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Japan and the High Treason Incident

Edited by
Masako Gavin and Ben Middleton

Japan and the High Treason Incident

The 'High Treason Incident' rocked Japanese society between 1910 and 1911, when police discovered that a group of anarchists and socialists were plotting to assassinate the Emperor Meiji. Following a trial held *in camera*, twelve of the so-called conspirators were hanged, but while the executions officially brought an end to the incident, they were only the initial outcome as the state became increasingly paranoid about national ideological cohesion. In response it deployed an array of new technologies of integration and surveillance, and the subsequent repression affected not only political movements, but the whole cultural sphere.

This book shows the far-reaching impact of the high treason incident for Japanese politics and society, and the subsequent course of Japanese history. Taking an interdisciplinary and global approach, it demonstrates how the incident transformed modern Japan in numerous and unexpected ways, and sheds light on the response of authoritarian states to radical democratic opposition movements elsewhere. The contributors examine the effects of the incident on Japanese history, literature, politics and society, as well as its points of intersection with broader questions of anarchism, colonialism, gender and governmentality, to underline its historical and contemporary significance.

With a number of chapters that have been made available in English for the first time, and which draw on newly available primary sources, this book is a timely and relevant study that will be of great interest to students and scholars working in the fields of Japanese history, Japanese politics and Japanese studies, as well as those interested in the history of social movements.

Masako Gavin is an Associate Professor in Japanese Studies at Bond University, Australia.

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2013
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Gavin, Masako.
Japan and the high treason incident / Masako Gavin and Ben Middleton.
pages cm. – (Routledge contemporary Japan series ; 40)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Japan–Politics and government–1868–1912. 2. Japan–Social conditions–1868–1912. 3. Treason–Political aspects–Japan–History–20th century. 4. Treason–Social aspects–Japan–History–20th century. 5. Anarchists–Japan–History–20th century. 6. Socialists–Japan–History–20th century. 7. Nationalism–Japan–History–20th century. 8. Authoritarianism–Japan–History–20th century. 9. Politics and culture–Japan–History–20th century. 10. Social change–Japan–History–20th century. I. Middleton, Ben. II. Title.
DS882.5.G37 2013
952.03–dc23 2012047208

ISBN: 978-0-415-50937-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-203-49594-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

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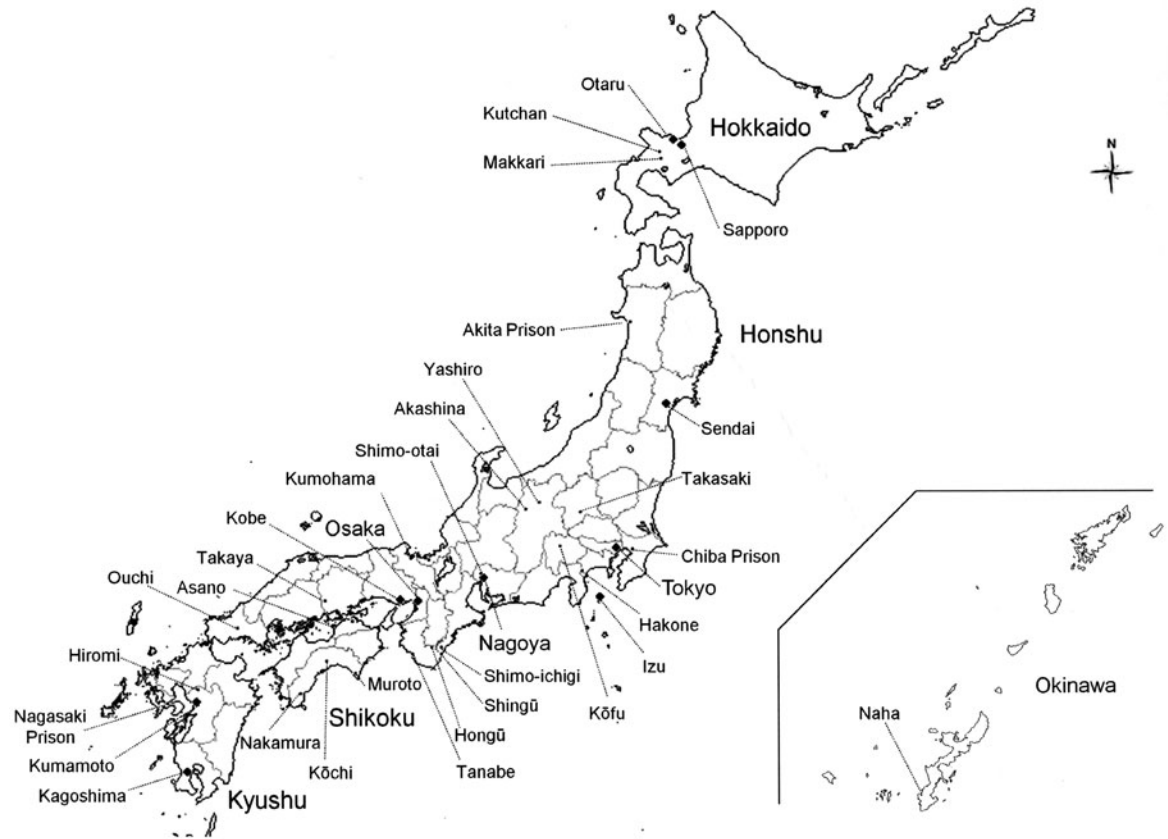
Acknowledgements

The chapters in this volume were originally prepared for the first international conference on the topic of the High Treason Incident, *Centennial Commemoration of the High Treason Incident: Looking Backward from Australia*, 20–22 August 2010. The symposium was held under the auspices of the Japan Foundation 2010 Grant Program for Intellectual Exchange Conferences, supported by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bond University, Gold Coast, Australia. We are very grateful for the support of the Japan Foundation, especially to the Sydney Grant Programs Office, without which the conference could not have been held. We are also appreciative of Prof. Raoul Mortley, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Bond University, and staff at the Office of Research Services, for their support in hosting the conference at Bond's beautiful campus on the Gold Coast. Our sincere thanks, too, to the conference participants for their intellectual contribution, their camaraderie and also their patience. Our thanks also go to the librarians at Bond's Document Delivery, to Shintarō Koido and to Norma Gilbert for their generous assistance. The staff of the Waseda University Institute for Research in Contemporary Political and Economic Affairs Library gave tremendous support, and we are also grateful to Uchida Natsuko, IT guru at Ferris University, Yokohama, for her help in making the book's map. Finally, we wish to dedicate the book to the memory of two great pilots, John Gavin and Lloyd Brickhill, who stood by us, offering help and advice, but passed away while this book was being edited.

Masako Gavin, Gold Coast, and Ben Middleton, Yokohama

Note on names

Following normal East Asian usage, Japanese names appear with the surname first, except in instances where the Japanese author publishes primarily in English. Macrons have been omitted in the case of fully Anglicized words, the names of main islands and principal cities, and in translations of titles, organizations and places of publication.



Map of Places Related to the High Treason Incident

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Introduction

Vera Mackie and Yamaizumi Susumu

In January 1911 in Tokyo, twelve people – eleven men and one woman – were executed for the crime of high treason (*taigyakuzai*) after being judged guilty of plotting to assassinate the Emperor Meiji. These were the first prosecutions for that crime under the newly enacted Japanese Criminal Code of 1908. The leaders of the putative plot – Kōtoku Shūsui and his partner, Kanno Suga – were journalists, activists and intellectual leaders of the fledgling socialist movement in Japan. After years of struggle and repression, Kōtoku and Kanno had gradually come to embrace an anarchist philosophy of direct action. Although the twenty-four other defendants were also members of the socialist movement, some had only a tenuous connection to Kōtoku and Kanno. The incident received international attention in the mainstream media and in leftist circles at the time, and is still seen as an important juncture in the history of modern Japan. In this volume, we explore the historical implications of the dramatic events which have come to be known as the high treason incident (*taigyaku jiken*).

The high treason incident began in May 1910 with the arrest of Miyashita Takichi and three others for manufacturing explosives. Then, in June 1910, Kōtoku Shūsui was arrested at the hot spring resort of Yugawara in Kanagawa prefecture, near Tokyo. The police accused him of being the lead conspirator in a plot to assassinate the emperor. Kanno Suga – already serving time in a Tokyo prison for violating the press laws by publishing a journal called *Free Thought* (*Jiyū shisō*) – was accused of conspiring with her partner in this crime. The police then drew a dragnet though the entire Japanese left-wing movement, questioning hundreds of activists up and down the land. The investigation was accompanied by a campaign of repression with the aim of destroying organizational structures and personal networks. Eventually, twenty-four people were placed in the dock to face the charge of high treason, and a further two, Niimura Zenbei and Nitta Tōru (a.k.a. Yuzuru), were prosecuted for infringing Articles 5 and 6 of the Explosives Control Law. Kanno later wrote in her prison diary that most of the defendants were 'innocent bystanders' who had been implicated in the actions of 'five or six of us' – herself and Kōtoku, as well as Miyashita, Niimura Tadao (Zenbei's older brother) and Furukawa Rikisaku (Kanno, in Kanzaki 1967, translated in Hane 1993: 59). On 18 January 1911 a special session of the *Daishin'in* or Court of Cassation (the highest court of the Empire

of Japan from 1875 until it was abolished in 1946) handed down death sentences for twenty-four of the twenty-six defendants. The other two received lengthy prison sentences. (See Chapter 15 of this volume for sketches of the twenty-six defendants.)

One week later, on 24 January 1911, eleven of the men, including Kōtoku, were hanged. Kanno, the only woman among the defendants, was executed the next day. Twelve convicts had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment with hard labour, while the remaining two received sentences of eleven years hard labour and eight years imprisonment on account of their supposedly lesser roles in the conspiracy. These fourteen men were sent variously to Akita prison in north-eastern Honshu, Chiba prison near Tokyo and Nagasaki prison on the island of Kyushu. Some were unable to stand the harsh conditions and eventually committed suicide; others succumbed to illness; a few were paroled in the 1920s and 1930s. By the time Japan surrendered in August 1945 only five survivors of the incident were still alive.

The incident is known as the high treason incident because it came under the purview of Article 73 of the Meiji Criminal Code, which prescribed capital punishment for causing harm or intending to cause harm to the emperor, the grand empress dowager, the empress dowager, the empress, the crown prince or a grandson in direct line of descent of the emperor.[1] From this time until the crime of high treason (*taigyakuzai*) was removed from the Criminal Code in 1947 there were four incidents of 'high treason' (see Chapter 1 by Ōta Masao). Generally, however, those incidents are known in contemporary Japan by the name of the places in Tokyo where they occurred (the Toranomon incident of 1923 and the Sakuradamon incident of 1932) or the name of the protagonist (the Park Yeol incident of 1925). The term 'high treason incident', is generally used to signify the alleged plans by Kōtoku Shūsui and others, as that was the first time that the charge of high treason had been used. In this book, we follow this standard usage. Under the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (also known as the Meiji Constitution), which was promulgated in 1889 and came into effect in 1890, the emperor was the ruler of the Empire of Japan and enjoyed supreme responsibility for legislation, government, the judiciary and the military. Article 3 of the Constitution describes the emperor as 'sacred and inviolable'. He came to be regarded as an *arahitogami*, a living god. Therefore, in Japanese criminal law, crimes against the imperial family, including the emperor, were treated differently from other crimes. Capital punishment was mandatory for those found guilty of high treason. Furthermore, unlike ordinary criminal cases where there was the possibility of an appeal to a higher court, cases of high treason were tried by the Court of Cassation with no right nor possibility of appeal. For those found guilty, only the emperor could offer clemency.

The trial of Kōtoku and his 'accomplices' started on 10 December 1910 and finished on 29 December, when the closing arguments of the defence lawyers and prosecutors were heard. Not a single witness was called, and the proceedings were closed to the public. The legal system customarily gave defendants the right to consult with their lawyers from the time the trial date was announced –

in this case, 10 November 1910 – but for more than five months Kōtoku and his co-defendants were not only prevented from seeing their lawyers, but were denied the right to write letters to their families, much less have family visits at the prison.

According to the preliminary investigations, the high treason incident was made up of three lesser incidents.[2] In chronological order, the first was what they termed the Akashina incident (*Akashina jiken*), in which Miyashita Takichi produced explosives in the workshop of the timber mill where he worked in the village of Akashina in Nagano prefecture. Kōtoku, Kanno, Furukawa Rikisaku, Niimura Tadao, Niimura Zenbei and Nitta Tōru were also charged. Influenced by the Russian Narodniks and their assassination of the czar, Miyashita had it in mind to assassinate the Meiji emperor in order to prove that the emperor was a human being just like his subjects, thereby dispelling the superstition that the emperor was a god and removing the façade of legitimacy from the government that ruled in the emperor's name. Leaving aside how concrete his plan really was, the very fact that Miyashita had discussed it with Niimura Tadao and Kanno Suga and had actually manufactured explosives gave the court little room for manoeuvre in interpreting the criminal code and regarding his actions as high treason.

The second incident is known as the 'November plot' (*Jūichigatsu bōgi*), in which Kōtoku Shūsui, Morichika Unpei, Ōishi Seinosuke, Matsuo Uitta and others were said to have met in November 1908 at the headquarters of the Heiminsha (Commoners' Society) – a pacifist and socialist organization and publishing house located in the Sugamo district of Tokyo – where Kōtoku was staying after the red flag incident (*akahata jiken*).[3] They were accused of having plotted a revolution, conspiring to set fire to government buildings, assassinate senior officials, strike at the capitalist system by robbing stores owned by the wealthy and distributing aid to the poor, and force their way into the imperial palace and assassinate the emperor. Ōishi stopped off in Osaka on his way home to Shingū in Wakayama prefecture, while Matsuo returned to Kumamoto. The authorities assumed that the people whom Ōishi and Matsuo met on their journeys home had acceded to the plot to assassinate the emperor and thus suspected them of high treason, too. This, however, had no basis in fact. As Ōishi later said, it was a case of 'a truth that had emerged from a lie' (*uso kara deta makoto*).

The third incident involved the allegation that Uchiyama Gudō, a Zen Buddhist monk from the Rinsenji temple in Hakone, had planned to assassinate the crown prince (*kōtaishi ansatsu jiken*). This, too, was nothing more than idle talk that the police had picked up on and assumed was fact.

There is little doubt that Miyashita did experiment with explosives and that Kōtoku and various others had discussed the possibility of revolution at times. It is less clear, though, whether Kōtoku, in particular, really intended to carry out such a plot. It is certain, however, that the trial was the culmination of a concerted plan of repression of the socialist movement directed by the cabinet of Prime Minister Katsura Tarō and legal bureaucrats led by Public Prosecutor

Hiranuma Kiichirō. Katsura was one of a coterie of conservative politicians affiliated with Yamagata Aritomo, a powerful *genrō* (elder statesman), military leader and former prime minister who had been indefatigable in his attempts to purge Japan of socialist thought. Their intention was to wipe out both the nascent left-wing movement and socialist and anarchist thought, which they regarded as incompatible with the *kokutai*, a term with strongly nationalistic overtones that means the 'national polity' or 'national essence'. This was carried out as part of a policy of expelling opposition and dissident elements from within the nation and creating a coherent ideology with the emperor at the core in order to advance the colonization of Asia, starting with Taiwan and Korea.

The judgment handed down makes it clear that it was the defendants' beliefs (*shinjō*) rather than their actions that were being judged (Notehelfer 1971: 189). It was a political trial with the aim of repressing freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Thought control, which up to this 'incident' was generally exercised through the courts, was subsequently intensified through the tightening of controls on the mass media, newspapers, schools and local government. The Home Ministry (*Naimushō*) and the Ministry of Education (*Monbushō*) became the agents of these policies. Later, with the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*) in 1925, all thought that denied the *kokutai* and/or private property was repressed.

In the immediate aftermath of the trial and the execution of twelve of the defendants, the left-wing movement in Japan entered a period known as the 'winter years' (*fuyu no jidai*). Some activists left the movement, while others went overseas. Despite the defections, many carried on their writing and theorizing underground, but it was not till the late 1910s that the socialist movement could be revived. Optimism in the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1917 encouraged the development of the labour movement – many unions and union federations were formed at this time. Works by leading international socialist thinkers were frequently translated into Japanese, making their ideas accessible to a wider group of readers. An underground Communist Party was formed in 1922, disbanded in 1924, and re-formed in 1926. There was growth in the 'legal left', comprising proletarian parties (and their affiliated union federations) that were formed in preparation for the 1928 election after the enactment of universal manhood suffrage in 1925 (Large 1981). After the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law, however, the left-wing movement came under increased suppression, as it now became possible to prosecute for thought crimes alone. The defendants in the high treason trial were prosecuted for their alleged intent to commit violence against the emperor, but the concept of thought crime in the Peace Preservation Law was more expansive. Communists, in particular, suffered purges in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and some were forced to renounce their allegiance to socialism and affirm their commitment to the national polity in a process known as *tenkō* (ideological recantation or apostasy) (Tsurumi 1970). From the late 1930s to the end of World War II it was impossible for the socialist movement to carry on. Opposition to the state was effectively quashed. By 1940 political parties had been united under the Imperial Rule

Assistance Association (*Taisei yokusankai*), and labour organized into a nationalist industry association (*Sangyō hōkokukai*). In 1942, writers were co-opted into a nationalist press association (*Genron hōkokukai*), and women's organizations were amalgamated into the Greater Japan Women's Association (*Dai-Nihon fujinkai*).

At the end of World War II, with Japan under Allied occupation, the emperor declared on New Year's Day, 1946, that he was, after all, a 'human being' and not a god (the *ningen sengen* or declaration of humanity). The revised Constitution of Japan, which became effective in May 1947, transformed the emperor into a symbol of the Japanese state and the 'unity' of the Japanese people, with no 'powers related to government' (Constitution of Japan, Articles 1 and 4). In January 1961, fifty years after the high treason incident, Sakamoto Seima – who outlived the others to become the 'last living witness' of the incident – sued for a retrial, backed by much public support. However, the request was eventually dismissed by the full bench of the Supreme Court in July 1967. In legal terms, the earlier guilty verdict was reaffirmed. Subsequently, in the 1970s and 1980s, the publication of the collected works of Kōtoku Shūsui (1968–73), the collected works of Ōishi Seinosuke (1982c), a bibliography of works related to Morichika Unpei (Kimura 1983), the collected works of Kanno Suga (1984), and the collected works of Okunomiya Kenshi (1988), has sparked a re-evaluation of the political ideas of the defendants. Also from the 1990s, Buddhist sects began affirming priests who were implicated in the incident. Uchiyama Gudō was restored to the rank of priest by the Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism, Takagi Kenmyō was restored by the Ōtani branch of the True Pure Land school of Buddhism (*Jōdo shinshū*), and Mineo Setsudō was restored by the Myōshinji monastery of the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism. During the 2000s, local governments moved to restore the honour of their late citizens who were victims of the high treason incident. The assembly of Kōtoku Shūsui's hometown, Nakamura (now part of the city of Shimanto), in Kōchi prefecture, honoured him in December 2000. The assemblies of Shingū city and Hongū village in Tanabe city, both in Wakayama prefecture, made similar moves to honour their victims in September 2001 and November 2004, respectively.[4] Even so, the honour of fewer than half the twenty-six defendants has been officially restored. Most still bear the stigma of the guilty verdict. At the same time, however, interest in the meaning of the high treason incident has grown, as reflected in the recent publication of numerous works of historical research as well as dramatizations in novels and cinema (Ikeda 2010a, 2010b).

The high treason incident is important not only in Japanese history, but also in the international history of social movements. The arrest of the alleged conspirators was widely reported in the international English-language media of the time.[5] Because the trial was carried out in closed session – prompting some criticism at the time – the international media could not report on the trial itself. However, the executions in January 1911 were reported in both the mainstream anglophone media as well as in anarchist and socialist publications. We can get a snapshot of the international responses by surveying contemporary Australian

newspapers, which were connected to the rest of the world by telegraph and ran dispatches from the major newspapers and news agencies of the world.

In Australia, the International Socialists, the Socialist Labour Party and the International Workers of the World (IWW, also known as the 'Wobblies') protested against the death sentence meted out to the Japanese anarchists. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that there had been protests in Spain and France, and that the Sydney IWW Club had forwarded a copy of 'its emphatic protest against the cowardly judicial murder of Dr and Mrs Kōtoku and their ten fellow-victims of Japanese capitalism' (1911a). From the evidence of these articles, the Wobblies appear to have been relatively well-informed about Kōtoku and his work, noting that he had

> incurred the displeasure of the Government by his anti-military ideas, and by taking up the cause of the northern rice farmers, whose farming was being ruined by the imposition of the great copper-mining interests of Ashio in turning the poisoned water from the mines into the rice fields.
>
> (*Sydney Morning Herald* 1911a)

The *Sydney Morning Herald* also reported that the annual conference of the Socialist Labour Party of Australia had passed a resolution characterizing the execution of Dr and Mrs Kōtoku and their 'eight heroic socialist comrades as a judicial murder' (1911b). A less sympathetic, but quite detailed, report on the case appeared in the *Queenslander* under the title 'The Jap traitors' [*sic*] (1911). The Hobart *Mercury* provided a simple report of the executions (1911); while the *Argus* reported to Melburnians that '[m]embers of the diplomatic body from foreign countries and leading Japanese politicians and officials were specially invited to be present' (1911b). The *Argus* further reported that the General Labour Council in Paris had 'issued placards protesting against the sentence of death imposed on Dr Kōtoku and his wife and nine other prisoners for being concerned in the plot against the life of the Emperor of Japan' (1911a).

The Adelaide *Advertiser* was more ambivalent in its reportage of responses from Barcelona and Paris under the headlines, 'Anarchists or Martyrs? Executions in Japan. Sympathy in Paris' (1911a). Attempted protests in Barcelona were stopped by police who 'tore down placards', while in Paris 'gendarmes were stationed at the Japanese Embassy yesterday to protect it against outrage', and 'demonstrations against the executions [had] taken place in other European capitals'. The *Advertiser* and several other newspapers described Kōtoku as 'the Japanese Ferrer', comparing him to Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, who was executed in 1909 by the Spanish government for allegedly instigating the 'Tragic Week' of strikes and riots against Spanish colonial actions in Morocco (*Advertiser* 1911, 1911a; *Argus* 1911a, 1911b; *Mercury* 1911; *Queenslander* 1911; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1911a, 1911b; *West Australian* 1911a, 1911b).

Meanwhile, *Mother Earth*, a journal of anarchists in the US, placed a black border around the cover of its February 1911 issue (Elison 1967: 437). In later years, Kōtoku, Kanno and other victims of the high treason incident would find a

place in a pantheon of anarchist martyrs, which also included such figures as Ferdinando Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian immigrants to the US who were controversially executed in 1927 after a politicized murder trial.

As we have seen, the events surrounding the high treason incident commenced with the arrest of Miyashita Takichi and others in Nagano in May 1910, and lasted until January 1911, when the initial sentence of death for twenty-four defendants was handed down and Kōtoku Shūsui, Kanno Suga and ten others were executed one week later. The court announced that the others had received an imperial commutation, reducing their sentences to life imprisonment with hard labour. With these dates in mind, scholars, politicians and civil society activists in Japan organized numerous meetings and symposia to commemorate the centenary of the high treason incident in 2010 and 2011. Many books and special journal issues were also compiled to mark the occasion. For details on these commemorations, see the 2010 and 2011 special issues of *Taigyaku jiken no shinjitsu o akiraka ni suru kai nyūsu* (the Newsletter of the Association to Clarify the Truth of the High Treason Incident[6]) and the 2007 and 2010 special issues of *Shoki shakaishugi kenkyū* (Early Japanese Socialism Studies).

Here, we would like to focus on events held in Shingū city in Wakayama prefecture and Shimanto city in Kōchi prefecture. Shingū, as mentioned above, was home to many of the victims of the high treason incident, while Shimanto is a new city formed in 2005 through the amalgamation of several municipalities including Nakamura, Kōtoku Shūsui's hometown. In June 2010, a high treason incident centenary forum was held in Shingū city, and in August 2010, a centenary symposium was held at the Shingū Citizens' University. The *Kumano shi* (Kumano Magazine), edited by the Kumano Regional History Association, ran two special issues (nos 57 and 58) on the incident. A new monthly newsletter founded in March 2010, the *Kumano bunka tsūshin* (Kumano Culture News), regularly covered events related to the high treason incident from various places. In January 2011, Kumano Shinbunsha, the publisher of the local newspaper, produced a book about the involvement in the high treason incident of local doctor, Ōishi Seinosuke.

In Shimanto city, an Action Committee to Commemorate the Centenary of the Execution of Kōtoku Shūsui was formed, and is chaired by the mayor. The main events it organized in 2011 were: a commemorative festival held by Kōtoku's grave; a performance of the play, *Taigyaku hyakunen no kodoku* (High Treason: one hundred years of solitude) by the Hokushin Ryodan group in January; a symposium on the contemporary significance of the high treason incident in May; and a summit of research and citizens groups in September. At the summit, the National Liaison Committee for Restoring the Human Rights of the Victims of the High Treason Incident was formed.

Commemorative events were also held in Osaka and Nagoya, as well as in Ihara city in Okayama prefecture and Hongū village in Wakayama prefecture. In Tokyo, Fukushima Mizuho MP (member of the House of Councillors and chair of the Social Democratic Party of Japan) organized events in the Diet building in January 2010 and January 2011 that were well-attended by both parliamentarians

and concerned citizens. In January 2011, a symposium was held at the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tokyo on 'The High Treason Incident and the Dreyfus Affair', where the international repercussions of the high treason incident and the role of intellectuals were discussed.[7]

Numerous books on the incident have been published recently, including a facsimile edition of back-issues of the newsletter of the Association to Clarify the Truth of the High Treason Incident (Taigyaku jiken no shinjitsu o akiraka ni suru kai 2010), Tanaka Nobumasa's portrait of the lives and deaths of those implicated in the incident (2010), a new edition of a classic study by Kanzaki Kiyoshi (2010), Ikeda Hiroshi's two edited collections on literature and the high treason incident (2010a, 2010b), and Kamata Satoshi's biography of Sakamoto Seima (2011). Several programs broadcast on national television prompted wide discussion, including *Umoreta koe* (Buried Voices, NHK 2010), *Kōtoku Shūsui to Sakai Toshihiko* (Kōtoku Shūsui and Sakai Toshihiko, NHK 2011), and *Hyakunengo o ikiru* (Living 100 Years Later, Mainichi Hōsō 2012).

In August 2010, a group of international scholars met at Bond University in Queensland, Australia to consider the historical significance of the high treason incident. It is in many ways appropriate that such an international symposium – we believe it to have been the first international symposium to commemorate the centenary – should have been held in Australia. Early Japanese socialists had a great interest in the socialism and social policies of Australia and New Zealand, which they even referred to as 'ideal countries'. The Japanese socialist press of the 1900s regularly ran articles about developments in the Australian labour and socialist movements, while Australians were also conscious of events in Japan. As early as 1905, the monthly journal of the Associated Workers of Queensland, the *Worker*, ran a brief article by Kōtoku, described as 'editor of the *Heimin shinbun*' newspaper (D. Kōtoku 1905). Later coverage of the high treason incident by the Australian press also revealed its close knowledge of events in the left-wing movement in Japan.

The chapters in this volume are based on papers presented at the symposium at Bond University. Several contributors reflect on the historical and contemporary significance of the incident. In many cases, this volume makes the work of Japanese scholars available to English-language readers for the first time. Some scholars also reveal newly available primary documents. Ōta Masao reflects upon the history of repression by the Japanese government and positions the high treason incident of 1910–11 in the context of the four high treason cases prosecuted in early twentieth century Japan. He presents previously unpublished letters from two of the leading protagonists in the case, Kanno Suga and Kōtoku Shūsui. The first letter he introduces was secretly sent by Kanno from prison to Sugimura Sojinkan (pen name Jūō), a journalist who worked for the influential newspaper, the *Asahi shinbun*. Ōta also introduces a 1907 letter Kanno mailed to her brother in Los Angeles. The letter by Kōtoku is to his friend, Oka Shigeki in San Francisco, and was posted prior to his 1905–06 trip to the US.

Yamaizumi Susumu analyses changes in the politics, history and memory of the incident in postwar Japan. He first discusses the intellectual mobilization in

the 1960s supporting the appeal for a retrial by Sakamoto Seima. Then he moves on to analyse the main currents of research into the incident in Japan since the end of World War II. He shows that the struggle over historical memory has also been a struggle for both the restoration of civil rights and a rights-based society.

Shimamura Teru asks how the discursive framework of high treason was created and propagated in prewar Japan – first as a political concept and then as a legal one before it finally gained currency in the public sphere. He then focuses on the fact that the 'perpetrators' in all the high treason cases were connected to anti-colonial struggles. This is an important issue, as the centennial of the high treason incident is also the centennial of the Japanese annexation of Korea.

Umemori Naoyuki takes as his starting point the observation that socialism in the late Meiji period posed little threat to the state because on the eve of the high treason incident the total number of 'socialists' was only 532, according to a 1909 Home Ministry survey. Why, then, did the state perceive it as such a threat as to turn the full force of its police and prosecutorial apparatuses on 'socialists' up and down the country, and turn an ill-conceived, amateurish plot into a massive incident? Umemori employs post-colonial and Foucauldian concepts to formulate an answer in terms of the evolving structure of governmentality within the Japanese empire on the one hand, and a series of domestic and external challenges to national identity on the other. The intense processes of colonization and capitalization of late Meiji were creating a new national subjectivity and with it new series of exclusions, such as 'colonial subjects' and people outside the boundaries of 'authentic' Japaneseness (*hikokumin*). Umemori argues that the high treason incident marked a turning point in how the state defined subjecthood, and he shows how the processes of subject formation in both the metropole and the colonies were linked.

Kinoshita Chigaya reappraises the 'ethos of resistance' of the early Japanese socialist and anarchist movements, and sees this ethos as an important legacy. Despite an apparent decline in left-wing political activity from the 1960s, recent years have seen new forms of political activism in response to the economic recession and the effects of neoliberal policies. Kinoshita asks how we can rethink these recent developments in light of the history of Meiji social movements, and vice versa. Early twentieth century debates on parliamentary politics versus direct action take on a new significance in the light of recent political developments.

Tanaka Hikaru frames the incident in terms of a history of anarchism as a global social movement. He examines the flows of ideas, information and people involved with anarchist groups around the world – Japan, North America and Europe – in an attempt to understand international reactions to the high treason incident. He focuses on responses to the incident in the London-based Yiddish-language newspaper, the *Arbeter Fraint* (Workers' Friend), and by Jewish-American anarchists in the *Arbeter Ring* (Workers' Circle) mutual aid society. Tanaka's aim is not only to excavate an unknown chapter of anarchist history, but also to examine the effects of this international pressure on the Meiji state.

Hélène Bowen Raddeker examines the life, politics and memory of Kanno Suga, the only woman implicated in the high treason incident. Raddeker first