This dissertation has been microfilmed exactly as received 67-16,349

YAMAMOTO, Masaya, 1929-

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1967
History, modern

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
IMAGE-MAKERS OF JAPAN: A CASE STUDY IN THE IMPACT OF
THE AMERICAN PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARY
MOVEMENT, 1859 - 1905

DISSertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Masaya Yamamoto, Bungakushi (B.A.), M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1967

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of History
FOREWORD

We present here a study of the image of Japan in the United States created by the American Protestant foreign missionary movement up to the close of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Aside from diplomatic and economic relations, the American Republic's main contact with the Mikado's Empire in the nineteenth century was through the missionary movement. Since this developed on a person-to-person basis, it covered a much wider range than did any other relationships.

The Christian missionary enterprise in Japan was, and still is, dominated by American churches. Almost all Christian denominations in the United States have carried on evangelistic work in Nippon.

Representatives of all Christian bodies operating in the Empire periodically wrote to their home boards, and their letters and reports were printed in their respective journals. These communications created a definite image of Japan in the minds of church members in the United States.
The situation was more favorable for the American churches in Nippon than in China, because the former was willing to change herself and develop, while the latter sought, at all times, to maintain the status quo. Harmonious missionary relationships proved an important factor in shaping a favorable Japanese image in American society.

Even during the critical period of American-Japanese relations, from the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 through the close of the Pacific War in 1945, the average American as an individual had a basically favorable mental picture of Nippon. This bright image led to a "second-honeymoon" period after the Second World War.

It was natural that American missionaries in intimate contact with their Japanese church members were highly sensitive to the changes and progress under way in the Empire of the Rising Sun. Their personal letters and formal reports consequently provide fairly accurate information on Nipponese development and stand in sharp contrast to the writings of journalists and lay travelers emphasizing the country's exoticism.
Missionary magazines and numerous annual reports of the mission boards have been investigated during the course of this study. The main source of information, however, has been the papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The oldest, as well as one of the largest and most influential of all such societies in the United States, this Board was the strongest Christian body tilling the religious field in Japan.

In addition to such materials, attention has been given to books and articles written by missionaries and their friends in various private capacities. Special attention is accorded the writings and diary of William Elliot Griffis, the foremost American Japanologist in the nineteenth century and a friend of missions, whose name became famous through his classic, *The Mikado’s Empire*, published in 1876 in New York.

A critical comparison has been undertaken between Griffis and Lafcadio Hearn, another distinguished creator of the Japanese image in America, who pictured an exotic nineteenth-century land where tradition still lay deeply intrenched despite the dominant current of change.
Our study embraces seven chapters. The first two are devoted to the mission movement background in the United States, with a survey of the Japanese field in the corresponding period. Both contain statistical reports on the American churches, their general overseas undertakings and their activities in Nippon in particular.

The next four chapters are chronological. They discuss in turn such significant events as the de facto toleration of Christianity in 1873, the de jure recognition accorded it by the Imperial Constitution of 1889, the first rise of Japanese nationalism in 1895 following victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War and, finally, a second height of spirit attained by Nippon in 1905 when she became a world power through her triumph over Russia.

The last chapter presents a summary of the Japanese image as ultimately shaped in the United States through the American Protestant foreign missionary movement. The impact of missions upon the Mikado's Empire is also examined in relation to the Nipponese immigration problems on the West Coast and the "war scare" involving Japan, both of
which immediately followed her spectacular victory over Russia.

Here we must turn our attention to terms being used in this study. Since some denominations' official names are confusing because of similarity between them, unofficial designations, as noted below, are employed in the interests of clarity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES USED IN THIS STUDY</th>
<th>THE ACTUAL OFFICIAL NAMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Dutch Reformed Church</td>
<td>The Reformed Church in America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The German Reformed Church</td>
<td>The Reformed Church in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Northern Methodist Church</td>
<td>The Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Southern Methodist Church</td>
<td>The Methodist Episcopal Church, South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Northern Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Southern Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>The Presbyterian Church in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Disciples of Christ's Mission</td>
<td>The Foreign Christian Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

January 27, 1929  Born - Sendai, Japan

1953 ........ Bungakushi (B.A.), Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan

1953-1955 .. Teacher, Kwansei Gakuin High School, Nishinomiya, Japan

1957 ........ M.A., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

1957-1962 .. Teacher, Kwansei Gakuin High School, Nishinomiya, Japan

1962-1965 .. Graduate Assistant, Department of History, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1965-1967 .. Instructor, Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage, Alaska

PUBLICATIONS


"1893 nen no Hawaii Seihen to sono Haikei ni tsuite no Ichi Kōsatsu" (A Study of the Background of Hawaiian Revolution in 1893), Shirin (Kyōto: Kyōto University, May, 1962), No. 3, pp. 121-141.
"America Gasshūkoku no Kaigai Hatten ni okeru Ichi Sokumen: American Board no Seiritsu Jijō - II" (One Aspect of American Overseas Expansion: The Emergence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - II), Kwansei Gakuin Shigaku (Nishinomiya: Kwansei Gakuin University, November, 1964), No. 8, pp. 53-68.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: American History

Studies in American History. Professors Francis P. Weisenburger and Robert H. Bremner

Studies in American Diplomacy. Professor Foster Rhea Dulles

Studies in European Expansion. Professor Lowell Ragatz

Studies in Far East Modern History. Professor Jerome B. Grieder

Studies in Religious Sociology. Professor Russell R. Dynes
CONTENTS

FOREWORD .......................................... ii
LIST OF TABLES ................................... xi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ........................... xiii

Chapter
I. A SURVEY OF THE HOME GROUND, THE UNITED STATES ............................ 1
   Introduction
   General Characteristics of the American Protestant Foreign Mission Movement
   The Rise of Missionary Spirit in the United States
   The Growth and Dispersion of the Missionary Spirit

II. THE FIELD, JAPAN IN PERSPECTIVE ........................................... 38
   The Nipponese Field in Perspective
   Western Contact with the Isolated Empire
   The Opening of Nippon's Door
   The Beginning of Christianization
   Statistical Survey of Japan Field

III. THE PREPARATORY PERIOD, 1858-1873 .................................. 104
   The First Japanese Mission to the United States
   The Beginning of Missionary Activity in Japan
   Griffis in Fukui
   The De Facto Recognition of Christianity
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE FLOWERING YEARS, 1873-1889</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Promising Start</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Hardy Neesima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffis in Tokyo and in the United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan's Modernization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Satsuma Rebellion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries for Equality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mission Apogee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE ERA OF REACTION, 1889-1895</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Japan for the Japanese&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafcadio Hearn in Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Evangelization of the World in This Generation&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rise of Nationalism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sino-Japanese War</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE AGE OF READJUSTMENT, 1895-1905</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan and America at the Turn of the Century</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progress of the World Evangelization Program</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Road to &quot;Mixed Residence&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippon's Participation in the Boxer Rebellion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Russo-Japanese War</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Immigration Problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various Pictures of Nippon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Synthesized Image of Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A List of the Woman's Foreign Mission Organization</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Development of Per Capita Foreign Mission Expenditures in Three Denominations</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Changes in Per Capita Foreign Mission Expenditures, 1890-1900</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Contributions to the American Board by State and Other Categories (1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total Donations, Per Capita Ones and Legacies to the American Board by State in 1890</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A Chronological List of Articles on Japan Published in English in the United States, 1840-1905</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ten Big Image-makers of Japan in the United States, 1858-1905</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Missionaries in Japan at Stated Intervals</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Developing Missionary Forces in Japan by Denominational Groups</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Protestant Mission Schools Established in Japan, 1859-1905</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Christian Universities and Colleges Originally Founded in Japan Prior to 1905</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Regional Distribution of Protestant Missionaries in Nippon in 1905</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The Urban Distribution of Missionaries in Japan in 1905</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Contribution of Fund for Dōshisha, October, 1874 - September, 1877</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Additional Donations for Special Objects (The American Board)</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Important Cities in the Eight Districts of Japan</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF THE HOME GROUND, THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, specialist in Japanese History at Harvard University, wrote:

It was probably through Christianity and the Christian missionaries that the United States exerted its chief influence on Japan. The occidental business community, at least until the First World War, was dominated by the British . . . But from the start Americans led in the missionary movement in Japan. The Protestant missionaries in particular have always been for the most part Americans.¹

This is a significant factual statement. From 1859 until 1905, forty-seven Protestant denominational and non-denominational bodies engaged in missionary activities in Nippon. Thirty-five of these were American. Of the others, two were Canadian, seven British, one German, and two Scandinavian.² Americans were clearly the dominant power behind the Protestant enterprise in Japan.


²See Appendix A.
Some individuals in the middle of the twentieth century may be skeptical of missionary efforts in the previous century and might point out that, even today, the Japanese Christian population totals less than half of one percent, a figure which includes both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Reischauer's answer to this view was that the consistent emphasis on education in the missionary movement had strong influence on many Nipponese leaders. Despite the statistic evidence, therefore, the impact of Christianity on educated people in the Empire was far greater than the figures would seem to indicate.\(^3\)

In the same period, 1859 to 1905, more than forty schools other than theological seminaries were established in Japan as mission institutions. All were devoted to secondary and higher education.

Today, there are twenty-six Christian universities and colleges in operation there. Four -- the Dōshisha, Rikkyō (St. Paul), Kwansei Gakuin, and Aoyama Gakuin -- offer programs leading to doctoral degrees. The others are

---

well-established and highly respected and afford substantial undergraduate training.

Our case study begins with the opening of the mission movement in 1859, when three United States Protestant bodies, the Protestant Episcopal, the Northern Presbyterian, and the Dutch Reformed Churches, sent agents to Nippon following the signing of the Commercial Treaty between Japan and the United States the previous year. The period ends with the close of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, which marks a turning point in Japanese history, in American-Nipponese relations, and also in world affairs.

This bloody conflict was a key event in the annals of imperialism, now no longer a monopoly of Western nations. Japan's entry into international affairs obviously became a new cardinal factor in history at the turn of the new century.

The year 1905 likewise gave new direction to Japanese development. Nippon emerged as a world power, on a basis of equality with Britain, Germany, the United States, and France, with immense prestige over Russia.

Cordial American-Japanese relations reached their
peak that year because of President Theodore Roosevelt's friendly mediation in the war. American sentiment, from the beginning, was in favor of the "under-dog," and the Japanese army and navy drew much praise for their sweeping victories. Signing of the Portsmouth Peace (September 5, 1905), which accorded Nippon spectacular gains upon the mainland, was loudly acclaimed throughout the United States as a step forward.

Paradoxically enough, the treaty was a set-back in relations between the two nations. Small but militant nationalist groups in Nippon, holding that gains had not in reality been commensurate with the overwhelming victory on the battlefield, considered the United States accountable. Contrariwise, Americans now began to think of Japan as a potential economic rival in the Far East. The growing rift between the two nations was dramatized by the "Japanese Schoolboy Crisis" in San Francisco a year later. Nipponese pride was hurt when the School Board in that city denied Japanese children attendance in the regular classes of its public schools. This move stirred up the newly emerged world power's sensibility for a national identity at home.
The year 1905 also marked a turning point in United States mission work in Nippon. The Japanese Congregational Churches (Kumiai Kyōkai) had become independent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1894. At its twenty-first annual meeting, held in 1905, the Board declared that every Congregational Church enjoying monetary assistance from the American Board must thereafter be supported by the Japanese Kumiai Kyōkai, and that individual congregations must become self-supporting. Another important Nipponese religious organization, the Church of Christ in Japan (Nippon Kirisuto Kyōkai⁴), voted at its nineteenth annual meeting in the same year to accept no further financial support from their mother church in the United States, although they would continue to cooperate with it.

Such severance of ties sounded strikingly new, and indicated highly nationalistic tendencies in Japanese Christianity. Within the missionary movement itself, the year of 1905 thus became a sharp dividing point.

⁴This was a Japanese church created by Reformed-Presbyterian missionaries.
General Characteristics of the American Protestant Foreign Mission Movement

The modern Protestant foreign missionary movement was a highly intellectual one. Almost all of the workers sent abroad had college or university degrees, in addition to theological training involving one or two post-graduate years. Some were physicians, with or without theological degrees. Especially during the nineteenth century, these people represented the cultural elite in American society.

While the well-educated played a prominent role in mission ventures, such undertakings were chiefly supported by grass-roots movements involving the working class and enjoying substantial financial support through an aggregation of small gifts from a multitude of humble church-goers. A continuing drive for assistance led to the formation of special organizations within the several denominations. These were commonly known as mission boards or missionary societies, and their enterprises constituted a major form of American Christian activity during the second half of the last century.
Annual reports of each board describe the members' particular achievements in raising funds. Special agents selected for this purpose appealed for a "concert of prayers" as a means of collecting monies. Honorary directors or managers were nominated from among those annually donating definite sums of money. A regular contribution of from $30 to $50 (which had, naturally, considerably more purchasing power in those days) was sufficient to gain an honorary title, and each annual report contained several pages listing the names of "worthies" who had gained positions among the elect.

Missionaries in the field actively participated in fund raising by writing frequent letters to their home boards for publication in denominational magazines. After five or seven years of service overseas, missionaries habitually enjoyed furloughs (sabbatical leaves), returning to the United States to aid the boards in their efforts. They regularly went on circuit among villages and cities, visiting supporting churches and, in forceful lectures, sharing their experiences with members of the congregations who, in those days, seldom had any other foreign contacts.
Native Japanese Christians studying in the United States were utilized for the same purpose. Joseph H. Neesima (1843-1890) is a typical example. Determined to study overseas, this energetic young samurai (warrior) violated a Nipponese law of 1864 which prohibited Japanese nationals from going abroad. From Hakodate, an open port under the Commercial Treaty of 1858, he traveled to China aboard an American merchantman. He boarded an American vessel, the Wild Rover, in Shanghai, and ultimately reached Boston in 1865.

Upon his arrival, Neesima was introduced to Alpheus Hardy, the ship's owner, who was a member of the American Board and a trustee of both Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary. Through Hardy's support, Neesima attended Philip Academy and became a Congregational Christian in 1866. He studied further at Amherst College, finally receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in 1870. From there, he moved on to Andover Seminary and, after graduation in 1874, became an ordained minister.

That year, before returning to Japan, Neesima attended the American Board's sixty-fifth annual meeting
in Rutland, Vermont. He there announced his hope of establishing a Christian college in Japan. Pledges of $5,000 were immediately forthcoming. $1,000 came from Dr. Peter Parker of Washington D.C., a former medical missionary in China. Another $1,000 came from John B. Page, former governor of Vermont. Both of these men were Corporate Members of the Board.

Neesima subsequently recalled his experiences in his Dōshisha Setsuritsu no Shimatsu (About the Foundation of the Dōshisha).

There were other gifts that impressed him more than the pledges made by Parker and Page. He told how, as he stepped down the platform after his appeal, an old farmer in a worn-out suit came up to him. Taking from his pocket two dollars intended for his return train fare, the man, deeply moved by Neesima's fervent spirit, said he had decided to go home on foot so that he could give what he had for the new college in Japan.5

Neesima recorded another exciting experience which occurred near Rutland, where an old widow approached him. She had attended the meeting but had hesitated to give him only her two dollars there. He received the money with much gratitude.\(^6\)

Thus was founded the Dōshisha University in Kyōto, now one of Japan's foremost universities.

Such episodes typified the missionary campaign on behalf of Nippon in the United States. When they pledged themselves, or presented their out-of-pocket mites, the generous donors must have had a most appealing image of the far-away country in their minds and hearts. Dr. Parker and Mr. Page might well have had opportunities to know more about Japan, but for those like the old farmer and the aged widow, the meeting was the only channel through which they could learn of the remote land.

Popular voluntary participation in the foreign missionary movement appealed to the average church member. The enterprise touched the hearts of the American people.

\(^6\)Ibid.
Protestant communities throughout the United States responded with the widespread and sincere down-to-earth support without which missionary work in Japan could never have succeeded.

Just as American influence in Nippon during the nineteenth century was spread largely through Protestant foreign missions, so American concepts of Japan were created by the same movement.

Trade, diplomatic, and cultural relationships other than those related to missions should, of course, not be underestimated as factors creating a Japanese image in the United States. Merchants engaged in Nipponese trade naturally voiced their opinions. Government officials assigned to Japan and intellectuals reading about the country contributed their impressions. Men in these particular occupations were, however, few compared to the rest of the American population. Ordinary people like the farmer and the widow who had participated in the American Board's annual meeting were far greater in number, and we should not, therefore, overlook the important role of the humble churchgoer.
The Rise of Missionary Spirit in the United States

The American Protestant foreign mission program began as part of a world-wide undertaking. Originally, the modern missionary concept had been developed by seventeenth-century Pietists in the northern and central parts of what is now Germany. Revolting against the institutionalized Lutheran Church of that time, they formed the Moravian Mission in Bohemia in 1732. A similar missionary spirit had led to the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) within the Anglican Church in England.

At a time of great British overseas expansion in the latter part of the eighteenth century, many other societies were organized. Among these were the London Missionary Society (1795), an interdenominational body composed of Congregationalists and Presbyterians; the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) (1799); and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1814). These institutions were influential in creating a missionary spirit in the United States.
The Rise of Missionary Spirit
in the United States

The American Protestant foreign mission program began as part of a world-wide undertaking. Originally, the modern missionary concept had been developed by seventeenth-century Pietists in the northern and central parts of what is now Germany. Revolting against the institutionalized Lutheran Church of that time, they formed the Moravian Mission in Bohemia in 1732. A similar missionary spirit had led to the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) within the Anglican Church in England.

At a time of great British overseas expansion in the latter part of the eighteenth century, many other societies were organized. Among these were the London Missionary Society (1795), an interdenominational body composed of Congregationalists and Presbyterians; the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) (1799); and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1814). These institutions were influential in creating a missionary spirit in the United States.
Robert Morrison serves as a good example of outstanding individuals representing them. Assigned to China by the London Missionary Society in 1806, he stopped off at Philadelphia enroute to his destination, seeking financial support from the American church public. His visit stimulated foreign mission interest in the United States, and in 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded by Congregationalists and Presbyterians in both Massachusetts and Connecticut. Its model was the London Missionary Society. The group sent its first agents to India on the eve of the War of 1812.

Individual denominations, too, soon began to look abroad. The first move was dramatic. In 1812, Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, members of the American Board's first group, became Baptists. Two years later, they participated in the formation of the General Convention of the Baptist denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions and Other Important Objects Relating to the Redeemer's Kingdom.

Similar bodies were established by other churches during the second and third decades of the century.
Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal organizations launched foreign programs in 1819 and 1820 respectively. The revival-minded Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which had split from the parent Presbyterian body in 1810, likewise undertook overseas soul-saving in 1820. Five years later, the Dutch Reformed Church joined in American Board activities.

Denominationalism flowered during the next two decades. In the 30's, it was rooted largely in theological differences, while the Negro slavery issue became dominant during the 40's. In 1832, the Dutch Reformed Church launched its own foreign program, after brief cooperation with the American Board. A year later, the Old School Presbyterians founded the Western Missionary Society in Pittsburgh. This move eventually led to the creation of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board in 1837 and the withdrawal of a large group from the American Board. The latter, therefore, became essentially a Congregational organization.

The Negro issue, meanwhile, became the cause of regional separation among Baptists and Methodists and,
later, divided the Presbyterians as well. The Southern Methodist Church was founded in 1844, the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845; from the first, these splinter bodies carried on their own missionary movements.

Thus, by 1860, when the first Japanese mission headed by Shinmi Buzen-no-kami Masaoki came to the United States to participate in ratification of the 1858 Commercial Treaty (Nippon's first treaty with other nations), overseas religious undertakings had become integral parts of the Christianization programs of leading American Protestant denominations.

They were actually engaged in two simultaneous missionary movements, domestic and foreign. They kept pace with the expanding frontier by sending out organizing clergymen to establish churches and found denominational colleges. The same energy, with the same goals, was spent in lands overseas. The expansion of church activities at home and abroad characterized the whole American Protestant mission movement.

Denominations such as the Southern Baptist Convention stressed domestic needs in the nineteenth century,
while others, the Dutch Reformed Church among them, placed emphasis upon the foreign field. Most Protestant United States denominations, however, became foreign-minded by mid-century. With the rapid westward expansion and the amazing growth of industrialization, the American missionary spirit increased up to the early 1900's. During the same period, the home churches expanded rapidly and stressed overseas activity as an integral part of their programs.

The Growth and Dispersion of the Missionary Spirit

Japan was a highly popular field for American Protestant enterprise, and almost all denominations except the Negro churches were active there. The participating ones can be classified as two groups, on a membership basis. The first, with more than a quarter million followers each in 1860, and a half million or more by 1900, included the Northern and Southern Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, Congregational, Northern Presbyterian, Northern and Southern Baptist churches, and the Disciples of Christ.
The second included those which had smaller memberships. For example, the Protestant Episcopal Church, smallest in the major group, had some quarter of a million members in 1860, while the leading minor one, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, had but 120,000. The distinction between the two became more marked by 1900. The largest bodies of the minor group were then the German Reformed and Southern Presbyterian churches, with about a quarter million members each, while the smallest group of the major denominations, the Congregational, had more than half a million.

The eight large bodies reached a total of more than 10 million members by 1900, as against less than 4 million in 1860. A comparison with American population growth, which mounted during the period from 31 to 76 million, indicates that the church membership expansion rate was greater in proportion. The amazing increase contributed materially to foreign missionary undertakings and achievements. All of the eight denominations mentioned above, with the lone exception of the Southern Baptist Convention,
which was markedly domestic-minded, became very active in Japan during this period.

As the major bodies expanded phenomenally at home, the minor groups also rose in strength. The most remarkable development can be seen in the case of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), who increased from 6,000 to 300,000 in the decades under survey -- 50 times the original number! This church was followed in growth by the German Reformed and Southern Presbyterian bodies, which reported some 243,000 and 226,000 members respectively in 1900. The Lutheran growth can be attributed to the fact that great numbers of German and Scandinavian immigrants were of that faith. As a whole, they increased from 25,000 to 1,750,000. Divided into synodical ethnic groups, these Lutheran churches achieved "naturalization" in more recent times.

In addition to growth in membership, the second half of America's nineteenth-century religious development was characterized by the emergence of numerous new denominations or sects, such as Adventists, Holiness churches, and the Pentecostal group. Of these, the Seventh-day
Adventists increased most rapidly. Beginning with a mere 3,500 members in 1863, they reached a total of 54,530 by 1900. Although the appearance of these new faiths added an interesting touch to the American scene, they were relatively small in number and played only a minor role in the foreign missionary movement before 1900.

Our period was likewise characterized by a marked growth in the position of women in United States affairs, a trend which was clearly reflected in the expansion of overseas mission work. The pioneer group was the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands, organized in New York City in 1861 as an interdenominational body. By the middle of the 80's, almost all of the Protestant denominations had established women's missionary organizations. Some, such as the Woman's Missionary Society for the Southern Baptist Convention, engaged exclusively in fund raising. Others, among them the Woman's Union Missionary Society and the Methodist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, sent their own representatives abroad. Table 1 lists those organizations whose expenditures exceeded $10,000 each in 1882.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board of Missions.</td>
<td>$116,612.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Congregational)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.</td>
<td>$112,790.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Methodist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.</td>
<td>$108,532.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Presbyterian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Missionary Society.</td>
<td>$55,819.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Baptist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board, Presbyterian of Northwest.</td>
<td>$48,662.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Presbyterian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.</td>
<td>$29,794.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Southern Methodist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board of Missions, Interior.</td>
<td>$29,114.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Congregational)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Union Missionary Society.</td>
<td>$28,972.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Inter-denominational)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Missionary Society, West.</td>
<td>$23,577.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Baptist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reviewing these developments, one faces the question of what influence rapid church growth had on the foreign missionary movement. A study of the relation between the increase of membership and that of mission spendings provides an answer. The per capita expenditure of the American Board, -- that is, foreign missionary costs divided by the number of Congregational communicants, was $1.26 in 1880. The figure rose to $1.33 by 1890, and in
1900 it stood at $1.17. Table 2 indicates the situation concerning the Northern Baptist, Northern Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed churches.

**TABLE 2**

DEVELOPMENT OF PER CAPITA FOREIGN MISSION EXPENDITURES IN THREE DENOMINATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern Baptist</th>
<th>Northern Presbyterian</th>
<th>Dutch Reformed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>$0.32</td>
<td>$0.53</td>
<td>$0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that foreign enterprise kept pace with membership increase in each denomination. Indeed, per capita expenditures in the Dutch Reformed Church rose faster than the growth of communicants. Among all traditional Protestant bodies, a growth of membership invariably led to increased foreign mission undertakings.
Conversely, development of these activities was a sure indication of denominational expansion.

Per capita expenditures varied from one organization to another. The figures for 1890 and 1900, covering fifteen leading Protestant churches, are presented in Table 3.

**TABLE 3**

**CHANGES IN PER CAPITA FOREIGN MISSION EXPENDITURES, 1890 - 1900**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational (American Board)</td>
<td>$1.30</td>
<td>$1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Presbyterian</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Presbyterian</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Baptist</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Methodist</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Episcopal</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland Presbyterian</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Association</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brethren in Christ</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures demonstrate that the Congregational and Dutch Reformed bodies were most foreign mission-minded, the American Baptists considerably less, and the Presbyterians between these two.

A further comparison is possible. Classification here is based upon overseas denominational activities. Group 1 was, generally speaking, traditionally Puritan. Save for the Northern Baptists, Group 2 embraced the predominantly Episcopalian-type in church policy. Group 3 consisted of the Middle Western or Southern churches, with the possible exception of the German Reformed, which had originated in Pennsylvania and which was expanding into the Southern Baptists. Rather than undergoing rapid growth abroad, this body was most active at home. Its importance in foreign lands was to come in the twentieth century, as with numerous Lutheran churches.

Another historically significant aspect can be seen in these figures. Members of churches of the first category, the East Coast denominations, are considered, socially, the traditional intellectuals of urban America.
In contrast, except for the Protestant Episcopalians, the second category included members of the rising new middle class. The frontier challenge appealed more strongly to them than to church members of the first-named group.

The rural West and the South were dominant in the third category. Both areas were still strongly frontier. Even though the German Reformed Church is theologically similar to the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian, the geographical direction of its development sets it apart from those urban bodies.

The next question for study concerns the center of overseas mission interest in the United States. First of all, using the traditional American Board as an example, let us consider donations received in 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900, shown below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Contributions (in thousands of dollars)</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New England</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.774</td>
<td>11.979</td>
<td>9.430</td>
<td>7.241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.188</td>
<td>15.783</td>
<td>25.899</td>
<td>7.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td></td>
<td>149.278</td>
<td>133.562</td>
<td>189.144</td>
<td>171.935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.405</td>
<td>8.590</td>
<td>3.984</td>
<td>11.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.340</td>
<td>46.896</td>
<td>36.824</td>
<td>69.158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>72.541</td>
<td>46.896</td>
<td>69.626</td>
<td>33.423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.332</td>
<td>2.187</td>
<td>8.237</td>
<td>3.629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.821</td>
<td>12.019</td>
<td>1.300</td>
<td>8.235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East North Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.671</td>
<td>7.047</td>
<td>13.853</td>
<td>8.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.387</td>
<td>.162</td>
<td>.108</td>
<td>.326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.248</td>
<td>10.613</td>
<td>15.713</td>
<td>18.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.842</td>
<td>4.909</td>
<td>4.833</td>
<td>8.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.846</td>
<td>2.313</td>
<td>3.873</td>
<td>5.871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West North Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.674</td>
<td>2.106</td>
<td>3.697</td>
<td>4.266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.754</td>
<td>3.021</td>
<td>3.624</td>
<td>19.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td></td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>.768</td>
<td>1.982</td>
<td>1.323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakota</td>
<td></td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.308</td>
<td>.597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td></td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.215</td>
<td>1.504</td>
<td>1.926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td></td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.940</td>
<td>1.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Contributions (in thousands of dollars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>.551</td>
<td>.199</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1.681</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>1.175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>.551</td>
<td>.199</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1.681</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>1.175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.686</td>
<td>.544</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.278</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>.538</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.086</td>
<td>.212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.345</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Territory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma Territory</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mountain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.684</td>
<td>.984</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.122</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pacific</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.570</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>.239</td>
<td>.113</td>
<td>.186</td>
<td>.712</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>1.732</td>
<td>2.691</td>
<td>1.289</td>
<td>6.531</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Contributions (in thousands of dollars)</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.091</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1.863</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td>2.992</td>
<td>3.787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Foreign Lands</td>
<td>5.798</td>
<td>6.881</td>
<td>3.463</td>
<td>.768</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board of Missions</td>
<td>21.220</td>
<td>66.479</td>
<td>115.325</td>
<td>138.257</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board of Missions, Interior</td>
<td>8.547</td>
<td>21.405</td>
<td>37.261</td>
<td>69.780</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Board of Missions, Pacific</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.314</td>
<td>4.212</td>
<td>4.171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellany</td>
<td>9.369</td>
<td>85.094</td>
<td>82.140</td>
<td>67.534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>453.732</td>
<td>508.402</td>
<td>661.260</td>
<td>697.272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Donations, Total)</td>
<td>380.107</td>
<td>339.146</td>
<td>414.626</td>
<td>560.426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Legacies, Total)</td>
<td>73.625</td>
<td>169.256</td>
<td>212.640</td>
<td>136.846</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is apparent that contributions came largely from New England. The increase of gift totals was not the result of mounting ordinary donations, but rose, rather, from increased legacies. This presents two points of interest. So far as foreign missionary contributions were concerned, ordinary donations reached their plateau before the 1870's. Sociologically speaking, the increase in legacies indicates
the bourgeois character of the Congregational Churches, distinguished by having many socially well-established members among their communicants.

Growth of feminine participation is also shown. From some $29,000 in 1870 to $212,000 in 1900, contributions by women to the American Board operations rose from 6.8% of the total in 1870 to 33.7% in 1900. These figures represent a seven-fold increase in thirty years.

Although legacies accounted for an increasing portion of American Board support, yearly donations were also highly significant, since they reflected actual participation by ordinary church members. The exact figures on these for 1890, together with the number of communicants of the Congregational churches, are shown below.
### TABLE 5

TOTAL DONATIONS, PER CAPITA ONES AND LEGACIES TO THE AMERICAN BOARD BY STATE IN 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Donations</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Per capita donations</th>
<th>Legacies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>$ 7,075.25</td>
<td>21,523</td>
<td>$0.33</td>
<td>$ 3,805.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>6,178.71</td>
<td>19,712</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>3,251.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>7,158.82</td>
<td>20,465</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>18,740.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>75,787.00</td>
<td>101,890</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>113,357.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>3,983.56</td>
<td>7,192</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>30,534.51</td>
<td>59,154</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>6,289.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Atlantic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>28,699.47</td>
<td>45,686</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>40,926.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>1,694.92</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>6,542.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>1,300.23</td>
<td>9,818</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East North Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>8,253.02</td>
<td>32,281</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>5,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>108.06</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>12,703.05</td>
<td>35,830</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>3,010.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>3,933.26</td>
<td>24,582</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>900.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>3,872.89</td>
<td>15,841</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West North Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>3,697.28</td>
<td>13,624</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>3,485.77</td>
<td>23,733</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>137.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>1,982.15</td>
<td>7,617</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>70.66</td>
<td>1,616</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>308.07</td>
<td>5,164</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1,004.17</td>
<td>10,045</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>940.07</td>
<td>11,945</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>Communicants</td>
<td>Per capita donations</td>
<td>Legacies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>$0</td>
<td>$0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>128.61</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>501.59</td>
<td>1,399</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>54.42</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>79.00</td>
<td>1,002</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>9.36</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>686.23</td>
<td>1,184</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>6.73</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>85.76</td>
<td>1,429</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>344.52</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>27.25</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>65.75</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Territory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma Territory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>65.60</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mountain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>55.50</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>684.26</td>
<td>3,417</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>121.85</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>32.65</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Donations</th>
<th>Communicants</th>
<th>Per capita donations</th>
<th>Legacies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>$ 569.77</td>
<td>3,154</td>
<td>$0.18</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>186.11</td>
<td>2,037</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>1,289.45</td>
<td>11,907</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$202,525.66</td>
<td>512,964</td>
<td>$0.40</td>
<td>$208,060.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

The underlined numbers in per capita donations are above average.

With donors thus evidently concentrated on the East Coast, three New England states (Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut), New York, Florida, and Arizona were the six which notably exceeded the average in per capita gifts. As late as 1890, the American Board's strength was centered in the Northeastern United States, still the most highly developed and most traditionally religious area.

But was this situation unique with the American Board? To answer the question, let us examine Protestant strength and interest in foreign missions in each state.
Thanks to H. K. Carroll's *The Religious Forces in the United States,* based on Federal census returns, figures indicating the strength of every denomination in every state in 1890 are available. Data covering fifteen leading bodies, all of which had strong foreign mission programs and were engaged in activities in Japan, are given in the next table.

Per capita foreign mission expenditures in each denomination in 1890 are used as a guide number (E/C). Multiplying (E/C) by the number of the communicants of each faith in a given state (N) shows the degree of foreign interest shown by a given body in each state. Adding these numbers for every church group, we get a number indicating the strength of the state's interest in Protestant overseas activities (S).

\[
S = (E/C \times N) + (E'/C' \times N') + (E''/C'' \times N'') + \ldots
\]

Because the ratio of Protestants to the whole population,

---

however, differed in each state, we are obliged to divide (S) by the population (P). Thus, the following formula provides the guide number for Protestant foreign mission interest (F):

\[ F = \frac{S}{P} \]

These figures appear in Table 6 and indicate that the Protestant American foreign mission strength of 1890 was still centered around New England, penetrating through Michigan and Ohio to Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas. The Pacific Coast was a minor center in the West. Map 1 also shows that the enterprise in the second half of the nineteenth century was predominantly a movement of the urban and rising middle-class churches. Considered from a regional aspect, it was centered in New England and the Middle Atlantic and Eastern North-Central areas.
### TABLE 6

**A LIST OF THE GUIDE NUMBERS FOR THE PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSION INTEREST IN EACH STATE IN 1890**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New England</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East North Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West North Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Atlantic</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West South Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian and Oklahoma Territories</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mountain</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 6--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

The average number is 5.2. The underlined numbers are above average.
MAP 1

GUIDE NUMBERS FOR THE PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSION
INTEREST IN EACH STATE, 1890

Note: The shadowed states are above average.
CHAPTER II

THE NIPPONESE FIELD IN PERSPECTIVE

The Background of the Isolation Period

We have investigated the nineteenth-century Protestant interest in overseas missions in the United States. Since Japan was a favorite field for American religious enterprise, we will now focus our attention on that country and the development of American denominational activities there. The significance of the modern situation is best understood against a background of Japanese history which we shall outline briefly, beginning with the year 1467.

For more than a century after that year, which saw the outbreak of the War of Ōnin (a struggle of the Ashikaga Shogunate succession in Kyōto, dividing the whole country into two camps), to 1590, the year of reunification under Hideyoshi Toyotomi, Nippon was in a state of civil war.
During this period, Japan, which had been unified under control of the Ashikaga family, experienced a difficult transformation. The old feudal system was regenerated, a new merchant class arose, and frequent widespread peasant revolts broke out under Buddhist instigation.¹ In some regions, such as Yamashiro Province near Kyōto, and Kaga in northern Honshū, the dependent rural element actually overthrew the feudal regime and proclaimed agrarian republics.

While expanding overseas business, chiefly in Southeast Asia, the rising merchant class in Sakai near Ōsaka became powerful enough to employ samurai (warriors who belonged to the ruling class) as mercenaries. The period was also a profitable one for Japanese pirates. Those living along the western coast formed their own fleets and invaded Korea and China, pushing their activities as far as the Canton area. Nippon was indeed moving in a radically different direction from the stable feudal structure of the past.

¹Pure Land (a sect of Buddhism) has been the most popular belief among peasants in the Far East. This religion often inspired revolts at the time of Japan's social changes.
During this kaleidoscopic era, two important new forces were introduced into Japan -- guns and Roman Catholicism. The first Nipponese contact with Europeans occurred in 1543, when a Portuguese ship, the Junco, with three sailors aboard, drifted ashore at Tanegashima Island, south of Kyūshū. Gunpower weapons were introduced by the crewmen. Roman Catholicism was brought in six years later by the celebrated Jesuit missionary leader, Francis Xavier.

These two widely divergent elements transformed Japan. Small arms and cannon completely changed the concept of warfare, contributing to the reestablishment of military control, and terminating the protracted civil strife. Catholicism appealed to both the war-torn commonality and the foreign-trade-minded feudal lords.

Post-war reconstruction was effected by the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603. Ieyasu Tokugawa became Shōgun (generalissimo) in that year, and was accorded de facto authority over Japan by the Emperor, the spiritual leader of long succession. This event marked the beginning of the second feudal period, which was to last until 1867.
The new regime aimed at spiritual reconstruction based on Confucian morality and the sharp curbing of foreign influence. Roman Catholicism became a prime target, viewed as an alien conspiracy against the newly reunified Japan. At the same time, however, the Shogunate appreciated foreign trade. A solution was effected when two non-Catholic nations, the Netherlands and England, neither of which cared for soul-saving, showed keen interest in developing commerce with Nippon. Instituting legal ports of entry in 1616 at Hirado and at Nagasaki in Kyūshū, both of which were under direct Tokugawa jurisdiction, the Shogunate severed trade relations with Catholic Spain and Portugal, in 1624 and 1639 respectively. These steps initiated the Tokugawa isolation policy, which flowered quite successfully until the Perry Treaty was signed in 1854.

The English commercial element, which had come to Japan in 1600 and had established its post at Hirado in 1613, was basically interested in commerce with India and, by 1623, found activities in Nippon unprofitable. This left the Netherlands the only European nation participating
in Nipponese trade. The Tokugawa regime now enjoyed a free hand in suppressing Catholic elements in the country. A series of edicts issued between 1633 and 1635 forbade Japanese to go abroad and imposed the death penalty on any who did so and returned.

Nipponese Catholics were brutally persecuted after inspiring the serious peasant revolt of 1638 at Shimabara in Kyūshū. The policy against Christianity was rigidly enforced, innumerable Catholic adherents were executed, and the alien faith was driven underground.

The Tokugawa government's isolation program was thus firmly established by 1641, when Dutch merchants were ordered to move into the Deshima Island, off Nagasaki, which became the only legal port of entry into Japan.

Western Contact with the Isolated Empire

The Western world's information on Japan was seriously limited during the isolation period. Occidentals could gain glimpses of a fascinating land through three different groups. They were the Dutch merchants going to Nagasaki; the castaway Japanese sailors rescued by Western
ships or reaching Pacific islands or even the West Coast of the American continent; and the Western seamen who landed in Nippon, either accidentally or intentionally, and were then captured and deported by Shōgun officials.

Examining such sources of information open to the West, one finds that the Dutch merchants at Nagasaki were methodically cut off from the Japanese public by being restricted to Deshima. The sole exception was an annual trade mission allowed to proceed to Yedo (now Tōkyō), the Shogunate capital. Here too, participants were rigidly insulated from the Nipponese. Doctor Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), a German physician, is worthy of special mention in this connection.

Von Siebold came to Nagasaki in 1823 as an employee of the Dutch East India Company. His profession made it possible for him to enjoy good contact with Japanese intellectuals despite the official policy of isolation, since scholars in the medical profession were alone allowed intercourse with Westerners. Doctor von Siebold traveled to Yedo in 1826 as a medical officer attached to the annual Dutch mission. After termination of his Company contract
in 1828, he devoted himself to writing on Nippon, publishing such articles as, "Manners and Customs of the Japanese," which appeared in The Monthly Review in 1841.  

Russia played a leading role in the second and third channels of information to the Occident. Expanding rapidly to the East at the time, she became the Western nation most eager to deal with the Mikado's Empire and the first Occidental state to utilize shipwrecked Japanese sailors. In 1783, eighteen Nipponese seamen engaged in coastal trade drifted off course as far as Amchitka Island in the Aleutian Chain in Russian America, today's Alaska. They were rescued by Muscovites and transported to Siberia. Two of them were employed as instructors in a Japanese language school in Irkutsk, established in 1768, while the other survivors were taken to St. Petersburg. They were later included in the first mission to Japan under Captain Laksman (1766-?) in 1792. At Nemuro in Hokkaidō, the Russians requested reciprocal trade relations, which were firmly denied.

---

²See the April issue, pp. 480-85.
Let us now consider the third channel of information, Western seamen landing in Japan. In the early 1800's the Kurile Chain, stretching from Hokkaidō to Kamchatka, Siberia, was the subject of territorial controversy between Russia and Nippon. A group of Russians, going there in 1810, became involved in conflict with the natives, burning their villages and stealing their property.

Captain Wasili M. Golownin (1776-1831), a Russian explorer, reached Kunashiri Island, at the southern end of the Kuriles, in 1811. Shogunate officials captured and held him responsible for outrages committed the previous year. He was kept imprisoned for two years. Found not guilty and released in 1813, he produced a book on his experiences, *Captivity in Japan*, which was translated into many languages and appeared in summary from the United States in 1820.³

The second source of information had a close connection with the missionary movement. Three castaway Japanese sailors drifted to Queen Charlotte Island in

British Columbia in March of 1833. After a year of enslavement by local Indians, they were rescued by a Hudson's Bay official and sent to London in the hope that they might be utilized in opening Nippon's door to Great Britain.

The English government, however, did not favor the project, and the hapless souls were sent on to Macao, China, to be returned home as opportunity afforded. Arriving in this Portuguese outpost in China late in 1835, they were placed under the kindly care of a London Missionary Society agent, the Reverend Charles F. A. Gutzlaff, who was also chief interpreter for the British representative stationed there.

With three Nipponese on hand, Gutzlaff began learning Japanese from them and began writing a religious tract in the intriguing new language. The completed manuscript was sent to the home office on May 16, 1836, and appeared both in the Chronicle of the London Missionary Society and in the February, 1837, issue of the Foreign Missionary

---

4See Vol. I (June, 1836).
Chronicle," a Northern Presbyterian Board publication in the United States.

This article was the earliest mention of Nippon to appear in an American missionary periodical. Gutzlaff wrote that, as a sacred duty, he taught the leading doctrines of Christianity while acquiring the language. Although his progress in learning and writing was slow, he had high hopes that his pamphlet would be of great use when the mission ship visited the "interesting country."^6

In March, 1837, another group of four Japanese sailors were taken to Macao, after having drifted to the Philippines. They, too, were placed in Gutzlaff's hands.

The United States at this time began efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty with Nippon. The Roberts Mission (1832-1836), which had effected arrangements with Muscat and Siam, was likewise scheduled to visit Japan. The sudden death of Roberts in Macao in June, 1836, prevented this. Americans residing in Canton and Macao,


^Ibid."
learning of Washington's plans, regarded the two groups of Japanese castaways as possible hostages in dealing with their parent land.

Charles W. King, director of the Olyphant Company, oldest American firm in the China trade, founded in 1828, now emerged as an influence in the situation. His inspiration had been responsible for much financial support to missionary activities in southern ports since 1832. Learning of Britain's plan to return the Japanese sailors to Nippon by way of Ryūkyū (Okinawa) on a man-of-war which had visited there occasionally, King decided himself to execute the plan. He offered free passage aboard his Morrison and persuaded two American Board agents, S. Wells Williams and Peter Parker,\(^7\) to participate in the project. King and his wife -- together with Williams, Parker, and the seven Japanese -- left Macao on July 3, 1837, and sailed directly to Yedo (Tōkyō) Bay. Their arrival was met by shore bombardment, and a second attempt to land in Kagoshima Bay in

\(^7\)See Chapter I, p. 9 about him. He was the man who pledged $1,000 in responding to Neesima's appeal at Rutland in 1874.
southern Kyūshū was given a similarly hostile reception. The entire group, including the Japanese sailors, was thus forced to withdraw from the still isolated Empire of the Rising Sun.

Although the "Morrison Incident" ended unsuccesfully, it was a significant step in developing American mission interest in Nippon. The general church public in the United States received its first direct information on Japan from participants in the venture. The Missionary Herald reported that "it may be that great good, even for Japan, is yet to come out of these seemingly untoward events." Discouraging as results were, the incident looms large, because it directed American missionary work toward Nippon.

But what of the Japanese seamen who were unable to reenter their homeland? They definitely contributed to an increased interest in Japan in the United States. After the Morrison's unsuccessful venture, the seven returned to Maçao. Five of them lived in Williams's home for two

years, aiding him in learning their language, although they were of low estate and had no formal education. Thanks to such assistance, Williams was able to produce a font of Japanese type which was cast in the United States in 1848. Certain Westerners had, of course, studied the language to some extent before, and several full assortments of Japanese type had been produced in China or in Batavia, Dutch East Indies. Never before, however, had Japanese characters been produced in America. The news was proudly announced in The Missionary Herald in its January, 1848, issue.\(^9\)

While Williams was busily engaged in learning the language and preparing the type character copy by caligraphy, sailors again played a role in shaping Japanese-American relations. In this case they were not castaway Japanese, but, rather, American whalers.

Three incidents were recorded in 1846 and 1848. Seven crewmen from the Lawrence reached Etorofu Island, in the southern Kurile Chain, in 1846; and fifteen from the

\(^9\)See "Japanese Type," XLIV, 29.
Rogata landed in Matsumae at the southwestern corner of Hokkaidō, in 1848. The sailors were all mutineers from their ships. Also in 1848 an adventurous and curious individual, Ranald McDonald, got to Rishiri Island, northwest of Hokkaidō. In each instance, the seamen were immediately seized by Nipponese officials and were hurried off to Nagasaki for deportation. The unwelcome visitors were carefully kept from all contact with the Japanese in the process.

At times, however, there were difficulties in handling such seafarers. The difference in cultures inevitably created misunderstanding. "Trampling the Cross" was a common practice in Japan because Christianity was prohibited, but Americans were shocked by the custom. Traveling in small palanquins was then a usual means of transportation, but the sailors were not accustomed to it and thought they were being given harsh treatment. After their ultimate departure from Japan, all except McDonald issued unfavorable reports, which were widely publicized in contemporary newspapers. As a result, the American public naturally developed a critical attitude toward the country.
McDonald, an Amerind-Caucasian half-breed from the West Coast, had voluntarily undertaken his venture and even enjoyed captivity in Japan. Shogunate officials noted his attitude and asked him to teach English to Nipponese.\textsuperscript{10} Of all the American seamen involved, he alone enjoyed his stay in Japan.\textsuperscript{11}

In addition to the shipwrecked Japanese sailors handled by Gutzlaff and Williams, and those American seamen captured in the ever isolated land, information on the East came via the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa). These small land masses traditionally sent tribute to both China and Japan, while maintaining their autonomy. Although the Middle Kingdom exerted great cultural influence on the group, the language of Okinawa is considered a Japanese dialect, quite different from Chinese. After establishment of the Tokugawa government, the Shogunate sought to tighten its

\textsuperscript{10}One of his students was Yeinosuke Moriyama, a famed Japanese interpreter whose name frequently appears in accounts covering negotiations with Matthew C. Perry and Townsend Harris.

\textsuperscript{11}In 1923, thirty-one years after his death, McDonald's journal was published by Inland American Printing Company in Spokane, Washington.
control over these islands. Yedo authorities in 1609 had encouraged Prince Shimazu, the daimyō or feudal lord of Satsuma in southern Kyūshū, to send troops there. These took over and the Ryūkyū were administered by officials from Satsuma, while still maintaining their autonomous status.

The Lew Chew Naval Mission formed by Navy officers in England in 1843, dispatched to Okinawa a medical agent named B. J. Bettelheim (1811-1870), a Hungarian-born Jew who had been converted to Christianity. Arriving at Naha on May 1, 1846, with his English wife and three children, he launched an extraordinarily difficult undertaking. Although the party was allowed to land, he was forbidden to engage in Christianization.

Even as late as 1852, six years after their arrival, an American Baptist missionary, Dr. D. J. McGowen of Ningpo, China, reported that the family were secluded like prisoners in the Gokokuji, a Buddhist temple in Naha.\(^{12}\) This information was somewhat exaggerated;

Bettelheim served occasionally as interpreter for a visit of the British navy, but he was not permitted to carry on evangelical or even medical activities. Meanwhile, he learned the native language and translated the first five books of the New Testament. On one occasion, he distributed a number of Okinawan tracts which he himself had printed, but they were returned to him in a bundle the next morning.

Shortly before the coming of the Perry Expedition, McGowen again wrote about Bettelheim, praising his effort in Okinawa and looking forward to "the time when Dr. Bettelheim's labors should have a wider and free sphere of action."13 McGowen's hopeful appraisal of future prospects in Okinawa was realized. Bettelheim indeed proved to be a helpful interpreter when Perry arrived in May, 1853, en-route to Japan. His work on the island and his contribution to the expedition were duly recorded in an official

13 Ibid., XXXIII (February, 1853), 38-39.
After eight years at the doorstep of the Empire of the Rising Sun, this redoubtable missionary family finally left the island in 1854 on Perry's return trip. Bettelheim spent the remainder of his life as a Chicago pharmacist. Although he had failed in his main purpose of evangelization, his activity contributed much to American understanding of Nippon. He is well remembered for his translations of the Gospels into Okinawan and Japanese, published in Vienna in 1855 and 1858 respectively. The American Bible Society did not consider it worthwhile to sponsor either work, but the British and Overseas Bible Society adopted the Japanese translation as its official version.

We have now traced each source of information on Nippon open to the West. Let us turn our attention to American images of the Mikado's Empire during the isolation period. Pictures of Japan formed through direct and indirect news were basically colored by harsh treatment of

Roman Catholics in the early seventeenth century. The Morrison Incident in 1838 strengthened the American impression of the Japanese as ruthless persecutors of religion. The church public in the United States did not, however, appreciate the fact that it was the Jesuits who had introduced Christianity into the Empire. An article in the Foreign Missionary Chronicle, the Northern Presbyterian publication, stated that the "errors" of this Catholic group had brought a tragic "extinction of Christianity through that empire."15 The writer expressed confidence that Protestants would be able to carry on missionary work in a better way in the future.

On the eve of the Perry Expedition, when American interest in Nippon rose, the hostile attitude toward the Japanese was even more bitterly expressed in the American Baptist Missionary Union's organ, The Missionary Magazine. The picture of Japan's cruelty had just been strengthened by news of treatment accorded United States seamen. At the same time, Jesuits were blamed for having made the Christian name so "odious" and promoting only a strong

---

15See "Progress of Gospel," VI (June, 1838), 170.
prejudice against the religion. An attack was also launched against Dutch traders who "earned their monopoly by trampling on the cross."  

The Methodist Quarterly Review in the same year printed an article on Nippon, summarizing a highly popular contemporary book, Charles MacFarlene's *Japan and the Japanese*. This report was less emotional in its treatment of the Jesuits, explaining that their practices were the result of unhealthy competition between monastic orders. But, generally Roman Catholics were criticized, because, in seeking the control of the secular power in the Empire, they had given Nipponese the fearful impression that their activities were subversive.  

The Review article also examined the motivation of the Perry Expedition, granting it justification from a moral rather than an economic standpoint. It was considered more important to provide security for unfortunate


"castaway" nationals in Nippon than to promote Western steam navigation in the Pacific.

With typical American idealism, the author proclaimed that "they (the Japanese) need but the republican ideas."\(^{18}\) At the same time, however, he asserted that the situation in Nippon was more favorable for the acceptance of the American "element of civil discord" than that of other Asiatic nations because of her advanced civilization.

The article further touched on the church's role, explaining that, in order to increase moral influence on Nippon, "the church must Christianize the heathen, or they will heathenize the church." Then the writer appealed strongly to the American church to "sanction a new movement towards compulsory intercourse"\(^{19}\) for the sake of justice and future brotherhood.

Three images of Japan emerged from these writings. One resulted from the "trampling on the Cross" in early seventeenth-century persecution. The Jesuits or "Romanists" were here blamed because of their conspiracy to

\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 292.  
\(^{19}\)Ibid., p. 301.
conquer. Dutch merchants, too, were condemned for their "Flying Dutchman" concept of business, which meant the pursuit of profit without religious consideration.

The second emerging image of Japan was that of a civilized and unique country among Asiatic nations. This view, however, involved no respect for "heathen" Japanese civilization, which was acknowledged only as a base upon which to erect American ideals, liberty, and Christianity. While church circles in the United States saw a golden opportunity for developing Western ideology in the Sunrise Kingdom, they believed that, no matter how well civilized Nippon might be, she was pagan and must be Christianized.

The third image picturing the country as a brutal nation, grew from her treatment of stranded sailors. As understanding of cultural patterns developed, a more humanitarian outlook came to the fore, and the American sense of mission was established.

In considering these varying pictures, church circles in the United States supported the Perry Expedition, convinced that "we must Christianize the
heathen or they will heathenize our church."\textsuperscript{20} This view, rooted in America's experience in civilizing her own Western frontier, created a firm basis for her missionary activity in Japan.

The Opening of Nippon's Door

Suppression of the Christian revolt known in Japanese history as the Shimabara Rebellion\textsuperscript{21} was the major event leading to the prohibition of Christianity and the establishment of isolation. In 1638, the following inscription was placed by the Shogunate government over the common grave of the martyrs:

\begin{quote}
So long as the Sun shall warm the Earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21}Named after Shimabara Peninsula, in Kyūshū, where the revolt occurred.

\textsuperscript{22}"Japan and the Japanese," \textit{Methodist Quarterly Review, XXXV} (April, 1853), 287.
This epitaph was familiar to United States church circles and served as a serious obstacle to promotion of evangelization activities in Japan for more than two centuries.

Christian services were conducted discreetly during the Perry Expedition in fear of difficulties which might endanger the entire venture. During Perry's second visit, in 1854, a marine aboard the Mississippi died while the fleet was in Yedo Bay. His funeral and burial were discussed with Japanese officials, who graciously permitted interment in Yokohama. Captain George Henry Preble, aboard the Macedonian, commented that it was "probably the first time any Christian service has been performed on the soil of Japan since the expulsion of the Jesuits 200 years ago."23

Similar situations occurred, one in Shimoda, ninety miles southwest from Yedo, and two in Hakodate, at the southern tip of Hokkaido. These were recorded in the famed Narrative of the Expedition of American Squadron to China

and Japan, by Francis Hawks. The Reverend George Jones, Chief Chaplain of the fleet, hesitated at first to conduct a Christian burial fearing not only disturbance among the Nipponese but possible loss of personal prestige. In reality, by performing the ceremony, he gained respect among the Japanese who looked on him as the high-ranked priest in the group.

His experiences convinced Jones that traditional Japanese hostility against Christianity had arisen through Catholic treachery centuries before and had been spread among commoners by Japanese officials. He further found that all Nipponese were by nature inquisitive; he hoped, therefore, that they would discover the difference between Protestants and "Romanists" before long. When this occurred, he concluded, "Christianity can probably get foothold in Japan."\(^{24}\)

In other words, Christianity was not prohibited in Nippon because of the religion itself, but rather because it was considered a foreign conspiracy against the Empire.

\(^{24}\)Hawks, *op. cit.*, p. 446.
This misunderstanding was naturally a primary problem for American churches to solve in conducting their evangelization programs.

Hakodate, from which Joseph H. Neesima was to leave for the United States in 1864, had further importance in American Nipponese missionary history. On October 2, 1857, while Townsend Harris, the first United States Consul General stationed in a newly opened port, Shimoda, was preparing to negotiate a commercial treaty in Yedo, an unknown naval officer in Hakodate wrote to the Reverend William J. Boone, missionary bishop in China for the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. He advised the ecclesiastical dignitary to send to Japan some missionaries who were "prudent men, of tried experience - who must remember that it is death to a Japanese to become a Christian, and must not rush leading into the work." This message was published in The Missionary Magazine in


March, 1858, while Harris was still endeavoring to gain a treaty in Yedo.

The Consul General was as eager as members of the Perry Expedition to avoid giving offence to the Nipponese, but he observed the Sabbath rigidly in order to impress upon the Japanese that he was an active Christian. In a diary entry of November, 1856, he proudly wrote about his reading the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church every Sunday and speculated about "when service will be used in Japan in consecrated churches."27

He observed the second Sunday of Advent in Yedo in December of the following year, writing that he was the first Christian in two hundred and thirty years bold enough to worship God in the midst of the prohibited country and that "the first blow is now struck against the cruel persecution."28 He looked forward to his success in the treaty negotiation as a means for securing the free exercise of

---


religion for Americans residing in Japan and for demanding abolition of the custom of "trampling on the Cross."

Surprisingly, the only section of his proposed treaty to be approved was Article VIII, which established the desired religious liberty. He had inserted the article with scarcely a hope of success. He exclaimed in his diary, "To my surprise and delight this Article was accepted."\(^{29}\) After further negotiations, an agreement known to Americans as the Harris Treaty, including Article VIII, was signed on July 29, 1858, aboard the *Pawhatten* near Kanagawa, today's Yokohama.

A major problem confronting American churches had now been solved. The Shimabara inscription of two hundred and twenty years before, "let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan," had been magnificently swept aside. Many obstacles, of course, were still to be overcome before missionary activity could be freely carried on. The treaty had accorded religious freedom only to foreign residents of Japan and offered no approval of a Christianization program among the Nipponese.

\(^{29}\)Ibid., p. 512.
Nonetheless, the treaty gave a bridgehead to American church circles. Immediately after the signing, the Pawhattan visited Nagasaki. Three residents there happily wrote to the mission boards of the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Dutch Reformed church groups, requesting that missionaries be sent in order to prepare for the time to come. These writers were S. Wells Williams, an American Board agent and interpreter in the Asiatic squadron, whose previous activities we have mentioned; Edward W. Syle, an Episcopalian elder who had been invited to serve as an English teacher in Nagasaki; and Chaplain Henry Wood of the Pawhattan, a Dutch Reformed Church member.

The history-making response to these letters came the next year, 1859, when representatives of the three boards arrived to inaugurate the foreign missionary movement in Japan.

30See Chapter II, p. 48.
The Beginning of Christianization

News of the Harris Treaty and of the joint appeal to the three boards was well received in American religious circles. In January, 1859, The Missionary Herald published a letter from William A. Macy, missionary of the American Board in China. He reported that "very wonderful and pleasant news has been brought from Japan." He acclaimed the achievement of Harris and he urged the Board to "be one of the earliest, one of the most zealous, and one of the most faithful institutions, in bringing Japan to Christ."

Despite his appeal, the American Board failed to join in sending missionaries to Nippon during the earliest period of the movement. In 1855, a year before the arrival of Harris, the Northern Presbyterian Board had already dispatched a Christian worker who had been stationed in China. The undertaking, however, proved to be premature, and it was not until 1859 that a firm foundation for missionary activity was established. The Protestant Episcopal Church,


the Northern Presbyterian Church, and the Dutch Reformed Church shared in carrying out this program.

As in the case of the joint appeal from Nagasaki, the naval officer's Hakodate letter had had an inspiring effect on the Protestant Episcopal Church. Bishop Boone of China was strongly convinced that the Board's Nipponese activity began in 1859 under the jurisdiction of the Episcopacy in China. Consul General Townsend Harris, as well as many naval officers like Chaplain George Jones who had actually participated in the expedition, were Protestant Episcopalians, and their joint contributions in opening the field in the Mikado's Empire was notable.

The Presbyterian Church already had a strong foothold in Ningpo, near Shanghai, the trading port nearest the Island Empire in the East. The station was to play an influential role in Japanese mission enterprise. Contradistinctively, the Protestant Episcopal Church pursued a course different from that of the American Board. While Bishop Boone, an Episcopalian, resided in Shanghai, the

33See Chapter II, p. 63.
Congregational body had no strong center in that area. Although S. Wells Williams was actively interested in the project, the Board was forced to make many financial and strategic arrangements before undertaking actual work in Japan.

The Dutch Reformed situation was somewhat different. This small denomination was carrying on active work at Arcot in India and at Amoy in southern China. It had no intention of immediately expanding its activities. The Dutch had long been familiar with Japan, and Chaplain Wood's appeal from Nagasaki in 1858 must have impelled the small organization to begin work in Nippon. The decision was furthered when members of New York City's South Church of the same denomination pledged support for a Japanese mission.

The Reverend John Liggins of the Protestant Episcopal Board in China was the first American missionary to set out for Nippon. He arrived in Nagasaki on May 2, 1859, two months before the official date when, according to the Harris Treaty, foreigners would be permitted to reside in the Empire. The Reverend C. M. Williams of the
same board joined him two months later.

In October of the same year, the Presbyterian Board sent its initial representative to Kanagawa, now Yokohama. He was Doctor James C. Hepburn, a medical man who had been stationed in China with his wife. The Dutch Reformed group consisted of the Reverends Samuel R. Brown, Guido F. Verbeck, and Doctor Duane B. Simmons, their wives, and Miss Julia Brown, all of whom reached Kanagawa a month after the Hepburns. The Verbecks went on to Nagasaki in November.

All of these pioneers either became English teachers or served as physicians while learning the Japanese language and awaiting the time when they could work toward their chosen objective.

Two other bodies sent agents to Japan in this early stage of the movement. They were the Southern Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Free Mission Society, a small denomination which had been established in 1843 because of its strong opposition to slavery.

This small Baptist board committed itself to activity in Nippon as a result of the Perry Expedition. The Susquehanna, the squadron flagship, had returned to
Brooklyn Navy Yard in April, 1853. A crew member named Jonathan Goble met a stranded Japanese seaman, Samuel Sentaro, or "Sam Patch," who had also served as a sailor on board the man-of-war. Moved by missionary zeal, Goble determined to return to Japan as a Christian worker. He and "Sam Patch" attended Hamilton Academy, a secondary educational institution in New York State. After receiving some theological training, Goble offered his services to the Baptist Free Mission Society at its sixteenth annual meeting in 1859 in Jersey City, New Jersey. The board responded generously, raising $1,800 to send him and "Sam Patch" to Japan. They arrived in Yokohama on April 1, 1860.

Meanwhile, the Southern Baptist Convention met with difficulties. At its fourteenth annual meeting, held at Richmond in 1859, members learned, from a lecture by Bishop Boone, of the Harris Treaty and the favorable new conditions in Nippon. The board undertook to open a station in Japan. A determination must probably be influenced by the

---

presence of its strong center in Shanghai. The Reverend J. Q. L. Rhohrer and his wife, with two others, were appointed as missionaries to Japan. On August 3, 1860, the Rhohrers left New York aboard the Edwin Forest. The ship was lost at sea with no survivors.

Because of the outbreak of the Civil War, the denomination was no longer in a position to send representatives to the promising new field. In fact, although the Southern Baptist Convention had intended to be one of the earliest groups at work there, another thirty years were to elapse before it could actually begin work.

The Outlook of the Missionary Movement 1859 - 1905

The Christian evangelization venture initiated in Japan in 1859 may be divided into four periods of development. The first includes the years between 1859, when the initial group of missionaries arrived, and 1873, when Meiji authorities set aside the earlier prohibitions of Christianity in the country. In 1873 the government proclaimed de facto recognition of the Western religion. The
intervening years saw the Restoration of 1868, when the Meiji Imperial administration replaced the tottering Tokugawa regime. The new power at first pursued the earlier policy of non-recognition toward Christianity. Vigorous protests from the Western powers, however, resulted in reluctant unofficial toleration, which enormously facilitated the work of evangelization. During the period of prohibition, missionaries continued to work as teachers and physicians, while seeking opportunities to pursue their goal of soul-saving.

The second period, from 1873 to 1889, was marked by the removal of official prohibition of Christianity and the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution guaranteeing religious freedom for all. Because of the government's wholehearted acceptance of Westernism, the missionary movement, one of its integral parts, now enjoyed phenomenal success.

Protestant churches mushroomed throughout the country, all of them building up large congregations. Many denominational schools were founded, and Japanese Christians began to display leadership in national affairs.
This era has aptly been termed the flowering period of mission activities in Japan, but the basically favorable conditions were destined to undergo changes before the close of the 80's.

During the third era, 1889 to 1895, Nippon successfully vanquished China, traditionally the dominant power in the Far East. This period may be characterized as reactionary, in contrast to the previous one. Militant nationalism had begun to rear its head. Churches no longer enjoyed limitless expansion; they now found themselves on the defensive and were obliged to reconsider their position in the newly-emergent society.

The fourth period was one of readjustment. As a result of rapid modernization in Japan and her sweeping victory over China, the unequal treaties were abolished and the Nipponese grew in self-reliance as they became members of the international community. This tendency was reflected in the church scene. Japanese Christians now began to consider themselves mature fellow-men in the Kingdom of God, rather than undeveloped beings in need of guidance at the hands of foreign missionaries. This age ended when
Japan became a world power after defeating Russia in the 1904-1905 War.

Each of these several eras will be explored in turn. Our study will consider the varying images of Nippon emerging in the United States in consequence of the vicissitudes attending the Protestant missionary movement. The years separating each of the four time units represented peaks of American interest in Japan. As tools to measure the latter, we will use Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, which provides statistical evidence reflected in a number of articles on the country published in major English-language periodicals. In order to present the situation in the United States, articles printed there are considered apart from those appearing in England and Canada.

Poole's Index includes only secular periodicals, with the result that religious magazines, such as The Missionary Herald and The Missionary Magazine, both of which will be major sources of quotations for this study, are omitted. None the less, it clearly demonstrates America's mounting interest in Nippon.
Facts shown in the following table are both informative and suggestive.

**TABLE 7**

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ARTICLES ON JAPAN PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1840-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest peak of lay interest came in 1904, the first year of the Russo-Japanese War, when 172 articles appeared in non-denominational journals. The second and third most "popular" years were 1905 with 136 items; and 1903, with 101. Previously, the most frequent mention had been in 1894, at the time of the Sino-Japanese War, when sixty-four articles were published. In 1890, the year of the first National Diet following promulgation of the 1889 Imperial Constitution, thirty-four articles had appeared in secular periodicals. Clearly indicated was interest roused
by political development in Japan, since almost half of these were concerned with the political situation in the Island Empire. Interest in Nippon continued to grow throughout the period as the American public became more aware of Japanese events.

In United States book publication, the first serious treatment accorded Japanese history was Richard Hildreth's *Japan as It Was and It Is*, in 1855. Innumerable volumes on Nippon have been published in the United States since, indeed, there has been a steadily mounting stream. Among distinguished American authors creating images of Japan were William Elliot Griffis and Lafcadio Hearn.

Born in 1843 in Philadelphia, Griffis was invited by an enlightened former *daimyō* (feudal lord) of Fukui, north of Kyōto, to serve as a teacher. The Dutch Reformed missionary, Guido F. Verbeck, had suggested the appointment. After his graduation from Rutgers College (founded

---

35 This book was published by Houghton Mifflin in Boston.

36 Although Hearn was legally a British citizen, he was considered as an American.
by the same Reformed church) in New Brunswick, New Jersey, he went to Japan in 1872. He worked for a year in the local province of Fukui, moving to Tokyo on accepting a post at the newly established Polytechnic College (Tokyo University of today).

On his return to the United States in 1874, after completing his term of contract, he published *The Mikado's Empire,*\(^{37}\) which became a best-seller, and continued to be the most widely-read book on Japan in America during the nineteenth century. In addition, he wrote such works on Nippon as *Honda, the Samurai: a Study of Modern Japan,*\(^{38}\) *Japan in History, Folklore, and Art,*\(^{39}\) *The Religion of Japan from the Dawn of History to the Era of Meiji,*\(^ {40}\) *In the Mikado's Service: a Story of Two Battle Summers in*

---

\(^{37}\) New York: Harper and Brothers, 1876.

\(^{38}\) Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publication Society, 1890.

\(^{39}\) Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1892.

\(^{40}\) New York: Charles Scribner's, 1895.
China,\footnote{Boston: W. A. Wilde, 1901.} and Dux Christus: an Outline Study of Japan.\footnote{New York: Macmillan, 1904.}

Griffis also wrote biographies of Americans who had contributed notably to the Sunrise Kingdom's development. Outstanding among them were Matthew Calbraith Perry: A Typical American Naval Officer,\footnote{Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1887.} Townsend Harris, First American Envoy to Japan,\footnote{Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895.} Verbeck of Japan,\footnote{Chicago: Student Missionary Campaign Library, 1900.} and A Maker of the New Orient: Samuel Robbins Brown.\footnote{New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902.}

Poole's Index to Periodical Literature lists forty-six magazine articles by Griffis, who also contributed voluminously. No other name appears more frequently in this standard index. Moreover, he was the only person whose articles on Japan were published through all four periods of our study. Obviously, such a leading authority played a most vital role in creating the image of Nippon in America.
The Table 8 below shows the ten big figures for introducing Japan who appeared in the Poole's Index: four journalists (G. Droppers, J. H. Wigmore, G. Kennan and Mrs. C. M. Sadwey), two missionaries (J. H. DeForest and E. W. Clement), two Japanese (K. Kaneko and K. Adachi), and one foreign resident (L. Hearn) beside Griffis.

**TABLE 8**

**TEN BIG IMAGE-MAKERS OF JAPAN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1858-1905**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of articles</th>
<th>Years of writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Griffis, W. E.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1873-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Droppers, G.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1890-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeForest, J. H.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1899-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigmore, J. H.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1890-1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearn, L.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1890-1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adachi, K.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1896-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement, E. W.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1887-1904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of articles</th>
<th>Years of writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaneko, K.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1889-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennan, G.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1903-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadwey, Mrs. C. M.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1894-1904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lafcadio Hearn, equally important in introducing the Kingdom of the Rising Sun to America, was born in 1850 on Santa Maura Island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. He spent twenty years in the United States and in the French West Indies, making a name for himself as a writer. In 1890, he arrived in Japan as correspondent for Harper's New Monthly Magazine.

He resigned from that position soon after his arrival and became a high school English teacher in Matsue in western Honshū. He married a Japanese girl there in the same year and became a Nipponese citizen, adopting the name of Yakumo Kozumi. Later he resided in Kumamoto, Kōbe, and Tōkyō, tirelessly writing articles for The Atlantic Monthly and publishing such books as A Glimpse of Unknown Japan.47

As those titles show, his literary skill was combined with love of exoticism. By 1904, he had, for Americans, become the foremost writer on traditional Japan.

Griffis wrote Japanese histories and biographies of Americans who had contributed to the country's modernization; Hearn found beauty in the old Nipponese way of life. The former kept pace with a rapidly changing country, while the latter was basically interested in what had survived the transformations.

As their works revealed, Nippon had, and still has, two distinct faces, one modern, the other traditional. Through the efforts of these two distinguished writers, the American public received both realistic and romantic images of Japan. Those involved in the mission enterprise were naturally more drawn to Griffis, who himself became a Congregational minister after his return to the United States.


49 Boston: Little, Brown, 1901.

The Protestant missionary movement in Japan, inaugurated in 1859, developed rapidly. In 1872, the year before the ban on Christianity was lifted, there were fifty-three missionaries there, -- forty-nine Americans and four others. Six United States organizations and one British society were preparing for the future. It is rather amazing that there should have been even a small number of groups and agents at work for Christianity in a country where it was officially prohibited.

Even before removal of the ban, as many as thirty-two Japanese had been converted to the alien faith. Names of these are listed in Saburō Ozawa's book, Nippon Protestantshi Kenkyū (A Study of the Japanese Protestant History). Even before removal of the ban, as many as thirty-two Japanese had been converted to the alien faith. Names of these are listed in Saburō Ozawa's book, Nippon Protestantshi Kenkyū (A Study of the Japanese Protestant History). ⁵¹ Three were noted as Buddhist priests and spies for the government, but three others were destined to become future leaders in Japanese Christian circles. They

⁵¹See pages 114-116 of the cited book. Saburō Ozawa is a leading Protestant church historian in Japan today. His study was published by Tōkai Daigaku Shuppan-kai (Tōkyō) in 1965.
were Masayoshi Oshikawa, later president of Tōhoku Gakuin College (North Japan College) in Sendai; Yōichi Honda, in time head of Aoyama Gakuin College, Tōkyō; and Kajinosuke Ibuka, the subsequent executive of Meiji Gakuin College, also in Tōkyō.

By 1905, the number of Protestant missionaries had reached 826, of whom 583 were American. Thirty-three United States organizations and seven others were then in operation. Japanese Christians by that time numbered 50,000. Development based upon each denomination or organization is shown below.

**TABLE 9**

MISSIONARIES IN JAPAN AT STATED INTERVALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1888</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1905</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Agents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Presbyterian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Episcopal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Baptist Free Mission</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Union Missionary Society</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Baptist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Methodist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Seamen's Friend</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Book and Tract Society</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Association</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bible Society</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland Presbyterian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Presbyterian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMCA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Church</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Mission Convention</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitarian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley Temple</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian Alliance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Missionary Alliance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hephzibah Faith Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Lutheran (South)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish Lutheran</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brethren</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Methodist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Missionary Society</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Christian Temperance Union</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Evangelistic Band</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total (American Agents)                          | 49   | 406  | 494  | 583  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European and Canadian Agents</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Foreign Parts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Medical Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Presbyterian (Scotland)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society for Promotion of Female Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (England)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew's University Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Hilda's Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (Canada)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wycliffe College Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England (Canada)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allgemeine Evangelisch Mission</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (European and Canadian Agents)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Totals</strong></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several important conclusions can be drawn from these figures. First, Protestant missionary activities in Japan were predominantly American. Although the percentage of Americans among Christian workers dropped from 92% to 87%, 74% and 71% in turn, workers from the United States continued regularly to lead in numbers.

The next significant fact shown is that, by 1888,
all eight of the major American denominations,\textsuperscript{52} except the Southern Baptist, had entered the Japanese field. Moreover, these organizations maintained their predominance throughout the period, at a ratio to the others of 59%, 68%, and 57%.

The third point is clearly indicated in the 1905 list: many newly-created church groups, such as the Adventists and the Holiness congregations, had joined the venture, giving fair representation of the entire American denominational situation. Japan, by then, had become a major Christian work field.

A highly important aspect of the Protestant missionary movement in the Empire was cooperation between denominations similar in doctrine. The Reformed-Presbyterian combination was outstanding in this respect. When the first non-Catholic Japanese church was set up in Yokohama on February 2, 1872, notwithstanding proscription of the alien faith, the foreign and Japanese Christians chose the name \textit{kōkai} (public society) rather than \textit{kyōkai}.

\textsuperscript{52}See Chapter I, p. 16.
(church), indicating that the converts appreciated the importance of interdenominational cooperation at a time when Christian forces were still weak in the country.

By 1877, the kōkai movement had brought into being eleven societies, operating between Hirosaki in northern Honshū and Nagasaki in Kyūshū. There was, of course, some opposition to this from the beginning. The Baptist and Episcopal, as well as most of the Methodist missionaries, proved uncooperative, setting up and operating their own denominational churches. Most of the Congregational workers favored cooperation, although they separated from the kōkai later.

Formation of the Nippon Kirisuto Itchi Kyōkai, the United Church of Christ in Japan, took place in 1870. Participants were the Northern and Southern Presbyterians, the Dutch and German Reformed Churches, the Woman's Union Missionary Society, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Episcopalian were also at work but moved in

---

53 In 1877 the name was changed to Nippon Kirisuto Kyōkai, -- that is, the Church of Christ in Japan.
another direction. Gathering the Anglican forces in the country, they created the **Nippon Seikōkai**, the Holy Catholic Church of Japan, supported by the Protestant Episcopal, of the United States; the Church Missionary Society and the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, Great Britain; and the Church of England in Canada.

Even though they lacked unity before 1905, Methodists cooperated by pooling agents and planning joint assemblies, as did the Baptists. After 1889, the Northern and Southern Baptist groups in Japan held joint annual conferences. The development of denominational mission forces is shown in Table 10.

American churches soon found it necessary to organize cooperatively in order to meet the increasing demands of Japanese Christians.
The American Protestant missionary movement in Japan was, from the outset, marked by keen interest in education. The Nipponese were eager to learn English and acquire Western knowledge in general. Outstanding
educators like G. F. Verbeck and J. C. Hepburn were among the pioneer missionaries.

Almost all of the early workers and their wives used their homes as private schools, offering study of the English language and other Western subjects. Mission schools were thus set up all over Nippon, spreading in every direction. Especially significant was the contribution to the education of women. Developments in this field during the four periods are here shown, demonstrating that many educational institutions, among them some of the country's best-known, were founded during the Protestant American mission's flowering era.
TABLE 11

PROTESTANT MISSION SCHOOLS
ESTABLISHED IN JAPAN,
1859-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of All the Schools</th>
<th>Number of Girls' Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-1872</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-1889</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1895</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1905</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the "schools" consisted merely of small classes conducted in missionaries' compounds; some of these disappeared or merged with others to form larger schools. Others, however, like the Doshisha, developed into notable institutions of higher learning. There are today twenty-six Protestant Christian universities and colleges in Japan, all of which had American church influences from the beginning. Eighteen of them -- more than half -- had come into being before 1905, as shown here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Founding Denomination</th>
<th>Present Location</th>
<th>Original Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meiji Gakuin University</td>
<td>Northern Presbyterian</td>
<td>Tōkyō</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferris Jogakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>Woman's Union</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rikkyō University</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Tōkyō</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aoyama Gakuin University</td>
<td>Northern Methodist</td>
<td>Tōkyō</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōshisha University</td>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōbe Jogakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>Nishinomiya</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dōshisha Joshi College (Women's)</td>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baika Gakuuen College (Women's)</td>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>Toyonaka</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroshima Jogakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōhoku Gakuin University</td>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>Sendai</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyagi Gakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>Sendai</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 12—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Founding Denomination</th>
<th>Present Location</th>
<th>Original Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokusei Gakuen University</td>
<td>Northern Presbyterian</td>
<td>Sapporo</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoya Gakuin University</td>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinjō Gakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>Northern Presbyterian</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwansei Gakuin University</td>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td>Nishinomiya</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seiwa Joshigakuin College (Women's)</td>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td>Nishinomiya</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsudajuku College</td>
<td>Non-denominational</td>
<td>Tōkyō</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Momoyama Gakuin University</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Ōsaka</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let us examine the United States overseas evangelization budget, of which Japan regularly received a fairly large portion. The German Reformed and the Methodist Protestant churches, for example, entered no other foreign field. The Dutch Reformed Church, one of the first to operate in the area, had a large traditional interest in Nippon, which, even among the major denominations, was a
major scene of operation ranking below only China and India.\textsuperscript{54}

Here are presented mission expenditures for Japan in relation to total spending by the major denominations. The American Board and the Northern Baptist, Southern Baptist, Northern Methodist, and Southern Methodist Churches -- despite their world-wide operation -- devoted nearly 10\% of their 1890 spending to Christian work in Japan. Obviously Nippon was a highly popular field among American foreign evangelization circles.

In 1905, there were 841 Protestant missionary workers in Nippon, 638 of them from the United States. Within the country, Americans predominated in six areas out of eight.

\textsuperscript{54}The American Baptist Missionary Union was an exception, with Burma as its largest field.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Entire Foreign Expenditures</th>
<th>Japanese Expenditures</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>Field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td>Expenditures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>$627,861.98</td>
<td>$26,891.00</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>762,946.98</td>
<td>96,571.17</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>820,588.46</td>
<td>82,723.11</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Baptist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>314,860.88</td>
<td>12,726.39</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>440,556.57</td>
<td>42,495.47</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>549,757.46</td>
<td>56,116.04</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Methodist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>279,516.00</td>
<td>27,000.00</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>566,139.00</td>
<td>58,198.00</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>629,625.00</td>
<td>49,739.00</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Methodist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>293,507.57</td>
<td>7,418.74</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>328,976.17</td>
<td>32,437.70</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>87,188.32</td>
<td>2,425.43</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>109,595.00</td>
<td>10,754.03</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Hokkaidō and Chūbu (central Honshū) districts were the only ones where representatives from other countries outnumbered the Americans, who were exceeded by merely one in Hokkaidō. Figures in the following table show that only in the Chubu area was European and Canadian missionary influence greater than that of the United States.

**TABLE 14**

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN NIPPON IN 1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Japanese Population</th>
<th>Number of Americans</th>
<th>Population per American</th>
<th>Total Number of Missionaries</th>
<th>Population per Total Number of Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaidō</td>
<td>1,107,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōhoku</td>
<td>5,206,000</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>88,000</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>87,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantō</td>
<td>8,978,000</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>39,000</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūbu</td>
<td>9,791,000</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>208,000</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansai</td>
<td>7,572,000</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūgoku</td>
<td>4,802,000</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 14—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Japanese Population</th>
<th>Number of Americans</th>
<th>Population per American</th>
<th>Total Number of Missionaries</th>
<th>Population per Total Number of Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shikoku</td>
<td>3,047,000</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>117,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>102,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyūshū</td>
<td>6,956,000</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>111,000</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>78,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47,459,000</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>56,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

The underlined numbers are below the average.

American Protestant missionary influence was particularly strong in the Hokkaidō, Kantō, and Kansai districts. Hokkaidō, a frontier region, offered favorable conditions, and missionaries were free to carry on work there. Kantō and Kansai were centers of Westernization, with Tōkyō and Yokohama located in the former, and Kyōto, Ōsaka, and Kōbe in the latter.

Mission concentration in eleven large cities will now be shown. Each constituted the political, economic, and cultural center of its particular region. Among these,
Kōbe, Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate were ports which had already had contact with Western civilization.\(^{55}\)

One third of the missionaries lived in Tōkyō, another third resided in ten other large cities, and the remaining third were scattered throughout the country. Obviously Christianity was an urban movement.

On the basis of the data presented, the following conclusions can be made:

1. Nippon was a highly popular Protestant missionary field for the United States. Most non-Catholic denominations were involved and spent substantial sums of money to finance their activities.

2. The location of missionaries in Japan shows the actual regional strength of American overseas evangelization.

3. The Protestant missionary movement in Nippon covered the country entirely and kept pace with her modernization program.

\(^{55}\)Appendix B shows distribution of missionaries in detail.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City (District)</th>
<th>City Population</th>
<th>Number of Americans</th>
<th>Population per Americans</th>
<th>Total Number of Missionaries</th>
<th>Population per Total Number of Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tōkyō (Kantō)</td>
<td>1,819,000*</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,186,000^</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōsaka (Kansai)</td>
<td>996,000</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,226,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōbe (Kansai)</td>
<td>285,000</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>387,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sendai (Tōhoku)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yokohama (Kantō)</td>
<td>326,000</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>394,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyōto (Kansai)</td>
<td>381,000</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>442,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagasaki (Kyūshū)</td>
<td>153,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>176,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoya (Chūbu)</td>
<td>289,000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>378,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroshima (Chūgoku)</td>
<td>121,000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 15—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City (District)</th>
<th>City Population</th>
<th>Number of Americans</th>
<th>Population per American</th>
<th>Total Number of Missionaries</th>
<th>Population per Total Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokodate (Hokkaidō)</td>
<td>85,000&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; 88,000&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapporo (Hokkaidō)</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,701,000</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>559</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

The underlined numbers are below the average.

Since 1905 population figures are not available, the upper number (a) indicates the city inhabitants in 1902, and the lower one (b) indicates that in 1907.
CHAPTER III

THE PREPARATORY PERIOD, 1858 - 1873

The First Japanese Mission
to the United States

Over the Western sea hither from Niphon come
Courteous, the swart-cheek'd two-sworded envoys,

A Broadway Pageant,
by Walt Whitman

It was hot in New York City on June 18, 1860. "The 
sun was bright, but a freshening breeze blew in slightly 
from the sea."¹ Walt Whitman was among those watching the 
procession given in honor of the seventy-seven members of 
the Japanese "Embassy" who had come to the United States to 
exchange the ratified Commercial Treaty of 1858.

This was the first time that the American public 
had seen a large number of Japanese, each in his native 
costume with a top-knot and two swords. Their exotic 
appearance impressed all who saw them in Washington, D. C.,

¹New York Herald, June 19, 1860.
Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. Newspapers such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* (the *Life* of that day) reported extensively on their activities and printed many curious drawings. Consul General Harris's suggestion that the Tokugawa regime should send the mission was a great success.

The United States government was very sensitive about exposing the Japanese delegation to Christianity. Naval authorities, hosting the mission, feared religious complications, and politely declined an invitation from the Chaplain of the House of Representatives to have the Nipponese attend a Sunday worship.

In protest, the clergyman wrote that God had opened Japan's door saying, "Enter in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ." Commenting on the fear that inviting the mission to a service might have a bad effect on the treaty, he questioned why Americans should be afraid of "anything prejudicial to Christianity." He strongly urged that the Nipponese should be exposed to the religion of the

---

country they were visiting.  

Sixteen days later, on June 20, when the Japanese embassy was in New York City, the New York Herald responded by printing an article titled "Are We to Christianize the Japanese?" The writer blamed the Chaplain's view as a most prejudiced one, and further said that an attempt to convert the Nipponese to Christian faith "would be utterly disastrous to the interests of the United States."^4

These two comments on the missionary movement were typical. Knowing of the serious persecution of Christians in the Mikado's Empire during the sixteenth century, the American public was especially careful concerning this mission. The same article expressed the fear that the country would again close her ports if the United States wished to carry out the missionary movement in the land.^5

Despite American fear, the Japanese displayed a fairly normal tourist spirit. When they were invited to

3Ibid.
4See the issue of June 20, 1860.
5Ibid.
attend a wedding at Grace Church in New York City, they satisfied their curiosity and wrote vivid descriptions in their diaries of the Christian ceremony and the interior of the structure.

As the *New York Herald* reported on June 30, various attempts were made to encourage some members of the delegation to look favorably upon Christianity. The American Bible Society invited the "ambassadors" to its printing shop in New York City. Only one of the Japanese, the interpreter, Motonori Namura, even mentioned the visit in his diary. He wrote about the binding procedure and the utilization of steam power for cutting the paper's edges.6

His description is in accord with Society records, which note that the visitors "were especially amazed by the hydraulic presses used to smooth the printed sheets."7

---


They were shown Bettelheim's translation of the New Testament, and their reactions brought this comment:

The Dutch interpreter of the Japanese embassy said that the ambassadors thought the educated people in Japan might discover the meaning of Dr. Bettelheim's translation, but that the masses could not understand at all.

If this quotation is correct, Namura must have been the one who made the comment. The interpreter must certainly have known that the shop was printing the Bible, a prohibited book in his country. Curiously enough, Namura never mentioned the name of the plant, and the Japanese either purposely kept the visit a secret, or did not deem it worthy of report. The New York newspapers, which had printed the Nipponese schedule in detail, said nothing about this event, which must have been considered unofficial by the Japanese, despite the American Bible Society's formal invitation.

The cautious preparation made by Naval authorities, the discussions on Christianity and the Japanese in the press, Nipponese attendance at the wedding, and their visit

---

8See Chapter II, p. 55.

9Dwight, op. cit., p. 314.
to the Bible Society establishment demonstrated that the mission members faced the religion of the West rather flexibly. They understood the alien faith to be American, so developed no uneasiness, -- it was merely another foreign institution. Attending the wedding ceremony was, in their eyes, not a religious matter but a civil one.

Meanwhile, the church public in the United States was still much concerned about the proclamation issued in Shimabara some centuries before, reading, "Let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan." But so long as the Japanese looked at Christianity as another people's belief, they remained tolerant. Chaplain George Jones of the Perry Expedition was actually more respected by the Japanese after he had conducted a funeral in Hakodate; and the Tokugawa government readily enough accepted Article VIII of the Commercial Treaty, which permitted Christian services for resident Americans.

The Nipponese public did not view the latter as the "great compromise" which the American church public

---

10See Chapter II, p. 60.
understood it to be. A parallel to this situation is to be found in the extraterritorial provision whereby foreign barbarians were not to be subject to the country's laws. This so-called "concession" was willingly granted by the government, since Japanese officials regarded the matter less seriously. It is possible, too, that the authorities had begun to recognize differences between Roman Catholicism, which had been called "Kirishitan evil religion," and Protestantism, which was later to be named "Yaso (Jesus) faith."

The Beginning of Missionary Activity in Japan

While the Shōgun's delegation was in the United States in 1860, agents from American mission boards were already in Nippon preparing for future activities. The Japanese, having adopted Chinese culture centuries before, recognized the missionaries as able teachers of English or as excellent physicians, and many promising youths began to flock around them in order to learn their language so as to benefit from Western knowledge.
Other Christian workers enroute to and from China, stopped at the newly opened Japanese ports and sent first-hand reports directly to their home churches. This was an age of reconnaissance for the mission enterprise.

Among Nippon's visitors in these early days was Dr. D. J. Macgowen, an American Baptist agent to China, who left home late in 1858 and arrived at Nagasaki early the next year. An article by him dated February 24, 1858, appeared in *The Missionary Magazine* for 1859. He had witnessed people "trampling on the Cross" and had observed street officers in Nagasaki carrying a "brass plate" — representing the crucifixion — to every house.\(^{11}\)

Macgowen taught English to the Japanese while in Nagasaki. His students were all from the "double sword" (*samurai*) class, eager to learn the language. He reported, with some exaggeration, that they were so willing that they even "fitted themselves as interpreters of English"\(^{12}\) at the end of his short stay in Nagasaki. He was much


\(^{12}\)Ibid.
impressed by the Japanese "imitative" character.\textsuperscript{13}

This observer also tried an experiment which he had suggested in writing seven years before about Bettelheim.\textsuperscript{14} He gave his students copies of the English New Testament, but these were returned to him the very next day.

The Reverend H. Blodget of the American Board, stationed in Shanghai, also became a first-class reporter on Nippon, which he described as a land of hills, of fresh air and clear streams, and of abundant trees and flowers. Compared with the Chinese, the Japanese were, in his words, more lively and active, and less under constraint from rules of politeness. While admitting the superiority of China's civilization, he deemed it "too rigid."\textsuperscript{15} He also recognized that the Japanese were quite different from the Chinese in being "very ready and eager to learn of foreign nations."\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 332. \\
\textsuperscript{14}See Chapter II, p. 54. \\
\textsuperscript{15}See "Shanghai Mission - Letter from Mr. Blodget," \textit{The Missionary Herald}, LVI (October, 1860), 303. \\
\textsuperscript{16}See \textit{ibid.}, p. 304.
\end{flushright}
To the missionaries, Japan appeared an attractive country for future operations despite many restrictions hampering their activities.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, one of the first groups to send agents to Nippon, asked American Minister Townsend Harris, himself an Episcopalian, what he thought of the country as a mission field. In answering, Harris described the Japanese character as "remarkably amenable to reason," and said that "as soon as the missionaries acquire the language, they can readily approach them in oral argument."\(^{17}\) He said that in no part of the world were reading and writing more widespread than in Japan. He also observed that the residents were characteristically indifferent in general religious matters and that to them Christianity was inseparably connected with ideas of conquest and suppression. He suggested that the home church send "prudent, patient men who were ready to temper their zeal with discretion."\(^{18}\)

---

\(^{17}\)"Japan as a Mission Field," *The Missionary Magazine*, XXXIX (December, 1859), 433.

\(^{18}\)Ibid.
After the Commercial Treaty between the United States and Japan had been ratified in 1860, religious freedom for foreign residents was assured, and Christian workers were sent to Nippon. But objection to mission activity among the Japanese persisted. Consequently, American church members, keenly alive to Cross trampling, were puzzled as to what religious activities should be undertaken there.

In October 1861, The Missionary Magazine published an article entitled "How Far Japan Is Open for Missionary Labor." The unidentified author, though he warned against assuming that the Empire of the Rising Sun was closed to mission work, pointed out the error of viewing her as a country fully open to receive the West's belief, as had been reported when the Commercial Treaty was signed. He quoted from a letter by the Reverend John Liggins, an Episcopal worker, who mentioned that the Bible could be sold as a commercial commodity in Japan.

Although a law imposing the death penalty upon all engaged in Christian activity had been promulgated when the

---

19See Vol. XL, 373.
alien faith had been prohibited, Liggins observed that the punishment had never been laid upon returnees from abroad. He concluded optimistically that "the law against professing Christianity (would) in like manner not be enforced." He believed that "conservatives" were delaying toleration by opposing the "liberal" Shogunate government. This proved too sanguine an observation in light of the internal explosion which was about to destroy the Tokugawa authority.

Contemporary opinions on the political situation were very faulty. Restricted to living in small areas of Kanagawa and Nagasaki, both far from the storm center in Kyōto, missionaries were naturally unable to see affairs in perspective. They had, for example, only vague information on an Anglo-Japanese conflict in 1863, brought about when a Satsuma samurai, or warrior, killed one Richardson, a British merchant living in Yokohama, and burned the British legation in Yedo. They did, however, grasp the general shape of affairs. Fearful of danger, James C. Hepburn of

20Ibid.
Northern Presbyterian wrote to David Thompson, a fellow worker planning to move to Japan, urging him to stay in Shanghai.

At the height of the anti-foreign demonstration of 1863, the Chōshū clan, in the most radical province situated at the western tip of Honshū, bombarded Western vessels passing through Shimonoseki Strait, the main navigation route from Nippon to China. This led to a four-power naval expedition to Chōshū in the following year.

The Missionary Herald reported that Christian agents in Kanagawa were ready to seek refuge aboard ship. Guido F. Verbeck left Nagasaki for China on May 13, 1863, and Channing M. Williams of the Nagasaki Episcopal mission was preparing to follow suit. The Herald correctly described the "contest between the policy of excluding foreigners, as held by the Mikado, or spiritual emperor, and the opposite policy of the Tycoon."21

During this stirring period, American reports were generally favorable to Japan. Indeed, an article in the

Baptist Board organ was critical of those developing too sympathetic an attitude pointing out the existence of immorality throughout the land in the most civilized communities.\(^\text{22}\)

Although this was an incidental comment, it stood in sharp contrast to the general optimistic view of missionaries seeking to bring "civilization" through Christianity. The article indicates that some of the brethren, at least, had abandoned the tourist view and were beginning to gain a fairly accurate understanding of the Japanese scene.

Confining themselves to the ports of Kanagawa and Nagasaki, however, Americans failed to grasp the significance of the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the most important political event in modern Japan. A letter from Bishop Channing M. Williams written in January, 1868, is one of the few surviving accurate missionary commentaries. He observed correctly that Shōgun's regime would be abolished and the Mikado would become "emperor de facto" as he was

Williams considered the Restoration a simple shifting of power from the Shōgun to the Emperor, the result of which would be federal control by the daimyō or feudal lords. He saw possible missionary activities through the "independent action of princes." His interpretation of the Restoration affords a clear picture of the weakness of imperial power as compared to that of the daimyō.

When, at its sixteenth annual meeting at Pittsburgh in 1869, the American Board decided to open its field in Japan, it was plain that its members failed to see the Restoration as the beginning of Nipponese modernization. A paper on "the proposed occupation of Japan" made mention of political changes, but the author referred to the country as an unstable empire which had seen "frequent commotions, and conflicts," and where such trouble had not yet ended. Certainly, at the time of the Restoration, no one imagined

23Ibid., XLIX (May, 1869), 158.
24Ibid.
25See "Annual Meeting of the Board," The Missionary Herald, LXV (November, 1869), 381.
that Japan would modernize rapidly.

Although the missionaries failed to sense the meaning of the Meiji Restoration, some readily noted the progress of modernization. Guido F. Verbeck, of the Dutch Reformed Church, was called from Nagasaki to Yedo to teach at the newly established government school which ultimately became Tōkyō Imperial University. On April 21, 1870, he commented on Japanese dress, saying that foreign clothes (shawls, flannels, calicoes, hats, boots, shoes, and umbrellas) were worn "from the Daimyō to the poor 'bettō' or groom."  

He observed too that "the army and navy are remodeled on European and American systems in organization, arms and uniforms, down to the common trumpet, drum and fife." This was certainly in contrast with conditions discussed eight years earlier when it was said that "to have soldiers worthy of the battle, she (Japan) must at


27Ibid.
once remove sandals, puffy trousers, and long robes trailing behind."28

Verbeck noted that beef, which had been the abomination of Buddhism, was now commonly eaten. Even in the very heart of the capital, he wrote, one could hear "some of our 'noiseless' sewing machines rattle."29

Concerning his teaching, he wrote that "it was a real pleasure to hear a man say, 'I just read the first volume of Buckle's History of Civilization and am going to the second,' or to have a man come and request you to help him solve some hard passage in Wayland's Moral Science."30

Nippon was now headed toward Westernization. As The Missionary Herald put it, the Japanese looked to the United States for "instruction in all the arts of peace." "In all secular departments," the article read, "American
enterprise (was) doing her duty." The mission public was urged to show "zeal and fidelity."\textsuperscript{31}

Merchants, diplomats, and missionaries arrived from Western nations for their several purposes. In addition were still more foreigners, mainly Americans, who had been invited by the Japanese government to aid Nippon in becoming modernized. Among these teachers, engineers, and governmental advisors, we find the young American, William Elliot Griffis, already mentioned.

Griffis in Fukui

One week before the New York pageant honoring the Nipponese treaty exchange delegation, its members entered Philadelphia from Baltimore by train. Sixteen-year-old William Elliot Griffis, destined to become one of the few Japanese experts in nineteenth-century America, was among the spectators. Curiously enough, he did not record the exciting scene in his diary, though he frequently recalled the incident later.

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{See "Japan," in Vol. LXVI (March, 1870), 77.}
Born in the Quaker metropolis, the son of a retired ship captain, Griffis had enrolled in Rutgers College, a Dutch Reformed Church institution, in 1865, following service in the Civil War. He made his first acquaintance with the Japanese through a fellow student, Tarō Kusakabe, who had been sent to study there by the Meiji government. Griffis became his private tutor in Latin.

Many Japanese were sent to Rutgers at that time through Guido F. Verbeck, a prominent educator, then in the government school in Nagasaki and later in Yedo. Kusakabe had been one of his students.³²

After graduating from the college, Griffis attended Union Theological Seminary and, in 1870, was asked by President William H. Campbell of Rutgers to go to Japan to teach. Verbeck had been looking for a well-qualified young scholar for a school in Fukui Province sponsored by one of the enlightened daimyō. Unable to decide whether to accept the offer, Griffis visited Dr. Isaac Ferris, President of the Dutch Reformed Missionary Society, who persuaded him to

³²Kusakabe died on April 13, 1870, in New Brunswick, New Jersey.
Griffis, then twenty-eight, began to study the Japanese language by himself using what was available.

He left Philadelphia on November 15, 1870, and sailed from San Francisco on December 1. While at sea, he studied constantly, and conducted Sunday services. On December 27, he wrote that he hoped to see Mt. Fuji the next morning.33

The Great Republic, on which Griffis crossed the Pacific, anchored at Yokohama on December 29. He was welcomed by the Reverend James H. Ballagh of the Dutch Reformed Mission and the Reverend Jonathan Goble of the American Baptist Free Mission. Ashore, he met Doctor James C. Hepburn and the Reverend Samuel R. Brown, whose biographies he was to write in 1913 and 1902 respectively.

Griffis stayed in Yokohama and Tōkyō for a month before going on to Fukui. There he established contact with many missionaries and worked for the Reverend G. F. Verbeck, about whom he was also to write a book. He sent his first report from Japan to The Christian Intelligencer.

33 See Griffis, "Diary" (unpublished manuscript kept at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey), December 27, 1870.
Countless articles, books, and lectures were to follow.

His interpretation of Christian activities is seen in his "First Glimpses of Japan." He wrote that missionaries were gradually leading the "most influential class of people," and pointed out that most ruling men were former pupils of Christian workers. He predicted that the present students would also be future governors.

A notable incident occurred while Griffis was in Yedo, the city of the "rattling-noiseless-sewing machine." He was a witness to the sword-slashing of two English teachers from the government school. The men had been attacked while walking at night, and were brought to Griffis's home. In the midst of the excitement, the government investigated all swords carried by samurai in Tōkyō looking for blood stains. Foreign residents called for a meeting and issued, through their legation, a demand for immediate disarmament of the samurai class. Griffis commented, rather objectively, that "it must not be

---

34 The Christian Intelligencer, XLIII (March 2, 1871).

35 See Chapter III, p. 120.
forgotten that these men (two English teachers) were out at night, when it is notoriously unsafe for a foreigner to be in the streets of Yedo."

On February 21, 1871, his party -- consisting of an interpreter, a samurai guard, a treasurer, two servants, and two cooks -- left Yokohama for Kobe on the steamer Oregonian. In Kobe, he met the Reverend and Mrs. Daniel C. Greene of the American Board, who seemed "to have brought the fragrance and freshness of the Vermont hills with them." Griffis expressed sympathy for Greene, who had to "preach to such a mixed and pitifully small audience as gathered at a commercial sea-port in the East."

Proceeding by ship from Kōbe to Ōsaka, and further up the Yodo River to Fushimi near Kyōto, he met seven mounted samurai who had been sent by the Fukui government as guards. The party crossed Lake Biwa on an American-made steamer. As they crossed the mountain range to Fukui

---

36See Griffis's "First Glimpse of Japan," The Christian Intelligencer, XLIII (March 2, 1871).

37See his "In the Heart of Japan," ibid., XLIII (April 27, 1871).

38Ibid.
Province, in every village he encountered many who were eager to see him, a foreigner or "Tōjin." Men, women, babies, children, and even dogs were lined up to get a look at him. Rural residents there had actually never seen any foreigners. Their curiosity matched that of the Americans in Philadelphia and in New York City eleven years before who had welcomed the Japanese mission.

In *The Mikado’s Empire*, Griffis recalled his arrival at Fukui on March 4, 1871:

> The night was clear and cold. The same familiar stars glittered overhead as those seen in the home sky. The wild geese sailed in the bright air, the moon bathing their plumage in silver, the temple bell boomed solemnly as I lay down to rest.39

He was now in the real heart of Nippon, where foreigners were unknown. His impressions also appeared in *The Christian Intelligencer*. He questioned whether a nineteenth-century New Yorker could live in the twelfth century, and answered himself, "Yours ever truly has been in this place a whole week."40

---

39See p. 425.

40See "In the Heart of Japan," XLIII (April 27, 1871).
In rural Japan, Griffis taught science, English, German, and French to more than a hundred students who were samurai, medical doctors, and teachers. After school, he daily went out on horseback with Iwabuchi, his interpreter, and a Mr. Lucy who taught there for four months with him.

He made many native friends, including the father of Kusakabe, whom he had known at Rutgers. It was in Fukui that Griffis gathered material for The Mikado's Empire.

Almost three months after his arrival, crowds still followed him as he walked through the streets. This was a golden opportunity for the Fukui people to know a foreigner, and Griffis in turn learned much about Nippon from the rural residents. He used every opportunity to make short trips. His house, meanwhile, became a sort of club where his students could discuss such subjects as Christian education, Christianity, and Shintoism. His contract accorded him perfect liberty to speak, teach, or do

41See Chapter III, p. 122.
42See Griffis, "Diary," May 25, 1871.
as he pleased in his own house, and he really enjoyed the situation.

Griffis taught not only the people of Fukui but others from Higo in Kyūshū and Suruga in central Honshū, who came to study under him. When asked by Awa Katsu, a former admiral of the Tokugawa navy, to recommend an American teacher for a school in Suruga Province, he chose his classmate at Rutgers, Edward W. Clark, for the post.

The cases of Griffis and Clark were not unusual. Many enlightened daimyō engaged foreign teachers to educate their samurai. Among them were Captain L. L. Janes, at Kumamoto in Higo, and the Reverend Charles H. H. Wolff of the Dutch Reformed Church, at Hirosaki in north Honshū.

In Fukui, Griffis witnessed changes in provincial society resulting from the Meiji government's program of centralization. He carefully observed local sentiment, and wrote particularly about the great excitement caused by the new developments.43 He was referring to the first official proclamation effecting the change from semi-autonomous

43 Griffis, "Diary," July 18, 1871.
provincial government to prefectural administration directly controlled by the Imperial government.

In line with the new program, Fukui Province was dissolved on October 1, 1871, with great ceremony. The Prince of Fukui was thereafter to live in Tōkyō as a member of the nobility, yielding his former domain to a governor appointed by the new government in the capital. Griffis described the farewell party, and wrote that he had witnessed "feudal Japan merging into the civilized empire."\(^{44}\)

A week later he saw another evidence of the passing of old Japan. The old kago (palanquins) which had once belonged to members of the local Prince's retinue, were displayed for sale at about 1 Ryō (about $2.00) each. On November 27, Griffis recorded further that the local military school had been dissolved by the message brought from Tōkyō.\(^{45}\)

Anxiety coming with such changes led to an exodus from Fukui. His best assistants and students began to leave for the capital, and, before the close of the year,

\(^{44}\text{Ibid.}, \text{October 1, 1871.}\)

\(^{45}\text{Ibid.}, \text{November 27, 1871.}\)
Griffis felt almost alone. On January 10, he received a letter from Verbeck offering him a teaching position in chemistry and natural philosophy at the newly established Polytechnic School in Tôkyô. Against the Fukui governor's wishes, he decided to go. He left on January 23, in the midst of a snow storm.

He went through the mountains on foot, and sometimes on coolies' shoulders, to reach the famed Tôkaido route between Kyôto and Tôkyô. He noticed that many Japanese were wearing foreign clothes and that everything looked more "civilized" than he had expected. Telegraph poles ran along the road, ready for wires to be strung, and rickshaws were carrying travelers. He even saw a shop advertising, in English, "TAILOR IN JAPAN AND EUROPE" (Europe).

After a reunion with Edward Clark at Shizuoka, Griffis arrived at the Reverend James Ballagh's Yokohama home on February 2. The familiar old music played there that evening was a real treat for him. He was again living in the nineteenth century! Later, however, recalling one startling impression on reaching Yokohama, he wrote, "How
ugly those blue eyes, how deathly pale many of them look, and acting as if Japan were their own."\(^{46}\)

The next day, in Tōkyō, he saw a completely different city from what he remembered, -- the capital had been transformed! "Old Yedo has passed away forever," he wrote; "Tōkyō the national capital is cosmopolitan."\(^{47}\)

A year in Fukui had given Griffis a chance to see the old Nippon. His understanding of Japan was far broader than that of the missionaries who had resided only in foreigner settlements. He saw things through Nipponese eyes. He had a keen and increasing interest in the social transformation being wrought and, in the years which followed, he supplied American readers with an abundance of accurate information on changing Japan.

\(^{46}\)See *The Mikado's Empire*, p. 549.

\(^{47}\)Ibid., p. 550.
The De-Facto Recognition of Christianity

In 1870, when Griffis first arrived in Tōkyō, he read the Kōsatsu, a public bulletin which had been posted since April 22, 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration, which proclaimed:

The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers and rewards will be given.48

Although missionaries were slow to grasp the political significance of the Restoration, they had a professional interest in religious toleration. They assumed, at the outset, that removal of the Shogunate authority meant the establishment of a federal system by each local daimyō, and, as Bishop Channing M. Williams thought,49 a favorable climate for the development of Christian activities.

There were, however, several clouds on the horizon, the Kōsatsu the darkest of all. Another was announcement

---

48Ibid., p. 344.

49See Chapter III, p. 117.
of the arrest and deportation of Japanese Catholic Christians, who had kept their faith for more than two centuries. When missionaries from Rome arrived in 1859, these believers suddenly appeared from underground, only to be arrested and sent to prison. Later, in 1868, they were transferred from Nagasaki to local jails in thirty-four provinces. News of this was reported in The Missionary Magazine in May of the same year.

In 1871, Dr. William Dean of the American Baptist mission, enroute to his post in Siam, reported that "there appeared no opportunity in Japan to teach Christianity directly to the people, with the approbation of the government." He showed contrasting pictures: on one hand, there was persecution of the Nagasaki Christians, while on the other was mission activity carried out openly by such men as G. F. Verbeck and S. R. Brown at both public and private educational institutions.

The Meiji government was certainly more liberal than the Tokugawa regime in adopting Western knowledge and

promoting modernization; yet, in handling Christianity, it followed the same policy of non-recognition.

Missionaries still considered the government as unstable as late as 1871. The Reverend Oramel Gulick's comment in the American Board's periodical is typical. He observed that the Mikado's regime was not popular and hoped to see another revolution in order to "remove the interdiction under which Christianity now rests." The Reverend D. C. Greene saw a possible opening for Christian work through diplomatic channels. Writing in the same year, he urged the governments of Christian lands to unite in pressing Japan hard for toleration.

Confronted by a complex situation, all American and British Protestant missionaries in Yokohama, Kōbe, and Nagasaki, made an "Appeal from Japan," dated May 22, 1871, urging the Americans and British to demand from their respective governments the forced repeal of anti-Christian

51"Mission to Japan - Letter from Mr. Gulick," The Missionary Herald, LXVII (March, 1871), 207.

52"Mission to Japan - Revision of Treaties - What Should Be Done?" ibid., p. 206.
legislation "so insulting and so prejudicial" to themselves.\footnote{See The Missionary Herald, LXVII (October, 1871), 292.}

Such a demand would be no violation of international comity, and if successful, as we believe it would be, should the Japanese see fixed determination behind it, it would at the same time gain an inestimable boon for this nation - \textit{freedom to worship God}.\footnote{Ibid.}

They were ready to send one of their members, the Reverend David Thompson, to Europe and America as their delegate for this purpose.

The situation became more serious in July, when Yeinosuke Ichikawa, teacher for Greene and Gulick, was arrested in Kōbe on suspicion of being a Christian. He had been reported by Gulick the year before as one who had "expressed his determination to be a Christian."\footnote{"Japan Mission - Letter from Mr. Gulick, June 14, 1870," \textit{ibid.}, LXVI (May, 1870), 286.} His detention now proved the Japanese government's hostility toward Christianity of all sects, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. Authorities were obviously determined to
prevent the propagation of what they deemed a dangerous alien faith.

Such persecutions, together with the successful centralization of the Mikado's authority, gave impetus to the effort for religious toleration, especially after Ichikawa's death in prison. There was no time to await another revolution, as Gulick commented, and the missionaries felt they must push their case through diplomatic channels.

The American Board, which was most concerned over Ichikawa's fate, took a further step. At its sixty-second annual meeting in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1871, a special committee on Nipponese missions recommended that the body act upon the May appeal calling for Washington pressure on behalf of religious toleration in Japan. Learning that treaty revision negotiations would start in the next year, they asked the United States government to secure from the Japanese government "in judicious and friendly endeavors ... the sacred rights of conscience, and full
toleration of religious opinions" through the country. 56

The Board formally adopted the recommendation. Here, we see the missionaries' attempts to improve their condition through diplomatic channels. Religious toleration had become important for negotiation of the treaty revision, which the Japanese government favored as a means for gaining equal status among the great nations.

Meanwhile, the Mikado's advisors decided in 1871 to send a delegation to the United States and Europe, with Tomomi Iwakura, Vice President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, at its head. The members were to study Western civilization and to negotiate the revision of unequal existing treaties. Unlike the first sent by the Tokugawa regime in 1860, the new mission was well publicized, and indeed overpublicized in some church magazines.

At home, the government sought to unite the people by establishing Shintoism as the national religion. Buddhist influences upon Shintoism were to be removed. Christian workers interpreted this move as an intention to

56 "Annual Meeting of the Board," ibid., LXVII (November, 1871), 334.
destroy Buddhism as well as their own faith. This apparent plan only confirmed their conviction that religious intolerance ran rampant in Japan.

In late December of 1871, the Iwakura mission, which included many young and progressive top officials, left for the United States on an American steamer. The Reverend Jonathan Goble of the Baptist Free Mission, who happened to be on the same ship, was invited to explain Christian teachings to Iwakura. Goble felt assured after the interview that "the Japanese government was well disposed toward Christianity, and rather desirous that treaty powers should demand its toleration in Japan."\(^{57}\)

Goble indicated that, even though the Kōsatsu banned the alien faith throughout Nippon, a trend in favor of toleration was discernible among authorities because of foreign pressures.

At about the same time, Oramel H. Gulick, of the American Board in Kōbe, sent an unconfirmed news report to home officials. His letter of December 16, 1871, reaching

the United States by the same steamer which carried the Iwakura party and Goble, asserted that, according to "native sources," the Council in Tōkyō had passed a vote in favor of admitting Christianity.  

Pro-toleration sentiment was likewise to be found among educated Japanese. Griffis wrote in his later years that a close friend of Edward Clark, Masanao Nakamura of Shizuoka, had, in 1871, urged the government to be tolerant, arguing that "without the religion of Christ, the Japanese are plucking only the shady leaves, while they neglect the root of the civilization of Christendom."  

With discussion under way, missionaries were already going forward. In February, 1872, despite Ichikawa's tragic fate, both S. R. Brown and James Ballagh of the Dutch Reformed Church were conducting Bible classes, Sunday services, and prayer meetings. Japanese nationals took an active part in the latter, and nine were reported to have

58"Japan Mission - Rumors and Speculations," The Missionary Herald, LXVIII (June, 1872), 183.

professed the Western religion.\textsuperscript{60}

A plot against foreigners was meantime revealed and, before April 11, 1872, the time set for violent action, the government had arrested three hundred native conspirators.\textsuperscript{61}

The differences noted above could be observed also among the Mikado's officials. Having achieved the main goal of eliminating the Tokugawa regime, and facing the rapid centralization program, they were divided into two camps: one wished to maintain the traditional values such as Shintoism, while the other was determined to accelerate Westernization by accepting every aspect of the contrasting civilization. In this light, on the eve of toleration, acceptance of Christianity appeared to be a desirable signal for the modernization of Nippon.

Under such circumstances, the Iwakura mission, during its world-wide travels, encountered serious opposition to the prohibition of Western belief and the persecution of

\textsuperscript{60} "Japan Mission - Darkness and Light - Seed Germinating," \textit{The Missionary Herald}, LXVIII (June, 1872), 183.

Christians. Forced to recognize the necessity of toleration as a basis for negotiating treaty revision, its members recommended to the home government a new policy respecting Christianity.

On February 19, 1873, the Meiji government replaced the Kōsatsu with a new notice. The statement was very vague indeed. Reflecting the reluctant attitude of the perplexed authorities, it read:

Since the former notice is well-known to people now, it is to be removed from the bulletin.\(^2\)

Although this hardly indicated an official acceptance of the religion, the news electrified American church circles. The following dispatch sent from Yokohama on February 21, 1873, appeared in The Missionary Magazine:

Christianity is tolerated in Japan. The edict, we believe, was promulgated two days ago, and is at once the law of the country.\(^3\)

Suspicious agents, however, waited for further information before jubilating. Convincing evidence came with


\(^3\)Vol. LIII (May, 1873). See p. 134.
the freeing of the imprisoned Japanese Catholic Christians on March 14. A milepost in the missionary movement in Japan, as well as in its modernization, had indeed been reached. Actually, however, it was simply *de facto*, rather than a *de jure*, matter. Though Christianity was now formally tolerated, another sixteen years were to pass before it was accorded formal recognition by the Imperial Constitution of 1889.
CHAPTER IV

THE FLOWERING YEARS, 1873 - 1889

The Promising Start

The decade and a half between 1874, the year of de facto recognition of Christianity, and 1889, that of the de jure one, marked a flowering period of mission enterprise in Japan, closely connected with rapid modernization. In order to secure revision of unequal treaties, the Meiji government sought to convince Western powers that Nippon was a modern nation. The Westernization program not only changed people's clothing but established Occidental civil and criminal codes, new industries, and a modern army and navy.

Mission circles were also interested in treaty revision, but for different reasons. Under existing regulations, members could legally live only in treaty ports unless they were invited or employed elsewhere by Japanese.
They naturally felt that foreigners should be given more freedom in residence.

Although Christianity had been recognized by the removal of the 小次郎, no official statement of acknowledgment had followed. Missionaries wanted a written law according them religious liberty.

Meanwhile, stimulated by the Westernization program, most major American denominations and non-denominational societies sent agents to Japan. The Northern Methodists and the Northern Baptists had already established their fields by 1872. Within eight years, seven other United States organizations entered Nippon. The German Reformed Church, as well as the Seamen's Friend Society,¹ came in 1873. The Japan Book and Tract Society,² entered in 1875, the American Bible Society and the Society of the Evangelical Association in 1876, the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Missions and Church Erection in 1877,

¹The function of this society was to serve foreign sailors stopping in Japan. It is, however, listed as a foreign mission organization.

²This was a branch of the American Tract Society.
and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1880.

Southern denominations came in after the Reconstruction Period which followed the Civil War. The Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of Southern Presbyterians began its activity in 1885, followed by the Southern Methodists in 1886, and the Southern Baptist Convention in 1889.

In addition to these southern organizations, more groups became active in Japan: the Disciples of Christ's Mission in 1884; the Woman's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends, of Philadelphia, in 1885; the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, both in 1886; the American Christian Convention (Christian Church of America) and the Unitarians in 1887. Sixteen American institutions ultimately joined in Protestant activities in Nippon during this period.  

---

3Two more bodies from Europe, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Allgemeine Evangelisch-Protestantische Missionsvereins of the Germans and Swiss, entered the field in 1874 and in 1885 respectively. Several other groups were involved briefly. The Berkeley Temple of Boston began work in 1888; the Society
Tōkyō was the commonly preferred center, but some denominations opened new fields, as the American Board had done previously. The German Reformed Church, the American Christian Church, and the Disciples of Christ established headquarters in the Tōhoku region, "The Scotland of Japan." The Methodist Protestant Church, a small denomination of the Middle Atlantic origin, went to Nagoya, while the Cumberland Presbyterians chose Ōsaka. The Southern Presbyterians went into Shikoku and the Southern Baptists into Kyūshū, while the Southern Methodists established centers in Kōbe and Hiroshima.

The older denominations also expanded their activities. The Northern Methodist Church had two divisions, a northern section centering in Tōkyō and a southern in Nagasaki. The Northern Presbyterians and the Protestant Episcopal Church made the similar divisions in Tōkyō and Ōsaka. The American Board also established a short-lived North Japan Mission in Niigata in northern Honshū.

for Promoting the Female Education in 1877; Edinburgh Medical Mission in 1874; and the English Baptist Mission in 1879; Wycliff College Mission (Canada) in 1888. All ultimately suspended operation or merged with other organizations.
In order to promote effective operation, denominational groups frequently reached regional agreements. Thus, Northern Methodists were given clear fields in Hokkaidō, Tohoku, and Kyūshū, leaving the Chūbu to the Methodist Protestants and the Canadian Methodists; and the Kinki, Chūgoku, and Shikoku areas to the Southern Methodists. The Northern Presbyterians left Shikoku, Chūgoku, and the southern section of Kinki to the Southern Presbyterians and Cumberland Presbyterians.

By the close of this period, despite the precarious legality of their residence, the missionaries had laid foundations for Christianity throughout Japan, organizing their spheres of influence and expanding them very rapidly. As a part of their activities they established a number of Christian educational institutions, including theological seminaries, liberal arts colleges, and boys' and girls' high schools, some of which were preparatory institutions for the liberal arts colleges.

This program was significant in the history of Japanese education. Even after the Meiji government had begun to use European school systems, especially German and
French, as models, these private educational institutions exerted American influence.

The Presbyterians led in education, opening four schools in Tōkyō alone: Itch Shin Gakkō (Union Theological Seminary) in 1877, Tsukiji Daigakkō (Tsukiji University) in 1880, Tōkyō Itchi Eiwa Gakkō (Tōkyō Union Anglo-Japanese College) in 1883, and Eiwa Yobikō (Anglo-Japanese Preparatory School) in 1884. All were merged into one institution, Meiji Gakuin (Meiji Gakuin University of today) in 1887.

The German Reformed Church opened Sendai Shin Gakkō (Sendai Theological Seminary) in 1886 and Steele Kinen Gakkō (Steele Memorial College) in 1887. These were combined to form Tōhoku Gakuin College in 1890. In Tōkyō, the Episcopalians laid the foundation for Rikkyo (St. Paul) University and Rikkyō Women's College, in 1874 and 1877 respectively.

The Methodists, too, were actively interested in education. Joshi Shō Gakkō (Elementary School for Girls) was launched in 1877, Kōkyō Gakusha in 1878, Mi-i Shin Gakkō (Methodist Episcopal Theological Seminary) in 1879,
Tôkyô Eiwa Gakkô (Tôkyô Anglo-Japanese College) in 1883, and Tôkyô Eiwa Jo Gakkô (Tôkyô Anglo-Japanese Women's College) in 1888. All merged into a single institution, Aoyama Gakuin in Tôkyô, in 1894. Similarly, the Southern Methodists established Hiroshima Jo Gakkô in 1886 and Kwansei Gakuin in 1889; and the Methodist Protestant Church, Nagoya Eiwa Gakkô (Nagoya Gakuin University of today) in 1887.

The American Board created Kyoto's famous Dôshisha University, still widely remembered because of Neesima's dramatic appeal at Rutland, Vermont, in 1874. Kobe Eiwa Jo Gakko (Kobe Anglo-Japanese Women's College) was also formed by the American Board, in 1875. The American Baptists established three girls' high schools, two in Tokyo and one in Yokohama.

Christian workers usually centered their activities around schools, first making contact with young people and

---

4See Chapter I, p. 9.

5Kida Eiwa Jo Gakkô (Kidder's Anglo-Japanese Girls' High School) was established in Tôkyô in 1875; Sundai Eiwa Jo Gakkô in Tôkyô in 1884; and Sôshin Jo Gakkô in Yokohama in 1886.
then educating them. Wide appeals were made to the American church public for financial support.

Among individuals whose influence in Christian education was of great importance are two persons who were not missionaries, but who, nonetheless, made a deep impression on the Japanese. One was a West-Pointer, Captain L. L. Janes (1838-1909); and the other, Dr. William S. Clark (1826-1886), President of Massachusetts Agriculture College.

In 1871, while William E. Griffis was still in Fukui, Captain Janes was invited (through Guido F. Verbeck) by the Prince of Higo in Kyūshū to teach at the Prince's school in Kumamoto. Janes's Christian personality appealed to the young students, who organized the "Kumamoto Band," confessing their Christian faith. Kumamoto authorities closed the Higo school because of this movement, but the students joined Dōshisha in 1876. Thirteen of them were at its core from the outset and became followers of Neesima.

In 1876, Dr. Clark was invited by the Meiji government to open Sapporo Agriculture College in Hokkaidō. Although he stayed only eight months, his influence inspired
Japanese students to form the "Sapporo Band," similar to that in Kumamoto. Their spirit continued to affect youths coming to the college later, some of whom became leading Christians. Even today, Hokkaidō University, which developed from Sapporo Agriculture College, has an atmosphere different from that found in other national educational institutions.

**Joseph Hardy Neesima**

Born in 1843 (two years after the birth of Griffis) as the first son of a retainer of Itakura Iyonokami Katsuaki, the Prince of Annaka sixty miles north from Yedo, Joseph Hardy Neesima studied Chinese classics and the Dutch language. At the age of twenty-one, he was greatly moved by some excerpts from a Chinese translation of the Bible. The next year, while in Hakodate, Hokkaidō, where he studied and worked in the employ of Ivan Kasatkin (usually called Bishop Nicholai), a chaplain to the Russian Consulate there, he decided to smuggle himself out of Japan.
As we have mentioned briefly,\(^6\) he was greeted on his arrival in America by Alpheus Hardy, a member of the American Board. Neesima's desire "of studying and learning Christianity in order to serve his native land"\(^7\) gave the Board an excitement similar to that created fifty years before by Henry Obookia, son of a Sandwich Islands Prince, when he told of his wish to be educated in the Christian faith.\(^8\)

This violator of Japanese national laws continued correspondence with his family through channels opened in 1866 with the assistance of the Reverends James H. Ballagh and S. R. Brown, then returning to Nippon.\(^9\) At Amherst, he found a good friend in Dr. Julius H. Seelye, who invited Neesima to his home every week and cared for him during a long illness.

\(^6\)See Chapter I, p. 8.


\(^8\)Unfortunately, Obookia died while still a student. It was he, however, who, in 1820, moved the American Board to send agents to the Sandwich Islands, which later became one of the most successful mission fields.

While at Andover in 1871, he wrote to a friend in Japan about obtaining legal permission from the government to remain in the United States. He also inquired whether he could preach Christianity when he returned home.\textsuperscript{10} Within a few months, thanks to the efforts of Arinori Mori, Japanese Charge d'Affairs in Washington, D. C., he was given formal authorization to study in America and was issued a passport. Through his acquaintance with Mori, Neesima was asked in 1872 to go to Europe as a secretary to Fujimaro Tanaka, Educational Commissioner for the Iwakura Mission. He was now in a position to request of Vice Ambassador Takayoshi Kido an introductory note to the Japanese government on behalf of Professor Seelye, who planned to go to India via Japan.

By the time of his graduation from Andover in 1874, Neesima had become well-known to the American Board. His name first appeared in print in an article entitled "Rev. Joseph Neesima," dated December, 1874.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{11}See \textit{The Missionary Herald}, LXX, 381-87.
The author made plain that the Board expected much from this remarkable native Christian convert, now ordained to be a minister. Mention was made of the ordination sermon delivered by Professor J. H. Seelye, which served as personal introduction of Neesima to the Christian public. The article also included the charge given Neesima by the Reverend A. C. Thompson, D.D., on that occasion.

In the following year, Neesima was in Japan preparing for the establishment of the Christian college he had long dreamed about. He conferred with Takayoshi Kido, the returned Vice-Ambassador of the Iwakura Mission. Working with full cooperation from the Reverend Jerome D. Davis of the American Board and from Kakuma Yamamoto, advisor to the governor of Kyōto, Neesima chose a site in the city of Kyōto. The American Board at home raised funds in support of the project. The Missionary Herald of January, 1875, announced that Alpheus Hardy, of Boston, had been chosen treasurer of the fund, with a set goal of $5,000.00.

The project, however, was not officially under

Board jurisdiction at the outset. By June, its Prudential Committee had decided to make "an appropriation of $5,000.00 for the permanent establishment of a training school for the mission ... combining scientific studies with theological."¹³ Thus the subscription of Alpheus Hardy was transferred to the Board treasury. A list of additional contributions included $325.00 in pledges and $312.00 in cash, as well as an anonymous donation of $2.00. The last must have come from the farmer or the widow previously mentioned.¹⁴ The campaign continued until July, 1876, raising a total of $4,350.76 as seen below.

¹³"Mission Training School," *ibid.* (June, 1875), p. 166.

¹⁴See Chapter I, pp. 9-10.
TABLE 16

CONTRIBUTION OF FUND FOR DŌSHISHA,
OCTOBER, 1874 - SEPTEMBER, 1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Contributors</th>
<th>Sum of Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$ 25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>124.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,027.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>291.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>152.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,365.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (interest)</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>$4,350.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responding to the support from the United States, Neesima labored for the establishment of his school. He frequently suffered from rheumatism, which had kept him from many of his Amherst classes, but his spirit was always high. In 1883, he publicized a plan to establish Dōshisha University on a basis paralleling that of the government university in Tōkyō. His motto, "Liberal education and self-supporting churches for the service to our country,"
appealed to many Japanese leaders as well as to American Congregations. Prominent people in Nippon and churches in the United States were eager to offer their support.

When Neesima returned to the States in 1884-1885, he distributed one of his articles in the form of a pamphlet, *An Appeal for Advanced Christian Education in Japan*. During this visit he met Dwight Moody, the evangelist. Despite poor health due to heart disease, he was able to attend the American Board's annual meeting held at Columbus, Ohio in 1885. Substantial contributions to the Dōshisha fund continued to pour in. Neesima’s energetic spirit remained with him until his death in 1890.

The foundation of Dōshisha University became one of the most important missionary activities in new Nippon. Neesima's co-worker, Jerome D. Davis, asserted that Dōshisha was already changing the history of Japan. He did not doubt that Neesima's school would become "one of the

---

15 It was a private pamphlet. No date of publication is available.

16 In 1889, his alma mater, Amherst, granted him an honorary degree.
greatest factors in the civilization and Christianization of Japan."

17 Certainiy, Neesima and his college symbolized the flowering years of the mission enterprise.

Griffis in Tokyo and in the United States

William E. Griffis, who had settled in the capital in 1872, found life there much different from that in Fukui, mainly because of the many foreigners in the area. While teaching at two colleges, Daigaku Nankō and Kaisei Gakkō (both of which later merged to form Tōkyō Imperial University), he visited American and British friends almost daily. Most of his contacts were with missionaries.

In Yokohama, he frequently saw James H. Ballagh, Samuel R. Brown, and James C. Hepburn. Other friends were Mrs. Mary Pruyn, a missionary for the Woman's Union, and Nathan Brown, of the American Baptist group. Most often, however, he visited the Reverend Edward Syle, acting British consular chaplain, who treated him with paternal

care. Those Yokohama friends visited Griffis in return and sometimes stayed with him in Tōkyō.

Guido F. Verbeck and David Thompson, both employed by the colleges, were his particular friends in Tōkyō. He also knew General Horace Capron, commissioner in charge of Hokkaidō's development, and Professor David Murray of Rutgers, whom the Meiji government had invited to become an advisor on education in Japan.

Griffis's church work also kept him busy, and he sometimes went to Yokohama to preach. In June, 1872, even before the replacement of Kōsatsu, Griffis saw three Japanese women and two men baptized in that city. He contributed to the establishment of the first chapel in Tōkyō, collecting $225 from teachers in the colleges. The chapel was opened on September 1, 1872, with Professor Seelye of Amherst College as the inaugural preacher. Among those present was his sister, Martha Griffis, who had joined him as a teacher in Tōkyō.

Griffis received many American visitors at his home, especially after the opening of the chapel. He met

18Griffis, "Diary," June 9, 1872.
such figures as S. Wells Williams, a famous missionary in Canton, China, who had participated in the Morrison incident and Perry Expedition; and Professor Sylvester Waterhouse of Washington University, St. Louis.

In addition to teaching, Griffis contributed many notes and articles to English newspapers and magazines in Japan and various United States publications. He was accumulating material used later in his famous book, The Mikado's Empire, and in lectures given after his return to America.

He presented to the Asiatic Society in Yokohama papers called "The Streets and Street Names of Yedo" and "Children's Games and Sports." The Hitotsubashi Gomon Social and Literary Union (Tōkei Bunji Kai), \(^{19}\) was formally organized with his help on November 22, 1872. At the same time, he served as chief editor and main contributor for the English weekly, Tōkyō Journal, dating from May 9, 1874.

Before he left Japan, Griffis was offered two positions, one for teaching chemistry in Kyōto. It is

---

\(^{19}\)The name was changed to the latter on January 18, 1873. Then Tokyo was called "Tōkei" by contemporary Japanese intellectuals.
interesting to contemplate that, had he accepted this job, he would have come to know Neesima personally, or might have joined the Dōshisha faculty. The second offer would have made him private secretary to General Capron at Yezo (Hokkaidō of today). But his real work, as he knew, lay in the United States. Following testimonial ceremonies at the two colleges, he boarded the **Colorado** at Yokohama on the morning of July 19, 1874.

Griffis's career at home began with lecturing. During his first year back in the States, he gave eighty-nine lectures on Japan. During two years as a student at Union Theological Seminary (1876-1878), he spoke more than a hundred times on all aspects of Japanese life. He appeared at teachers' institutes and in churches and Sunday schools. With New York City as headquarters, he covered New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, up-state New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, traveling as far as Davenport, Iowa, and Chicago, Illinois.

While Griffis was himself a Dutch Reformed Church member, he addressed gatherings indiscriminately in Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, and Protestant

An impression of a Griffis lecture delivered in Rhinebeck, New York, on December 5, 1876 was recorded by a Presbyterian missionary to Japan half a century later. In 1927, the Reverend H. V. S. Peeke recalled the scroll hanging from the pulpit, picturing Fuji-yama, and the collection of curios exhibited after the address. He wrote, "that night Japan was put on the map for me for the first time."  

Meantime, the prolific Griffis submitted articles on Nippon to such periodicals as The Independent, Appleton's Journal, The North American Review, The New York  

---

20 Griffis, "Diary," September 22, 1876.  
21 His quarterly letter from Ōita, Japan, April 20, 1927 (in the files of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey). Griffis wrote in his diary, "Bright and fair. Took 3:30 train to Rhinebeck. Lectured P.M. All night at Rev. Mr. Peeke's."
World, and The Illustrated Christian Weekly. He also supplied material on Nippon for Appleton's Annual Cyclo­pedia, The American Cyclopedia, and The American Dictionary of the English Language. 22

Griffis's most important literary achievement, however, was his The Mikado's Empire, the first edition of which appeared in July, 1876. Enthusiastic reviews greeted the two-volume work, which dealt with the history of Japan and included many personal experiences and observations. The book was so popular that Harper and Brothers Company announced the publication of a second printing in December of the same year. New editions, with revision and additional chapters, followed until the twelfth in 1913.

Immediately after completion of The Mikado's Empire, Griffis began work on his Perry biography, dealing with the "opening" of Japan. His extensive research took him to the Astor Library in New York City, the Naval Lyceum Room at Brooklyn Navy Yard, the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, and the Newport Redwood Library in

22Commonly called Webster's Dictionary at that time.
Rhode Island. The book, titled *Matthew Calbraith Perry, a Typical American Naval Officer*, was printed in 1887.

His contact with Nippon and her people continued. On a visit to New York City after his return home, he was pleased to be greeted at the Canal Street Wharf by two Japanese, Tosui Imadate, a former student, and one of the latter's friends. Imadate later helped Griffis with his writing.

He also became a foreign student advisor at large. In August, 1875, at Philadelphia, he received a letter from sixteen Japanese students who had just arrived in New York City, asking him to advise them in choosing colleges. They had apparently been instructed to establish contact with him and he went to New York to meet them. Among the students were Hasegawa and Matsui, who were admitted to Columbia college and later became his assistants.

When the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition was held in 1876, Griffis again served as a private representative for Japan. He spent much time at the Nipponese section, meeting Akitake Tokugawa (a close relative of the former Shōgun), Lieutenant General Shigemichi Saigō (a
minister of war later), and Fujimaro Tanaka, under whom Neesima had once served as secretary. Griffis received a porcelain vase from Tanaka as a token of appreciation.

As public speaker, writer, advisor to Japanese students in the United States, and as a constant promoter of relations between the two countries, this remarkable man demonstrated a never-ceasing interest in Nippon.

Japan's Modernization

Generally speaking, industrialization has been characterized by railroad construction, its extent symbolizing the progress of a modern nation. Among the presidential gifts which Commodore Perry had brought to Nippon for the Shōgun was a quarter-size train. On March 14, 1854, on the eve of treaty signing, this novel gift was displayed in Kanagawa. Captain George H. Preble of U. S. S. Macedonia described the stupendous attraction:

The railroad has been laid down on shore. It is a model road, and has a circular track 350 feet in diameter, and is fitted with a miniature locomotive and tender, and a first class American passenger car about quarter size. The track is only 18 inches
wide, but our engineers say the engine has power to drag eighteen or twenty persons.\textsuperscript{23}

Six years later, in 1860, when the first Japanese mission crossed the Panama Isthmus enroute to Washington D. C., every member was thrilled to be on board a train. Kiyokuki Morita, the treasurer, wrote in his diary that "the sound was like a thunder and the scenery passed behind us like a revolving lantern."\textsuperscript{24}

The ride was a great surprise and delight, and many members drew pictures of their novel conveyance.

More than ten years later, in 1872, Japan constructed her first railroad, connecting Tokyō and Yokohama. The Emperor attended the official opening ceremony, which was held in the next year on October 14. His majesty was himself a passenger.\textsuperscript{25}

Though this was the formal opening, the line had actually been completed the previous year. Missionaries


\textsuperscript{24}Kiyoyuki Morita, "Akō Nikki," \textit{Man-en Gan-nen Kenbei Shisetsu Shiryō Shusei}, I, 138. Translated by the writer.

\textsuperscript{25}See Griffis's "Diary" on that day.
hastened to report its progress. The Reverend S. L. Baldwin of the Northern Methodist group wrote about "the successful operation" in an article entitled "The Truth about Japan."

The locomotive which had attracted the curious Japanese eighteen years before at the treaty site, and the "thunder-like" train described in the envoy diary of 1860, became truly symbolic of the modernization of the country. Missionaries, who usually compared any Nipponese development with the situation in China, were happy to see this advancement. The first railroad in China, constructed by a British company, was not built until 1876, four years after the Reverend Baldwin made a trip by train in Nippon. There was no official opening ceremony in China, and the railroad was in existence for only a year before it was purchased by Chinese authorities and destroyed.

There was another gauge of material progress in the Mikado's Empire. A telegraph set had been one of the presidential gifts tendered by Perry, and when Griffis

---

26 The Missionary Magazine, LIII (March, 1873), 76.
travelled the Tōkaidō highway, the main route between Tōkyō and Kyōto in 1872, he saw evidence of development which he recorded in his diary on January 26.\textsuperscript{27} The Reverend Baldwin also noted in 1872 that many miles of line were then already in operation.\textsuperscript{28}

Such changes facilitated missionary enterprise, since progress in Japan was never limited to material development but was directed to every aspect of Westernization. Missionaries were now permitted to preach, in addition to teaching English and practicing medicine. Churches were built in the foreigners' residential areas, with services in both English and Japanese.

One year after the erection of the first church in Tōkyō,\textsuperscript{29} Griffis attended an organization meeting of the first native Christian congregation, at which fifteen Japanese and eighteen missionaries were present. In 1872, he heard a Japanese elder, Masatsuna Okuno, preach in the

\textsuperscript{27}See Chapter III, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{28}See Chapter IV, footnote 26.
\textsuperscript{29}See Chapter IV, p. 159.
same church. S. L. Baldwin, in an article confirming a similar situation in Yokohama, reported that some twenty members had organized in that port with the knowledge of the government, and that there was no pressure from the authorities at all. He also wrote, however, "it is not true that the government or any high officers of the empire have shown any intention to tolerate Christianity."

This was the situation on the eve of de facto recognition. Despite the influence of the Kōsatsu, conditions were rapidly changing and a climate favorable to Christianity was developing.

Now a question arises as to what kind of Japanese were drawn to the newly created churches. A Baptist missionary, James H. Arthur described the condition in 1874 with some wonderment. He wrote that "the heathen are coming to my home for instruction." They were not, however, "the heathen of childish imagination," but, rather "young

---

30See Griffis, "Diary," January 26 of this year.

31"The Truth about Japan," The Missionary Magazine, LIV (March, 1873), 76.

32Ibid.
men, intelligent, courteous, well dressed in their own flowering robes."

As Professor Eiichi Kudō of Meiji Gakuin University explains, Christians at this time came from the former samurai, whose members were imbued with Confucianism. They belonged to Joseph Neesima's class. The majority of them were former retainers of the Shōgun and of his allies, who had lost their status in consequence of the Meiji Restoration. Although they were born leaders, they could now hold no government positions. They found in the Western religion a way of raising Japan's status in the family of nations.

To those who had been reared in Confucianism, the alien faith could easily be understood from a purely ethical point of view. In his book on Protestant evangelism in Nippon, Professor Kudō cited the diary of a former Ueda clan samurai. The man confessed that he could not comprehend the meaning of the Bible, but the self-sacrifice and self-discipline in the Scriptures appealed

\[33^3\text{"Japan," ibid., LV (July, 1874), 254.}\]
to him.34 Those who had converted to the Western belief considered Christian morals higher than those of Confucianism, which named different stages of love for various human relationships.

Meanwhile, many Americans observed that the Japanese emphasized ethical form rather than religious spirit. This was the same conclusion that Chaplain George Jones had reached at the time of the Perry Expedition.35 Former Secretary of State William H. Seward noted in his Travel Around the World that the age of faith had passed in Japan and that Confucian philosophy had undermined all mythological creeds, leaving the people a nation of doubters.36

This was a situation which missionaries were to combat in the years to come.

35 See Chapter II, p. 62.
Meanwhile, spurred on by Nippon's rapid modernization, the evangelistic drive began its advance. Christian workers, with a strong ethical sense based upon the Puritan tradition, had appealed to the educated but displaced intellectual ex-samurai, who actually were interested in the spiritual values of New England which they considered the foundation of Western progress.

A report from the Committee on the Mission to Japan, given at the Baptist Missionary Union's sixty-first annual meeting held in Philadelphia, presented a favorable view of the situation. Workers, it was pointed out, were now not only permitted to preach and teach, but were invited to occupy important places which had previously been closed to them; Nipponese authorities evidently desired to maintain closer political relations with the "most enlightened Christian nations."37

A great opportunity for expansion was seen. An editorial in a Methodist women's magazine mentioned the Japanese eagerness for learning and predicted that the

newly establishing schools would work a complete revolution in the empire.  

Education thus played an important role in evangelizing Nippon, especially after 1875, when the Japanese government permitted hiring of foreign teachers in private institutions. Many Christian workers then began concentrated work through teaching positions.

The Satsuma Rebellion

While missionaries found great prospects for conversion among the intellectual but displaced former samurai, a different type of warrior, also dissatisfied with the Meiji regime, had begun to generate a storm. In 1875 a Southern Review article told of a large armed class (samurai) which had often been involved in blood-shed and murder.  

The greatest problem the Mikado's authorities faced

38"Education in Japan," Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West, XXXVI (April, 1876), 376.

in their modernization program was dealing with the ex-
*samurai*, who considered themselves privileged, politically
as well as socially. Their prerogatives had been abolished
in the interests of rapid transformation. They were, for
instance, prohibited from carrying swords (by laws of 1872
and 1876). Their position as warriors disappeared with the
introduction of compulsory military service in 1872.
*Samurai* traditional status was dissolved with the retire-
ment bond of 1876, after which they received no further
hereditary annual payments from the government.

Such reforms were necessary in a rapid transition
program, but there was naturally acute resentment against
the Meiji authorities. Antagonism was especially strong
among those who had helped to create the new regime during
the Restoration period and were now left adrift.

Speaking generally, there were three groups among
former *samurai*, now called *shizoku*. The first included
those who worked for the Restoration and had actually been
given government positions. The second embraced those who
had favored Restoration but had failed to secure positions.
The third was composed of persons who had been defeated,
and it was for them that Christianity, the great new Western faith, had great appeal.

Persons in the second group were generally too proud to follow alien Christians. They staged a series of rebellions in 1876 and 1877, mainly in western Japan. The uprisings reached a peak under Takamori Saigō, a former general of the Meiji army, who in 1873 had retired to his home in Kagoshima (Province of Satsuma), following defeat in the power struggle within the government.  

Most of the missionaries lived in the Tōkyō and Yokohama areas and were not seriously affected by the revolts. Some were in Nagasaki in Kyūshū, but the city was isolated by mountains from the center of conflict. Their letters, consequently, contained little information save what came from government sources.

As early as 1874, the Reverend James Arthur of the Baptist Mission from Yokohama reported on troubles in the

40This conflict was essentially between the traditionalists and the progressive reformers. The former wished to maintain the "Restoration spirit," Imperial-centered, and to expand Japanese influence abroad, mainly to Korea; the latter emphasized domestic reforms for Westernization. See also Chapter III, p. 140.
south. He had seen a regiment sent off from that port, but he felt confident that the Mikado's government was strong enough to control the situation.\textsuperscript{41}

In the midst of the Satsuma Rebellion, which opened in February, 1877, an American Board missionary stationed in Kōbe, a close and important port for Kyūshū, provided an overall picture of the revolt. He wrote that there were uprisings at Hagi in western Honshū and Kumamoto in Kyūshū, and that the most serious one had occurred on February 19th in Kagoshima, sweeping over the western half of Kyūshū "like a tidal wave."\textsuperscript{42}

Almost one quarter or one third of the nation, he wrote, would sympathize with the rebels, because their main purpose was to preserve the samurai's hereditary rights and revenue.\textsuperscript{43} The writer also mentioned the popularity of General Takamori Saigō, the rebel leader, and compared him with the English Duke of Wellington after Waterloo. The

\textsuperscript{41}"Japan Mission - The Satsuma Rebellion," The Missionary Herald, LXXIII (October, 1877), 308.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 309.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid. Obviously, he meant a quarter or one-third of the ex-samurai but not of the nation as a whole.
government, he said, had spent one quarter or one-third of its entire annual revenue for sending fifty thousand men to the battle field.

Although the Satsuma Rebellion was a genuine contest of strength, with the rebels giving a serious challenge to the new central government, missionaries watched the civil war with hope for the Meiji authorities. They realized that the rebels did not look with favor on their activities. It was natural, then, that news of the revolt's conclusion was greeted in the January issue of The Missionary Herald with the declaration that "Japan again has peace from north to south. The harvests are abundant."44

The outbreak clearly proved that an armed revolt against Tōkyō was impossible. From now on, any opponent of the ruling party would have to resort to some other means than force of arms. The era of political, rather than military, struggle had dawned. Agitation for the establishment of a parliamentary system -- the so-called

People's Rights Movement -- rose from the ashes of the Satsuma Rebellion.

Cries for Equality

After suppression of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1878, two major goals were evident: revision of the unequal treaties and acceptance of the so-called "People's Rights Movement." Having established central authority for all Japan, the government now set out to eliminate the inferior status created by the treaties of 1858 with Western powers.

Discontented shizoku (ex-samurai), finding it impossible to challenge the Meiji authorities on a battlefield, gathered their forces under a political banner. Objecting to the authoritative attitude of Tōkyō, they advocated a popular representative form of government, modelled after Western democracy. They were most active in western Japan, particularly in Tosa Province on Shikoku Island.

Missionaries were generally more interested in popular agitation than in armed rebellions. The Kōbe agent of the American Board, whose letter has been previously
mentioned, remarked that the drive would enlarge liberty, increase intelligence, and finally awaken the Japanese people to Christianity, "the foundation of the power and happiness of Christian nations."45

Although many had high expectations, Christian workers in general were understandably rather skeptical about the success of the movement.

Meanwhile, the Meiji administration continued active promotion of modernization, especially after 1885, when a Western styled cabinet system was adopted, in hope of developing a favorable attitude of the powers toward treaty revision. Even those missionaries who were dubious about the success of the People's Rights Movement, supported treaty revision wholeheartedly. Resident alien Christian leaders and the government here sought the same objective.

The former were naturally pleased to see the strong drive toward modernization which would prepare the country for their activities. Along with their support of the

45"Japan Mission - The Satsuma Rebellion," ibid., LXXII (October, 1877), 308.
program, however, came realization that Western materialism and scientific thought had been traditional enemies of orthodox Christianity. This feeling was well expressed in a letter from the Reverend John T. Gulick of the American Board, in 1878. He regretfully pointed out that the strongest opponent to evangelization in Japan was the skepticism of modern Europe.46

As part of modernization, the government adopted the Western week system, setting Sunday aside as a rest day. Regardless of official intention, missionaries considered this a decision favoring their religion. The Reverend James Arthur, a Northern Baptist, promptly sent home a report,47 which was welcomed at the annual meeting of the American Board in 1876 as the "favorable move to the missionary work."48

This news, along with the advance of the enter-

46 "Japan Mission - Danger from Imported Skepticism," ibid., LIV (June), 196.


prise, gave churchgoers in the United States the false impression that Nippon had adopted Christian ways. A report by the American Baptist Union in 1876 described the Japanese as "exceedingly interesting and in many ways peculiar people." In the same year, the American Board's Japan Mission Committee stated that the situation should be considered "a loud providential call to the friends of missions to go." A year later, the same committee declared that "the day of the Lord for Japan had now come." An even more positive opinion was expressed in 1878 when the Herald wrote, "The providences . . . have opened the empire to Christian missionaries and a Christian civilization." The same kind of optimism was reflected in 1880


51 Ibid., LXXIII (November, 1877), 360.

52 Ibid., LXXIV (November, 1878), 364.
by the Northern Baptists, who termed Japan an "amazing country." 53

Encouraged by the changing Nipponese scene and supported by their home church, missionaries now introduced their activities outside the open ports, securing necessary governmental permission to travel. As a result, they were able to send to the United States more detailed information about the country's interior.

The Reverend Jerome D. Davis of the American Board made a trip from Kyōto to Kanazawa, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Shikoku Island in 1879. In 1880 a Baptist group -- the Reverend T. P. Poate 54 and his wife, together with Miss Clara A. Sands and Mrs. Louise H. Pierson 55 -- went northward from Yokohama through Sendai, Furukawa, Ishinomaki, Hanamaki, and Morioka, all in the Tōhoku district. Impressions of Japan as seen through typical


54 He originally went to Japan from the British Baptist Board whose operations merged with American groups in 1890.

55 She was a member of the Woman's Union Missionary Society.
missionary eyes were printed in *The Missionary Magazine* in 1881:

The people are so sunk in sin that it seems as if it would take a long time to lift them up.\(^56\)

Christian agents, moving about the country, now organized churches such as those in Morioka and Sendai, starting with six to ten members at each place. By 1881, through their efforts, the number of congregations in both Morioka and Sendai had increased to forty-two.

In 1881, the Reverend John L. Atkinson of the American Board visited Kyūshū, viewing the old Satsuma rebellion battlefield as leisurely tourists of our day are wont to do. He noticed the soldiers' cemeteries and trees marred by bullets and shells.\(^57\) In Kumamoto, where Captain L. L. Janes had worked between 1871 and 1876, he saw vast areas which had been burned by Imperial troops to clear ground for fighting the rebels.

He offered some observations on the condition of


the town itself. Atkinson realized that several factions were active in the town. One was a reactionary party whose members were constantly praying in the Shinto shrine for the return of the "good old days." When they passed Americans or Europeans, he wrote, they lifted their sleeves to their noses to avoid the evil odor! When they passed under the telegraph wire, they had fans over their heads to ward off the harmful influence which they imagined the wire exerted. Another party was so progressive that it advocated people's rights. Despite their extreme differences, however, he wrote, all were united in opposition to Christianity.58

These trips about the country were among many made by missionaries of various denominations. It was painfully obvious that the outlook in Japan was not nearly so hopeful as had been described in the ill-informed annual reports sent home. The situation was favorable in the open port cities, where many progressive people had gathered and where Western culture had made its way. Outside such centers, however, mission activity still faced serious

58Ibid.
handicaps.

Even though evangelization did flourish in certain cities, severe restrictions continued elsewhere. According to the treaties, government residence permits, valid for four or five years, were necessary.

The Missionary Herald reported in 1879 that Dr. M. Lafayette Gordon's request for authorization to settle in Kyōto had been rejected. In the same year, the magazine announced joyously that the Reverend Horace H. Leavitt's permit there had been extended for five years. When Christian agents sought to open a station in Okayama, only Dr. John C. Berry's application for residence was accepted; those of the Reverends James H. Pettee, Otis Cary, and Miss Julia Wilson were refused. Cary later, however, received permission to teach English for one hour

59"Japan Mission - Kyōto Training School," LXXV (April, 1879), 144.


a day in the Okayama government school.  

In spite of such restrictions, missionaries were still in sympathy with the Meiji administration. An editorial in *The Missionary Herald* pointed out that as long as foreigners were exempt from Japanese law, the residential problem for foreigners would never be solved.

A recent case of opium smuggling was cited. The British citizen involved was acquitted by the English consul, while his Japanese partner was sentenced by a Nipponese court to ten years' imprisonment. American Protestant workers appealed to the public at home to support treaty revision, not only for the sake of the Japanese government but for their own cause as well.

Meantime, the missionaries were closely watching the People's Rights Movement. American Board representatives supplied the most accurate information, since they lived close to the center of the storm. The agitation had obviously been inspired by the dissatisfied shizoku (ex-

---


The samurai, some of whom had led the recent rebellions and continued to oppose the government. In November, 1878, John L. Atkinson, commenting on their weekly gatherings all over Japan, said that most of the agitators were "foolish and fiery" and only created social unrest.64

Interestingly enough, two years later, another article on the ferment in Japan appeared in the same magazine. The writer referred to the campaigners of the People's Rights Movement as "missionaries" and observed that they were both earnest and energetic.65

These two reports mirror the Christian workers' changing attitude toward the agitation. While the first mainly looked at the restless shizoku mainly as creators of unrest, the second recognized their active efforts to establish a parliamentary system. Missionaries had begun to see that a crusading zeal similar to their own characterized the People's Rights speakers.

In January, 1882, The Missionary Herald mentioned the Imperial proclamation for an assembly to be convened in

---

64 See "Political Agitation," ibid., LXXIV, 387.

65 See "Ferment in Japan," ibid., LXXVI, 472.
1890. Eight months later came the announcement of a local assembly to discuss and decide many matters of provincial interest in Kyōto.

The agitators, like the zealous foreigners, achieved their goals one by one. The early 80's found both groups approaching a golden age, working toward their separate objectives, establishment of the parliamentary system and Christianization of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

The Mission Apogee

The 1880's started with great hope for missionaries. At home, the Japanese Mission Committee reported optimistically, at the American Baptist Union's annual convention, that "more, perhaps, than any other land in the world, Japan is . . . accessible to foreign influences."^7


Alpheus Hardy, once Joseph Neesima's guardian, backed the statement. He indicated that Nippon was challenging the United States in the race of education; this was the time, he said, when missionary efforts should be directed especially toward schools.  

A year later, The Missionary Magazine pictured Japan as a most promising land, predicting, at the same time, that rapid growth of the native church would cause a decrease of foreign influence.

These articles well illustrate the Christian workers' image of Nippon in relation to their enterprise. The Sunrise Kingdom was being rapidly Westernized. The railroad was projected as far north as Morioka, where Baptist agents were already at work. The sale of government factories had stimulated private enterprise. People were eager to educate their children, and the missionaries responded to widespread popular demand with many new schools.

---

68 "Education in Japan," The Missionary Herald, LXXVI (April, 1880), 129.

Behind Japan's rapid modernization program, there was a strong desire to achieve an equal status among the Western powers. Being the land most accessible to foreign influences, the most promising for missionary activities, Nippon was accepting Western ways by her own will. Her final goal was, obviously, treaty revision.

Meanwhile, the People's Rights movement, originally organized in opposition to the Meiji authoritarian government, transformed its character after the Imperial proclamation of 1881 promising a national assembly in 1890. From that time on, the agitators believed that they were chiefly concerned with the parliamentary system (the essential qualification of a modern nation), rather than simply opposing the government. In this sense, they were convinced that they were furthering the national drive for equality among nations.

Reasons for the popularity of Christianization in this period should be taken into consideration here, since adoption of Christianity was looked on by many only as acceptance of Western civilization in part. Nonetheless,
the favorable attitude toward the alien religion brought delight to the American church public.

The American Board predicted in 1881 that missionaries might safely leave the country after twenty years, entrusting the Japanese churches to Neesima and other leaders. They recognized the future possibility of independent churches.

Two years later, their optimism increased further. By the end of the century, a report in the American Board's annual survey stated that Japanese churches would not only be self-supporting bodies, but they would also serve as missionary groups to complete "the evangelization of Japan by that date."71

Missionaries in the field responded to this optimism. The Reverend Jerome D. Davis in Kyōto wrote home that the Empire could be completely Christianized if mission workers were increased ten times in number, and

70"Annual Meeting," The Missionary Herald, LXXVII (December, 1881), 484.

71See The Missionary Herald, LXXIX (February, 1883), 55.
native evangelists, fifty times.  Obviously workers in the field were not so optimistic.

Davis pointed out the obstacles curbing the spread of the Western religion. He named three: immorality such as idolatry and social vices created by the licensed brothel system; prejudice against the Christian faith; and what he termed "infidelity". While the first two were prevalent among common people, the last was found in intelligent circles in which the missionaries had been working. Davis explained what he meant by "infidelity," mentioning Paine's *The Age of Reason*, Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Mill's *Three Essays on Religion*, and Herbert Spencer's books on evolution. To him, "infidelity" meant dangerous materialism, as opposed to traditional Christianity.

While the Reverend Davis considered these new philosophies obstacles in Japan, another more liberal minded missionary, the Reverend M. L. Gordon, expressed a different view. To him, a political campaign based upon

---

72 "Brief Notes," *ibid.*, LXXIX (February, 1883), 55.
the books mentioned, signified such values as free speech.\(^{74}\)

Missionaries, for their own interests, were forced to support many democratic tendencies in Japan. Opposition to modernization grew among them, but they recognized elements in the situation that favored their activities.

Yukichi Fukuzawa -- an eminent educator and founder of the famed Keio University, a man of enlightenment and a keen critic of Christianity -- decided to send two of his sons to the United States to be educated at Oberlin, a leading Congregational college in Ohio. An editorial in The Missionary Herald commented delightedly that even this prominent opponent of the Western religion was drawing closer to their camp.\(^{75}\)

Fukuzawa must simply have recognized Oberlin's quality from an educational point of view, but the missionary circle concluded that the religious education offered by the college had attracted him. This Christianization-

\(^{74}\)"Some Features of Missionary Work in Japan," ibid., LXXIX (July, 1883), 253.

\(^{75}\)See Vol. LXXX (January, 1884), 3.
civilization sequence was often pointed out by American missionaries.

Fukuzawa's name appeared again in *The Missionary Herald* of the same year, in a reference which puzzled church people in the United States. It reported that he was urging adoption of Christianity as the national religion not for the sake of doctrine but for the sake of the civilization program in his country.\(^{76}\) Even though Christian workers could not agree with his motivation, they were happy to acknowledge the new tendency in the Empire.

In 1884, the Reverend Dwight W. Learned of the American Board wrote concerning another important contemporary figure of Japan. Taisuke Itagaki, the leader of the People's Rights Movement, had scheduled a visit to Imabari, in Shikoku, where a new church had been recently built. Learned feared that the appearance of this prominent political leader, whose followers opposed Christianity, would give an unfavorable picture of the church to the general public of the city.

\(^{76}\)See "Editorials," in Vol. L\(\times\)X (October, 1884), 381.
To Learned's surprise Itagaki invited the Reverend J. T. Ise, pastor of the Church, to his public meeting and even asked the minister to speak. Interestingly enough, after Ise's address, Itagaki told his audience that "until Japan should become a Christian nation, it would not be of equal rank with Western nations." The missionary circle was delighted. At last, prominent non-Christian Japanese leaders were recognizing the alien faith's importance as a social force. At the same time, Christian workers naturally feared political use of the belief.

The two reports clearly indicated Japanese desire for equal status with Western powers. The People's Rights Movement now favored the religion of Western civilization in order to achieve the national status which was always the main objective of the Meiji government.

The missionary group gradually became more critical of the new approach. While agents insisted that "the

77"Japan Mission - Politician's View," ibid., LXXX (June, 1884), 223.
Japanese had never been so open to religious influences, they recognized the danger of superficial acceptance of Christianity, not as a faith, but rather as a modern institution.

Fukuzawa now became the center of the controversy because of his very favorable attitude toward Western religion. An article reported that "the favor shown to Christianity by many leading minds in Japan is most hopeful." The author quoted Fukuzawa's comment that if even one Japanese out of a hundred became a believer in Christ, Nippon could be called a Christian nation. Three months later, Fukuzawa was cited saying that he had recognized, from a political point of view, the importance of the Western religion in dealing with the powers.

---

78 "The Crisis in Japan and Our Responsibility; an Appeal for Prayer and Help," *ibid.*, LXXX (September, 1884), 347.

79 "A Peril in Japan," *ibid.*, LXXXI (June, 1885), 222.


81 See "Editorials," *ibid.*, LXXXI (September, 1885), 423.
The problem continued. The Reverend James H. Pettee of Okayama wrote on the "New Peril in Japan," saying in part that Nippon was not patient enough to wait for treaty revision and was accepting Christianity nominally because of her strong desire for equality among the nations.\(^{82}\)

The Reverend John H. DeForest of Sendai mentioned Fukuzawa. He wrote that the prominent educator was urging all young men to press forward, be baptized, and openly become members of churches; the Japanese had asserted that real belief was unnecessary.\(^{83}\) Protestant workers called this move "political Christianity."

Whatever the motivations were people flocked to the churches, and missionaries appealed from the field for additional reinforcements.

The situation is reflected in the American Board's reports of 1886 and 1887. In the first year, the shortage

\(^{82}\)See ibid., LXXXII (May, 1886), 174.

\(^{83}\)"Political Christianity," ibid., LXXXIII (April, 1887), 140.
of workers in the field was emphasized. The explosive increase of communicants brought a great danger of giving native Christians insufficient instruction. The next year the missionaries desperately called home for help:

The avalanche of opportunities that slides down upon us almost stuns us.

Certainly the Protestant missionary movement was at its highest peak in Japan.

Nippon was now rapidly approaching her goal of becoming a member of the family of nations. The hope was not new. The Iwakura mission had been sent abroad in 1871 for the purpose. Iwakura realized the recognition of Christianity must be granted if Japan were to attain her objective.

The move for Christianization had been supported by several progressive officials in the early 1870's, but with much conservative opposition within the government. The

84"Annual Survey," ibid., LXXXII (November, 1886), 442.

85"Annual Meeting," ibid., p. 481.

86"Remarkable Movement in Favor of Christian Education," ibid., LXXXIII (March, 1887), 90.
drive of the 80's was on a broader scale. The administra-
tion now enjoyed support from even People's Rights Movement
leaders. This campaign had become national in scope.
Christianity was now treated favorably, perhaps too
favorably.

The "political Christianity" spread in Japan far
enough to discuss official adoption of the alien religion.
At the report\textsuperscript{87} American churchgoers were both joyous and
confused. A\textit{Herald} editorial declared that the ferment of
thought was unprecedented, and that the people were ready
for something new.\textsuperscript{88} Nippon had lost her old faith, he
said, and intelligent citizens were looking for some form
of religion as a moral basis for promoting the general
welfare.\textsuperscript{89} Missionaries had a firm conviction that the new
faith should be the Christian religion.

The Reverend James H. Pettee pushed the observation
further. He declared that the Empire was the "key to the
Orient." Nippon was, according to him, "born to be and

\textsuperscript{87}"Editorials,"\textit{ibid.}, LXXXII (June, 1886), 212.
\textsuperscript{88}See Vol. LXXXIV (October, 1888), 416.
\textsuperscript{89}\textit{Ibid.}
bound to be a missionary nation" in the Far East. This comment offers a point of discussion for later consideration.

While these workers continued their activities, Nippon moved steadily toward modernization, adopting a cabinet system in 1885 in preparation for the parliamentary system. Finally, and suddenly, the Imperial Constitution was promulgated on February 11, 1889, one year prior to the opening of the national assembly. The Missionary Herald was not slow in reporting this news in its April issue.

An article entitled "The New Constitution of Japan" appeared in the next month. It compared the Mikado's act with the promulgation of the Magna Carta in England in 1215, and said that the Emperor of Japan, by his own will, had cheerfully abdicated powers of divine right held for two thousand years.

90 "Condensed Sketch of the Japan Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," ibid., LXXXII (July, 1886), 263.


92 See ibid., LXXXV (May, 1889), 185.
The announcement greatly surprised the world, because Nippon was the only nation outside of the Western civilization to adopt such a constitution. The Herald expressed its confidence that Christian workers had been a powerful influence in bringing it about.\(^93\) Depiction of their agents as the bearers of Western civilization was a typical mission approach of the day.

Church circles naturally rejoiced in reading Article XXVIII, quoted from the national code:

> Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.\(^94\)

The review was concluded with a benediction, "May God bless the Empire of the Rising Sun." Christianity, at last, had won *de jure* recognition.

Despite the western interpretation of this event, and despite the hope that Christianity would replace the old faith, the establishment of the Constitution was not a true milestone in Western-oriented modernization. It

\(^{93}\text{Ibid.}, p. 186.\)

\(^{94}\text{Ibid.}, p. 187.\)
marked, rather, the beginning of a nationalism which was to emphasize the traditional values of Nippon.
CHAPTER V

THE ERA OF REACTION, 1889 - 1895

"Japan for the Japanese"

One night in the spring of 1890, a Canadian Methodist missionary, the Reverend Thomas A. Large stationed in Tōkyō, was murdered at his residence. Shortly after that, an Englishman, one Summers, was knocked over by a lancer while waiting, with his hat on, for the Empress Dowager to pass. Watching an Imperial procession without removing one's hat was considered irreverent behavior by nationalistic Japanese. About the same time, Dr. William Imbrie of the Presbyterian mission, was assaulted, beaten, and cut by several college students in the capital. Large's case was purely criminal, but the Summers and Imbrie incidents reflected an ominous new spirit emerging in Nippon.

The Reverend J. H. DeForest of the American Board
reported that, on his return to the United States, he was asked such questions as, "Are missionaries all to be killed?" or, "Are we all to be drawn from Japan?" or, "Hadn't we better be getting some gunboats?"^1

Was Japan about to return to the anti-foreign period of the 60's? She actually did not go to such an extreme, but, after an intense Westernization program, her course of modernization now had become more nationalistic.

Missionaries in Japan, after a heyday of more than fifteen years, felt an ebbtide approaching. The situation was rather ironical in light of the guarantee of religious liberty granted by the new Imperial Constitution of 1889. Yet it can be easily explained from Japan's side. The struggle for modernization was aimed at gaining equal rights among the Western powers. Promulgation of the Constitution and the establishment of a National Diet a year later demonstrated her endeavors toward that goal, and the constitutional guarantee for Christianity was merely a by-product of the egalitarian movement. The real spirit of

the age between 1889 and 1895 was evident in the emergence of a new militant nationalism.

DeForest's purpose in relating the three incidents was to inform the American church public as to the Japanese social situation. Despite the element of peril, he emphasized the prevailing order in Japanese society. He found the main cause of bitterness and resultant violence to be an extraterritorial aspect of Nippon's treaty relations with Occidental powers. She sought to gain complete freedom of action. DeForest interpreted the signs of rising nationalism in a positive way, from the missionary point of view, of course. He believed that if the situation in the future would not allow American missionaries to work in Japanese churches, all Christians in the Empire would be drawn together under the "magic of that cry, Japan for the Japanese, and a Japanese Christianity for Japan."²

The cry of "Japan for the Japanese" became a catch-phrase of the times. Despite DeForest's comment, the missionaries generally regarded the trend as a reactionary one. The earlier People's Movement era had already passed,

²Ibid., p. 404.
and the demand for Nation's Rights had risen to a high pitch. The controversial "Political Christianity" of the latter 80's\(^3\) was also over. Regaining their confidence, the Japanese moved toward a nationalistic, if not anti-foreign, objective.

In 1888, The Missionary Herald had commented with anxiety on Japan's desire of replacing her old lost faiths with some form of religion. The Herald further said that, although there were many gratifying elements, Christians in the United States should count the proposal for an official adoption of Christianity as an actual peril.\(^4\)

The missionaries' mixed reactions of hope and fear disappeared after promulgation of the Imperial Constitution, because, as they saw it, the Meiji government was stepping forward to supply a "new form of religion."

The new belief, however, was not Christianity, but Japanese nationalism. In 1890, this trend was further strengthened by the Imperial Rescript on Education, which introduced a

\(^3\)See Chapter IV, p. 196 and p. 197.

\(^4\)See "Editorial," LXXXIV (October), 416. See also footnote 89 of Chapter IV.
new moral code into Japanese schools, based upon the traditional Confucian standard of loyalty and filial piety rather than upon Christianity or any other Western philosophy. Missionaries were now compelled to operate in an Emperor-centered modernizing Japan.

Nippon's progressive program had definitely brought a change in direction. In earlier years, she had imitated every Occidental way of life in order to gain attention from the Western powers, and that tendency had promoted missionary enterprise simply because Christianity was the Occidental religion.

After the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution, Japan became more selective. In other words, she was now sufficiently mature to find her own way toward modernization, though her aim of seeking equal status with the Western nations had not changed.

In general, the missionaries were as sympathetic toward revision of the treaties as they had been in the 80's, but they lost favorable ground with the Imperial Rescript on Education.

The Meiji government launched a modernization
program of its own which marked the beginning of a new age, synthesizing East and West. The new concept, in essence, was not to return to the "good old days" by rejecting foreign influences, but, rather, to examine traditional values in order to adjust them to modern Japan.

This was the situation when another important image-maker of Nippon came to the islands. He was Lafcadio Hearn, a journalist destined to be an adopted son of the Kingdom of the Rising Sun. His arrival (in 1890) was quite in contrast to that of Griffis in 1871. When the latter came, the old feudalism was yielding ground to new Western ideas, but by 1890 many of the old values which had survived rapid Westernization were being revived. Alarmed by Nippon's speedy transformation, Hearn hoped to see a preservation of the traditional Japanese way of life, a natural outgrowth of the country's rich and varied past. His antagonism toward modernization is apparent in his criticism of missionaries.

Somewhat ironically, as Christian agents in Japan were confronted by unfavorable situations and forced retreatment, American foreign interest grew rapidly in
church circles. Thanks to the evangelistic revivalism led by Dwight Moody and to his interest in overseas fields, the banner was taken up by the Young Men's Christian Association. With John R. Mott as its leader, the Student Volunteer Movement was inaugurated in 1886, and many splendid young Americans were trained for service abroad.

Their crusading zeal created a new type of worker. Realizing the need for English language teachers in Nipponese public high schools, the Young Men's Christian Association sent out numbers of young men fresh from America's colleges to serve in that capacity. Most of them ultimately returned to the United States, but some remained, providing their homeland with much information on the country.

The short reactionary period (1889-1895) ended with Nippon's victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, when she replaced China as the dominant power in East Asia.

Stepping forward to gain equal status with Western nations, she found that a simple adoption of Occidental civilization no longer sufficed, -- power was the only effective tool
for pushing the Western nations to a revision of the hateful treaties.

Lafcadio Hearn in Japan

The year 1890 was a significant one in Japan. The first National Diet was then convened, and the Imperial Rescript on Education was proclaimed. With the former, Nippon took another great step toward modernization. The latter encouraged her to express nationalism through a philosophy resting upon Confucian ideals of loyalty and filial piety. This, too, was the year when Lafcadio Hearn landed at Yokohama.

Hearn was born in 1850 on Santa Maura Island (commonly called Lefcada by the Greeks) in the Ionian archipelago at the lower end of the Adriatic. He was, in every way, cosmopolitan. His father was a surgeon in the British occupation army stationed there; his mother was Greek. After withdrawal of the forces from the island in 1864, the Hearns moved to Dublin, Ireland. Unhappy there, Lafcadio left for the United States in 1869 and arrived in New York City penniless. He worked in Cincinnati and
New Orleans for some years and established himself as a writer. For two years he worked for Harper's New Monthly Magazine in the French West Indies, until he was sent to Japan in 1890 by the publishers to write articles on the land. Hearn soon learned that his payment was far less than that given the man who illustrated his writings. As a result of his protests, his connections with Harper's were severed.

The unemployed writer was to follow a path similar to that of William Griffis some twenty years earlier. Basil H. Chamberlain, a famous British professor of Japanese studies teaching English at Tōkyō University helped him secure a teaching position at a high school in Matsue, a far-away town of feudal tradition in western Honshū. When Hearn began his life in Matsue in August, 1890, he felt as Griffis had when the latter had gone to Fukui. Hearn felt like "a stray from the Nineteenth Century moving about in the unrealized world of the Fourteenth." 

---

5See Chapter III, p. 126.

His observations of the spiritual situation of Japan were quite a contrast to those of the missionaries. Among his students, Hearn saw what he considered a healthy tone of skepticism regarding old superstitions. At the same time, he saw the new education strengthening the Monistic Idea of Buddhism and Shintoism — "loyalty, filial piety, obedience to parents, and respect for ancestors."\[7\]

A person adrift from his times in a changing world, unable to take root in either Europe or America, he found contentment and happiness in old Japan. It was in Matsue that Hearn married a Japanese girl, Setsu Koizumi, in January of 1891; and it was there that he gained Nipponese citizenship, adopting the name "Yakumo Koizumi." Thus Matsue, like Fukui to Griffis, became Hearn's "home in Japan," even though its winter climate was too severe for his health. In the fall of 1891, he moved to Kumamoto in Kyūshū, where he taught at Dai-go Kōtōgakkō (Fifth Normal High School), operated by the central government. He stayed there for three years, but Kumamoto presented a far less pleasing Japan to him because of its advanced

\[7\]Ibid.
modernization. After his school contract expired in 1895, Hearn moved to Kobe as a staff writer for The Kobe Chronicle, a local English newspaper. In this open port, he again found himself in the nineteenth century.

While Griffis's exile from the present had lasted only a year, Hearn had been removed from contemporary society for four years, one in the heart of traditional Japan and three in a half-Westernized area. Griffis came away from the "past"; Hearn brought it with him and his family. When Griffis came to Yokohama from Fukui, he thought how ugly the "hairy foreigners" looked in comparison to the uniform black of the islanders. But he was capable of returning to the Western community, especially that of missionaries. His church connection may have made this possible, or perhaps he had missed the nineteenth century Western world a little.

For Hearn, on the other hand, it was altogether impossible to return. He committed himself to Oriental society like one born to it. Writing his impressions of the

---

8Griffis, The Mikado's Empire, p. 549.
port city, he admitted that Kōbe was "a nice little place," but he found many things unpleasant. For one thing, he said, the sound of foreign women's voices almost jarred upon him because he had been so accustomed to the "purely natural women with soundless steps and softer speech."^9

His famous essay, "Kokoro" (The Heart of Things), written in Kōbe, indicates his prediction for the future of Japan, quite opposite to the observations made by missionaries. Hearn was rather pessimistic about the moral influence of Western civilization. He believed that the old ideals of Japan were quite as noble as the Occidental standards.10

Griffis had introduced Nippon to the outer world through a Westerner's eyes. Hearn, by contrast, sought to present Japan in an Oriental frame of reference and found his values in the old Nippon.

Even though Griffis was critical respecting the conduct of ordinary Westerners in the country, he was, at

^9Bisland, op. cit., II, 197.

all times, sympathetic toward missionaries. He understood their devotion to duty and appreciated their contributions to the modernization of Nippon. On the other hand, Hearn could see no significance whatsoever in their efforts. These differences can be clearly seen in his comment on Griffis. Referring to the latter's idea that to live long in Japan spoiled a man, he declared that Griffis's meaning was wrong, although Hearn understood that to live among officials of Nippon could poison a person's character.11 This comment was written while he was employed by a public school in Kumamoto. As a government employee himself, Hearn partially agreed with Griffis, but looked on him with disfavor. The adopted son of Nippon had become a Japanese citizen at heart.

As a defender of old Japan, Hearn criticized every foreigner who helped destroy the traditions of the land. He disliked the idea of modernizing Nippon, because old Matsue was so dear to him. He was antagonistic toward missionaries who were willing to sacrifice the old ways in

order to introduce their beliefs. A letter written in Matsue as early as August, 1891, expresses his convictions. Missionaries, he said, had no reason to like him, because he was teaching his students to respect their own beautiful faith and the gods of their fathers.12

After Hearn moved to Kumamoto, he learned that the normal school of Matsue had decided not to employ foreigners. He congratulated Sentarō Nishida, the superintendent, saying that, in his opinion, ninety-nine out of a hundred missionaries would not teach conscientiously or effectively.13 In Kumamoto, his criticism of missionaries became more emphatic than before, for this city was one of the American Board's centers in Kyūshū.

Hearn believed that the destructive nature of foreigners accelerated Japan's nationalism. His view was confirmed even by his students' compositions. Some wished to sweep aliens from the country, and some even expressed a

---

12Bisland, op. cit., II, 44.

13Ibid., p. 68.
desire for war. Anti-foreign sentiment, he felt certain, was caused by the unequal treaties.

What delighted the missionaries displeased Hearn. The Japan Mail, the Yokohama weekly, frequently quoted in American missionary journals, irritated him. He finally stopped reading the paper, because of its expressed sympathy toward Protestant activities in Nippon. He wrote, "Why can't a newspaper have mercy on people who don't care to have religious stuff forever thrust under their noses?" The weekly only spoiled his temper and his work.

His antagonism was strongly expressed: "Sneers of 'Senkyoshi!' (missionary) were pretty audible in all directions." He even declared that missionaries should be put in a small ship and the boat should be "scuttled at a reasonable distance of one thousand miles from shore."

---

15 Ibid., p. 147.
16 Ibid., p. 190.
17 Ibid., p. 185.
18 Ibid., p. 190.
Even though he disapproved of mission activities, Hearn was as great a figure as Griffis in introducing Japan to the American public. His works -- *A Glimpse from Unfamiliar Japan*, *Kokoro*, and others -- were as popular as Griffis's *The Mikado's Empire*. Although both had similar experiences in Nippon and had published books touching upon the country's hidden charms, they faced opposite directions. Hearn sought to preserve the traditional Japan, while Griffis kept pace with her modernization. One felt antagonism toward missionaries, and the other, understanding. They went to Nippon at different times, Griffis at the beginning of her Westernization and Hearn in the midst of the nationalistic revival. Both were greatly concerned about the country, though from entirely different angles, and both were keen observers of the American Protestant movement.

"Evangelization of the World in This Generation"

While missionaries in Nippon were losing favored ground for their activities and were entering a reactionary
period because of the new nationalism, interest in foreign
missions at home was rapidly mounting.

The Young Men's Christian Association, a key influence in the newly created overseas drive in the United
States, like the modern Protestant Christianization pro-
gram, had originated in England in the early 1800's as a
non-denominational social undertaking. The sprout, soon
transplanted to American soil, grew strongly after the
Civil War.

Dwight Lyman Moody, a prominent figure in the
program, appeared on the scene in 1866 as president of the
Chicago YMCA. His ability as an evangelist had been proven
in Britain. His revival meetings drew capacity audiences.
The diary of Griffis, then a student at Union Theological
Seminary, reports frequent attendance at such gatherings
held in New York City.

Moody's interest in social service grew. In 1879,
aided by Henry F. Durant of Wellesley College in
Massachusetts, he founded the nearby Northfield Seminary
for Girls in order to promote an evangelical spirit in the
American community. Two years later, he established
Mount Hermon School for Boys in the same town. These two institutions were to play large roles in driving forward the Protestant foreign missionary movement.

Meanwhile, the American Young Men's Christian Association moved in a unique direction, setting up a Student Department under the International Committee in 1879. Luther D. Wishard, a graduate of Hanover College as well as of Princeton Seminary, was appointed the first secretary for the college work.

Wishard found inspiration for his interest in the position in two widely-separated occurrences. More than seventy years before, in 1806, a group of students at Williams College in Massachusetts had pledged themselves to become Protestant foreign missionaries, helping to establish what became the American Board in 1810. Their association was called "the hay stack movement." The second impetus was a letter from a Japanese student at Sapporo Agriculture College in Hokkaido to President William S. Clark of Massachusetts Agriculture College, dated 1879.
Three years earlier, President Clark had spent eight months in Japan, assisting in the building of a college in Sapporo. He had a strong Christian influence on his students, and even young men who came to the college after he had left were inspired by the power of his personality. The letter to Clark written by a student who had never met him, described evangelical activity on campus, telling how the writer and his classmates had become Christians through the efforts of senior students.\textsuperscript{19}

Impressed by the evangelical spirit of the "Sapporo Band," Wishard expressed his hope that Japan would be included in the worldwide student Christian brotherhood movement.\textsuperscript{20}

The Student YMCA activity was a true product of American-Japanese religious relations. With Wishard as secretary, the drive made rapid headway, with a resulting surge of evangelism among college boys. Soon there followed the formation of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance (1880), the Princeton Foreign Missionary Society


(1883), and the Canadian Inter-collegiate Missionary Alliance (1885).

At this junction, in the summer of 1885, Dwight Moody, who had been interested in campus revivals, invited university men to his Northfield Seminary for a cooperative study of the Bible. John R. Mott, then a sophomore at Cornell, attended. In the following year, about two hundred and fifty people from ninety-six campuses in twenty-four states gathered at Moody's Mount Hermon School. Mott was again there.

The "Northfield Summer Conferences" had two primary purposes: Bible study and promotion of foreign missionary spirit among students. Those who attended the meetings were moved by evangelical zeal. During the 1886 session, the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was formally inaugurated.

Wishard was informed in 1887 by the executive secretary of the American Board that the Japanese government schools were looking for Americans as English teachers. Realizing that this request would appeal to collegians in the United States, he sent John T. Swift to Japan as
project "pathfinder" in 1886. The Association's first overseas undertaking was thus launched in Nippon.

Meanwhile, Wishard secured from the Japanese government salary and contract information. The pay was to be $700 per annum for three years. The Reverend John H. DeForest of the American Board, stationed in Nippon, gave him invaluable advice. Wishard selected three young men to be sent to Japan, and Moody promised to raise transportation fees for them. To support this great project, the Foreign Education Committee was established in cooperation with the secretaries of the Northern Presbyterian, the Northern Methodist, the Dutch Reformed, and American boards.

The trio of new-type missionaries left America in January, 1889. They differed from traditional Christian workers and were, in effect, the successors of William E. Griffis, Edward Clark, and even William Clark and Captain L. L. Janes, whose personal contacts with Japanese as teachers had greatly increased their interest in Nippon and whose acts had drawn students toward Christianity.

In 1889, Wishard himself, on a world tour, stopped
off in Japan, and remained there for three months. He visited Dōshisha University, where he made arrangements with Joseph H. Neesima for a student conference modelled after that in the United States. At Wishard's suggestion, the Northfield Conference in the same year had as participants twenty-two Japanese students who were in the country then. Their presence together with his letter describing the Dōshisha conference, highlighted the program and roused much interest.

The Student Volunteer Movement grew rapidly under the leadership of John R. Mott, secretary for the YMCA student program. His motto, "Evangelization of the World in This Generation," enhanced the mission spirit among students and others in church circles. He undertook to recruit missionary candidates from colleges, and many young campus men and women pledged themselves as volunteers for service in foreign lands.

Inspired by Moody's zeal and by the programs of the Young Men's Christian Association, another organization, the Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada, was formed under Presby-
terian leadership. At the General Conference held in London in 1888, and also at the Presbyterian and Reformed Alliance Council staged in Toronto, Canada, in 1892, keen interest was expressed in uniting all Protestant denominations for conducting foreign mission undertakings.

The first step in that direction was taken in 1893, when leaders of twenty-three organizations were invited to meet in New York City. Luther D. Wishard and John R. Mott were present as delegates from the YMCA. The gathering became an annual project, with sponsorship rotating among the denominations. Executives of the several boards and societies were there able to exchange experiences, discuss their problems, and share the common goal of Christianization of the world.

Thus, old American denominational ventures of nearly a century's standing were fused into an inter-denominational undertaking through Moody's spirit and efforts of the Student Volunteer Movement.
The Rise of Nationalism

A paper read in October, 1889, at the annual meeting of the American Board in New York City included this comment:

Following closely upon this constitutional liberty will come by the new treaty full freedom to live and work to anywhere in Japan. What a privilege! What a responsibility! 21

Promulgation of the Imperial Constitution establishing religious freedom was certainly a mile-post for American Christian workers in Nippon. However, as the report showed, the real goal for them at the time was treaty revision, which would accord them the right of residence in the country. This was also in keeping with the Meiji government's aims, for the Tōkyō regime sought to make the Empire a truly independent nation.

With the missionaries, the "treaty issue" was the chief subject of discussion. When J. H. DeForest of the American Board wrote about the Large murder case, 22 he

21"Twenty Years in Japan," The Missionary Herald, LXXXV (November, 1889), 491.

22See Chapter V, p. 203.
stressed this point. Explaining the Japanese desire and the Powers' reluctance in the matter, he openly admitted that anti-foreign feeling was a logical result under such circumstances. He recognized the approaching tide of Japanese nationalism, but, at the same time, he clearly understood the underlying cause. The strong demand for treaty revision led to the "national rights" drive.

The Meiji government undertook an earnest search for the killer of Large. Although the police arrested several men, none of them could be proved guilty. During the investigation, one individual appeared at a police station to "confess" that he was the slayer. It soon became evident, however, that he came because he deemed it a national dishonor for the culprit to go unscathed; he offered himself as a sacrificial victim. He claimed that he would gladly give his own life to remove the national shame and there can be no doubt as to his magnificent sincerity. The Missionary Herald editorial commented, "Such

fanatic patriotism would be called insanity in America. Is it insanity in Japan?"  

This behavior, perhaps "mad" in a Westerner, clearly reflected the spirit of an age when Japanese sentiment was moving rapidly toward militant nationalism.

As a result of the heightened spirit of nationalism and the treaty restriction which compelled foreigners to keep their possessions in their legal residences, missions were criticized for ownership of real estate outside the compounds. Because of their rapidly expanding activities, mission boards had erected churches and schools in places other than the open ports. To meet technical legal requirements, friendly Japanese such as Neesima served as nominal owners of the property holdings, while the foreign boards provided funds to operate them.

This had been a common procedure from the beginning, but, as national consciousness grew, the practice came to be criticized as a fraud, and the Japanese nominal owners were accused of serving as the foreigners' agents.

24See Vol. LXXXVIII (September, 1892), 354.
and thus subverting the law. Hearn was one of the severest critics on this matter. Writing to Basil Chamberlain from Kumamoto in 1893, he declared that the Japanese had a right to confiscate the missionary property, because acquisition had been made in contravention of law.  

Such protests made American Board missionaries more cautious. The Reverend James H. Pettee, at Okayama, pointed out the delicate question of ownership outside the foreign concessions. He debated whether missionary residences and buildings should be turned completely over to Japanese or should be kept in spite of the criticism.

The property question was on the agenda at the Kobe annual meeting of the Japan mission held in July, 1893. The existence of a rising tide of nationalism was acknowledged, with an explanation to the effect that it existed "partly because of the action of these (government)"

---


26 This board had its station and school in Kumamoto where Hearn was living then.

27 "The Questions Before the Japan Mission," The Missionary Herald, LXXXIX (September, 1893), 361.
officials and partly because of the morbid nationalism which fears that foreigners are trying to buy up and appropriate the whole country."²⁸

Another problem arose in connection with the issue. A British professor teaching at Tōkyō Imperial University, raised the moral question of missionary passports.²⁹ Under existing treaty restriction, foreigners who wished to travel in the interior needed such documents, technically issued only when the trip was for scientific research or for the improvement of health. Criticism focused upon the use of such permits to carry on evangelization. The true purpose of the regulation was to prevent foreign commercial interests from penetrating into interior Japan. Nevertheless, missionaries were guilty of illegal entry, under a strict interpretation of the well-known law. Defending Christian workers against the professor's charge, The Methodist Review asserted that they were not responsible since passports were issued by government officials who


²⁹"Missionary Use of Passports in Japan," The Methodist Review, LXXIV (May, 1894), 482.
raised no questions as to the matter. After all, the writer of the Review stated, it was the authorities, not the people, who interpreted the law.\textsuperscript{30}

Despite such logic, missionaries were very much on the defensive. Their concern on the subject was not so much related to governmental action as to Nipponese public opinion, respecting which they were more sensitive. They were becoming more careful in their relations with Japanese people.

Missionaries were conscious of many indications of retreat during this period. The number of theological students, if not that of church members, declined. Some of the mission schools founded in the 80's were closed because of poor attendance, while new public schools were increasing.

The fate of Tōkwa School, a private institution, was typical. Founded in Sendai in Northern Honshū by Joseph H. Neesima in 1886, in close cooperation with local officials and businessmen, it was nonetheless formally

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.
closed in March, 1892, because of the provincial assembly's
decision to establish a school in the same area. John
DeForest, then in Sendai, was forced to recognize a change
of atmosphere in that city because of rising criticism
against Christian education.31 The closing ceremony was a
signal of the passing period; a venture amalgamating public
and Christian interest, which had been Neesima's ideal, had
failed.

Another American Board school in Kumamoto, Kyūshū,
was forced to abandon its religious education in order to
adjust itself to local interests. Had Neesima lived
longer, the situation might have been different. As it
was, the spread of nationalism reversed the atmosphere
favoring Western religion; fewer mission schools were
opened and an increasing number of existing ones were
closing.

Boys' schools, especially, were seriously affected.
Governmental interest in male education grew, and authori-
ties set a moral standard based upon the Imperial Rescript

31 "Japan Mission - Closing of the Tōkwa School at
Sendai," The Missionary Herald, LXXVIII (June, 1892), 248.
on Education. Christian ideals now stood on the defensive.

Even though girls' schools were affected less seriously by nationalism, definite adjustment had to be made. A Northern Baptist institution, the Mary L. Colby School in Yokohama, adopted a Japanese title -- Sôshin -- in 1893; and an Anglo-Japanese assistant missionary, Miss Amy Cones, deemed it expedient to call herself Chiyo Yamada, taking her mother's family name. She now likewise began to wear the *kimono* in her daily life,\(^{32}\) -- merely one of countless indications that the spirit of the times had changed.

In this situation, missionary efforts turned to the neglected fields of philanthropy. Humanitarian endeavors had, it is true, been part of their programs from the outset. James C. Hepburn and Duane B. Simmons of the Northern Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed groups respectively, and John C. Berry of the American Board, were notable for their medical work, and Berry had worked strenuously for prison reform. Now, in the new reactionary period, with diminish-

ing hope of early Christianization in Japan, mission boards were forced to pay more attention to humanitarian activities. Thus, orphanages and kindergartens were opened with the result that many mission workers were now free to go beyond their traditional preaching to a greater emphasis upon Christian service.

Well known among charitable projects was the American Board's Okayama Orphan Asylum, founded by Jūji Ishii in 1886, two years after his baptism. Ishii located his orphanage in Okayama, in western Honshu, where a board station was situated. At his death in 1914, Ishii had cared for 2,089 boys and girls at this institution. Christian workers in the city, notably James H. Pettee, supported the venture with appeals to American churches for aid. This particular enterprise became an outstanding fund-raising project among Congregational churches back home. Figures below record the actual contributions made for the Ishii program.
The asylum stood second only to the Dōshisha as an object of popular financial support in American Board circles. It also drew much attention from young people's organizations such as Sabbath schools. Reviewing the monthly lists of contributions for special objects, one notes that the reports on the orphanage printed in The Missionary Herald were promptly followed by increased donations in its behalf.

TABLE 17
ADDITIONAL DONATIONS FOR SPECIAL OBJECTS
(THE AMERICAN BOARD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>For Japan (%)</th>
<th>For Doshisha (%)</th>
<th>For Orphanage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>$37,527.51</td>
<td>$6,425.50 (15.1)</td>
<td>$201.55 (3.1)</td>
<td>$305.99 (4.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>63,871.14</td>
<td>13,460.60 (20.3)</td>
<td>5,867.81 (51.0)</td>
<td>423.72 (3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>75,823.39</td>
<td>21,501.82 (28.6)</td>
<td>5,304.78 (24.7)</td>
<td>560.73 (2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>62,401.97</td>
<td>4,762.36 (8.1)</td>
<td>1,466.57 (30.8)</td>
<td>369.50 (7.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>53,145.59</td>
<td>2,021.01 (3.8)</td>
<td>794.85 (34.4)</td>
<td>1,289.96 (63.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>47,150.62</td>
<td>1,136.89 (2.1)</td>
<td>117.06 (10.3)</td>
<td>294.12 (25.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the orphanage was deemed a worthy project for all young Americans to support, kindergarten undertakings appealed particularly to women. The American Board was again the leading body for this activity. In 1889, Miss Anny Howe, especially trained for child care in Chicago, opened a model kindergarten in Kobe, the first institution of its kind in Japan. It was supported by the Woman's Board of the Congregational Church, which also aided Miss Howe in establishing a teachers' training school, destined to be Shoei Junior College, in the same city. Through these enterprises, the American church public was now displaying a keen interest in philanthropic undertakings abroad.

Meantime, the growing nationalistic spirit was apparent among native Christians as well as the general Japanese public. William E. Griffis, now pastor of the Shawnut Congregational Church in Boston, whose interest in developing Nippon had not lessened even fifteen years after his return home, commented on the status of patriotic Japanese Christians. On the first day of the National Diet in 1890, he was especially pleased to learn that many
believers of the Western religion had held special prayer meetings for the newly established assembly. 33

An editorial drew upon a letter from a Japanese minister to an American Christian worker in the field. To the writer, it was evident that the time had come for Nipponese to cultivate the spirit of brotherhood, which claims no essential differences between Europeans, Americans and Asiatics. The Japanese churchman demanded also that missionaries should recognize native believers in their "patriotic and national life as a people with a peculiar mission." 34 This could be considered a declaration of independence by native Christians in Japan. They wished no longer to be served by foreign workers, but rather wanted to cooperate with them. Furthermore, the term used, "a people with a peculiar mission," indicates the powerful nationalistic spirit of the Sunrise Empire.

The new tendency, now conspicuous among Japanese believers, is illustrated by the case of the Reverend


34 "Editorial Paragraphs," The Missionary Herald, LXXXVIII (June, 1892), 228.
Naomi Tamura. A graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and pastor of Tōkyo's Sukiyabashi Church, Tamura was greatly interested in social work among the poor. In order to raise funds for his project, he returned to the United States, travelling and giving lectures which were published in a slender English volume titled The Japanese Bride. This small book provided the American church public with authentic information on the real status of women in Nippon. The work was, however, considered disgraceful by nationalistic Japanese, and Tamura was bitterly criticized on all sides. In 1894 he was actually excommunicated by the Nippon Kirisuto Kyōkai (Church of Christ in Japan). The Methodist Review's comment on the incident was typical of the time, observing that the main cause for concern was not Tamura himself, but rather the Church of Christ in Japan, which demonstrated a "monstrous sample of incompetency for self-control and self-development," while receiving foreign money for its operation.35

It was true that Japanese churches feared to be

35See "Missionary Review - Japan's First 'Heretic'," LXXV (March, 1895), 315-16
viewed by the public as agencies of an alien faith. The situation was most complex. Tamura became a victim of fanatically patriotic Nipponese Christian leaders. Iichiro Tokutomi, a former student of Neesima and editor of a secular journal, Kokumin no Tomo (The Friend of the People), wrote, "Why cannot the Christian church show its spirit of toleration without following the narrow nationalistic spirit of today?"36

Referring to the rising exaggerated nationalism, the Reverend John L. Atkinson of Kōbe sent a report mentioning clan loyalty of the past and explaining that the clanism of the Tokugawa period had been transformed into country-wide loyalty to the Emperor.37

It is thus apparent that the Nipponese spirit was stronger among the people than in the government. The Missionary Herald described the action of the Japanese


House of Representatives which had recently introduced a bill making Nipponese holding land and buildings in trust for aliens subject to fine and imprisonment. The writer saw full determination on the part of many Japanese to keep foreigners from residing outside of treaty ports. Only the dissolution of the Parliament on December 30 averted a serious crisis. Passage of the bill would have dealt a fatal blow to mission activities.

American Christian workers in Nippon, quite naturally, became more understanding. One individual even suggested dropping the use of the word "heathen," because Japanese might consider the term offensive and rude and even suggestive of inferiority. Missionaries and church members in the United States were at length grasping the modern concept of world brotherhood through their own experiences.

On the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, many articles referred to the puzzled mission workers. One comment


called Nippon the "Great Britain or Younger America" of the Pacific seas. Another frankly admitted the difficulty in understanding and measuring the forces of Japanese nationalistic sentiment.

The change was also apparent among Christians. Influenced by the rapid advance and washed by the tidal wave of nationalism, they claimed independence of their churches from the mission boards. Though their attitudes naturally weakened support from abroad, the Nipponese believers had no alternative, lest Christianity be wiped out from their country completely. They, of course, did not want to be considered unpatriotic by their fellow countrymen, but, more than that, they took pride in being loyal Japanese and considered themselves the selected leaders for national progress.

Confronting this situation, The Methodist Review, in contrast to its strong stand in the Tamura case half a year before, asked the American church public for patience.


41"The Outlook in Japan," The Missionary Herald, XC (April, 1894), 146.
during the transition, and emphasized the need of mutual respect and thoughtful consideration.\footnote{42}

Nippon had indeed inaugurated another transformation. The cry for treaty revision was utilized as a tool of nationalism. The Meiji government, which had once been compelled to respond to demands of the People's Rights Movement in the 80's, now had to acknowledge popular patriotic sentiment. Promulgation of the Imperial Constitution and creation of the National Diet had afforded a solution in the first case. Meiji authorities were now forced to meet the new crisis. It was strife -- conflict with China, the traditional power in the Far East.

The Sino-Japanese War

Before the outbreak of the storm, missionaries had been sending home contrasting reports from Japan and China. Accounts of murder cases occurring in both countries will neatly illustrate.

\footnote{42}See "Missionary Review - The Issue in Japan," in Vol. LXXV (September, 1895), 817.
Six years after the Reverend Large's death in Nippon at unknown hands in 1889, a similar act snuffed out the lives of two missionaries, Messrs. Wikholm and Johannsen, stationed at the small town of Sungpu, fifty miles inland from Hankow in northern China. While Large had been slain by a burglar at night in his own home, the two Scandinavians were murdered by a mob in broad daylight after having been dragged from their house. The rabble battered them to death, stripped their bodies, and left them under the hot sun. A notice had actually been circulated that "foreign devils" would be slain during the local religious festival. The magistrate had promised that he would keep peace and be responsible for the missionaries' safety.43

In comparing the two occurrences, we see that the Japanese case was a purely criminal one not directly associated with anti-foreign feeling. The Chinese affair, conversely, clearly indicated mob violence beyond the authorities' control. Such an outrage had never occurred in

Official action taken after the two cases reveals further striking contrast. The Japanese police searched diligently for the killer, even though they were not successful. In China, according to the Herald, although a promise had been made as to the punishment of the offenders, the removal of the resident magistrate and the payment of a large sum of money, in reality, the magistrate was promoted and two miserable coolies who seemed to have little connection with the murder case, were beheaded. Worst of all, friends of the missionaries were persecuted. The American church public thus received dissimilar pictures of the two countries. Japan was patently a civilized nation with a deep sense of justice while China was not.

The international conflict in 1894 arose directly out of the Korean question. While Japan had viewed the Hermit Nation as a sovereign state, China had regarded it as being tributary to the Middle Kingdom. The actual fighting started in Korea. Mrs. M. F. Scranton, wife of a

44Ibid.
Northern Methodist missionary stationed in Seoul, reported on August 1, 1894:

About five o'clock Monday morning, July 23, I was awakened by heavy raps against my window . . . . This war in all probability will not come to a speedy end. Japan is determined. China is slow, but with England at her back will not easily give up.45

She compared the armies of the two nations. Chinese soldiers were living off the Koreans, while Japanese men were supplied with food from home or purchased it from natives.46

In September, 1894, the first news of the war to reach the American church public described an "exceedingly warlike" spirit in Japan, which would keep Korea as a "buffer" against the encroachments of China and Russia.47 From then on, almost every publication carried articles on the conflict. Reports sent from American Board representatives in Nippon frequently mentioned the struggle and the

---

45"From the Seat of War," Heathen Woman's Friend, XXVI (October, 1894), 102.

46Ibid.

excitement of the populace. Curiously enough, in China information on the matter was obtained only from the North China Mission, one of four districts served by the same board. Canton in the south and Foochow in the central part reported nothing. No news came even from Shansi, in the interior of northern China.

Speaking generally, progress of the fighting was reported through the Japan missions. Agents in northern China referred to the situation only as it affected their work.

At the beginning stage, the Reverend Jerome D. Davis of Kyoto wrote with exaggeration that Japan was facing the twentieth century, while China still lived in the age before Christ. He added that many Nipponese had offered a loan of 80,000 yen (approximately $40,000) to their government in order to support the war; but he was rather doubtful of China's ability to carry on the struggle.48 News from the Middle Kingdom consistently repeated that the government guaranteed the missionaries

protection, insisting that, despite untoward events, they were safe. Meanwhile, agents in Japan were observing the increased military endeavors.

The patriotic spirit in the two nations presents an important comparison. A Japanese student even in a Christian school wrote that if Western belief required less regard for the Emperor, the new religion should be rejected. 49 From China came a report that nearly one half of the first draft of soldiers had deserted in one of the provinces. 50 Obviously, the war was well supported in Nippon, but not in China, where the patriotic spirit never had the same appeal.

Comments on soldiers of both countries provided disparate images. Doctor D. C. Greene of the American Board in Tōkyō reported that an artillery regiment was quartered in barracks within a block of his house and that a depot for the transportation of horses lay nearby. He was surprised one morning to find both barracks and stalls

49 "Editorial Paragraphs," ibid., XCI (February, 1895), 45.

50 Ibid. (April, 1895), p. 131.
empty -- all had been sent off noiselessly during the night.\footnote{51} This gives evidence of the discipline maintained in the Japanese army.

Strangely, all the mission letters of the day spoke well of Nipponese soldiers, while no single favorable account on the Chinese combatants was sent to the American church circle. A report told how, in broad daylight, a Scotch Presbyterian, the Reverend James Wylie stationed in Manchuria, was beaten and cut severely by fighting men on the main street of Liaoyang.\footnote{52} A similar incident, although less serious, occurred a hundred miles southwest of Peking, in Pao-ting-fu,\footnote{53} where three couples and two lady missionaries from the American Board resided. Soldiers with a mob of town people invaded their houses, stole possessions, and beat the Chinese servants.\footnote{54}

\footnote{51}{"Editorial Paragraphs," \textit{ibid.}, XC (December, 1894), 505.}

\footnote{52}{"Notes from the Wide Field," \textit{ibid.} (November, 1894), p. 492.}

\footnote{53}{This town was to be a place of martyrdom six years later, at the time of the Boxer Rebellion.}

\footnote{54}{"North China Mission - A Mob at Pao-ting-fu," \textit{The Missionary Herald}, XCI (April, 1895), 156.}
The Reverend Charles A. Stanley presented Wylie's case in Manchuria as a typical one. He wrote that these soldiers were simply their "danger." Despite the proclamation of protection issued by Tsung-li Ya-men (the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs), neither the government nor military officers could control these men outside of camp. Missionaries were safe, he said, only when keeping themselves away from the men in uniform.  

The Sino-Japanese War definitely gave Protestant agents a favorable view of Nippon, which, in turn, created a good image of the country in the United States, not only because of her efficient military organization and sweeping victories, but also because of her adoption of Western technology in warfare. Creation of the Red Cross Society under the nominal headship of the Empress was hailed by American Christian workers. The Reverend H. Blodget of Northern Methodist in China, who stopped over in the victorious empire on his way home, was impressed with "the

55"North China Mission - the War, a Flood," ibid., XC (November, 1894), 484.
excellent self-control manifested by the Japanese in their conduct of the war and in their treatment of prisoners.\(^5^6\)

While Christian workers in China avoided the fighting men, those in the Sunrise Kingdom worked actively to promote Christian faith among them. The Reverend H. Loomis, an American Bible Society field secretary, personally distributed some 4,000 Testaments among Japanese soldiers departing for the battlefield from Hiroshima. John H. Fettee of Okayama reported that most of them had received the Bible "gratefully" and concluded, "This is the first permission of the kind obtained by Japanese Christians and workers and marks an epoch in the progress of Christianity here."\(^5^7\)

Many Japanese believers of the Western religion, such as Mrs. Neesima, volunteered as nurses to work in


military hospitals, and five native ministers had left for the front as army chaplains by February, 1895. The Missionary Herald reported about American agents' wishes to go to the field.  

Twenty years before, during the Satsuma Rebellion, the missionaries had been outsiders who had great difficulty in obtaining any information on the revolt. But now they were participants in a service to the war. In contrast, those in China remained outsiders.

At an early stage of conflict, one Christian worker in Japan expressed doubts of the outcome, in view of the Nipponese long march across Manchuria to Peking. Despite such fears, the Sino-Japanese War ended with an overwhelming victory for the Empire of the Rising Sun.

As a result of the War, three fields -- Japan, Korea and China -- appeared to be open for missionary


60 "Editorial Paragraphs," ibid., XC (November, 1894), 450.
activity. The Reverend S. L. Baldwin, recording secretary of the Northern Methodist Mission Board, summarized the situation. He hoped to see access to every corner of Nippon's interior free from the frustrating nationalism which had characterized the pre-war period. Through Japan's influence, the Hermit Kingdom, he predicted, would provide a wide-open field for mission activities. As for China, Baldwin hoped for an awakening to "Christian" civilization there. 61

Foreign agents in Nippon, having worked among her soldiers, considered the victory another milestone in mission progress. At the same time, those in China saw defeat of an important factor certain to push the Chinese toward a modern society. They felt they stood at one of the major crossroads of human history. Korea had suffered much from being the field of battle, and J. H. DeForest agreed with Baldwin. "America and Japan," he wrote, "are joining hands and hearts to regenerate Korea." 62

---

61 (Foreign Mission Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada), op. cit., p. 22.
Certainly, missionaries intended to keep pace with the expansion of the Sunrise Empire.

American missionaries looked at the Sino-Japanese War as a struggle between "children" needing to be taught. Nippon, the newly emerged Oriental power, was certainly a miracle to the world because of her remarkable modernization program and her brilliant conduct in the war. This fascinating country was most attractive to American church circles. Her amazing achievement was interpreted in a typical missionary's way. Just as the world considered the Empire of the Rising Sun as a key for the modernization of East Asia, Christian workers looked at her as a pathfinder for their Far Eastern activities. Nipponese church members thought of themselves as co-workers in Christianizing the entire East. Their view was well expressed in the previously cited letter by a native Christian about the country's "peculiar mission." Their sentiment grew with the successful negotiation of treaty revision, achieved on the eve of the conflict, first with Great Britain and, immediately following, with the United States.

63See Chapter V, p. 237.
Thus, the image of Nippon as a reactionary country, which had been wide-spread among Americans, underwent a dramatic change through the Sino-Japanese War. While re-evaluating their activities during the "retrenchment," missionaries saw in the outcome of the war a bright future for their endeavors. Was the reactionary period really over as the result of the successful military achievement? Was the golden age of the 80's coming back again? Christian workers were to discover the answers in the following decade.
CHAPTER VI

THE AGE OF READJUSTMENT, 1895 - 1905

Japan and America at the
Turn of the Century

Nippon's victory in the Sino-Japanese War marked a great turning-point in Far Eastern history. Her hegemony in East Asia was finally established; her method of trial and error in seeking to become a modern nation was a thing of the past.

In order to gain Western recognition of her new status, Japan needed military power first of all. She realized that, without a strong army and navy, her efforts -- such as the removal of the Kōsatsu, the construction of railroads, the promotion of industrialization, extensive Westernization programs, promulgation of the Imperial Constitution, and establishment of the parliamentary system -- were not sufficient to attract the Occidental nations.
In July, 1894, one month before the outbreak of conflict, the difficult drive for treaty revision finally came to a successful conclusion with Great Britain. A second treaty, with the United States, followed in November.¹ These agreements constituted the Meiji government's greatest diplomatic attainments. Japan's frustrated nationalism had at length found an outlet. Even China, which had long been the dominant power in the Far East, was forced to recognize the importance of Nippon's modernization and gradually, during the decade following 1895, began to view the Island Empire as a model of progress. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), which won Great Power status for Nippon, gave birth to supreme self-confidence. The missionaries were now called upon to readjust themselves to the new and (from the Occidental viewpoint) not altogether pleasant situation.

According to the Shimonoseki Peace Treaty with China in 1895, Nippon was to acquire the Liaotung Peninsula

¹The same agreement was made with Italy in December, 1894; with Russia in June, 1895; and in the following year, with Germany in April; with France in August; and with the Netherlands in September.
in addition to Taiwan, then known as "Formosa" to the West. She was, however, shorn of the spoils of victory by the so-called "Three-Powers Intervention." Imperial Russia, which had hoped to secure a foothold in China by establishing an ice-free port on the southern tip of Manchuria with German and French cooperation, exerted sufficient pressure on Nippon to force her to yield the Liaotung. Despite the bright new flames of nationalism in Japan, the difference between the two countries' military forces gave her no choice.

An Imperial Edict announced abandonment of the Peninsula. A *Missionary Herald* editorialist wrote that the document was a remarkable proclamation, especially in connection with the Emperor's reception of the plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference.\(^2\) A translation of the proclamation was quoted:

> We therefore hope that in common with our loyal subjects we shall always guard against self-contentedness, and that ever in a spirit of modesty and humility we shall strive to perfect our military defences without falling into extremes . . . . It is hereby definitely made

\(^2\)See "Editorial Paragraphs," XCI (June, 1895), 223.
known that no continence will be given by us to such as in their conceit of recent victories, may offer insult to other states and injure our relations with friendly powers.3

The *Herald* concluded by saying, "May the Emperor and his people be enabled to carry out his wise and benevolent purposes!"4

The editorial writer apparently still regarded Nippon as a minor power which could not compete with the Western Christian nations. While rejoicing at Japan's new status, the American church public remained paternalistic toward her affairs.

The American situation was also undergoing rapid changes. After its victory over Spain in 1898, the United States became a world power. With annexation of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii, a "Second Manifest Destiny" movement appeared in America, and the missionary spirit now reached its highest peak. Organizations such as the Student Volunteer and Christian Endeavor movements, the Missionary Concert, and the Young People's Missionary and


Laymen's Missionary movements mushroomed and became established enterprises. Overseas Christian activities were systematized, with organized recruitment of agents, fundraising, and interdenominational and international cooperation. The dynamic slogan, "Evangelization of the World in This Generation," was officially adopted by the Student Volunteer Movement group at their third convention, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in February, 1898. The motto was popularized particularly after publication of a book bearing that title by John R. Mott, able secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Stimulated by "Second Manifest Destiny" sentiment and the high tide of missionary spirit, more Christianizing organizations came to Japan. One characteristic of the period was Lutheran emergence: the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (1896) and the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Finland (1900)

5C. H. Daniels, "Third Convention of the Student Volunteer," The Missionary Herald, XCIV (April, 1898), 139.

6The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in New York was the publisher.
now both undertook to till the promising field. Members of the first denomination were of immigrant stock which had settled in the United States in the middle part of the nineteenth century and had established churches firmly enough to send agents abroad. Finnish denominational workers were sent from Europe but were supported by immigrants in the United States.

Another mission activity was promotion of American-originated beliefs, carried out by these five of the seven groups appearing in Nippon during this period: Seventh Day Adventist (1896), the Church of Jesus Christ's Latter Day Saints or "Mormon" (1901), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1902), and two Holiness churches represented by the Oriental Missionary Society (1901) and the Japan Evangelistic Band (1905). Here again, Japanese missions reflected the growth of their home churches in the United States.

\[7\text{Another Lutheran body, the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South, had begun work there in 1893.}\]
Progress of the World Evangelization Program

During the last decade under consideration here, foreign missionary interest among American churches grew rapidly, accelerated by the successful outcome of the short American-Spanish War in 1898.

The Student Volunteer Movement, inaugurated in 1886, became a core for foreign missions. Through this organization, returned workers in their furlough years had free access to colleges, universities, and seminaries. Responding to their appeals, many young people offered themselves for overseas service, "volunteer pledges" numbering from 300 to 5,345 each year. Many of them were candidates dedicating themselves to mission boards. In 1894, at the second conference of the officers and representatives of foreign mission boards and societies in the United States and Canada, the Reverend Judson Smith, secretary of the American Board, expressed his gratification. He recognized with pleasure the benefits given by the Movement and he hoped for further cooperation with the
traditional organization.\(^8\)

In response to such encouragement, quadrennial conventions were instituted, with students gathering from all parts of the country and Canada to meet with officers and returned Christian workers.\(^9\)

Results of this enterprise were so great that the Conference of the Foreign Mission Board in 1897 passed a resolution:

That this Conference recognizes . . . . the Providential significance of the Student Volunteer Movement in its relation to the cause of foreign missions; the value and importance of the object it has in view and the great wisdom, as well as the spirit of absolute dependence on the Holy Ghost.\(^10\)

The Student Volunteer Movement had participated in the annual conferences from the beginning in 1893. Through close contact with the boards, this unique organization


\(^9\)These conventions are still being held.

sent 2,953 men and women overseas by 1905.\textsuperscript{11} This drive at the turn of the century not only stimulated foreign mission interest at home, but also launched similar programs in Europe. Modelled after operations in the United States and Canada, the first England convention, held in 1896, was attended by many earnest British and Continental students. The significance of this movement lay in its emphasis on interdenominational as well as international projects. Different as their motivations and goals were, their zeal bore a resemblance to that of today's Peace Corps.

The British drive, however, showed a decline before the second meeting in 1900, mainly because the church boards lacked funds to match student enthusiasm. On the American side of the Atlantic, the situation continued promising, headquarters keeping pace with the young people's enthusiasm by raising substantial contributions from church congregations throughout the country. The Mission Boards' Conference assembled annually, exchanging

\textsuperscript{11}Japan stood fourth among the nations receiving volunteers (275). China ranked first (726); India, Burma, and Ceylon (624) second; and Africa (313) third. Nippon was an obviously popular field because of her willingness to accept educational workers.
information and discussing all possible means of increasing donations in order to keep pace with the student "upheaval."

Precisely what were the activities engaging these new overseas groups? As previously noted, the annual gatherings had been initiated in 1893 by the Presbyterian-Reformed group in New York City, which met annually thereafter save in 1900, when an International Ecumenical Conference for Foreign Missions was staged to commemorate the birth of the new century.

By 1905, participating boards had increased from twenty-three to forty-five. They represented all the traditional organizations in the United States and Canada, including the oldest American Board and one Negro body, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. There were, however, some who did not participate, including Unitarians, Mormons, and many such newly-born denominations as the Adventists, Holiness groups, and Pentecostal believers. A clear-cut division divided the old line Protestant groupings, united as never before, and others, largely new, which may be termed "unorthodox."
Among topics for discussion, the most urgent and regular was the need for increasing interest among members of homeland congregations. At the initial gathering in 1893, William Dulles, Jr., of the Northern Presbyterian Board, expressed concern, declaring that support from women was splendid, but that too much was left to them. He feared that a marked decline in mission interest had appeared among both old and young men.\textsuperscript{12}

Large numbers of women's boards had indeed been formed to share financial burdens for soul-saving in other countries. In 1888, at the Sixth Foreign Mission Boards Conference in New York City, special attention was focused on them. Achievements of American church women were reviewed, and many proudly described how they had aided in times of acute financial need. Pushed hard by zealous young volunteers who had dedicated themselves to overseas service, and with women demonstrating what could be accomplished where the will existed, the conference was forced

\textsuperscript{12}International Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada (New York: E. O. Jenkins' Son's, 1893), p. 43.
to turn its attention to methods of systematic fund raising.

Reviewing conference records, we encounter such discussion subjects as *Awakening or Conversion of Pastors* (1897), *How Can Legacy Receipts Be Increased?* (1898), *How to Develop the Missionary Spirit in the Home Church* (1902), and *How to Enlist and Cultivate Large Givers to Foreign Missions* (1905). It is instructive to note the progress made in this regard by one of the leading mission groups.

The American Board, which had depended upon the support of the rather slowly-growing Congregational churches, suffered increasing budget deficiency. After October of 1893, "contributions for debt," listed under monthly donations, drew special attention. Three years later, a heavy shortage of more than $98,000 had been cleared, and the Board was ready to launch a new project. A "missionary concert," aimed at furthering foreign interest among members was proposed. This recalled the "concerts of prayers" in practice in New England during the body's formative years. A *Missionary Herald* editorial in 1896 suggested giving all possible aid during the coming
year to pastors and churches desirous of inaugurating a "concert" and possibly establishing one as a permanent institution. ¹³

The Reverend Howard S. Bliss of Upper Montclair, New Jersey, wrote that "there was never a better time for adopting the missionary concert than the present." He based his appeal on the fact that mission literature existed in abundance and that the magic lantern and stereopticon viewers were then at the height of their popularity. ¹⁴

In addition, the Boston and New York Cooperating Committee published a twenty-four-page manual outlining one of the first systematic educational programs involving training for foreign missionary work.

The Congregational women's overseas organization, in addition to sharing financial responsibility with the American Board, started an educational program for young people. A report by Miss Kate G. Lamson, the Junior Work Secretary, described the curriculum. There was a "Cradle


¹⁴Ibid., p. 18.
Roll" class for children under five, while a "Missionary Circle" and a "Junior Auxiliary Society" had been organized for those older. Thus young people in each individual congregation were conditioned to making regular contributions to foreign missions. Miss Lamson happily wrote in 1898 that three of the Board circles had donated substantial sums: the Junior Auxiliary, $8,232.16; the Missionary Circle, $4,052.03; and the Cradle Roll $908.38.15

She added that two other societies under the same auspices, the Woman's Board of Missions (Interior) and the same organization in the Pacific region, had given $19,372.55 in cooperation with the Christian Endeavor Societies, Bands of King's Daughters, Church Guilds, and Sunday Schools.

Spurred on by the Student Volunteer Movement with its challenging slogan, "Evangelization of the World in This Generation," many denominations started their own "Forward Movement." The American Board itself was one of

15See "The Junior Work of the Woman's Board of Missions," The Missionary Herald, XCV (December, 1899), 535.
them. At a meeting held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1898, plans for a campaign were made. An editorial reported the following year that the missionaries of this organization had been placed in intimate contact with specific church and Sunday school bodies, with greatly enlarged offerings as a result.\(^{16}\)

The writer told about a church in Bangor, Maine, which had given entire support to a missionary in Japan, and of another church in the same city which was planning to follow suit. Many others adopted this way of supporting Christian workers in foreign lands. Since the mid 90's a former main source of income, the legacy contribution, had shown a sharp decrease, and the new methods admirably met the growing need for financial assistance.

Luther D. Wishard, former secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and one of the Student Volunteer Movement founders, was appointed special representative for the project. The veteran organizer began his work by visiting churches in Connecticut and New York in February and March of 1899, and prepared to go to Illinois. During this time, he wrote

\(^{16}\)See *ibid.* (January, 1899), p. 2.
about the aim of the Forward Movement, declaring that the main purpose was to give people the "necessary cause to act." ¹⁷

His goal, plainly, was to bring to the American church scene the enthusiasm of the Student Volunteer Movement. At the outset, from 1810 on, the well organized American Board had founded local missionary auxiliaries in New England, its area of greatest strength. Now, in the name of the Forward Movement, its efforts went to Congregational Churches throughout the country.

In 1900, Wishard proposed that missionary student delegations visit various churches during their summer vacations,¹⁸ as Methodist and Presbyterian groups had already been doing. Teams of two would stay with members of a given congregation for five or six days, addressing adult members and helping organize study classes, young people's societies, small libraries, and regular missionary meetings. He explained that some hundred student

---

¹⁷See ibid. (May, 1899), p. 188.

¹⁸See "Student Missionary Deputations," ibid., XCVI (May, 1900), 188.
volunteers from seminaries and colleges in Bangor, Andover, Yale, Hartford, Oberlin, Chicago, and Amherst were ready to participate.

On March 25 and 26, 1901, the Congregational Church's Forward Movement held a council at Plymouth, Massachusetts, attended by thirty-four representatives from that state and adjacent Rhode Island. Most were members of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association. The presence of a number of businessmen was especially encouraging, Wishard happily reported, because their cooperation promised success to the enterprise.¹⁹

The first general assembly of the Forward Movement was held between July 6 and 16, 1901, at Silver Bay, Lake George, New York. The schedule of Bible and foreign mission study attracted 207 delegates from over one hundred churches in eighteen states and Canada. Many were businessmen and teachers. Similar summer gatherings followed over the years.

A special conference held in 1902 led to formation

¹⁹See "Forward Movement Council at Plymouth," ibid., XCVII (May, 1901), 191.
of the Young People's Missionary Movement of Interdenominational Protestant Evangelical Sunday Schools. A year later, representatives from sixteen denominations were invited to attend meetings of this group, held at Silver Bay and on Lookout Mountain in Tennessee. The Silver Bay Conference thus emerged as an interdenominational, rather than a strictly Congregational, project. The number of participants grew, from an initial 134, to 684 in 1904.

The Christian Endeavor Society, another organization for the young, held its first biannual international gathering in Denver in July, 1903. Delegates came from all over the world. Although this group had not originated with the Student Volunteers, its members now adopted the same "Missionary Message of Christian Endeavor" and joined forces with the Young People's Missionary Movement.

By 1905, the energetic spirit was ready to expand further. Among the inspiring speakers at the Twelfth Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in New York City in

---

20This organization (The Society of Christian Endeavor) was founded at Williston Church in Portland, Maine, in 1881, to train local church members to become devoted Christians.
1905 was the Reverend Harold Wade Hicks, an American Board assistant secretary, who remarked on the little progress made with young Christian business and professional men. He also pointed out the need for greater activity in young people's societies and Sunday schools.21 His challenge led to formation of the Laymen's Missionary Movement in 1906, a positive answer indeed to the problem posed by William Dulles, Jr., thirteen years before.22

One response to the demand for missionary education was the publication of many books on the subject. Among these were the Missionary Campaign Library titles consisting of one series of sixteen volumes and another of twelve. Among them was Verbeck of Japan, by William Griffis. The entire series was completed by 1904, each set selling for $10.00.

The Student Volunteer Movement was also interested in publication and, in 1899, requested Otis Cary of the


22See Chapter VI, p. 265.
American Board, stationed in Okayama, to write *Japan and Its Regeneration*. The Young People's Missionary Movement similarly sponsored a series of books and, in 1904, J. H. DeForest completed *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, designed for its Foreign Missionary Study Course.

*Dux Christus: An Outline Study of Japan*, by Griffis, prepared as a part of the United Study Series for women, appeared in 1904.

An outstanding publisher of books of this type was the Fleming H. Revell Company, founded in Chicago in 1870 by Revell, Dwight Moody's brother-in-law. The house brought out such widely read books as *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, by John R. Mott (1897); *Missionary Readings for Missionary Progress*, compiled by Belle M. Brain (1902); and *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, by James S. Dennis (1902).

Other well-known works were *Evolution of the Japanese People, Social and Psychic*, by Sidney L. Gulick (1903); and *All About Japan, Stories of Sunrise Land Told for Little Folks*, by Belle M. Brain (1905). All of these books were closely related to the education program for
promoting church members' interest in missions.

This was the era, then, when the foreign mission enterprise became an integral part of the program of most American churches, thanks to such leaders as John R. Mott of the Student Volunteer Movement, Luther Wishard of the Young People's Missionary Movement, Francis E. Clark (President of the United Society of the Christian Endeavor), and publisher Fleming H. Revell.

The Road to "Mixed Residence"

In 1895, at the close of the Sino-Japanese War, The Methodist Review pointed out three current problems facing missionaries in Japan. First, the Emperor's Rescript had been used as evidence that Shintoism was still the national religion. The second concerned young people who had become disciples of Western philosophers such as Huxley, Spencer, and Schopenhauer, and who were consequently skeptical of all religions. Lastly, there were liberal wings in certain Christian churches, such as the Unitarian, with teachings
fundamentally antagonistic to Gospel truth.\textsuperscript{23}

Confronted by the many complications which had arisen from acute Japanese nationalism, American Board agents in Nippon requested in 1895 that a deputation visit their field. The Prudential Committee of this traditional organization agreed to send an investigating group. The chosen four-man team, headed by the Reverend James L. Barton, secretary in charge of the Japan mission, left San Francisco on September 12, 1895, five months after the Sino-Japanese settlement had been signed.

The group travelled extensively, from Sendai in the north to Kumamoto in the south. During their two months' stay, they conferred with such Japanese authorities as Marquis Saionji, then the Minister of Education, and missionaries like G. F. Verbeck, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Bishop Nicholai, of the Greek Orthodox Rite.

Of most serious concern to the team was the question of missionary property.\textsuperscript{24} The matter had also been an

\textsuperscript{23}See "The Mixed Elements in Japan," LXXVII (November), 971.

\textsuperscript{24}See Chapter V, p. 228.
important issue with the Meiji government, since foreigners could not legally own land and buildings outside of the open ports (Yokohama, Kōbe, Nagasaki, Niigata, Hakodate, Ōsaka, and Tōkyō). While, in reality, Imperial authorities unofficially recognized some Japanese nominal owners, the problem was brought to public attention during the height of nationalistic agitation, and the missionaries were bitterly criticized by most Japanese as well as by foreigners like Hearn.

Except in Kyōto and Kumamoto, the group reached satisfactory settlements with Nipponese Christians on the property issue. The terms were simple and practical. The Board would pay nominal rents for thirty years, meanwhile transferring property titles to Japanese nationals in the several congregations.

The Kyōto situation was complicated. Americans there held nine houses as missionary residences attached to Doshisha University. Trustees of the institution could not be brought to an agreement. The issue involved not only simple ownership, but matters of principle as well. The most liberal among Christian colleges in Nippon, Dōshisha
had, by this time, been influenced by the so-called "new theology," which traditional missionary circles could not accept.

Referring to a clause of the Dōshisha Constitution which read, "Christianity is the foundation of the moral education promoted by this company (Dōshisha)," team members asked the trustees if the institution stood upon "the personality of God, the divinity of Christ and the future life." The answer was a "No." Dōshisha officials stated that theological opinion in the country was in a formative state, and that their beliefs had not yet crystallized. When they indicated that Dōshisha should not be a mere one-denomination university, the visiting delegates were shocked. The current nationalistic spirit was expressed also in insistence upon Dōshisha's full ownership of the house. The trustees stated that the institution had been Japanese from the outset, and that, as citizens of Nippon,

25 It was a new scientific theology called "higher criticism of the Bible," originated in Germany in the nineteenth century.

they must needs obey the Empire's laws. Understandably, negotiations came to a deadlock on November 30, and the deputation sent home a recommendation that "the sum given by the Board to the University be reduced annually, so as to cease at the end of the year 1898."27

Kumamoto's case was even worse. Two missionary residences were attached to Ei Gakkō, an English school which had opened in 1887. As we have seen,28 officials declared in September, 1893, that the institution no longer recognized Christian principles. Furthermore, the missionaries were ordered to leave their houses, built with money sent from the United States.29 When the team offered a thirty-year rent proposal, they were not even given the courtesy of a reply.

Discouraged by these developments, the four members recognized the need for a change in their approach to the new, highly nationalistic empire. Affording native

27Ibid., p. 17.


29This is just what Hearn related in his letter previously mentioned. See Chapter V, p. 229.
Christians the best possible training to become religious teachers and preachers was obviously an urgent necessity, because evangelical work could be carried on far more effectively at Japanese hands. The delegation realized too that professors and pastors from abroad should be properly oriented before entering upon their duties in Japan. They therefore recommended that men of established ability be sent to Nippon to speak on various subjects bearing upon evangelism. They advised a reduction of Board expenditures in the Empire in order to meet and encourage "the privilege and duty of self-support so soon as circumstances will permit."30

The overall picture of the Japan mission surely did not appear bright to the deputation. However, they were pleased to report the situation at girls' schools supervised by the Woman's Board. They were satisfied with progress at the Kōbe Bible Training School and encouraged "vigorous support" for such work.31

The carefully chosen team did indeed understand the

30 American Board, op. cit., p. 22.
31 Ibid., p. 23.
trends of the day and gained sound impressions of the "real" Japan of the age, with the rising nationalism expressed particularly in the mission property question and the self-support movement of churches. They saw evidence of increasing interest in boys' education and the resulting pressure put upon mission schools such as Dōshisha. Girls' institutions were, by comparison, within missionary reach, and gave the four men cause to praise the Woman's Board program.

The emergence of independent churches and the success in female education were also of interest outside the American Board. In 1898, at the Foreign Missions Conference, a report of the Committee on Self-support in Mission Churches stated that Nippon was the lone country where a large number of churches had become independent before 1893.32

In 1899, the Woman's Union Missionary Society, which was operating Kyōritsu Girls' School in Yokohama,

---

reported increasing admission applications, adding that the Vice-Minister of Education had recently commented on the fact that "women's education was mainly in the missionary hands."33

Generally speaking, the reactionary period came to a halt with the close of the Sino-Japanese War, and Christian workers in the field could again look forward to a bright future. The situation was described in a letter from the Reverend Jerome Davis of the American Board, written upon completion of his 1,500-mile tour from Kyōto to Sendai, Aizu, and Niigata, during which he had spent thirty-two days in the interior. He gave assurance that Nippon was more ready for the Gospel than ever and that the "era of doubt and rationalistic discussion" had passed.34

As if in support of this letter, the American Board's Committee on Missions in Japan announced at its annual meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, that there was no


34 See "Japan Mission," The Missionary Herald, XCIII (January, 1897), 18.
need for missionaries to withdraw from Nippon. Indeed, declared the reporter, the opposition was actually a blessing, since it demonstrated evidence of a highly desirable spirit of inquiry.35

Such opinions were quite in contrast to the Board's optimistic reports of the 80's, when letters from the field had been more critical. Workers then called loudly for reinforcements and more supplies. By the late 90's, they were emphasizing changes under way in Nippon and were attempting to correct the new unfavorable picture of the country which had become common in the United States.

In 1896, John R. Mott came to Japan on his worldwide tour, as representative of the Student Volunteer Movement and the World Student Christian Federation. He arrived at Nagasaki from China in December, 1896, for an extensive visit in the country. Many students, both Christians and non-Christians, from mission schools and from government institutions, attended his public lectures. Reverend J. H. Pettee of the American Board said of a

35"Report of Committees at the Annual Meeting," ibid., XCIII (November, 1897), 491.
conference held in Okayama that "not for years, if ever before, has that city witnessed such a meeting as was held on December 17."\textsuperscript{36}

The Reverend M. L. Gordon of the same board, writing from Kumamoto, was among those convinced that Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Mott had made an inspiring impression on young people.\textsuperscript{37} He was greeted enthusiastically wherever assemblies were held -- in Nagoya, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Okayama, Kōbe, Osaka, Kyōto, and Tōkyō. In the capital city, 1,200 from the Imperial University heard his evangelical public speeches.

Following his tour, he made a thorough report on the state of world missions. Regarding Nippon, he stated:

\begin{quote}
\texttt{(A) rationalistic wave, which had done so much to chill the life and enthusiasm of the Japanese church during the last years, is receding. The ultra-nationalistic feeling which has handicapped aggressive missionary effort is giving way. . . . The war itself has demonstrated, as nothing else could have done, that Christians are not unpatriotic.}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36}See "Editorial Paragraphs," \textit{ibid.}, XCIIf (March, 1897), 92.

The attitude of government officials is, therefore, becoming increasingly favorable to Christianity.\textsuperscript{38}

He added, as his personal opinion, that the Empire would soon be ready for another great spiritual movement.\textsuperscript{39} This conclusion by a famed Christian leader supported the views of missionaries actually in the field.

Many other Americans visited the country at this time and provided interesting information on her condition. The Reverend William M. Bell, a Board officer of the United Brethren Church in Christ, was among them. After a visit in 1897, he declared that Nippon was the stepping stone to Asia and that, if she could be Christianized, problems attending Korea and China would be resolved.\textsuperscript{40}

Herbert B. Johnson of Kingston, Pennsylvania, voiced a similar opinion. He called the Empire "the England of the East" and assured his readers that Nippon's

\textsuperscript{38}"Mr. J. R. Mott upon Mission Work in Japan," \textit{ibid.} (June, 1897), p. 226.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{40}See \textit{The Report of the Sixth Conference of the Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada}, p. 127.
"influence would not be confined to her own islands." 

Lucien C. Warner of New York City, wealthy capitalist and chairman of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A., was impressed by what he called Japan's "very interesting experiment." Something new in world history, he stated, was her adoption of Western civilization without Christianity, its dominant faith.

As has become evident, Japan had two sides. She was considered the Oriental Britain and would inevitably serve as a model for her less developed neighbors. Her acceptance of Occidental civilization minus its foremost religion moved Christian churches in America to increase their missionary undertakings there, not only for the sake of the Sunrise Empire itself, but to simplify penetration of the whole Far East. Results were most favorable. The educationally-minded Meiji government at the same time was encouraging an extensive children's school program.

---

41 See "Our Attitude toward Japan," The Methodist Review, LXXIX (November, 1897), 797.

Passage of a series of new laws added significance to the period.

These developments indicated a nationalization of education in keeping with the contemporary theme, "Strength and Wealth for the Nation." All schools, from primary through colleges and universities, based their teaching on the 1890 Imperial Rescript for Education and its underlying moral principle of Confucianism: loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety. The Rescript completely dominated national education. It was read regularly and given homage at school convocations. Even Christian institutions adopted this general practice lest followers of the Cross be deemed unpatriotic.

Protestant workers in Nippon differed in their opinions of the government's emphasis upon education. One view was that the rising interest in learning would stimulate the growth of mission schools; another, that the strong current of nationalism would pose new and grave difficulties.

Despite Davis's and Mott's hopes for Japan's future expressed at the beginning of the period, the mission
enterprise still met opposition surviving from the previous reactionary era. Dōshisha, a leading educational center, again indicated the trend. That institution had developed strong nationalistic and rationalistic tendencies and, in 1896, withdrew from American Board connections. This move followed the break-down of negotiations with the Prudential Committee deputation. Influenced by liberal theology, which missionaries had always condemned as rationalism, the trustees, on their own initiative, appointed a new president, Tokio Yokoi. The American Board's annual survey a year later indicated uncertainty as to the place the new Dōshisha would occupy in the "onward movement" of the Empire.\(^{43}\) The Missionary Herald, in January, 1898, expressed its concern over resignations of most of the evangelical trustees and their replacement by so-called "extreme radicals."\(^{44}\)

Two issues were involved. One was a question of liberal theology, which had originated in Germany; the

\(^{43}\)See The Missionary Herald, XCIII (November, 1897), 435.

\(^{44}\)See "Editorial Paragraphs," XCIV, 6.
other was the nationalization of Christianity. For the most part, American Board missionaries could accept the latter, but they were unanimous in opposing the former.

President Yokoi and new "radicals" had another problem to solve: exemption of their students from military service, a privilege withheld from private schools not legally recognized by the government. Religious training would have to be dropped before official sanction could be secured. When Dōshisha High School decided to remove the offending instruction from the curriculum, missionary circles which had aided the institution for so long found the action completely unacceptable. The Herald bitterly criticized the move, predicting that the reconstructed administration would lose not only the sympathy of the Christian world outside of Nippon, but the support of her own people as well. This indeed proved to be the case. Native members of the faith and the foreign Christian public in general disapproved of the drastic change. Many in the United States favored halting all operations in Japan

45Ibid., XCIV (May, 1898), 168.
because so many of her nationals had proven themselves untrustworthy. 46

Finally, in 1899, the Board sent Nicholas W. McIvor, a former American Consul-General in Yokohama, to Japan. He promptly took firm measures for Dōshisha, which were strongly supported by the Kumiai Church and American missionaries. All but three of the trustees resigned immediately, and all faculty members left their posts in March at the end of the 1898-1899 academic year. S. Saibara, a Christian lawyer and member of the House of Representatives, was elected President in September of 1899, and the university's fundamental character as a Christian educational institution was restored.

The Reverend Jerome D. Davis, co-worker with Neesima and long resident at Dōshisha, thus evaluated the consequences:

1. The Japanese native had gained an idea of the meaning of a trust. There had, until recently, been no definite idea of what a trust was or any word to express it.

2. The true status of the school was made clear to all.
3. The Christianity for which Dōshisha stood was defined.
4. The Christian church in Japan and Nipponese leaders of thought had learned that it was not safe to defy the moral sentiment of the best class of society.
5. The American Board would be respected more than ever before.
6. A foundation for confidence in Dōshisha's future had been laid.47

This event was an instructive one for the Japanese and demonstrated to the American Board the absolute necessity of adjusting itself to new situations.

Meanwhile, in completing negotiations for treaty revisions, Japan had formally declared herself of equal status with the Western Powers through the Imperial Decree of July, 1899. This milepost satisfied a long desire of both the Meiji regime and the general public. Nippon had now abolished extraterritoriality and missionaries could live wherever they wished without holding government passports. With foreigners enjoying the so-called "mixed-residence," the new Great Power of the Orient became the

47See "Some Results Following the Settlement of the Dōshisha Difficulties," ibid., XCV (June, 1899), 230.
first nation outside the West to enjoy full authority over alien residents.

Commenting on the new treaties, The Methodist Review mentioned the Dōshisha trustees who had been forced by public opinion to abandon their posts. The author made the point that "Japan for the first time in her history has been awakened to the fact that the recognition of a trust is a fundamental condition" for continuing her sisterhood with other nations.48

Meanwhile, treaty revision, successfully accomplished by Japan, was still denied such countries as China, Korea, Siam, Persia, and Turkey. The reason for this, in the opinion of Missionary Gordon, was the fact that Nippon was an Occidental nation in her government and laws, though geographically Oriental. "While the vast majority of her people are Buddhists and Shintoists," he said, "the national ideals are, to a considerable extent, Christian."49


Gordon's statement was a far cry from Hearn's criticism of the questionable practice of having nominal Japanese owners for missionary property. Already, the philosophy of "Japan for the Japanese" was yielding to such expressions as "cosmopolitan Japan." Nippon, with many persons holding mixed residence, could no longer live in isolation, -- her destiny was clearly bound to that of the whole world. 50

The privilege of mixed residence appeared to missionaries to be a golden opportunity. They immediately planned a vigorous expansion of activities, although the government was still dubious of Christian elements in education and Meiji authorities did not welcome the strong influence of foreign workers. A sharp reverse came in August of 1899, when the Minister of Education issued a declaration which prohibited religious education and ceremonies in both public and private schools. This was a death blow for institutions operated by missionaries, especially those created to meet the needs of boys, since

50 Ibid.
continuance of religious training would mean the loss of both military-service exemption and the privilege of sending their students to colleges.

Meiji Gakuin (Presbyterian, Tokyo) took action by surrendering to the government its official document of recognition, thus signalling its determination to continue religious education. Others soon took the same step, among them Aoyama Gakuin (Methodist, Tōkyō), Tōhoku Gakuin (Reformed, Sendai), and Dōshisha, which had but recently suffered its own upheaval. Large numbers of students, concerned over their personal welfare, promptly dropped out of these schools. Indeed, but one senior was left in Aoyama Gakuin in Tōkyō. Japanese Christian educators maintained their firm stand until the government altered its position, yielding first to Meiji Gakuin in 1906, and removing restrictions from the others soon after that.

Nippon's Participation in the Boxer Rebellion

Missionary attention was drawn to China, the Middle Kingdom, in the first year of the twentieth century. Quite
contrary to Japan, which had shown notable progress in every respect and had achieved equal status with the Western nations, the Chinese situation continued to deteriorate. The same rampant nationalism which had run its course in Nippon now led the great mainland state into the so-called Boxer Rebellion.

Inspired by White Lotus, a sect of the traditional Buddhist faith, a new group called I-Ho-Tang (Boxer) was formed. Its anti-foreign, especially anti-missionary, policy, attracted many people who had suffered under strong foreign pressures. Reactionary nationalism drew many discontented people into its camp and spread throughout the northern part of China, with the Chinese government's connivance. Among Protestant missionary organizations in the United States, the American Board was most seriously affected by the uprising. Thirteen Board workers, their wives, and three children were martyred.

However nobly patriotic its philosophic origins, the rebellion soon degenerated into mob violence with the

---

51This sect had always been the inspiration for social revolt throughout Chinese history.
slogan, "Protect the country; destroy the foreigner." Its program came to mean killing all "foreign devils" and wiping out their influence in the Middle Kingdom. The missionaries proved easy victims, since they were not only thinly scattered about the country, but also had to work among Chinese people. Native Christians were considered even more reprehensible, being looked on as the "devils'" agents. The Peking government favored the revolt because of its desire to expel outsiders. The Chinese had suffered much from foreign intervention, especially after the defeat in the war of 1894-1895, and were struggling to maintain pride in their country, to them the center of civilization. In the opinion of missionaries, China's modernization still lay in the remote future. 52

The situation became worse in June, 1900, when the Boxers moved into the capital. Three thousand aliens took refuge in the British residential area for some three months. There was only a small garrison attached to the legation to guard them during this period. Nippon now joined in action with the Western nations against a Chinese

52 See Chapter V, p. 252.
mob. This step greatly increased her international stature.

Since Japan had so recently acquired equal status, American missionaries paid special attention to the Nipponese soldiers. Miss Nellie N. Russell of the American Board, for instance, admitted that she had never admired the "plucky, daring little fellows" until then. 53

When the Powers, including Nippon, sent an international rescue force, the missionaries were shocked at the savage conduct of the Westerners, with their universal looting, pillaging, and plundering. One wrote that "they used many cruel heathen means and made themselves not only more hated by the Chinese but bring disgrace on the countries they represented." 54 Such practices continued even after suppression of the Boxer uprising and constituted "an international scandal."

In the midst of the degrading situation, American


missionaries took some satisfaction in reporting that their fellow countrymen were not so bad as some Europeans. They also noted the Japanese troops' good conduct. They were pleased to see this because, after all, the Nipponese army was from their mission field. An editorial in The Missionary Herald lauded the Sunrise Empire's participation, "for she was prompt to do her part, bold without arrogance, quick but not heady." Her soldiers were "brave and steadfast" and her generals were "able and resourceful."^55

When Americans described the "magnificent" conduct of the Japanese team, they associated it with their missionary activities in the country. They saw the Perry Expedition, together with their missionary work, as "the humane and benevolent interference," which helped Nippon open her door and grow into a modern nation. This paternalistic attitude was typical of Christian workers. Their observations show a complete lack of perspective insight into history, but are representative of the evangelistic

55See "Japan and Interference," XCVI (October, 1900), 385.
spirit of the era.

From the Japanese viewpoint, the soldiers' behavior reflected the self-confidence which treaty revision had brought to Nippon, together with the establishment of effective and strong military discipline. Japan had been able to supply the best trained troops, because of her geographical closeness to China. In any case, the success of her first attempt at international cooperation presented to the American church public a favorable picture of the Empire as a modern and civilized country.

Meanwhile, Japanese Buddhist leaders, following the disturbances in China with keen interest, felt a religious obligation to speak out publicly in behalf of the weak and repressed Chinese people. Representatives from six major sects, meeting in conference at Kennin-ji Temple in Kyōto, composed a public letter dated October 11, 1900, for circulation among missionary organizations in Europe and in the United States. A copy was addressed to the Conference of Foreign Missions.

The Buddhists made a dignified appeal to Occidentals, especially missionaries, to adopt a more
respectful attitude toward China's laws and customs while trying to implant the seeds of civilization in the Middle Kingdom. This, they held, could lead to a new era of mutual enlightenment and reconciliation.56

Japanese Buddhists here defended Oriental civilization, which they placed upon an equal basis with that of the West. American church circles naturally could not accept this viewpoint, for they regarded the Chinese as benighted heathen. They believed strongly in the missionary cause and held that Christianity offered the highest form of culture, one which all peoples should joyfully embrace. The Conference, therefore, met the enlightened Buddhist appeal with flat refusal. A frigid reply, written by J. L. Barton, an American Board secretary and head of the 1895 deputation to Japan, was approved by the gathering on January 17, 1901.

Barton extolled missionaries who allegedly had given up "comfortable" lives in the United States to go to

China, moved by a noble spirit to work for China's salvation. This picture of "sacrifice" certainly did not coincide with the Chinese view that foreign Christian workers were disturbing their welfare by pressing them hard in the name of Christianity. Barton's letter even justified indemnity for ruined mission property in the Middle Kingdom because, as he said, the destroyed building had not been provided for Americans, but "solely for the Chinese themselves." He further urged Buddhist leaders to meet with missionaries in Nippon to learn how unique Christianity was as a cultural force in comparison with any other religions.

Despite the recent addition of comparative-religions courses to the curricula of leading theological seminaries in the United States, American churches of the time still held to the firm belief that Christianity was the only true religion and that the "benighted heathen" should be converted. The first public encounter between

57 Ibid., p. 86.
58 Ibid., p. 88.
the Oriental and Occidental faiths therefore not unnaturally presented two extreme views. Reconciliation between East and West still seemed far away.

The Russo-Japanese War

As a result of the short Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States was pushed into the family of world powers. At the same time, as Japan gained equality of status with the great Western states, the rapidly developing nation aimed at securing recognition as one of the powerful countries of the world. In order to attain this exalted position, she maintained a close relationship with the Occidental nations while still keeping her subjects loyal to the Emperor. On an international level, soon after participating in the Boxer Rebellion, she entered into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Britain had been deeply involved in the Boer War in South Africa and could not spare her strength for Far Eastern affairs. Forced to give up her traditional policy of "glorious isolation," she naturally approached Nippon, which she considered a
potential military power in the East.

In 1904, exactly ten years after the conflict between Japan and China, the Russo-Japanese War broke out. In contrast to the previous struggle with the Middle Kingdom, this one, to mission eyes, was not between "their sons," but between a "Christian nation" and their "favorite son." During the earlier conflict, Americans had received information from both sides, but this time all the news came from Nippon. Even though Russia was considered a Christian nation, the Greek Orthodox faith differed drastically in its teachings from Protestantism. Moreover, Imperial Russia had seriously persecuted the Stundists, unorthodox non-conformists of New Testament faith, and news of the suppression had frequently appeared in missionary magazines. Consequently, the American Protestants came to believe that the Czar's Empire was closed to their activities. The sympathy of Christian workers, therefore, lay with Japan and was strengthened by their concept of the nation as the "under-dog."

In contrast to the meager news coverage during the Sino-Japanese War period, The Missionary Herald now carried
much material on the Far Eastern situation every month, even before the actual outbreak of hostilities. This re­
lected an increased American interest in international affairs. After 1902, when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was
formed, the church circle, traditionally cooperative in the mission field with British workers, looked upon Nippon even more favorably. On the eve of the War, in January, 1904, a Herald editorial reported that the Emperor's subjects had become more impatient with the Czar's pressure than their leaders. 59

Another editorial a month later expressed hopes that the war might yet be avoided, saying that "War, at all times most deplorable", would be especially so between Russia, "a professedly Christian nation," and Japan, which had so recently been awakened by the West. 60

Despite Nippon's early victories on the battle­fields, fear of Imperial Russia's strength was evident. A

59 See ibid., C, 2.

60 "Editorial Paragraphs," ibid. (February, 1904), p. 41.
Herald editorial in 1904 expressed hope that the conflict might be short and decisive, and that God might bring about results that should not cripple "the progress of his kingdom in the Far East."

William Griffis, the foremost expert on Japan, who had resigned a pastoral position in Ithaca, New York, in 1903 to become a professional lecturer, held a different opinion. He predicted Japan would win the war "not only because it has right on its side, but also because it has the most scientific army in the world." On another occasion, Griffis wrote that "they (the Japanese) desire to make life worth having for all people and to lift up and educate them." Actually, in his rather prejudiced eyes, Nippon was playing a "United States role" in the Far East.

As the war began, American opinion came closer to that of Griffis. Sympathy was definitely on Nippon's side.


62 This newspaper clipping, dated 1904, was found in the Archive Section of The Rutgers State University Library in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

63 Found in the same Archive Section of the Rutgers Library. Only the year of publication, 1904, is indicated.
A *Herald* editorial envisaged Russia as certain to oppose religious liberty should she gain Manchuria or Korea. Contrarily, Japan's dominance there was expected to insure an open door for Christian enterprise. Indeed, as missionaries saw it, Japan was fighting on behalf of the American Protestant overseas movement.

Churches in the United States were plainly better informed on military and naval developments than they had been a decade before. The fall of Port Arthur and the brilliant victories at Mukden and in Tsushima Strait were promptly and ably reported in most religious periodicals. Christian workers were now rendering better war-time services to the men in action. Religious pamphlets were distributed on a large scale. The Reverend J. L. Atkinson of Kobe reported in March that he had sent out 5,000 copies of *Morning Light*, a mission monthly, as well as 1,000 copies of his report on the Red Cross.  

---

64 See "Editorial Paragraphs," C (April, 1904), 133-34.

Such activities were not limited to the American Board. Miss Georgiena Baucus of the Methodist Mission wrote from Yokohama that she and some Japanese Christians had gone to Kanagawa Station with a "keg of persimmons and a lot of the temperance tracts" to distribute among outgoing soldiers. From Hirosaki in the north, Miss Belle Griffiths reported distributing mission tracts among fourteen hundred soldiers. Japanese church members and students in the mission schools made gift packages for the men on the battlefield. Mrs. A. D. Hail of the Cumberland Presbyterian group reported from a town in central Honshū, Tsu, where traditional Shintoism had been an obstacle to Christian activities, that every Nipponese home was now wide open to missionaries because of the war cooperation atmosphere. American sympathy toward Japan was made evident in many places by Christian workers.


The Reverend James H. Pettee, a long-time resident of Okayama, famed for its orphanage, appealed for support through prayers, gifts, and workers, since Japanese contributions had been cut off by the war. In his words, "Japan is fighting for all Asia, aye, and for America too."69

Sidney L. Gulick of Matsuyama on Shikoku Island reported on the War Prisoner Camp for 1,200 Russians, describing the "very unusual care and liberty" accorded by the Japanese. He estimated that ninety-nine percent of the sick and wounded had recovered through Nipponese medical attention.70

In summarizing such accounts, Griffis, the constant sympathizer with the "Mikado's Empire," assured Western readers that "Christian" Japan was the "pupil of Anglo-Saxon civilization."71


Missionaries busied themselves not only in distributing their religious printings, but also visiting military hospitals for evangelical work all over Japan. During the earlier war, their services had been much restricted, but they were now permitted to reach soldiers at the front as well as in hospitals. As the Reverend George M. Rowland of Sapporo in Hokkaidō wrote, Japan was in the war "almost as a unit," and American Christian workers were also a part of it.

One mission representative even visited the Nipponese army in Manchuria. J. H. DeForest of Sendai went to the battlefield in March and April of 1905 as a member of the Young Men's Christian Association Committee. He was cordially received and was offered free transportation. He was confident that Nippon's victory would deepen her own love of liberty and would as well bring new light to China. Even Russians, he felt, would be encouraged to free themselves from despotism.

72 See "Japan Mission, Sapporo," The Missionary Herald, CI (June, 1905), 305.

Despite her sweeping victories on both land and sea, Japan was much exhausted by the large-scale operations of the struggle. It was, therefore, fortunate that a revolutionary situation in Russia forced the Czar to terminate the war. A mediation proposal from President Theodore Roosevelt, made in May, 1905, immediately following the Battle of Tsushima Strait, met with ready acceptance by the two fighting nations. The resultant Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was under way by August.

Griffis was delighted to learn that Jutarō Komura, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Kogorō Takahira, Minister to the United States, had been appointed Japanese peace plenipotentiaries. Both had been his students in Tōkyō some thirty years earlier. "Down at the bottom," said Griffis, "the real question is the integrity of the Chinese Empire and Japan's right to trade and colonization in Asia."74 This proved a correct appraisal.

After a period of negotiation, peace terms were agreed on by the two nations on September 5, 1905. The

---

treaty provided for:

1. The recognition of Korean independence and of the paramount political, military, and economic interests of Japan therein.
2. The transfer to Japan of Russia's leases and rights in Liaotung and of the South Manchurian Railway.
3. The withdrawal of foreign troops from Manchuria, except for Japanese railway guards.
4. The acquisition of the southern half of Sakhalin in full sovereignty by Japan and of special fishing rights in adjacent waters.
5. Noninterference by the signatories in measures which China might take in Manchuria for the commercial and industrial development of that area.75

Japan now became not only a power, but a great power, of the world.

The generous settlement with Russia included no provisions for indemnity, despite Japan's outstanding victories. American newspapers, such as The Financial Chronicle (New York) and Louisville Courier-Journal considered this a diplomatic gain for Russia.76 In response to this interpretation, The Missionary Herald expressed


admiration for Nippon's leniency, extolling her action as a "triumph of good will and the broadest humanity as against national pride and self-interest."  

In Tōkyō, however, a group calling for drastic measures staged a protest. Still much aware of disastrous effects of the China riots five years earlier, the missionaries were fearful of another anti-foreign drive. They did not wish to see Japan's admirable conduct marred by such an outbreak. Fortunately, the movement did not degenerate into either an anti-foreign or an anti-United States campaign.

Termination of the Russo-Japanese War brought both fear and hope to Americans. The fear was largely due to the so-called "Yellow Peril" menace, created by jingoistic Californian newspaper publishers. Far from sharing such absurd views, the missionaries defended Nippon against racist concepts. At the same time, hopeful American Christian workers pointed to Japan's exemplary conduct in

---

77See "Editorial Paragraphs, Peace on Earth," CI (October, 1905), 484.

78See ibid. (November, 1905), p. 553.
the recent war and asserted that her paganism had been re-
placed by Christian principles. Jerome D. Davis, a
senior missionary in Kyōto, expressed this view in his 1905
retirement address. He felt certain that the Empire had
adopted Christian civilization and spoke of "how power­
fully, albeit unconsciously, Japan has come under the in­
fluence of Christianity."  

These comments held special interest in relation to the
fact that many Chinese students came to Nippon for
study after the war. There were indeed golden opportuni­
ties for evangelical work, -- the time had at last come for
awakening the Middle Kingdom. Missionaries were delighted
to see Nippon's influence growing in China, particularly in
education.  

Exactly ten years before, immediately following the
Sino-Japanese War, they had foreseen the possible opening

79See "Annual Survey, Japan," ibid. (October,

80See "The Surprises of Thirty-four Years in the

81See "Editorial Paragraphs," ibid. (November,
of Korea as a mission field. That hope was again entertained and given broader scope. Manchuria was to be immediately taken in hand, with the whole of China as the ultimate goal for the future.

In 1905, an American Board magazine devoted many pages to a study of Japan aimed at young people. An interesting cartoon entitled "The Key to the Orient" portrayed a closed door labeled "China, Tibet, Siam and Korea" with a key bearing the name tag, "Japan," near the key-hole.\(^\text{82}\) The missionary circle did indeed now consider Japan the most important nation in the Orient. Its potential had already been recognized by James H. Pettee on the eve of the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution,\(^\text{83}\) but the concept was not then generally accepted. Nippon, the leading nation in the East, was soon able to participate even in the missionary enterprise.

Griffis was highly optimistic on another score. He held that her signal victory over Russia would usher in


\(^\text{83}\)See Chapter IV, p. 200.
universal peace and a brotherhood of nations, with increased mutual respect between Occidental and Oriental. He addressed his countrymen saying, "We must cast away the old legacy of the Crusades which bred hatred" among both Easterners and Westerners.}

Was this concept of mutual respect accepted by the missionary community? Some individuals, of course, agreed with Griffis; but, unfortunately, his attitude was not accepted in the slow-moving church circles at large. There the traditional outlook responsible for rejection of the Japanese Buddhists' appeal for reconciliation during the Boxer Rebellion still prevailed.

American Christians, well informed on Nippon and her affairs, did not greatly fear the so-called "Yellow Peril," and were mature enough to recognize the Empire's dominant position in the Orient. There, however, still remained much distance to cover before its members could arrive at mutual respect and complete reconciliation.

84 See "Japan Victories: Are They a Menace or a Blessing?" Sunday Magazine, III (October, 1905).
CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Immigration Problems

In February, 1906, James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, proudly announced that its mission for Japan would no longer administer or superintend the Kumiai (Japanese Congregational) churches, in whole or in part. Their agents sent from the United States were now fellow-workers cooperating with Japanese believers.¹ One of the most advanced denominations had finally acknowledged the independent demand² made by a Japanese minister fourteen years earlier, in 1892, that missionaries must recognize the peculiar status

²See Chapter V, p. 237.

316
of Nipponese churches. Just as the treaty revision of 1899 had accorded the Island Empire equal standing with the Western Powers, the mother body now granted autonomy to its Japanese churches. Here again is evidence of the effect, even in mission circles, of Nippon's prestige due to the victory over Imperial Russia.

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, acceptance of the country's new standing aroused two contrasting feelings, hope and fear. Missionaries rejoiced when Japan became the "Key to the Orient," seeing a means for furthering their evangelical work in other lands. Many progressive people such as William E. Griffis shared the optimism and conceived of the Sunrise Empire as the promoter of modernization in East Asia.

Some Americans, however, entertained grave concern toward the Mikado's Empire. Some, like Captain Alfred T. Mahan (great exponent of the sea-power theory while still strongly supporting Episcopal oversea undertakings), considered Japan a threat to America's policy in the Orient.

---

\(^3\)See Chapter VI, p. 312.
The most serious reaction, however, was found in the racially oriented "Yellow Peril" sentiment which was especially evident in such areas as Hawaii and California, where Japanese immigrants associated with ordinary Americans.

Naturally, from the beginning of the two countries' contact, many people had encountered Nipponese in the United States. As already mentioned in Chapter III,\(^4\) Walt Whitman in 1860 wrote a poem on the arrival of the Rising Sun's first embassy, Alpheus Hardy greeted Joseph Neesima at Boston harbor in 1865,\(^5\) and three years later young William E. Griffis became a tutor of Tarō Kusakabe, a Japanese student sent to the New World by the government.\(^6\) But all of these Nipponese had come to the United States as diplomats or students. Many followed them, and, as time passed, Americans were confronted by another type among the Mikado's subjects, -- immigrants.

The first settlers to leave Nippon went to the

\(^4\)See Chapter III, p. 104.

\(^5\)See Chapter I, p. 8.

\(^6\)See Chapter III, p. 122.
Kingdom of Hawaii (the Sandwich Islands) in 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration. In 1885, Japan made an agreement with the country to send farmers sponsored by the government. Therefore, great numbers of the Sunrise Empire's subjects came to the island paradise. Hawaii being its most successful mission field, the American Board naturally, from the outset, paid great attention to such Far Eastern newcomers.

Some Japanese soon moved from the Sandwiches to the West Coast of the United States, joining those who had gone directly from their native land. It was in the Pacific States that many Americans encountered groups of Nipponese for the first time. The number in 1883 was only 1,000, but, by 1895, it had risen to 7,000.

Meeting with an entirely foreign way of life, the Japanese immigrants quite naturally looked forward to returning home. Moreover, the economic situation brought by their "cheap labor" regularly invited American prejudice and resentment.

In the early period, Presbyterians and Methodists, in particular, were interested in working among such West
Coast immigrants. In 1895, The Methodist Review, reporting on the situation, averred that one-seventh of them had become Methodists and sprang to their defense by declaring that they were not in "such competition with the labor classes, being for the most part students, artisans, sailors and sometimes laborers." 7

After the Sino-Japanese War, the number of immigrants to the Pacific area increased rapidly. Those who had become victims of the quick economical transformation of Japanese society came to the United States. They had a peculiarly chauvinistic attitude that reflected the newly born nationalism; they sent their earned money to their home government. The new arrivals, therefore, differed greatly from the ones the missionaries had championed earlier. Coming from rural areas, they appeared highly exotic to American eyes. Their strangeness, coupled with awareness of Nippon's successful achievement in building up a powerful nation, gave birth to that sensational expression of American jingoism, "Yellow Peril." Although

---

Japanese immigrants formed only a small minority in any locality, their "peculiarity" aroused much antagonistic sentiment among Pacific Coast residents.

An interesting article in *The Methodist Review*, reflecting the situation in 1905, stood quite in contrast to the one mirroring opinions of ten years earlier. Its title was "Jap and Negro: a Similarity of Social Problem."

The author, one William H. Buster, emphasized Japan's "inferior" civilization and wrote condescendingly of a "partially developed" people brought into contact with a "highly civilized and advanced" one. Although agreeing that the Japanese might be assimilated to a small extent, modifying the social institutions and methods of "Anglo-American collective life" in the process, he was exceedingly skeptical about the great bulk of the people awakening to New World civilization.

His discussion of Orientals, strangely enough, was based upon information provided by a very sympathetic Lafcadio Hearn. He quoted the latter's view that, despite

---

8See "Article VII," LXXXVII (July), 576-81.
the successful achievement of compulsory education in the country, the "hearts of her people were bound to the two thousand or more years of religious faith." He entirely misunderstood Hearn and interpreted his source from a typically superficial Occidental viewpoint. He conveniently overlooked the fact that his own religion had likewise survived for nineteen centuries and insisted that the old faith of the Mikado's Empire should be eliminated in order to bring light to its inhabitants in their heathen darkness.

Of significance here is neither Hearn's observation nor yet Buster's shallow interpretation, but the necessity for understanding Nippon's unique development in world history. Information provided by missionaries was one-sided, with emphasis upon "progress"; Hearn's views were focused on tradition. Japanese immigrants on the West Coast, with their strange appearance, gave Americans another confusing image. These several factors lay behind the "scare" involving Japan, and fear of the "Yellow Peril" took the shape of racial prejudice.
On October 11, 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education, in the heart of heaviest Japanese concentration, ordered Nipponese children to attend Oriental rather than American public schools. This was official indication of racial discrimination, and the first serious obstacle to cordial American-Japanese relations since Perry's Expedition.

Despite his pro-Nipponese sympathies, President Roosevelt had no authority in this purely local matter and could but ask the Board to withdraw its order. The final solution was reached six months later after the President's counter-proposal to prohibit the Japanese transmigration from Hawaii to the West Coast. This unfortunate incident naturally stirred up great anti-American sentiment at home.

Missionaries who had worked in the Mikado's Empire for nearly half a century felt responsible for solving the unhappy problem. When a picture of Nipponese boys studying in a classroom with American children was published as an example of Oriental "invasion," Sidney L. Gulick of the American Board, author of The White Peril in the East, enthusiastically declared that the photograph effectively
demonstrated Japanese assimilation into Western society.

William E. Griffis voiced the opinion that the Mikado's subjects made desirable citizens, eager to send their children to American schools. He further stated that their values were Aryan in nature and that the Japanese were "no more Mongolians than are many Russians."\(^9\)

It thus becomes apparent that, following the 1905 Portsmouth Treaty, the general American attitude toward Japan entered a "cooling" period, because of immigration problems and the "Yellow Peril Scare." At the same time, mission circles represented by such figures as S. L. Gulick and W. E. Griffis, ever mindful of their evangelical purposes, stood on the hopeful side and remained staunch defenders of the growing numbers of Nipponese in the American community. Though their influence weakened with the years, their optimistic outlook foreshadowed the second honeymoon period which was to follow the Second World War.

Various Pictures of Nippon

Old files of Western pictorial journals present two contrasting portrayals of events connected with the American-Japanese relationship. Harper's Weekly for May 26, 1860, prominently displays the reproduction of a drawing covering ratification of the 1860 Commercial Treaty at the White House in Washington D.C. In The Literary Digest for August 19, 1905 will be found a copy of a photograph taken at the Portsmouth Peace Conference in 1905.

Comparing these two highly significant pictures, one notes, first of all, the formal clothes worn by the Japanese delegates. In 1860, the Mikado's ambassador appeared in a typical costume of Haori-kobakama (heavy brocade silk mantle over flowing pantaloons), while President James Buchanan wore a morning suit. The Washington newspapers used much space in describing the Nipponese clothes. Less than five decades later, the Far East delegate, Jutarō Komura, was shown in a frock coat similar to that of President Theodore Roosevelt.

These pictures symbolized the transformation of
both nations. During the forty-five years between the two occasions, the United States had experienced an evolutionary change, while Japan had pursued a revolutionary course. By 1905, both countries had become world powers, with America following the traditional Western pattern and Japan "coming out" from an entirely diverse background. Nippon had, to some degree, adopted Occidental ways, and was the first country in the non-Western area to reach a stage of world prominence.

In the Sunrise Empire's process of development, the American Protestant missionary movement had an important role to play in contributing to her modernization.

During the early days, Christian workers, as well as other American visitors, had come to Nippon with certain fixed images of the land. They had seen Japan as a country which persecuted Christians cruelly and which permitted inhuman treatment of shipwrecked American sailors. Most Christians had, however, recognized that the Nipponese were fairly civilized in comparison with other Asian peoples.

The missionaries had found their fixed concepts challenged as soon as they stepped ashore and were greeted
by many who were eager to learn. This zeal to know had often been called "inquisitiveness" and "imitativeness."

At the same time, it had become evident that the Japanese practiced a religion of their own, one quite different from that of the United States and from those of other Asian nations.

The American church public concluded that the Nipponese were indifferent toward religion. Speaking generally, the hoary image of persecutors of Christians and seamen had disappeared, only to be replaced by that of a "civilized heathen" nation.

While missionaries were cautious in spreading Christianity because of their fear of reprisals, they had enjoyed sharing Western knowledge. Verbeck and Griffis afford good examples of this.

At an early stage, certain Christian workers had questioned the Japanese practice of idolatry, which, however, had never become a serious issue, as in India. Others had been critical of popular superstitions, but this, too, remained a minor problem. The basic concern had been how to teach Western religion effectively to those
gathering about the Protestant workers in hope of learning English. They had wisely decided to work for an increased interest in Christianity rather than undertaking to destroy traditional beliefs. Such a policy strengthened the American church view of Japan as a civilized land whose people were education-minded. The Meiji government had meanwhile initiated a broad modernization program modelled after Western ways. Regardless of its purpose, the plan had aroused curiosity respecting religion as an integral part of American civilization. In turn, church circles in the United States had begun to think of the Rising Sun Empire as a nation rapidly adopting Christianity.

This phenomenon had appeared even before removal of the Kōsatsu. Missionaries had interpreted the de facto recognition of Christianity as official, observing that the Meiji government's restriction had completely disappeared.

Protestant agents had then set another goal, revision of the unequal treaties. They saw one great advantage in this matter, probable free access to the interior without passports. But this was not the only reason for their support. They had fully acknowledged the
Empire's progress, and had welcomed the Imperial Constitution of 1889, not only because it included the *de jure* recognition of Christianity, but because a new constitution was definitely a "must" for a modern nation.

Ironically, even before the Constitution guaranteeing religious freedom had been promulgated, Christianity had become quite popular in Nipponese society. A serious problem for the missionaries, however, was that Japanese leaders had begun utilizing the alien faith for the promotion of modernization programs. In their acceptance of Western belief, there had been an element of nationalism.

Even during the so-called "reactionary period," the attitude toward Christian workers had not changed so much in Japan as had been the case in China before 1900. Nippon had kept progressing without changing her course, and her nationalism had grown without corresponding anti-foreign sentiment.

During this period, missionary circles had suffered a necessary change in their activities. They were challenged by both Japanese nationalism and Western materialism. The former had been represented by the Imperial
Rescript on Education, emphasizing loyalty to the Emperor. The latter was reflected in introduction of the evolutionary theory and a new scientific theology called "higher criticism of the Bible," neither of which were in keeping with the purposes of evangelical work.

Of the two obstacles, Christian workers had favored nationalism, which aided the self-support movement among Japanese churches.

As the result of their retrenchment, missionary circles actually lost hope of Christianizing the entire country. Limited as their working field had been, still there were, by this time, small numbers of trustworthy church members through whom they could both maintain Christian activities and provide fellow believers at home with some images of "civilized Japan."

Protestant workers had witnessed unusual progress in the Empire of the Rising Sun. While they were aware of large numbers of non-Christians, they realized that the social structure had been approaching that of the Western world. This strange combination had forced missionaries to look at Nippon as a nation accepting "Christian"
civilization, if not its religious beliefs.

The amazing victory in the Sino-Japanese War, the achievement of treaty revision, the laudable participation in the Boxer Rebellion, and the astonishing performance in the Russo-Japanese War had all been considered the result of a "Christian" rather than a "Western" civilization. To missionaries, Japan was now the unquestioned leader of the Far East; they were proud of their own contributions and pleased with the idea that their "favorite son" had achieved such remarkable progress. It was for this reason that they so strongly defended the Empire at the time of her immigration problems and the "Yellow Peril" scare.

Meanwhile, Japanese Christians had established a sub-cultural community. Thanks to mission emphasis upon education, they and American home churches were constantly and systematically making new acquaintances through members of the small Christian society and mission schools. Such contacts had developed many friends of Christianity in Japan, and served as a strong tie even during the most unhappy period of American-Japanese relations.

An important question remains to be considered. As
has been indicated more than once, the missionary goal was "Christianization" of the country. What was the meaning of this term? Obviously, it did not include Roman Catholicism; the term implied only Protestantism, -- specifically, the faith of Americans or of Anglo-Saxons in general. The main purpose was to convert "heathen" people to their religion. Naturally, the Protestant faiths could not be divorced from their attendant Occidental civilization.

The Protestant missionaries did not always agree among themselves in their interpretation of Christianization. Some used the term strictly in a religious sense, meaning "evangelization." Some, like John H. DeForest, gave it a broader meaning, confusing Japan's progress in "Westernization" with an adoption of Christianity.

Two factors lay behind this outlook. One was the missionaries' confusion at witnessing Japan's development, unparalleled among non-Western nations in the nineteenth century. The second was the fact that the American Protestant public was easily swayed.

Especially after the latter half of the 80's,
Moody's revivalism had been employed even in the foreign mission field. Because of its hint of militancy, the word "evangelization" had an implication of crusading, closely allied to the traditional missionary spirit. This gave the term "Christianization" a broader perspective, similar to the Westernization concept.

The word well described the missionaries' characteristic image of the country. It was broad enough to include the Western, or, more specifically, American and British, civilization, but narrow enough to exclude the "nationalized modernization" of Japan, which was a curious blending of Occidental knowledge and Japanese traditions.

There were, of course, many interpretations of Japanese affairs. Workers like Verbeck were glad to see young Nipponese reading Buckle's History of Civilization,\(^1\) while such men as Jerome Davis considered the same book a product of the Western materialism which was so alien to traditional Christianity.\(^2\) The latter view was deeply

\(^1\)See Chapter III, p. 120.

\(^2\)See Chapter IV, p. 192.
intrenched among members of such newly operating evangelistic denominations as the Holiness and Adventist Churches.

When Mormon church agents reported upon their activities in Japan, launched in 1901 by four elders, they wrote that progress had been slow because of the "many centuries of pagan teaching." More liberal churchmen viewed Japanese tradition from a broader point of view. Among them was Otis Cary of the American Board, who made an objective study of Kurozumi-kyō (a new sect of Shintoism). Such publications helped establish courses on comparative religions in several leading United States theological seminaries.

Those efforts at understanding Japanese beliefs marked a great step forward in the movement to effect reconciliation between East and West. But the goal was still far removed at the turn of the century, when American church members were still uncertain as to where, precisely,


they stood.

The Synthesized Image of Japan

Another question still remaining concerns the missionary role of Japan's foreign residents. We have noted the Olyphant Company's support of the American Board in China. Was such a practice common in Japan, too? The Japan Mail, an English newspaper published in Yokohama, printed many articles sympathizing with Christian workers. Was this unusual in the field?

When William Griffis first visited Kobe in 1871, he expressed regret that the Reverend D. C. Greene was obliged to labor among Occidental traders little interested in spiritual matters.¹⁵ Let us consider the general situation among foreigners living in the country. Were there other Americans, like Griffis, who participated whole-heartedly in religious activities?

The relationship between Protestant agents in Nippon and other Western residents there was discussed at a

---

¹⁵See Chapter III, p. 125.
conference of Foreign Mission Boards in 1905, and again in the following year. The 1905 report, entitled "English-Speaking Society in the Non-English-Speaking Lands," mentioned Kōbe as an example. The Reverend Edward Arthur Wicker, a Union Church clergyman stationed there, testified that his fellow countrymen living in the city actively disliked missionaries. He pointed out the great distinction between ministers whose services were exclusively for Occidentals, and those whose work was to be extended to natives. If, for instance, he said, a missionary were appointed minister of the Union Church, he would not be able to hold his congregation.17

This opinion was confirmed by the Reverend H. B. Price, a Northern Presbyterian agent stationed in Kōbe, who lamented the Westerners' lack of respect toward his co-workers. He recalled a certain church which lost half of its patronage, interest, and support when a missionary was

16 For information on the importance of that city, see Table 15. Kōbe had 1,500 English-speaking residents at that time.

In general, Christian workers were somewhat isolated from other English-speaking people in Japan. At the turn of the century, despite the tremendous upswing of interest in foreign affairs among church members back home, American Protestant agents were separated in many ways from their secular countrymen in the field.

Lafcadio Hearn, whose critical attitude we have observed, was a vocal spokesman for the Occidental community. In his Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation, he predicted that the East would never turn to Christianity "while dogmatism required the convert to deny his ancient obligation to the family, the community, and the government." He believed that a necessary condition for missionary success was tolerance in dealing with the ancestor-cult and that, so long as Christians recognized

---


19This book originally published by Macmillan in 1905, after Hearn's death, was reprinted in 1955 by the Charles E. Tuttle Company (Rutland, Vermont).

20See ibid., p. 474.
only one civilization, there would be no ethical justifica-
tion for the "aggression made upon alien peoples."21
Hearn's theme recalls ideas expressed in the Buddhist
appeal five years earlier.22

In 1905, The Missionary Herald printed a review23 of his Japan. The critic, while professing admiration for
Hearn's presentation, indignantly protested the charge
against missionaries. He objected especially to the
comment that all attempts at introducing Christianity were
"based upon the purpose to stigmatize or overthrow the
spirit of reverence for ancestors."24

Isolated from foreign residents and criticized by
authorities like Hearn, the missionaries seemed beset by
difficulties. Yet they maintained their own images of
Japan as seen in the light of their personal efforts and
experiences.

Thanks to the widespread missionary sentiment in

21See ibid., p. 477.
22See Chapter VI, p. 299 and p. 300.
23See Vol. CI (April), 199.
24Hearn, Japan . . . , p. 475.
the United States, many books relating their achievements were written at the turn of the century. Three of these, all published in 1904, merit comment -- John H. DeForest's *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, William E. Griffis's *Dux Christus: an Outline Study of Japan*, Ernest W. Clement's *A Handbook of Modern Japan*. Also worthy of mention is Sidney L. Gulick's *Evolution of the Japanese: a Study of Their Characteristics in Relation to the Principles of Social and Psychic Development*, published in 1905.

The first two of these, it will be recalled, were produced as textbooks for the Young People's Missionary Movement and for the women's boards, respectively. Clement's book was his second work on Japan, following his edition of Richard Hildreth's famous *Japan as It Was and Is*. Gulick's was an academic study of the country from a sociological point of view. These authors, save for

---

25See Chapter VI, p. 274.

26Ibid.

27Clement was a Northern Baptist missionary. This book was published by the Macmillan Company (New York).

28See Chapter VI, p. 274.
Griffis, were active contemporary scholar-missionaries. DeForest's views on Nippon were the most optimistic. He envisioned Christian principles applied to Japanese government, law, education, and family life. Encouraged by the existence of many "friends of Christianity" in addition to actually confessed believers, he happily concluded his book by saying that, despite her heathenism, Japan had accepted Western religion more rapidly than any other nation.

At the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, Griffis had commented, it will be recalled, on the new era of mutual respect between Occidental and Oriental. But his opinion of the reconciliation as it appeared in Dux Christus differed greatly from Hearn's. While the latter demanded a change in missionary attitudes, Griffis was pleased with Japan's progress in becoming more "Western." Hearn urged Christian workers to acknowledge the ancestor-

29By 1905, DeForest had been in Japan for 30 years, Gulick for 18 years, and Clement for 10 years.


cult; Griffis insisted that both Buddhist and Chinese influence be eliminated so that the Japanese could be recognized "by courts, scholars or Christian people generally as intellectual or social equals."\textsuperscript{32}

Clement's thesis, too, was the need for understanding between East and West. He wrote that Japan was moving toward that goal, motivated by "national vanity." He viewed Nippon's future with great hope. "Achievements up to date are a guarantee of continued success,"\textsuperscript{33} he wrote. He expected to see a wonderful transformation in her development, and, like Griffis, foresaw an early reconciliation with the West.

DeForest, Griffis, and Clement, as well as Hearn, all wrote of the Mikado's Empire from personal points of view. Sidney L. Gulick viewed the subject from a sociological angle. He recognized that Japan had combined, as no other nation before had done, the two great and hitherto divergent streams of Occidental and Oriental civilizations, and that she appreciated and enjoyed a greater variety of

\textsuperscript{32}See his book, p. 245.

\textsuperscript{33}See his book, p. 303.
customs and ideas than any other.

Gulick predicted that Nippon would not only receive all of the good from other nations, but would, in due time, give something of worth to the world. Japan's transformation or "evolution," he said, was both divergent and convergent. He held that the first period had passed and that a convergent stage was approaching. In keeping with this belief, he strongly urged the American people to be prepared for "something of worth" which Nippon would certainly offer.  

Griffis is again deserving of mention here. In 1894, more than a decade earlier, he had reviewed results of Asian studies, speaking at the semi-centennial gathering of the American Oriental Society in Boston. He had said then that, in early years, Yale and Harvard scholars had made but small academic contributions to this subject, and that credit should go to the efforts of missionary groups.  


See ibid.

This newspaper clipping, dated 1894, was found in the Archive Section of the Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
J. C. Hepburn, a Northern Presbyterian, for one, had compiled the first English-Japanese dictionary, and S. R. Brown of the Dutch Reformed Church had made a translation of the Bible into Japanese.

Such men, Griffis added, were pioneers in more than one sense. They had not only brought Christianity to Japan but it was they who had introduced the United States to Asia. In this, he was right, -- American experts on Japanese affairs during the nineteenth century were, generally speaking, associated with the mission enterprise.

A comparison with British activities is interesting. Ernest Satow, a diplomat, was the English Griffis; Hearn's close friend, Basil Chamberlain, a Tōkyō University professor, was another British expert on Japan. Neither had any mission connection, nor can one find any missionary from Britain who might be considered Gulick's counterpart. Conversely, American Christian workers pioneered in Japanese study in the United States.

Here again, despite Hearn's criticism, we see the important role played by the missionaries in providing images of Japan for contemporary America, as well as in
laying a foundation for academic research.

Now we return to our first point of discussion in this study. Edwin O. Reischauer has pointed out that nineteenth-century American influence in Japan was largely the work of missionaries. Consequently, the image of the United States in Japan was largely that created by Christian workers. In syphon-like manner, impressions of Nippon were coming back to America, spreading to religious circles and beyond.

In his first report from Japan in 1871, Griffis wrote that the ruling class consisted mostly of former pupils of American Christian workers and that the present students would eventually be the future governors.37

His prediction proved to be correct when, in 1905, his former students, Jutarō Komura and Kogorō Takahira, participated in the Portsmouth Peace Conference as Japanese delegates.38 Theirs was not an exceptional case. For three reasons -- the missionaries' intellectual leadership, the prohibition of Christian activities in the early

37See Chapter III, p. 124.

38See Chapter VI, p. 310.
period, and the eagerness of progressive Japanese youths -- the Protestant agents had contributed greatly to educational development.

A Dutch Reformed worker, Guido F. Verbeck, was most notable in this light. In 1869, a year after the Meiji Restoration, Verbeck was chosen to be dean of the newly established government college, destined to be Tōkyō University. Many of his students became important government officials; for example, Shōjirō Gōtō served as a cabinet member, and Shigenobu Ōkuma became Prime Minister. In addition to Verbeck and Griffis, Saburō Ozawa, an expert historian on Japanese Protestantism, names ten missionaries who were also Tōkyō University professors in the early days.39 Thus we see that, even before the establishment of mission schools, Christian workers' service to schools had been great.

This is why DeForest emphasized the role of "friend of Christianity" in his previously mentioned book,40 and


why Reischauer was convinced of the heavy impact of the Western religion on educated people of the Empire.\textsuperscript{41}

Missionaries naturally saw among government officials many friends through whom the images of Japan were to be created and sent to their home land. Their impressions of Nippon spread even beyond religious circles, creating a basis for future study on the country.

Hearn had predicted in 1905 that "no work fully interpreting Japanese life \ldots can be written for at least another fifty years."\textsuperscript{42} Was he correct? Half a century has already passed.

Here again we refer to the missionary influence. In the United States today, Edwin O. Reischauer is the recognized authority on Japanology. He is the son of August Karl Reischauer, who went to Nippon in 1905 as a Northern Presbyterian Board missionary. Author of The Task in Japan: a Study in Modern Missionary Imperatives,\textsuperscript{43} the

\textsuperscript{41}See Chapter I, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{42}See Hearn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{43}Published by Fleming H. Revell, New York, in 1926.
father was an expert on Buddhism and a professor at the new interdenominational Tōkyō Women's Christian College, founded in 1910. Such a heritage no doubt afforded the inspiration for the work that Edwin Reischauer himself was destined to perform.

Bitter as had been Hearn's feelings toward Christian workers, the contributions of the American Protestant foreign missionary movement are plainly visible. Not only did Christian agents become the image-makers for the land during the period under survey, but it was they who fashioned a solid bridge of understanding and goodwill between the two great nations. Among them were many individuals whose significant achievements extended even to the academic world.
APPENDIX A

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS
OPERATED IN JAPAN, 1859 - 1905

I. American Groups in Operation, 1905

Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
Originally founded in 1820. Opened the Japan field in 1859, and formed Nippon Seikōkai.

Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
Originally organized by the Congregational and the Presbyterian Churches in 1810. After the latter's withdrawal, this became the former's organ. Sent first agents in 1869. The Japanese church established by this board is known as Kumiai Kyōkai.
Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands.

The first women's organization for foreign missions in the United States, organized in New York City in 1861 as an inter-denominational body. Japan venture was inaugurated in 1871. A member of *Nippon Kirisuto* (Nikki) Kyōkai.

American Baptist Missionary Union.

The Northern Baptist or American Baptist Convention of today. The foreign venture was started in 1814. Japan field was opened in 1873. It was called Tōbu (Eastern) Baptist Kumiai.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

The Northern Methodist body, founded in 1819, opened the Japan field in 1873. Called *Mi-i Kyōkai* in the land.

American Seamen's Friend Society.

The operation, started in 1873, was exclusively for Western sailors staying in Nippon.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States.

Commonly known as the German Reformed Church. The United Church of Christ of today. Reorganized its foreign undertaking in 1873 and entered Japan in the same year. A member of *Nippon Kirisuto* (Nikki) Kyōkai.

Japan Book and Tract Society.

A Nipponese branch of the American Tract Society, organized in 1823. Its activity started in Japan in 1875.

American Bible Society.

Originally inaugurated in 1816. Entered Nippon in 1876.
Society of the Evangelical Association.  
   Founded in 1839. This German-American denomination merged with the United Brethren in Christ to become (1946) the Evangelical United Brethren Church. Japan mission, known as Fukuin Kyōkai, was started in 1876.

Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Missions and Church Erection.  
   Organized in 1820. Japanese venture was opened in 1877. A part of Nippon Kirisuto (Nikki) Kyōkai.

Board of Missions of the Methodist Protestant Church.  
   A small denomination of Methodists in the Middle Atlantic region. Japan was the only foreign field started in 1880. Known as Mi-fu Kyōkai in Nippon.

Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.  
   The Southern Presbyterians started their foreign venture in 1867. Japan mission commenced in 1885 and it became a member of Nippon Kirisuto (Nikki) Kyōkai.

Foreign Christian Missionary Society.  
   A body for the Disciples of Christ (Christian Churches of today). Originally formed in 1875. The Japan activity was inaugurated in 1883. Known as Kirisuto Kyōkai in the land.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia.  
   This Quaker organ was formed in 1871. Entered Japan in 1885. Called Furendo-ha in the country.

Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.  
   The Southern Methodist body originally founded in 1844. The Japanese undertaking was started in 1886 as Mi-i-mi Kyōkai.
International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.
  Inaugurated the Japan field work in 1886 and sent English teachers to the government schools.

The Young Women's Christian Association.
  Started activity in Japan in 1886.

Foreign Mission Department of American Christian Convention.
  Organized in 1886. It opened the Japan field in the next year. This denomination was called Christian Church of America. A member of the United Church of Christ of today.

Unitarians.
  Started mission work in Japan in 1887.

Southern Baptist Convention.
  Its foreign activity was begun in 1845. The Japan venture was planned in 1860 but was actually started in 1889. Known as Seibu Baptist Kumiai in Nippon.

Universalist Mission.
  Entered the Japanese field in 1889. Called Dōjin Kyōkai in the land.

The United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South.
  A member of the Lutheran Church in America of today. Started its foreign work in 1886, entering Japan in 1892.

Christian and Missionary Alliance.
  Formerly known as the International Missionary Alliance, organized in 1887, and changed its name in 1897. Its Japan work was inaugurated in 1891. Known as Kyōdo Kirisuto Kyōkai in Nippon.
Hepzibah Faith Missionary Association.  
Originally founded in 1892 in Iowa as a holiness-type organization. Japan was the first foreign field started in 1894.

General Missionary Society of Free Methodist Church.  
A small Methodist denomination originated in Indiana formed its foreign activity program in 1885. The Japan undertaking began in 1895. Called Jiyū Methodist in the country.

Home, Frontier and Foreign Missionary Society of the United Brethren in Christ.  
The Evangelical United Brethren Church of today. The foreign venture was started in 1853. Japan mission was opened in 1895. Known as Dōbō Kyōkai in Nippon.

The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.  
A member of the American Lutheran Church of today. Japan was the first foreign field inaugurated in 1896.

Committee of the Foreign Missions, Seventh-day Adventist General Conference.  
Organized in 1887. Japan field was opened in 1896.

Church of Jesus Christ's Latter Day Saints.  
Mormon church. Japan mission was started in 1901.

Oriental Missionary Society.  
A holiness organization founded in Japan in 1901. Known as Tōyō Senkyō-kai.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union.  
Sent the first agent to Japan in 1902. Called Fujin Kyōfū-kai in Nippon.
Japan Evangelistic Band.
   This holiness group went to Nippon in 1905.

II. European and Canadian Groups in Operation, 1905

A. British Organizations

Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.
   An Anglican organ originated in 1799. Japan venture was started in 1869. A member of Nippon Seikōkai.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
   Another Anglican body inaugurated in 1701. Opened the Japan field in 1873 as a participant of Nippon Seikōkai.

The British and Foreign Bible Society.
   Originally formed in 1804. Its Japan venture commenced in 1890.

Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland.
   This Scottish Presbyterian group started Japan mission in 1874 as a part of Nippon Kirisuto (Nikki) Kyōkai.

National Bible Society of Scotland.
   Entered Japan in 1890.

Salvation Army.
   Originally founded in 1865. Its Japan venture began in 1895 and the group sent officers from England and Australia. Known as Kyūsei Gun in the land.
Presbyterian Church of England.
    This body's undertaking was exclusively for Chinese people in Taiwan.

B. German-Swiss Organization

Allgemeiner Evangelisch-Protestantischer Missionsverein.
Sent workers in 1887.

C. Scandinavian Organizations

Scandinavian Japan Alliance.
Sent agents in 1891. Known as Nippon Dōmei Kyōkai.

Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Finland.
Japan was the only field after 1900, that was supported by American contributors.

D. Canadian Ones

Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada.
The United Church of Christ in Canada of today. The first workers went to Japan in 1873.

Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.
Organized in 1902, this group succeeded the venture in Japan that had been started by Wycliffe College Mission in 1888. A member of Nippon Seikōkai.
III. American Groups Whose Operation Had Ceased to Exist by 1905

American Baptist Free Mission Society.
A small Baptist denomination originated in New York. It entered Japan in 1860 and merged into American Baptist Union in 1872.

Berkeley Temple Mission of Boston.
This Congregational one was active between 1888 and 1893.

International Missionary Alliance.
The Japan project was begun in 1891. Merged with Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1897.

IV. European and Canadian Groups Whose Operation Had Ceased to Exist by 1905

A. British Ones

English Baptist Missionary Society.
Sent agents in 1879 but merged with American Baptist Union venture in 1890.

Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society.
This group started its activity in Japan in 1874 and was in operation only for a few years.

Society for Promotion of Female Education.
In operation in Nippon between 1877 and 1888.

St. Andrew's University Mission.
Anglican men's activity during 1887-1890.
St. Hilda's Mission.
   Anglican women's activity during 1887-1890.

B. Canadian One

Wycliffe College Mission.
   Anglican undertaking inaugurated in 1888 but merged with the Church of England in Canada in 1902.
APPENDIX B

THE LISTS OF THE MISSIONARY DISTRIBUTION
IN 1905

Hokkaidō District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Hakodate</th>
<th>Sapporo</th>
<th>Otaru</th>
<th>Asahikawa</th>
<th>Nemuro</th>
<th>Hirato</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

357
## Tōhoku District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Sendai</th>
<th>Akita</th>
<th>Hirosaki</th>
<th>Amori</th>
<th>Norioka</th>
<th>Yamagata</th>
<th>Ōita</th>
<th>Tokote</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Christian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Europeans              |        |       |          |       |         |          |      |        |       |
| Church Missionary      | -      | -     | 1        | -     | -       | -        | -    | -      | 1     |
| Society                |        |       |          |       |         |          |      |        |       |
| <strong>Grand total</strong>        | 37     | 9     | 6        | 2     | 2       | 2        | 1    | 1      | 60    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Tokyo</th>
<th>Yokohama</th>
<th>Mito</th>
<th>Neobashi</th>
<th>Kawanoe</th>
<th>Utsunomiya</th>
<th>Chōshi</th>
<th>Ōhima</th>
<th>Chiba</th>
<th>Kamagaya</th>
<th>Urawa</th>
<th>Yokosuka</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Missionary Soc.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Assoc.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Evangelistic Band</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Christian Convention</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (South)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hephzibah Faith</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brethren</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th-day Adventist</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Seamen's Friend</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan Book &amp; Tract Soc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bible Soc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.W.C.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>146</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>198</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominations</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>16 4 - - - - - - - - - - - 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel</td>
<td>18 1 - - - - - - - - - - - 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>15 1 - - - - - - - - - - - 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td>8 - - - - - - - - - - - - 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (Canada)</td>
<td>7 - - - - - - - - - - - - 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian Alliance</td>
<td>2 - - - - - - - - 2 1 - - - 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Evangelical</td>
<td>2 - - - - - - - - - - - - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 5 1 0 0 0 0 2 1 0 0 1 88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>214 41 5 4 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chūbu District

#### Denominations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Americans</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>Kanazawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Methodist (Canada)             |           |          |          | 5     | 5       | 1    | 6     | 2    | -           | 3    |
| Church Missionary Soc.         | 4         |          |          |       |         |      |       |      | 5          | 3    |
| Church of England (Canada)     |           |          |          | -     |         |      |       |      | -           | 2    |
| Scandinavian Alliance          |           |          |          | -     |         |      |       |      | -           |      |
| Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel |           |          |          | -     | 1       |      |       |      | -           |      |
| Independent                    |           |          |          | -     |         |      |       |      | -           |      |
| Total                          | 4         | 5         | 6        | 1     | 0       | 6    | 5     | 5    | 3          | 5    |

Grand total: 23 12 8 7 6 6 5 5 5 5
### Chūbu District—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Hamamatsu</th>
<th>Matsumoto</th>
<th>Takayama</th>
<th>Atsuta</th>
<th>Naoetsu</th>
<th>Toyama</th>
<th>Mishima</th>
<th>Nagano</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (South)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europeans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (Canada)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England (Canada)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian Alliance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Kinki District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Osaka</th>
<th>Kobe</th>
<th>Kyoto</th>
<th>Himeji</th>
<th>Naka-yama</th>
<th>Yamada</th>
<th>Nara</th>
<th>Sume to</th>
<th>Akashi</th>
<th>Hyogo</th>
<th>Tenri</th>
<th>Cal.-English</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland Presbyterian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (South)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.M.C.A.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bible Soc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (South)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Methodist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th-day Adventist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>136</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc. for the Propagation of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Evangelical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chūgoku District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Americans</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>Okayama</td>
<td>Shimonomori</td>
<td>Matsue</td>
<td>Yamaguchi</td>
<td>Chōfu</td>
<td>Fukuyama</td>
<td>Tonago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (South)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian &amp; Missionary Alliance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                                             |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|                                             | Europeans |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
| Church Missionary Soc.                    | 3         |          | 3        |          | 3        |          |          |          |
| Soc. for the Propagation of the Gospel    | -         | 1        |          | 2        |          |          |          |          |
| Independent                              | -         |          | 3        |          |          |          |          |          |
| **Total**                                | **3**     | **1**    | **2**    | **6**    | **0**    | **0**    | **3**    | **3**    |
| **Grand total**                          | **23**    | **9**    | **7**    | **6**    | **6**    | **3**    | **3**    | **3**    |
### Chūgoku District—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Egl</th>
<th>Hamada</th>
<th>Kure</th>
<th>Tsukahara</th>
<th>Sakai</th>
<th>Tokushima</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (South)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (North)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian &amp; Missionary Alliance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europeans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc. for the Propagation of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Shikoku District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Americans</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Matsuyama</td>
<td>Tokushima</td>
<td>Kochi</td>
<td>Takamatsu</td>
<td>Ukjima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The table above shows the distribution of members across different denominations in the Shikoku District for the year 1940.
- The numbers indicate the number of members in each category across different locations (Matsuyama, Tokushima, Kochi, Takamatsu, Ukjima).

*Note: The data is presented in a tabular format with each denomination and its membership broken down by location.*
Kyūshū District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominations</th>
<th>Nagasaki</th>
<th>Kagoshima</th>
<th>Fukuoka</th>
<th>Kumamoto</th>
<th>Fukuoka</th>
<th>Saga</th>
<th>Kyūshū</th>
<th>Nakatsu</th>
<th>Ōita</th>
<th>Zekoku</th>
<th>Kurume</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (North)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist (South)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian (North)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Seamen's Friend</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish Evangelical Lutheran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europeans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Soc.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP 2

IMPORTANT CITIES IN THE EIGHT DISTRICTS OF JAPAN
BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCE MATERIAL

Unpublished Materials

"Journals of Individual Missionaries of the Reformed Church in the U.S.A." Filed under the several agents' names and stored at the Lancaster Theological Seminary of the United Church of Christ, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

A collection of manuscript journals kept by individuals sent out under the auspices of the German Reformed Church. Every mission board has an almost inexhaustible accumulation of such material, but this particular one was chosen as typical of a minor but strong group operating in Japan.

"William Elliot Griffis's Journals." In twenty-four separate notebooks preserved in the Special Collection Room at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

The complete diary of William E. Griffis from September 3, 1859 to February 3, 1928. Thirteen volumes, 1870 to 1905, are useful for this research, recording as they do his stay in Japan and his career in promoting goodwill for Japan.

"William Elliot Griffis Rutgers Alumni Collection." In ten files in the Rutgers University Archives in New Brunswick, New Jersey. A general grouping of articles and notes by Griffis collected by the Rutgers Alumni Association. Although dates and names of publications are not always known, this material throws much light upon the various activities of Griffis.
Books

A personal account by a friend of Griffis, employed as a teacher in Shizuoka.

Harris was America's first representative in Japan. An Episcopalian, he was greatly interested in furthering the Christian cause there.

Another personal account of the activities of a missionary of the American Board in Japan, who worked in Osaka and Kyōto between 1872 and 1892.

A famous narrative recording the reaction of Japanese towards Christianity on the occasion of their earliest contact with Americans.

This records the anti-missionary attitude of Hearn, who was a great promoter of American interest in Japan in the nineteenth century, and is in striking contrast to the opinions of Griffis.

A collection of seven journals written by the members of the Japanese mission, together with the articles from contemporary newspapers. It contains some curious accounts of the exotic encounter.

Moore, Jairus P. Forty Years in Japan, 1883-1923. Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions Reformed Church in the United States, 1925.

An account of activities of the German Reformed mission in Japan, together with Moore's personal experiences in Sendai.


The collected letters of a Japanese Christian leader, proving very useful for a purpose.


The journal of a captain of the Macedonia, a man-of-war of the Perry Expedition, including a supplementary account to Hawkes's official record of the expedition.


A collection of the writings of Japanese Protestant leaders. This gives good insight into Protestant influence on Japanese thought.
Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1895.

The diary of Uchimura, who was influenced by William Clark at Sapporo, Hokkaidō, and became the leader of Japanese Christianity. It was widely read in the United States and in Europe.

Vories, William M. *A Mustard-seed in Japan: Embodying the Japanese Experiences of an American Teacher.*
Hachiman, Ohmi: Privately Printed, 1911.

Written as a campaign book by an American teacher sent out to Japan by the Young Men's Christian Association in the United States, in 1904. Covers the activities of a new type of missionary in Ohmi-hachiman.

Denominational Periodicals and Annual Reports

The Baptist Group


The official organ of the Northern Baptists, containing annual reports and their agents' letters.

---

1These periodicals and annual reports cover the period from the beginning of missionary activities of each board in Japan to 1905. Denominational groups are listed in alphabetical order.

2Official materials of the Northern Baptist, the Southern Baptist, and the American Baptist Free Mission groups in the United States.

Accounts of missionary activities in Japan sponsored by the Southern Baptists.


This small board sent agents to Japan in 1859, but merged with the Northern Baptist in 1870.


One of the three among the Northern Baptist women's regional boards. This society engaged in missionary work in Japan.


A record of religious activities of the Northern and Southern Baptists in Japan.


Details of the authorization of the mission undertaking in Japan.
The Congregationalists


The oldest denominational magazine given to foreign missions, containing the American Board's annual reports and their agents' letters.

*Almanac.* Boston: The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1886-1905.

An annual designed for use by Congregational church members, with statistics covering the foreign missionary movement in general.


A special issue of the Board's report, devoted to the state of its Japan mission.

The Society of Friends


An account from the only Quaker group operating in Japan.
The Lutherans


The triennial report of activities of one of three Lutheran groups which worked in Japan.

The Methodist Group


Accounts of Northern Methodist activities, including work in Japan.


Records of Southern Methodist undertaking.


Proceedings of a small denomination which had only one field of overseas activity -- Japan.

^Included here is only the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South.

^This embraces the Northern Methodists, the Southern Methodists, and the Methodist Protestants, a small denomination emphasizing more democratic church politics.
Records of a society which sent their own missionaries to Japan, while cooperating with the Northern Methodists.

A Northern Methodist publication.

A Northern Methodist publication.

Articles replete with data on Southern Methodist missionary activities in Japan.

The organ of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Church, with much material bearing upon our subject. It became The Woman's Missionary Friend in 1896.

This Northern Methodist magazine, originally designed for the Middle West church members, printed several articles on Japan mission.
The American Illustrated Methodist Magazine. Vols. I - XIV.
A popular Methodist magazine, describing many missionary activities in Japan.

The Minutes of the Session of the Japan Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
Records of Northern Methodist activities in Nippon.

The Presbyterian Group

Philadelphia: The Board of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1861-1905.
Northern Presbyterians.

Records of a Middle-West-oriented Presbyterian group active in missionary work in Osaka, Japan.

5Included here are both the Northern Presbyterian and the Cumberland Presbyterian Churches.

An official organ of the Western Missionary Society, forerunner of the Northern Presbyterian Mission Board. This contains several interesting articles on Japan during her isolated period. The magazine merged with The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.


Official organ for the Northern Presbyterians.

The Reformed Church


Accounts of the German Reformed Church mission.

Almanac for the German Reformed Church. Philadelphia: The Reformed Church in the United States, 1876-1905.

An annual designed for use by German Reformed church members, containing statistics covering overseas undertakings in Japan.

6Included here is only the German Reformed Church.
Non-denominational and Inter-denominational Bodies


Articles


SECONDARY WORKS

Books


A full account, based on agents' journals, of American missionaries' attempts to open the door to Japan.


The story of the Japanese castaway sailors, based upon their report to the Shogunate government after their return.


The most recent publication on the history of Japanese Christianity, critically written by a professor at the Methodist Theological School in Ohio.


A biography and collection of letters of the outstanding journalist who lived in Japan from 1890 to 1904.

A thorough statistical account of denominational distributions in the United States, valuable as a basis for study of the foreign missionary interest of each church group. Written by a person in charge of church census at the U. S. 11th Census in 1890.

A missionary text-book on Japan for college students by a worker of the American Board.

A good contemporary account, though now out-of-date, of the development of Japanese Christianity, written by a missionary of the American Board who came to Okayama in 1878. The second volume, on Japanese Protestantism, is of particular value here.

A good account of contemporary Japan. The author was a missionary of the Northern Baptists in Tōkyō.

An edition of the first academic history of Japan, Hildreth's work of 1855, which had been reprinted in 1903 under the editorship of K. Murakawa.

A personal account, of basic importance for our purpose, by one of Neesima's co-workers, and agent of the American Board in Kyōto.

A tribute to the "Soldier-Missionary" by his son.


The biography of a missionary to Japan at Osaka and Sendai after 1874, written by his daughter.


A work by an American Board missionary, mainly in Sendai, after 1874, which is typical of the popular treatises aimed at creating friendly understanding of Nippon in America.


A study of the early Japanese Protestant group in Kumamoto, Kyūshū, brought into being by Captain L. L. Janes and later joined to Dōshisha. The Band represents one of the latest achievements in the history of Japanese Protestantism.


The story of the society's Japanese activities.
   An official history of the United Church of Christ in Japan.

   A record of the group's mission activities in Japan, which began in 1875 in the Tōhoku district.

   Statistics and maps indicating distribution for each denominational group.

   A collection of biographies of Dutch and German Reformed missionaries, some of whom worked in Japan.

   Another biography of a missionary of the American Board after 1869 in Kōbe, Yokohama, Kyōto, and Tōkyō, written by his son.

   The most popular American book on Japan in the nineteenth-century, having run through twelve editions by 1913. Volume II, dealing with experiences in Japan, is particularly useful.
A highly effective image creator, especially designed for church people seeking an understanding of Japan.

*The Religions of Japan, from the Dawns of History to the Era of Meiji.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.
One of the earliest books on Japanese religions to appear in the United States, of importance to the comparative religious courses in American theological seminaries.

An interesting picture of a diplomat whose role in the opening of the American Protestant missionary movement in Japan was significant.

A work reflecting the views of Griffis after the Spanish-American War of 1898, when he became an expansionist. Here he connected United States overseas activities with the missionary movement.

A survey of the career of the Dutch Reformed Church missionary who played a significant role in the formation of Tōkyō University. Verbeck was in Japan from 1859 to 1898, stationed at Nagasaki and Tōkyō.

The career of a Dutch Reformed missionary in Yokohama and Niigata from 1859 to 1879.


Designed specially for the women's missionary societies' campaign for Japan missions.


An introduction to Japan written specially for young people.


The biography of a Northern Presbyterian agent in Japan from 1859 to 1905, stationed in Yokohama and Tōkyō, founder of Meiji Gakuin and inventor of the Romanized Japanese characters.

—. The Rutgers Graduates in Japan, an Address Delivered in Kirkpatrick Chapel, Rutgers College, June 16, 1885 by William Elliot Griffis of the Class of 1865, Revised and Enlarged and Reprinted at the 150th Anniversary of the College. (Rutgers College Publications, Second Series.) New Brunswick: Rutgers College, 1916.

A lecture on the relationship between Rutgers and Japan by the first Rutgers man ever to live in Nippon. Contains summarized biographies of Rutgers alumni, both American and Japanese. A good study of Japanese-American relationships developed through the educational institution.

An anthropological and sociological study by an American Board agent stationed in Kumamoto and Matsuyama after 1887.


Originally prepared for a lecture at Cornell University and published in 1905 after Hearn's death. We can see here his synthesized image of Japan.

---


A collection of articles by the foremost journalist on Japan. He stayed in Matsue, Kumamoto, Kobe, and Tokyo from 1890 to his death in 1904. His criticism on missionary activities is evident in these selections.


A widely-read work by a son of Alpheus Hardy, Neesima's guardian, very popular in American church circles.


An overall picture of Japanese Christianity, including Roman Catholicism, written by a leading church historian in Japan.


YMCA activities in Japan.
The latest history of Japanese Protestantism, written by a missionary professor at Aoyama Gakuin University (Methodist, Tōkyō).

A biography of a Northern Baptist worker stationed at Yokohama after 1889. Written by her former student.

A collection of papers prepared for a seminar in Bermuda sponsored by the Conference on Modern Japan of the Association for Asian Studies. Especially good as a study of the Japanese attitude toward missionaries.

Survey of a century of religious and educational relationships between Japan and the United States, giving much attention to missionary influences.

A very useful socio-economic study of Japanese Protestantism in the nineteenth century, embracing a consideration of the latter in its bearing upon the country's social structure.

A symposium on the development of Christianity in the Meiji period by leading scholars in Japan.


A good general perspective presentation.


A presentation of missionary activities of the Disciples of Christ in Japan.


Data bearing on the Japanese field opened in Tōkyō in 1895.


The most recent Japanese publication on national Protestantism, containing much valuable statistical information.


A standard work on American-Japanese relationship.

A well-known history of Protestant missions in Japan, originally written in German in 1890 by a German missionary. The translator and the reviser were both workers of the American Board in Japan, and provided the English translation. Interesting in that it presents a European point of view.


A cultural history of American-Japanese relationships, expressing a critical view of missionary activities.


An official history of Mormon church activity in Japan, beginning in 1901.


A history of the Movement which roused much missionary interest among students in the late nineteenth century. A good reference for the American background to missionary undertakings.


A history of Japanese Protestantism in the nineteenth century from the view of social thought. This was the first academic work on Japanese Protestantism by a Japanese scholar.

A history of Lutheran undertakings in Japan, beginning in 1893.


A collection of letters from a famous Northern Presbyterian worker in Japan by the foremost expert on Hepburn.


A biography of the famous missionary, the latest achievement of a Japanese scholar.


A detailed account of the flowering period of the missionary movement in Japan by a former missionary and established scholar. Very useful.


A collection of brief biographies in pamphlet form, covering the lives of missionaries to Japan.


The biography of a Southern Methodist worker, a secretary of the board and an important participant in the Conference of the Foreign Mission
Boards, who stayed in Kobe and Hiroshima from 1886 to 1898.

Articles

An example of serious study of another faith by a missionary.


These three articles show Griffis's consistent interest in Nippon.

Typical of Griffis's public lectures on Japan.


These two articles present Griffis's interest in Japan's progress.

"Fifty Years of Oriental Study," (no place of publication available, ca. 1894).
Griffis's short account on the Oriental study in the United States with an emphasis on missionaries' contribution in this field.

Griffis, William E. "America in the Far East, IV. What Americans Have Done in Japan," The Outlook, LXV (December 31, 1898), 1052-57.

Griffis's expansionist side is apparent.


"Japanese Victories, Are They a Menace or a Blessing?" Sunday Magazine, III (October 29, 1905).

The last three show Griffis's opinions on the Russo-Japanese War.