed that, without the emancipation of two hundred million Chinese women, it would be impossible to liberate the nation.¹⁵¹ But as anarchists, how were they going to carry out the tasks of women's emancipation and national emancipation? *Jingzhe* published information at length about the Spanish Civil War and the Spanish anarchist women's organization *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women).¹⁵² According to a report in *Jingzhe*, in the struggle of labour versus privilege, and liberty versus dictatorship, *Mujeres Libres* aimed to liberate Spanish women from threefold slavery: ignorance, traditional passivity, and exploitation. Spanish anarchists were said to educate their comrades through meetings, talks, lectures, and movies. Having mutual understanding, men and women trusted each other, carried on a cooperative life and cooperative work while avoiding friction. The group *Mujeres Libres* organised women into voluntary labour sections to carry out tasks, such as logistics, public health, public service, childcare, sewing, and engineering. They were going to begin educational work, which was an urgent task. They regarded training teachers to teach children as important.¹⁵³ Members of *Mujeres Libres* reported good results in mobilizing women for their anti-fascist war and, by doing so, adding feminist principles to the Spanish proletarian revolution or social revolution. Their groups' activities were said to be in accordance with their libertarian concepts. In fact, the activities of *Mujeres Libres* suffered from various difficulties due

social progress. She regarded this kind of work as very important for the anti-Japan war. "Kangzheng qi ahong funu de renwu" (Women's tasks during resistance), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 2 (1 December 1937), pp. 16 - 17.

¹⁵⁰ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi regard *Jingzhe* and *Poxiao* as the last expression of anarchism in the 1930s, as anarchists came to accept reality and gradually faded from the scene. *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi de sichao*, p. 389.

¹⁵¹ Shiya, "Guanyu funu jiefang" (On women's emancipation), *Jingzhe* 1, no. 3 (25 June 1937), pp. 20 - 21.

¹⁵² About activities of Spanish women anarchists see Ackelsberg, Martha A., *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the struggle for the emancipation of women*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

¹⁵³ Guoli translated, "Xibanya geming zhong funu de zuzhi yu huodong" (Women's organizations and activities in the Spanish Revolution), *Jingzhe* 3, no. 2 (1 October 1938), p. 14.

to a lack of recognition by male anarchists of the special needs of women. For example, women had difficulties in participating in public production because of women's double duties in the factories and at home. Authority of males within the family was hardly questioned although they were achieving other radical social change. Nevertheless, Spanish anarchist women gained certain results through their persevering efforts.¹⁵⁴

What could Chinese women contribute to the struggle against Japanese invasion? Shiya's answer to this question was clear. The struggle required resistance by the whole Chinese people. Shiya suggested that women organise various groups in order to carry out tasks: propaganda groups to persuade people to devote themselves to production; preparing a reserve army; purging traitors and reactionaries; forming supply groups to furnish supplies to the front line; establishing child-care centres to look after homeless children. Shiya ended with a call for women, "let's unite and struggle for the revolution! Dawn is at hand."¹⁵⁵ Another anarchist woman also called for Chinese women to take their share of responsibility "for humanity's emancipation, women's emancipation, and the Chinese people's emancipation from oppression and slavery under Japanese fascism."¹⁵⁶

However, even if Chinese anarchists could state the broad direction of their movement, they had to admit that the differences between Chinese and Spanish anarchist movements were significant. Guoli critically reflected on the women's movement in China compared with its counterpart in Spain. What Chinese women had acquired as a result of women's emancipation affected merely a few privileged women, and were only superficial things such as freedom of association, free love and freedom for employment. But freedom for employment only produced wage slaves and flower vases in the office. Free love increased the chances for women to be seduced and become promiscuous. The term 'free love' had become a synonym for prostitution (either wholesale [marriage], or retail [prostitution]). Spanish women did not limit their feminist movement, but had joined a broader social struggle, gaining power through unity. Guoli asked why Chinese women lacked this kind of collective action. She attributed the reason to traditional passivity, lack of clear direction for their struggle, and women workers' and peasants' extra handicaps: ignorance and an exploited, slavish life. In her conclusion, the author asked why the direction of their own struggle was so

¹⁵⁴ Ackelsberg, Martha A. "Anarchist revolution and women's liberation," *Society* 52, no. 2 (January/February 1988), pp. 29 – 36.

¹⁵⁵ Shiya, "Kangzhan qi zhong funü de renwu" (Women's tasks during resistance), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 2 (1 December 1937), p. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Nutian, "Funümen yinggai xunlian ziji" (Women should train by themselves), *Jingzhe* 2, no. 3 (10 January 1938, p. 5.

vague.¹⁵⁷

Guoli's question about the women's movement was at the same time a question about the anarchist movement in China, which had always lacked organization and now lacked any basis for influencing events. The anarchist call for women to support the war against Japan could not go beyond propaganda, and its failure to produce any results demonstrated the anarchists' final loss of their power and influence that had been steadily eroding since the mid-1920s. By contrast, the GMD and the CCP were mobilizing women through various organizations nationwide or regionally to resist the Japanese invasion.¹⁵⁸ The anarchist magazine now carried articles about Spanish anarchist women but not about Chinese women's activities, reflecting the lack of a basis for their own social movement. In addition, they rejected any association with either the GMD or the CCP. For them, foreign anarchist activities were the only ones they could report as their model. The rich vein of social theory and utopian visions that Chinese anarchists had begun to explore at the turn of the twentieth century now seemed to be exhausted. Long after the family revolution had stopped being the primary issue in anarchist discourse, Shiya and other anarchist women still attempted the task of rousing Chinese women through education. Although the family system continued to be an obstacle to women's emancipation, by this time it was not regarded as the dominant element.

Conclusion

A comparison between anarchism in Japan and China leads to the conclusion that, with regard to its role in women's emancipation, anarchism in Japan made a more significant and original contribution than anarchism in China. A defining characteristic of anarchism in both Japan and China was its opposition to all forms of coercion and authoritarianism. A natural consequence of this stance was anarchist opposition to the systemic inequality of women, an inequality enforced in many ways by authoritarian custom and law. However, based on this general sympathy for women's liberation, Chinese and some Japanese anarchist women took contrasting approaches, which can be summarized in terms of women's equality and women's differences.

Women's liberation had been a concern of Japanese anarchists from the

¹⁵⁷ Guoli, "Cong xibanya geming funu lun zhongguo funu jiefang" (From the viewpoint of the Spanish Revolution, discuss Chinese women's emancipation), *Jingzhe* 3, no. 3 (1 November 1938), p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Liang Huijin, "Kangzhan shiqi de funü zuzhi" (Women's organizations in the War of Resistance era), in *Zhongguo funusho lunji xuji*, Bao Jialin, ed., Taipei: Daoxiang chubun, 1991, pp. 359 – 390.

beginning, but the family revolution had never been an active anarchist goal in Japan, although family power structures were naturally criticised by anarchists and their demise was expected to occur as a result of the anticipated death of private property. The formulation of anarchist theory for the liberation of women in Japan thus gave rise to a new dimension for anarchist discourse and one that was almost entirely taken up and developed by anarchist women. This had the advantage of making such discourse more sensitive and better informed, but its cost was that male anarchists did not take women's concerns seriously and tended to disregard family issues or relegate them to women anarchists. Especially from the 1920s, although some anarchist women took different stances, under the general heading of "motherhood," Japanese anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* laid out their sphere of concerns distinct from male anarchists, including all aspects of femininity represented in their discourse. By doing so, they intended to identify motherhood as a uniquely valuable characteristic of women, contradicting perceptions that evaluated motherhood as a disadvantage to women and a handicap to their equality with men. This approach contrasted sharply with an official emphasis in Chinese anarchism that aimed to reduce as far as possible what was seen as the negative impact of biology on women's equality with men. Consequently, Japanese anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* clearly rejected the notion of public child-care systems as unnatural, thus rejecting one of the central planks of the Chinese anarchist program for the emancipation of women.

A striking contrast also appears in opinions about sexual issues between anarchist men and women in *Fujin sensen*. Both expected 'true love' could be realised once people were free from economic considerations in an anarchist society. Japanese anarchist women in *Fujin sensen* who were concerned about femininity or motherhood displayed rather conservative attitudes toward sexuality and sexual morality because they were inclined to see sex as a part of reproduction. Although they did not approve of the conventional family, they preferred steady and permanent relationships of the sexes, and some preferred an individual family-like unit as the place for childbirth and child-rearing. Chinese anarchist men also discussed 'free love,' which meant love and sex based on mutual consent but without marital relationships or responsibility for children. Chinese anarchist men, who had supported the idea of communal child-rearing and older men's shared participation in it as a social duty, never suggested men's personal responsibility for rearing their own children. Sex and reproduction were almost completely separate in anarchist men's thought in a different way from anarchist women in *Fujin sensen*. It is safe to say that such contrasting opinions about sexuality resulted

in different views about the desirable way to achieve women's emancipation. Anarchist social visions clearly reflect these different opinions about women's emancipation.

Chapter 5 Views of Anarchist Society

In this chapter, I focus on the images of anarchist society in Japan and China, and on the relationships of individuals, the family, and society in these social visions. Images of a future anarchist society for Japanese and Chinese anarchists demonstrated a constructive side of anarchism, appearing as a mixture of anarchist principles, Western socialist utopias, traditional thought, and idealised aspects of real society. Based on these elements, Japanese and Chinese anarchists developed their social visions. Both supposed their ideal societies would have some of the same basic systems: anarcho-communism as the economic system and (individual) self-government as the political system. But as to social structure, there were different ideas. Some Japanese anarchists proposed that society should be expressed through village communities, while some Chinese anarchists envisaged their ideal society as a form of *datong* society. The concrete imagery employed to describe anarchist society was helpful in understanding and diffusing anarchism. And anarchists believed in the images strongly enough to devote themselves to achieving them.

5.1 Utopian and indigenous anarchism in Japan

Imported socialist utopias and socialism

From the early Meiji era, the introduction of Western socialism brought with it ancient and modern socialist utopias to Japan. *Kōsai ron* (An Essay on Association) by Takahashi Tatsuō, published in 1878, introduced Thomas More's *Utopia* and mentioned Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. A translation of *Communism and Socialism in Their History and Theory* of T. D. Woolsey (1879), titled *Kokon shakai tō enkaku setsu* (The History of Socialist Parties), published in book form in 1883, explained socialism and the utopias of More, Tommaso Campanella, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Etienne Cabet. Richard Ely's *French and German Socialism* (1883), had selected passages translated and published in *Genji no shakai mondai* (The Present Social Problems, 1898) by Tajima Kinji, and became one of the key books in terms of introducing socialism to Japan, together with a translation of W.D.P. Bliss' *Handbook of Socialism* (1895). Other early texts such as *Genji no shakai shugi* (Socialism at present, 1894) edited by Minyū

sha, *Kinsei shakai shugi* (Modern Socialism, 1900) by Fukui Junzō, and *Shakai shugi* (Socialism, 1899) by Murai Tomoyoshi also introduced utopian socialism with material from Thomas More, Fourier, Proudhon and Marx, as part of the history of socialism. And two late nineteenth-century books by visionary utopians, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, titled *Hyaku nen go no shin shakai* (The New Society after a Hundred Years), and William Morris' *News From Nowhere*, titled *Risōkyō* (A Utopia), were translated in 1905 and in 1906.

In terms of a specifically anarchist social vision, Kōtoku Shūsui's two translations of Roller's *General Strike* (1907) and Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* (1909), formed an initial introduction for Japanese readers. The former provided the social vision of anarcho-syndicalism. In the new society, all means of production would belong to unions that would organise production and supply to produce the necessities of life so that people could freely draw what they needed from storehouses. Peasants would also respond to the development of labour movements and would expropriate land from landlords. Agriculture would develop through mechanisation. Organizations of village communist systems would federate with labour unions in the city, and industry and agriculture would join and develop together. In his book, Kropotkin asserted the principle of anarchist communism: from each according to their ability and to each according to their need. In anarchist communist society, according to Kropotkin, people's lives would be as follows:

Suppose that in this society all children learn to work with their hands as well as with their brains. Admit that all adults, save women, [who] engage in the education of their children, bind themselves to work 5 hours a day from the age of twenty or twenty-two to forty-five or fifty, and that they follow occupations they have chosen in any one branch of human work considered *necessary*. Such a society could in return guarantee well-being to all its members.¹

Socialism was often regarded as a synonym for abolishing the family in Japan at that time. But in anarchist society, Kropotkin had supposed family life to be the fundamental unit of people's lives.

A phalanstery,² which is in fact nothing but an immense hotel, can please some, and even all at a certain period of their life, but the great mass prefers family life (family life of the future, be it understood)[...] Isolation, alternating with time

¹ Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1913, pp. 131 – 132. (originally published 1892)

² A communal life style with communal dining, meeting and working areas that Fourier proposed.

spent in society, is the normal desire of human nature.³

In his social vision, individuals and the family took their places in society harmoniously. But regarding the family, Kropotkin carefully drew attention to the need to consider women's status, and claimed that without women's emancipation in the family, there was no human emancipation. This image provided Japanese anarchists with a fundamental concept of anarchist society, and was acceptable for Japanese who had a positive attitude toward the family. Pictures of anarchist society drawn by Japanese anarchists would possess the same fundamental features as anarchist society written about by Kropotkin, sometimes mixed with features derived from Roller's work.

Ideal society of Japanese anarchists

Ideal societies described by anarchists accused in the High Treason Incident vividly convey their belief in anarchism and longing for a peaceful world. But belief in the continued existence of the family varied with individual anarchists. For example, Furukawa Rikisaku (1884 – 1911), who believed that “development of humanity's wisdom will abolish private property and practise anarchist communism in the near future,” and cherished an ideal that “complete freedom of the individual and society's happiness will come to coincide,” described his ideal society as follows:

The world becomes one country and one family. There is no individual home or individual family. Relationships between relatives, such as parents and children, brothers and sisters, uncles and nephews, are no longer clearly distinguished. People's kinship ties may or may not be the basis of their relations; this is no longer assumed.⁴

However, despite a radical difference regarding the place of the family, Furukawa described life in anarchist communism in terms quite similar to Kropotkin.

When production facilities become publicly owned and produced to meet a demand, and production that is produced by cooperative labour is distributed according to need, there will be no need for money.[...] People will participate in public production for a few hours according to their tastes and ability. People may work on a farm in the morning, and work in a factory in the afternoon. People may write one day, and follow with construction work the next day. Brain work and physical work become combined. Scholars can be workers, and

³ Kropotkin, *ibid.*, pp. 159 – 160.

⁴ Furukawa Rikisaku, “Boku” (I), in *Taigyaku jiken kiroku 1: gokuchū shuki* (The record of the High Treason Incident, vol. 1: Notes in Gaol, hereafter *Taigyaku jiken kiroku*), Kanzaki Kiyoshi, ed., Tokyo: Sekai bunko, 1964, p. 171.

workers can be scholars.⁵

Furukawa's social vision displays no particular characteristics of Japanese society, but features the essence of anarchist communist society that Kropotkin described in *The Conquest of Bread*.

On the other hand, the Buddhist monk Uchiyama Gudō described the ideal family and society on the basis of individual liberty. Uchiyama regarded humanity as being driven by the Holy Spirit (*reisei*) that has a strong desire for liberty. According to him, "it is to act according to one's will and never to be disturbed by others. That is, to respect your own will and also to respect the will of others, and to live peacefully." And to have "a common man's self-awareness," which he asserted, meant "to know that our human lives are not ruled by coercion like the cow and the horse, but exist independently, autonomously and with complete self-control."⁶ The autonomous individual was the starting point for everything. He supposed the family was the place where people who had self-awareness helped unaware family members to become aware through democratic family life.⁷ And the village was an expanded family, but had lost its harmony because of disparities in wealth due to private property. Considering the difficulty of abolishing private property without adequate preparation, he suggested establishing public facilities, such as schools, hospitals, and the town hall, for villagers' welfare. Through improvements in village life, he urged people to become self-aware.⁸ His picture of ideal society was concrete and based on the reality of existing family and village life.

Furukawa and Uchiyama's social visions show their different opinions about the family. In the context of a government policy that intended to promote the family-state, their social visions occupied a rather radical position. This was because they emphasised equality and democracy as fundamental principles in personal relationships. Instead of admitting authority and hierarchy in the family and society, they simply sought personal relationships based on individual freedom which would not conflict with social interest.

Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward* was a popular novel among Japanese anarchists. Watanabe Masatarō, who ran a study group for workers in order to diffuse anarchism, thought it conveyed the anarchist ideal in a lively way, and recommended

⁵ Ibid., pp. 182 – 183.

⁶ Uchiyama Gudō, "Heibon no jikaku" (Self-awareness of an ordinary person). In *Taigyaku Jiken Kiroku*, p. 375.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 378 – 381.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 381 – 383.

people read it.⁹ In Bellamy's book, after an intense conflict between capital and labour, the economic system was transformed from monopolistic capitalism to a state capitalism in which all industry was owned by the whole nation. In this society, people had a right to receive an equal distribution of social goods regardless of their ability or sex. People who kept to a family unit enjoyed a comfortable life. This rather worker-centred society was accepted by Watanabe as an ideal society for workers.

On the other hand, in line with their strong concern for destitute rural areas, Japanese anarchists understood Kropotkin's book as a suggestion for reconstructing farming villages and agriculture as well as anarchism. Japanese anarchists noticed similarities between anarchist communist society and farming villages in Japan. Akaba Hajime's *Nōmin no fukuin* (Gospel for farmers, 1910) was one of these cases. He formulated the idea of an anarchist society in a farming village. In order to reform the state of farming villages, in which land that should belong to all humanity was unjustly owned by a few landlords, and the wealth that land produced was unfairly distributed, Akaba called for expropriation in order to restore the village and the village community system. He also called for application of the highest scientific knowledge to farming, and practice of the noblest spirit of mutual aid. In his ideal society, Akaba imagined that under a system of communal ownership, all people would work, produce, distribute and enjoy life jointly. His poem shows his ideal of a simple and frugal life of a husband and wife in a village.

Although my village is dreary/ although being full with peas and potatoes/ being
in rags/ having blisters after working all day /we keep our right and honest life/
husband and wife living together happily.¹⁰

The peaceful life of such individual couples was to be the centre of an ideal society, based on a farming village.

Editor of the magazine *Bikō*,¹¹ Usukura Kashizō, wrote a similar story to *Looking Backward* in a version for farmers. It was a rare occasion that a Japanese anarchist described the ideal society in utopian story form. This one took the form of a

⁹ Kondō kenji, *Ichī museifu shugisya no kaisō*, p. 58.

¹⁰ Sōsui sei (Akaba Hajime), "Mura jūkyō no tanoshimi" (The pleasure of dwelling in a village), *Bikō*, no. 3 (20 December 1914), p. 3.

¹¹ The first issue was published in October 1914, and the ninth and last issue published in June 1915. The publishers were Usukura Kashizō, who was an owner-farmer and landowner in Saitama prefecture, and Watanabe Masatarō. The magazine featured criticism of society in the guise of fables, literary jottings, and satirical stories. Their standpoint was the daily life of the countryside. People who were concerned with socialism or social problems welcomed the magazine with deep emotion; hope, worry, and expectation. One thing in common for its readers was that it gave out a dim light for many people in the Winter era. And it also depicted the way of life of socialists/anarchists in rural areas.

story of a man's (the author's) first dream of the New Year. A man found himself in a strange place, which actually was his village. He could not understand his situation and pretended that he was a stranger. He was invited to a building that was a house for visitors, a leisure place for villagers, and a meeting place. He told them he had no money to pay, but they asked him, what is money? Later an old man said that he had heard money was used in the time of his grandfather, more than 200 years before. Next morning, he was told that before breakfast people from 20 to 30 years of age made ropes and straw mats. People under 20 studied what they were interested in, or if they did not want to learn, they had to help with farm labour. People from 30 to 50 prepared for the day's work. After breakfast, people from 20 to 50 years old worked in the fields. Teaching, which was more popular than working in the fields, was done by elected persons. They had learned useful subjects for 10 or 15 years before becoming teachers in the village. Young people from 7 to 20 years had primary studies for the first four years, then took an advanced course for the next five years. After this, they learned whatever subjects they liked. Formerly, people used horses, but now they were using motor vehicles for agriculture. Vehicles worked three times as efficiently as horses. Therefore working hours were reduced to five hours, from seven am to noon. It sounded strange to the man that everybody worked, so he asked which family worked the hardest. The question made people angry because work was simply something people did as a matter of fact, so they doubted that the man was a creature of this earth. They thought if he was human, he would never ask such a question. They attacked him, and then he woke up.¹²

Usukura shifted the location of his story from a foreign country to a Japanese farming village in order to avoid sounding foreign and to reflect the reality of village life. In his eyes, the rich, knowledgeable and powerful oppressed the poor, ignorant and weak in society. The jobless, tenant farmers, and women were nothing but oppressed people. Women, as he describes it, were groaning in downtrodden status in which they could not find a peaceful place anywhere, though they were devoting their lives to support men, to make a pleasant home and bear and raise children. He thought conventional society should change to a society like the one in his dream.¹³

Translations from Western anarchist movements

More foreign anarchists' writings which envisaged an ideal anarchist society

¹² K sei, "Yume no hanashi" (A story of my dream), *Bikō*, no. 6 (20 March 1915), p. 1.

¹³ K sei, "Senkyo no hanashi" (A story of election), *Bikō*, no. 7 (20 April 1915), p. 1.

were translated and contributed to a growing body of material on anarchism and also to more comprehensive images of anarchist society. But their messages did not always form a single view. Two versions of anarchism, anarchist communism and anarcho-syndicalism, were intermixed in them. A booklet titled, *The Evangel of the Hour*, by French anarchist Paul Berthelot,¹⁴ which Yamaga Taiji translated from Esperanto and secretly published with a title *Heimin no kane* (Commoners' Bell, 1929), provided hope for the future to people who were in agony in the present dark society. The booklet said that once the Hour struck, that would be the time when accounts would be settled, when all people would unite and rejoice together. The narrator told people about the system of communism:

In the Town Hall, there are two books for each person to come and write in: in the first, what he can give; in the second, what he needs. And, they give to each person what he needs, without taking into account what he has done.¹⁵

As to the relationship between parents and children, a woman asked the evangelist, "Shouldn't children repay the person who brought them up?" He replied, "the life that you gave them, is it really worth them thanking you for? You see this child, whose body is covered in sores and whose life is a frightful torment; this is also his mother's gift. His mother might try to avoid having a child by various methods. Is it proper that children repay parents with love? When the Hour strikes, there will no longer be parents and children in terms of blood relationships. But those who are fathers will fulfil their responsibility for sons. Thus, they can be true fathers and true sons." Some bigoted members of the audience felt uncomfortable because of what the evangelist said, and did not know what to say in reply, but they muttered, "This man is blaspheming about sacred morality." And they considered ways of destroying him and suppressing his views.¹⁶ The evangelist did not specify how interpersonal relationships would develop in the new society, but implied they would become substantial relationships instead of present-day conventional ones that followed morality but were superficial. This story of "the evangelist" had an exotic mood due to its prophetic tone,

¹⁴ Paul Berthelot (1882 – 1910) French Esperantist and anarchist. In 1905, he founded *Esperanto*, which was an organ of The Universal Esperanto Association, and was one of founders of *Internacia Socia Revuo* (Social and International Review) in 1906. *The Evangel of the Hour* was originally written in French and published in *Les Temps Nouveau* in 1912. It was translated into Esperanto in *Internacia Socia Revuo* in the same year. Yamaga was given the Esperanto version by Shifu when Yamaga stayed with Shifu in Shanghai.

¹⁵ Yamaga Taiji, *Heimin no kane—museifu no fukuin* (Commoners' bell: the gospel of anarchism), Tokyo: Chiteisha, 1929 (reprinted in *Kokushoku sensen sha* in 1981), p. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

its bible-like manner and the setting of the story in a strange land. But Yamaga translated it faithfully except for changes in title and form in order to present an ideal. In this booklet, anarchist society was not described as a village community, but featured both village and city.

Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta's popular and influential book *A Talk Between Two Peasants* (1884) was translated by Kinoshita Shigeru (1899 – 1932) in 1929. In the story, a young man explained what anarchist society looked like, in a dialogue with an old man. His description of anarchist society was not different from others: through expropriation, everything would become communally owned in anarchist society. In the book, individual free will was emphasised. "Along with the new society, a new spirit will rise. Solidarity, which now exists only among family members, will be emphasised in the whole of society," "Humanity has always been controlled by others like sheep. We have to acquire the habit of thinking and acting by ourselves so that we will be aware of our needs and power." Those autonomous individuals would voluntarily unite out of a sense of solidarity. The sense of solidarity was described in comparison to the family.

Earnings by you, your wife, your sons, your daughters and other family members belong to the whole family. All expenditure will be paid by these earnings. If your earnings are not enough, all family members should be frugal. Even if somebody can earn more than others, it contributes to the happiness of the whole family. If somebody becomes sick, or loses their job, the family still breaks bread with all family members. Thus family members do not fight for a slice of bread, but help each other. [...] We should expand this sense of solidarity beyond a family to the big family of the whole of humanity.¹⁷

It is not difficult to imagine that people could broadly understand the principle of anarchist communism and what anarchist society might look like through this comparison. Regarding social structure, all people would have a right to belong to communes or unions, and also to choose their jobs, as they liked. This indicates that society would consist of rural and urban areas, which practised the division of work: agriculture and industry. But it is not clear from the book whether people would undertake exchange between the two areas.

The transformation of a foreign story to fit Japanese society is clearly evident in a pamphlet by Iwasa Sakutarō (1879 – 1967), *An Anarchist Answers in This Way*.¹⁸ The

¹⁷ Kinoshita Shigeru trans. *Nōmin ni goshite* (Siding with farmers), Urawa: Kosakunin sha, 1929. (reprinted in *Kokushoku sensen sha* in 1990), p. 43.

¹⁸ Iwasa, Sakutarō, *Museifu shugisha wa kaku kotau* (An anarchist answers in this way), Tokyo: Rōdō

pamphlet consisted of Iwasa's translation of parts of an English pamphlet *Objections to Anarchism*¹⁹ by English anarchist George Barrett together with Iwasa's additional commentary and rejoinders. Barrett wrote the pamphlet in the form of question and answer to help diffuse anarchism among ordinary people in England. Iwasa followed the same basic form, but omitted 13 out of the 24 questions in the original pamphlet, and added a preface and one question in order to make the meaning clearly understandable for Japanese readers. His editing of the pamphlet indicates his idea of the nature of anarchism in Japan.

Iwasa's preface, which was not taken from the original, explained anarchism. Correcting a misunderstanding of anarchism as a state of anarchy, he described anarchism as follows:

There are organizations and orders. People live a happy life. Each household is contented. Ethics and the five-principles of people's morality (*jinrin gojō no michi*) are correctly observed. The resulting social order is more than enough.²⁰

What he meant by "order" was social discipline based on natural human nature—the social nature of Man. He emphasised that humanity became depraved by the evils of the existing social system. Therefore anarchists aimed to eliminate laws, coercive powers, religion and morality, in order to cleanse society. The anarchist movement was also a movement to change the economic system that produced social classes, owners and non-owners, exploiters and exploited, rulers and subjects. Law, religion, morality and power were devices to keep such exploitive relationships in place.

Iwasa expressed his view of anarchist revolution in his answer to the following "objection", which he had added to the pamphlet: "Human history is the history of class struggle. It is wrong for anarchists to insist that revolution is not a class struggle." He explained that class struggle involved factional contention within the existing system (capitalism) with each faction aiming to raise its position within the system; on the other

undō sha, 1927. (reprinted in Kokushoku sensen sha in 1991). Originally it was published in the magazine *Rōdō undō* in 8 parts from 1 January 1925 to 1 January 1926. Its title was "Museifu shugi hantairon no kentō" (Examination of anti-anarchism) for the first part, which later became "Museifu shugisha wa dō kotaeruka" (How an anarchist answers). In the pamphlet, Iwasa occasionally showed his nationalistic attitude, such as, "this was the reason that the Japanese nation (*Nihon minzoku*) could not expand over the continent.", "If taking no measure, what will be the fate of the Japanese nation?" In his analysis of Iwasa's *tenkō* (conversion from an anarchist to a nationalist) in wartime, Akiyama pointed out that Iwasa's tendency to regard Japan as a special state with the emperor (*tennō*) was a strong cause for him to become a nationalist. The tendency can be traced in this pamphlet too. About Iwasa's and other anarchists' conversion, see Akiyama Kiyoshi, "Anakisuto—Iwasa Sakutarō Hagiwara Kyōjirō" (Anarchists: Iwasa Sakutarō, Hagiwara Kyōjirō), in *Kyōdō kenkyū tenkō* (Cooperative study on Conversion), Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai, ed., Tokyo: Shisō no kagaku sha, 1960, vol. 2, pp. 435–467.

¹⁹ Barrett, George, *Objections to Anarchism*, London: Freedom Press, 1921.

²⁰ Iwasa, *ibid.*, p. 3.

hand, anarchist revolution aimed to emancipate all people through destroying existing systems (the capitalist exploitation system and the state system). According to his views of anarchist revolution, he interpreted the Meiji Restoration not as a revolution, but as a class struggle by which the newly-risen bourgeoisie became the ruling class. He attributed the evils of contemporary society to be a result of the Meiji Restoration, by which the new ruling class pursued their interests. In the same way, even a proletarian victory in the struggle against capitalism, he insisted, would not mean everybody's emancipation because it meant retaining capitalism with a mere change of ruler, namely a proletarian dictatorship. He used an analogy with banditry: a capitalist was the boss of the bandits, and workers were his henchmen. Even if workers achieved victory in their battle against their boss, it would only mean that the henchmen then occupied their boss's position. They would still be bandits. Thus Iwasa put forward his views of anarchist revolution that transcended class struggle.²¹

Despite his claim that the anarchist revolution was an economic revolution, he did not mention the economic aspect of anarchist revolution except for a critique of the labour movement and class struggle. Barrett's original pamphlet also did not mention the economic aspect. For example, one of Barrett's "objections", which was omitted by Iwasa, was "if two people want the same piece of land under Anarchism, how will you settle the dispute?" and Iwasa's answer also remained obscure to an "objection" about the anarchist property system, i.e. whether it would admit an individual's exclusive right to land. Iwasa's pamphlet had characteristics that appealed to people's feelings, but failed to define concrete social and economic questions.

This lack of a schematic plan characterised Iwasa's opinions about revolution. He regarded an anarchist revolution not as an inevitable act by workers, but as following from actions by a group of righteous persons (*shishi jinnin gishi*), who would enable people to stand up and take action through their own efforts. In this respect, he opposed Barrett's original idea about anarchist revolution: that people's love of liberty would cause the revolution, and anarchists would be among the many people who struggled toward liberty. Iwasa's idea of an anarchist revolution was that it would be moral-oriented and carried out by a small number of awakened people. His tendency to recognise the important role of a small number of people, and the need for change in the economic system made a clear contrast with Barrett's conception of anarchist revolution. An "objection" in Barrett's pamphlet, "Even if you could overthrow the

²¹ Iwasa, *ibid.*, pp. 11 – 20. Iwasa's views of class struggle and anarchist revolution represent that of Japanese pure anarchists. See Crump, *Hatta Shuzō and Pure anarchism*, pp. 111 – 117.

government tomorrow and establish Anarchism, the same system would soon grow up again," posed a question about the people's role in an anarchist revolution. In reply, Barrett had insisted that "the people develop, and become strong in their love of liberty, and self-reliant" so that the old system would not revive. Iwasa's recognition of the role of anarchists in the revolution was different from this in that he did not place reliance simply on people's inner change, but envisaged that revolutionary social changes would naturally reinstate people's natural goodness.

Two of Barrett's "objections" about marriage and the family were among those Iwasa omitted from his translation: "If you abolish government, will you do away with the marriage laws?" and "How will you regulate sexual relationships and family affairs?" In his answers to these objections, Barrett had discounted the value of marriage laws, noting their inability to prevent objectionable features, such as unwanted children, or husbands abandoning their wives. Barrett had also held that abolition of the law was not a remedy. After a period when there would be no poverty and so no incentives for crime in society, binding or dividing men and women by laws would become folly, and liberty and free agreement would become the basis of the most essential relationships.²² Iwasa seems to regard those "objections" about law and marriage as irrelevant for Japanese. In his pamphlet, personal relationships, including relationships between parents and children, husbands and wives, were not seen as an object of change, but rather regarded as 'desirable ethics' based on the natural feelings to be restored by an anarchist revolution.

In general, Iwasa's pamphlet had a tendency to presuppose that society and personal relationships originally had a naturally anarchistic character, therefore the anarchist revolution intended to restore that original state. However, the original state meant, for him, Japanese society before the Meiji Restoration, a period which he idealised. Japanese people's personality and the family were given unconditional approval in Iwasa's retrospective picture of anarchism. Anarchistic society retained no trace of conflicts among family members. Iwasa's pamphlet envisaged no tensions between individuals and the family, unlike Barrett's original. Also any mention of a tendency to independent personality vanished. The transformation of the pamphlet took place not only in superficial features to help Japanese readers understand anarchism, but also in some fundamental concepts.

²² Barrett, *ibid.*, pp. 25 – 26.

Japanese versions of ideal societies

Based on such imported social visions, Japanese anarchists put forward some Japanese models of the ideal society. For example, the family would exist in a self-regulating society in the future, as described by anarchist and novelist Inuta Shigeru (1891 – 1957). Society would consist of free individuals, who could also have their families, their households and kin-folk. This kind of family, he supposed, would become quite different from a conventional family where the head of the family controlled family members and the family acted as a unit for taxation and conscription. The family of the future would not have an authoritarian character. People could belong to a family, or could live alone if they wished as long as they carried out their social duties, working according to their ability. Inuta's prediction about the family was that the family would continue to be a social unit, because it was likely to give the most economic, reasonable and healthy life-style. Mutual aid would be practised among family members and relatives, and they would unite with other families in federal associations. He described a harmonious society in which people could enjoy their private lives in the family in public accommodation, and a public life of association and work in public production. A new morality based on the mutual aid ethic would replace conventional morality. He conceded that individuals could free themselves from the family if they were incompatible, even though people in conventional society would criticise such behaviour according to conventional customs that had been created for the convenience of political control.²³ Inuta did not intend to dictate a fixed form of individual life or family life and afforded ample scope for formulating individual life styles according to individual wishes.

Hatta Shūzō's plan for an anarchist farming village community had similar features to Inuta's and also compared the community to the family. "The base of human society is coexistence and co-prosperity, and mutual aid. The nature of humanity is profound mutual love. Clashes of interest, which are caused by the existence of money, lead people to feud among themselves. Money will disappear in the village. The village will live as a big family. All people should go through a lot together in both good times and bad." Everything would belong to the whole village. "Farmers will work according to their ability, and use goods according to their needs. Let us go back to coexistence and the co-prosperity communist village. Men and women of all ages make the village together. There is no distinction between high and low, (politically) left and right, no

²³ Inuta Shigeru, "Nōmin jichi no hanashi 3" (Talk about farmers' self-government 3), *Nōmin* 2, no. 11 (1 November 1930), pp. 17 – 20. *Nōmin* was an organ of *Nōmin bungeikai* (Farmers' literature association).

discrimination and no control. It is a village of cooperation and coexistence. The village comes alive, men and women are free, and people create various things for the happiness of the village.”²⁴ Thus, in an anarchist farming village, Hatta supposed individuals could live freely and harmoniously regardless of sex and age. In those images of anarchist society, the family retained a positive value.

On the other hand, anarchist women suggested a similar but women-oriented society. In the new society, Takamure Itsue supposed that people could enjoy natural love, which did not need formal confirmation of ownership or an associated morality. She used the word ‘natural’ instead of ‘free’, which she thought was a mark of bourgeois thinking. There was to be natural love, natural sex, and all associated matters, such as childbirth, child-rearing and education, would be natural in the new society.²⁵ Natural love could have a state similar to the free love that male anarchists described, but would also encompass various other forms of love, such as transitory love or permanent love, but she confidently looked forward to a “sexual life with respect and love,”²⁶ in which women could take the initiative and where women’s nature would be respected. She consistently considered love and sex from the viewpoint of women. The ways of love in an autonomous society were described by women anarchists as follows: “Love would be experienced carefully as an overture to a complete married life.” “Love triangles, jealousy, hateful breakdown of love, such things would inevitably disappear.”²⁷ “Love is not for love’s sake, but is absolute. Therefore, monogamy would be observed strictly.”²⁸ For anarchist women, love was a matter of intense seriousness and directly connected to marriage and reproduction.

Anarchist women’s ideas about ideal family life were varied, and did not necessarily require structural reorganisation of the family. Mochizuki Yuriko (1900 – 2001) identified the problem of the traditional Japanese family as being its rule by familism that was far from the anarchist ideal of respecting individual freedom. Her ideal family meant a happy life consisting of husband, wife and children with the pleasures of a happy home.²⁹ The form of internal unity could be decided according to

²⁴ Soeda Susumu (Miyazaki Akira), “Nōmin ni uttatsu” (Appeal to farmers), *Kurohata*, no. 13 (February 1931), in *Nōson seinen sha jiken, shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 43 – 60.

²⁵ Takamure Itsue, “*Fujin Sengen* ichinen, *fujin shisō shi*”, *Fujin sensen* 2, no. 3 (March 1931), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 241.

²⁶ Takamure Itsue, “*Museifu ren’ai o egaku*” (Describing anarchist love), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 7 (September 1930), in *Anakizumu josei*, p. 178.

²⁷ Sumii Sue, “*Sei ni jiyū ariya?*” *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 5 (July 1930), in *Sumii sakuhin*, vol. 7, p. 19.

²⁸ Sumii Sue, “*Ren’ai shijō to ren’ai zettai*” (Love for love’s sake and absolute love), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 7 (September 1930), in *Sumii sakuhin*, vol. 7, p. 24.

²⁹ Mochizuki Yuriko, “*Jiyū to katei*” (Freedom and the family), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 2 (April 1930), pp. 4 – 5.

husband's and wife's free will. Regarding the family in the rural village, Sumii Sue saw a possibility that it could become a place of freedom and a unit of free society. Although women's situation in the village was presently miserable, as true proletarians, once they awoke they could emancipate themselves from the oppression of family, society and all other authority.³⁰ Like Takamure, women anarchists were critical of the conventional family, but they did not exclude retaining the form of the family in their ideal society. Even Takamure used the image of the maternal family as an alternative form to the individual family. No one mentioned communal living without families or family-like units as an ideal situation.

Although these anarchists criticised the conventional family, they did not expect dramatic change to the family in their ideal society. There was a tacit understanding about many things; harmonious family life, individual freedom. This tendency is clearer in their perception of indigenous anarchism.

Indigenous anarchism in farming villages

At the same time as they imported and digested foreign anarchist texts, Japanese anarchists continued to search for indigenous anarchism. Finding their ideal society or elements of anarchism within actual society was a gradual process. As early as 1905, an old man who was working for *Heimin sha* had cited the case of his home village as an example of practical socialism. The villagers usually lived by fishing and farming, but large-scale fishing, which used village nets specially designed for large fish, required villagers' cooperative work. In the season for large-scale fishing, all men including farmers had to participate in fishing. Persons who did not participate in fishing, such as the aged and children, also did various chores, such as maintaining a bonfire on the beach, and cleaning the beach. After deducting an amount of money from the takings of the catch for the village coffers, 80% of the remainder was distributed to all households evenly, and 20% to the actual participants in the fishing and the owners of the fishing boats. To the old man, socialism was not a difficult thing to grasp (cooperative work, even distribution among households, no exploitation); his village had been doing it since the olden days.³¹

This theme was repeated in a 1907 article by Kanno Suga, who believed in socialism at that time. She reported a similar ideal situation on a small island where all

³⁰ Sumii Sue, "Jijidai no katei" (The family of the next generation), *Fujin sensen* 1, no. 2 (April 1930), in *Sumii sakuhin*, vol. 7, p. 15.

³¹ Kiyota Den'emon, "Warera ga mura no shakai shugi" (Socialism in our village), *Heimin shinbun*, no. 34 (3 July 1905), p. 7.

property was distributed evenly among all households. The islanders lived by fishing and farming, and were almost self-sufficient. There were no classes of rich and poor in society. Thus islanders lived freely, equally and harmoniously like a family. What most impressed Kanno was their custom of uniting to deal with their problems.³² Actually this utopian lifestyle was preserved through maintaining a stable population of about 260 people, as excess people left the island. Second and third sons and young women left for the mainland to make a living. Although Kanno knew this, she described life on the island as an other-worldly society that retained vestiges of remote ages, and contrasted it with a greedy and worldly tourist resort—Atami. It was the picture of an ideal society for Kanno, one that was cut off from Japanese society.

The two societies mentioned above can be described as societies with a socialistic character. Later, such models were put in an anarchist context by Itō Noe who provided an influential picture of anarchism in her hometown, a fishing village,³³ to refute people's scorn of anarchist dreams. Her attention to village communities parallels Kropotkin's insights about the village communities existing by means of customary mutual aid.³⁴ Itō perceived a spirit of mutual aid among village residents and a social life based on free consent without excessive power, rule and order in rural areas where people could not enjoy 'cultural' advantages.³⁵ Her village of 60 to 70 households had consisted of six '*kumiai*' (associations). The six *kumiai* constituted a '*rengō*' (union), which convened when needed and was dissolved at other times. If something happened to one family, members of the *kumiai* would come together and discuss the problem. Everybody would give their own opinion frankly and without distinction of status. And then they would decide what to do. They would help families through sickness, death, childbirth, and other crises. Other affairs relevant to all villagers, such as precautions against fire, the cleaning and repair of shrines, and the celebration of village festivals would be taken up by *kumiai* or *rengō* depending on the issue. This kind of self-government was completely different from public administration dealing with

³² Kanno Suga, "Risōkyō" (A utopia), *Mainichi denpō*, no. 1270 (15 May 1907), in *Kanno zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 198–203.

³³ Imayado village in Fukuoka prefecture. It had been prosperous as a port in the domain of Itoshima, and as a post-town on the road to Nagasaki in the Edo era. But with changes in channels of distribution, and the opening of a railway in the Meiji era, the village declined.

³⁴ In his book *Mutual Aid* (1902), Kropotkin referred to social systems and customs based on the spirit of mutual aid in human history. For example, he mentioned the village community of primitive times, the trade guilds and communes of the medieval period, and village communities and autonomous social organizations such as labour unions, academic associations, charitable institutions, in modern society. *Mutual Aid* was translated into Japanese by Ōsugi Sakae in 1917.

³⁵ Itō Noe, "Museifu no jijitsu" (The fact of anarchism), *Rōdō undō* 3, no. 1 (21 December 1921), p. 5, no. 2 (1 February 1922), p. 5.

taxation, family registration, conscription, public schools and similar functions. Villagers would not feel the need for police even if some minor offences were committed. They could solve the problem according to their own way without reporting to external authorities. The most serious punishment in the village would be *nakama hazure* (exclusion from the group), which would exclude the person from the *kumiai*. Since a person could not effectively live in the village without belonging to a *kumiai*, this would eventually lead to an excluded person leaving the village. This social system supported poor villagers belonging to the community. Itō reported that young people had returned from the cities because this kind of life in the village provided them with a warm, accepting environment. Thus from her recollections of home, Itō extracted the image of a village that kept its autonomy without interference from the government or other authorities. "The fact of anarchism," which she described in this way, would often come to be mentioned subsequently by Japanese anarchists.

Other social practices were mentioned as systems that had an anarchistic nature, such as *mujin*, which was a mutual loan association in farming villages,³⁶ and *wajū*, which was a system of managing public affairs by the people themselves.³⁷ Hatta assumed such village associations were a starting point for anarchism.³⁸ In general, as Okutani Matsuji (1903 – 1978) described a *buraku* (a village community) as a highly autonomous association, the farming or fishing villages were recognised as societies that had just lost or still kept anarchist elements. Okutani thought that anarchistic operations in the village were not the result of introduced theories, but had been motivated by the farmers' own traditional spirit.³⁹ Thus Japanese anarchists believed that at least the potential for a beautiful spirit of mutual aid and autonomy remained deep in farm villages.⁴⁰ Some even said that a surprisingly rich spirit of mutual aid remained in the Tōhoku (northeast Japan) region. If they had the financial resources, they could undoubtedly realise utopia.⁴¹ Anarchists thus compared the family-oriented village community to ideal anarchist society.

However, arguing the fact of anarchism in this way was always problematic. First, the village had complicated aspects as a unit of administration. Though the

³⁶ Sayaki, "Mujin no hanashi" (A story about *mujin*), *Kosakunin* 2, no. 2 (25 December 1922), p. 3.

³⁷ *Wajū* is a name of a place surrounded by a bank to protect villages from flood, or the name of a village community in a *wajū*.

³⁸ Hatta Shūzō, "Genka no mondai" (Current issues), *Jiyū rengō shinbun*, no. 66 (January 1932), in *Hatta Shūzō zenshū museifu kyōsan* (The complete works of Hatta Shūzō: Anarchist communism, hereafter *Hatta zenshū*), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1981, p. 149.

³⁹ Okutani, "Hitotsu no jijitsu" (One fact), *Kosakunin* 3, no. 8 (5 October 1928), p. 3.

⁴⁰ "Nōson to anakizumu" (Farming villages and anarchism), *Kosakunin* 2, no. 7 (1 August 1927), p. 6.

⁴¹ Bakujin, "Tōhoku chihō no dōshi shokun ni tsugu" (To comrades in Tohoku area), *Kosakunin* 3, no. 1 (1 January 1928), p. 9.

villages sustained a sort of autonomous internal communal life, the village also functioned as the smallest unit of the government's hierarchical administrative organization, completing its control function. The character of the village itself had changed under the policies of the Meiji government, which set out to reorganise the village from a natural community to a fundamental administrative unit.⁴² Its apparent autonomy was only a limited autonomy which remained under government control. Second, the fact that Itō herself had escaped from her hometown to Tokyo indicated that the village society had oppressive characteristics. Even though the direct cause of her departure had been because her parents had arranged her marriage, such arranged marriages were a village custom. She emphasised the autonomy of the village, which did not seek recourse to the law and the police, but the village had its own rules, such as *nakama hazure* (exclusion from village community), that functioned as a coercive force in place of the law. She was not unaware of this aspect of village life. Her stories, "Hitsuke hikoshichi" (An arsonist Hikoshichi, 1918) and "Hakuchi no haha" (A mother of an idiot, 1918), describe how rural society with its rigid social structure was cruel toward people once they were regarded as offending against its social rules. But Itō focused on the positive side of the village in her *Rodō undō* article. And, third, identification of anarchism in the village could be a reflection of anarchists' ideals and wishes rather than of actual circumstances. In other words, finding a spirit of anarchism within existing society sometimes required a modification of ideals to fit the facts of society, or else putting an unrealistically favourable interpretation on some element of the social system. Nevertheless, she managed to extract a spirit of anarchism from village life, though it still included a conventional family system, the custom of arranged marriages and oppressive personal relationships that were the objects she meant when she called on women to "Destroy customs!" Thus, whenever anarchists discerned the existence of anarchism in the villages, these negative aspects also existed, though they were often not mentioned.

The above case of a fishing village, although it was interpreted as a model anarchist community, clearly showed other sides of the picture. In the village, which had a population of about ten thousand, fishing was carried on by ten associations that each had a fishing boat. Each association was formed like a family and ran its economic affairs by self-regulation. A haul of fish was divided equally between the members of an association. Therefore, said the old man who described the village, even illegitimate

⁴² Spontaneous village communities were consolidated into larger units after 1868 and absorbed into administrative organizations by the law of towns and villages in 1888.

children, as long as they were boys, were welcomed by families who had no son. The families adopted illegitimate boys and educated them. After they grew up, the families had them married to their daughters or adopted daughters to establish branch families. In the village, people did not need police, they were self-sufficient in electricity, and employed the schoolteachers at their school. This village seemed to be a self-sufficient and self-governing society.⁴³ But it was also clear that it was a society where men dominated women: all illegitimate children were not welcomed unconditionally, but only boys were welcome as supporters for family businesses. And the life of the boy (marriage with a daughter and inclusion in the family) was decided by his foster parents on behalf of the extended family. The writer seems to have had no doubts about these customs in terms of individual freedom. But as a community, while the village might have had autonomy, individuals did not. Even the value of each individual was decided by the community.

Creating anarchist society based on farming villages

Locating traces of anarchism in Japanese society was directly linked with a plan to create an anarchist society based on villages that had communal systems of mutual aid. As an anarchist said, "A free village is a newborn village, which is neither the present city nor the present village. But it is natural that future free villages will be founded on the basis of present villages."⁴⁴ What they had to do was not to seek out anarchism from somewhere else and introduce it into Japanese society, but restore the indigenous spirit of anarchism in Japanese society. Inuta Shigeru provided an example. He referred to some operating mutual aid associations as self-regulating elements, for example, a *kumiyae* (association), which consisted of five or six households that helped each other in the work of digging a well, in buying agricultural equipment, and on ceremonial occasions. A *tsubo* (group) consisted of 20 households, within a *ōaza* (section) and a *mura* (village) for community work.⁴⁵ Thus farming villages became the main place where anarchists attempted to realise their anarchist movement in practice.

The villages, however, were in an exhausted condition at that time, and farmers' lives were in the most miserable straits. Nevertheless, the villages were felt to have a special life, and farmers to have valuable spiritual resources and beliefs. The villages

⁴³ Masaki Hisao, "Mondai to jijitsu" (The problem and the fact), *Kokushoku sensen* 1, no. 5 (August 1929), pp. 55 - 57.

⁴⁴ Hisatani Zenji, "Jiyū sonraku no seiritsu to tokai no kaitai" (The foundation of free villages and the dissolution of the city), *Nōmin jiyū rengō*, no. 1 (5 July 1930), pp. 28 - 29.

⁴⁵ Inuta Shigeru, "Nōmin jichi no hanashi" (Talk about farmers' self-government), *Nōmin* 2, no. 9 (1 September 1930), pp. 19 - 20.

were seen as the origin of social life, and farmers as the spirit of humanity.⁴⁶ In this way, Japanese anarchists identified anarchism within traditional society, and especially in farming villages which had social systems that embodied the spirit of mutual aid.

By positing actual farming villages as the basis of a potential anarchist society, anarchists could gain a foothold for the anarchist movement in existing Japanese society. But this also had a problematic aspect for anarchists. They interpreted existing mutual aid systems as anarchistic elements and the nature of farming villages as autonomous, similar to self-government. Anarchists regarded people's customs in villages as more fundamental than modern legal requirements that were stipulated in official codes. Customs worked not to rule people's lives but to channel people's co-operation by their own spontaneous will. Such customs, which were supported by people's ethics, were the core of autonomous society, and would also be the core in an anarchist society. However, customs dominated farmers' daily lives as well as supporting mutual aid systems, and as anarchists had to recognise, customs were sometimes oppressive.⁴⁷ But Japanese anarchists were apt to make light of this dualism of customs. Japanese anarchists (male anarchists) who did not put the family revolution on their agenda did not think a great deal about overcoming oppressive elements in the farming family. This could weaken their stand against oppression, but at the same time, made it easier for them to approach farming villages, where farmers' survival was the first item on the agenda.⁴⁸

Ironically, however, such a village-oriented anarchist society was also envisaged by some as having a matrilineal structure. Takamure, who supposed that in primitive communism the clan had been the main economic unit, proposed that anarchist society follow a matrilineal pattern of descent.⁴⁹ It would be based on anarchist communism and have a reproduction-centred value system. It can only be described as radically different from existing village communities which were production-centred and based on the labour system of value and had individual patriarchal families as the main social unit. Takamure referred to *ketsuzoku* (blood relatives)⁵⁰ as the core of such a

⁴⁶ "Nōmin no reimei" (The dawn for farmers), *Nōmin* 1, no. 2 (13 September 1928), p. 1.

⁴⁷ Ōsugi Sakae had pointed out that morality could be more harmful and cruel than laws in Japanese society. Ōsugi Sakae, "Hōritsu to dōtoku" (The law and morality), *Kindai shisō* 1, no. 3 (December 1912), p. 1.

⁴⁸ John Crump has supposed that an anarchist communist society could have successfully combined individual liberty with communal solidarity. (Crump, John, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*, p. 191.) However, as we have seen, those anarchists who were interested in villages as a site for anarchist society often seemed indifferent to the oppressive social customs and structures of village life, including the family system and personal relationships. Crump's supposition therefore seems to run counter to the evidence.

⁴⁹ Takamure Itsue, "Musun kaikyū to fujin" (The proletariat and women), in *Anakizumu josei* 2, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Takamure Itsue, "Fujin sensen ichi'nen fujin shisōshi", in *Anakizumu*, p. 249.

community, meaning the maternal line by *ketsuzoku*. Her emphasis on motherhood would have resulted in asserting the importance of blood ties between mothers and children, and enshrining matrilineal descent. Individuals could be detached from the individual family, but would continue to belong to the maternal line in Takamure's ideal society, which can be described as the extended family. Thus Takamure's picture of matrilineal society was to have the same nature as a village-oriented anarchist society.⁵¹

Other community concepts

Although the image of a village-oriented anarchist society was influential, there were other models for anarchists to consider. Syndicalists had a more individualistic perspective of society. Ōsugi inclined to the labour movement as a way to achieve anarchism and conducted a syndicalist study group. He introduced syndicalism with a model of the C.G.T. (La Confédération Générale du Travail) in France.⁵² Based on fundamental principles, free individuals would form a union (syndicate) motivated by their own free will, and such free autonomous unions would become allied with each other without coercion. By such means, workers aimed to achieve anarchism through labour unions. Syndicalists regarded these federations as a substitute for the administrative organizations of cities, towns and villages.⁵³ Labour unions themselves were the base and a model of the new society. Ōsugi argued for a framework of societies based on labour unions, but did not describe a concrete picture of his ideal society because he believed the new society would be created as an outcome of the movement. Ōsugi did not intend to directly employ imported concepts or models as ideals to use for Japanese workers. Regarding the gap between ideal and reality, or between imported concept and Japanese reality, Ōsugi was cautious in terms of the direction of the labour movement. He called on workers to raise their consciousness in order to become the

⁵¹ A tendency by Japanese anarchists to evaluate villages in aesthetic terms and appeal to people's feelings about rural communities had similarities to popular support for *nōhon shugi*. *Nōhon shugi* (literally 'agriculture-as-the-root-ism') paid great respect to nature and elevated agriculture in people's estimation as the foundation of the nation. It often displayed anti-city and anti-capitalist characteristics. In the 1930s, *nōhon shugi* combined with nationalism and became an ideology to support ultra-nationalism or fascism. About the similarities and differences between anarchism and *nōhon shugi*, see Crump, John, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*, pp. 121 – 122; Mihara Yōko, "Senzen anakizumu undō no nōson undō ron" (The theory of rural movement in the prewar anarchist movement), *Kyoto daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō*, no. 31 (March 1985), pp. 100 – 104. About a case of *nōhon shugi* movement, Tachibana Kōzaburō's *Aikyō kai* (the love birthplace association), see Matsuzawa Tatsuya, *Tachibana Kōzaburō* (Tachibana Kōzaburō), Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1972; Higashi Toshio, *Kinrō nōmin teki keiei to kokka shugi undō* (The management of working farmer and the nationalist movement), Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1987.

⁵² Ōsugi Sakae, "Kojin shugi sha to seiji undō" (Individualist and political movement), *Waseda bungaku*, no. 4 (April 1915), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 5, pp. 225 – 226.

⁵³ Ōsugi Sakae, "Rōdō undō to kojin shugi" (Labour movement and individualism), *Kindai shisō* 3, no. 3 (1 December 1915), p. 4.

subject of the labour movement and of a future society, and was aware that Japanese workers were in a process of creating their own ideal organisations.⁵⁴

Kaneko Fumiko, who tended to see real society without illusion, could not think of building a new society without cohesive power and a ruler.⁵⁵ Unlike many other anarchists, she did not believe in anarchistic elements in the Japanese villages. Kaneko was completely alienated from Japanese society as a person without nationality and with the experience of an outsider to both Japanese and Korean communities.⁵⁶ She thus had no illusions about existing communities, but, even after complete disillusionment and iconoclasm, Kaneko could still believe in her own will. She described a desirable society as follows:

Just as I have my head and legs in order to think by myself and walk by myself, others also have their heads and legs, I think. Therefore, I am inclined to draw an illustration of the society I desire, as a place of independence and autonomy, namely one where all people become masters of their lives and manage their lives correctly.⁵⁷

Such a society, which would consist of independent individuals motivated by their own wills, differed from a village community, in which people were tied by blood relations or by dependency on others resulting from life in the same local community. Kaneko's ideal society seems to be able to avoid having an exclusive nature.

The society that Ishikawa Sanshirō imagined had a similar nature to Kaneko's ideal society. His suggestion of "returning to the soil" involved another radical critique of anarchism. For Ishikawa, who believed that in primitive ages people lived unselfconsciously in a natural life, anarchism meant that people should intentionally restore the golden age, in which pure simple souls and human solidarity interacted.⁵⁸ Ishikawa saw anarchistic elements not in existing society, but in human nature. Returning to the soil, namely living by one's own work, was the way to restore human nature. He believed it would be possible to create a different society consisting of free individuals and actually began with himself through taking up farming.

Although there were different opinions about an ideal community, in general,

⁵⁴ Ōsugi Sakae, "Shakai teki risō ron" (Social idealism), *Rōdō undō* 1, no. 6 (1 June 1920), p. 1.

⁵⁵ "Boku Retsu Fumiko jiken shuyō chōsho" (The primary record of Pak Yōi Fumiko Incident), in *Anākizumu*, Komatsu, ed., p. 199.

⁵⁶ Kaneko's experience in Korea enabled her to have the viewpoint of a non-Japanese.

⁵⁷ Kaneko Fumiko, "Nijū roku nichi yahan" (At night on 26th), in *Saiban kiroku*, p. 740.

⁵⁸ Ishikawa saw a golden age in Chinese society in ancient times, and a legendary utopia in the poem "Zhuchen cun (Zhu Chen village)" by Chinese poet Bai Juyi (772-846). Ishikawa Sanshirō, "Genshi seikatsu no kaifuku" (Restoring primitive life), in Ishikawa Sanshirō, *Kyōmu no reikō* (The spiritual light of nothingness), Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1970, p. 104.

Japanese anarchists imagined anarchist society through the analogy of the family and hoped to create it on the basis of actual village communities.

5.2 Anarchism and *Datong* Society in China

Anarchist society in *datong* form

An extreme image of anarchism was advanced by Chinese revolutionary and philosopher Zhang Binglin in a 1907 article “Wu wu lun” (Five negations) in Japan, which meant no government, no village, no humanity, no life and no world. By no government (*wu zhengfu*), Zhang proposed the abolition of government for eliminating racial divisions, communism for eliminating money and class distinctions, disarmament for eliminating the tools of murder or seizure, and abolition of marriage and mutual dependency among relatives for eliminating jealousy and property disputes.⁵⁹ However, Zhang’s pessimistic view of anarchism, resulting from theoretical argument, provided few ideas about a possible anarchist society. It was left to the Chinese anarchists in Tokyo and Paris to describe various images of anarchist society.

One of leaders of the Paris anarchist group, Li Shizeng, thought “society will be composed of individuals. A village consists of individuals, and a country [this is not a state, but a region—note by Li] consists of villages. Individual and individual will associate and help each other, and enjoy peace and happiness in society. A few people cannot rule society by power. This is the right society [which anarchism desires].”⁶⁰ This image of society was similar to society in “The theory of Kropotkin” that Li translated. Kropotkin’s ideal society was described as follows:

In the future, there will not be boundaries between villages, and between countries. A village will be a group of equal people. People in a village will associate with people in other villages. People will agree to unite and become a group. There is no article they will be forced to complete, no punishment and no trial. Public work can be fulfilled by public faith. If some don’t want to follow, they will be excluded by other people. In each village, each person does their own work. People don’t need order imposed by the government.⁶¹

In this plan, it is remarkable that the village was supposed to consist of ‘equal

⁵⁹ Zhang Binglin, “Wu wu lun” (Five negations), *Minbao*, no. 16 (September 1907), pp. 4 – 5.

⁶⁰ Li Shizeng, “Moushi yu *Xin shiji* shu fuda” (A letter from a certain person to New Century and answer), *Xin shiji*, no. 8 (10 August 1907), p. 3.

⁶¹ Li Shizeng, trans. “Xu Kropotkin xueshuo” (Kropotkin theory 2), *Xin shiji*, no. 15 (28 September 1907), p. 2.

people' voluntarily. This means that the village was not an existing village, but a newly constructed one based on anarchist principles. Kropotkin's work as translated in China had a different image of a village from that in its Japanese version.

Li Shizeng also translated an anarchist pamphlet *Communism and Anarchism*⁶² by Italian anarchist Carlo Cafiero (1846 – 1892),⁶³ in the *Xin shiji* series for diffusing anarchism. Cafiero compared communist society, which was based on communist principles, to a family. This was because within a family, which consisted of members with different abilities, family members could take goods according to their needs regardless of their ability to earn money. In the translations, Li used the term *datong* to mean one world without political boundaries, and supported internationalism against nationalism.

On such basic structures of anarchist society, Chinese anarchists developed their social vision according to their purposes. First, Li Shizeng and Chu Minyi attacked the family system, Confucian ethics, and narrow egoistic love in order to create new people for the new society. Then Wu Zhihui supposed that, in anarchist society, there would be morality but no law. New people would follow the principle of "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs" without rights or obligations. People would follow the truth, but there would be no ruler or ruled.⁶⁴ The binding force that would gather together the disconnected individuals of such a society was nothing but the spirit of mutual aid and altruism, which Chinese anarchists presumed was an innate element of human nature, and which they attempted to restore by rejecting the family system. Thus anarchists built up the components of their theoretical anarchist society.

Li and Wu were not keen on visualising a model anarchist society. Wu Zhihui showed a cautious attitude to using utopian terms in illustrating future society, because it was impossible to describe a marvellous society using conventional terms.⁶⁵ Wu only mentioned that anarchist society in the future would be supported by applied science and developed technology. According to him, all land on earth would be investigated

⁶² This article, which Cafiero gave as a speech at La Chaux-de-Fonds in October 1880, was originally published in *La Révolte* in November 1880. It was one of the earliest articles of anarchist communism. Crump, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶³ He was born to a noble family. In London, he made Marx and Engels' acquaintance and came back to Italy to recruit people to Marxism. But after he met Bakunin, he joined the anarchist movement and financially supported Bakunin by disposing of his inheritance. In 1877, together with Italian anarchists Errico Malatesta and Andrea Costa, Cafiero participated in the insurrection of Benevento and was imprisoned. Later he came to support the Socialist Party, which Costa founded in 1891. Cafiero became mentally deranged and died in a mental institution.

⁶⁴ Wu Zhihui, "Tan wuzhengfu zhi jiantian" (Talk about anarchist world), *Xin shiji*, no. 49 (30 May 1908), p. 3.

⁶⁵ Wu Zhihui, "Yu ren shu" (A letter to a man), *Xin shiji*, no. 13 (14 September 1907), p. 4.

and used for proper purposes, such as residential areas, parks, stock farms, cultivation and so on. Infrastructure would be developed using the latest science and technology. People could live in comfort in well-managed social facilities. Advanced science would contribute to improving people's lives. People would enlarge their knowledge of scientific matters remarkably.⁶⁶ Chu Minyi, however, described an anarchist society as a form of traditional utopian, *datong* society, in which men and women would be able to have sex freely without marriage, or private property; old and young would belong to society, there would be no familial relationships and no family. All geographical boundaries and all distinctions among people would vanish.⁶⁷ This kind of visualisation of anarchist society appeared repeatedly in *Xin Shiji*.

In *Xin shiji*, Jupu provided the most comprehensive image of anarchist society through an interpretation of *Liyun's Datong*.⁶⁸ He supposed that, if the family were eliminated, people would become communal (*gongmin*).⁶⁹ In anarchist society, people wouldn't know their parents or their children. They would have to work only for the good of society. In a society without families, people's lives would be divided into three stages: under 20 years old, people would receive education; from 21 to 40, people would work; over 40, people would be free to enjoy themselves. There should be public nurseries, aged homes, public schools, and other public facilities. People's whole lives could be spent in places providing public services. These facilities and places would provide for all people's needs throughout their lives. Any kind of marriage was against the essential meaning of man and woman. If two people wished to do so, they could have a sexual relationship. However, all men and women should know their physical and mental condition and should not go beyond their limitations.⁷⁰ Thus in Jupu's picture, individual families vanished and the whole world became one family, and all people would become family members.

Different Chinese anarchist writers repeatedly mentioned this kind of social vision. For example, a contributor to *Xin shiji* described a vision of anarchist society by using a story from popular fiction *Shuihuzhuan* (All Men Are Brothers), in which all characters in the story lacked families. For this contributor, the family should be destroyed in order to achieve socialism. His model of a new society was one in which

⁶⁶ Wu Zhihui, "Tan wuzhengfu zhi jiantian," p. 3.

⁶⁷ Chu Minyi, "Xu wuzhengfu zhuyi" (Anarchism 2), *Xin shiji*, no. 38 (14 March 1908), p. 4.

⁶⁸ *Liyun* (Evolution of Rites) is a part of *Liji* (Book of Rites), which is a collection of Confucians' views of rites in late Zhou (1050 – 256 B.C.) and Han (202 B.C. – 220 A.D.) era, and is one of five important books of Confucianism.

⁶⁹ This interpretation is quite similar to Kang Youwei's idea of creation of public persons and elimination of private persons in "Gongmin zhizi lun" (Opinion about citizens' self-government). 1902.

⁷⁰ Jupu, "Liyun datong shiyi" (Interpretation of *Liyun datong*), *Xin shiji*, no. 38 (14 March 1908), p. 2.

all facilities were provided to meet people's needs; facilities such as fields, garden plots, factories, dining rooms, dormitories, meeting rooms for men and women, prenatal care, nurseries, kindergartens, schools, and old people's accommodation. People would live in public facilities on public property. Men and women could come together without marriage. They might, for example, encounter each other in a park and then have recourse to publicly available rooms (*peihe shi*) to have sex. Pregnant women would live in prenatal rooms (*taijiao shi*). For child-rearing, the children would live in nurseries. At one year, infants would move to kindergartens. Interestingly, people wouldn't even have their own name: they would have numbers according to their birthday. Places would also be given numbers instead of place names.⁷¹

Social facilities to undertake family functions were to be arranged in various ways. Xu Ancheng⁷² supposed that infants, who would take their mothers' surnames, would go into nurseries, in which professional nurses would care for them. People who were not professional nurses would not be allowed to raise even their own children.⁷³ Education was to be compulsory for children. After completing school, people would work as they chose. Aged people would be looked after in special homes depending on their former income. Aged people without income would go to poor houses supported by charitable persons. There would be no husbands and wives, so no fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, or family homes. Inheritances would become public income. In such a society, men and women would separate when their love ended. If their love continued, they could stay together. Xu's picture of an ideal society is rough, but includes a basic framework of human relationships.⁷⁴

The nature of anarchist society and Kang Youwei's *datong* society

These anarchists' interpretation of *Liyun* and pictures of anarchist society had a strong similarity to the *datong* society of Kang Youwei. Both eliminated the family and even the relationships (father-son, mother-children, and husband-wife) in order to abolish family ethics. Like Kang, anarchists interpreted the passage of *Liyun* literally as

⁷¹ "Yu ren shu" (A letter to people), *Xin shiji*, no. 13 (14 September 1907), p. 4.

⁷² This was a penname of Jiang Kanghu, a founder of the Chinese Socialist Party in 1912 in Beijing. His idea mentioned here was described in a general programme of the Party.

⁷³ Public child-rearing was an essential feature of the ideal society of Chinese anarchists. But experience hardly supports their favourable view. In *New Harmony in the USA (1825 – 1829)*, "Owen's attempts to remove children from their parents failed because of protests by women." About the practices of child-rearing in utopian communities see, Kolmerten, C.A. *Women in Utopia: The Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communities*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990, p. 123.

⁷⁴ Mojun laiqiao (Xu Anchen), "Wu jiating zhuyi" (No-family-ism), *Xin shiji*, no. 93. (17 April 1909), p. 13.

the ground for an argument about abolishing the family. In this way, *datong* society could embody anarchist society that consisted of detached autonomous individuals.

Compared with the *datong* society of Kang Youwei, the fundamental difference is the anarchists' rejection of any government. Anarchists did not envisage any kind of government or ruling institutions. Nevertheless, if government means control of people in any sense, anarchist society would not be free from control. For example, people who were categorised as not 'normal' would be under control. This is the other side to social protection of the weak. Furthermore, women's position in anarchist society was a symbol of control. Both anarchist societies and Kang Youwei's *datong* society had a rigid reproduction control system, in which women's lives were completely divorced from their reproductive function. Motherhood was thus reduced to the process of reproduction in the 'ideal' society. But, in this aspect, women in anarchist society were more alienated from their reproduction by depriving them of recognition as mothers, while women were at least respected as people's mothers (*zhongmu*) in Kang's *datong* society. Absence of the role of mother more than the lack of family characterises anarchist *datong* society.

The absence of mothers means a disconnection of blood ties between parents and children, and results in stopping the 'continuity of incense and fire,'⁷⁵ which would mean cessation of ancestor worship.⁷⁶ Consequently, Confucianism would completely lose its physical foundation. From this viewpoint too, the anarchist society in *datong* form could ultimately embody the ideal of Chinese anarchists.

Communal experiments in France

Besides the traditional thought of *datong*, there was another factor that influenced Chinese anarchists in terms of creating an ideal society. In the *Xin shiji* series, Li Shizeng introduced two French communities, Aiglemont and Château du Peuple—with pictures—as experiments in anarchist communism. Li mentioned them to illustrate the scope of anarchist communism.⁷⁷ Zhang Ji reported on the Aiglemont colony in detail after a visit.⁷⁸ Anarchist communist communities had a long history; in

⁷⁵ According to Fei Xiaotong, "[the] local term for the continuity of descent is 'continuity of incense and fire,'" which shows the importance of posterity. Fei Xsiao-t'ung, *Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1939, p. 30.

⁷⁶ Shimomi Takao emphasises the essential role of mothers in Confucian society. See Shimomi Takao, *Kō to bosei no mekanizumu—Chūgoku josei shi no shiza* (The mechanism of filial piety and motherhood: a viewpoint of women's history in China), Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997.

⁷⁷ Li Shizeng, *Wu zhengfu gongchan zhuyi zhiyan* (The experiences of anarchist communism). *Xin shiji* series, Paris: Xin shiji she, 1907. (reprint, no page number)

⁷⁸ Wu Zhihui, "You yingshancun zhimin ji" (Note on travelling to the Colonie d'Aiglemont), *Xin shiji*,

France, the contemporary trend of founding such communities was a product of French anarchism.⁷⁹ It is possible that Chinese anarchists in Paris, who associated with French and other Western anarchists, had an interest in such communal experiments. Chinese anarchists and other anarchists who supported communal experimentalism shared a desire to create a new society conducted on anarchist principles in a place isolated from conventional society. Chinese anarchists created a future anarchist society in their imaginations just as their French counterparts separated themselves, both materially and mentally, in colonies outside capitalist society. The differences between them stemmed from their different intentions. For example, Chinese anarchists envisaged a function of abolishing the family in the course of creating their the ideal society. However French anarchists did not include a ban on families in their colonies.⁸⁰ Sexual morality was less strict than in outside society, although sometime this had a negative influence on intra-community relations.⁸¹

Almost all the French experimental colonies quickly ended in failure due mainly to financial difficulties.⁸² There had already been serious doubts about the feasibility of such plans. In addition to the failures in practice, there were different opinions among anarchists about the concept of creating separate anarchist colonies. Some anarchists regarded the creation of such communities as the best way to put anarchism into practice. But others did not agree. For example, the prominent French anarchist Elisée Reclus, who himself had been involved in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in Colombia, was completely negative towards the idea. This was because, from his own experience, he realised that a colony in a remote place was only a temporary respite from the rest of society.⁸³ Kropotkin, who also had "little confidence in schemes of communist communities started under the present conditions"⁸⁴ and carefully considered the causes of failure of the experiments, posed some questions about the

no. 53 (27 June 1908), pp. 6 – 8. The first part of the article was a report of Aiglemont colony by Zhang Ji. Wu Zhihui added his comments on it "Zhangji jun lai han" (A letter from Zhangji), *Hengbao*, no. 10 (8 August 1908), p. 2.

⁷⁹ Woodcock, *ibid.*, p. 260.

⁸⁰ In the case of a colony at Vaux, each family member was treated as an individual member of the colony. A member with an accompanying woman or children worked and received the same amount as other members. Children would be supported by a communal fund. Charles Gide, *Communist and Co-operative Colonies*. Ernest F. Row trans. London: G. Harrap, 1930, p. 160.

⁸¹ Maitron, Jean, *Histoire du Mouvement Anarchiste en France (1880 – 1914)*, Paris: Société Universitaire d'éditions et Librairie, 1951, p. 378.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Fleming, Marie, *The Geography of Freedom*, p. 47.

⁸⁴ Kropotkin, "Proposed Communist settlement: a new colony for Tyneside or Wearside", *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 20 February 1885. This was Kropotkin's reply to a member of a communist group resident in the North of England, who decided to found a settlement and asked Kropotkin to become the treasurer of the fund.

nature of such communities. Although he did not support attempts to establish communities, he provided practical advice about their scale, location, and agriculture.⁸⁵ The most interesting point he mentioned as a reason for failure was that "these communities took the family as a model and tried to constitute 'the great Communist family' to 'reform man.' And "this amounted to nothing less than the total interference of all 'brothers' and 'sisters' with the entire private life of each member."⁸⁶

There was a radical difference in perception of the family between Kropotkin and Chinese anarchists. Family life, for Chinese anarchists, meant oppressive machinery restricting individual freedom. Kropotkin, however, recommended respecting family life as much as possible. But at the same time, he urged a reduction of household work to a minimum in order to emancipate women. If not, "the woman and the girl remained in the new society as they were in the old one—the slaves of the community."⁸⁷ In this regard, Chinese anarchists intended to extinguish household work by adopting the radical method of abolishing individual households. Thus pictures of anarchist society reveal various approaches to dealing with the family, depending on attitudes toward the family.

Chinese farming villages and traditional thought

Liu Shiwei of the Tokyo Chinese anarchist group talked about anarchist society in a similar way to the Paris group's *datong* society, but with a subtly different character. Liu pictured a 'communist' society, in which the coercive powers of the government vanished, land and capital were under public ownership, and all people worked. He called this social system a 'theory of even allocation of labour.' In other words, all workers would follow planned programs of labour. First, to practise this method, conventional society and its boundaries must be destroyed, and villages (*xiang*) consisting of one thousand people must be formed. In each village, there would be special accommodation (*qixisuo*) housing infants under five and the old over 50. In these places, old people would care for the infants. Children aged six to ten would learn language (only one world language would be used after international borders vanished) from old people. From ten to 20 years of age, they would undertake practical learning.

⁸⁵ Kropotkin gave some advice to an anarchist in New South Wales, Australia, who decided to establish a settlement in Argentina. He suggested that the best spot for a settlement was near London or near Paris, not in Argentina. Peter Kropotkin, "Advice to those about to emigrate," *Freedom*, (March 1883), in *Small Communal Experiments and Why They Fail*, Graham Purchase, ed., Petersham North, N.S.W.: Jura Media, 1997.

⁸⁶ Kropotkin, Peter, "Communism and anarchism," *Freedom*, (July/August 1901), *ibid*.

⁸⁷ Kropotkin, Peter, "Proposed communist settlement: a new colony for Tyneside or Wearside," *The Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, (20 February 1885), *ibid*.

They would study general subjects for half the day, and then learn how to use manufacturing machines to produce the necessities of life, such as food, clothing and shelter, for the other half. Older people were to be the teachers. After ten years of training, young people would commence work. He rejected the idea that people would undertake work only according to their abilities and strength. This was because it would need supervisors to decide on work allocation. That would be like having government control and would interfere in people's affairs. He also rejected the idea that work be distributed according to people's character. That was because everybody would want to have easier and lighter work. Therefore he suggested a method to allocate labour evenly. Besides this work, people from the age of 21 to 31 would also conduct farming, which Liu regarded as the base of society, in the farming season.⁸⁸ In this society, there would be no division of labour between farming and industry, mental and physical, or ruler and ruled.

All manufactured goods they produced would be in the public domain and be publicly owned. People would own the accommodation they built, which would be standard in size. Each village would have public facilities for reading and dining, which would become places where people met together. Through this method, people would share equally in the quality and quantity of the workload and its output. Society would not need to worry about shortages of goods. People would be equal within society, yet independent of society. Workers, farmers, and professionals would be equal in rights and duties.

Liu's method was not only influenced by Kropotkin's thought, but also adopted the ideas of an agrarian thinker of 3 B.C., Xu Xing. Liu interpreted Xu Xing's insistence on plowing together (*binggeng shuo*) to mean that nobles and ordinary people should undertake work together, which meant breaking down the class system. Although Liu approved of Xu Xing's idea, he thought that, in Xu Xing's model society, classes (agricultural and industrial classes) would have still existed. Therefore Liu proposed methods designed to embody the destruction of all class distinctions and divisions of

⁸⁸ Liu Shipai, "Renlei junli shuo" (A theory of even allocation of labour), *Tianyi*, no. 3 (10 July 1907), pp. 18 – 24. Categories of industry according to age are as follows:

21: road construction / agriculture
 22: the mining industry or forestry / agriculture
 23 – 26: the building industry / agriculture
 27 – 30: manufacture of ironware or earthenware / agriculture
 31 – 36: spinning and cloth making / agriculture
 37 – 40: cooking
 41 – 45: transportation
 46 – 50: engineering or medicine
 50 +: child-care and teaching

work.⁸⁹ This picture of anarchist society embodied Liu's ideal of anarchism, which was "to achieve the natural equality of humanity, extinguish artificial inequality, overthrow all government organizations, destroy all societies that include classes or division of labour, make all people one group, and strive for the whole of humanity's happiness."⁹⁰

Commenting on the situation of women in such a society, He Zhen noted that men and women could perform the same duties, by which, He Zhen supposed, men wouldn't rely on women for housework, and women wouldn't rely on men for food and clothing. Infants would go to communal accommodation. Therefore, men and women no longer would have the task of rearing children.⁹¹ But she did not mention whether this arrangement was intended to abolish the family or not. This aspect was not clearly programmed into Liu's social vision.

Liu's picture of anarchist society has a similar structure to that of the Paris group but is more thorough in terms of extinguishing division of labour between the sexes. Jobs like spinning and cloth making, cooking and child-care, which were regarded as women's jobs, should be done by people in fixed age groups regardless of the sexes. The more detailed the picture became, the clearer its unrealistic character. For example, is it feasible that people over 50 years old could care for infants? Both Paris and Tokyo Chinese anarchists proposed *datong*-style utopias with quite similar features. However, unlike the Paris group who envisaged an anarchist society as a result of theoretical argument, Liu Shippei took a step forward in terms of translating anarchism into Chinese terms, particularly in rural areas.

Chinese rural society as anarchistic society

Inspired by Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*, which cited cases where elements of ancient communism still remained in society, Liu discerned ancient communism in Chinese history. This was a common tendency within the Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists. For example, in a speech to the Socialist Study Group in Tokyo, Liu stated his view that it was not difficult to practise anarchism in China. This was because Chinese politics had consistently maintained a principle of non-interference in local affairs. Even though China had a central government, he said, actually it practised non-government (anarchism).⁹² Other Chinese anarchists in Tokyo had a similar

⁸⁹ Liu Shippei, "Renlei junli shuo," pp. 28 – 29.

⁹⁰ Liu Shippei, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi zhi pingdeng guan" (Anarchist view of equality), *Tianyi*, no. 7 (15 September 1907), p. 3.

⁹¹ Liu Shippei, "Renlei junli shuo," pp. 29 – 30.

⁹² Gongquan, "Shehui shugi jiangxihui diyici kaihui jishi (A report of the first Socialist Study Group)",

perception of anarchism. Jing Meijiu also spoke at the Socialist Study Group about anarchism in comparison with Laozi and Xu Xing.⁹³ He explained socialist theories of equalisation, collectivism, and communism through using examples of social systems in earlier Chinese history.⁹⁴ Jing regarded the contents of *Liyun* as essentially communism and anarchism, and the tenets of Laozi, Zhuanzi, Liezi⁹⁵ and Mozi⁹⁶ as expressions of socialist theory.⁹⁷ A phrase “the golden past, ruby present and diamond future” was accepted by Chinese anarchists in Tokyo as a well-turned expression about the differences between societies. It meant that realising communism was not an intention to return to the ancient past, but to create a future communist society in a purified form. This was because ancient people’s reason had been still undeveloped and people would have developed and purified their reason in a future communist society. The appearances of communism in the past and future were similar, but the levels of people’s reason in communist societies were different.

Tolstoy also influenced Chinese anarchists. Tolstoy’s letter to the Chinese⁹⁸ was published in *Tianyi*.⁹⁹ It recommended the Chinese not to repeat Western countries’ mistakes, by which developed industry in Western countries had led to militarism, but to follow the Chinese agriculture-centred peaceful life. The translator interpreted Tolstoy’s letter as recommending the Chinese to keep China as an agricultural nation and also to create an anarchist society through negative means: refusal of tax and refusal to work for the government.¹⁰⁰ Such a perception of Chinese society as anarchistic was strongly rejected by the Paris group of anarchists. A contributor to *Xin shiji* pointed out that Chinese society that Liu regarded as anarchistic did not enjoy non-interference by the

Tianyi, no. 6 (1 September 1907), p. 30. Zhen (He Zhen) and Shenshu (Liu Shipai), “Lun zhongzu geming yu wuzhengfu geming zhi deshi (Discuss profit and loss of the national revolution and anarchist revolution)”, *Tianyi*, no. 6 (1 September 1907), pp. 14 – 15. The Paris anarchists criticised Liu’s comparison of modern anarchism with Chinese historical thought.

⁹³ “‘Shehui zhuyi jiangxi hui’ di san ci kaihui ji” (A record of the third lecture of the Socialist Study Group), *Tianyi*, nos. 8 – 10 (30 October 1907), p. 81.

⁹⁴ Jing Meijiu, “Gongchan zhuyi lushuo” (An outline of communism). In *Zuian* (Criminal case). Beijing: Guofeng ribao she, 1924. In *Genten*, vol. 9, p. 74.

⁹⁵ A Daoist in the Warring State period (475 – 221 B.C.).

⁹⁶ A philosopher in the Warring State periods. He advocated the a theory of indiscriminate love.

⁹⁷ “‘Shehui zhuyi di san ci kaihui ji” (Record of the third Socialist Study Group meeting), *Tianyi*, nos. 8 – 10 (30 October 1907), p. 81. Jing Meijiu, “Laoxin laoli buping shuo” (An opinion about inequality of labour and toil with mind and body), in *Zuian*, in *Genten*, vol. 9, pp. 80 – 81.

⁹⁸ About the letter, see Bodde, Derk, *Tolstoy and China*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 50 – 58.

⁹⁹ Qufei, “Jieyi E duerside de Riben Baozhi xinwen she shu” (Abridged translation of Russian Tolstoy’s letter to Hōchi shinbun in Japan), *Tianyi*, no. 5 (10 August 1907), pp. 35 – 38, and Chenchu, “E duersituo zhi zhinaren shu jieyi” (Abridged translation of Russian Tolstoy’s letter to Chinese people), nos. 11 – 12 (30 October 1907), pp. 51 – 54.

¹⁰⁰ Chenchu, “E duersituo zhi zhinare shu jieyi.”

government.¹⁰¹ But there was no sign that the Tokyo group took the criticism seriously.

This was not a simple problem of how to interpret Chinese society. When Chinese anarchists argued about anarchism in China, they had to consider Chinese real society, part of which was visible in detailed reports about Chinese peasants' resistance and workers' strikes in *Hengbao*. Roller's *General Strike* was referred to in the context of workers' strikes in China.¹⁰² Unlike the Paris Chinese anarchists who discussed anarchism only in theory, the Tokyo group argued that its realisation depended on the actual Chinese situation. And Liu Shipai developed his vision of anarchist society in a Chinese village. Liu's plan had been concerned with Chinese agriculture and the situation of peasants in rural areas. In his earlier article "Bei tian pian" (Pity the tenant) in *Minbao* in 1906, his analysis of social structure in rural areas and problems between landlords and tenants led him to conclude that peasants should become the main force for the coming Chinese revolution. In a speech, "Zhongguo minsheng wenti lun" (Discussion of the problem of people's livelihood in China), which was delivered at the second meeting of the Socialist Study Group, he argued that people's tendency to attach little importance to agriculture in China, an agriculture-centred state, would cause serious problems.

The seventh issue of *Hengbao* was a special number featuring articles on peasants. In his article, "Anarchist revolution and peasant revolution," Liu made the position of peasant revolution clear. According to Liu, "peasant revolution is anarchist revolution. Therefore, if you want to carry out anarchist revolution, you have to start with peasant revolution, namely opposing the government and landlords through resisting tax and other means."¹⁰³

Anarchism in village community

Following Kropotkin's argument about the existence of residual communism in Western societies, Liu referred to some Chinese social customs as evidence that communism had been practised in Chinese society and that traces still remained. For example, clan communism (*zongzu gongchan zhi*), in which a clan communally owned property and weaker members were supported by the clan, and village communism

¹⁰¹ A contribution by a member of anarchist party, "Shu Tianyi bao shehui zhuyi jiangxihui di yi ci kaihui jishi hou" (On a report of the first Socialist Study group), *Xin shiji*, no. 24 (16 November 1907), p. 4.

¹⁰² "Lun zhongguo yi zushi laomin xiehui" (Discuss trades-unionists in China), *Hengbao*, no. 5 (8 June 1908), p. 1.

¹⁰³ Liu Shipai, "Wuzhengfu geming yu nongmin geming" (Anarchist revolution and peasant revolution), *Hengbao*, no. 7 (28 June 1908), p. 1.

(*xiangli gongchang zhi*), such as the “nine squares” system (*jingtian zhi*)¹⁰⁴ in three legendary dynasties, were evidence of communism in Chinese history.¹⁰⁵ He maintained that clan communism was still practised in clan villages as where each family had both communal property and private property, and clan members shared the expenses of ceremonial occasions, widows’ and widowers’ or people without family’s living costs, and supported clan members taking official examinations.¹⁰⁶ If a family had problems, or public utilities needed to be fixed, or public amusements were to be undertaken, all families in the village met to discuss and solve the issues. Even criminal cases were settled by villagers without interference from the official authorities.¹⁰⁷ This kind of social system was seen as evidence that communism was still surviving, he thought. A song of ancient Chinese peasants was given the title “Anarchists or Peasant song of ancient China about 200 B. C.” and published along with the following English translation:

We rise at sunrise, we rest at sunset, Dig wells and drink, Till our fieds (sic) and eat: What is the strength of the emperortous (sic)?¹⁰⁸

This peasant song was said to show that Chinese peasants had a tendency to autonomy as second nature and that, compared to Western society in which individual property rights were rigidly observed, the practice of anarchism in China was not impossible and in fact was better-suited to the Chinese ethos.

Liu formulated a plan of peasant revolution with two stages: in the first stage, peasants would own land. And in the second stage, all land would become communally owned and peasants would carry on public production communally.¹⁰⁹ This peasant revolution would be associated with a workers’ general strike. His views about the future Chinese revolution in which farmers and workers should become the main force, was embodied in this plan. Although Liu admitted the possibility of anarchist revolution in the villages, he did not regard existing indigenous anarchism as constituting an

¹⁰⁴ A land owner system practised in the Zhou dynasty (11th century – 256 B.C.), by which one large square was divided into nine small ones; the central one was communal land and the eight outer ones belonged to eight households, who had to help cultivate the central one. The Chinese regarded the system as an ideal land owner system.

¹⁰⁵ Liu Shipai, “Lun gongchanzhi yixing yu Zhongguo” (Communism can be practised in China with ease), *Hengbao*, no. 2 (8 May 1908), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Liu Shipai, “Wuzhengfu geming yu nongmin geming,” p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 2. This was a Chinese poem in praise of the Yao emperor, who was a legendary monarch in ancient China. His reign is regarded as the essence of government by doing nothing and letting things take their own course. The state of people under the Yao emperor was repeatedly cited by Chinese and Japanese anarchists as an example of an anarchistic society.

¹⁰⁹ Liu Shipai, “Wuzhengfu geming yu nongmin geming,” p. 1.

anarchist society, and he considered there was still a need for improvement from the stage of indigenous anarchist communism to advanced anarchist communism.¹¹⁰

Anarchist communism in villages would develop agriculture through adopting *qutian fa* (dividing field method)¹¹¹ and other advanced methods.¹¹² In more detail, a summary of the sections in Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* referring to agriculture was attached as reference material. It recommended that peasants practise a cooperative self-government agricultural system, which included practising industry in villages and adopting innovative methods. This agricultural system was seen as a counterpart of syndicalism in urban areas.¹¹³

It was suggested in an article that, after a natural disaster such as a flood that caused complete destruction, an anarchist society might be newly created. Destruction of social classes produced an anarchistic situation and destruction of industry produced communism. As evidence for the possibility of destroying political classes and property, the article referred to an earthquake in New York, where, it was claimed, banks, companies, government agencies and police had all been destroyed. Someone's words, "this was anarchy" were quoted. (Actually it was Kōtoku Shūshui's comment, not about New York, but San Francisco.) The article suggested that if there was no natural disaster, it would be possible to achieve destruction by artificial means, and that this was what the Russian anarchist Bakunin had meant by calling for 'complete destruction' as a pre-condition for anarchism.¹¹⁴ There was a simplistic assumption that killing officers and looting the rich would lead to anarchist communism.¹¹⁵ This image, however, did not include class struggle, but supposed that classes could be extinguished and anarchism achieved simply by destroying the physical manifestations of government.

Thus Liu and the Tokyo group provided a picture of anarchist communism in Chinese rural areas. The model that the Tokyo anarchists advocated was described as "agrarian oriented anarchism" or "an anti-modernist anarchism that drew upon native ideals and Tolstoyan ideas, and stressed a rural life in which mental and manual labour,

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ This was a way of farming that was mentioned in agriculture books in the Han era. It subdivided fields and only cultivated and fertilised the sections that were used in the season. This method could be applied to even infertile or poorly-watered fields, and did not require cattle to achieve high productivity.

¹¹² Liu Shipai, "Hengshu san pian" (Three issues in the book of balance), *Hengbao*, no. 10 (8 August 1908), p. 1.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ "Lun shuizai ji xi gongchan wuzhengfu zhi xianxiang" (Flood-woe and communism-revolution), *Hengbao*, no. 8 (8 July 1908), p. 1.

¹¹⁵ "Lun shuizai wei shixing gongchan zhi jihui" (Discuss flood as a chance to implement communism). Its original English title is "Flood (sic)-woe and communism-revolution." *Hengbao*, no. 8 (8 July 1908), p. 1.

agriculture and industry would be combined.”¹¹⁶ But what agrarian-oriented anarchism intended was more significant than merely “seeking to revolutionize the existing village.”¹¹⁷ The role of the family system was also to be changed in important way. In Liu’s plan, the family system was no longer simply an object of criticism, but was to be an important aspect of social reform, in that he intended to change the principle of the system from unequal and authoritarian to equal and democratic. Originally Liu had little inclination to destroy the family system, Therefore it did not require a fundamental shift in his theoretical framework to plan an anarchist society that embodied the family system. In this context, without abolishing the family, anarchism could be achieved in villages while reforming some abuses in the family. Thus agrarian-oriented anarchism would have resulted in a different picture of anarchist society with a different social structure from that proposed by the Paris group. Discussing indigenous anarchism led Liu Shipei to advocate peasant revolution, i.e. anarchist revolution within villages, but with continuance of family elements.¹¹⁸

In a letter to a planned anarchist international conference in London in 1914, Shifu described the state of the anarchist movement in China as the stage of an infant in a nappy.¹¹⁹ Even before the beginning of the anarchist movement in China, Chinese anarchists in Paris fostered an image of anarchism in the cradle. It was a metaphor that would later become a model for anarchist-communist communes, which would be embodied as new villages, and the Work-study Mutual Corps in China.

Development of anarchist society in China

After the revolution of 1911, Chinese anarchists developed two different anarchist social visions: the free individual-oriented society vision of the Paris group and the Chinese village-oriented vision of the Tokyo group. As early as 1912, Aiming’s story *Jile di* (A land of paradise) included an image of anarchist society in the utopian style. It was an account of adventure by an old man, who had been disappointed by the

¹¹⁶ Dirlik, Arif, “The path not taken: the anarchist alternative in Chinese socialism, 1921 – 1927”, *International Review of Social History* 34, no. 1 (1989), p. 33.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Hao Chan, in a comparison between Liu Shipei’s and Kang Youwei’s utopianism, concludes that one of the parallels between them is that both forms of utopianism are premised on a total negation of the existing institutional structure of society. However, Liu’s utopianism or vision of a complete society should be characterised by its conditioning through Liu’s approach to real society, which led him to accept the existing institutional social structure to a certain extent. This realistic aspect of Liu’s social vision differs from Kang Youwei’s and the Paris group’s social visions. Hao Chan, *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning, 1890 – 1911*, Taipei: University of California Press, 1987, p. 179.

¹¹⁹ Shifu, “Zhi wuzhengfu dang wanguo dahui shu” (A letter to anarchist international), *Minsheng*, no. 17 (4 July 1914), in SFWC, p. 262.

result of the 1911 revolution. After failure in an uprising, he escaped to an island paradise. His experiences were in effect a critique of Chinese society and expressed a wish for a new society. In the story, the anarchistic society that people were pursuing on the island was described as follows: in this society, land would become communally owned; money would be abolished and government would be eliminated; all countries would become one family without boundaries between countries, races, and classes; all humanity would become brothers and sisters and enjoy happiness with freedom and equality.¹²⁰ Anarchist society was described as a dream in this book, but it fully displayed the essence of anarchism, which Chinese anarchists have continued to uphold ever since.

The Shifu group of anarchists and the Socialist Party proposed similar social visions, which were based on the same fundamental principle that society was composed of individuals without the family. In this respect, their ideal society followed the basic characteristics of the Paris group's ideas. Not only the social structure, but also the picture of anarchist society in future that Shifu described shared many features with that of the Paris group. In a future society, people would not marry, but could have sexual relationships freely. Children would be looked after in public nurseries. Children from the age of six to 20 or 25 would receive their education at public schools. After school, people would engage in work until 45 or 50. After that, people would live in public homes for the aged. Disabled or sick people would be looked after in public hospitals. People would work for two to four hours a day and spend their spare time on studying science to contribute to social progress, on enjoyment of the arts, or on developing their physical or mental abilities. Children would learn Esperanto¹²¹ so that language barriers would be eliminated.¹²²

What did the abolition of the family mean in his plan? Shifu explained it did not mean abandoning parents or wives, but that men and women would live independently, and without binding family relationships.¹²³ But taken in combination with his vision of lifestyle in an anarchist society, it is clear that Shifu meant that a concept of family relationships would no longer exist. Children would not recognise their parents or their

¹²⁰ Aiming, "Jiledi" (The land of paradise), in WZSZX, pp. 343, 345.

¹²¹ About the study of Esperanto and international anarchist relationships, see Miyamoto, Masao, *Ōsugi Sakae to Esuperanto undō* (Ōsugi Sakae and the Esperanto Movement), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1988.

¹²² Shifu, "Wuzhengfu gongchandang zhi mudi yu shouduan" (The aim and means of anarchist communist party), *Minsheng*, no. 19 (18 July 1914), in SFWC, pp. 45 – 47.

¹²³ Shifu, "Da Henchi" (An answer to Henchi), *Minsheng*, no. 10 (16 May 1914), in SFWC, p. 176.

biological brothers and sisters.¹²⁴ It would seem to be impossible to maintain affection between husbands and wives, parents and children in these circumstances. And again, there would be no recognised role of mother in society.

Women's position in anarchist society was not clear in Shifu's vision. Shifu expressed his resentment against social injustice; working people were suffering difficulties while privileged people were enjoying leisure. But he included women in the category of people who were enjoying comfortable lives without working. Government officers, traders, members of the armed forces, lawyers, policemen, slaves, prostitutes, thieves, wanderers, beggars, gangs and half of humanity, women, were categorized as persons useless to society and called idlers. Working people, according to him, were farmers and productive workers. By his social plan and this categorisation, it is clear that Shifu denied women a special role as mothers. However, he nevertheless recognised the importance of the mother's role in educating children in terms of diffusion of anarchism.¹²⁵ His contradictory recognition of women directly reflected his flawed social vision.

The Shifu group seems to have been aware of the utopian nature of their social vision. A published answer to a question about the origin of communism explained the history of communist ideas by citing the utopias of Plato, Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, Morelly, and Étienne Cabet. It also cited historical civilisations, such as the Hebrew and Cretan, and experimental, modern anarchistic communes, such as Aiglemont in France and Oneida in the USA.¹²⁶ The editor referred to those cases as examples of communism, which had abolished private property, practised communal production, and sometimes abolished the family. Interestingly, the editor did not make any critical comments, for example about women's position, and paid attention only to their superficial similarities without regard to essential differences in social principles between anarchist society and other utopias.¹²⁷ In this respect, Shifu's social vision shared the same characteristics as the Paris group and Kang Youwei's *datong* society in terms of women's alienation.

¹²⁴ In an answer to a question about how to avoid incestuous marriage, Shifu answered that nurseries would keep records of children's family backgrounds so that they could know their biological origins. "Da Weijue" (An answer to Weijue), *Minsheng*, no. 21 (2 August 1914), in SFWC, p. 303. This indicates that children's ties with their parents and family members would be broken off.

¹²⁵ Shifu, "Da wuchen" (An answer to Wuchen), *Minsheng*, no. 20 (25 July 1914), in SFWC, p. 292.

¹²⁶ "Da Mingong" (An answer to Mingong), *Minsheng*, no. 24 (15 May 1915), no. 26 (15 June 1915), in SFWC, pp. 9 – 10.

¹²⁷ Japanese women anarchists regarded utopias in quite different ways from Chinese anarchists. They criticised the authoritarian character of those utopias. For example, they felt that individuals in the Chinese utopias would not have the right to make decisions about marriage or reproduction. Individuals were reduced to simply being elements contributing to the prosperity of the state or society.

Anarchist society in the New Culture Movement

Recurring images of anarchist society in different versions frequently appeared around 1920, when anarchists came to have influence on the labour movement. For example, Shengbai wrote a prescription for anarchist society as follows: abolish all governments on the earth, and extinguish all rulers, such as emperors, presidents, officers, and capitalists, and then create an equal, free and altruistic anarchist communist society. People will practise 'from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's needs' without fear of lack of goods, thanks to the development of science. There will be no marriage system. People associate freely. If they have intimate feelings, they will become close; if they lose intimate feelings, they will separate. There are no single men or women. The loved one becomes husband or wife. Because of abolishing the family, selfishness disappears and all people devote themselves to society.

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An anarchist group, Shishe, aimed to create a society in which the means of production and its products would become publicly owned, and private property and money would be abolished. They proposed unions' associations as a substitute for government institutions. They also aimed to abolish the marriage system and to found public nurseries and aged people's homes. They maintained that mutual aid was natural morality and working was a human instinct.¹²⁹ Anarchist society was described through the dual aspects of destruction (abolishing state, race, religion and classes) and creation (practising self-government). In an enlightening story about anarchism in the form of a dialogue, anarchism was *datong zhuyi* (great harmony thought). In this story by Aiming, the family was used as a symbol of anarchist society. "Anarchism makes all people under heaven members of one family. Older people are fathers and mothers, people in the same generation are brothers, and younger people are nephews. People who have just emerged from their mothers' bodies need to be cared for, people of a young age need to serve others, people in their prime need to work and support others, and people in old age need to be comfortable and enjoy happiness. This is reasonable for humanity."¹³⁰ Denying the idea of shared wives, which was connected in the popular mind with anarchism, he explained that anarchists insisted on equality between the

¹²⁸ Shengbai, "Pingmin geming" (The common people's revolution), *Ziyou lu*, no. 2 (May 1918), in WZSZX, pp. 356 – 357.

¹²⁹ Jianchu, "Zemiyang zuodao 'shiyang renlei chuantu shengcun' de yaoqiu" (How to accomplish the requirement for the whole of humanity's subsistence), *Banyue*, no. 16 (15 March 1921), in WZSZX, pp. 531 – 532.

¹³⁰ Aímiao, "Da huaiyi wuzhengfu zhuyi zhe" (Answer to a person who has doubts about anarchism), *Jiniao*, no. 1 (June 1923), in WZSZX, p. 689.

sexes. To unite from love would need the agreement of both parties and should not be forced. Women also had complete personalities. "Men have no right to force women to become their wives. Men and women will unite from genuine love. And then the terms 'husband' and 'wife' will disappear."¹³¹ Interestingly, the author suggested that a way of avoiding jealousy would be for men and women to wear the same clothes so that women would lose their appeal for men.¹³²

Another anarchist proposed "village laws" as a way to achieve anarchist society. The laws would consist of three rules: destroy country, destroy the family and destroy private property.¹³³ Although the author used the form of village laws, the village did not indicate an existing place, but a new village that people would build according to anarchistic principles. This plan can be seen as derived from the new village movement and the working-study movement of 1919 – 1920, but some principles had a similar character to *The Republic* of Plato in terms of controlling people's marriages and lives. This plan was not for building an ideal society within conventional society; it was a simple product of the imagination about an ideal global society. In the new society, people could work and live anywhere on earth, as there would be no boundaries or restrictions on migration. "Reforming society should begin with reforming the family, reforming the family should begin with reforming oneself." Therefore, the planner thought, individuals should be independent in the new society through being detached from their old family and old society.¹³⁴ Men and women should be equal and independent. After reaching 25 years of age, when they would be resident in public housing, they could marry, which would not involve cohabitation, but would require approval of the village conference. Children would stay at nurseries in the daytime, and at their mothers' places at night. Children's fathers would have responsibility for children's financial support, and mothers would be charged with caring for children. They would receive 16 years of education from the age of six to 21 at a public school. They would follow a work-study program to support themselves. After finishing school, people would begin working for 30 years, and then from 60 people would live in aged people's houses and help to care for orphans. The sick, and pregnant women, would stay at public hospitals.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 691.

¹³² Ibid., p. 691.

¹³³ Xuyi, "Rensheng dahui lianxiang zizhi fa" (The law of self-government for people's lives and a federation of villages), *Xuehui*, no. 64 (15 December 1922), pp. 4 – 5, no. 65 (16 December 1922), pp. 5 – 6, no. 66 (17 December 1922), pp. 5 – 6.

¹³⁴ Xuyi, "Rensheng dahui lianxiang zizhi fa," *Xuehui*, no. 64 (15 December 1922), p. 5.

¹³⁵ Xuyi, "Rensheng dahui lianxiang zizhi fa," *Xuehui*, no. 65 (16 December 1922), pp. 5 – 6.

An interesting aspect of this plan is that the expenses for children and aged parents were to be paid by the fathers of the children and by children of aged persons, although people wouldn't live together as families. In exceptional cases, such as when fathers died or could not pay for some reason, or when people didn't have children, the expense would be met from public funds. In society, "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need" would be the principle, but labour tickets were still to be used as an exchange unit in a transitional period in order to measure labour value.

Some young anarchists who could not be satisfied with these utopia-like stories showed their frustration in their criticism of Wu Zhihui's 1907 description of anarchist society. For one young anarchist, it was, "if not a Chinese bookworm's dream, then a fantasy of Saint-Simon in the 18th century"¹³⁶. It was because he thought, "the relationship between the social situation and humanity is defined by the conditions of production. Therefore the scientific anarchist can never describe future society in detail, but only indicate the direction of a new society and possible social systems." This critique could be applied to other contemporary visions of an anarchist society, which did not show basic differences in nature from the images first formulated in 1907. These out-worn images were indicative of anarchists' inability to develop anarchism in theory and to apply anarchism to Chinese society in practice. This situation of stagnation, which was not only evident in failed attempts to create anarchist organizations but was also embodied in utopian anarchist stories, could not help but frustrate young anarchists who hoped to deepen and push forward the anarchist movement.

Furthermore, these stories indicate that Chinese anarchists remained encumbered with the principle of destroying the family as the essence of anarchism. Their persistence in rejecting the family system defined their radical stance on social reform and, at the same time, was one of the causes of their stagnation and decline. This was because they could not develop the principle of destruction of the family or abolition of the family in the context of reality. The practical measures they proposed of communes and mutual aid groups were formulated in line with this principle. Thus they hoped to create a society based on principles unacceptable to society at large. In the contemporary current of seeking the new family for the new society within the New Culture Movement, anarchists' unwavering stance on the family revolution and abolition of the family led them into deadlock.

¹³⁶ Jia Wei, "Wu Zhihui de wuzhengfu zhuyi" (Wu Zhihui's anarchism), *Minzhong*, nos. 14 – 15 (1 October 1926), in WZSZX, pp. 790 – 791.

Anarchism in a Chinese farming village

It seems natural that once anarchists got away from the family revolution, they could more easily talk about anarchism in the context of Chinese society.¹³⁷ The approach of the Tokyo group to rural anarchism had always been latent in Chinese anarchist discourse. A pamphlet of 1919 addressed to farmers was an example of a more active approach which still showed a radical attitude toward the family system in the New Culture Movement. The pamphlet "What soldiers should know" was written in accordance with peasant feelings and customs and their view of the family, which the Paris group had strongly rejected, such as ancestor worship and the concept of filial piety.¹³⁸ And in the pamphlet, an anarchist society for peasants was characterised as: Land that produces all valuable goods should be communally owned; all goods in the world, which were produced by the combined power of the people in the past and present, should be consumed by all; all things should be equal in attitudes by man towards man, woman towards woman, woman towards man, and man towards woman; nobody cheats anybody; all things should be managed by people's consultation.¹³⁹

This picture is hardly any different from Japanese anarchists' pictures of anarchist society in rural areas at that time. The family in farming villages had a different meaning for peasants from its meaning for the Paris group. The author of this pamphlet did not mention anarchist elements in farming villages, but presumed an anarchist society there. This was a different approach to anarchist society from the utopian approach: the new society was set within the old society. Anarchists could not make an overall denial of conventional society, and could make only a partial negation of the existing social system.

Their call to peasants was in line with Chinese anarchists' perception of Chinese society as anarchistic. Chinese anarchists continued to cite an ancient peasant song as evidence of a traditionally anarchistic lifestyle of Chinese villagers.¹⁴⁰ In a debate between anarchists and persons who tended toward Marxism about the characteristics of Chinese people and society, anarchists insisted on the anarchistic characteristics of the Chinese. In an article "Anarchism and China," Taipo that insisted anarchism was

¹³⁷ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi sichao*, pp. 320 – 327.

¹³⁸ Li Desheng, *Binshi xu zhi*, in WZSZX, pp. 390, 391.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

¹⁴⁰ Sanbo, "Wo de shehui geming de yijian" (My opinion about social revolution), *Xuehui*, no. 62 (13 December 1922), no. 63 (14 December 1922), in WZSZX, pp. 637 – 641; Xuantian, "Wang xiangcun qu" (Going to the village), *Xuehui*, nos. 73 (25 December 1922), pp. 2 – 4, no. 74 (27 December 1922), pp. 2 – 5, no. 75 (28 December 1922), pp. 2 – 3; Taipu "Taipu da Cuntong de xin" (Taipu's answer to Cuntong), *Juewu*, (18 May 1921), in WZSZX, p. 522; Taipu, "Zhe Chen Duxiu xiansheng" (Question to Chen Duxiu), *Juewu* (27 June 1921), in WZSZX, p. 526.

naturally suitable for Chinese. This was because, Taipo argued, Chinese had never had government in history, and formerly never had a concept of politics and law. In successive Chinese dynasties, one family had occupied a parasitic position. And recent governments had done nothing but plunder money from the people. In addition, the Chinese had special characteristics of being the most modest, peace loving, and genial people in the world, and were therefore qualified to be free people in an anarchist society.¹⁴¹ Taipo insisted that it was not Marxism with its centralization of administrative power, but anarchism that was suitable for the national character of China, and that Chinese history was a history of anarchism. He concluded that to practise anarchism in Chinese society did not mean creating a new system, but tidying up the present situation to go with the current in the rest of the world.¹⁴² Taipo's argument basically followed Liu Shipai's view of Chinese society, but did not mention negative aspects of Chinese society, which Liu had included.

More particularly, anarchists directed their attention to the rural areas. For Xuantian, Guihui in Guizhou was an uncivilised place, but it displayed a simple and honest character in contrast to the civilized and corrupt city. He called on anarchists to realize a heaven on earth through "destroy[ing] city civilization and replace[ing] it with village or forest civilization."¹⁴³ Guihui was a place unpolluted by "modern material civilization." The soil was very productive, and a small number of residents lived on farming and had abundant crops every year. Villagers provided wayfarers with lodging and food indiscriminately as if they were a big family, which made a clear contrast with the family in the city without humane feelings.¹⁴⁴ Based on his observations, Xuantian examined why anarchism was suited to China. He followed the conventional interpretation of China: the Chinese had never had state, government, politics, or laws in their history. Governments had only existed for tax and conscription. Chinese loved freedom, and were rich in the ability to govern themselves. They were moderate, pacific and amiable. These special characteristics qualified Chinese to be free people living in an anarchist society.¹⁴⁵ He emphasised the nature of peasants, and more generally of Chinese peasants. Thus Xuantian rejected Bolshevik government and preferred instead the activities of the Green Guards in Russia as an alternative model for a future Chinese

¹⁴¹ Taipo, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi he Zhongguo" (Anarchism and China), *Ziyou*, no. 1 (December 1920), in WZSZX, pp. 496 – 497.

¹⁴² Taipo, "Taipo da Cuntong de xin" (Taipo's response to Cuntong), *Juewu*, (18 May 1921), in WZSZX, pp. 522 – 523.

¹⁴³ Xuantian, "Wang xiangcun qu" (Go to the village), *Xuehui*, no. 73 (25 December 1922), p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Xuantian, *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ Xuantian, "Wang xiangcun qu" (Go to the village), *Xuehui*, no. 74 (27 December 1922), p. 3.

revolution. The Green Guards had struggled against both the Red and White (Czarist) forces in order to build a new society from peasants' free associations.¹⁴⁶

Like Liu Shiwei, Wei Huilin recognised anarchistic systems in rural areas, and also believed that China as an innately anarchistic nation was rich in the instincts of autonomy and mutual aid. As examples, he mentioned general village customs, such as meetings (*cunmin huiyi*) that were called to take the necessary measures to protect the village from the turmoil of war and natural disasters, and communal works by which each household provided a man to help the harvest of all other households in turn at the harvest season. There were also federations of several villages for mutual aid, protection and recreation.¹⁴⁷ Every village had positions called *cunshou* (head of the village community),¹⁴⁸ which were also called *sheshou*, *zhishi*, or *xiangyue*,¹⁴⁹ who were appointed through the autonomous choice of villagers. The positions were voluntary and embodied communal spirit without private interest. Villages also had other systems, such as *xisuhui* (association for mediation of disputes) and *gongcang* (communal storehouse).¹⁵⁰ "Below the level of prefecture, original good qualities have not been influenced by bad systems. These organizations could be the base for our ideal society—anarchist society."¹⁵¹ In addition, the Chinese ruling class and capitalism had not developed enough to damage farmers severely, unlike in the West and in Japan. Therefore Chinese farmers, once awoken, could build self-governing organizations. For these reasons, Huilin concluded that China was the only place where anarchism could be realised.

This tendency to perceive Chinese society as underlyingly anarchistic coexisted with retrospective interpretations of anarchism within traditional thought. As on earlier

¹⁴⁶ Japanese anarchists also had an interest in Makhno's movement in Ukraine as an anarchist movement. See Ōsugi Sakae, "Rosia no museifu shugi undō" (Anarchist movement in Russia), in *Museifu shugisha no mita rosia kakumei* (Russian revolution in the eyes of an anarchist), Tokyo: Sōbun kaku, 1922, in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 6, pp. 131 – 153, "Museifu shōgun: Nesutoru Mafuno" (The anarchist general: Nestor Makhno), *Kaizō*, no. 9 (September 1923), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 6, pp. 154 – 175. And Ishikawa Sanshirō, "Mafuno no nōmin undō" (Makhno's farmers' movement), *Rōdō undō* 5, nos. 2 – 5, 8 (February – May, August 1927), in *Ishikawa chosakushū*, vol. 5, pp. 331 – 379.

¹⁴⁷ Feizi (Wei Huilin), "Cong zizhi chufa de geming yundong" (Revolution beginning with self-government), *Xuehui*, nos. 177 – 180 (24 – 27 April 1923), in WZSZX, pp. 669 – 670.

¹⁴⁸ *She*'s original meaning was the god of a region. When people began agriculture and settled down in a place, they worshipped the god of the region as the guardian god, which was called *she*. It occupied the centre of the village, which was also called *she*. *She* was a naturally formatted village. One *she* consisted of about 25 households. *Cun* was also a name of a natural formatted village, which came to have the function of an administrative unit from the Tang dynasty. In this article, *cunshou*, *shetou*, *zhishi* and *xiangyue* mean the head of a village community.

¹⁴⁹ *Xiang* was an administrative unit, which had a population of less than 50,000 in the Qing dynasty. *Xiangyue* was a village headman who was in charge of collecting taxes and managing public affairs.

¹⁵⁰ This was a communal store of provisions. The system was managed by the *sheshou* and was used to help farmers in disaster areas.

¹⁵¹ Feizi, "Cong zizhi chufa de 'geming yundong.'" in WZSZX, pp. 669 – 670.

occasions, the Chinese philosophers Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Xu Xing were invoked as persons who had advocated anarchism in China long before modern Western anarchists.¹⁵² Zhu Qianzhi (1899 – 1973) also claimed that ideal Confucian politics was really anarchism in his “New Confucianism.”¹⁵³ According to Zhu’s interpretation, the essence of Confucianism was insistence on sacred free love in men’s and women’s equal relationship, and “Wu wei er zhi” (To govern by letting nature take its course). Zhu developed a picture of anarchist society based on traditional thought, the Book of Rites and the Analects of Confucius, in *Datong gongchan zhuyi* (The thought of great uniting communism) in 1927. In this book, he adopted the ‘nine squares’ system for his ideal agriculture-centred anarchist society.¹⁵⁴ Zhu Qianzhi’s idea about a great harmonious communism, comparing anarchism to Chinese communistic social customs and thought in history, was similar to that of Liu Shiwei. This tendency towards indigenous anarchism can be seen as a nationalist tendency, but also as a fitting approach to Chinese society. The same tendency existed among Japanese anarchists.

Even Li Shizeng, who rejected the comparison between modern Western anarchism and Chinese ancient philosophy, came to admit that there were some similarities between the thought of Lao-Zhuang and Western anarchism in the context of collaboration with the Guomindang. Citing Sun Zhongshan’s comment that Western anarchism was nothing but the theory of the Chinese Laozi, Li also regarded Tolstoy, French anarchist Elisée Reclus and other Western anarchists as similar to Daoists.¹⁵⁵ The problem is that his change of attitude was not in order to approach closer to real society, but to rationalise his own cooperation with the GMD and his compromise with conventional politics.

However some anarchists rejected the interpretation of modern anarchism in Western thought by means of Chinese traditional philosophy or customs, and were against joining the GMD. For example, Feigan (Bajin), who recognised anarchism as a modern concept that had appeared after the industrial revolution, rejected the view that Laozi and Zhuangzi had been anarchists. This was because that age of Laozi and Zhuangzi could not have produced modern anarchist concepts.¹⁵⁶ Feigan and others

¹⁵² Wuxu, “Zhongguo gudai wuzhengfu zhuyi sixiang zhi yibi” (Chinese ancient anarchist thought), *Xuehui*, nos. 138 – 139, (14 – 15 March 1923), in *ZWZZX*, pp. 404 – 409.

¹⁵³ Jianzhi, “Shicen” (A correspondence with Shicen), *Minduo* 4, no. 4 (1 June 1923), pp. 1 – 3 (correspondence).

¹⁵⁴ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *Chongguo jindai de wuzhengfu zhuyi sichao* (Anarchism in modern China), pp. 323 – 326.

¹⁵⁵ Li Shizeng, “Zhengzhi zhaxue zhong zhi dangpai guang” (View on schools of political philosophy), *Geming zhoubao*, no. 24 (9 October 1927), in *WZSZX*, pp. 816 – 819.

¹⁵⁶ Feigan, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi yu shiji wenti* (Anarchism and real problems), 1927, in *WZSZX*, p. 831.

were struggling for the survival of anarchism under more and more difficult conditions.

The Chinese anarchists' abstract perception of the village community as the site for anarchist society was associated with their naïve idealistic image of rural areas: rural areas were home to simple and warm-hearted communities in which people were practising mutual aid. This was the reverse of their feelings of hatred for urban society. The anarchist Hualin (1889? – 1980)¹⁵⁷ pictured rural life as a life of truth and equality compared with urban life. He believed that a new village in such a rural area could be a model for a future anarchist society. The village would provide public facilities, such as nurseries, kindergartens, aged homes, schools, factories, and farms.¹⁵⁸ When Hualin described the village as a desirable place for the exercise of revolution and education, he only talked about his impression of the villages, and did not analyse aspects of political control or the basic nature of village life.¹⁵⁹ This impressionistic approach to rural society included an uncritical view of existing social systems including the family and clan system. Plans for a "peasants' revolution" were formulated on the basis of this assumption that farming villages were societies that had a potential to become true anarchist societies.

Besides these abstract arguments, Wei Huilin urged Chinese anarchists to take a practical approach to understand people's real lives. Regarding Chinese peasants, who were 'half-primitive' people, Huilin referred to good and evil elements in their lives; while there existed some beneficial communal systems, such as *cunshu* and *gongcang* in farming villages, polytheism, beliefs in ghosts, fatalism and various negative customs were also strongly entrenched in peasants' minds, and they were the roots of peasants' conservative outlook.¹⁶⁰ Huilin appealed to anarchists to go to the people in order to gain a deeper understanding of the people's lives and a realistic view of social revolution.¹⁶¹

Huilin's suggestions were appropriate enough in terms of the direction the anarchist movement needed to take. However, compared with the CCP's grasp of the problems of Chinese peasants, for example, Mao Zedong's series of articles¹⁶² about

¹⁵⁷ After studying in France, he held posts of professor at various art schools. He wrote prose, essays, and poems in the 1920s.

¹⁵⁸ Hualin, "Xiangcun jiaoyu" (Education in villages), *Laodong* 1, no. 4.

¹⁵⁹ Hualin, "Xiangcun shenghuo" (Life in villages), *Kuye ji* (Dead leaves), Shanghai: Taidong tushuju, 1924, in Genton, vol. 12, pp. 45 – 47.

¹⁶⁰ Huilin, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi yu shehui shishi" (Anarchism and social facts), *Minzhong* 2, nos. 6 – 7 (25 July 1927), p. 433. (reprint copied bound together in one volume)

¹⁶¹ Huilin, *ibid.*, p. 435.

¹⁶² Mao Zedong, "Zhongguo nongmin zhong ge jieji de fenshi ji qi dui geming de taidu" (Analysis of classes among farmers and their attitudes toward revolution), *Zhongguo nongmin*, no. 1 (January 1926) in *Minshu no dairengō—Mō Takutō shōki chosakushū* (The great union of the popular mass: early works of

rural areas at almost the same time, Huilin's remarks were superficial comments. The anarchists had never carried out a detailed examination of the nature of the village community and its dual social system: self-regulating systems at the lower level and the official government system at the higher level. They had not analysed the extent that officialdom reached down to the villages¹⁶³ and the practical meaning of 'autonomous community' under the existing system.¹⁶⁴ Anarchists' expectations of creating an anarchist society in rural areas were nothing but wishful hopes and no more realistic than Liu Shipai's vision of adapting naturally-occurring anarchism in villages.

Conclusion

Japanese and Chinese anarchists imagined a diversity of anarchist societies. However, anarchist proposals can be categorized into two main types of society, mainly by reference to their structural differences: societies with families and societies without families. The model of a society based on indigenous anarchism in villages, as advocated by Japanese anarchists and by the main figures of the Tokyo Chinese anarchist group, belongs to the former. The society envisaged by the Paris Chinese anarchists and by fellow anarchists in China belongs to the latter. The different structures are associated with different concepts of interpersonal relationships. The former were to keep relationships based on blood ties (father-son or mother-children), while the latter intended to eliminate recognition of blood ties. These two types of societies reflect differences in anarchists' perception of the family, either to be retained, but as a core of social reform, or as an authoritarian system to be destroyed as a condition of social reform. They also differed in their target area: rural area or urban area.

A society retaining the family, based on restoring anarchistic elements in the village, was to be created on the foundations of existing society. The family would be a fundamental unit of such a society, and communal systems would continue to exist. However the new society would not be simply a restoration of old society, but should be

Mao Zedong), Takeuchi Minoru and Wada Takeshi, eds., Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 171 – 203; "Hunan nongmin yundong shicha baogao" (Report on the investigation of the peasant movement in Hunan), *Xiangdao*, no. 191 (12 March 1927), *ibid.*, pp. 225 – 277.

¹⁶³ About the confrontation between the state and society, see introductory chapter 2 in Matsumoto Yoshimi, *Chūgoku sonraku seido no shiteki kenkyū* (A historical study of village system in China), Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977.

¹⁶⁴ Chen Lisong, *Yijiu siji qian chaozhou zongzu cunluo shequ de yanjiu* (A Study of the Clan Village Community in Chaozhou before 1949), Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995; Duara, Prasenjit, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900 – 1942*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

a recreation of community with progressive elements including anarchist principles and advanced science and technology. Anarchists with this social vision were not completely divorced from real society. But there was always a risk that the new community might continue to have negative aspects. Without a process of critique or rejection of existing negative (dehumanising and oppressive) elements, and choice of positive elements (respecting human dignity) in traditional thought and value systems, the new society could be easily reduced to the former oppressive pattern. On the other hand, the essence of society without the family is that, after a complete denial of existing communal arrangements, a new community should be created based on free individuals, who were free from conventional social organizations including the family. It would be a way of eliminating exclusive, chauvinistic, and uncommunicative characteristics in the existing community, and of newly creating a community on the basis of anarchism according to individual free will. The means of abolishing negative aspects of existing society included physical destruction (destruction of systems, such as the state and the family) and iconoclasm (destruction of authority and Confucian ethics). But anarchists with this social vision would have serious difficulty in forming any model that approached a workable, functioning society.

In the next chapter I will examine practical anarchist experiences and anarchist social movements mainly from the viewpoint of the family.

Chapter 6 The Individual and the Family in Practice

Three aspects are examined in this chapter: the relationship between individual anarchists and between anarchists and their families, personal relationships within anarchist groups, and the position of the family in anarchist practice. Anarchism is a way of thought that requires individual anarchists to change their consciousness and their way of living. Therefore, when anarchists wanted to be faithful to their beliefs, their acts could be likely to cause friction with their social surroundings, which were ruled by different principles. Regardless of their positive or negative evaluation of the family, this friction existed and had to be dealt with.

6.1 The individual, anarchist groups, and the anarchist movement in Japan

‘Free love’ as revolt against the family and society

Revolt against the family was often associated with ‘free love.’ ‘Free love’, which did not follow the conventional path to marriage, made a revolt, but against what? Was it simply against the family system? The relationship between Kōtoku Shūsui and Kanno Suga was a notable case, contrary not only to family ethics and social norms, but also to colleagues’ expectations. When he began to live with Kanno, Kōtoku divorced his earlier wife for the reason that she did not deserve to be the wife of a revolutionary.¹ Kanno and socialist Arahata Kanson had previously made a common-law marriage and lived together, but they had separated before Arahata went to prison, and for Kanno it was the end of their relationship. There should have been no obstacles to Kōtoku and Kanno’s cohabitation, even according to most conventional ideas. Nevertheless, almost all their colleagues denounced them; Kanno for being unfaithful to Arahata, and Kōtoku for depriving a rank-and-file member of his lover.² Though socialists and anarchists insisted that marriage should be based only on true

¹ Kōtoku Shūsui, “Matsumoto Sugako ate” (A letter to Matsumoto Sugako) (2 January 1910), in *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 9, pp. 414 – 415.

² Kanno was described as an enchantress or a loose woman, without serious recognition of her writings. Her unfair image was, at first, created by Arahata Kanson’s one-sided comment about her, and then fixed in the writings of some researchers. This image has been amplified by repeated quotation of Arahata and researchers. Ōya Wataru examines how such an image of Kanno was invented in the details. Ōya Wataru. *Kanno Suga to Ishinokami Tsuyuko* (Kanno Suga and Ishinokami Tsuyuko), Osaka: Yōhō shuppan, 1989.

love or approved free love without the forms of marriage, they could not accept unconventional forms of love or expression of 'free love' that did not fit their view of 'free love.'³

Kōtoku's behaviour hurt not only his mother, his former wife, and his relatives, but also his colleagues. Only a few comrades refrained from denouncing them out of support for free love or their belief that their relationship was a private matter. Ishikawa Sanshirō and Tsuihiji Nakasuke were among those few sympathisers. Tsuihiji, who was close to them at that time, wrote in his memoirs, "Free love should respect women's will. Even socialists who sought the emancipation of oppressed classes could not understand this reason. I was ashamed of them!"⁴ Tsuihiji's comment is simple and respected Kanno's decision, a fact that was easily ignored. The affair of Kōtoku and Kanno affected morale in the socialist/anarchist camp through comrades' breaking off contact with them. Kōtoku and Kanno were forced to give up their magazine *Jiyū shisō* due to the government's harsh regime and because they received no support from colleagues. This result, though caused mainly by conflict within the socialists over the terms of acceptable morality, was also desirable for the government in its intention to suppress the socialist movement.⁵

Another famous case was Ōsugi Sakae's behaviour in a so-called "quadrilateral relationship," in which Ōsugi had relationships not only with his wife Hori Yasuko, but also with a journalist Kamichika Ichiko and with Itō Noe.⁶ He thus became a target of condemnation, not only by the public but also by other radicals including anarchists. This incident led to Ōsugi and Itō being isolated from other anarchists. This is another case in which anarchist transgression of conventional norms was manifested through an individual's struggle for 'free love,' but was not accepted by other anarchists.

³ *Asahi shinbun* described the relationship between Kōtoku and Kanno as "Kanno's wife lived with Shūsui" and reported that people who even had the same thought [socialism] disapproved of it, but Shūsui did not listen to them because he was practising his belief in 'free thought.' *Asahi shinbun no kiji nimiru ren'ai to kekkon [Meiji/Taishō]*. 199. This article indicates that socialists' attitude toward unconventional forms of love was no different from conventional attitudes and the isolation of Kōtoku was obvious even to in the public eye.

⁴ Tsuihiji Nakasuke, "Heimin sha kaisōroku dai nikai, Kōtoku jiken no ikinokori toshite" (Reminiscences of *Heiminsha* no. 2: as a survivor of the Kōtoku Incident), *Rōdō undōshi kenkyū*, no. 16 (1959), p. 19.

⁵ Mukai Kō points out that false rumours about their relationship might have been spread by unreliable persons. One problem was that the socialist movement was so weak at that time that it could not withstand such libelous attacks. In addition, Kōtoku and Kanno's case was a suitable bait to cause a split in the socialist camp because socialists were vacillating between new and conventional morality. Mukai Kō, "Taigyaku jiken no shūhen de" (The circumstances of the High Treason Incident), *Chokusetsu kōdō*, no. 2 (1976), pp. 71 – 72, 82 – 83.

⁶ This problematic affair resulted in the Hikage chaya Incident, in which Kamichika stabbed Ōsugi in an inn. After the incident, Kamichika was sentenced to penal servitude, and Hori divorced Ōsugi.

Other socialists/anarchists regarded the two couples' behaviour as immoral. Moral meant not autonomous but heteronomous morality based on popular feelings. They judged the couples not by morality based on socialism/anarchism but by conventional morality, and their judgment reflected on the social activities of socialism/anarchism. From this point, the two couple's behaviour can be perceived as a revolt against social norms that deeply dominated people including socialists/anarchists.

However, socialism/anarchism was not only expressed through such love affairs. Kōtoku's life embodied his effort to change his lifestyle according to his faith. Kōtoku's behaviour is often criticised as showing his traditional morality regarding women. But a woman's impression of Kōtoku in San Francisco conveys a different aspect of his personality. Yoneda, who got know to Kōtoku in San Francisco when Kōtoku visited there, recalled, "I heard that Kōtoku had shown 'feudal' behaviour⁷ in his relationships with women in Japan. But he was a polite gentleman in the USA." "Kōtoku admitted women's superiority here."⁸ He did not intend to discard the past, but intended to change himself toward a desirable form, even though he might not succeed. On the other hand, in Ōsugi's case, we cannot say his behaviour betrayed his beliefs. Rather he impatiently put his ideals into practice in a naïve form.

However, the revolt of anarchist couples against the family and conventional morality, and the practice of free love, often resulted in a rather conventional outcome: family-creation. Ōsugi and Itō constructed a new kind of relationship between husband and wife based on comradeship, and a form of the family different from their own previous families. Their family life was irrelevant to the legal system; they did not register their marriage, and did not even have their children's names entered in the family register. Ōsugi openly showed his affection for his daughter. His unconventional behaviour, such as washing the clothes of his wife and children, impressed people. Itō tried to be a comrade of Ōsugi as well as being a wife. Their marriage and married life were inseparable from their belief in anarchism.

Those anarchists who dared to practise the 'free love' which they advocated often paid a painful price in friction with society and even colleagues. Their cases

⁷ Kōtoku unilaterally ended his first marriage by sending a letter of divorce to his bride while she was visiting her old home. He excused his behaviour on the ground that the bride was less enticing than the photograph that he had been shown of her before marriage. In addition, his married behaviour included visits to brothels on both wedding nights of his two marriages. See F. G. Notehelfer, *Kōtoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical*, pp. 36 – 38.

⁸ Yoneda Kāru, "Kōtoku Shūsui no zaibei jidai" (Kōtoku Shūsui's days in the USA), in a supplement to *Kōtoku zenshū*, vol. 7, pp. 1 – 3. This sketch of him supports Ōhara's opinion about Kōtoku that after he became a socialist, he made efforts to change his attitude to life. Ōhara Satoshi, *Kōtoku Shūsui no shisō to taigyaku jiken* (The thought of Kōtoku Shūsui and the High Treason Incident), Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1977, p. 46.

sometimes became famous due to their prominent positions in the anarchist camp, but other less famous or nameless anarchists also practised their own ways of marriage without public advocacy. In many cases, 'free love' simply meant marriage for love. Watanabe Masatarō and Wakabayashi Yayo, his cousin, had known each other from their childhood and became attached to each other through the experience of working together in an orphanage, and married without registration.⁹ They lived in poverty but were devoted to the social movement. Watanabe held a study society at their house that produced prominent labour activists. Yayo supported him by dressmaking. Their relationship to each other can also be described as both 'husband and wife' and 'comrades.'¹⁰

The relationship between Kaneko Fumiko and Korean nihilist Pak Yol was based on their shared beliefs. When they began living together, Kaneko's demands of Pak were as follows: live with her as a comrade; get rid of the idea that she was a woman in the movement; if one party became corrupt and compromised with the authorities, dissolve their cohabitation; and both work together in the movement for their ideals.¹¹ She regarded the relationship with Pak as a union of comrades. They did not register their marriage.¹² She refused to be treated as one of a weaker sex. She rejected the relationship of slave and master, and only approved an interpersonal relationship between equal individuals who had equal value and rights.¹³

Marriage for love was not unusual among younger anarchists and worker activists. Yamaguchi Kensuke, who was a printer, recalled that comrades who united for political activities were hot-blooded young men, always in turmoil about falling in love with somebody, loving somebody, or being disliked by somebody. There were many couples who were both workers and union activists. For example, Komatsu Kiyokichi met Hatsu at his office. His comrades asked her parents to give them permission to marry, but her parents did not permit it. Therefore his comrades planned a 'plunder marriage' (*ryakudatsu kekkon*)¹⁴ for Komatsu and Hatsu so that they could marry.¹⁵

⁹ Tada Shigeji, *Taishō anakisuto no yume—Watanabe Masatarō to sono jidai*. (Dream of a Taishō anarchist: Watanabe Masatarō and the era). Tokyo: Tsukushi sha, 1992, p. 17.

¹⁰ Yayo could not fully understand Watanabe's socialist activity at first, but soon devotedly supported him. Katō Yoshio, "Wakabayashi Yayo no koto" (About Wakabayashi Yayo), *Le Libertaire* 11, no. 5 (15 April 1978), pp. 10–11.

¹¹ "Boku Retsu Fumiko jiken shuyō chōsho," in *Anākizumu*. Komatsu, ed., p. 201.

¹² After they were arrested, they married in gaol in 1925. This meant that Pak's relatives could take Kaneko's body after she was executed. About the situation of their marriage, see Yamada Shōji, *Kaneko Fumiko—Jiko, Tennōsei, Chōsenjin*, pp. 201–203.

¹³ Kaneko Fumiko, "Ateaki fumei nengappi fumei" (A letter to an unknown address, unknown date), in Yamada Shōji, *Kaneko Fumiko*, p. 329.

¹⁴ Ōtsuka and other comrades followed a process whereby a woman was forcibly married in order to help Hatsu marry Komatsu without her parents' permission.

Student activist Nakanomyō Kōriki was disinherited by his father because he devoted himself to the social movement. Nakanomyō married Akizuki Shizue, who became a member of *Sekiran kai* (the Red Wave association) for women socialists, without undertaking legal registration.¹⁶

Some anarchists married prostitutes in order to help them escape from their brothels. There was a system, so-called 'free close of business' (*jiyū haigyō*), which enabled prostitutes to give up their profession by repaying their debts. Anarchists married them and promised their owners to repay their debts. This was actually a pretext for the prostitutes to leave their owner, since the anarchists did not have money but ran away with them. The owners employed gangs to prevent the prostitutes from escaping and to chase the escapees, so anarchists risked injury or even death. Liberation of prostitutes was a common concept of anarchists in the 1920s. There was no conventional concept of marriage involved in this activity. But some anarchists who loved or had sympathy with prostitutes dared to take this step. Anarchists, who often came from poor families, recognised prostitutes not as objects of pity or disdain, but as fellow human beings.

Anarchists' lives indicate that many anarchists managed to marry and have families based on their own choice. Though many anarchists settled down with a conventional marriage and family, the inner nature of their marriage and family was often different from a conventional one. Many cases show that anarchists naturally intended to create a relationship between the sexes according to their belief in anarchism. Male anarchists were not necessarily indifferent to women's problems. When Komatsu Kiyokichi stayed at Yasuda Riki's house, Yasuda was touched by Komatsu's behaviour. During a meal, she was secretly putting burnt rice into her own rice bowl when Komatsu noticed it and said, "Riki-san, it was in the old days that only women ate burnt rice. Now men have it as well. Our movement is for the present time, isn't it? Please put some in my rice bowl." Yasuda recalled at that time, if a man found burnt rice in his rice bowl, he would throw away his bowl in anger.¹⁷ If Komatsu had not thought about the equality of the sexes in actual life, he would not have noticed such trivial matters. But he could express the idea of equality of the sexes in a natural manner. There was an atmosphere in the anarchist camp which encouraged him to

¹⁵ Ōtsuka Noboru, "Shizuoka jidai—Hatsu san no koto" (Days of Shizuoka: about Hatsu-san), in *Hangyaku shō*, p. 28

¹⁶ Komatsu Ryūji, "Aru wasure rareta shakai undōka no koto—Nakanomyō Kōriki no shōgai to jiseki" (Life and thought of a forgotten anarchist: Kōriki Nakanomyō), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 80, no. 2 (June 1987), pp. 56, 60.

¹⁷ Yasuda Riki, "Nara Hattori no koro" (The days in Nara Hattori), in *Hangyaku shō*, p. 25.

naturally think about equality in this way. Japanese anarchists did not adhere to fixed concepts of the family system and tended to reject it overall; they created their own lives according to their ideas about desirable forms of behaviour. For them, the conventional family system did not have substantial meaning.

Personal relationships in anarchist groups

Anarchists often formed groups consisting of small numbers of people as their base of activities. Ōsugi, Itō and other anarchists around them, such as Muraki Genjirō (1890 – 1925), Hisaita Unosuke, Wada Kyūtarō and Kondō Kenji formed a group for anarchist activity.¹⁸ There was no clear division between Ōsugi's family life and his anarchist activities. Muraki¹⁹ helped with housework after Itō's childbirth. Ōsugi's daughter Mako was loved by comrades as if she was their own daughter. According to Kondō Kenji's description about their living style at that time, "everybody used money freely, money which was put into a drawer of a cupboard"²⁰. The nature of their communal living was not described as familial, but close personal relationships characterised the group. Matsuda Michio described the nature of the anarchist group as the primary group, and the anarchism in which they believed, as follows:

Almost all of them [anarchists around Ōsugi] had experienced an unfortunate childhood. They had never had a happy "primary group" with their families. They came to Tokyo and were able to have a happy "primary group" around Ōsugi for the first time. They believed that warm personal relationships among "the primary group" could extend to the world if only authority did not disturb it and that, therefore, they had to overthrow conventional authority to achieve this. This is the thought common to all anarchists in the world and that characterises them.²¹

Ōsugi's group was not an organization but a gathering of individual anarchists, united through interpersonal relationships. Kondō's memoir illustrated profiles of anarchists and the close interpersonal relationships among them. Individual personality was important in diffusing anarchism among the people. People often came to believe in anarchism through anarchists' admirable and sincere personalities.

¹⁸ Kondō Kenji, who was a lodger at their house, remembered how he and other lodgers felt at their ease at meals due to Itō's lack of concern about small things. Kondō Kenji, "Itō Noe no koto" (About Itō Noe), in Kondō Kenji, *Ichī museifu shugisha no kaisō*, pp. 119 – 120.

¹⁹ He was involved in the socialist movement through *Heimin sha*. After 1912, he supported Ōsugi as a member of *Rōdō sha* and *Hokufū kai*. In 1924, he attempted to assassinate General Fukuda in revenge for Ōsugi's death, and died during the trial process.

²⁰ Kondō Kenji, *ibid.*, p. 120.

²¹ Matsuda Michio, "Nihon no anakizumu" (Japanese anarchism), in *Anākizumu*, Matsuda Michio ed., Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1963, p. 54.

Such close personal relationships were sometimes compared with feelings among family members. A member of the Guillotine group,²² Furuta Daijirō²³ described his intimate feelings towards his leader Nakahama Tetsu as a child's adoration and reliance on its parents.²⁴ Furthermore he regarded the group as a quasi-family. He described the state of the group as follows; "we are the lonely ones, we left our parents and brothers and sisters, we want to console and encourage each other by affectionate friendship."²⁵ Sharing the same feelings among comrades was very important to him. Furuta's view was not unique. Another member of the group, Kawai Kōzō, had ideas of the same kind about true comrades. Kawai wrote that the mutual trust between comrades was deeply personal, and allowed people to expose their weaknesses and complement each other; it was similar to a husband and wife in love.²⁶ In other words, true comrades meant that a couple of people unified to become one.²⁷ The relationships among comrades were the essence of personal relationships, and, according to Kawai, were of the same nature as genuine personal relationships among family members.

However there were inter-personal conflicts because anarchist groups included people in all sorts of conditions and from all sorts of backgrounds. For example, Itō Noe and Wada Kyūtarō could not get on well. This was a negative aspect of their group. Yamaguchi Kensuke noticed another side to desirable mutual support among comrades. "The feeling among comrades was close, and this supported people in the movement. Therefore, once apostasy or estrangement arose, people sought revenge on betrayers like the strong hatred between close relatives."²⁸ This weakness of comrades' ties based on feelings appeared quite often in the split-up of anarchist camps.

Although anarchist groups had the character of a primary group, it should not be overlooked that the group consisted of individuals acting according to their own free

²² It was founded in 1923 by Nakahama Tetsu and Furuta Daijirō. The group had two purposes: the first one was a commitment to terrorism. The second one was to set up a utopian colony in Mongolia or Manchuria. Akiyama Kiyoshi, *Yasashiki hitobito—Taishō terorisuto no sei to shi* (Tender people: the life and death of Taishō terrorists), Tokyo: Yamato shobō, 1980, p. 60. About the Guillotine sha and members of the society, see Komatsu Ryūji, "Guillotine sha to sono hitobito 1, 2" (The Guillotine-sha and its People's articles 1, 2: Documents of anarchist movement in Japan 1), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 66, nos. 4 – 5 (April, May 1973). Itagaki Tetsuo, *Kindai nihon no anākizumu shisō* (Anarchism in modern Japan), Tokyo: Furukawa Kōbunkan, 1996, pp. 113 – 153.

²³ In gaol, Furuta wrote his thoughts and life as an anarchist and a terrorist. It was published in a book *Shi no zange* (Penitence through death) after he was executed. This book became a best seller.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

²⁶ Kawai Kōzō, "Eiyū ron" (Ideas about hero), in *Anākizumu*, Matsuda, ed., p. 332.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

²⁸ Yamaguchi Kensuke, *Seishun burai* (Tough youth days), Yamaguchi Kazue, ed., Niigata: printed privately, 1983, p. 152.

choice. There was often no centre in the group. Comparing it to a complicated machine, Itō described an anarchist group as follows;

Each part works individually and performs its own task. Each part works on another to some extent, but is not allowed to work on others more than necessary. The outcome of correct functioning of each part appears in a perfect performance. The ideal human group should be like this.²⁹

Her description is a good expression of anarchist principles. Even though Ōsugi was regarded as the central figure in the group and in the anarchist camp, as Itō mentioned, other anarchists did not follow Ōsugi unconditionally, but carried out their tasks of their own free will. An anarchist emphasised the essence of anarchism as: "Anarchism means that a human being lives like a human being." "This should be possible, both as an individual and as member of a group. Cooperation and solidarity result from such circumstances. This allows anarchists to develop their struggle freely, such that A and B struggle jointly for this issue, and A and C, or B and C do so for that issue."³⁰ This flexibility of an anarchist group was based on respecting different individuals and individual free will. Anarchists hoped such personal relationships based on different personalities could expand boundlessly.

However, generalisations are impossible about the character of various anarchist groups. There were diverse life styles among anarchists who came from or occupied different social positions. Yamaguchi conveyed the atmosphere in the anarchist camp in Tokyo, where he went in order to join the anarchist movement and escape from his conservative hometown in 1928.³¹ "Even within the same anarchist body, the group of *yamanote* (the highland section) and the group of *shitamachi* (lowland section)³² are different in character and lifestyle. In addition, there are differences in thought among workers, intellectuals and students, and differences in feeling among workers depending

²⁹ Itō Noe, "Aru tsuma kara ryōjin e" (From a wife to a husband), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, p. 255.

³⁰ Wasada Yoshio, "Nōson Seinen sha o kataru" (Talk about Nōson seinen sha), in *Nōson seinen sha jiken shiryōshū*, vol. 3, p. 141.

³¹ In 1927, he and other anarchists founded the first labour union *Niigata ippan rōdōsha kumiai* (Niigata general labour union) in Niigata prefecture. When he organised a strike in a newspaper company, he was arrested and tortured. After that, people who could not distinguish anarchist (*kuro* or black) from communist (*aka* or red) regarded him as *aka*, and turned their backs on him. In his family, his older brother scolded him for opposition to the emperor. His stepmother also asked him not to trouble the police. This isolated circumstance drove him to go to Tokyo. Yamaguchi Kensuke, *ibid.*, pp. 158 – 160.

³² In Tokyo, the area in the hilly section is called *yamanote*, forming a counterpart to *shitamachi* in lowland section. In the Edo era, the houses of the samurai class, and shrines and temples were located in *yamanote*, while tradesman's houses were mainly located in *shitamachi*. From this historical background, *shitamachi*, in which commerce and industry prosper, is the crowded residence section for commoners, and *yamanote* is a residential area for people of upper or middle class.

on their jobs. Printers [his own occupation] are placed in the middle.”³³ Yamaguchi’s words indicate the diversity of social strata, jobs, and lifestyles of anarchists in the 1920s. When Ōsugi and Itō began living in the working-class Kameido district in 1917 in order to gain a sense of unity with workers, Itō did not hide her feeling that she was out of her place. She could not even use a public well without shrinking before the gaze of “wives of ignorant unrefined workers or, at best, office workers.” She felt hostility from women workers and found it difficult to resist feeling contempt for them although she was trying to become acquainted with them.³⁴ As long as anarchists intended to participate in the labour movement not as leaders but as members, they attempted to stand in the same position as other workers.

Anarchist workers and young activists carried on their own life styles. Labour union activist Enishi Ichizō experienced communal life in Iruki chō (Tokyo) in 1924. Seven or eight people lived communally in the office of the labour union. They were all young people who had left their homes and were devoted to the union movement. They were sticking bills on walls, handing out leaflets, organizing workers, and supporting disputes of associated unions.³⁵ Enishi also recalled his life in *shitamachi* in 1925. *Shitamachi ana* (anarchists in *shitamachi*) were active in the dosshouse district, where day-workers lived. They had a hard life. They could not find jobs because the police were always following them around. Even if they found employment by hiding their background, the police soon interfered by notifying the company and they were fired from their jobs. Therefore, there were only two ways to live: doing day work, which they often failed to get, or committing *ryaku*.³⁶ *Ryaku*, which was named from a title *pan no ryakushu* (the conquest of bread) by Kropotkin, meant practising extortion. Anarchists plundered companies, banks or capitalists of money with the excuse that they were regaining what capitalists had exploited from the proletariat.

This type of anarchist group appeared mainly after the Kantō earthquake of 1923 in Tokyo. Young people came from rural areas to do restoration work in Tokyo. They began communal living and formed small groups to commit various illegal activities, by which young people attempted to put anarchism into practice. The phenomenon shows the expansion of anarchism among workers, including printers and day workers,

³³ Yamaguchi Kensuke, *ibid.*, p. 171.

³⁴ Itō Noe, “Kaikyū teki hankan” (Class antipathy), *Bunmei hihyō*, (February 1918), in *Itō zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 29, 32.

³⁵ Enishi Ichizō, *ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

newspaper deliverers, and pedlars,³⁷ and the appearance of a new style of anarchist activities. This kind of lifestyle could have the positive aspect of revitalising anarchism and anti-conventional morality. However, anarchist communal living supported by *ryaku* also had a negative aspect.

Anarchist Yamaguchi Kensuke described two different lifestyles of anarchists in Niigata prefecture in the late 1920s. Some anarchists founded anarchist groups, which usually published newspapers or magazines, or lived on *ryaku*. Persons who could not even do *ryaku* lived off comrades, lacking the will to work. Those who lived on *ryaku* often indulged in drinking and buying prostitutes while they were talking big about revolution. Yamaguchi criticised them as having radical ideology but being failures in life and unable to understand the life of lower workers. On the other hand, many anarchist leaders of labour unions had steady lives with jobs and families. They were not wealthy, but willing to support the unemployed in the spirit of mutual aid. Such support was based on mutual aid and mutual love, so that those who gave and those who received did not have a sense of patronage or indebtedness.³⁸ Wasada Yoshio, who became a member of Nōson seinen sha³⁹ and later explained socialist activities, undertook *ryaku* because of a lack of funds for the campaign. But he doubted whether anarchists whose lives were solely based on *ryaku* could sincerely desire the revolution.⁴⁰ Such behaviour was connected with the low reputation of anarchism itself. This kind of lifestyle was not accepted by those anarchists and workers who supported themselves.⁴¹

There was another problem for women with the lifestyle involved in communal living and the lives of wandering anarchists. This is shown by the experience of Suzuki Yasuyuki and his wife. Suzuki, who became a main figure of the Nōson seinen sha movement, was a student of Waseda University when he began anarchist activities, living with his family—his wife, mother-in-law and his young daughter. After completing conscription, he resumed anarchist activities in 1930. His close comrade Hoshino Junji has described Suzuki's life at that time.

³⁷ Mukai Kō, "Murakami Yoshihiro densetsu—runpuro ana no uta" (A legend of Murakami Yoshihiro: a poem of lumpen anarchist), *Kuro*, no. 1 (July 2000), p. 17.

³⁸ Yamaguchi Kensuke, *ibid.*, pp. 151–152.

³⁹ An anarchist association that intended to conduct an anarchist movement in rural areas. I discuss the movement in detail later.

⁴⁰ Wasada Yoshio, "Nōson seinen sha o kataru," in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 3, p. 137.

⁴¹ Komatsu Ryūji points out that *ryaku* was criticized by anarchists before the Kantō earthquake of 1923. Anarchists who were involved in the labour movement did not do *ryaku* in pre-war times. Komatsu Ryūji, "Aru wasurerareta shakai undōka no koto—Nakanomyō Kōriki no shōgai to jiseki—," *Mitakkai zasshi* 80, no. 2 (June 1987), p. 65.

His wife was working to make a living. But, after a while, she left him, taking their only daughter Michiko. Somebody was always lodging at his house. It might have been an unbearable burden for his wife to keep the family and other boarders. She was a simple daughter of a farm family, even though she was a Christian and had been deeply in love with her husband.⁴²

His wife, who had contributed poems and articles to the anarchist magazine that Suzuki published, understood anarchism and supported the movement. But it is understandable that she came to dislike a lifestyle that always involved others and had no private family life, even if it embodied the spirit of mutual aid. It is impossible to know Suzuki's view about the incident because he did not write about his private life, but Suzuki's comment on anarchist women's arguments about women's issues attracts my interest. He simply rejected their arguments as women's self-satisfied ideas. He seems to have regarded his own family problems as individual personal incidents that were irrelevant to marriage or the family system. Nakanomyō Kōriki had a similar experience when anarchists lodged in his house. Two or three men were always sponging on him and his wife. This caused financial problems and was the cause of a quarrel between Nakanomyō and his wife.⁴³

The experiences of Suzuki's and Nakanomyō's wives indicate that anarchist's unconventional lifestyles were sometimes realised at the cost of other people's customary and conventional family lives. There was a strange mixture of unconventionality and conventionality in anarchists' lifestyles, and it was not always women who found themselves in such difficult situations. Although Wakabayashi Yayo, Katsura Fukuko and the wife of Komatsu played more important roles than simple supporters of anarchist activities, some anarchists' wives chafed at occupying subordinate positions, or found that their lifestyle was far from what they had expected. Their quiet objections are worth consideration because their problems often stemmed from the family system or the oppressive nature of family life.

The family in anarcho-syndicalism

During industrial disputes, workers' families played an important role. The 1931 dispute of *Nihon senjū*, which was a textile printing factory with around 280 workers, showed the way that workers and their families struggled. That was a dispute caused directly by the firing of a worker, but was actually over industrial rationalization

⁴² Hoshino Junji, "Suzuki Yasuyuki—sono hen'ei o tadoru" (Suzuki Yasuyuki—retracing some of his aspects), in Suzuki Yasuyuki, *Nihon museifu shugi undō shi* (History of Anarchist Movement in Japan), Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1932. (reprinted from Kokushoku sensen sha in 1990), p. 121.

⁴³ Komatsu Ryūji, "Aru wasure rareta shakai undōka no koto," pp. 60 – 61.

promoted by a new company president. Workers went on a hunger strike and occupied the factory. What made the dispute famous was that a male member of the print workers' union isolated himself at the top of a 40-metre chimney of the factory for 14 days to support the dispute. Not only male workers, but also female workers and families of union members were involved in the dispute. The women's division of the union played an important role outside the factory, such as relief activities for participants in the hunger strike, supply of funds by selling textiles, and support of participants' families. The union held meetings and published newsletters to inform the families of the current situation of the strike in order to gain their understanding and maintain support. The dispute was resolved, with some benefit to the union, through the intervention of the Metropolitan Police Department.⁴⁴ After the end of the dispute, strikers summarised it by saying that the strikers and their supporters had acted according to their own beliefs.⁴⁵ The dispute was regarded by syndicalists as a process of achieving an ideal society through a method of struggle involving the community and families, as well as a dispute with capital about working conditions. Syndicalists surmised that the union was an embryo of a future ideal society, and an agent of autonomous struggle. Actually, according to the way that the struggle had involved workers' families, the union would need to include not only its members, but also members' families if it were to be a fundamental unit in a future society.

In the dispute at *Nihon senjū*, the families of union members had played a vital supportive role. The union provided the families who were worrying about their family members, sons or husbands, on hunger strike with information about the present strike situation and appealed to them to support the dispute. The union also distributed relief food to the families who lost incomes. In spite of pressure, threats, and persuasion by the company to the families to persuade their members to withdraw from the dispute, families supported the strike.⁴⁶ Family support declined as the dispute grew longer,⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The Tokyo metropolitan police, concerned about the influence of the prolonged dispute, which created a sensation by its hunger strike and occupation of the chimney, mediated between the company and the union. Finally, through the mediation of the police, the dispute was settled on conditions reasonably satisfactory to the workers, including reinstatement of two out of eight dismissed employees, and allowances for the dismissed employees. Shakai kyoku rōdō bu ed., *Shōwa roku nen rōdō undōnenpō* (August 1931), (reprinted from Meiji bunken, Tokyo: 1972), pp. 395 – 404.

⁴⁵ "Nissen hansuto wa ikani tatakattaka" (The hunger strike of the Nissen dispute), in Shirai Shinpei, *Manshū jihen no zenya Nihon o sinkan saseta nissen entotsu sōgi* (The Japan-shaking dispute of Nissen chimney on the eve of the Manchurian incident), Tokyo: Keishūsha, 1983. And Gotō Akinobu also studies the strike. Gotō Akinobu, *Nihon sanjikirizumu undōshi* (History of the syndicalist movement in Japan), Tokyo: Keishūsha, 1984.

⁴⁶ Family members also participated in the dispute through visiting the president to ask him to accept the demands of the union. Some were arrested for it. Shirai Shinpei, *ibid.*, p. 173.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151 – 152.

but, in general, the families were on the side of the union. The union and the families, which were almost unified with workers, had a strong cooperative relationship. To support families' subsistence, a consumers' union was founded with the strike. The consumers' union expanded its membership from workers of the factory to non-union members in other districts. The consumers' union and the workers' union offered mutual support.⁴⁸ This pattern of dispute also appeared in the Tokyo Gas dispute in 1932. Family groups undertook various activities to support the strike. Workers and their families struggled on as one to the end of the strike.⁴⁹

This supportive relationship between workers and their families, however, could not be always assumed. In the case of the *Nihon senjū* dispute, the workers were the main breadwinners in their families and, in many cases, they were the head of the family. Therefore, although there were entreaties by family members under the influence of the company's false rumours, it was unlikely that family members could force them to withdraw from the dispute. However, the family played a completely different role in a case in which the workers were young women. In the *Mikuni bōseki* (Mikuni spinning factory) dispute in Osaka in 1923, women workers went on strike as well as male workers to demand a rise in their wages and improvement of labour conditions. According to a report, the company sent telegrams to parents of women workers to say that their daughters were missing or kidnapped. Parents in the country came to the company and stormed into the headquarters of the strike in a rage. Workers had to explain to those parents the real situation. In the end, the workers lost the strike and many women workers had to go home.⁵⁰ In this case, women workers who came from rural areas did not have support from their families. The family exerted an effective negative influence on striking workers. The role of the family was exactly what the company had hoped for.⁵¹

Although syndicalists expected workers' families to support workers in industrial disputes, they did not have a clear idea where they should place the family in syndicalism. If the union was an embryo of future society, would the whole family of a union member also belong to the union as part of an outer organization? Or when a

⁴⁸ Enishi Ichizō, *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵⁰ "Mikuni bōseki no rōdō sōgi—tsui ni zanpai ni owaru" (The labour dispute of *Mikuni bōseki* ended in disastrous defeat), *Rōdō undō* 3, no. 13 (1 April 1923), p. 3.

⁵¹ This phenomenon was observed in China too. Robert Y. Eng makes a comparison of strikes by women workers in Guangdong in the silk industry and in Shanghai industry in terms of the relationship between workers and their families. Eng points out workers' families and lineages in Guangdong inhibited workers' behaviour in the strike. Eng, Robert Y., "Luddism and labor protest among silk artisans and workers in Jiangnan and Guangdong, 1860 – 1930," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 2 (December 1990), pp. 63 – 101.

family had more than two workers belonging to their unions, would the family remain as a consumer organization detached from the union? Or when workers who came from rural areas belonged to a union, would their families, who were often farming families, form a commune in rural areas? The farming family in the commune movement illustrates a different aspect from the family in the syndicalist movement.

The family in the commune

The farming family in the village was a fundamental unit, but in the anarchist movement that aimed to create communes it was accorded a rather obscure position. Farming villages in the late 1920s and 1930s were a focal arena in politics. Farmers' movements grew and intensified, demanding cancellation of debts, reduction of taxes, exemption from rents and so forth, and the government was obliged to promote an economic regeneration movement in villages (*Nōson gyoson keizai kōsei undō*) in 1932. In this situation, there were two kinds of anarchist movements in rural areas: 1) practice of agriculture by individual anarchists, and 2) anarchist movements to make the village into an anarchist commune.⁵² The former intended to create an ideal society through individual practice of agriculture. Ishikawa Sanshirō and Katō Kazuo practised agriculture on their own land and intended to realise anarchist ideals in their own special community from 1927. Both men formed societies, *Kyōgaku sha* (Study together society) and *Nōhon juku* (physiocracy school), as the place to learn and work together with comrades. Ishikawa and Katō had a similar belief that humanity should return to the soil and hoped to create a human lifestyle based on agriculture. Their attempts had characteristics similar to *atarashiki mura* (the New Village) of novelist Mushakōji Saneatsu (1885 – 1976),⁵³ in terms of creating an ideal community in a place separated from society. On the other hand, the second type of movement intended to realise

⁵² Komatsu Ryūji categorised village movements by anarchists into 1. *Nōson dōmei* (Confederation of Farming Villages) 2. *Nōson seinen* (Farming Village Youth) 3. individual practice of agriculture. Komatsu Ryūji, "Daichi ni tatsu to Katō Kazuo" (*Standing on the Earth* and Kazuo Katoh), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 79, no. 5 (December 1986), p. 85. But from the viewpoint of approaching farming villages, 1. and 2. had the same nature. About *Kosakunin sha* see Komatsu Hisashi, "Nōson undō to *Kosakunin*" (The village movement and *kosakunin*), pp. 139 – 149, and Morita Kazushi, "Anakisuto to kenka no *kosakunin undō*" (Anarchists and tenant farmers' movement in Saitama prefecture), *Saitamaken rōdō undō shi kenkyū*, no. 9 (March 1977), pp. 69 – 83. About Katō Kazuo, Komatsu Ryūji, "Tsuchi no sakebi, chino hibiki—Katō Kazuo no shogai to shisō" (Kazuo Katoh: his life and thought), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 78, no. 4 (October 1985), pp. 100 – 118, "Genshi to Katō Kazuo—Genshi no ichi to so mokuji" (*Primitivity* and Kazuo Katoh: covering all contents of *Primitivity*), "Daichi ni tatsu to Katō Kazuo" (*Standing on the Earth* and Kazuo Katoh), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 79, no. 5 (December 1986), pp. 178 – 188; Mihara Yōko, "Katō Kazuo no shisō—anakizumu kara tennō shinkō eno kiseki" (Katō Kazuo's thought: his path from anarchism to worship of the Emperor), *Shakai shisōshi kenkyū*, no. 4 (1990), pp. 105 – 117.

⁵³ Mushakōji advocated the 'New Village movement' and founded an experimental farm in Miyazaki in 1918. He intended to realise harmonious community through the movement.

anarchism in actual villages. Anarchists expected farmers to be the subject of the village movement through propaganda and promotion of practical activities. Anarchist groups, *Kosakunin sha*, the *Nōson seinen sha* (Farming Village Youth Association, hereafter Nōsei) movement and *Nōmin jichi*, belong to this category.

In terms of the position of the family in the movements, Ishikawa did not have his own family, but lived communally with a small number of people, such as Mochizuki Yuriko, Okutani Matsuji, and Ishikawa Eiko. His close interpersonal relationships with the people around him were not based on their kinship or proximity, but on their sharing the same principles. When Katō began farming, his family (wife and small children) became involved in his new life-style. Members of *Nōhon juku* were people who felt sympathy for Katō's attitude towards agriculture. In Ishikawa's and Katō's practice of agriculture and cooperative work, the family was not seen as the fundamental unit of society due partly to their strong individualistic tendency. Their small communities comprised independent individuals who had the same tendency. But in contrast to Ishikawa's and Kato's cases, anarchist groups that extended anarchist movements to the villages had to deal with the family as the fundamental unit in the village and had to execute their changes on the existing social structure of the village. In this section, I focus on the Nōsei movement as a case of an anarchist village movement that was carried on most comprehensively based on previous village movements.

In February 1931, Miyazaki Akira, Suzuki Yasuyuki, Hoshino Junji and Yagi Akiko founded *Nōson seinen sha* to promote the anarchist movement in farming villages. The Nōsei movement had its theoretical background in pure anarchism, though it developed its own theory of organization and its own practical methods.⁵⁴ But it also started to criticise the direction that pure anarchists were then taking, which was removed from the reality of the villages. Like other anarchists, members of the Association believed that anarchistic characteristics, which were almost the same as those Itō mentioned in her article, "The facts of anarchism," survived to some extent in rural areas. Hoshino Junji described autonomous village life as the embodiment of anarchism, as follows:

People's nearest neighbours organise to carry out ceremonial occasions such as holding a funeral. People can provide crops or cotton for their needs. We can see

⁵⁴ Mihara Yōko, "Senzen anakizumu undō no nōson undō ron" (The theory of rural movement in the anarchist movement pre-war—part 1 on *jiren* group), *Kyoto daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō*, no. 31 (March 1985).

the fact of anarchism, autonomy and self-sufficiency in those things. But we cannot see it to a great extent.⁵⁵

Therefore Hoshino insisted, "there needs to be an input of the spirit of self-government and self-sufficiency to people's consciousness in order to promote anarchism."⁵⁶ It was intended to be a movement by farmers themselves to build free communes in their villages. The Association itself broke up in September 1932 due to the arrest of members who committed thefts to raise funds for their activities. But farmers in some prefectures who had agreed to the movement continued to carry on the movement in their areas.

According to their plan, which aimed to practise autonomy, economic communism and mutual aid,⁵⁷ communes would become self-sufficient, which meant they would produce articles for daily use as well as food, and could be economically isolated from the rest of society. The means of production, facilities and land would become communalised. The commune would have agriculture and small-scale industries, in which workers from the cities would work in manufacturing.⁵⁸ In an overall plan of anarchist revolution, members of the association envisaged the village as a unit that would federate with other villages; counties and prefectures would also federate. Then the anarchist revolution could be achieved.⁵⁹ The significance of the Nōsei movement was, according to its members, that it was a movement by farmers, and involved the whole village.⁶⁰ The movement was successful in arousing a positive response because its practical proposals met the needs of desperate farmers. Farmers even attempted to practise the movements' ideas on their own initiative in their villages. However the movement was finally crushed in 1935 by the wholesale arrest of

⁵⁵ Hoshino Junji, "Nōson seinen sha jiken yoshin chōsho (shō)" (The minutes of the preliminary examination of Farming Villages Youth Association Incident), in *Anākizumu*, Komatsu, ed., p. 595.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Soeda Susumu (Miyazaki Akira), "Nōmin ni uttau" (Appeal to farmers), *Kurohata* 3, no. 2 (6 February 1931), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 47.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 50 – 51.

⁵⁹ The origin of their village commune is not identified. One of leaders of the movement, Miyazaki Akira, had visited in China for about six months in 1927/1928. During his sojourn, he stayed at the National Labour University in Shanghai and exchanged opinions with Japanese and Chinese anarchists on the social situation in China and on anarchist movements. Japanese anarchist Iwasa Sakutarō who was invited to the university had been involved in a people's corps in Quanzhou (Guangdong) in 1927 and 1928. It is not clear to what extent Miyazaki knew about the corps in China and whether he got ideas about village communes from the people's corps, but there are similarities aspects between two: self-defence, self-efficiency, and practise of anarchism. See, Miyazaki Akira, "Dai 0 shō Gekidoki (1930 nendai) ni okeru Nihon anakizumu undō to kokusai kankei" (Anarchist movement in Japan and international relations in the period of violent change in the 1930s), *Kikan Anakizumu*, no. 16 (September 1977), pp. 129 – 134 and *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 3, p. 38.

⁶⁰ Suzuki Yasuyuki, *Nani o nasu bekika* (What should we do?), (special issue of *Kurohata*, no. 3), 7 September 1933, in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 229 – 231.

members.⁶¹ According to police records, the movement had spread over forty-five prefectures and more than 300 people were arrested.⁶²

Who was expected to be a main force in the movement? The movement began with an appeal that called on young men who were the eldest sons or successors to farming families.

Regardless of whether you are an owner farmer or tenant farmer, you are a person who has confidence to bear pain in order to become an independent farmer.[...] You are serious young people who consider your future, your family's future and, sometimes, think about the reason for devastation in the village.⁶³

Young farmers who were in great difficulty and seeking a way out were the main force of this movement. "Unlike in urban areas, in rural areas if a person did not have a good private life, people did not trust them enough to follow them."⁶⁴ They arranged lecture meetings in the village, in which speakers, who were members of the Association and other anarchists, talked honestly and proposed practical solutions to rescue the village in crisis. Villagers listened to them earnestly because they were seeking a way out of their difficulties.

The movement was intended to expand steadily. "First of all, make a comrade. A comrade finds another comrade and they combine to form revolutionary unity."⁶⁵ One of the founders of the Association, Hoshino Junji, mentioned they used existing organizations in the villages to bring anarchism to villagers. "Comrades in a village will influence all villagers through joining the youth association, young women's association, industrial unions, and other groups to advocate self-sufficiency and

⁶¹ The members of *Nōsei sha* had already completed their sentences for theft. But the police arrested them again, as well as people involved in the movement all over Japan, in order to crush the anarchist movement. The wholesale arrest began with Nihon museifu kyōsan tō (the Anarchist Communist Party of Japan) incident as a start. About the incident, see Aizawa Hisao, *Nihon museifu museifu kyōsan tō* (The Anarchist Communist Party of Japan), Tokyo: kaien shobō, 1974.

⁶² The *Nōsei sha* had only 14 members. However, sympathisers or participants in the movement scattered throughout Japan were arrested in 1935/1936. Of those arrested, 36 people were prosecuted. About the movements in prefectures, see Chapter 9 *Nōsei kakumei undō* in Nagano and other prefectures in *Shiryō Nōson seimensha undō shi: jiyū konnyun no juritsu to sono jissen 1930 nendai ni okeru nihon anakizumu kakumei undō*: (Materials on the history of the Farming Village Youth Association movement: the establishment of the free communes and their practices anarchist revolution movement in the 1930s in Japan), *Nōson seinen sha undōshi kankōkai* ed., Kyoto: Tōyō bunka sha, 1972, pp. 290 – 319.

⁶³ Suzuki Yasuyuki, *Nōson seinen ni uttau* (Appeal to village youth), Tokyo: Jiyūjin sha, 1930, in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, pp. 5 – 6.

⁶⁴ Aikyō Noriaki and Minamisawa Kesamatsu, "Kehai o nokoshite tachisatta hitotachi" (People who drifted away leaving indications behind them), *Kuro*, nos. 4 – 5 (January 2001), p. 52.

⁶⁵ Fujishiro Takao (Minamisawa Kesamatsu), "Anakizumu undō ni taisuru ni san no jissenteki kenkai" (My practical opinions about the anarchist movement), *Museifu shugi kenkyū*, no. 1 (1 January 1932), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 159.

self-government, denial of authority and private property.”⁶⁶ Thus the movement was expected to extend to the whole village through co-option of like-minded people in the village. A member of the movement, Wasada, recalled the movement positively as follows:

The movement changed the living sphere of the farming village into a free commune, created a revolutionary geological division and reformed people's thought and lives. We called it the whole village movement. There were indications of the movement in various areas. I think to follow one's conscience, one questions one's way of life.⁶⁷

The movement's appeal to farmers painted a picture of bright, new villages of the future.

Irrespective of age or sex, all will make a village together. There will be no high and low, right and left, no discrimination or rule there. It will be a coexisting, cooperative village. The village will be lively. Men and women will be free. People will be ingenious in creating happiness for the village. We will follow the path to recreate a cheerful and sprightly farming village.⁶⁸

Hoshino emphasised the essence of anarchist society that “villagers will live according to their own free will without any outside control. The commune will be based on the solidarity of free individuals.”⁶⁹

However, as mentioned, there was also a negative aspect to village communities. The only woman member of the Association who had been born to a village and knew actual village life well, Yagi Akiko, had asked in a poem:

Can you imagine how thick, heavy and hard is the power of folkways and tradition, and the chain of slavish thought? And can you imagine that few comrades live on hard work?⁷⁰

Women's subordinate situation grievously embodied the negative aspect of village life. Yagi repeatedly mentioned that female farmers in villages were completely

⁶⁶ “Nōson seinen sha jiken yoshin chōsho (shō),” in *Anākizumu*, Komatsu ed., p. 539.

⁶⁷ Wasada Yoshio, “Nōson seinensha o kataru” (Talk about *Nōson seinensha*), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 3, p. 139.

⁶⁸ Soeda Susumu (Miyazaki Akira), “Nōmin ni uttau” (Appeal to farmers), *Kurohata* 3, no. 2 (6 February 1931), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 49.

⁶⁹ “Nōson seinen sha jiken yoshin chōsho (shō),” p. 588.

⁷⁰ Yagi Akiko, “Maki no hi o taku” (Light a fire of firewood), *Kokushoku Sensen* (January 1932). In *Yagi chosakushū*, vol. 1, pp. 172 – 173.

ignored by society.⁷¹ How anarchists regarded women in the village was fully expressed in an article signed "Toshiko" in an anarchist magazine *Kurohata* (Black Flag). The article mentioned factors that reduced women to distress in village life: harsh customs and traditions, women as family slaves and sexual puppets, forced labour, ignorance, distorted love, infantilism; all those were against the natural state of humanity. But "Toshiko" sought a solution to these problems within the movement. She urged women to be aware and to liberate themselves. They needed to eliminate customs and traditions against women, eliminate the humiliation of harsh labour, prostitutes, housekeepers, slaves, maidservants, and women workers. As ways to liberation, she suggested holding study groups for women's emancipation, doing at least one thing for liberation, and supporting anarchists' daily life.⁷² She believed that the movement would be relevant to women, although she did not mention any concrete relationship between the anarchist movement and village women's emancipation.

Women's problems in the village exactly overlapped the problems of the family system, which anarchists however did not mention. It is quite interesting that the movement's plan lacked all aspects relevant to the family system. For example, there was a case in which a young woman who helped their activities was sold by her step-father to a brothel. It was not an unusual phenomenon that young women sold or were forced to sell their bodies in order to help their parents out of financial distress in rural areas at that time. A member was successful in taking her back from the brothel at one stage. But eventually she disappeared from the village and there was no way to find her.⁷³ Members were fully aware of the irrationality of the family system and the law that supported such irrational acts of parents. They were not seeking a change of law or the family system; what they expected was a whole change in society, in which all family members could live together.

In a commune, people can achieve self-sufficiency and communism, and will not need to make sons work in the cities to earn money and daughters to work in mill factories in the cities. Everybody can work in the field.⁷⁴

The movement intended to change the situation that forced the family to struggle to survive through selling daughters or sending sons and daughters to the city to earn

⁷¹ Yagi Akiko, "Tokai eno enryo ha iranu (jo)" (Don't reserve toward the city), *Shin aichi* (30 August 1929), in *Aruhanaku*, kyūkan gō, (20 July 1982), p. 34.

⁷² "Fujin undō no yōkyū—watashi tachi wa korekara" (Requests of the women's movement: our future), *Kurohata*, no. 1 (30 December 1932), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 211.

⁷³ Aikyō Noriaki and Minamizawa Kesamatsu, *ibid.*, pp. 48 – 49.

⁷⁴ *Shinshū jiyū rengō* 1, no. 1 (20 April 1935), in *Nōsei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, p. 189.

money. The anarchist community, which would consist of free individuals and be free of coercion, would not expect to have a hierarchical social structure. Japanese anarchists did not deny the existence of the family, but also would not accept that individuals were subordinate to the family. They only expected that, without a central political organization, this kind of community could only extend horizontally. However, in an actual society based on the family, individuals were a subordinate unit. Superordinate and subordinate concepts would appear naturally. As a result, such a society, even if anarchists did not intend it, would be inclined to have a hierarchical social structure: individuals—families—villages—the state.

6.2 The family revolution as practised in China

The Tokyo and Paris Chinese anarchist groups

Radical advocacy but moderate deeds characterised the Tokyo and Paris Chinese anarchist groups in relation to family revolution. Although they set out radical arguments against the family system and Confucian ethics, they themselves continued their family lives throughout the period of their anarchist activities. Apart from Chu Minyi,⁷⁵ the main Chinese anarchists in Tokyo and Paris, Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng⁷⁶ and Liu Shiwei had been married in the traditional way before they began their anarchist activities. Both Wu and Li had children.

Li's opinions about the family revolution, which only required a change in thought, are a good indication of anarchist groups' attitude toward the family revolution. According to Li's suggestion, in which parents and children were to undertake the family revolution from their respective positions,⁷⁷ the Paris group to some degree put the family revolution into practice through their lives. Chinese anarchists seemed to

⁷⁵ Chu Minyi married Chen Shunzhai who was a sister (in law) of Wang Jingwei's wife Chen Bijun. He participated in Wang Jingwei's Nanjing government in 1941.

⁷⁶ Li Shizeng practised marriage based on mutual consent. After his wife died in 1940, Li met Rusu in New York in 1943 and they began to live together. They made a contract: 1. Both parties are independent in economic respects and do not interfere with each other. 2. When one party wants a divorce, it doesn't need the other party's agreement. Yang Kailing ed., *Minguo Li Shizeng xiansheng liyun nianpu*, Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1980, pp. 99 – 100. In 1947, Li sent a telegram to Rusu in New York to cancel the contract of cohabitation and then married Lin Susuo in Shanghai. Lin who had worked for him for a long time had dissolved her family in the previous year. Li and Lin were working together and had the same way of thinking. They married from mutual respect. Ibid., pp. 103 – 106. Lin died in 1954. In 1957, Li married Tian Baotian in Taipei. Ibid., pp. 133.

⁷⁷ Li Shizeng, "Sangang geming," *Xin shiji*, no. 11 (31 August 1907), p. 2.

have a sense of history; they believed they were in a transitional position between the past and the future, and their generation could set the next generation free.

Although early Chinese anarchists did not commence the family revolution in a radical way, a controversial case arose in terms of 'free love.' Contemporaries accused Liu Shiwei's wife He Zhen of having a sexual relationship with Wang Gongquan (Liu's brother by marriage). For example, a revolutionary Feng Ziyou wrote, "He and Wang have become husband and wife in fact, and declared themselves communal husband and communal wife (*gongfu gongqi*) in public."⁷⁸ It is in fact unlikely that she described her relationship with Wang as *gongfu gongqi*. This is because, according to He Zhen's arguments about marriage in *Tianyi*, she supported the practice of monogamy. She never used the term in her articles to describe the desirable relationship between the sexes, and instead insisted on monogamous unions inside marriage or as part of 'free love.' Nevertheless, those comments, some of which seem only based on conjecture, cast a negative light on He Zhen and associated her with Liu's defection from the revolutionary camp to the Qing government around 1908.⁷⁹ Like the case of Kōtoku and Kanno, outsiders' comments were regarded as decisive evidence of blameworthy conduct and resulted in disunity in the anarchist camp.

Even if He and Wang had had the kind of relationship people supposed, such a reaction by people in the revolutionary camp indicated that their actions were simply perceived as a conventional case of adultery. Anarchist arguments about ethics and freedom, including women's independence and right to choose their partners, were not considered at all in the case.

Ideal and practice in the Xinshe group

The Xinshe group basically followed the line of the Paris group in terms of the family revolution. Compared to previous Chinese anarchist groups, the Xinshe group was remarkable for their practice of communal life according to anarchist principles. Their life became a model for the anarchist lifestyle in China. But their practice was

⁷⁸ Feng Ziyou, "Ji Liu Guanghan bianjie shimo" (A record of Liu Guanghan's betrayal), in *Geming yishi* (An informal history of the revolution), Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1969, vol. 2, p. 232.

⁷⁹ Some researchers have adopted those allegations as evidence of a relationship between He and Wang and regard the conflict caused by the relationship as one of reasons for Liu's defection. For example, see Saga Takashi, *Kindai Chūgoku no kakumei gen'ei—Ryū Shibai no shisō to shōgai* (A dream of revolution in modern China: the thought and life of Liu Shiwei), Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1996, pp. 169 – 172. Liu Huiying analyses people's comments and evaluation of He Zhen. Liu Huiying, "Feminism: an organic or extremist position? On Tien Yee as represented by He Zhen," *Positions* 11, no.3 (Winter 2003), pp. 788 – 789.

also remarkable in terms of their struggle in practising their ideal of anarchist theory about the family.

Shifu and members of the Xinshe strictly observed its twelve regulations. For example, Shifu never used his family name after 1912. He became a vegetarian and never ate meat again, even though he was strongly urged to consume meat when he was suffering from the disease that took his life. Japanese anarchist Yamaga Taiji, who in 1913 stayed with Shifu at Ōsugi Sakae's request to help his work, described daily life with Shifu in Shanghai.

Everyone got together upstairs and had a meal. We had rice, vegetables and eggs on our own plates. Sometimes we were out of rice and only had cooked worm-eaten *azuki* beans. Occasionally we had bananas and loquats that comrades had donated to us.

The hardest thing for me was that I could not smoke. Shifu's vow had many commandments, such as do not eat meat, do not drink, do not become a soldier, and so on. Shifu believed that anarchists should practise now what people would do in a future anarchist society, and that anarchists should be in the vanguard of the new era in every sense. Therefore people who were close to him could not help following his model, at least in front of him.⁸⁰

About the rule "do not marry", Qiuxue, a member of the Xinshe said, "He [Shifu] had a partner, Xiangtian. They had been conspirators together during the Xinhai revolution. They had a long relationship, but they lived together without marriage. This was required by the Xinshe's regulations."⁸¹ "Married members of the Xinshe advertised their divorces in newspapers in order to observe the Xinshe's rules. This was only done as a way to repudiate society's conventional marriage system, and in fact they did not terminate their relationships. At that time, there were several advertisements of 'false divorce' in Guangzhou newspapers." These words convey the Shifu group's strict lifestyle dictated by their anarchist beliefs.

However, although Shifu would not concede any value to the family and strongly insisted on its abolition, his attitude toward his own family indicates that he did not completely deny a warm affection and close relationships among family members. After he lost his right arm from an accidental bomb explosion, he did not dare to visit his grandmother for fear of giving her a shock by his one-armed appearance. It was not

⁸⁰ Yamaga Taiji, "Ōsugi Sakae o kataru" (Tell of Ōsugi Sakae) (August 1963), in *Tasogare nikki* (Diary in the twilight of life), p. 240. (Manuscript)

⁸¹ Qiuxue, "Huiyi Liu Shifu he 'Xinshe' huodong" (Recollection of Liu Shifu and Xinshe's activities), *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi ziliao xuanbian* (hereafter ZWZZX), Zhongguo renmin daxue zhonggongdang shi xi, ed., Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue, 1982, p. 542.

until the following year that he at last went to see her with an artificial arm.⁸² His family also supported him while he was in gaol for his attempted assassination of Li Zhun, the Guangdong naval commander. Shifu was treated harshly by warders in Xiangshan gaol. His family spent a lot of money on bribes for both higher and lower officials to win favours for him. As a result, Shifu's treatment improved. His father made strenuous efforts and collected more than one thousand influential persons' signatures on a petition for his release. As a result of the enormous expenditure involved, his family became bankrupt and his father had to resume work, taking a job as a clerk to support his family.⁸³

It is difficult to know how Shifu regarded his family's support and sacrifices for him because he never mentioned his family in his writings. However, he did write a short biography of his comrade Lin Guanci, who had been a member of the China Assassination Corps (*Zhina ansha tuan*) founded by Shifu, and who had assassinated the Guangdong naval commander Li Zhun in 1909. Shifu ended the biography as follows:

Lin never received an education because his family was poor. He was dutiful to his mother. Before his deed, his mother often wrote letters urging him to marry. He neither wanted to marry, nor wanted to hurt his mother by telling her so. Therefore he wrote to his mother seeking to postpone his marriage because he said he was going to the South Seas to trade. Just before he carried out the assassination of Li Zhun, he asked a Party member not to announce the news hurriedly after his death to avoid hurting his mother. He died aged 29.⁸⁴

This memoir was written for Lin Guanci's mother who had lost her son, as well as for Lin Guanci. This sympathetic account, which did not include any negative comments on the relationship between mother and son, recalls Shifu's affection and consideration for his own grandmother.

Shifu believed in such genuine affection between family members. On the basis of a full understanding of the evils of the family system and as a precaution against its

⁸² Wending, "Shifu xiansheng zhaun" (A biography of Shifu), in SFWC, p. 3.

⁸³ Liu Shixin "Guanyu wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de diandi huiyi" (Recollection of anarchist activities), in WZSZX, p. 929.

⁸⁴ "Lin Guanci zhuang" (Biography of Lin Guanci). (September 1911) (Chen Peigang's copy of the manuscript). Twenty years later, Lu Xun printed German artist Käthe Kollwitz's woodcut, which was a picture of a sorrowful mother who was holding up her baby to sacrifice, in a literature magazine *Beidou* to pay his tribute to the memory of Ruo Shi, who was killed by the GMD in Red hunting in 1931. Lu Xun explained that he printed the picture to console Ruo Shi's mother, who still believed that her son was working in Shanghai, instead of writing a memoir of him. Shifu's sympathy for Lin's mother was similar to that of Lu Xun and their contemporaries. Lu Xun, "Xie yu shenye li" (Writing in the middle of the night), *Yeying* 3, no. 3 (May 1936), in *Lu Xun quanji* (The complete works of Lu Xun), Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981, vol. 6, pp. 499 – 500.

reactionary role, Shifu advocated the abolition of the family as a necessary process for restoring such genuine affection. He believed in human nature; therefore even after the abolition of the family, they could assume that people could keep or restore such genuine affection in a communal society without retaining the outward forms of the family. Shifu supposed that people would keep their natural feelings.⁸⁵

Members of the Xinshe began the family revolution with themselves. They did not destroy their families or attack the family system, but they commenced the family revolution through having no individual family lives. However, a story by Shifu's brother Shixin about Shifu and Xiangtian indicates that anarchists encountered practical problems in their relationships. He wrote, "Soon after they reached Shanghai, Shifu's relation with Xiangtian got worse due to economic problems. I heard that, before his death, Shifu would not allow Xiangtian to enter his room."⁸⁶ Yamaga also talked about their relationship, "Shifu said that he had separated from his wife and was going to start over again with a marriage based on true love."⁸⁷ According to Yamaga, Shifu considered that he had already separated from his partner at that time, and was looking for another love. Yamaga's references to 'wife' and 'marriage' indicate that Yamaga did not fully understand the meaning of the abolition of marriage and the family and understood Shifu's relationship with Xiangtian in a conventional sense.

Other comments on the relationship between Shifu and Xiangtian indicate that child-rearing would be an important issue for anarchists, at least in the stage of transition to an anarchist society. After becoming a father, Shifu seemed to refuse to involve himself in child-rearing⁸⁸ and failed to help make a nursery for his child, which the Xinshe had recommended. According to Mo Jipeng, Shifu refused to take his daughter to their group residence. This was because, Mo guessed, Shifu disliked making people misunderstand the place of their activity as their home by creating a homelike

⁸⁵ How far was Shifu justified in supposing that people would keep family feelings without a family in anarchist society? The case of kibbutzim in Israel provides some idea of people's life in a communal society. Children were separated from their parents and grew up in the collective child-care centres. But they kept their relationship and feelings between parents and children through parents' regular visits. The social systems in a kibbutz, in which marriage and the family exist, and the principle of society in the state are different from Shifu's idea, but the case of public child-rearing in a kibbutz shows a sample of family feeling in non-family-like life. See Chapter 6 of Bowes, Alison M., *Kibbutz Goshen: An Israeli Commune*, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1989.

⁸⁶ Liu Shixin, "Guanyu wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de diandi huiyi" (Recollection of anarchist activities), in WZSZX, p. 933.

⁸⁷ Yamaga Taiji, "Ôsugi Sakae o kataru," in *Tasogare nikki*, p. 240.

⁸⁸ Mo Jipeng wondered if Shifu had even seen his daughter. Shifu did not allow members of the Xinshe to go to see his daughter. "Huiyi Shifu" (Reminiscence of Shifu), in *Mo Jipeng xiansheng fangwen jilu*, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiu suo, ed., Taipei: zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiu suo, 1997, p. 73.

atmosphere through having an infant there.⁸⁹ The original concept of an anarchist society, which Shifu and other Chinese anarchists had described, was designed so that all people could work, regardless of gender. Children were to be cared for in nurseries so that women could work as well as men. In practice, however, anarchist theory led to the result that, because alternative facilities were not in place, women would have to bear the total cost of free love if men did not accept some responsibility for child-rearing, and yet they would be denied the customary family support for child-rearing which was available to nothing in conventional society. Shifu's case makes it clear that this issue would stay unresolved until an anarchist society could be fully realised in the future. It also indicates that aspects of anarchist theory about reproduction in the family remained obscure.

One of Shifu's occasional comments on the allegory *Commoners' Bell*⁹⁰ shows his interpretation of women's situation. A woman asked a man to buy her services. She had become a prostitute in order to support herself and her child after her husband died.⁹¹ The man asked why she did not work. She replied that she was fired when she was pregnant and now could not work. In addition, even if she could work, her small wage was not enough to support them. The man said to her, "Woman, the bell will ring soon. And then you won't need to sell your love. You can have a correct life. People will be able to love freely."⁹² Shifu simply interpreted the woman's problems as problems of the marriage system and private property. He compared the relationship between prostitutes who were selling false love and men who were buying false love to the relationship between wife and husband, and attributed the evils of marriage to private property.⁹³ In the text, the answer to this problem was communism that would enable all people to be independent and enjoy free love without institutional marriage.

⁸⁹ Mo Jipeng, *ibid.*, p. 77. Krebs explains "Shifu would not allow the child to live at the Cock-Crow Center because to do so would be to confuse private life with public mission." Krebs, Edward S. *Shifu, Soul of Chinese Anarchism*, p. 116. It is not clear whether Shifu distinguished private life from public mission in this way. If so, people's communal life in the Xinshe, which was regarded as a model of anarchist life, did not include 'private life.' Agnes Chan provides a different interpretation of Shifu's act. Chan explains it was because he was afraid people would misinterpret the group as promiscuous. Chan, Pik-chong Agnes Won, "Liu Shifu (1884-1915): A Chinese Anarchist and the Radicalization of Chinese thought," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1979, pp. 150 – 151. But Chan's explanation comes from her misunderstanding of Mo's words.

⁹⁰ Shifu's translation of Berthelot's *Evangel of the Hour* (see chapter 5) was published under the title *Pingmin zhi zhong* in *Minsheng* nos. 9, 10, 11, and 13. After Shifu's death, Fangxu translated chapter five to seven in nos. 24 to 26.

⁹¹ In the original French text, the father did not die, but walked out on his wife and child. The Japanese translation by Yamaga from the Esperanto text says, "the child who was abandoned by its father". Yamaga Taiji trans., *Heimin no kane* (*Commoner's Bell*), Tokyo: Chitei sha, 1929, p. 13.

⁹² Shifu trans. "Pingmin zhi zhong," *Minsheng*, no. 13 (6 June 1914), pp. 6 – 7..

⁹³ Shifu, *ibid.*, p. 7.

The man's words to the woman in the story and Shifu's comment on it are symbolic of their position in society. Like the man in the story who was depicted as a prophet sent to tell people that the final hour was about to come, so Shifu also said only that the time would come. Both expressed their sympathy, but could not give the woman what she needed at that moment. Their words 'once the time comes' could be supported by their confirmed belief in anarchism. But the woman's fate—that she had to be a prostitute to support herself and her child or, failing that, starve to death with her child—pointed to that gap between what the anarchists advocated and life in the real world. The gap was embodied in a story about Xiangtian told by Mo Jipeng. Ten years after Shifu's death, Mo happened to come across Xiangtian, who had left the Xinshe group soon after Shifu had died, at the office of warlord Chen Jiongming (1873 – 1933) who controlled Guangzhou at that time. Xiangtian had visited Chen to ask for money and gave him several books that had belonged to Shifu in return. Mo regretted that he did not even ask her about her child.⁹⁴ There is no clue as to whether Xiangtian's daughter survived after she left the Xinshe group and also whether Xiangtian still believed in anarchism when Mo met her. But it is not unlikely that people like Xiangtian who had to support themselves and their children could not remain in the anarchist camp with people who could hardly support themselves.

Shifu's behaviour indicates another problem too. His attitude toward his grandmother and his sympathy with Li Guanci followed traditional norms of filial piety, but he had difficulty in finding a proper role in his relationship with a wife or partner. Shifu's indifference to Xiangtian and their daughter shows he could not build an alternative relationship to the conventional one during the transitional gap between present reality and future ideal. In other words, as a grandson, Shifu could comfortably show his affection to his grandmother, but in rejecting marriage and the family, he seemed unable to find a proper way to show his feelings to his wife or partner and child.

Not only Shifu, but other anarchists were tied to old-fashioned norms. The Xinshe member Liu Shixin reported that comrade Liang Bingxian had offered his sister to him in marriage. But Liu did not accept because he believed from Shifu and Xiangtian's case that women could not be trusted.⁹⁵ Two things are noticeable: one is that Liu did not question the old-fashioned style of arranged marriage; the other is that Liu had gained an impression of women's unreliability from Shifu and Xiangtian's case. We have no chance to discover what relations between Shifu and Xiangtian were really

⁹⁴ Mo Jipeng, *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁹⁵ Liu Shixin "Guanyu wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de diandi huiyi," in WZFZSX, p. 934.

like, but surely we can understand that anarchist advocacy of free love involved in practice all kinds of human feelings that did not enter into anarchist theory. Shifu's relationship with Xiangtian and his daughter has been problematic in scholars' evaluation of Shifu. Many attribute Shifu's attitude towards them mainly to Shifu's personality, that is, his adherence to his principles.⁹⁶ But this is rather a matter that is relevant to the essence of anarchism that Shifu and his group advocated. Persons who became involved in an ordinary affair, insignificant in itself but common in human life, easily fell into a crack between rejecting the conventional forms of the family and imagining that a desirable form would be achieved in the future in the name of anarchist principle. This can be further illustrated by the case of Lin Junfu, whose love affair with his cousin was frustrated by their families. His cousin committed suicide and Lin became a monk.⁹⁷ These episodes show that although members of the Xinshe tried to reject old social customs, they were not always able to transcend them. These were the very same problems that a younger generation would face in person later.

The family revolution that began with individual practice by members of the Xinshe group gave rise to public censure. Anarchist Qiuxue told of the impact of the Xinshe in a Guangdong high school in 1912. Among older students, the influence of such activists was not so strong. But among younger students, advocacy by the Xinshe attracted attention. Some discussed the 'abolition of surnames' and the 'elimination of marriage' eagerly in classrooms and dormitories. The ideas of the Xinshe called forth interested responses and sympathy, but the number of persons who became members was small. Apart from Qiuxue, only three students of that school became members of the Xinshe.⁹⁸ People with respect for Confucius harboured strong hostility to Shifu's demand for abolition of marriage and his insulting reference to Confucius as an illegitimate child. The principal of Qiuxue's high school worried about the influence of Shifu and his publications in his high school, and gave the students several moral lectures to counter it.⁹⁹ This story illustrates Shifu's and the Xinshe's impact on society and the reactions of different social classes at that time. Qiuxue also described the situation in Macao. At first, some people practised the Xinshe's rules eagerly, for example, by advertising divorce in the newspapers, abolishing surnames, practising vegetarianism, and so on. But after Shifu left Macao, people's enthusiasm cooled.

⁹⁶ Krebs, *ibid.*, p. 116.

⁹⁷ Liu Shixin, "Guanyu wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de diandi huiyi", in WZSZX, p. 933.

⁹⁸ Qiuxue, "Huiyi Liu Shifu he 'Xinshe' huodong," in ZWZZX, p. 542.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Former members of the Xinshe never talked about anarchism after Shifu died.¹⁰⁰ From this account, we can see that the Xinshe regulations were accepted only as rules restricting followers' behaviour, and did not become their autonomous morality embodying basic principles of anarchism. This account also indicates that the Xinshe's advocacy of abolition of marriage was a novel idea that attracted youth, but did not necessarily meet their needs exactly. According to memoirs, members of the Xinshe also married and later led family lives. It is safe to say that only the conditions peculiar to the Xinshe enabled members of the group to have a life without marriage and family.

The New Village Movement

Two different kinds of plans for creating anarchist society were developed after the revolution of 1911 in China: one was embodied in the New Village Movement and the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, and the other was manifested in the movements to create communes based on existing villages. The former derived from the Paris group's ideal social vision of the *datong* society and the latter from the Tokyo group's social vision that evaluated conventional social systems in villages.

Around 1913, the Xinshe group had an aborted plan to build a *datong* village in order to maintain a fixed place for their activity. According to Mo Jipeng, this was because the rooms they were using in Guangzhou were rented or borrowed. They had paid the rent each time with considerable effort. Therefore, they looked for some stable place as their permanent base. Finally they found a place called *Hongliwan* (Red Lychee Bay) in Xin'an prefecture in Guangdong. But the plan was eventually abandoned due to the outbreak of the second revolution (1913).¹⁰¹ The plan was inspired by the *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* (1899) of Kropotkin in terms of its goal of a harmonious and well-balanced life,¹⁰² But the function of the village, which was intended to become a centre of their activity to diffuse anarchism in China, mainly through publishing, seems more similar to that of the anarchist colony of Aiglemont in France, which had been reported on by Zhang Ji in *Xinshiji*. His article about the village had described villagers' daily lives, such as farming, selling farm produce and cultural activities. Furthermore a comment by Wu Zhihui on Aiglemont emphasized the superior efficiency of publishing in diffusing anarchism. It seems natural that the Xinshe group, who devoted themselves

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 546.

¹⁰¹ Mo Jipeng, "Huiyi shifu," p. 67.

¹⁰² Krebs, *ibid.*, p. 117.

to advocating anarchism through publications, should have envisaged their *datong* village as having much in common with the colony of Aiglemont.

Besides the Xinshe group's plan for a *datong* village that had few utopian characteristics, there was another type of new village. Anarchist Hualin set up a new village in a rural area as a model for anarchist society. He regarded rural areas as the proper place for anarchist education and suggested the creation of a village where young people would follow farming or weaving for five hours work a day while developing their personalities.¹⁰³ This rurally oriented village resembled *atarashiki mura* (the New Village) of Japanese novelist Mushakōji Saneatsu, which had been described to a Chinese audience in glowing terms by Zhou Zuoren.¹⁰⁴ In the New Village life, members contributed their property to the village. They lived according to the principle of 'from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs,' which reflected the popular thought of Tolstoy and Kropotkin at that time.

The mixed character of anarchist commune and the New Village appeared in the *Zhixing* new village in Kunshan prefecture in Jiangsu. It was founded by overseas Chinese from Mexico—Yu Yihun, Chen Shiming and others—who had admired Shifu. Their lives in the village followed Shifu's model, i.e. cooperative working and studying, and also embodied Chinese traditional anarchistic life style, "when the sun rises, people work, when the sun sets, people take a rest. From each according to their ability, to each according to their need."¹⁰⁵ Members' wives were reported as conducting small businesses. It was an agriculture-oriented new village, but they were a "new type of farmer, who were educated, not conservative but progressive, believed in science, adopted new methods."¹⁰⁶ A villager's negative comment on conventional marriage, reported in Mo's memoir, indicates the group took a radical attitude toward the conventional social system. The village looked good to anarchist eyes.¹⁰⁷ Using the example of Kunshan, Mo insisted that the *datong* village was not unrealistic, but practical.

Thus, Chinese anarchists showed a clear contrast to Japanese anarchists in terms of their evaluation of the New Village. Few Japanese anarchists regarded Mushakōji's New Village as an anarchistic movement. Ōsugi's negative comment on the New

¹⁰³ Hualin, "Xiangcun jiaoyu" (Village education), *Laodong*, no. 4 (20 June 1918), pp. 10 - 13. (reprint)

¹⁰⁴ Zhou Zuoren, "Ribei de xincun" (A new village in Japan), *Xin qingnian* 6, no. 3 (March 1919), pp. 269 - 277.

¹⁰⁵ Zheng Peigang, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai zhongguo de ruogan de shishi" (Some facts about anarchism in China), in WZSZX, p. 951.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 957.

¹⁰⁷ Mo Jipeng, *ibid.*, p. 68.

Village movement as “self-indulgence” represented the general attitude of Japanese anarchists toward it.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, in China the New Village was regarded positively and seen as the embryo of a new society. Their tendency to utopian social visions encouraged Chinese anarchists to adopt the New Village concept as a means to achieve anarchism. The group could freely decide what kind of principles of farming life they would adopt in the village, and as part of their idealistic social vision, anarchists could freely formulate the future shape of their community to accommodate the family revolution. This aspect of the New Village suited the philosophy of the Chinese anarchists. The New Village, however, did not intend to make the family revolution its first priority. It was in the mutual-aid corps that the family revolution was implemented more directly.

The Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps in Beijing and Wuhan

The Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps (*gongdu huzhu tuan*) was an urban version of the New Village. Like the New Village, the Corps was inspired by the dominant thoughts of the New Culture era: the ideal of the New Village of Mushakōji Saneatsu, the pan-labourism of Tolstoy, and the mutual aid of Kropotkin. Furthermore, the plan of the Corps that had progressed almost simultaneously with the development of the May Fourth movement appeared from an ardent desire for a new life on the part of students and radical intellectuals. The chancellor of Beijing University, Cai Yuanpei, professors at the university Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and Zhou Zuoren, a student of Beijing university Wang Guangqi and other intellectuals proposed the Corps. They also raised funds for the project. The donors who financed the Corps numbered 57, including Jiang Jieshi¹⁰⁹ and Paris Chinese anarchists Zhang Ji and Zhang Jingjiang. The project thus attracted a great deal of attention and received broad support. Proposers of the Corps and those participating in it regarded the organization as embodying a new life style and as the embryo of an ideal society in which everyone would both work and study, each contributing according to their ability, and receiving according to their needs. They hoped to change the whole of society through developing the Corps. The Work-Study

¹⁰⁸ Ōsugi Sakae, “Mushakōji Saneatsu shi to *Atarashiki mura* no jigyō” (Mr. Mushakōji Saneatsu and a project of New Village), *Shinchō*, no. 5 (May 1922), in *Ōsugi senshū*, vol. 12, p. 240.

¹⁰⁹ From 1918 to 1922, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) supported General Chen Qiongmeng in Guangdong at the request of Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen). He was in the post of commander of the second detachment in Chen’s army at that time. According to Wang, in 1919, under the influence of the May Fourth Movement, Jiang even read radical magazines *Xinchao* and *Xin qingnian*. Wang Fumin, *Jiang Jieshi pingzhuan* (A biography of Jiang Jieshi), Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe, 1993, vol. 1, p. 55.

Mutual Aid Corps in Beijing consisted of four groups and its first and second corps started in December 1919.

The situation of another corps in Wuhan, which was led by Yun Daiying, was slightly different. Yun, who believed in anarchism at that time, formulated the *Huzhushe* (mutual aid association) at Zhonghua University in Wuchang as early as 1917 in order to improve students' morality and social consciousness in general. Yun had a strong interest in the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps in Beijing, and was aware of the problems with the Beijing corps. Having learned from the case of the Beijing corps, Yun took a practical stance on the economic aspect of the corps, earning money by doing some business and then using the money for the corps' tasks.¹¹⁰ Having rejected membership of the Corps in Beijing, he founded the Wuhan Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps and a bookshop *Liqun shushe* in 1920. Members of the Wuhan corps, according to the plan, worked and studied in a communal setting. However, the prototype Beijing corps soon resulted in failure and the Wuhan corps was dissolved after Yun and other members realised there was no possibility of achieving social revolution in that way.

It is hardly fair to say that projects such as these represented the anarchist movement. Although the failures of the corps were represented as the failure of anarchism,¹¹¹ the projects did not aim specifically to achieve an anarchist society nor were they organized or put forward solely by anarchists. The proposers of and participants in the corps were radical intellectuals and students; some were anarchists, some were not. The Paris anarchists who should have been fully aware of the limits and the outcomes of experimental communities in France took a noncommittal attitude toward the corps. Zhang Ji and Zhang Jingjiang were involved in it by donating ten *yuan* each. Others, Wu Huihui, Li Shizeng and Chu Minyi, did not get involved in the project and consistently devoted themselves to an educational project, the Frugal Study movement, at that time. They also showed strong interest in the labour movement of syndicalism. The corps was not a project in which famous Chinese anarchists were fully involved or which they public supported.

However, the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps project had a strongly anarchistic character. It shared with the anarchists their utopian social vision about a new lifestyle.

¹¹⁰ Yun Daiying, "Zenyang chuangzao shaonian Zhongguo? (xia)" (How do we create Young China ? 2), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2, no. 3 (September 1920), p. 19.

¹¹¹ About the evaluation of the failure of the movement as the turning point for anarchism and Marxism in China, for example, see Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. And Ono Shinji, "Goshi jiki no risōshugi—Un Daiei no baai—" (Idealism in the May Fourth period: the case of Yun Tai-ying (1895 – 1931)), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 38, no. 2 (September 1979), pp. 1 – 38.

The lifestyle of the corps was quite similar to that of the Xinshe group based on anarchist principles. Such social visions attracted people's attention at that time. Li Dazhao familiarised his readers with the religious new village movements in the USA, such as the Oneida Community, Amana Society, Zoar village and so forth, in a radical magazine *Xinqi pinglun*. His article described people's lives in those villages in detail including their family systems and forms of marriage.¹¹² In a comment on the article, the editor of the magazine Shen Xuanlu said he could only accept accounts of the success of these new villages, because the break-up of the new villages had been caused by practical reasons like financial difficulty.¹¹³ The Corps experiments seemed to have shared the belief that they could change society through extending the ideal society from small organizations to larger organizations which embodied the anarchist way of social change without using coercive political power.

Furthermore, the importance attached to the family revolution characterised the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps projects as anarchistic. Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu had made an appeal in *Xin qingnian* to young people to develop a progressive spirit in order to regenerate China. They not only used the same terms in their attack on the family and traditional society as did the anarchists, but also were radical about the family revolution in almost the same way as anarchists. The project had been inspired by young people's ardent desire for a new life, especially a life free from their families, and so it had the same aim of family revolution as the anarchists. Shimizu Ken'ichirō has discussed this aspect of the project.¹¹⁴ Shimizu focuses on the relationship between 'free love' and the Corps. He points out that as part of the theoretical background of the Corps, Ibsenism¹¹⁵ had strongly influenced young people who confronted marriage problems at that time. Ibsenism encouraged youth to revolt against the families that forced arranged marriages on them. The Corps was proposed to provide youth who had

¹¹² Li Dazhao, "Meilijian zhi zongjiao xincun yundong" (Religious new village movements in the USA), *Xinqi pinglun*, no. 31 (4 January 1920), pp. 1–4.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Shimizu Ken'ichirō, "Kakumei to ren'ai no yūtopia—Ko Teki no Ipusen shugi to kōdoku gojodan" (A utopia of revolution and love: Hu Shi's Ibsenism and the Work-Study Mutual Aid corps), *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō*, no. 573 (November 1995), pp. 1–20. Xu Jiansheng also discussed the movement from a similar point of view to Shimizu's. He categorized it as the marriage revolution (abolition of marriage) of socialism and radical democracy in the New Culture era. Xu Jiansheng, "Jindai Zhongguo hunyin jiating biange sichao shulun" (Reform thought about marriage and the family in modern China), *Jindai shi yanjiu*, no.3 (March 1991), pp. 139–167.

¹¹⁵ Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) questioned the meaning of marriage and the family through his social dramas, such as *A Doll's House*. The drama became a symbol of women's liberation and the thought that marriage should be based on individual free will and mutual love.

escaped from their families with the space to live.¹¹⁶ 'Free love' and the 'marriage problem' were urgent issues for youth who participated in the Corps. Life in the Corps was an experiment of free association and 'free love.' Shimizu describes the project as being "a utopia for young, intelligent people to pursue love and revolution at the same time."¹¹⁷ In this aspect, anarchism provided the theoretical backbone of the family revolution for the Corps. Young people were the physical subjects of the family revolution, and the Corps provided them with the space to test the theory. Therefore it was natural that the project was regarded as an answer to the problem of the family revolution at that time.

However, the Corps did not simply pursue a family revolution through abolishing marriage and the family. In the original Beijing plan, according to Zuo Shunsheng (1893 – 1969), the qualification for membership was being a person who had the ability to lead an independent life. The organization was expected to include not only men, but also male members' wives, and women regardless of their marital status. Furthermore it would support the children of members in the future.¹¹⁸ In his plan, the corps would provide young people, including people who were already married, with measures to solve their family problems. Wuhan's corps had a similar intention. It mentioned, "(in a plan of extension) the Corps would pay the expenses of childcare and care for aged persons."¹¹⁹ But it plainly said they had no way to solve women's problems at that stage. They hoped first, that the project would go well. Second, they would consider members' cohabitation with their wives so that they improved themselves through friendly rivalry. They hoped women would improve their ability enough to share the sense of mutual life with male members." Later Yun again suggested shifting the base from the city to a village so that members and their wives could live together, and members could support their younger brothers and sisters.¹²⁰ This plan had a clearer family-centred tendency.

¹¹⁶ Not only the Beijing corps that Shimizu mentioned, but also the Wuhan corps had a case in which members supported a man who wanted to escape from his family to settle down. Liao Huanxing, "Wuchang lijun shushe shimo" (A story of Lijun bookshop in Wuchang), in *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (hereafter WSSQST), Zhang Yunhou, et al. eds., Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1979, vol. 1, p.203.

¹¹⁷ Shimizu, *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Zuo Shunsheng, "Xiao zuzhi de tichang" (A proposal for small organizations), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 1, no. 2 (August 1919), p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Yun Daiying, "Gongtong shenghuo de shehui fuwu" (Social tasks of mutual life), *Xuedeng*, (22 January 1920), in WSSQST, vol. 1, p. 133.

¹²⁰ Yun Daiying, "Weilai de meng" (A dream of the future), in WSSQST, vol. 1, p. 190.

Although both Corps in Beijing and Wuhan did not actually mention members' wives or families in their programs,¹²¹ they considered the real situation of young people; some of them were already married and had children, or they had to look after their families. Thus the Corps did not simply intend to pursue the family revolution (abolition of marriage and the family), but to build an alternative form of community to support young people and their nuclear family life. In this context, the meaning of the 'family', which meant the traditional extended family, was distinguished from the young people's nuclear family.

Some members of the Beijing Corps had radical opinions about the family revolution in that they aimed to destroy the conventional family system. A member of the first Corps in Beijing, Shi Cuntong (1899 – 1970), who believed in anarchism and had published an article attacking filial piety,¹²² described their discussions about the family and marriage. Members all agreed to detach themselves from the family system, i.e. from personal relationships tied to kinship-based personal status and economic relationship. This was because 1) the family system was the origin of all evils 2) the system of personal status in the family was against equality 3) when they practised communism, family relationships were redundant 4) they would not begin social reform with the family. They aimed their reform at the whole of society and could not restrict it to their own families. Regarding marriage, they agreed that once they had seceded from the family, marriage had no reason to exist. Therefore persons who were married should divorce and persons who were engaged should cancel the engagement.¹²³ Members even recorded that "after solving these problems, we felt delighted. We thought we could achieve part of an ideal society: no government, no coercive power, no law, no religion, no family, and no marriage."¹²⁴ Those voices reflected young people's earnest and impetuous convictions.

On the other hand, Yun Daiying trod warily in the matter of the family revolution, although he also insisted on abolishing the family. He had a critical view of the irresponsible attitudes that young people took toward marriage and the family. He said, "Nine-tenths of the young people who talk about anarchism are not serious. Seven

¹²¹ "Wuchang gongxue huzhu tuan zuzhi dagang" (The general program of Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps), *Changsha*, (2 February 1920), in WSSQST, vol. 2, pp. 473 – 475.

¹²² Cun's article "Fei xiao" (No-filial piety) was published in *Zhejiang xinchao* in 1919 and caused trouble. About his article and its influence, see Ishikawa Yoshihiro, "Shi Sontou to Chūgoku kyōsantō" (Shi Cuntong and the Chinese Communist Party), *Tōhō gakuhō*, no. 68 (1996), pp. 248 – 250; Qi Weiping, "Shi Cuntong zhu 'Fei Xiao' yinqi yichang xuanran dabo" (A great disturbance created by Shi Cuntong «Fei xiao»), *Minguo chungiu*, no. 1 (1990), pp. 17 – 19.

¹²³ Cuntong, "Gongdu huzhu tuan de shiyan he jiaoxun" (The experiment and lessons of work-study mutual aid group), in WSSQST, vol. 2, p. 433.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

or eight-tenths of young people who talk about new thought are not serious. This is because such people only know how to blame the government, capitalists, fathers and brothers.”¹²⁵ Yun suggested that young people acquire enough academic attainment, live a frugal life, and strive for independence instead of opposing or seceding from the family without due consideration.¹²⁶

Yun Daiying's proposal for the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps project included his opinions about the abolition of the family and public child-rearing. He had originally given the traditional extended family credit for its educational function, regarding it as a microcosm of society, which needed to be reformed but still had the merit of educating children. Therefore he had attempted to create a linked and constitutional family (*hegu de lixian de jiating*) or a family ruled by law (*fazhi de jiating*), which consisted of himself, his wife and his brothers when they married. But the trial resulted in his wife's suffering.¹²⁷ As a result of his failed experiment with such a family, he came to insist on abolishing the family and practising public child-rearing.¹²⁸ But the reasons that he gave include interesting points: In the big family (consisting of himself, his wife and his brothers), he admitted that his wife was a foreign element and could not assimilate into the family. He saw this disharmony as a cause of evils in a big family because he thought “an ideal society should consist of constituent members who have the same feelings and interests. If not, they are seemingly in harmony but actually at variance. The more complicated an organisation grows, the more it is given over to fallacies and compromises.”¹²⁹ He also regarded women who relied on their husbands as unequal members of society. Therefore the family should be abolished so that women could be independent.¹³⁰ His advocacy of abolishing marriage and the family was associated with a tendency to prescribe uniformity in people's opinions, feelings, and economic status. His tendency to group uniformity characterised the Corps, whose members were all expected to assimilate into the mainstream of the Corps. This tendency might have contributed to an exclusive atmosphere in the Corps.

¹²⁵ Yun Daiying, “Zenyang chuangzao shaonian Zhongguo?” (How to create young China?), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2, no. 3 (September 1920), p. 17.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Yun Daiying, “Bo Yang Xiaochun jun fei ertong gongyu” (Refuting Yang Xiaochun's no public child-rearing), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2, no. 16 (15 August 1920), p. 90.

¹²⁸ Gotō Nobuko points out how Yun's opinion about the family changed from supporting the extended family to supporting abolition of the family. Gotō Nobuko, “Un Daiei no shuppatsu—goshi zenya no shisō” (The departure of Yun Daiying: thought on the eve of May Fourth), *Shinshū daigaku bungakubu jimbun kagaku ronshū*, no. 16 (1982), p. 15.

¹²⁹ Yun Daiying, *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 99.

Young people who had seceded from their families, rejected arranged marriage and were pursuing 'free love' experienced various difficulties in the Corps. Once they started their new lives under ideal circumstances, young people who were forced to decide their attitude to 'free love' showed confusion. They could not create a new form of personal relationship to replace the conventional relationship of husband and wife. They had difficulty in handling the resulting problems.¹³¹ It was an experiment to find new forms of personal relationships to replace conventional ones.

Historian Zhou Cecong's evaluation of the Mutual Aid Corps is pertinent. He regards the corps as an intellectuals' experiment with their new ideas. Its failure led Chinese intellectuals to become disillusioned with utopianism.¹³² From the failure of the experiments, Shi Cuntong concluded that a social revolution needed political power, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹³³ Yun Daiying inclined to Marxism and the power of the masses.¹³⁴ The GMD theorist Dai Jitao (1890 – 1949) suggested, "go to the factory."¹³⁵ But some anarchists attributed the failure of the Mutual Aid Corps to external conditions.

An anarchist called Lian cited three reasons for its failure: lack of funds, production could not meet consumption, and government pressure.¹³⁶ He suggested building a new village in a proper place with better conditions, such as Thailand.¹³⁷ Some suggested using various means, such as founding a farmers' association, education and community work, in order to promote a village movement.¹³⁸ Jinqing saw Mushakōji's New Village as proving that human life still had room for reform and

¹³¹ Shimizu, *ibid.*, pp. 9 – 10.

¹³² Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967, p. 191.

¹³³ Shi Cuntong learned Marxism in Japan. His interest in social change through political power (proletarian dictatorship) showed the influence of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*. See Ishikawa Yoshihiro, "Shi Sontou to Chūgoku kyōsantō", Appendix 1, p. 344, Appendix 2, p. 350; "Wakaki hi no Shi Sontou—Chūgoku kyōsanto sōritsuki no Nihon shōso o ronjite sono kentō mondai ni oyobu" (The early activities of Shi Cuntong in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 53, no. 2 (September 1994), pp. 98 – 99.

¹³⁴ Yun changed the objective from a student movement to mass social revolution based on workers. He admitted that "I had a mistaken idea that we should create our projects by ourselves. The projects fell through or failed," and asserted they must use the invincible mass power and to do so, they must guide the masses. Yun Daiying, "Wei Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui tongren jin yijie" (My opinion for member of Young China Society), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 3, no. 11 (June 1922), pp. 18 – 24.

¹³⁵ Jitao, "Wo duiyu gongxue huzhu tuan de yi kaocha" (My opinion about the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps), *Xingqi pinglun*, no. 42 (21 March 1920), pp. 1 – 2.

¹³⁶ Lian, "Yao zuzhi xincun hul guo zhengdang de shenghuo zhe hebu xiangshuai nanlai ne" (Persons who want to make a new village or to make an honest living, why not come to a southern county?), *Xuehui*, no. 354 (22 November 1923), p. 6 – 7.

¹³⁷ Lian, *ibid.*, *Xuehui*, no. 354 (22 November 1923), p. 7, no. 355 (23 November 1923), pp. 5 – 6, no. 356 (24 November 1923), pp. 5 – 7.

¹³⁸ Xuantian, "Wang xiangcun qu" (Go to the village), *Xuehui*, no. 73 (25 December 1922), pp. 2 – 4, no. 74 (27 December 1922), pp. 2 – 4, no. 75 (28 December 1922), pp. 2 – 3.

formulated a similar plan of reforming farming villages.¹³⁹ Thus, some anarchists did not perceive the discontinuance of the experiments as signifying the failure of the anarchist model and kept a positive view of the New Village.

In terms of social change, the experiments enabled young people to practise the family revolution. Xu and Liu, who regarded the failure of the Mutual Aid Corps as evidence of the failure of anarchism, saw one of the reasons for its failure as the impossibility of the Corps' insistence on secession from home, marriage and school, which had also been advocated by the Paris anarchists and Shifu.¹⁴⁰ Through the experiments, young people actualised the family revolution in the form of secession from the family and the experiment of 'free love.' Shimizu mentioned that some young people who had participated in the corps later married people whom they first met through the corps. The discontinuance of the corps did not necessarily mean the failure of the family revolution. There were profound arguments about the family in the May Fourth era, as the corps struggled with formulating a new life style with or without the family. There was no decisive or commonly recognised answer. Shi Cuntong continued to insist on the abolition of the marriage system¹⁴¹ even after his experience in the corps, but Yun Daiying later came to believe that only social revolution could solve marriage problems.¹⁴²

However, the communal experiment revealed another problem with anarchism. Anarchist advocacy of the family revolution came to appeal to young people widely and occupied a significant position in the New Culture Movement era. The Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps was an attempt to turn individual rebellion into social revolution. But the result was indicative of a flaw in the anarchistic approach to social movements. Through the New Village Movement or other communal experiments of small dimensions, Chinese anarchists did not have any means to channel young people's enthusiasm for new society and new life into a constructive movement that was closely connected with a broad-based labour movement or farmers' movement.

Communes in Chinese rural areas

¹³⁹ Jinqing, "Noncun gaizao yu jiaoyü" (Reforming farming villages and education), *Xuehui*, no. 144 (20 March 1923), p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Xu and Liu, *ibid.*, 175.

¹⁴¹ Cuntong, "Feichu hunzhi wenti" (Abolishing the marriage system), *Juewu*, (25 May 1920), in *Zhongguo funü wenti taolun ji*, vol. 4, pp. 195 – 199.

¹⁴² Yun Daiying, "Hunyue jiechu zhi kunnan" (The difficulty of breaking an engagement), *Zhongguo qingnian*, no. 72 (28 March 1925), pp. 343 – 344.

The other plan of creating anarchist society was village-oriented farming with a practical approach to Chinese society. Just as the Chinese Tokyo group had shown a strong concern about rural areas and Liu Shiwei had suggested creating anarchist communes based on existing villages, some Chinese anarchists turned their attention to rural areas as an important arena for social revolution and attempted to take part in farmers' movements. Previously they had argued about village revolution, but had managed little involvement in actual movements in rural areas. The anarchist Daneng proposed a rough blueprint for a village movement. In line with his own experience, he described founding a night labour school that was set up as the first step in establishing a "*laonong hui*" (worker-peasant association). Through the school, peasants learned not only reading and writing, but also social affairs, and their relationship with the anarchists became closer. May Day provided another chance to enlighten peasants by distributing pamphlets, having demonstrations, and performing revolutionary plays. The peasant association became a centre of anarchist activities, such as encouraging rent reduction, and acting against evil members of the gentry. Daneng also recommended making a school the headquarters of the village movement.¹⁴³ In the village movement, anarchists who came from outside the village first of all needed to be accepted by villagers. A similar process was described in more detail in a report from Shanxi.

This report, by a *nongshe* (farmers association) in Shanxi, describes anarchists' activity in a rural area. Young anarchists located themselves in Liangzhen in north Shanxi to practise their aims. These were (1) practise working, associate with farmers, propagandise their principles, and (2) practise village education, bond with farmers' feelings to create a federation of farmers.¹⁴⁴ The young anarchists' communal living and activity there were supported by Zhang Hanqing, who was an influential person in the area. They founded a farmers' association at first by themselves.¹⁴⁵ Villagers at first looked suspiciously on "men wearing long robes and women with bobbed hair" who came into the village. Anarchists started their work by speaking to farmers about the

¹⁴³ Daneng, "Xiangcun yundong tan" (A talk about the village movement), *Chunlei*, no. 2 (10 December 1923), in *Genten*, pp. 1 – 8. According to a report about Daneng's activity in Xiangshan, the worker-peasant school's funds were covered by a levy on rice fields, which was paid by landowners and tenant farmers. The school had seventy or eighty children in the daytime and one hundred peasants at night. The worker-peasant association successfully organised the great part of people in the village and managed communal property. *Minzhong*, no. 5 (10 July 1923), p. 17. (reprint, type)

¹⁴⁴ Zhenpin, "Shanbei nongshe de guoqu and xianzai" (The past and present of the farmers' association in north Shanxi), *Xuehui*, no. 425 (22 November 1924), p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ "Shanbei nongshe yundong de xuanyan" (A declaration of Shanbei peasant association), *Chunlei*, no. 1 (1923), in *Genten*, pp. 141 – 143. They declared their belief in the declaration as follows: Free association. Mutual aid. People are equal. People work. Cooperative work. Cooperative pleasure. From each according to their ability. To each according to their needs.

irrationality of farmers' adverse circumstances. The anarchists, although regarded at first as rich and privileged students by the villagers, tried to persuade farmers to change their ideas; it was not true that mental workers ruled physical workers, the social status of gentlemen and ordinary people did not deny the equality of man. It was after the anarchists exchanged brotherhood vows with the villagers that they were accepted as if they were members of the village family.¹⁴⁶

After their preparatory work to enlighten farmers, the anarchists reorganised the association from a farmer-like scholars' organization to a real farmers' organization. They appealed to over ten elders for solidarity to cope with corrupt officials, bad gentry, and to protect themselves from bandits and criminals. Anarchists and elders drafted a declaration and rules of the association. The declaration maintained that it was not officers or the army on which villagers could rely, but on their own solidarity. The seventeen rules of the farmers' association included the following: the association practises self-government; it consists of high-integrity farming families; it solves conflicts between members; when force is needed, each family provides a man as a member of a self-defence corps in order to protect the village; members don't harbour wrongdoers.¹⁴⁷

The report referred to a case of donkey theft, which was peacefully solved by the association. An old man whose donkey had been stolen and killed by a young man appealed to the association. Village elders and thief came together. When the young man was questioned by elders about the donkey, he justified himself by saying that he took the donkey because he thought the donkey had been abandoned. But when the father of the young man accused him of disgracing his father and of disobeying his elders, the young man admitted his fault and apologized. The elders reprimanded him as an unfilial son and ordered him to collect and chop firewood for three days for the owner of the donkey.¹⁴⁸ It was the social norm, which included conventional family ethics, which controlled people's behaviour in this case. In this case, the association could play a role in enforcing the conventional norms regardless of its character. These functions of the association were referred to by Liu Shipai as the functions of the farming village. But according to a description of the village situation as "sand on a plate", other anarchists took the view that such anarchistic social systems had been lost,

¹⁴⁶ Zhenpin, "Shanbei nongshe de guoqu and xianzai," *Xuehui*, no. 417 (11 November 1924), p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. *Xuehui*, no. 424 (21 November 1924), p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. *Xuehui*, no. 425 (22 November 1924), p. 3.

and that what the anarchists were attempting was to restore the social system through the association.

The anarchists' approach to the rural community was conditioned by their evaluation of the existing social system, which they regarded as the base of the association. In the case of village matters, they consulted those village elders who had a voice in the village. The association left the existing social structure of the village as it was. As Jiangjun and Li Xingzhi pointed out, the association actually supported rural authority (landlords and officers), and self-government only meant maintaining public order as it was.¹⁴⁹ As long as the association relied on the existing power and social structure in the village, the association inevitably took a compromising stand. In this way, restoring an indigenous anarchistic social system naturally resulted in compromising with or even enhancing conventional authority. In terms of the family, the association could exert control through elders in the families. The fact that anarchists' activity ended because their patron Zhang was killed by Yuan Yanshan (1883 – 1960)¹⁵⁰ also indicates their activity was also restricted by a volatile political situation.

Chinese anarchists from an early stage saw the labour movement, and particularly syndicalism, as a promising means to achieve anarchism.¹⁵¹ However, in contrast to the ready availability of materials on anarcho-syndicalism in Japan, I was unable to locate significant sources of information on the involvement of workers' families in the labour movement in China. The labour movement in which anarchists were involved therefore cannot be seen to connect with the family revolution. Shifu recognised the present state of workers as, "workers' economic status is below humanity. The poorer they become, the more ignorant they become. Workers' intellectual level has been almost reduced to below humanity."¹⁵² Therefore he suggested founding workers' unions and commoners' schools to help them acquire knowledge in order to improve their level of living.¹⁵³ Fellow Chinese anarchists

¹⁴⁹ Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi, *ibid.*, p. 313.

¹⁵⁰ A warlord who belonged to the Beiyang military clique. Yuan was the chief of Shanxi province from 1917 to 1930. Almost at the same time, Yuan also practised a similar rural policy. From 1922, Yuan enforced "*cunben zhengzhi*" (village centred politics). This aimed to establish social order, promote "self-government", and protect the community. But it actually re-organized administration to control the village, and aimed to confirm Yuan's military control in the area, and to enforce anti-communism policy. Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao benshu pianxie zu, *Yuan Yanshan pingzhuan*, Zhangjiakou: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1991, pp. 116 – 125.

¹⁵¹ Shifu, "Zhi wuzhengfu dang wanguo dahui shu" (A letter to the International Anarchist Congress), (June 1914), in SFWC, p. 264.

¹⁵² Shifu, "Shanghai ciye bagong fengchao ganyan" (An impression about the current of strike in Shanghai lacquer industry), (November 1914), in SFWC, p. 81.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81 – 82.

followed this line. For example, in Guangzhou, anarchist approaches to workers began with creating workers' clubs or night schools to promote unionism.¹⁵⁴ Unlike the Japanese labour movement, however, elements relevant to family issues do not emerge from Chinese anarchist activities in the labour movement. There was more scope for anarchist operations in rural areas.

Approaching, enlightening, and organizing workers and peasants were urgent tasks for anarchists who intended to promote syndicalism or rural commune movements. These movements aimed to have real relevance for the needs of workers and peasants. If anarchists intended to reform social systems, the education that anarchists had emphasised as a crucial role for the movement could be a way to change people's thought. But Shanxi's case indicates that the need to be accepted by the rural community limited the contents of education in terms of the family revolution. Unlike communal experiments in which organizers could formulate the structure and principles of organization according to their own ideas, the rural commune movements were restricted by the existing social structure and norms. Thus "going to the people" forced anarchists to adopt different tactics in terms of the family revolution. But how could Chinese anarchists justifiably adjust their anarchism to the village situation and lay aside the family revolution, which formed so important a part of their program? In the commune movement, the question remained in the form of dual standards for anarchists and peasants.

Thus Chinese anarchists challenged the family system from mainly two approaches: one was abolishing the family, which was advocated by the Paris anarchist group, the Shifu group and young anarchists in the New Culture Movement era, and was embodied in the New Village Movement and the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps. The other one was changing family ethics, which had been advocated by the Tokyo anarchist group and at least implied in commune movements in the village. However, Chinese anarchists, who gradually weakened their connections with social movements throughout the 1920s, could not propose any alternative way to pursue the family revolution, except by resorting to individual awareness. It was the end of Chinese anarchists' challenge to the family system in the form of a serious social movement.

¹⁵⁴ Huang Yibo, "Wuzhengfu zhuyi zhe zai Guangzhou gao gonghui huodong huiyi" (Anarchists' engagement in union movements in Guangzhou), in ZWZZX, pp.508 – 510; Liu Shixin, "Guanyu wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de diandi huiyi" (Recollection of anarchist activities), in WZSZX, p. 936.

6.3 Conclusion and epilogue

Through their individual practice of free love and free marriage, anarchists demonstrated attempts to realise their ideals in their own lives. However, there was a remarkable difference between Japanese and Chinese anarchists in the way they pursued 'free love'. Kōtoku's and Ōsugi's cases show that their revolt against conventional norms through free love did not mean the negation of marriage or the family itself. On the other hand, Shifu, who became a model for Chinese anarchists, also pursued free love but never through the forms of marriage or the family. Shifu's experience seems to embody the family revolution that Chinese anarchists advocated. However, one should not emphasise the difference between Japanese and Chinese anarchists only by focussing on prominent cases. Many anarchists in both countries pursued the ideal of free love or freer relationships between husband and wife by creating unconventional forms of relationship in their own ways. This is an important aspect of anarchism, which has no dogma that all believers are obliged to follow. Individual anarchists put their faith into practice only according to their personal initiatives.

The different views of the family by Japanese and Chinese anarchists are also reflected in their perceptions of interpersonal relationships in anarchist groups. Japanese anarchists were inclined to compare their comradeship or close personal relationships to the positive feelings shared by family members. But Chinese anarchists did not, although they sometimes used the family as a metaphor of ideal society. Not only their perceptions of personal feelings, but also the life styles of the two groups show the difference. Japanese anarchist groups, who often lived a communal life, took a more family-like form, while their Chinese counterparts mainly formed groups for undertaking projects, such as publishing magazines.

Could anarchists put their discourse about the family into practice in their social movements? As Japanese anarchists did not deny the family, a change of the family system or personal relationships in the family never became the end goal of anarchist social movements in Japan. Rather, the existing family occupied an important role as the foundation of labour and farmers' movements. Although some Japanese anarchists were fully aware of the oppression of individuals in the family system, anarchists in social movements lacked a concerted intention to change the family. Anarchist concerns about individual freedom in their lives were not strongly reflected in their social movements.

On the other hand, in China, the family revolution was a main purpose of the New Village Movement and the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps. Though both movements ended in failure, these movements reflected Chinese anarchists' discourse about the family. In the movement to create communes in farming villages, however, there was no place to mention the family revolution because anarchists evaluated the existing social structure as the foundation of their movement. Thus anarchist discourse about the family was reflected in their social movements to some extent. However, due to lack of practical anarchist commitment to and involvement in actual social movements, it is difficult to know how anarchist theories and practices influenced Chinese society in terms of family issues.

Epilogue: Anarchists looking backwards

In the reformist social movements of twentieth century Japan and China, it is impossible to quantify the contribution of anarchist thought to the evolution of public policy and private practice in matters related to the family. However, we have more opportunity to examine the influence of anarchist beliefs on the lives of individual anarchists.

Ideal and illusion: free love and family in the life of an anarchist

Chinese anarchist Lu Jianbo's life is full of interesting suggestions. Lu Jianbo belonged to the third generation of anarchists, who accepted anarchism in the New Culture Movement era. He learnt about anarchism in 1919 through radical magazines and teachers¹⁵⁵ at the local high school. Jianbo's anarchist activity began with joining the anarchist group *Shishe*¹⁵⁶ in 1921. An article by Jiang Jun gives information on Lu's anarchist activity up to the late 1920s.¹⁵⁷ In this section, I focus on a later period of his life, mainly relying on information given to me by Lu's old friend Liang Jiashu.¹⁵⁸ I report here aspects of his life relevant to love, marriage and the family and do so in order to show how one anarchist's life worked out in terms of doctrines

¹⁵⁵ Teacher Shen Foyu, a staff member of the department of education, Zhou Zaishan. In 1920, mathematics teacher Li Zongbi, a graduate of Beijing University, brought revolutionary books with him.

¹⁵⁶ The association was founded by Chen Xiaowo (Chen Muqin) in Chengdu.

¹⁵⁷ Jiang Jun, "Lu Jianbo zaonian de wuzhengfu zhuyi xuanzhuang huodong jishi."

¹⁵⁸ Information from Liang Jiashu, who told me about Lu Jianbo's life by correspondence. Liang met Lu Jianbo in 1974 through learning Esperanto. Liang then became a close friend of Lu until Lu died in 1991. Liang Jiashu was detained for 'counterrevolution' from December 1968 to April 1970, and was sent to a farming village until 1977. Liang, who calls himself an 'anarchist' without party affiliation, is an Esperantist and has written unpublished novels. At present, he is unemployed. I owe a great deal to Liang for my account of Lu Jianbo in this section.

associated with the family that played so central a role in the course of Chinese anarchism.

Free love

Lu Jianbo practised 'free love' throughout his life. He was able to have an ideal relationship with Deng Tianyi (1906 – 1986)¹⁵⁹ in terms of free love. Tianyi was a woman of independent spirit who exerted herself for women's emancipation, and advocacy of free love. She rejected the bondage of marriage. After Jianbo met Tianyi in Shanghai where both were studying in 1925, they shared their lives and a belief in anarchism. They had a concept of complete freedom in love. They thought uniting the sexes as a result of natural feelings conformed to morality, but was irrelevant to marriage, which was a chain on a free life. In Shanghai, both devoted themselves to anarchist activities.

In 1936, Jianbo arrived in Sichuan with Tianyi to teach in Leshan jiasu lianli high school. They worked at the school until 1940. Around 1937, Jianbo and his student Huang Shangqiong (1919 –) fell in love and began living together. Huang was beautiful, intelligent, with a power of understanding which Tianyi might lack. But Huang lacked idealism. Jianbo told Tianyi of it, and she understood and accepted the new situation. But their comradeship and friendship continued even after that. This was because, for anarchists, the end of love between the sexes did not mean the end of friendship or comradeship. Their separation had no influence on their work. Their students did not notice their breakup. But, in the early 1940s, Jianbo fell in love with Zhang, who was also his student and who helped him to undertake educational activity for workers. In these relationships, Jianbo believed in an ideal that, when man and woman came to have affection for each other, it was immoral and against human nature to avoid it. But their love was condemned because Jianbo and Huang had already established their relationship, and furthermore, Jianbo's family was in crisis after Jianbo's brother was killed by Japanese bombing. Therefore, Jianbo's old friends and fellow-anarchists Bajin and Wu Xianyou persuaded them to end their affair.

After 1949, the relationships of Jianbo, Tianyi, and Huang became a problem. This was because, according to Liang, people could not understand the difference between concepts of wife-mistress and 'free love.' Jianbo did not have the concept of 'husband and wife' as is clear from the fact that while Jianbo and Tianyi lived together before Jianbo met Huang, Jianbo called Tianyi 'comrade' or 'dear,' and never called her

¹⁵⁹ She wrote articles in the penname of Shiya for anarchist magazine *Jingzhe*.

'wife.' Jianbo naturally ignored the marriage register system as ridiculous and a government interference in private matters. But Huang seemed to have felt pressure from a lack of marital status. Tianyi was indifferent to marital status. She believed that women's happiness was like that of escaping from a gaol and getting equal respect with men. She understood the meaning of the family by reference to the views of Emma Goldman. Tianyi's life seems to embody Goldman's opinion about women's true emancipation.

Jianbo and Tianyi kept their relationship as comrades and Jianbo's brothers regarded Tianyi as a family member. But their relationship irritated Huang. Liang recorded a conversation between Huang and Tianyi; Huang complained about somebody's poking her nose into her family. When Tianyi asked who she was talking about, and who had met Jianbo first, Huang explained she was not talking about Tianyi. In their relationship, Huang seems not to be able to share the concept of free love and anarchism itself although she lived with Jianbo. It poses a question about the nature of 'free love' between Jianbo and Huang.

Jianbo and his family life

Jianbo had four children with Huang; Lu Wanyi,¹⁶⁰ Huang Zhongru,¹⁶¹ Huang Zhongpu,¹⁶² and Lu Wanjin.¹⁶³ Jianbo never became an authoritarian father or husband. There was no concept of hierarchy in the family. As to the relationship between father and children, Liang reported as follows: "Lu Jianbo regarded his children as peers. He never stood on his dignity as a father. There was not the slightest concept of high and low in the family. His children's attitude toward their father was quite casual. Jianbo did not interfere in his children's private matters." However, such a kind of relationship between father and children did not result in what Jianbo expected. Wanjin could not enter university, although he was talented. In the Chinese social system, which did not recognise people according to their ability, Jianbo's children also had to face barriers that they could not break by their own efforts. Lu was concerned for his children, but did not want to ask for favours or special consideration for them.

¹⁶⁰ The first son. Esperantist. After graduation, he was sent to Gansu, where he had a family.

¹⁶¹ The second child, first daughter. She was sent to a Tibetan area after graduation. Long after, she was permitted to move back to Chengdu and is teaching there at a university.

¹⁶² Third child, second daughter. She is teaching chemistry at a normal school.

¹⁶³ Fourth child, second son. He could not enter the university and is working in a factory.

The children had close relationships with their mother, while they hardly talked with their father. They seemed to feel bitter about their father for not helping his own children even though he had an empty title, "old professor." Jianbo was estranged at home, and often complained to Liang that nobody understood him there. As to Jianbo's children, Liang thinks that if Jianbo had given his children a stricter education, they would inevitably have had ideals. Liang observes that father and children did not have a common language about ideals and this was one of the reasons for their estrangement. Wanjin has described his father as 'a person in utopia.' That concept has been defined as follows: "When a consciousness is not consistent with reality that surrounds it, the consciousness is utopian."¹⁶⁴ A person like Jianbo, who pursued anarchism in his life, is surely a utopian. Wanjing's description of his father demonstrated that Jianbo was out of tune with his family.

Jianbo once said, "my old life is complete loneliness." Not only because of his isolation at home, but also his 'loss of friendship' hurt him the most. In his 80s, he received some care from close friends or a young student concerned about Lu's living in difficulty. (Huang often left home to visit her adult children.) His friends prepared his meals, took him to hospital if needed, or invited him to stay with them. But Huang was offended by these acts, and broke off Jianbo's ties with other people. Later Huang even checked Lu's correspondence and diary. Liang explains that Huang's behaviour was out of suspicion that Lu might love someone else.

"Living and ideal"

To analyse Lu Jianbo's anarchism and life, his article "Living and ideal"¹⁶⁵ in 1940 is highly indicative. In it, Jianbo answered two questions: "Why are you living?" and "Is it possible to realise your ideal in your everyday life?" He answered the questions as if talking to himself. It was his belief that anarchists were living "to acquire freedom and liberation, we aim to realise society and life with no-master, no-slavery, no-exploitation through sacrificing ourselves and uniting comrades." And he continued to explain how people could realise anarchism in their lives. In existing society, "our standard of life is 'do not pursue our own interests at another's loss. Do not seek pleasure at another's pain.'" Jianbo emphasised people's free will to choose their own lives. "Until government and other authorities become extinct, we are a ruled class, our

¹⁶⁴ Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia: an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1936., p. 173.

¹⁶⁵ Daji (Lu Jianbo), "Shenghuo yu lixiang" (Living and ideal), *Jingzhe* 4, no. 3 (1 March 1940), pp. 6 – 7.

freedom is restricted.[...] But we are people who are demolishing the foundations of old society and building a new social order, and we must not use this as an excuse to be a tyrannical father or husband, master, officer, or agent or protector of all kinds of authority." Jianbo even defined ideal and illusion as "If an ideal cannot be realised in individual life, it is not an ideal, but an illusion." Therefore, "to realise our ideal in everyday life is a part of our endeavour to realise our ideal in society." He ended his article with an emphasis on reform of people's inner life as follows; "Abolition of the authority system and private property is not enough to achieve social revolution. We should not neglect moral concepts."¹⁶⁶

Jianbo's story tells us that throughout his life he endeavoured to prove that anarchism was not an illusion, but an ideal. And to some extent, he was successful. According to Liang, Jianbo was an idealist who spent his whole life in emotional torment. He actually lived his beliefs in anarchism. He loved others more than himself. Liang remembers Jianbo's words that he never regretted his belief in anarchism. However, if so, why did Jianbo deplore his loneliness in his old age? There might be two kinds of disjunction between Jianbo and the people around him. Jianbo believed in free love and practised it. But for Huang, who did not necessarily share Jianbo's ideals, her situation could not be desirable. Not only Huang, but also Jianbo's brother criticised him for insisting on free love in his relationships with women. As Liang says, it is possible that Lu's brother did not understand the essence of free love. But the gap between Jianbo and the people closest to him indicates that the concept of 'free love' was hardly accepted by others despite the example of Jianbo's personality and life.

Another gap existed between Jianbo and his children. This might well have been a generation gap. Father and children lived in completely different social environments; Jianbo was born in the late Qing era and received both the traditional education of that time and a new education in the Republic of China. On the other hand, his children were born in the Republic of China and were also educated partly under the Communist regime. Thus they grew up in different societies and cultures. In addition, I believe Jianbo's isolation was more likely to have been a natural consequence of the Chinese anarchist view of the family, which left the family out of account. For anarchists, the family was never a place to embody ideals, or to hand down parents' ideals to posterity. The first generation of Chinese anarchists, like Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui, still emphasised the importance of education, and they had a parental standpoint about their children's future. But Shifu and the younger generation like Jianbo did not embody such

¹⁶⁶ Lu Jianbo, *ibid.*

a viewpoint; they wanted to reject any tutelary authority or role as “parents.” They neither talked about creating a new form of family nor discussed the desirable relationship between parents and children except as a power relationship to be rejected. They were inclined to leave children’s education to society. The relationship between Jianbo and his children seems to embody such an anarchist view of the family. In society, Jianbo as a teacher could influence his students or propagate anarchism through publications. But, within the family that anarchists had insisted on eliminating, Jianbo could not foster the essence of anarchism in his children or the next generation.

The gap between father and children is reminiscent of the life of the Japanese anarchist Hatta Shuzō. When publisher Ōshima Eizaburō was preparing to publish Hatta’s collected works posthumously, Hatta’s daughter refused Ōshima’s request to have a talk about Hatta. According to her letter of refusal, she had never seen her father again after he had separated from her 56 years before, and she was not the least interested in her father or in anarchism. Ōshima describes Hatta as “a person who deserted his position and his wife and children, and devoted himself to anarchistic communism.”¹⁶⁷ Ōshima underscores Hatta’s enthusiasm for anarchism as the cause that separated him from his family. But in the eyes of his family members who were deserted by him, Hatta could be regarded differently. Hatta’s case is different from that of Jianbo, who never completely abandoned his responsibility for his family. But in his children’s eyes, it was difficult for Jianbo to exist as a father and as an anarchist in the same person.

Through researching Lu Jianbo’s life, I am attracted by Deng Tianyi’s personality and her life. She was an independent spirit and followed her beliefs as much as did Jianbo. But her life, according to Liang, seems different from Jianbo’s. Although she did not have a family of her own, she seemed to have a calm and satisfying life. I have referred to a number of Chinese anarchist women in my thesis, such as He Zhen and Tianxiang, who faced life with resolution. Of them, however, I can only have fragmentary knowledge, and even that limited knowledge has been derived from male anarchists, Liu Shipai and Shifu. If we could discover more about the lives of women anarchists, it would make Chinese anarchist history much richer.

Japanese anarchist women’s lives

¹⁶⁷ Ōshima Eizaburō, “Hatta Shūzō zenshū kankō ni atatte” (On publishing the complete works of Hatta Shūzō), in *Hatta Shūzō zenshū Museifu kyōsan*, Tokyo: Kokushoku sensen sha, 1981, p. 55. About Hatta’s life in detail, see John Crump, *Hatta Shūzō and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*.

By contrast, we know about many impressive figures among anarchist women in Japan. What makes them impressive is their ways of realising their anarchism in their lives. For example, flexibility in her way of seeing and thinking characterised Kodama Haru (1906 – 1988). When she became a worker (in the printing industry) at the age of eighteen, she was told by a veteran anarchist worker, “Supporting the [labour] movement is commendable, but first of all, you should become an independent worker. Study and learn work.” It was a common phenomenon in the workers’ world that leaders of the labour movement were all prominent workers. If not, nobody would have listened to them. In such circumstances, it was natural for her to believe that it was important for her to develop integrity. If not, whatever she said would be valueless and disregarded. Anarchism was passed from genuine workers to other workers, and was not mere politics, but a way of living.

Immediately after the Second World War, she experienced cooperative life based on a spirit of mutual aid among Japanese people in Shenyang in China. Japanese who were waiting there for repatriation ran a print factory and a café to support themselves. They naturally had a pool system contributed to by people who could earn money which was made available to all according to their need. Her experience confirmed her belief in anarchism, which was not just a thought or ideology in some abstract form, but existed as part of people’s lives.

Kodama had married an anarchist Utagawa Ichirō in 1928 and had had a daughter. But Utagawa died from tuberculosis in 1933 and her daughter also died in 1934. She said that she did not remarry because she preferred to be single, but also because she could not help thinking that by doing so, she could feel more for her husband and child and avoid feeling guilty.¹⁶⁸ But throughout her life, the personal relationships she made with various people formed an important part of her life. Kodama’s belief in anarchism was fundamental to her character and was not an ideology that opened a gap between herself and others. Her marriage and family life had not been different from the social norm. She did not need to insist she was an anarchist through free love or an unconventional married life. But she still believed deeply in anarchism. Her way of living expressed her respect for others, because “Each person has their own idea and life. Actions that were once right, might become wrong as time passed.” Therefore she accepted her life as an anarchist without any aggressive pose for

¹⁶⁸ Aikyō Noriaki, “Kodama Haru san no hanashi” (A talk about Kodama Haru), *Pashina*, no.2 (30 April 1985).

society. Kodama's life shows the flexibility in her thought, including this kind of natural attitude to her life, to her associates, and society.

The case of Yagi Akiko (1895-1983) exemplifies another type of anarchist life. Yagi experienced marriage and divorce, but abandoning her son when she was divorced was a dominant factor in her whole life. She recalled that the anarchist personality, very different from the Marxist personality, had led her to anarchism.¹⁶⁹ Becoming an anarchist was, according to Yagi, like a religious conversion, which enabled people to see things in a different way and encourage people to develop their potential.¹⁷⁰ As a member of Nōsei, Yagi devoted herself to that anarchist village movement. Through the anarchist movement, she became a partner of another member. She was arrested (in 1931 and 1935) and gaoled. After she left gaol, in 1938, she separated from her partner and went to Shinkyō (Changchun) in China, where she worked until the end of the war. After she came back to Japan, as a single woman, she undertook various jobs to support herself.

Throughout her life, she had been asking the questions, "Why should humanity be divided into categories of husband or wife, parent or child? Why should humanity live in the mould of the family?" Yagi was not persuaded by an explanation of love as humanity's instinct. This was because she thought, "men and women do not necessarily come together through pure love. Love has various forms. And instinctive affection does not have durability. Love is changeable and fluid. By formalising love, big tragedies are produced. Love cannot restrict human growth."¹⁷¹ When she was 65 years old, she became devoted to an artist, but in an unsuccessful relationship.

Facing her advancing years, she doubted the value of a lifestyle of old age which included children and grandchildren, and was part of a family group at home. She realised she could never achieve peace of mind before she died.¹⁷² She told herself that there should not be any sweetness in life any more, and she should have no expectation about sex in her old age. She had to recognise it.¹⁷³ It was not easy for a woman to live by herself. As a single woman, she had to continue working to support herself. Once she became unable to work, she had little choice but to enter an aged people's home when she was 81 years old. She had little freedom living in one room shared with three other women. But she could publish her works through the help of a publisher. And around

¹⁶⁹ Yagi Akiko, "X sensei heno tegami" (A letter to X teacher), *Aruwanaku*, no.8 (10 December 1978).

¹⁷⁰ Yagi Aiko and Aikyō Noriaki, "1977nen 9gatu 22nichi" (22 September 1977), *Pashina*, no.5 (Autumn 1987).28.

¹⁷¹ Yagi Akiko, "Nikki, 1960nen" (Diary 1960), in *Yagi chosakushū*, vol. 3, p. 218.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 274 – 275.

¹⁷³ Yagi Akiko, "Nikki, 1961nen" (Diary 1961), in, *Yagi chosakushū*, vol. 3, p. 276.

her, there remained an invisible circle of people who had sympathy with her and her thought.

The lifestyles of anarchist women in old age took different forms. Some lived by themselves in their homes or in aged people's institutions. Some still lived with their husbands. They talked of their lives in their own words.¹⁷⁴ Matsumoto Masae described what marriage and the family meant to her life. "I have two sons. I am staying at a public aged people's institution. After they had grown up, both children went away from home to make their families. I was really liberated after my husband Nobeshima Eiichi died. While he was alive, I was always tied down by him in some way. For example, I used to be scolded by him for saying something silly."¹⁷⁵ She chose to live in an aged people's home in opposition to the social custom that parents lived with a son's or daughter's family in their old age. Loneliness they also felt, but they seem to have accepted their lives in which they had followed their beliefs.

Is it ironical or is it natural that many of those anarchists who earlier admitted the value of motherhood and the family ultimately show they were not influenced by the family or relationships with family members, while those anarchists who did not value the family reacted negatively to their family relationships? Individual anarchists' opinions about family matters (love, marriage, and child-rearing) were a reflection of their attitude towards their own lives, and at the same time influenced their lives profoundly.

What "has made the anarchist leaders impressive, [...] in the case of men like Kropotkin or Malatesta, the consistency and devotion with which, in spite of disappointments and in face, it may be thought, of overwhelming contrary evidence, they have maintained into old age their beliefs unchanged and their hopes undimmed. The strength of anarchism had lain in the characters of those who have practised it."¹⁷⁶ James Joll's words could describe prominent anarchist leaders. But his words cannot fully illustrate the majority of nameless anarchists' lives. Some anarchists abandoned anarchist activities and pursued employment to support themselves and their families. Some kept silence after they left the anarchist camp. But, anarchists could still be anarchists in their lives. Anarchists expressed the same beliefs in their own words. "I

¹⁷⁴ Nishikawa Yūko, "Jiritsu to kodoku-zasshi *Fujin sensen* no hitobito wo tazunete" (Independence and solitude: visiting people of magazine *Women's Front*), in *Oi no hakken 4 Oi o ikiru ba*, Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1987.

¹⁷⁵ A roundtable talk when we were members of *Fujin sensen*, In *Umoreta josei anakisuto Takamure Itsue to Fujin sensen no hitobito*. (Unknown women anarchists: Takamure Itsue and people of *Fujin sensen*), Inuzuka Setsuko, et al. eds., Tokyo: printed privately. 1976. 17.

¹⁷⁶ Joll, James, *The Anarchists*, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964. 279.

want to do my task.” “Our life is a life-long battle. Besides the fight to eliminate an irrational social system, it is also a fight against our mind-set that has been steeped in despicable social customs. This inner fight is more difficult, because the enemy are buried at the bottom of your mind.”¹⁷⁷ Or “The revolution means not only a change of social system. It was promoted as an urge for life and self-reform.”¹⁷⁸ Thus anarchists struggled for liberation not only in anarchist movements, but also in their own lives. Anarchism for them meant self-reform and an attempt to realise themselves.

¹⁷⁷ Lu Jianbo, “Shenghuo yu lixiang.”

¹⁷⁸ Yagi Akiko, “Ōkan shō 2” (Extracts from association), *Aruwanaku*, no. 13 (February 1980). According to the editor’s note, this is an extract from Yagi’s memorandums that she wrote 16 years before.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In my thesis, I have traced some important elements of anarchist social thought from the beginnings of anarchism in Japan and China early in the twentieth century until the virtual end of anarchist activities in the late 1930s. I have concentrated in detail on various strands of anarchist discourse related to love, marriage and the family. The topic is noteworthy because it includes anarchist thought that was radical and original in its time, and some of its proposals remain challenging even today. It is also of interest historically because it blended Western socialist/anarchist thought with the traditional theory and practice of mutualism in Japan and China and also included an innovative feminist concept of maternalism. Much of this anarchist discourse has already been noted, in general terms, by historians of this period; however, there remain gaps in published accounts and some over-simplification. I have therefore attempted to fill out the record by identifying and describing in greater detail the various issues and schools of anarchist thought on love, marriage and the family. As part of this process, I have provided a commentary that tries to draw out significant differences between anarchists in Japan and China and between different elements within each country. In all of this, my intention has been to give a human face to the anarchist men and women who enunciated and argued their theories, and often tried to live up to their ideals in their own lives, sometimes at great personal cost.

Anarchist discourse in Japan and China, arising originally from various radical movements aiming at family reform, displays great diversity. It is not easy to follow the whole range of anarchist ideas about family issues even in the comparatively short term of 30 years in which they were being actively advanced. This is partly because anarchists recognised no received dogma or mandatory ideology, and observed no central policy directorate. This enabled their membership to reflect, and often to respond to, the particular nature and concepts of the family in the different societies they came from.

Anarchists were responsible for creating different images of the family which often varied from, and sometimes conflicted with, each other. For Japanese anarchists, the family was seen to be in crisis in Meiji society, yet at the same time, the Japanese family was often praised as a metaphor for anarchistic socialism in that it ideally embodied a desirable mutual aid system. Socialists/anarchists contrasted this image of

an ideal family in a socialist society with an image of the "corrupt bourgeois family" which Western socialists habitually excoriated. For them, capitalist society and free competition threatened traditional family values precious for socialist ideals. The Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists took a similar attitude to their Japanese counterparts; though they envisaged the family to be in crisis in China, they attributed this to the damage caused to the family not only by family ethics, which they believed were capable of regeneration, but also, more seriously, by the external threats of capitalism. For them, the family was not an oppressive or corrupt system as a whole, but an environment where an individual life was possible. For the Tokyo group, the family system (mainly the clan system) functioned as a mutual aid network that embodied valuable anarchistic principles. For the Paris group of Chinese anarchists, on the other hand, the family was an agent for the enforcement and transmission of Confucian ethics which they condemned. These contrasts in thinking between the Tokyo and Paris groups generated complexity in Chinese anarchist discourse. The tide of Chinese anarchist opinion eventually swung behind the opinion of Chinese anarchist Shifu, who compared the family to a gaol, focussing on its potential for oppressing the individual. Japanese anarchist women, at a later stage, were also to focus on the oppressive influences, for women and for womens' nature, of the conventional family. These differing images of the family were created by anarchists in the process of advancing their critiques of the family. Of necessity, they could reflect only part of the social and individual reality of the family.

In China, the various strands of anarchist discourse about the family were intricately related to each other. Among them, there were two main tendencies. The Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists intended to destroy false morality (represented by the three bonds) and to reconstruct society by purging it of its Confucian elements. They elevated the mutual aid systems of clan communities to a model for realising an anarchist society. This was seen as an overall approach to the reform of Chinese society. The Paris group, on the other hand, aimed primarily at the liberation of individuals in the name of science; this would necessitate the destruction of the family. Nevertheless, when they envisaged their future anarchist society as a *datong* society, it became more difficult to identify the difference between *datong* society and an idealised clan-based society in terms of familial mutual aid functions. From this point of view, anarchist society might seem little more than the expansion of a family pattern in which the ethics of mutual aid had been extended from the clan to society at large.

As the image of the family fluctuated between negative and positive in anarchist discourse, the ideal society assumed different forms. Japanese anarchists expressed their ideal model mainly in the form of a village community, and Chinese anarchists mainly in the form of *datong* society. In the ideal village community, the Japanese family, either patriarchal or matriarchal, was to be the place where people would live and die together harmoniously. The Chinese *datong* society, which would have no families, would consist of detached individuals, but was in its origins an expansion of the family and overlapped with village (clan) communities. In spite of variations and exceptions to such ideal anarchist concepts, this was the broad pattern of anarchist thought that emerges from their writings.

The various anarchist visions of a future anarchist society make the differences clearer between Japanese and Chinese perceptions of the family. For Japanese anarchists, the family meant the individual family. When they cited village communities as an ideal social environment, they had no difficulty in picturing individual families united in social harmony. By contrast, Chinese anarchists could not conceive of an ideal community without dissolving the family system that currently dominated society; this was a necessary prerequisite for the 'federation of free individuals' they intended to create. To achieve it, however, Chinese anarchists would have to overcome strongly entrenched psychological and social barriers; this was not a task that Japanese anarchists thought they needed to undertake.

Other differences emerge with anarchist approaches to women's issues. Anarchist women certainly objected to women's assigned role in the conventional value system, as illustrated by Ha Zhen's gibe in 1907 that the Chinese emperor was no better than a prostitute. However, anarchist women in China never mobilised themselves or expressed a concerted view on social issues. Detailed proposals for substituting community mechanisms (e.g. communal child-rearing, dining rooms, public care for the aged and the weak) to replace family support processes were intended to help women free themselves from familial handicaps and achieve equality with men. However, these plans had originally been designed and promulgated by Western socialists and feminists, and were taken up largely by Chinese male anarchists. The lack of participation by Chinese anarchist women in formulating these essential components of the program to destroy the family may well reflect their misgivings about such aspects. In Japan, women anarchists explicitly rejected such systematic mechanisms to reduce the differences between men and women and frequently suggested that such aims were fundamentally misconceived, questioning the value of measures to enable women to

compete equally with men in the work-force. They frequently denied that motherhood should be viewed as an inherent disadvantage and insisted that women's sexuality should not be ignored in social arrangements. In that context they insisted on respect for women's femininity instead of attempting to minimise gender differences. Although they questioned the structure of the conventional family, this was from the viewpoint of its utility for women's reproductive and child-rearing functions.

By questioning the meaning of 'true emancipation', some Japanese anarchist women took a similar stance to that of their Chinese counterparts, while some opened up a more general question about the freedom of humanity to choose their own courses of action. Those anarchist women, especially in *Fujin sensen*, eventually came to reject accepted definitions of gender equality in order to exercise their own freedom to pursue instead their concept of the feminine (motherhood) principle. Their challenge could be justified by the nature of anarchism and its principle that each individual should be free to exercise her/his own subjectivity in thought and action. However, this posed a difficulty in universalising anarchist ideals; once an ideal had been formulated, it could not be sustained universally against the subjective free will of individuals. Attempts by anarchist women to maintain a consistent rationale based on motherhood indicate the difficulty of finding a universal ideal and, at the same time, the importance of constantly tuning it to meet changing circumstances.

The sweeping changes to existing society envisaged by the anarchists faced numerous practical difficulties in their realisation. In an attempt to base their utopian visions on existing examples of mutualism, anarchists were attracted to certain cooperative practices of village or clan communities. These communities of course were strongly family oriented and embodied many authoritarian features that were repugnant to anarchists. In their more radical program, Chinese anarchists wished to extend the spirit of mutual trust represented by the interaction of members of traditional families to all individuals, but failed to confront the possibility that such trust was essentially tied to the mutual dependency of members of the family organisation; destruction of the family could therefore destroy the necessary conditions for such trust. These defects in working through the implications of their utopian visions often reflected the family or psychological backgrounds of many anarchist theorists.

Young Chinese anarchists could insist on abolishing the family system only because they were city dwellers and able to live as independent individuals. Some intellectuals, students and factory workers in the cities could have a similarly independent lifestyle. But for the overwhelming majority who lived in rural areas and

were dependent on the family system, anarchist advocacy of the family revolution was completely irrelevant. The case was similar with Japanese anarchists. Those who lived in the city could theorise glibly about the village community as the foundation of a future anarchist society. However, as long as they had no concrete and tested proposals to change such communities into anarchist societies, the anarchist challenge could not be realistic.

A guiding principle for anarchists was to eliminate oppression and exclusivism. Nevertheless, tendencies of this kind sometimes emerged as unintended consequences of their proposals. The most distinctive case arose in discourse about motherhood by Japanese women anarchists. Supposing motherhood to be the essential nature of women eventually produced exclusiveness and disadvantage affecting women who were not mothers or did not identify as such. Anarchists also often overlooked the oppressive power structures operating in the village communities that they idealised as anarchist models.

Thus, anarchist discourse about family issues often reveals paradoxes, contradictions and limitations. Was there then any possibility that anarchists could have overcome those problems? Irrespective of their era or origin, anarchists typically displayed confidence in the possibility of an anarchist future. They based the spirit of anarchism not on existing social organisations or community structures, but on a concept of individual humanity. They insisted on being themselves and creating cooperative associations with individuals or groups according to the dictates of individual free-will. Although utopian anarchist communities took indefinite or unpractical forms, based on subjective judgements, their personal behaviour expressed a strong current of idealism typical of the spirit of anarchism. Anarchists could always return to that current for their starting point.

Anarchists did not have clear practical programs to achieve their ideals. They never bridged the gap between their ideals and the actual situations they confronted. Following their debates with the Marxists in the 1920s in both Japan and China, anarchists seemed to withdraw from the arena of public controversy. Anarchists nevertheless continued to believe in their ideals, even though they might not always share the same ideals. Even when the movement was in decline, anarchists were notable for practising their ideals in their daily lives. This shows anarchist commitment to the importance of the individual. However, this commitment was perhaps fatal to the effectiveness of anarchism in achieving concerted action and concrete results.

From my research, it is quite misleading to reduce anarchist discourse to 'anti-family' or 'anti-feudalism'. Their critique of the family included not only the 'feudalistic family' but also the 'modern family' and sometimes even the family in 'socialist' society. This was because anarchists targeted every element where the family was oppressive to the individual. The essential meaning of anarchist discourse about the family was their challenge to a society that was shaped and enforced by conventions. In effect, their critique of the family was a proposal for a counter-culture. Chinese anarchists challenged the existing culture that assumed that mutual trust and affectionate personal relationships could operate only within family relationships. It may sound paradoxical, but they attacked the family system in order to save such natural and true affections and apply them to all humanity. They proposed an alternative system of mutual aid between unrelated individuals, believing that anarchism's spirit of mutual aid could be a force to unite their ideal society of independent individuals.

The place of anarchist discourse in Japanese and Chinese history should be reconsidered. Why has anarchist discourse not been more highly evaluated like the discourse of 'anti-feudalism' in the New Culture movement? Why have the meaning and implications of anarchist proposals for women's emancipation based on femininity not been fully studied and understood? Anarchist discourse should not be judged solely according to its success or failure, its realism or utopianism, but also for its originality and idealism as alternative proposals for the future of humanity. It should also be given its proper place in the history of political and social thought.

The final issue is not clear-cut. Did the anarchists fail? They certainly failed as a political movement in Japan and China and their influence on social issues, though considerable for a brief period, can only be guessed at in the longer term. First, their enduring influence can be identified in the lives of individuals who believed in anarchism and attempted to realise its principles in their own lives. Second, in the historical context, we can recognise, in anarchist advocacy and deeds, a forerunner of changes in customs, behaviour, and social norms that developed later in society as significant trends. The fact that anarchist discourse or actions relating to family issues have appeared less and less radical or remarkable as society has changed is a credit to the anarchists rather than to their discredit because society has moved in directions first indicated by the anarchists. In terms of family revolution and individual emancipation, anarchists never wavered in their emphasis on individual awareness and subjectivity. Their emphasis on individual subjectivity is more appropriate to the family revolution that is in progress today than any of their intentions regarding institutional change.

In 1959, Takamure Itsue commended changes in the family brought about in China through the introduction of communes (*renmin gongshe*). In those communes, housework and child-rearing had been socialised and women could participate in public production the same as men. She hailed these arrangements as marking the appearance of a new kind of family, replacing the conventional isolated nuclear family, a development that she interpreted as appropriate to a systemic change from private ownership to socialism. By that time Takamure had moved a long way from her pre-war opposition to public child-care systems, and she pronounced the most advanced form of the family to be that located in the people's communes of the People's Republic of China.¹ However, more recent studies have revealed the reality of Chinese people's communes and have questioned the nature of the 'social revolution' under the CCP. Stacy argues that the dissolution of traditional patriarchy in the PRC was followed by the appearance of a new 'democratic patriarchy' in 'patriarchal socialism.'² Takamure's positive 1959 evaluation of the new family in people's communes is hardly persuasive for those of us who have taken more notice of the effects on individual lives of subsequent coercive political and social changes.

It seems difficult to find clear answers to the complex problems societies are presently facing as a result of institutional and behavioural change. For example, at a certain stage, many women are still pressed for an answer to the choice: to work or to have children. They feel difficulties in pursuing self realisation and constantly question themselves. The question why women who choose femininity were relegated to an inferior status and excluded from the public arena is one which Japanese women anarchists asked in the 1930s, and remains valid today. Who is to look after the children, older people, and people who need support is another important question in present-day society. If the family has lost its traditional functions in terms of caring, who or what kinds of public facilities are needed to replace the family? Today the family is sometimes queried not only in its forms, but also in its functions and even in its reason for existence. Those questions are involved today in the social system, value system, and in seeking the true nature of people's lives. Anarchists questioned and searched for

¹ Takamure Itsue, "Jinmin kōsha" (People's commune), in *Takamure zenshū*, vol. 9, p. 216. Takamure's evaluation of the family in people's communes is not isolated. Historian Ono Kazuko thought that the commune completely dissolved the patriarchal family, and everything but affection was expelled from the family. Women were emancipated from housework, which became social productive labour. The patriarchy was destroyed and private property lost its foundation. Ono Kazuko, "Shakai shugi Chūgoku no josei kaihō ron" (The theory of women's emancipation in socialist China), in *Nyūmon josei kaihō ron* (An introduction of the theory of women's emancipation), Ichibangase Yasuko, ed. Tokyo: Aki shobō, 1975, p. 348.

² Stacey, Judith, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*.

change of the family and personal relationships through changing the value system in society. As an answer to such questions, they sought an anarchist society in which differences based on sex, age, physical or mental ability would not be associated with superior or inferior social or economic status. Anarchists pursued their ideals both in social movements and in challenging conventions, including the family and personal relationships in their lives. Examples from the lives of anarchists who followed their principles and beliefs may well provide the best legacy of anarchism in Japan and China.

Glossary

Names of people

- Aiming 哀鳴
Akaba Hajime/Ganketsu 赤羽一/巖穴
Akizuki Shizue/Ono Chie 秋月静枝/小野ちえ
Andō Shōeki 安藤昌益
Andō Tokeki 安藤兎毛喜
Arahata Kanson 荒畑寒村
Bi Xiushao 畢修勺
Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Chen Mojin/Xiaowo 陳慕勤/小我
Chen Qiulin 陳秋霖
Chu Minyi 褚民誼
Dai Dongyuan/Zhen 戴東原/震
Dai Jitao 戴季陶
Deng Tianyi/Shiya 鄧天裔/施雅
Ding Xiangtian 丁湘田
Enishi Ichizō 江西一三
Feng Ziyou 馮自由
Fukao Shō 深尾韶
Fukui Junzō 福井準造
Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉
Furukawa Rikisaku 古河力作
Furuta Daijirō 古田大次郎
Gao Junman 高君曼
Gao Xiaolan 高曉嵐
Gao Yabin 高亞賓
Gotō Kentarō 後藤謙太郎
Gu Chengwu 顧誠吾
Guoli 果理

Hanyi 漢一
 Harad (Yasuda) Satsuki 原田 (安田) 皐月
 Hashimoto Kenzō 橋本憲三
 Hatta Shūzō 八太舟三
 He Zhen 何震
 Hiratsuka Raichō 平塚らいてふ
 Hisaita Unosuke 久板卯之助
 Hoshino Junji 星野準二
 Hozumi Yatsuka 穂積八束
 Hu Shi 胡適
 Hua Lin 華林
 Huang Ai 黃藹
 Huang Lingshuang 黃凌霜
 Huang Shangqiong 黃尚瓊
 Huang Yibo 黃藝博
 Huang Zhongpu 黃中普
 Huang zhongru 黃中如
 Hua Shan 華山
 Ifukube Toshiko 伊福部敬子
 Ikuta Hanayo 生田花世
 Inuta Shigeru 犬田卯
 Ishikawa Eiko 石川永子
 Ishikawa Sanshirō 石川三四郎
 Itano Ryōzō 板野良三
 Itō Noe 伊藤野枝
 Iwano Kiyo 岩野清
 Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巖本善治
 Iwasa Sakutarō 岩佐作太郎
 Jian Chu 戩初
 Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎
 Jing Dingcheng/Meijiu/Laomei 景定成/梅九/老梅
 Jupu 鞠普
 Kamikawa Matsuko 神川松子
 Kaneko Fumiko 金子文子

Kang Youwei 康有爲
Kanno Suga/Sugako 菅野須賀/須賀子
Katō Kazuo 加藤一夫
Kawai Kōzō 河合康左右
Kemuyama Sentarō 煙山專太郎
Kinoshita Naoe 木下尚江
Kinoshita Shigeru 木下茂
Kodama Haru 児玉はる
Komatsu Kiyokichi 小松亀代吉
Kondō Kenji 近藤憲二
Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水
Kutsumi Kesson 久津見蔵村
Kuriyakawa Hakuson 厨川白村
Laozi 老子
Li Dazhao 李大釗
Li Desheng 李得勝
Li Feigan/ Bajin 李芾甘/巴金
Li Jianmin 黎健民
Li Shaoling/Sanmu 李少凌/三木
Li Shizeng 李石曾
Li Taiyi 李太一
Li Zhouwu/Zhi 李卓吾/贊
Li Zhun 李準
Li Zongbi 李宗泌
Liang Jiashu 梁家樞
Liang Qichao 梁啓超
Liang Bingxian/Liangji 梁冰弦/兩極
Liezi 列子
Lin Yaohua 林耀華
Lin Guanci 林冠慈
Liu Bannong 劉半農
Liu Shipai 劉師培
Liu Shixin 劉石心
Lu Jianbo 盧劍波

Lu Wanjin 盧萬錦
 Lu Wanyi 盧萬儀
 Lu Xun 魯迅
 Mao Zedong 毛澤東
 Matsumoto Masae 松本正枝
 Miyajima Urako 宮島麗子
 Miyazaki Akira 宮崎晃
 Mizunuma Tatsuo 水沼辰夫
 Mo Jipeng 莫紀彭
 Mochizuki Yuriko 望月百合子
 Mori Arinori 森有礼
 Morichika Unpei 森近運平
 Morioka Eiji 森岡栄治
 Murai Tomoyoshi 村井知至
 Muraki Genjirō 村木源次郎
 Mushakōji Saneatsu 武者小路実篤
 Nakahama Tetsu 中浜哲
 Nakajima Sachiko 中島幸子
 Nakanomyō Kōriki 中名生幸力
 Nanba Daisuke 難波大助
 Nishi Amane 西周
 Nozawa Jūkichi 野沢重吉
 Oda Yōrizō/Nosei 小田頼造/野声
 Ōishi Seinosuke 大石誠之助
 Okutani Matsuji 奥谷松治
 Ōsugi Sakae 大杉栄
 Ou Shengbai 區聲白
 Pak Yol/Boku Retsu 朴烈
 Qiu Jin 秋瑾
 Qiuxue 秋雪
 Saitō Kanejirō 斎藤兼次郎
 Sakai Toshihiko 堺利彦
 Sanpo 三泊
 Shagan/Fenfen 沙淦/憤憤

Shen Foyu 沈佛愚
 Shen Jianshi 沈兼士
 Shen Yanbing/Maodun 沈雁冰/矛盾
 Shen Zhongjiu 沈仲九
 Shi Cuntong 施存統
 Shifu 師復
 Shimada Saburō 島田三郎
 Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村
 Sōma Gyofū 相馬御風
 Song Jiaoren 宋教仁
 Su Xia 蘇蝦
 Sumii Sue/Sueko 住井すゑ/すゑ子
 Sun Zhongshan 孫中山
 Suzuki Yasuyuki 鈴木靖之
 Tachibana Kōzaburō 橘孝三郎
 Taipu 太樸
 Taixu 太虛
 Takabatake Motoyuki 高島素之
 Takamure Itsue 高群逸枝
 Takano Fusatarō 高野房太郎
 Tan Sitong 譚嗣同
 Tang Zhuwan/Zhen 唐鑄萬/甄
 Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰
 Tsuihiji Nakasuke 築比地仲助
 Tsuji Jun 辻潤
 Uchida Roan 内田魯庵
 Uchiyama Gudō 内山愚堂
 Ueda Seki 上田セキ
 Ueki Emori 植木枝盛
 Ume Kenjirō 梅謙次郎
 Usukura Kashizō 臼倉甲子造
 Utagawa Ichirō 宇田川一郎
 Wada Kyūtarō 和田久太郎
 Wakabayashi Yayo 若林八代

Wang Gongquan 汪公權
Wang Guangqi 王光祈
Wang Jingwei 汪精衛
Wasada Yoshio 和佐田芳雄
Watanabe Masatarō 渡辺政太郎
Wei Huilin/Feizi 衛惠林/非子
Wu Lu 吳廬
Wu Ruonan 吳弱男
Wu Xianyou 吳先懣
Wuxu 悟虛
Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉
Xiang Jingyu 向警予
Xuantian 玄天
Yagi Akiko 八木秋子
Yamaga Taiji 山鹿泰治
Yamaguchi Gizō/Koken 山口義三/孤劍
Yamakawa Hitoshi 山川均
Yamaguchi Kensuke 山口健助
Yamakawa Kikue 山川菊枝
Yan Xishan 閻錫山
Yasuda Riki/Rikiko 安田理貴/理貴子
Yi Jiayue 易家鉞
Yokoyama Gennosuke 橫山源之助
Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子
Yuan Zhenying/Zhenying 袁震英/震瀛
Yun Daiying 惲代英
Zhang Dongsun 張東蓀
Zhang Houzai 張厚載
Zhang Ji 張繼
Zhang Jingjiang 張靜江
Zhang Kebiao 章克標
Zhang Lūqian 張履謙
Zhang Mochi 張墨池
Zhang Songnian 張崧年

Zhao Taimou 趙太侔
Zheng Bi'an 鄭彼岸
Zheng Peigang/Kelao 鄭佩剛/克勞
Zheng Taipu 鄭太樸
Zhou Enlai 周恩來
Zhou Zaishan 周載贍
Zhou Zuoren 周作人
Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之
Zhu Yongbang/Lefu 朱永邦/樂夫
Zhuangzi 莊子
Zuo Shunsheng 左舜生

Terms, phrases, and organizations

ai 愛

Aikyō kai 愛鄉會

ailü 愛侶

ana-boru アナボル

ane katoku 姉家督

atarashiki mura 新しき村

bie 別

boken 母權

bosei 母性

bosei ai 母性愛

buluojia 不落家

bunke 分家

buraku 部落

bushi 武士

ciyou 慈幼

cunmin huiyi 村民會議

cunshe 村社

da lianhe cunshe 大聯合村社

datong gongchan zhuyi 大同共產主義

Datong she 大同社

Datong shu 大同書
dokuritsu jison shugi 獨立自尊主義
dōzoku 同族
fazhi de jiating 法治的家庭
Futei sha 不逞社
gang 綱
Geming gongtuan zhuyi hui 革命工團主義研究會
Girochin sha ギロチン社
gishi 義士
gobō no keiji 五榜の揭示
gojō 五常
gong'ai 共愛
gongcang 公倉
gongde 公德
gongdu huzhu tuan 工讀互助團
gongfu gongqi 公夫公妻
gonglao 共勞
gongmin 公民
gongshan 公善
gongxue 工學
Guangzhou jiqi gonghui 廣州機器工會
guo 國
guocui 國粹
guohuo 過火
hegu de lixian de jiating 合股的立憲的家庭
hōken seido 封建制度
honke 本家
hō'on 報恩
hōshū 報酬
Huiming xueshe 晦鳴學社
huo he xiang 火和香
huzhu she 互助社
i 威
ie 家

jian'ai 兼愛
jiashi 家室
jiazu 家族
jiga no seimei no nenshō 自我の生命の燃焼
Jinde hui 進德會
jingi chūkō 仁義忠孝
jingtian zhi 井田制
jinnin 仁人
jinrin 人倫
jinrin gojō no michi 人倫五常の道
jinzhong 進種
jiushi tongju 九世同居
jiyū boken 自由母權
jiyū haigyō 自由廢業
jiyū ishi 自由意志
jiyū ishi o kyōchō suru 自由意志を強調する
jiyū ren'ai 自由恋愛
jiyū shisō 自由思想
jōjitsu 情実
joken shugi 女權主義
josei shugi 女性主義
juedui ziyou 絕對自由
junsei museifu shugi 純正無政府主義
juren 舉人
ka 家
katei 家庭
kazoku 家族
kazoku kokka 家族国家
ketsuzoku 血族
kokutai 国体
Kōkyō 孝經
kongli 空理
kōrō 功勞
kosei no kansei 個性の完成

koseki hō 戶籍法
 kuangren riji 狂人日記
 kumiai / kumiyae 組合
 kyōdai mura 兄弟村
 kyōgaku sha 共学社
 kyōiku chokugo 教育勅語
 laonong hui 勞農會
 li 理
 lian'ai jiehun 戀愛結婚
 liangxing xietong de shehui 兩性協同的社會
 liewang 劣亡
 lifa 禮法
 Liqun shushe 利群書社
 liubu zhuyi 六不主義
 Liyun 禮運
 masshi sōzoku 末子相續
 Mikuni bōseki 三国紡績
 mingfen 名分
 minpō idete chūkō horobu 民法出でて忠孝亡ぶ
 mujin 無尽
 mura 村
 museifu shugi 無政府主義
 nakama hazure 仲間はずれ
 nannu gongtong lian'ai 男女共同戀愛
 nanquan shehui 男權社會
 Nihon senjū 日本染絨
 Nōhon juku 農本塾
 Nōmin jichi 農民自治
 nongshe 農社
 Nōson seinen sha (Nōsei) 農村青年社 (農青)
 ōaza 大字
 on 恩
 Onna daigaku 女大学
 peihe shi 配合室

qi 妻

qin 親

qingong jianxue 勤工儉學

qinshu 親疏

qixisuo 所

qutian fa 區田法

reisei 靈性

ren 仁

rengō 連合

renlun 人倫

renmin gongshe 人民公社

Renxue 仁學

ryaku 略

ryakudatsu kekkon 略奪結婚

ryakushu 略取

san wu er ge xueshuo 三無二各學說

sangang 三綱

sanwu zhuyi 三無主義

se 色

seigi 正義

Sekiran kai 赤瀾会

sekishi 赤子

Shehui dang 社會黨

Shehui gailiang hui 社會改良會

Shehui zhuyi jiangxi hui 社會主義講習會

shetou 社頭

shi 食

shi 勢

shijie gonggong zhi renlei 世界公共之人類

shin josei shugi 新女性主義

shin joken shugi 新女權主義

Shishe 實社

Shishe 適社

shishi 志士

shitamachi 下町
shitamachi ana 下町アナ
shojo 処女
shu 恕
Shuihuzhuan 水滸傳
shunni 順逆
sien 私恩
simin 私民
siyu yiren 私于一人
sosēn kyō 祖先教
taijiao shi 胎教室
tei 庭
teisō 貞操
tianli 天理
Tōyō shisō 東洋思想
tsubo 坪
waj 輪中
wujiao 五教
wuwei er zhi 無爲而治
wuzhishi zhi ai 無知識之愛
xiang 鄉
xiangli gongchan zhi 鄉里共產制
xiangyue 鄉約
Xinshe 心社
xisu hui 息訴會
Xu Xing 許行
yamanote 山の手
yi 義
yome 嫁
youqing zhi ai 有情之愛
youzhishi zhi ai 有知識之愛
youzi 由自
zettai jiyū 絶對自由
Zhina ansha tuan 支那暗殺團

zhishi 執事
zhong xiao jie lian 忠孝節廉
Zhongguo shehui dang 中國社會黨
Zhongguo tongmenghui 中國同盟會
zhongmu 種母
zhongruo 種弱
zixing 自性
ziyou 自由
ziyou jiaoai 自由交愛
ziyou lian'ai 自由戀愛
ziyou min 自由民
ziyou muxing 自由母性
ziyou xingjiao 自由性交
ziyou yizhi 自由意志
ziyou zhi gongli 自由之公理
zongfa 宗法
zongzu 宗族

Anarchist groups

Japanese anarchist groups

The accused of the High Treason Incident (大逆事件, 1911)

Kōtoku Shūsui, Kanno Suga, Uchiyama Gudō, Ōishi Seinosuke, Morichika Unpei,
Furukawa Rikisaku

Ōsugi group (1912) *Kindai shisō* (近代思想) *Rōdō undō* (労働運動)

Ōsugi Sakae, Itō Noe, Wada Kyūtarō, Hisaita Unosuke, Kondō Kenji,
Muraki Genjirō

Print workers' unions (anarchist syndicalist)

Shinyū kai (信友会, Sincere Friends' Society, 1916) *Shinyū* (信友)

Seishin kai (正進, Righteous Progress Society, 1920) *Seishin* (正進)

Futei sha (不逞社, 1922)

Kaneko Fumiko, Pak Yol (Boku Retsu), Kurihara Kazuo

Girochin sha (ギロチン社, 1922)

Furuta Daijirō, Kawai Kōzō, Nakahama Tetsu, Gotō Kentarō

Yabanjin sha (野蛮人社, Barbarian association, 1925)

Komatsu Kiyokichi, Murakami Yoshiharu, Mikami Yūzō, Sawada Takeo

Anarchist national federation of anarchist groups

Kokushoku seinen renmei (黒色青年連盟, Black Youth League, 1924)

Zenkoku rōdō kumiai jiyō rengō (全国労働組合自由連合, All-Japan Libertarian Federation of Labour Unions, 1926)

Pure anarchist groups

Zenkoku jiyū rengō shinbun (全国自由連合新聞, Libertarian Federation Newspaper), *Kokushoku sensen* (黒色戦線, Black Front, 1929),

Kurohata (黒旗, 1932)

Hatta Shūzō, Iwasa Sakutarō, Mizunuma Tatsuo

Kosakunin sha (小作人社, 1923, 1926) *Kosakunin* (小作人)

Furuta Daijirō, Nakanomyō Kōriki, Kinoshita Shigeru

Nōson seinen sha (農村青年社, 1931) *Nōson seinen* (農村青年)

Miyazaki Akira, Suzuki Yasuyuki, Yagi Akiko, Wasada Yoshio,
Hoshino Junji, Minamisawa Kesamatsu

Anarchist syndicalist groups

Nihon rōdō kumiai jiyū rengō kyōgi kai (日本労働組合自由連合協議会,
Libertarian Federal Council of Labour Unions of Japan, 1929)

Kokusen (黒戦, Black Battle, 1930),

Nobeshima Eiichi, Enishi Ichizō, Yamaguchi Kensuke

Nōmin jichi kai (農民自治会, 1925) *Nōmin jichi* (農民自治)

Ishikawa Sanshirō, Inuta Shigeru, Takamure Itsue

Anarchist women's group (1930) *Fujin sensen* (婦人戰線)

Takamure Itsue, Matusmoto Masae, Yagi Akiko, Kamiya Shizuko,
Ifukube Toshiko, Sumii Sue, Mochizuki Yuriko, Inuzuka Setsuko

In 1934, Nihon rōdō kumiai jiyū rengō kyōgi kai disbanded and merged with Zenkoku rōdō kumiai jiyō rengō.

Chinese anarchist groups

Anarchist groups before 1911

The Tokyo group (1907 – 1908) *Tianyi* (天義), *Hengbao* (衡報)

Liu Shipai, He Zhen, Bugongjiu, Yagong, Qufei, Huiquan, Zhida, Weigong,
Hanyi, Chenchu, Zhang Ji, Jing Meijiu

The Paris group (1907 – 1910) *Xin shiji* (新世紀)

Li Shizeng, Chu Minyi, Jupu, Wu Zhihui, Laohan, Zhang Ji

Anarchist groups after 1911 in China

Huiming xueshe (晦鳴學社, 1912, Guangzhou) *Huiming lu* (晦鳴錄), *Minsheng* (民聲)

Shifu, Zheng Peigang, Lin Junfu, Ding Xiangtian, Zheng Bi'an, Mo Jipeng

Datong she (大同社, 1912, Hong Kong)

Yuan Zhenying

Shehui dang (社會黨, 1912, Shanghai) *Liangxin* (良心)

Shagan, Taixu, Jiashen

Anarchist groups in the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth era

Shishe (實社, 1917, Beijing) *Ziyou lu* (自由錄)

Yuan Zhenying, Zhao Taimou, Huang Lingshuang, Jing Cheng

Jinhua she (進化社, 1919, Beijing) *Jinhua* (進化)

Zheng Peigang, Yang Zhidao, Huang Lingshuang, Ou Shengbai

Minfeng (民風, 1919, Guangzhou)

Liang Bingxian, Su Xia, Ou Shengbai

Minxing she (閩星社, 1919, Fujian) *Minxing* (閩星)

Liang Bingxian, Chen Qiulin

Fendou she (奮鬥社, 1920, Beijing) *Fendou* (奮鬥)

Yi Jiayue, Zhu Jianzhi, Guo Mengliang

Sheshe (適社, 1920, Chongqing)

Chen Xiaowu, Li Shiqing

Banyue she (半月社, 1920, Chengdu) *Banyue* (半月)

Li Feigan (Bajin), Wu Xianyou

The Work-study Mutual Aid Corps (工讀互助團, Beijing, Wuhan, 1919)

Shi Cuntong, Yun Daiying, Wang Guangqi

Anarchist groups in the 1920s

Minzhong she (民鐘社, 1922, Guangdong) *Minzhong* (民鐘)

Li Jianmin, Bi Xiushao, Jiangeng, Junyi, Bingxuan, Lu Jianbo, Li Taiyi

Xuehui she (學匯社, 1922, Beijing) *Xuehui* (學匯)

Jing Meijiu (Laomei), Jianmin, Taiyi, Tongzhi, Juezi, Zhang Xiyuan, He Kai, Mo Shengwo, Runchun, Li Shuting, Juhua, Sanbo, Xuyi, Xuantian, Taipu, Wei Huilin, Wuxu, Lian, Jingqing, Qingnian, Zhenpin,

Minfeng she (民鋒社, 1923, Nanjing) *Minfeng* (民鋒)

Lu Jainbo

Minzhong she (民衆社, 1926, Shanghai) *Minzhong* (民衆)

Li Jianmin, Shen Zhongjiu, Huilin, Li Feigan, Sufei, Mao Yibo, Lu Jianbo, Baopu

Minfeng she (民鋒社, 1926, Shanghai) *Minfeng* (民鋒)

Lu Jainbo, Zhang Kebiao, Zhang Luqian

Geming zhoubao she (革命週報社, 1927, Shanghai)

Li Shizeng, Shen Zhongjiu, Bi Xiushao

Anarchist group in the 1930s

Jingzhe she (驚蟄社, 1937, Chengdu) *Jingzhe* (驚蟄)

Lu Jianbo, Zheng Tianyi (Shiya), Shatuo, Guoli, Nutian

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Chokugen 直言 (Straight Talk, 1904.1 – 1904.9)
Chūō kōron 中央公論 (Central Review, 1899 –)
Fujin sensen 婦人戦線 (Women's Front, 1930.3 – 1931.6)
Genshi 原始 (Primitivity, 1925.1 – 1927.4)
Jiyū jin 自由人 (Free Person, 1920 – 1921.1)
Katei zasshi 家庭雑誌 (Family Magazine, 1903.4 – 190?)
Kindai shisō 近代思想 (Modern Thought, 1912.10 – 1914.9, 1915.10 – 1916.1)
Kokushoku sensen 黒色戦線 (Black Front, 1929.2 – 1929.12, 1931.9 – 1932.11)
Kosakunin 小作人 (Tenant Farmer, 1923.2 – 1928.10)
Kumamoto hyōron 熊本評論 (Kumamoto Review, 1907.6 – 1908.9)
Kurohata 黒旗 (Black Flag, 1932.12 – 1933.10)
Muro shinpō 牟婁新報 (Muro Newspaper, 1900.4 – 1926.4 or 1931.6)
Nikkan Heimin shinbun 日刊平民新聞 (Daily Commoners' Newspaper, 1907.1 – 1907.4)
Nōmin 農民 (Farmers, 1927.10 – 1928.6)
Nōmin jichi 農民自治 (Farmers' Self Government)
Nōmin jiyū rengō 農民自由連合 (Free Union of Farmers)
Nōson seinen 農村青年 (Farming Village Youth, 1931 – 1932)
Nyonin geijutsu 女人芸術 (Women's Arts, 1928.7 – 1932.6)
Rōdō undō 労働運動 (Labour Movement, 1919.10 – 1920.6, 1921.1 – 1921.6, 1922.12 – 1923.7, 1927.1 – 1927.10)
Sanji chōsetsu ron 産児調節論 (Birth Control Review)
Seishin 正進 (Righteous Progress, 1920.4 – 1923.4)
Seitō 青鞥 (Bluestockings, 1911.9 – 1916.2)
Sekai fujin 世界婦人 (Women of the World, 1907.1 – 1909.7)
Shin kigen 新紀元 (New Era, 1904.11 – 1906.11)

Shinyū 信友 (Sincere Friends, 1916.12 – 1923.3)

Shūkan Heimin shinbun 週刊平民新聞 (Weekly Commoners' Newspaper, 1903.11 – 1905.1)

Jiyū shisō 自由思想 (Free Thought, 1908.5 – 1908.6)

Tōhoku hyōron 東北評論 (Tōhoku Review, 1908.5 – 1908.8)

Chinese magazines

Banyue 半月 (Half-moon, 1920 – 1921)

Beijing daxue xuesheng zhoukan 北京大學學生周刊 (Beijing University Student Weekly, 1920.1 – 1920.5)

Chunlei 春雷 (Spring Thunder, 1923 – 1924)

Fendou 奮鬥 (Struggle, 1920.1 – 1920.4)

Geming zhoubao 革命週報 (Revolution Weekly, 1927 – 1929)

Hengbao 衡報 (Balance, 1908.4 – 1908.10)

Huiming lu/Minsheng 晦鳴錄/民聲 (Record of Cockcrow/People's Voice, 1913.7 – 1916.11)

Huzhu yuekan 互助月刊 (Mutual Aid monthly, 1923.3 – 1923.5)

Jiefang yu gaizao 解放與改造 (Liberation and Reform, 1919.9 – 1919.12)

Jiming 鷄鳴 (Cockcrow, 1923.6)

Jinhua 進化 (Evolution, 1919.1 – 1919.3)

Jingzhe 驚蟄 (Waking of Insects, 1937 – 1941)

Jingzhong ribao 警鐘日報 (Alarming Bell Daily News, 1904.2 –)

Juewu 覺悟 (Awareness, 1919.6 – 1926.1)

Laodong 勞動 (Labour, 1918.3 – 1918.7)

Liangxin 良心 (Conscience, 1913.7)

Meizhou pinglun 每週評論 (Weekly Review, 1918.12 – 1919.8)

Minbao 民報 (People's Journal, 1905.11 – 1908.10)

Minduo 民鐸 (People's Bell)

Minfeng 民風 (People's Wind, 1919.8 – 1919.10)

Minfeng 民鋒 (People's Tocsin, 1923, 1926 – 1928)

Minxing 閩星 (Fujian Star, 1919.12 – 1920.1)

Minzhong 民鐘 (People's Bell, 1922.6 – 1927.7)

Minzhong 民衆 (People, 1925.9)
 Shaonian Zhongguo 少年中國 (Young China, 1919.7 – 1924.5)
 Tianyi 天義 (Natural Justice, 1907.7 – 1908.3)
 Xin nüxing 新女性 (New Woman, 1926.1 – 1929.12)
 Xin qingnian 新青年 (New Youth, 1915.9 – 1922.7)
 Xin shiji 新世紀 (New Era, 1907.7 – 1910.5)
 Xinchao 新潮 (New Tide, 1919.1 – 1922.3)
 Xingqi pinglun 星期評論 (Weekly Review, 1919.6 – 1920.6)
 Xuehui 學匯 (Sea of Learning, 1922.10 – 1924)
 Ziyou lu 自由錄 (Record of Freedom, 1917.7 – 1918.5)
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