

India in Asia: Ôkawa Shûmei's Pan-Asian Thought and His Idea of India in Early Twentieth-Century Japan¹

by YUKIKO SUMI BARNETT

(St. Hugh's College, Oxford)

India in Japan – historical context.

Japan and India experienced the earliest changes brought about by Westernization, and by the 1890s they were two of the most Western-influenced societies in Asia.² They were also, perhaps inevitably, among the first Asian countries to experience the upsurge of anti-Western sentiment which generated nationalist movements. Many leading political and intellectual figures, as well as the majority of public opinion in both Japan and India thus shared many concerns and anxieties, especially about the presence of Western rulers in Asia. Indeed, anti-Western sentiment was one of the defining features which fuelled national movements both in Japan and India, and this is one of the major reasons why early twentieth-century Japanese intellectuals frequently interpreted the rise of the Indian nationalist movement as 'a natural and indigenous response to European imperialism'.³ United by anti-Western sentiment, the pan-Asian aspiration of Japanese intellectuals and the struggle of the Indian revolutionaries to end British rule were bound to find common ground – however contradictory their political goals seem in retrospect.

Cultural relations between Japan and India can be traced back to ancient times, despite the geographical distance between them. However, much of the interaction between Japan and India was politically indirect until the late nineteenth century, when Japanese modernization and military advancement played a part in inspiring Asian and Indian nationalism. Although pan-Asian thought, which began to acquire an ideological framework in late nineteenth-century Japan, engendered a widespread response during the Russo-Japanese War from a range of Asian leaders including Sun Yat-Sen, Aurobindo Ghose and Rabindranath Tagore,⁴ it was not until the early twentieth century (when Indian revolutionaries approached Japan mainly for political and financial aid) that political relations between India and Japan began to develop. The first politically significant contacts between Japan and the Indian nationalist movement were forged by a large number of Indian students who came to Japan for further studies in the early years of the twentieth century. Acknowledging the presence of Indian students in Japan during this period is of particular importance, not least because their political activity in promoting India's struggle for freedom contributed immensely to attracting support from the major Japanese political and social leaders. Even though the spirit of radicalism was evident within the Oriental Youngmen's Association⁵ (founded by Indian students in Japan in 1900), the British

embassy in Japan initially attributed very little political significance to their activity. The government of India, on the other hand, took their anti-British writings very seriously after a report in the *Spectator* of London of January 1904 which ‘awakened’ the government of India ‘to the degree of danger to which the Indian students were exposed in Japan’.⁶ As T. R. Sareen has noted, the report pointed out that although an ‘Indian rising of such a character as to endanger British rule’ was unlikely, ‘much harm may be done if the government of India does not take steps to put a stop to the despatching of Indian students to Japan’.⁷

The growing official interest in current Indian affairs and Indian thought in Japan around the turn of the twentieth century was also reflected at another level. From the late 1890s, the provision of facilities and centres for Indian Studies gradually increased. For instance, in 1899 a chair in Sanskrit and Pali was created at Tokyo Imperial University, and in 1903 another chair was set up for comparative religions.⁸ Nevertheless, much of the official Japanese attitude towards India’s struggle for freedom in the early twentieth century was determined by Japan’s diplomatic relations with Britain under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance (the first agreement was concluded in 1902).⁹ Despite the constraints of that alliance Japan was still considered a relatively safe place for anti-British propaganda, especially after the formation of the Ghadr Party in June 1913 in the USA.

*Ôkawa Shûmei’s academic and spiritual encounter with India, 1907-11.*¹⁰

As Christopher W. A. Szpilman has argued, classifying Ôkawa – once described by a colleague as ‘too emotional for a scholar, too academic for an activist’ – is a difficult task. For many he appeared to be ‘a man of seeming contradictions, a paradox’.¹¹ For instance, Ôkawa ‘clearly belonged in the right wing camp’, yet he ‘sympathized with Bolshevik Russia and Lenin’.¹² Though he ‘denounced democracy’, he was on ‘friendly terms with Yoshino Sakuzô, the most influential proponent of democracy in Japan’.¹³ Moreover,

[h]e ardently supported the imperial institution, but his best-selling book [*Nihon nisen roppyaku nenshi* (1939)] was censored for lese majesty. He professed utter contempt for the *narikin* [*nouveaux riches*] businessmen of Taishô Japan, while accepting financial support from one of the most notorious of these *narikin*, Ishihara Hiroichiro. He was implicated in the terrorist incidents of the thirties, yet remained on friendly terms with Count Makino Nobuaki, whom this terror aimed to dislodge from power.¹⁴

Nevertheless, seen from a different perspective, these contradictions in Ôkawa’s thought provide an insight not only into Ôkawa’s ambivalent political position, but also into the elusive nature of Japanese pan-Asianism, particularly at its ideological, moral, and political levels. The contradictions in Ôkawa’s thought in part reflected the transformation of pan-Asianism’s earlier emphasis on regional integration and the

unity of ‘Asian’ consciousness, the outlook of which was more cultural and spiritual than imperialistic.

Ôkawa’s early encounter with religions, especially Hinduism, Islam and Mahayana Buddhism, cannot be ignored if we are to understand the development of his pan-Asianism and his politico-intellectual outlook in general. After all, Ôkawa Shûmei’s distinguished academic career and keen interest in Indian philosophy, religion and spirituality were what rendered him a unique figure among the Japanese so-called pan-Asianist thinkers. It was at Tokyo Imperial University that he acquired ‘a theoretical foundation for his already pronounced pan-Asianist sentiments’ and expanded his intellectual horizons in Eastern (particularly Indian)¹⁵ as well as Western (particularly German)¹⁶ philosophy and intellectual history. In many ways, Ôkawa’s academic encounter with ancient Indian philosophy as a university student was the catalyst which directed his attention to colonial India and eventually to the study of Western colonialism in Asia.

Earlier cultural exchanges between India and Japan also provided an important intellectual background for the development of Ôkawa’s pan-Asian thought and his support for India’s struggle for freedom. One of the most influential figures on his thinking in this intellectual context was Okakura Kakuzô (Tenshin) (1862-1913),¹⁷ the art critic and historian, the founder of the Fine Arts Academy of Japan, and also one of the forebears of Japanese pan-Asianism and cultural nationalism. Okakura – one of the first Japanese intellectuals to place emphasis on cultural links between Asian countries by declaring that ‘Asia is one’¹⁸ – is an important figure when analysing Ôkawa’s thought, not only because of his role as one of the precursors of the early aspirations of the Japanese pan-Asianists, but also for his connection with India and some prominent Indian leaders. Despite slightly different historical contexts from which they spoke, the pan-Asian thought of both Ôkawa and Okakura was unique in the sense that they both saw India – not China, as did many other contemporary pan-Asianists – as the major catalyst for the resurgence of Asia. The role of India in the imagination of Okakura and Ôkawa was particularly significant, and it is difficult to deny the influence of the thought of prominent late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indian thinkers on their pan-Asian imaginings. For instance, the Bengali religious leader, Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902),¹⁹ to whom Okakura travelled to meet in February 1902,²⁰ echoed many of Okakura’s assertions in *The Ideals of the East*, which Okakura published in English in 1903. For instance, their ideas shared a common philosophical ground as well as an emphasis on the uniqueness of Asian spiritual values. They also agreed that the hallmark of Western civilization was materialism and scientific progress; as Vivekananda put it, Asia ‘produces giants in spirituality just as the Occident produces giants in politics [and] giants in science’.²¹

The influence of Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) on the development of Japanese pan-Asianism must also be considered at this juncture. Ghose was probably the first of the Indian nationalist leaders to insist on full independence for India as a goal of the

movement, as well as one of the earliest exponents of Hindu revivalism and spiritualism in early twentieth-century India. Although Ôkawa never came into contact with Ghose in person, he became a very close friend of two most ardent followers of Ghose's teaching at that time, Paul Richard (1874-1968) and his wife, Mirra Alfassa (1878-1973), both of whom lived in Japan between 1916 and 1919.²² During these four years, Ôkawa visited them 'at least three times a day', to learn French from Alfassa, 'followed by a philosophical discussion with Paul Richard until late' and their friendship grew close enough for them to share a house together for one year from February 1919.²³ Richard played a significant part in spreading the ideological and spiritual teaching of Ghose to Japanese students and Japan's intellectual scene in general, sometimes through Ôkawa's translation of his writings into Japanese.²⁴ It is evident that Ghose's spiritual and philosophical ideology influenced Ôkawa's thinking through his intimate relationship with Richard and Alfassa. Ôkawa frequently cited Ghose in his writings, and in his *Fukkô ajia no shomondai* (1923) he dedicated a whole section to Ghose's teaching and philosophy.²⁵ Ôkawa saw Ghose's thought as 'the catalyst' and 'the source of inspiration for Indian nationalism' in the early twentieth century, and concluded that 'Ghose was the first true national philosopher India has ever seen'.²⁶

Richard also befriended other eminent pan-Asianists of the period, such as Tôyama Mitsuru, Oshikawa Masayoshi, Uchida Ryôhei, Matsumura Kaiseki, Kawashima Naniwa, Kuzuo Yoshihisa, and Kita Ikki, immensely influenced Japanese nationalists of the period'.²⁷ They became supporters of India's struggle against British rule and of the activities of the Indian revolutionaries in Japan. It has been argued that Okakura, during his stay in India between January and October 1902, had something to do with the founding of the revolutionary organization Anushilan Samiti in March 1902, of which Ghose was a major founding figure. Nevertheless, it must also be pointed out that the extent of Okakura's influence on Bengali revolutionaries in general has been debated. As Peter Heehs has suggested,

[t]he talks he [Okakura] gave in Calcutta certainly encouraged well-connected Bengalis to support secret societies in general and the Anushilan Samiti in particular. But with the exception of some uncorroborated statements by Aurobindo that Okakura was the 'founder' of the secret society, there is no evidence that his role was more than inspirational.²⁸

What seems evident, on the other hand, is the close personal relationship of Ghose and Okakura – however brief the length of the cultural exchange between them may have been.

Another important contributor to this intellectual scene was the Nobel Prize-winning Indian poet, social and educational reformer, and critic of colonialism, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). Tagore can be seen as an 'internationalist', who took a critical

stance 'with respect to the idea of Nationalism, derived from the European paradigm and internalised by Asian societies, sometimes in the form of ethnic and cultural chauvinism'.²⁹ Although he was fully aware of the variations that existed among Asian cultures, for many years Tagore devoted his energies to the task of promoting transnational values and ideas ('unity consciousness') which derived much from the teaching of the Upanishads. He founded a school, the Santiniketan, in 1901, as a protest against the existing system of education in India at that time, and it was there that he produced many of his literary, philosophical and political writings.³⁰ Ôkawa does not seem to have known Tagore personally. Tagore and Okakura, however, developed a close friendship dating from Okakura's first visit to India in 1901. Tagore once asserted that it was from Okakura that he first 'came to know there was such a thing as an Asiatic mind'.³¹ Their friendship was to last until the death of Okakura in 1913. It is ironic that Tagore, though 'an ardent and articulate proponent of nationalism during the *swadeshi* agitation (for the use of goods 'belonging to one's own country')³² of the 1910s, began to be increasingly critical of the kind of nationalism he saw at work in the process of Japan's growth into an aggressive imperialist power.³³ Tagore once observed that '[w]hat is dangerous for Japan is, not the imitation of the outward features of the West, but the acceptance of the motive force of western nationalism as her own'.³⁴

It is also worth noting the expansion of publications of translated Western texts on religion and spirituality during the years Ôkawa was at university. As Kamata Tôji has observed, in the years 1910 (the year the Japan-Korea Annexational Treaty was forged) and 1911 (the year Ôkawa graduated from university), Japan not only marked a political turning point but also saw a new intellectual wave, particularly in the realms of philosophy, religion, and spiritual and mystical studies.³⁵ In 1910, a Japanese Zen master, Suzuki Daisetsu (1870-1966), published in Japanese for the first time a translation of *Heaven and its wonders described* (1839) by Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), the Swedish natural scientist turned philosopher-mystic.³⁶ Also in that year, Madam (Helena Petrovna) Blavatsky's (1831-91) *The Key to Theosophy* (1889) was also translated by Udaka Hyôsaku from a German translation of the book.³⁷ Moreover, in 1911, a leading figure of the Kyôto school, Nishida Kitarô (1870-1945), published his *Zen no kenkyû* (*An Inquiry into the Good*), followed by Suzuki Daisetsu's translation of Swedenborg's *Angelic wisdom concerning the divine love and the divine wisdom* (1870) in 1914 and *Arcana coelestia* (1840) in 1915.³⁸ The Japanese intellectual scene in the early 1910s was filled with literature on metaphysics, mysticism, occultism, and religious/spiritual studies from the West as well as from within Asia.³⁹

Political awakening: the encounter with Indian revolutionaries in Japan, 1911-13.

Ôkawa's ardent interest in Indian philosophy and religion seems to have kept him working for some years as an independent scholar after he graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1911. He spent 'much of his time studying and understanding

the Vedic literature of India, and was literally lost in the world of classical Indian thought'.⁴⁰ His scholarly enthusiasm, however, did not remain solely focused on the ancient Indian texts. In the summer of 1913, just as his interest had gradually began to shift from Indian religious and spiritual philosophy towards current affairs in India and Asia, by chance Ôkawa picked up a second-hand copy of Sir Henry Cotton's *New India or India in Transition* (1886, revised 1905).⁴¹ In many ways Ôkawa's encounter with Cotton's *New India* was to become a turning point in his political career. *New India* made him realise 'the tragedy of India under British rule', and transformed him 'from a complete cosmopolitan [*sekaijin*] into an Asianist'.⁴² The stark reality of early twentieth-century India portrayed in *New India* was a painful blow to Ôkawa's idealized vision of India as a Holy Land. The gap between the reality of India and his imagination of it played a major part in prompting Ôkawa's political awakening as a pan-Asianist.

By November of the same year, two articles by Indian intellectuals had appeared in *Michi*, a bulletin published by *Dôkai* (a religious organization founded by Matsumura Kaiseiki), in which Ôkawa later became one of the central figures. It is most likely that Ôkawa was behind the publication of these two articles, for he had established contacts with a number of Indian revolutionaries by that time. One of the articles, by Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933),⁴³ was entitled 'Naite nihon-jin ni keikoku su' ('A desperate warning for the Japanese people'), and was published in the sixty-fifth volume of *Michi* in September 1913. Dharmapala was a Buddhism revivalist and political activist in the freedom movement in India and Sri Lanka who visited Japan several times, and, as a critique of the British imperialism, the publication of his article can be seen as representative of Ôkawa's sentiment at that time. The second article, 'Yo ga sokoku' ('Japan is my homeland') by Moulavi (Muhammad) Barkatullah (1870-1927), was published in the sixty-seventh volume of *Michi* (November 1913). Barkatullah was the first Urdu professor in the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and was also known as one of the leading members of the extremist Ghadr Party, who published the English monthly *Islamic Fraternity*.⁴⁴ Barkatullah wrote extensively on the development of the anti-British movement in India, and the role of the Ghadr Party in the movement.

Around the time when the publication of the two articles by Barkatullah and Dharmapala took place, the Japanese intellectual scene witnessed a number of publications of analyses of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. For example, in February 1912, the monthly journal *Taiyô* published an article entitled 'Indo ni okeru haiei undô' ('Anti-British movement in India') by Satô Taturô, and in March 1913 in the same journal there appeared Yokoyama Matajirô's article 'Fuhei manmantaru Indo san-oku no minshû' ('The three-hundred million people of India are full of discontent').⁴⁵ Whether Ôkawa had read these articles or not is not known, yet it is not a major assumption to imagine that these played a part in encouraging Ôkawa to write his first major work on India, *Indo ni okeru kokumin undô no genjyô oyobi yurai* (*The origin and the present state of the nationalist movement in India*) in 1916.

In the autumn of 1915, just outside the library at Tokyo Imperial University, Ôkawa met ‘by chance’ an Indian revolutionary on the street who called himself H. L. Gupta. Their meeting has often been understood to be accidental. However, if we are to take account of the fact that Ôkawa already knew at least two Indian political activists, it is quite possible that Ôkawa was no longer an anonymous writer in the network of Indian revolutionaries active in Japan. Hence it is quite likely that Gupta, who knew about Ôkawa’s political views, contrived that ‘accidental’ meeting, hoping that Ôkawa would assist their political activities in Japan.⁴⁶ It was also Gupta who introduced Ôkawa to R. B. Bose, who called himself P. N. Takur at that time.⁴⁷ Bose had been involved in a number of major terrorist attacks against British officials in India between 1910 and 1915, but after a failed attempt to foment a revolution in Punjab in February 1915 he had escaped to Japan.⁴⁸ Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to state that it was Ôkawa’s encounter with Gupta which marked the beginning of Ôkawa’s determination to support the struggle of Indian revolutionaries for independence.

Ôkawa was asked by the two Indian revolutionaries to help them organise a party, primarily for welcoming the prominent Indian revolutionary leader of the Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai (who was staying in Japan at that time on his way to visit the USA), but also in the name of ‘promoting friendly relations between Japan and India’.⁴⁹ Ôkawa claimed to have succeeded in gathering more than two hundred guests that evening,⁵⁰ many of them being Indian students, Indian tradesmen in Japan, and prominent figures of the Japanese intellectual and political scene, including Tôyama Mitsuru, Anesaki Masaharu, Oshikawa Masayoshi and Ishikawa Hanzan.⁵¹ The atmosphere of the party was clearly anti-British, as shown by the absence of the Union Jack next to the Japanese and Indian flags. This ‘multi-purpose’ event was viewed as a great success, and the overwhelming support for India’s struggle expressed by the Japanese leaders on this occasion was said to have ‘buoyed the sagging spirits of Thakur [sic] and Gupta’; given the circumstances of Bose and Gupta as Indian revolutionaries on the run, the success of the event was a humiliating experience for the British government.⁵² The reluctance of the Japanese government to suppress Indian revolutionary fugitives, despite their special relationship with the British (the Anglo-Japanese alliance), irritated the already anxious nerves of the British. The next day, Gupta and Bose were given a five-day notice of deportation to India or any other British territory by the Japanese government on behalf of the British Ambassador. This charge was, as Ôtsuka Takehiro observed, understood to be ‘more or less synonymous with life-sentence’.⁵³

It needs to be pointed out at this point that the reason why R. B. Bose and H. L. Gupta came to Japan was twofold. Their public activities in Japan – such as writing newspaper articles⁵⁴ and organising a party for the coronation of the Taishô emperor – give us the impression that their stay in Japan was dedicated to promoting the Indian revolutionaries’ political cause. Apart from campaigning for India’s struggle for

independence and gaining support from prominent Japanese leaders, their role also was to supply weapons and ammunition to India. The British Ambassador and the Japanese officials were all aware of the dual role of Bose and Gupta, and the British Foreign Office had already requested the deportation of Gupta and Bose on 5 October.⁵⁵ Thus the anti-British atmosphere at the coronation party was not the only reason why their deportation was ordered, in spite of Ôkawa's apparent understanding of the turn of events.

Events took an unprecedented turn when, in late February 1916, a British war ship fired at the Japanese civilian ship *Tenyômaru*, which was travelling to Hong Kong, and forcibly took seven Indian passengers away from the ship.⁵⁶ This incident clearly demonstrated the frustration of the British over the failure of the Japanese government to capture Gupta and Bose. However, the Japanese government protested against this incident, and hardened their anti-British stance. As a consequence of this anti-British measure, the Japanese Foreign Office also gradually mitigated their policies towards Indian revolutionaries. Hence, in April that year, the deportation order was at last withdrawn. Now, as free men, Bose and Gupta went their separate ways: Gupta left Japan for the USA in June, and Bose was naturalized as a Japanese citizen in July 1923, after marrying the eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs Nakamura, who had helped harbour Bose and Gupta while they were chased by British officials eager to have them deported immediately.

Bose continued his campaign supporting India's struggle for freedom in Japan, and he was to become a major influence not only on the thinking of Ôkawa, but also on that of leading Japanese pan-Asianists.⁵⁷ There had been a connection between Indian revolutionaries and some Japanese political activists before the arrival of Bose, for example, between Ôkawa and M. Barkatullah and, possibly, A. Dharmapala. Nevertheless, it was not until the arrival of Bose (and Gupta) in Japan that the connection between the Indian revolutionaries and prominent Japanese nationalist leaders was truly forged. Although Bose was by no means a successful political leader, his role as a popularizer of the Indian revolutionary movement, as a strategist who contributed to creating a network of revolutionaries abroad, and as an educator and an author, should be acknowledged. One may assert, as Hemendra Prasad Ghose has done, that '[i]n Japan Rash Behari Bose was, so to say, not an individual but an institution from which emanated inspiration and instruction'.⁵⁸ From the late twenties onwards, Bose published twelve books in Japan and, as a leading Indian revolutionary figure, his influence over Japanese intellectuals' understanding of India's struggle for freedom was far from insignificant. In Ôkawa's pamphlet entitled 'Kunkoku no shimei' ('Our country's mission'), published in 1916, Ôkawa insisted not only on the removal of British rule from India, but also on the 'liberation' of all Asian countries from the forces of Western colonialism in order to resurrect 'Asia for Asians':

We must not claim Japan's dominant authority over the world as some might have wished. We must not either claim to unite Asia. That would be

merely to repeat the same mistake the Western race has made. Our mission is to rescue the nations that have been suffering under Western oppression... Together we will attain freedom, the most invaluable right of human kind, and remove Western oppression of our indigenous culture. The reason why we call for 'Asia for Asians' is because there can be no true Asia as long as Asia is under Western control... We need to recognize that we must rescue Asia as well as the West by reforming the attitude and the spirit of the Western race... The Japanese nation must prepare ourselves for our country's grand mission.⁵⁹

Ôkawa had already been awakened to the idea of Japan as a cultural leader of both the East and the West. After his encounter with Indian revolutionaries, however, he began to believe firmly in Japan's duty – or in his own words, 'divine mission' – as a leader of Asiatic nations to free Asia from 'Western oppression'. In other words, his political awakening imbued him with the conviction that Japan had a cultural as well as a political duty to liberate Asia.⁶⁰ By early 1916 Ôkawa had been described by A. M. Cardew, the British Commercial Agent in Tokyo, as 'a leading spirit of the Pan-Asiatic movement', 'a very important man' who had considerable 'influence on the Japanese press' and was considered to be the man behind the growing numbers of Japanese students developing a 'keen interest in Indian affairs'.⁶¹

India in Ôkawa's major writings and his vision of 'One Asia'.

In May 1916, Rabindranath Tagore visited Japan for the first time after receiving the Nobel Prize, and stories about Tagore and India in general were frequently featured in the Japanese press. In November of the same year, Ôkawa published his first major academic work on Asia, *Indo ni okeru kokumin undô no genjyô oyobi sono yurai* (*The origin and present state of the nationalist movement in India*, 1916; hereafter *Genjyô oyobi sono yurai*). According to the editor of *Ôkawa Shûmei Zenshû* (*The collected works of Ôkawa Shûmei*), this work was 'probably the first to introduce politics and current affairs of modern India to Japan'.⁶² For many Japanese intellectuals of the period, there was a tendency to conceptualize their ideological map of Asia only within the geographical boundaries of East Asia, or sometimes even only within the boundaries of Japan, China and Korea. Considering this intellectual trend, Ôkawa's vision of pan-Asia was unique, as it included both South and West Asian regions. Ôkawa's work on India in *Genjyô oyobi sono yurai* was one of the earliest major scholarly researches of the time that can be described as a politico-historical analysis. Moreover, his analysis of the development of Indian nationalist movements was indeed a pioneering research on popular nationalist movements outside the Far East at that time.⁶³

Ôkawa wrote a number of other works in which he placed particular focus on India, such as *Fukkô ajia no shomondai* (*Various issues concerning the resurgence of Asia*) (1922), *Fukkô indo no seishinteki konkyo* (*The spiritual foundations of the resurgence*

of India) (1924), *Ajia, yôroppa, nihon (Asia, Europe and Japan)* (1925), *Indo shisô gaisetsu (An outline of the Indian thought)* (1930), *Indo kokumin undô no yurai (The origin of Indian nationalism)* (1931), and *Ajia kensetsu-sha (The Founders of Asia)* (1941). Ôkawa's criticism of the 'Anglicized' opinions and attitudes of the Japanese government, as seen in his early twentieth-century writings, reflects the consensus of Japanese pan-Asian thinkers of the period. For example, Japan's British-friendly stance was denounced by Kita Ikki, Ôkawa's 'one-time pan-Asianist partner',⁶⁴ in his *Shina kakumei gaishi (An outline of Chinese revolution)* (1915) and in *Nihon kaizô-hôan taikô (General principles of the transformation of Japan)* (1916). Kita fervently criticized the Japanese governmental officials for being policemen of India (*Indo-jyunsu*) under British orders, and even went as far as to assert that 'India's freedom movement during the [First World] war ultimately failed because the Japanese government remained loyal to the Anglo-Japanese alliance'.⁶⁵ The early days of pan-Asianism constantly generated severe criticism of the Japanese government and prompted support for Asian nationalist movements, despite the government's efforts to suppress them. Earlier currents of pan-Asian thought were anti-establishment, as is evident in the views held by Ôkawa and Kita, despite pan-Asianism's later transformation in mid 1920s Japan, which gradually came to represent 'the new wave of ultranationalism'.⁶⁶

Ôkawa continued to support India's struggle for freedom, and from about 1917 and for some years after, he acted as an agent between Indian revolutionaries in Japan and India, using his own name and the name of the warden of Sônaikai (the hall of residence of Tokyo Imperial University where Ôkawa stayed when he was a student), 'Satô Yûnô'.⁶⁷ Moreover, Ôkawa published various anti-British pamphlets from Zen-Ajiakai (The Asiatic Association of Japan), which he founded with Taraknath Das in 1916, and in July 1917 he translated Das's *Isolation of Japan in World Politics*.⁶⁸ Ôkawa was also responsible for the publication of a booklet in English entitled *For India* (1917) by W. W. Pearson,⁶⁹ which was banned by the Home Office along with Ôkawa's *Genjyô oyobi sono yurai*. It seems that it was through the publication of Pearson's book that Ôkawa first encountered Gandhi's moral and political philosophy.⁷⁰ Indeed, it needs to be emphasized that Ôkawa was one of the few Japanese intellectuals to speak about Gandhi at that time. Ôkawa's analysis of Gandhi's South African years, his moral and political philosophy and its application to the mass movement, the Gandhian method of passive resistance, the concept of truth-force or soul-force (*satyagraha*), non-violence (*ahimsa*), and his non-cooperation tactics were also published throughout the 1930s to the early 1940s.⁷¹ As he stated in his *Indo shisô gaisetsu*, Ôkawa saw the emergence of Gandhi as the catalyst which had induced India's political awakening within its own cultural, and especially spiritual, tradition: Gandhi was 'India's Tolstoy', who made the Indian national movement 'truly Indian'.⁷² It is interesting that Ôkawa compared Gandhi to Lenin and maintained that they were the greatest revolutionaries of the period, and that he saw Gandhi more as a great political leader than a great spiritual leader, because of his method of mass mobilization and his unmatched ability to exercise

great influence over Indian public opinion.⁷³ In Ôkawa's view, the emergence of Gandhi as a political leader marked the final stage of the Indian national movement, and he thought that 'with Gandhi as a leader India will enter a new era'.⁷⁴

As Ôkawa's support for India's struggle for freedom and for Indian revolutionaries in Japan became much more direct and active, the British government, which had already put Ôkawa's name on its black list, also exerted pressure on Nichi-in kyôkai (the Japan and India Association) to withdraw Ôkawa's membership.⁷⁵ Ôkawa was infuriated by this 'unreasonable' treatment, and wrote a protest in the journal *Ajia jiron* in 1921. The height of Ôkawa's fury against the Japanese government's 'hypocrisy' is most effectively conveyed in this letter of protest, in which he denounced 'the British spirit which ominously prevails in Japan':

[i]f the Association stands for a group of people who welcome every utterance of the British, for those who praise the British governance of India...I would like to see the Association perish, for I consider such a society as an obstacle to the promotion of friendly relations between Japan and India as well as a disgrace to the people of Japan.⁷⁶

As Ôkawa's frequent references to Gandhi and later also to Nehru show, he continued to pay close attention to the course of the Indian national movement until at least the mid twentieth century. Nevertheless, given Ôkawa's generous support for India's struggle for freedom from British rule, one cannot but feel slightly baffled at finding no reference to partition or even independence in 1947 in his memoir, *Anraku no mon* (The Door to Serenity), which was first published in 1951.⁷⁷ Ôkawa commented neither on any aspect of the post-independence state of India, nor on what role India should play in the resurgence of Asia in the near future. Was India's struggle for freedom merely a timely polemical tool which served to justify Japan's mission to 'liberate' Asia? What then did India, or the idea of India, represent for Ôkawa? Perhaps, for Ôkawa India was a little more than a projection of an idealized motherland of 'Asian' spirituality onto his pan-Asian map?⁷⁸

The ambivalence of Ôkawa Shûmei's pan-Asianism.

Until relatively recently, Ôkawa Shûmei's vast body of academic work has tended to be overlooked, if not deliberately avoided. In particular, his work on Indian and other Asian affairs has been neglected by post-war scholars of Indian and Asian studies. As Nagasaki Yôko has argued, this may be largely due to the premise from which post-war Indian studies in Japan took off.⁷⁹ There was a tacit yet determined endeavour by scholars in this field to dissociate themselves from the likes of Ôkawa, whose work has often been associated with Japan's imperialistic aggression in Asia. Indeed, from this perspective we may argue that the tendency to neglect Ôkawa's early scholarly output is symptomatic of an even broader issue: 'Japan's unwillingness to come to

terms with its own past'.⁸⁰

All pan-Asianists, as Szpilman observed, 'had to confront the obvious linguistic, cultural and political diversity of Asia that belied the purported unity of the vast continent'.⁸¹ However, most Japanese pan-Asianists 'evaded this contradiction by focusing only on East Asia and neglecting the rest'.⁸² Therefore, Ôkawa's analysis of Asian current affairs stood out as a unique and ambitious project, for in it the geographical boundary of 'Asia' went far beyond that of the Far East.⁸³ Ôkawa's vision of a 'diverse yet united' Asia, with its strong emphasis on the role of the Indian revolutionary movement in the liberation of Asia, was no doubt influenced by his correspondence with Indian revolutionaries who confirmed his vision of Asian unity, despite Asia's immense linguistic, cultural, and political diversity.

Moreover, Ôkawa's vast research output on the political reality of Asia also had a unique geo-political aspect, for his idea of 'One Asia' also included Egypt and even the Muslim-inhabited parts of the Balkan Peninsula.⁸⁴ By some intuitive process – though he never fully explained what – Asia was 'capable of distinguishing the eternal elements from the transitory ephemeral fluff in all kinds of cultural phenomena, whether in religion, customs, or morality'.⁸⁵ Seeing the signs of the resurgence of Asia in nationalist movements throughout Asia, as he did in the Indian revolutionary movement, Ôkawa's study of the growing currents of Asian nationalist movements was indeed innovative. Previously undocumented nationalist movements in Tibet, Thailand, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Egypt and 'Mesopotamia' were seen by Ôkawa as the 'fundamental driving-force in the post-first world war development of world history'.⁸⁶

Furthermore, inheriting Okakura Tenshin's notion of 'Asia is one' on a spiritual and philosophical basis, Ôkawa was one of a few pan-Asianists who stressed that what Asia then needed was a 'spiritual awakening', in order to attain independence politically, as well as spiritually. Ôkawa attempted to understand the fall of Asia *vis-à-vis* the rise of the West from the nineteenth century onwards and the growing currents of the Asian nationalist movement on a spiritual basis. He believed that all Asian nations shared a certain moral, spiritual and philosophical foundation that defined the 'Asianess' of Asia, rather than any linguistic, cultural or political characteristics. 'Asia', Ôkawa once asserted, 'is where the soul of mankind resides... Asian history has been in essence spiritual'.⁸⁷ His fixation with the spiritual foundation of Asia, which he believed to be the bond uniting all Asian national movements, was, perhaps, part of his pursuit of some form of universal truth – a pursuit which continued until his death.⁸⁸ For example, the emergence of Gandhi in India was of particular interest for Ôkawa, for he saw Gandhi as the incarnation of 'Asian spirit', who made the Indian national movement 'truly Indian'.⁸⁹ Indeed, Ôkawa was one of the first Japanese intellectuals to introduce Gandhi's thought to Japan and point out the extent of his influence in India.⁹⁰

Ôkawa's often undervalued role as an educational leader in the then growing field of Indian and Asian studies should also be acknowledged. The influence of Ôkawa's efforts to expand Indian studies and Asian studies in Japan is far from insignificant. For instance, while he was a professor at Takushoku Daigaku (Colonial University) in Tokyo intermittently between 1921 and 1945, he also co-operated in running a private centre for the study of social education, Shakai Kyôiku Kenkyûjyo (later known as Daigakuryô) housed within the Imperial Palace.⁹¹ Moreover, under the leadership of Ôkawa, the Tôa Keizai Chôsakyoku (East Asian Economic Research Bureau), over which Ôkawa presided from 1919 until its dissolution at the end of the Second World War, prepared 'extensive and valuable documentation on China, [and] published magazines which presented material on the economic, political and social conditions in China, India, and west India'.⁹² It is also notable that the bureau produced many prominent scholars including Maejima Shinji, Sakamoto Norimatsu, Nakamura Takashi, Ide Kiwata, Okazaki Saburô, Suyama Suguru, and Hara Kakuten.⁹³ Furthermore, in 1938 Ôkawa founded a research institution at the Tôa Keizai Chôsakyoku, in order to 'help raise the future leaders of Japan and Asia' by providing young students an opportunity to learn Asian languages including Thai, Malay, Hindi, Turkish, Persian, Afghani and Arabic.⁹⁴ While Ôkawa's late pan-Asianist thought 'does not diminish in any way his responsibility for his contribution to bringing Japan closer to war',⁹⁵ this should not prevent us from acknowledging his other role in establishing an intellectual foundation for Indian studies in Japan. We must not attempt to glorify his pan-Asianism, using his earlier academic work on India and Asia as an ultimate justification for his involvement in terrorist attacks (such as the coup d'état known as the March Incident in 1931, and the assassination of Premier Inukai Tsuyoshi in 1932 in which Ôkawa provided 'guns, bullets, ammunition and a certain amount of money'⁹⁶). On the other hand, Ôkawa's academic output needs to be properly placed and recognised in the historical context from which it emerged.

However, simply listing the consequences of Ôkawa's spiritual interest in India and of the mutual influences between a Japanese intellectual and Indian revolutionaries, leaves some crucial questions unexplored. If Ôkawa remained so indifferent towards the future role of India in the resurgence of Asia after its independence in 1947, what was his vision of India's role in Asia?

In considering this vital question, we should acknowledge the fact that much of Ôkawa's inspiration, and, indeed, most of the sources of information, for his writing on India came not from his own experience but from his dialogue with Indian revolutionaries and his reading of secondary texts, mostly in English. Moreover, there is no record either by Ôkawa himself or by a third party of him visiting India, or even attempting to do so. Ôkawa repeatedly mentioned the shocking revelation brought about by Sir Henry Cotton's *New India*, when he picked up the book by chance in 1913. If he became as 'extremely outraged and seriously concerned' about India's socio-political reality as he claimed, one might imagine that he would have visited India between 1913 and 1916 when he was writing *Genjyô oyobi so no yurai* – an

extensive investigation into the current affairs of India. Besides, one cannot help noticing the relatively light treatment of Cotton's *New India* in his *Genjyô oyobi sono yurai*, in which Ôkawa referred only once to Cotton's comments on the racial tension between Indians and the British.⁹⁷ This might indicate that what in fact shocked Ôkawa in reading *New India* was, first and foremost, 'the arrogance in thought and language of the ruling race' as it appeared in the Preface.⁹⁸ In other words, the 'inherent attitude of Englishmen in regard to all coloured races' and the 'lordly superiority and of contemptuous indifference' of the British 'race' described in the book had an impact on Ôkawa's thinking as significant as – if not more significant than – the socio-political reality of the tragedy of India under British rule portrayed in *New India*.⁹⁹ Ôkawa's criticism of British rule indeed seems to have been founded more upon racial grounds than on their colonial policy in India.¹⁰⁰ For instance, during the interrogations by police over his involvement in the assassination of Premier Inukai, when questioned about the roots of his political thought, Ôkawa talked about his encounter with Cotton's *New India*. Without hesitation he asserted that after reading *New India* and 'as many books on current Indian affairs' as he could manage to read,

intense antipathy towards the oppression of the coloured race by the white race was firmly implanted in my mind. From then onwards I began to study how the white race had conquered the world and how they have managed to maintain their power.¹⁰¹

We may, therefore, argue that Ôkawa's pan-Asian thought may indeed be better understood within the ideological framework of anti-Westernism.¹⁰² If we are to see Ôkawa's academic writing and life-long political activity more as an expression of anti-Westernism than of pan-Asianism, some apparent contradictions in his thought begin to fade. Ôkawa's anti-Western sentiment was the major drive behind his scholarly enthusiasm for the current affairs of India under colonial rule. After all, his idea of Asia – in which Japan had a 'sacred role' as a leader of Asia – was, perhaps, not 'an independent entity' but part of a highly ideologically charged 'imagination' in which India acquired an identity only as a reaction to the West.¹⁰³ This may explain why Ôkawa's vision of Asia was so abstract as to include everything that is not 'Western', and any politically precise role of India in the resurgence of Asia is obscure in his writings. This would also account for Ôkawa's inability to sympathize with the constitutional currents of the Indian national movement: he was convinced that British rule in India would be eventually removed by 'Asians' – i.e. Indian revolutionaries with the help of the Japanese.¹⁰⁴

Likewise, his lack of awareness of contradictions within Japan's imperial mission provides an explanation for his relative lack of interest in China and Korea. Political, as well as moral criticism of the Japanese occupation in China and Korea, was entirely absent from Ôkawa's writing; instead, on numerous occasions he argued that the Japanese occupation of Korea was justified.¹⁰⁵ He was convinced that the Japanese

occupation was justified because he believed that it was part of Japan's 'divine mission' to liberate 'Asia for Asians'. Moreover, Ôkawa argued in a markedly similar tone to Saidian critics of the Western orientalist discourse (though he was speaking at least three decades before the orientalist debate came to the fore in the late 1970s¹⁰⁶), that 'the Orient known by Europeans since the ancient times is not the Orient known by the Easterners themselves'.¹⁰⁷ Ôkawa asserted that the existing dichotomy between Asia and the West was a Western creation. Yet, ironically, the concept of Asia in his argument tended to be dependent upon, or a reaction against, his concept of the 'West'.¹⁰⁸

If we are to situate Ôkawa's rejection of Western ideals in a broader historical context, we can, perhaps, see his response as a symptomatic reaction of the intelligentsia of a society facing the process of modernization – be it Western or Eastern. The process of modernization had indeed generated similar responses at the intellectual and artistic level in other societies. In some limited ways, comparisons can be drawn between Ôkawa's early yearning for India and the interest in India shown by German Romantic thinkers in the mid nineteenth century, some of whom idealised India – largely as a means of escape from the 'enlightened' world-view.¹⁰⁹ In Ôkawa's thinking, however, there also existed a different mode of enquiry which recognized India in Asia primarily as a part of *his* Asia, over which Japan presided. In other words, the spiritual yearning towards India and the desire to control India cohabited in Ôkawa's early pan-Asian thought.

The rather ambivalent position of India in Ôkawa's pan-Asianism and its place in his multi-layered orientalism demands further exploration. Although India may have long been represented in Japan as one of the three countries (*sangoku*)¹¹⁰ and was often considered by academics to be culturally close despite its geographical distance, the degree to which India, or rather 'things Indian', penetrated into early twentieth-century Japanese society is debatable. What needs to be considered at this juncture is the fact that Ôkawa was born in a society which was experiencing significant changes at many levels. From the time that the West 'officially' came into contact with Japan in 1854, Western influences, especially in the realm of science, scholarship, technology, industry and the economy were assimilated at a dramatic speed.¹¹¹ What took Britain a century gradually to develop during the Industrial Revolution happened in Japan in half the time. Ultimately, these changes altered the fundamental patterns of daily life and encouraged 'new styles of artistic, cultural and intellectual activity'.¹¹² Many prominent Japanese intellectuals in the early twentieth century grew up in a society eager to build a democratic foundation that matched the successful European model. Western influences were a prominent feature of Japan's process of nation building. As the eldest son of a wealthy doctor, Ôkawa was certainly not an exception in being exposed to Western values and ways of thinking from a very early age. He derived inspiration for his pan-Asian thought 'as much from Western as from native Japanese or Asian sources'.¹¹³ As Szpilman has pointed out,

[h]e made no secret of his intellectual debt to Plato (elitism and idealism); Hegel (his philosophy of history); neo-Hegelian Russian philosopher Soloviev (the significance of war in history and situational ethics); the now obscure French mystic, Paul Richard, who confirmed his view of Japan's moral superiority; Lothrop Stoddard and Oswald Spengler, the pessimists, who proclaimed the decline of the West etc.¹¹⁴

One could, therefore, argue that early twentieth-century Japanese intellectuals like Ôkawa actively participated in the process of 'orientalizing' India as much as the so-called orientalist of the West 'orientalized' and essentialized India. Nevertheless, such orientalisation can often be a by-product or side effect of the intellectual process of understanding cultures and traditions which are seen by the thinker to be different from or outside his own. It must also be pointed out that Ôkawa's theory of the unique Asian/Japanese spirit, which he believed the West lacked, was developed and indeed realized in large part through his encounter with the Western world of literature, arts, politics, religion and philosophy – as was Aurobindo Ghose's Hindu cultural revivalism and spiritualism, M. K. Gandhi's principle of non-violence and method of passive resistance, Rabindranath Tagore's criticism of imperialism and nationalism and Okakura Tenshin's artistic and cultural pan-Asianism. Ôkawa's 'idea of India' was initially developed through a romanticized – and indeed Western – view of 'things Indian' which idealized India primarily as the home of Asian spirituality. If it were not for this Westernized 'idea of India', Ôkawa's later political attention to the 'tragedy of India under British rule' would not have been so dramatic.¹¹⁵ It is also largely because of this uncomfortable assimilation of Western and Asian identities and multi-layered orientalism, notably evident in his vision of India, that Ôkawa's pan-Asianism manifests ambivalence, if not contradiction. Indeed, the unresolved ambiguity of Ôkawa's pan-Asianism mirrored the similarly ambiguous and confused politico-cultural imagining of the Japanese nation in the early twentieth century, which, with tragic consequences, failed to reconcile the fundamental moral contradictions within its 'divine mission'.

NOTES:

¹ All of the English translations of Japanese quotations in this paper are my own unless otherwise stated. Japanese names which appear in this paper follow the Japanese convention, hence surnames precede first names, for instance, Ôkawa Shûmei instead of Shûmei Ôkawa. I would like to thank Professor Judith M. Brown, Dr Rana Mitter, Dr Hotta Eri (all at University of Oxford), Dr Gerhard Krebs (Berlin Free University), Dr C. S. Jones (University of Nottingham), Takeda Shôzô, Sumi Mieko and Sumi Hisao for their invaluable help and advice. I am most indebted to Dr S. J. Barnett (Kingston University) for his scholarly support and continuous encouragement along the way.

² P. A. Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan: Dimensions of Their Relations. Historical and Political* (New Delhi: ABC Pub. House, 1986), p. 30.

³ P. Heehs, *Nationalism, Terrorism, Communalism: Essays in Modern Indian History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. viii.

⁴ P. Duara, 'Opening Remarks: Empire in the Age of Nationalism' in H. Fuess (ed.), *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Post-war Legacy* (Munich: Ludicium, 1998), p. 20.

⁵ The Oriental Youngmen's Association was founded in 1900 with the object of facilitating the cultivation of friendship between the Japanese and Indian and other Asian students studying in Japan. The Association published this aim in the *Japan Gazette* in 1900. Commenting on this trend, the *Japan Weekly Mail* expressed the hope that the young men who returned from Japan with new knowledge would apply it to the social, economic and moral advancement of the Indian people. See further in Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, pp. 85-6.

⁶ T. R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries, Japan and British Imperialism (including other historical essays)* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1993), p. 8.

⁷ Quoted in Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, p. 9.

⁸ Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, pp. 84-5. Takasaku Jyunjirô and Anesaki Masaharu, who were appointed to these positions respectively, were to be the mentors of Ôkawa during his stay there between 1907 and 1911.

⁹ It was meant to be concerned only with British interests in China and Japanese interests in China and Korea. It was, nevertheless, a matter of common knowledge that 'the impelling motive was fear of Russian expansion in Central Asia which had advanced step by step until it threatened Anglo-Japanese interests in the Far East'. See further in Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, p. 10.

¹⁰ There have been studies on Ôkawa's early years which depict his scholarly enthusiasm in Indian religions directing his interest to Indian and Asian current affairs, and eventually to the history of Western rule in Asia. However, apart from Nagasaki Yôko's study in the 1980s, Ôkawa's earlier thought is relatively overlooked. Y. Nagasaki, 'Ôkawa Shûmei no shoki Indo kenkyû – nihi-in kankei no issokumen' ('Okawa Shumei's early research on India – one dimension of Japan-India relations'), *Rekishi to Bunka (History and Culture)*, 12 (March 1978) analyses the theoretical structure of Ôkawa's research into India's contemporary affairs. Nagasaki also studied the role of Rash Behari Bose in the Japanese political scene in the first half of the twentieth century, and also his close relations with Ôkawa in her 'Rasshu bihari bôzu kô' ('Thought on Rash Behari Bose') in H. Tanaka (ed.), *Nihon gunsei to ajia no minzoku undô (Japanese military administration and Asian nationalist movements)* (Tokyo: Ajia kôzai kenkyûjyo, 1983). Although the focus of his paper is on the mid twentieth century, Suzuki Masanori's 'Ôkawa Shûmei no ajia ninshiki' ('Ôkawa Shûmei's understanding of Asia') in S. Nakaoka (ed.), *Sengo nihon no tai-ajia keizai seisakushi (The history of Japan's economic policy in Asia in the post-war period)* (Tokyo: Kenkyû sôsho, 1981) was probably

the first major attempt to delineate Ôkawa's vision of Asia. A relatively recent study of the contradictions in Ôkawa's pan-Asian thought was successfully carried out by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia: Ôkawa Shûmei and Japanese Pan-Asianism' in Fuess (ed.), *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Post-war Legacy*. Szpilman argued that Ôkawa should rather be understood as a 'conservative' thinker than as a 'radical' political activist, and asserted that 'Ôkawa's much-vaunted pan-Asianism is hardly a radical doctrine, but merely appears to be disguised anti-Westernism' (p. 62). At a more comprehensive level, Ôtsuka Takehiro's two books, *Ôkawa Shûmei and kindai nihon (Ôkawa Shûmei and modern Japan)* (Tokyo: Mokutakusha, 1990) and *Ôkawa Shûmei: aru fukko shugisha no shisô (Ôkawa Shûmei: the ideas of a conservative reformist)* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1995) remain the classic texts on the role of Ôkawa's thought in historical context.

¹¹ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 49.

¹² See for instance, as Szpilman has pointed out, his 'glowing account' of the Bolsheviks in chapter 7 of Ôkawa Shûmei, *Fukkô Ajia no shomondai* (Tokyo: Daitôkaku, 1922; repr. Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1993), pp. 162-79; and also *Nihonteki genkô* in Ôkawa Shûmei zenshû kankôkai, *Ôkawa Shûmei zenshû*, i (Tokyo, 1961; hereafter *OSZ*), p. 384.

¹³ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 49.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁵ In his *Anraku no mon*, Ôkawa raised Max Muller, one of the first and most respected Asian scholars, as one of the two most influential thinkers in terms of religious thought (the other thinker was Schleiermacher) despite Muller's 'methodological problems'.

¹⁶ Ôkawa's ardent scholarly enthusiasm for the German philosophical tradition is worth noting, for again, it was the understanding and the ideas on religion and spirituality of German Romantic philosophers to which Ôkawa was strongly attracted. Ôkawa was particularly interested in the thought of Hegel, Kant, Schleiermacher and Marx.

¹⁷ Tenshin was Okakura's pen name – his first name was Kakuzô.

¹⁸ See K. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East: with special reference to the art of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1903; repr. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), esp. pp. 1-2. It is interesting to note that, throughout the book, Okakura repeatedly refers to the key concepts of the Romantic movement, such as the Ultimate, the Universal and the Particular. Although the texts of the European Romantics were not translated into Japanese until at least the late 1920s, it is quite possible that Okakura, who travelled extensively around Europe and Asia, was influenced by the Romantic world-view and the transcendental idealism of Kant. Although it remains within the realm of speculation, the philosophy of Emmanuel Swedenborg, by whom many Romantics – especially Goethe – were influenced, might have also attracted Okakura's attention and interest (Swedenborg's *Heaven and its wonders and hell* [1839] was translated by Suzuki Daisetsu in 1911).

¹⁹ Vivekananda paid several visits to Japan in the 1880s and 1890s.

²⁰ In fact, on this occasion Okakura had several other tasks in India. He had been sent to India by the Imperial Arts Commission to investigate Indian antiquities, and he also hoped to obtain permission for Buddhists to build a rest home at Bodh-Gaya.

²¹ S. Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, i (Calcutta, Bourne End and Advaita Ashrama: Ramakrishna Vedanta Centre, 1991-2), p. 6.

²² Ghose translated Richard's essay, *Ajia ni akesomuru akebono (The Dawn of Asia)* into English in Madras in 1920.

²³ T. Tsubouchi, *Okakura Tenshin no shisô tanbô: meisô suru ajia shugi (Exploring the thought of Okakura Tenshin: pan-Asianism in crisis)* (Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 1998), pp. 90-1.

²⁴ Richard's lecture at Waseda University in May 1919 was entitled 'Ajia no shinjin arabinda gôshu' ('True spirit of Asia Aurobindo Ghose'). Richard's works translated by Ôkawa were: *Koku nihon koku* (1917); *Dai Jyuichi-ji* (1921); and *Eien no chie* (1924).

²⁵ For example, see references to Ghose's thought in Ôkawa's preface to Paul Richard's *Dai*

jiyūichi-ji (translated by S. Ôkawa) (1921), in *OSZ* i. 883-887; his *Fukkô ajia no shomondai* (1923) in *OSZ* ii. 51-2; *Indo shisô gaisetsu* (1930) in *OSZ* iii. 176; *Indo kokumin undô no yurai* (1931), in *OSZ* ii. 521; *Ajia kensetsu sha* (1941) in *OSZ* ii. 432-4; *Shin ajia shôron* (1944) in *OSZ* ii. 939.

²⁶ See *Indo shisô gaisetsu* in *OSZ* iii. 176 and *Ajia kensetsu sha* in *OSZ* ii. 432.

²⁷ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, pp. 73-4.

²⁸ Heehs, *Nationalism, Terrorism, Communalism*, p. 75.

²⁹ S. Battacharya (ed.), *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore 1915-1941* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1997), p. 28.

³⁰ Santiniketan was founded in Bolpur, on the outskirts of Calcutta, and later became a Visva-Bharati University.

³¹ S. N. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and his Critics in Japan, China and India* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 38-9.

³² J.M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origin of an Asian Democracy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. xiv.

³³ R. Tagore, *Nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1917), pp. 10-11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁵ T. Kamata, "'Han-ajia" no risô: Ôkawa Shûmei no shûkyô risô' ('The ideal of "pan-Asia"'), *Âgama*, 107 (1990), p. 29.

³⁶ The Japanese title of Swedenborg's *Heaven and its wonders and hell: with an account of hell from actual information and observation* (1839) was *Tenkai to Jigoku* (Tokyo: Yûrakusha, 1910).

³⁷ The Japanese title of Blavatsky's *The Key to Theosophy: being a clear exposition, in the form of question and answer, of the ethics, science, and philosophy for the study of which the Theosophical Society has been founded* (1889) was *Reichigaku Kaisetsu*. (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1910).

³⁸ The Japanese title of Swedenborg's *Angelic wisdom concerning the divine love and the divine wisdom* (1870) was *Shin-chi to Shin-ai* (Tokyo: Heigo Shuppan, 1914). *Arcana coelestia: the heavenly mysteries contained in the Holy Scripture, or Word of the Lord, unfolded, in an exposition of Genesis and Exodus, together with a relation of wonderful things seen in the world of spirits and in the heaven of angels* (1840) was translated by Suzuki in Japanese with a title *Shinryo-ron* (Tokyo: Heigo Shuppan, 1915).

³⁹ Kamata, "'Han-ajia" no risô', p. 29.

⁴⁰ Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, p. 82.

⁴¹ *New India* was, as Sir Henry Cotton notes in his preface, written for a British audience, and it revealed the problems in the way issues of land reforms, social reforms, ethnic tension, religious nationalism, and communalism, were handled during British rule. The book also asserted that it was the 'white man's burden' to improve education for the people of India, preparing for their independence. For Cotton, India's independence from the British was taken for granted as the natural course of events in history, once all the necessary social reforms were completed by the British. For further reference, see H. J. Cotton, *New India, or, India in transition* (London: Kegan Paul and Trench, 1886; repr. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1905).

⁴² Quoted in Szpilman, *The Dream of One Asia*, p. 53. Ôkawa, after his political awakening, 'sought out the company of like-minded men', and in 1919, with the right wing pan-Asianist journalist Mitsukawa Kametarô, Ôkawa founded an organization called Yûzonsha which was dedicated to domestic reform, the liberation of Asia, and discovery of an Asian, or more specifically a Japanese, alternative to Western universalistic values. For more on Yûzonsha in Szpilman, *The Dream of One Asia*, p. 53, and on Ôkawa's one-time pan-Asianist partner Kita Ikki in the same article, pp. 50-1.

⁴³ Dharmapala's life-long mission was the revival of Theravada Buddhism. He was also the

founder of the London Buddhist Vihara and Maha Bodhi Society (1864-1933). For his activity in Japan, see T. Shibuya 'Suriranka no bukkyô fukkô undô to nihon – Anagarika Dharmapala no shisô no bunseki o chûshin ni shite' ('Sri Lanka's Buddhist revival movement and Japan – with a focus on the analysis of the thought of Anagarika Dhamapala') in Y. Nagasaki (ed.), *Minami ajia no minzoku undô to nihon (South Asian nationalist movement and Japan)* (Tokyo: Ajia kôzai kenkyûjyo, 1980).

⁴⁴ Yet Barkatullah was made redundant by Tokyo University on the orders of the British government. For the details of the event, see K. Ôkata, *Nihon to Indo (Japan and India)* (Tokyo: Sanshô sensho, 1978), p. 72.

⁴⁵ Tsubouchi, *Okakura Tenshin no shisô tanbô*, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, p. 70.

⁴⁷ Various different names are recorded as R. B. Bose's fictitious name. For example, P. N. Takur (T. R. Sareen and Y. Nagasaki), B. N. Tagore (S. Ôkawa) and P. M. Tagore (T. Tsubouchi). It is not certain which name Bose officially used, but he may well have changed his name frequently to confuse the British officials who were desperate to have him deported to India from his arrival in Japan on 5 June 1915. It has also been argued by some historians that Bose used the name 'Tagore' or 'Takur' (the pronunciation of Takur is similar to Tagore in Bengali, so it is possible that Japanese officers recorded his name as they heard it), knowing that Rabindranath Tagore was to visit Japan for lecture tours, so that Bose could appear as to be one of the members of the Tagore family. H. L. Gupta, who was sent from the 'Berlin Society' – a group formed by active Ghadr Party members in Berlin, Germany – also arrived on 12 September 1915.

⁴⁸ Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei to kindai nihon*, p. 106.

⁵⁰ This is the figure Ôkawa gave in his memoir *Anraku no mon*, p. 301. However, in the official record the number is eighty-eight (see T. Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei to kindai nihon*, p. 106). The correct figure remains unverified.

⁵¹ Ôkawa, *Anraku no mon*, p. 301.

⁵² Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, p. 27.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁴ Before the deportation order of Bose and Gupta, Bose had already written some newspaper articles, such as 'Ôshûsen to indo' ('The World War I and India'), *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 October 1915.

⁵⁵ Nagasaki, 'Rasshu bihari bôzu kô', p. 150.

⁵⁶ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, p. 71.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72. Despite the difference in the political views between the Indian revolutionaries and the All-India National Congress, Bose acknowledged Gandhi's growing influence and he often went on the lecture tours on Gandhi's moral and political thought in Japan. See T. Nakatani, *Shôwa dôranki no kaisô: Nakatani takeyo kaikoroku. Jyô (The memories of the turbulent years of Shôwa: Nakatani Takeyo's memoir, vol. I)* (Tokyo: Tairyûsha, 1989), pp. 192-3.

⁵⁸ H. P. Ghose, 'Introduction' in J. G. Ohsawa, *The Two Great Indians in Japan: Sri Rash Behari Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* (Calcutta: Kusa Publications, 1954), p. vi.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, p. 72.

⁶⁰ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei to kindai nihon*, p. 109. Ôkawa's correspondence with Indian revolutionaries continued, and it has been argued that, in association with Taraknath Das who had set up branches of a Pan-Asiatic league in China and Japan, Ôkawa founded Zen-ajia kai (The Asiatic Association of Japan) in December 1916.

⁶¹ Sareen, *Indian Revolutionaries*, p. 39.

⁶² S. Ôkawa, *Indo ni okeru kokumin undô no genjyô oyobi sono yurai (The origin and present state of the nationalist movement in India)* in *OSZ* ii. 926.

⁶³ Nagasaki, 'Ôkawa Shûmei no shoki indo kenkyû', p. 117.

⁶⁴ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 50.

⁶⁵ Suzuki, 'Ôkawa Shûmei no ajia ninshiki', p. 29.

⁶⁶ Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei to kindai nihon*, p. 113.

⁶⁸ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, p. 88-9.

⁶⁹ W. W. Pearson was an English academic who resided most of his life in Tagore's ashram *Santiniketan* in Calcutta and, together with C. F. Andrews and Mukul Day, accompanied Tagore during his first visit to Japan in 1916. Pearson's *For India* (Tokyo: Asiatic Association of Japan, 1917) argued that India was ready for independence any day and that 'India's self-rule is Asia's self-rule'. Moreover, he maintained that there was no higher political objective for Japan than to help India attain independence, and for Japan's moral and practical development in the future it was a necessary act.

⁷⁰ S. Ôkawa, *Shin ajia shôron (An essay on new Asia)*, OSZ ii. 926.

⁷¹ For example, see *Indo kokumin undô no yurai (The origin of the Indian national movement)*, OSZ ii. 529-30 (1931), *Indo shisô gaisetsu (An outline of Indian thought)* (1930), OSZ iii. 178-87, *Ajia kensetsu-sha (The founders of Asia)* (1941), OSZ ii. esp. 440-6, (but this is almost entirely copied from his earlier writing on Gandhi in *Indo shisô gaisetsu*) and *Shin ajia shôron (An essay on new Asia)* (1944), OSZ ii. 900-16. Ôkawa also wrote on Jawaharlal Nehru who he considered in his *Ajia kensetsu-sha* as 'the most eminent Indian leader after Gandhi', OSZ ii. 452.

⁷² Ôkawa, *Indo shisô gaisetsu*, OSZ iii. 179.

⁷³ Ôkawa, *Ajia kensetsu-sha*, OSZ ii. 441.

⁷⁴ Ôkawa, *Fukkô ajia no shomondai*, OSZ ii. 70.

⁷⁵ Ôtsuka, *Ôkawa Shûmei*, p. 90.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Tsubouchi, *Okakura Tenshin*, p. 96.

⁷⁷ Suzuki, 'Ôkawa Shûmei no ajia ninshiki', pp. 31-2.

⁷⁸ Indeed, the way Ôkawa captured India in his pan-Asian thought—which was as an 'idea of India' rather than 'India' as a physical entity—could perhaps be compared to the abstract 'idea of China' projected by the Kyoto School thinkers, especially Nishida Kitarô. Nishida also saw Japan, as Ôkawa did, as the self-appointed leader of Asia. For Nishida's role in wartime Japanese nationalism and imperialism in Japan see Yôko Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West": Nishida's Universalism and Postcolonial Critique', *The Review of Politics*, 59/3 (1997), pp. 541-60.

⁷⁹ Nagasaki, 'Ôkawa Shûmei no shoki indo kenkyû', p. 118.

⁸⁰ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 63.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁸² For instance, Prince Konoe Atsumara's *Tô-A Dôbunkai* and Uchida Ryôhei's *Kokuryûkai*; on Prince Konoe, see M. Jansen, 'Konoe Atsumaro' in M. Chi and A. Iriye (eds.), *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 107-23; on Uchida Ryôhei, refer to M. Takizawa, *Hyôden Uchida Ryôhei* (Tokyo: Yamato Shobô, 1976), pp. 149-78.

⁸³ T. Ôtsuka, 'Fukkô ajia no senshi, Ôkawa Shûmei' ('Ôkawa Shûmei: an Asianist'), *Kokusai Kôryû*, 71 (1996), p. 59.

⁸⁴ For instance, in *Fukkô ajia no shomondai*, Ôkawa devoted chapter 9 to Egypt and chapter 10 to Muslims in Europe.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 56. This is Szpilman's translation.

⁸⁶ Ôtsuka, 'Fukkô ajia no senshi', p. 59.

⁸⁷ Ôkawa, *Shin ajia shôron* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1944), p. 85.

⁸⁸ Ôkawa was the third in Japan to carry out a complete translation of the Koran in Japanese, on which he started to work in 1947 and which was published in 1950. Volume 7 of OSZ is

largely dedicated to his translation of the Koran.

⁸⁹ Ôkawa, *Fukkô ajia no shomondai*, p. 67.

⁹⁰ It is important to note, however, that when Gandhi expressed in clear language his disapproval of Japanese imperial advancement in China and Korea, Ôkawa replied to his criticism of Japan's aggression by dedicating one chapter of his *Shin ajia shôron* to explaining why Gandhi was mistaken, arguing that Gandhi's criticism of Japan's mission in Asia arose from his lack of knowledge about 'true Japan' (p. 928). See Ôkawa's *Shin ajia shôron*, OSZ ii. 925-32.

⁹¹ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 54.

⁹² Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, p. 81.

⁹³ Ôtsuka, 'Fukkô ajia no senshi', p. 61.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 63.

⁹⁶ Ôkawa, '5-1-5 jiken jinmon chôsho' in B. Hashikawa (ed.), *Chô-kokka shugi (Ultrationalism)* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1964), pp. 374-80.

⁹⁷ Cotton devoted chapter 3 to the problem of 'the increased bitterness of race feeling'. See Cotton, *New India*, esp. pp. 36-67.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. v.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ It must be noted that theories of the cultural superiority of the Japanese race had been expounded at least as early as the late nineteenth century, and steadily increased in popularity until the end of World War II. For example, the famous Japanese educator Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote his *Japan's Mission in Asia* in 1882 to support the idea of Japanese imperialism and the 'manifest destiny' of Japan to be the leader of Asia. Several ultranationalist groups and writers in the early part of the twentieth century, such as the Black Dragon Society and Kita Ikki, also gained increasing popularity with their views that Japan should take leadership in Asia to expel foreign powers by means of a righteous war if necessary. As some have argued, many of these ultranationalist groups believed that the moral purity of the Yamato race and Japan's unique ancestry as descendants of the sun goddess Amaterasu entitled the Japanese to such a leadership role in Asia. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 – in which Japan became the first Asian country to defeat a Western power – played a significant part in bolstering Japan's confidence in its 'divine mission'.

¹⁰¹ Ôkawa, '5-1-5 jiken jinmon chôsho', p. 350.

¹⁰² Szpilman, 'The Dream of One Asia', p. 62.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ôkawa seriously doubted the possibility of India's attainment of independence without the help of the Japanese. See further in his *Shin ajia shôron* (1944), OSZ ii. 936.

¹⁰⁵ For his justification for the Japanese occupation of Korea, see, for example, Chapter 1 of his *Indo kokumin undô no yurai (The origin of the Indian national movement)*, OSZ ii. 508-10 (1931).

¹⁰⁶ See E. W. Said, *Orientalism: the Western conception of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), in which he famously argued that 'Orientalism...[is] a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (p. 3) and that it is 'a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience' (p.1).

¹⁰⁷ See further in Ôkawa's *Daitôa chitsujyo kensetsu (The building foundation of the Great East)* (1943), OSZ ii. 831-5.

¹⁰⁸ Ôkawa believed that the political dichotomy between Asian and the West was due to the fear of the West that Asian countries would become united against the West. See further on his argument and his interesting views on the orientalist discourse of the West in chapter five of his *Daitôa chitsujyo kensetsu*, OSZ ii. 831-8.

¹⁰⁹ Although the infatuation with ‘things India’ was not a long-term affair for all German Romantics, for men like the Schlegel brothers, Schelling, Novalis and Goethe, who saw India as their ‘spiritual motherland’, ancient Indian thought had a significant influence on their thinking.

¹¹⁰ Before the concept of ‘Asia’ became prevalent, there was in Japan a world-view which saw the world as consisting of three countries including Honchô (Japan), Tô (China), and Tenjiku (India). See the discussion on ‘What is Asia?’ in *Kokusai Kôryû*, (1996), esp. pp. 11-6, and also the point made by Ôkawa himself in his *Shin ajia shôron* (1944), OSZ ii. 927.

¹¹¹ Narashima Murthy, *India and Japan*, p. 30.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Szpilman, ‘The Dream of One Asia’, p. 61.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ôkawa, *Anraku no mon*, p. 286.