

VICTORIAN MISSIONARIES IN MEIJI JAPAN:

THE SHIBA SECT 1873 - 1900

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department
of
HISTORY

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1968

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Date September 23, 1968

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Abstract

The influence of American culture on the modernization of Japan has become a recognized subject for investigation. British cultural influence was also an important factor, especially in the later nineteenth century, but has received less attention. This holds particularly true for the study of Christianity and Christian missions. It is generally understood that Christianity contributed to the formation of the intellectual tradition of the Meiji era. Yet all studies, both in Japan and in the West, treat Christianity as identical with American Protestantism. It is the thesis of this study that another type of Christianity, which came from England, also existed in Meiji Japan. Its relation to society was less dialectical. Where American Protestantism challenged, Anglicanism affirmed traditional institutions. Although never attaining the public recognition given the American type, Anglicanism furnished an early example of a group which recognized and practised cultural and intellectual pluralism. It is therefore important for the understanding of modern Japanese society. The examination of this tradition also provides an insight into the general differences between the British and American approaches to Japanese culture.

This investigation follows the careers and writings of three early Anglican missionaries who lived in Japan between 1873 and 1900. Their writings have been related to the main social and intellectual currents of their day. Where possible their family background, education and attitudes have been compared with other leaders in the church and in secular affairs. Each missionary was found to represent a particular aspect of upper and upper-middle class English life. Their views and the ways in which they related to the culture of Meiji Japan were seen to express certain general English ways of relating to foreign cultures.

The missionaries' views on three important areas of Meiji society--education, politics and the Emperor-system--pointed to certain clear, though tentative, conclusions. Anglicanism was part of the general ideology of the old English land-owners whose dominant position in society was being taken over at this time by the industrial middle class. As a ruling class it was naturally opposed to sudden change. Its view of culture was broadly humanistic, and this humanism was reinforced by the Anglo-catholic theology of the missionaries. Social and theological factors combined to produce a generally affirmative attitude toward certain foreign cultures with which the missionaries came in close contact.

In Japan the missionaries identified with the institutions of their adopted land. The aristocratic society of

their own land was passing away, but something approximately like it still existed in Japan. The leaders of Meiji society trusted the Englishmen for their conservatism, while lower-class Japanese felt safe with them because of their paternalistic sense of responsibility. Consequently, although the Englishmen still maintained their personal identity as foreigners, they felt secure enough to affirm the Japanese way of life.

Finally, the corporate and organic nature of the missionaries' thinking led to the formation of a church in which Englishmen and Japanese could work together. Within the framework of a hierarchical relationship Anglicanism became a basis for coexistence between individuals of two distinct cultures. In the process of work together, the British missionaries and their Japanese colleagues associated creatively with one another in a way that was quite distinct from the American pattern.

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Note on References

1. Correspondence is cited by using the name (or initials) of the writer, the person addressed, and finally, the date. For instance, Poole-CMS, 8/6/85 means "Poole to the Church Missionary Society, June 8, 1885."

All correspondence, unless specified, is from the archives of either CMS or SPG. In the case of CMS it will be from Letters Received, J/O1 (Japan); if SPG, from D-MSS (Japan). (See Bibliography).

2. Frequently used names and titles have been abbreviated as follows:

ACS	Alexander Croft Shaw.
AL	Arthur Lloyd.
<u>CCM</u>	<u>The Canadian Church Magazine and Missionary News.</u>
<u>CMI</u>	<u>The Church Missionary Intelligencer.</u>
CMS	The Church Missionary Society.
Cary	Otis Cary, <u>A History of Christianity in Japan</u> , vol. II.
EB	Edward Bickersteth.
<u>FEQ</u>	<u>The Far Eastern Quarterly</u> (now the <u>Journal of Asian Studies</u>)
<u>FYZ</u>	<u>Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū</u> [Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi].
<u>KBKS</u>	<u>Kindai bungaku kenkyū sōsho</u> [Studies in Modern Literature Series], vol. XII.
<u>Life</u>	<u>S. Bickersteth, Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth.</u>
<u>MF</u>	<u>The Mission Field.</u>
<u>MN</u>	<u>Monumenta Nipponica.</u>
<u>NS</u>	<u>Nichiyō sōshi</u> [Sunday Journal].

<u>SK</u>	<u>Shingaku no koe</u> [Voice of Theology].
SPG	The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
<u>TASJ</u>	<u>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.</u>

3. All translations from Japanese not otherwise attributed are by the writer. A glossary of Japanese names and terms not found in standard English dictionaries is found in Appendix I.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing interest on the part of historians in the study of missionary records. At one time scholars regarded such records as useful only for church, or mission, history. Now it is seen that they tell us much about the encounter in the nineteenth century between an expanding European culture and the lands which were forced to accept the white man.¹ Even when mission records have been used scholars in the West have been preoccupied with colonial or semi-colonial areas like Africa, India and Indonesia. This has resulted in a narrowing of focus: missions studied within colonial lands inevitably became associated with the economic and political activities of the imperialist cultures to which they belonged.

The history of missions in Japan furnishes an opportunity to observe cultural interaction without most of the complications introduced by colonialism. Japan in the nineteenth century did everything in its power to escape economic and political tutelage and succeeded to a remarkable degree in achieving its objective. The determination to remain free

¹G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (London, 1963), pp. 21-23, has pointed to the realization that they are also an important new source for social historians of England.

from outside domination extended to every area of her life. As a result Western missionaries, for instance, associated with their converts on a basis of greater equality than in any other land. In some cases missionaries were even forced to play a role subordinate to indigenous leaders.² Because Japanese remained free from external control the scholar was able to see Christianity as an element in the modernization of thought rather than as an ideology of domination. It was an idea which could be freely accepted on its merits without fear of retribution by an outside ruling power.

Japanese scholars have long been aware of the significance of Christianity in their modern history, but the subject has only lately begun to interest the Western student. Moreover, because Japanese scholars have had easy access to the records in their own country, they have tended to present the story largely in terms of their own countrymen who accepted the new ideas. They have been unable to pay sufficient attention to the people who brought them, or even to understand accurately the ideas themselves. Whereas recent studies of Christianity in China or Africa have made full use of American and British mission records, there are as yet few works which have done the same for Japan.

One reason for this neglect is that the majority of contemporary studies--both Western and Japanese--have been

²J. F. Howes, "Japanese Christians and American Missionaries," in Marius Jansen ed., Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization (Princeton, 1964), p. 360.

primarily interested in problems of economic and political modernization. Where they have examined the cultural element they have concentrated almost exclusively on the influence of New England Puritanism. Following Max Weber, they have made much of the Calvinist emphasis on activism and ascetic otherworldliness as central concepts for understanding modernization.³

It is the concern of this essay to show that another type of Christianity of a quieter sort has also been at work in Japan. Where American Protestantism worked dialectically, challenging traditional Japanese institutions, it also produced reaction (tenkō) and compromise. Anglicanism, coming from a society where the church was part of the establishment, avoided conflict with the state. Its attitudes were paternalistic. It sought to produce good Christians who would also be good citizens. But this gentlemanly and often easy-going approach in its affirmation of Japanese society failed to take cognizance of the latent conflict between its own cosmopolitanism and the particularity of traditional Japanese culture. As it developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Anglicanism combined social conservatism with an autonomous and at

³In Japan the pioneering studies of Sumiya Mikio have done much to establish this orientation. In the U. S., R. N. Bellah has made use of Weberian ideas to produce an analysis of Japanese society based on the sociology of Talcott Parsons.

times exceedingly "Japanese" kind of faith which appealed to people who held positions of responsibility in their own society. It is significant that Saint Andrew's Church, Shiba--the subject of this study--boasted among its adherents at one time or another people as different in outlook as Ozaki Yukio, the father of parliamentary democracy, Inomata Kōzō, a leader in the left-wing faction of the Socialist Party, Koizumi Shinzō, the tutor of the Crown Prince, and Mrs. Shidachi, a daughter of the noted Meiji educator, Fukuzawa Yukichi.

For the historian of culture the study of Japanese Anglicanism is important because it tells something about the nature of cultural contact between Englishmen and Japanese. The influence of British missionaries was not confined to the congregations which they built up. The late nineteenth century was a time of increasing, though uncertain, friendship between Great Britain and Japan. A common policy of opposition to Russia led to changes in the unequal treaties between the two countries and ultimately to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Other factors besides politics influenced these developments. The friendship between Great Britain and Japan also found support in the national sentiment, if we may use the term, of the two peoples. Neither government could disregard the existence of such sentiments, although they may not have decisively influenced the final decision.

The investigation of these sentiments constitutes a second concern of this study. The British missionaries in Japan had a good deal to do with building up public opinion. They wrote letters to the press, both in their own country and in Japan. They associated with Japanese at many levels of society. Above all they were a presence, a microcosm of British culture, which existed in Japan to be observed by the man in the street. He could never hope to cross the ocean but nevertheless felt that he knew what Englishmen were like because he had seen "the noble man Cholmondeley" treating the boys at Asakusa on a Sunday afternoon.⁴

The investigation of so broad a subject involves great difficulties. That is why I have chosen to use a sampling of missionary attitudes as represented by three leaders of English Christianity in Japan between 1870 and 1900. Whether or not the choice of these men was wise will depend on a number of considerations. Did they represent the British missionary movement in Japan? Did they really represent their fellow Englishmen? Was what they thought or did historically significant?

The second question can be answered most quickly. Englishmen resident in Japan at that time can be divided into three groups, each with its own point of view. There were diplomats, businessmen, and missionaries. A fourth group,

⁴See the amusing description of L. B. Cholmondeley, one of the Shiba men, given by the popular newspaper, Yorozu Chōhō, and translated in the Japan Times of November 17, 1914, Appendix III.

foreign employees of Japanese concerns such as engineers and teachers, can really be subsumed within those of one or another of the first three. Strictly speaking, then, the missionaries can be said to represent only one of the three groups. A balanced picture would have to await studies of all three and their characteristic styles of life.

There are good reasons for picking the missionaries out first. For one thing there were more of them, and for the most part they stayed in the country longer than either businessmen or diplomats. They spoke the language, while their work carried them out of the treaty-ports and concessions where, until 1899, foreigners were compelled to reside. Unlike the diplomats they had no national interests to uphold. This does not mean that they were totally disinterested--far from it. They were "selling" a commodity, Christianity. In this regard they were at one with the businessmen. But the humanitarian nature of their own particular commodity allowed them to be somewhat more sensitive to the point of view of the Japanese people. As a number of the missionaries were university graduates--often with distinguished achievements--they had been trained to generalize from their observations. Admittedly much of their writing was preoccupied with organizational matters. But what they said about Japan was read by a wide public. Church publications were more generally read even in late Victorian England than they are in the twentieth century. Finally, the successful operation of their enterprise increasingly

pushed them to study the language, customs and beliefs of the country. The missionaries, together with the diplomats, were the pioneers in those fields until their place was taken by trained grammarians and social scientists. In all these ways they qualify as the most easily accessible and articulate representatives of their countrymen at that time resident in Japan.

The first question--whether the missionaries who worked together at Saint Andrew's, Shiba, could claim to reflect the attitudes of all British missionaries in Japan--raises certain difficulties. The Shiba missionaries represented the Church of England, to which the majority of Englishmen belonged. A significant minority in Great Britain belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and to various Non-conformist denominations, but during the nineteenth century few of them went to Japan. The Catholic missionaries at that time nearly all came from France while the only non-Anglican Protestants--apart from the Americans--were a handful of Scottish Presbyterians who remained in the country only briefly.

The difficulties arise because Anglicanism itself is not a uniform system of belief. During the nineteenth century in particular two parties, the Anglo-catholics and the Evangelicals, were attempting to lead the church in opposite directions. In Japan two missionary societies reflected these divisions. Moreover there were numerous other variations which arose from individual differences of temperament, theological interpretation, and social background.

How then does the Shiba mission qualify to represent such diversity?

The Shiba men were missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). The other British mission in Japan was the Church Missionary Society (CMS). This latter organization belonged to the Evangelical, or Protestant, wing of the Church of England. As such, its members possessed a fairly uniform theological outlook which was basically similar to that of the American missionaries. Thus while CMS missionaries stood nationally within the English tradition, they could also be aligned theologically with the Americans. The very diversity of theological and social background within SPG qualified it best to represent the broad range of English Anglicanism. CMS was uniform theologically, but SPG accepted candidates with every type of outlook.

Actually the Shiba men were closest to the High, or Catholic, wing of the Church of England. I have chosen three of them in particular to represent the English missionary community for several reasons. Each of them in his own way was an important man and a leader who set his own stamp on Japanese Anglicanism. Two of them made contributions to Japanese society for which they are still remembered by historians. Each of them was also a leader, though admittedly a minor one, in the foreign community of Tokyo. Each stood for a distinct form of the social and intellectual points of

view current in English society at the end of the nineteenth century. Their reaction to Japan thus reflected a number of ways in which Englishmen of the period thought and acted.

These three men did not make up the total membership of the Shiba Sect, but they were its founders. The Canadian Alexander Croft Shaw was the first SPG missionary to arrive in Japan. He remained throughout his life a leader in the mission. He was also the father figure in the Shiba community. The other two worked closely with him, although they arrived over a decade later than he did. Arthur Lloyd was a Cambridge don who had been born in India, while Edward Bickersteth was an outstanding ecclesiastical administrator. By 1900 there were a dozen other Canadian and British missionaries associated with them.

It is more difficult to define the Japanese membership of the Sect. I have therefore confined myself to mentioning three of the earliest leaders, Tajimi Jūrō, Imai Toshimichi and Yamada Sukejirō. By the end of the nineteenth century there were at least three or four others in the inner circle. But by that time the influence of the group reached far beyond the Shiba compound.

The Shiba Sect

The term "Shiba Sect" is a translation of the Japanese Shiba-ha. It refers to one of the dominant streams of tradition

within the Nippon Seikōkai. The Seikōkai is an autonomous Japanese church, founded in 1887 by British and American missionaries and their converts. It belongs to the tradition known as Anglican or Episcopal, both of which descend from the Church of England. In the case of the Americans, Scottish Episcopalianism has also exercised a decisive influence. The Seikōkai developed out of work begun by the American C. M. Williams in 1859 at Nagasaki. Williams was joined by other American Episcopal missionaries and also by members of the two British missionary societies, the CMS and the SPG. Anglican missionaries from Canada began to appear in Japan from 1889. Thus the Seikōkai is descended from a variety of national and theological traditions. In this respect it differs from other Protestant denominations in Japan whose background is almost exclusively American and evangelical.

Even after the founding of the Seikōkai the national and theological distinctions did not immediately disappear. The Western missionaries received their salaries from abroad and were bound by the regulations of the society which had sent them, even though they might obey the orders of a bishop of the local church. In order to avoid conflict between the different traditions from Britain and America, the new church divided itself into a number of jurisdictional regions, each under a particular missionary society. The leaders who planned this division looked upon it as a temporary measure. It was to have been replaced by a permanent diocesan structure

as soon as the infant church became economically self-supporting. But the divisions persisted, long after the jurisdictions of the Western missionary societies were withdrawn.

A further factor, contributed by Japanese society, helped to perpetuate distinctions based on European traditions. For centuries the people of Japan have looked upon the relations of personal authority and obedience characteristic of the East Asian family system as the most natural form of social organization. Such relations, carried through from the early period of clan society, appear in modern times as basic forms within the structure of political party, industrial enterprise; or academic institution. They may involve actual family ties of kinship, marriage or adoption, but these ties are usually secondary, being means to building the group rather than actually constituting it. Such groups are variously described according to their context, but two common terms are "ha," or "batsu". The latter term, of course, is already well known in the West through its use to describe the great financial concerns, known as zaibatsu, which dominated Japan prior to the second World War.

It was this cultural factor which combined with the distinctions imported from the West to keep alive the diverse traditions within the Seikōkai. A man was known to belong to "Beikoku mission ha" (American Mission Group), or to "Shi emu esu ha" (CMS Group), for no better reason

than that one of those missions might have worked formerly in the part of the country where he became a Christian. Because missionaries had established a certain tradition, the convert was expected to remain loyal to it.

The Shiba-ha differed in its origin. It grew out of the SPG tradition but, as the name implies, it was particularly associated with the Tokyo mission-station at Shiba founded by A. C. Shaw in 1878. SPG missionaries also founded stations at other points in Tokyo, and in Kōbe, but they do not seem to have left a lasting impression. It was the decisive influence of Shaw and the group of Englishmen and Japanese which gathered around him that distinguished the Shiba-ha from the broader traditions. The attitudes developed in this group produced a self-conscious style of life which became one of the dominating influences in moulding the character of the Nippon Seikōkai. The attitudes remain today, long after the other traditions have blended and lost their distinctiveness.

The fundamental concepts associated with the term ha make it difficult to translate. Its various meanings include "cult," "group," "school," and "sect." In compounds it can further mean "party" or "faction." When used with reference to religious groups, its nearest English equivalent is "denomination" or "sect."

But the word "sect" itself admits of no single accepted definition. The Oxford English Dictionary gives nine main

meanings.⁵ The one which most nearly approximates to the present use is "A religious following." It is closer than the other modern use, "A separate organized body or denomination," which implies structural separation from the parent church. The ha need not be structurally separate, and certainly the Shiba-ha was not. This broader meaning is used in English in such terms as the Clapham Sect. This was the name given to a group of prominent businessmen and politicians who were associated with the parish church at Clapham, near London, at the end of the eighteenth century. They professed an evangelical piety and became active in foreign missions and social reform while remaining within the Established Church, exercising a profound influence upon it. Although the name "sect" was originally applied to the Clapham group in ridicule, no such pejorative associations attach to the Shiba Sect. It is rather for the distinctive style of life which it developed

⁵London, 1933, IX, 360-361.

that the Shiba Sect is of interest to students of the Meiji period today.

Meiji Era and Meiji Restoration

Japanese normally identify dates by the use of calendrical periods known as nengō. The imperial court was responsible for deciding when to declare a new era and what to call it. In modern times the Japanese adopted the practice of identifying the period with the reign of a particular emperor. Thus the era of Meiji--literally, "enlightened rule"--began with the accession of the young Mutsuhito in 1868 and continued until his death in 1912. The emperor is never called by his personal name in Japan, but is called Meiji tennō, "the Meiji Emperor," or if identification is unnecessary, simply Tennō heika, "His Majesty, the Emperor."

The term Meiji Restoration is here used to denote certain political events which formed a crucial stage in the modernization of Japan. The process of modernization began, as in the West, far back in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But it gained impetus in the mid-nineteenth century in response to the demands of Western nations for trade and diplomatic

relations. In their determination to preserve their country from outside domination the rulers of Japan reorganized their own society and adopted much that had hitherto been foreign to their tradition.

The term Restoration strictly describes only the events which surrounded the opening years of the Meiji Era. But these events continued to influence the history of the entire reign, indeed of all Japan's modern period. The Restoration began as a movement of young samurai, mostly from the western domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa and Hiizen, to wrest control of the Emperor--and therefore, of the national government--from the Tokugawa Shogunate. But what had begun as a palace revolution with nationalist aims was forced to embark on a thoroughgoing programme of modernization in order to consolidate itself. Consequently the expression "Meiji Era" in Japanese minds possesses many of the same associations that "Victorian" has for Westerners. It refers to the time when Japan emerged as a modern nation.

On January 3, 1868, the young leaders opened the Meiji Era when they proclaimed the resumption of direct rule by the Emperor, whom they moved from Kyoto to a new capital in Tokyo. In spite of armed resistance which continued sporadically until 1877 they began to centralize the political structure of the nation by the abolition of feudal forms of government and the organization of modern systems

of administration, education and production. In this process the new rulers were challenged by political resistance within the country and by economic and diplomatic pressure from without. In response to the domestic challenge they worked out a minimal system of representative government which they granted to the people in the name of the Emperor. The promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 and the opening of the first Imperial Diet (parliament) of 1890 marked the political birth of Japan as a modern nation. The victory over China in 1895 heralded its emergence as a strong military state. Western industrial techniques had been harnessed to the martial spirit of the Japanese people. This growing power of Japan helped it--first among Asian nations--to achieve equal status with the powers of the West. Treaties which allowed special status to foreign nationals were revised in 1894. By 1899, when the new treaties came into force, Japan had won acceptance as a partner in the modern community of empires.

Method and Scope

The introductory nature of this essay has largely determined the method used. Since this is a revision of certain hypotheses which have influenced the understanding of modernization in Japan, elements from several fields, notably the church, contemporary ideas and social movements, and politics have been combined. I could have used any

number of methods to carry out the synthesis. Possible techniques included a study in depth which used one or another of the social sciences, local history or biography. But the paucity of available material in any one of these alone would have unduly limited the possible conclusions that might have come from them.

At first I sought for material which would provide new insights into the nature of nineteenth-century contact between Japan and the West. The archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London proved to have just such resources. The files of the Church Missionary Society, the Anglican Church of Canada, and the National Council, Nippon Seikōkai, furnished further valuable material. I then attempted to evolve a method which would allow for more than a simple cataloguing of these sources: one which would show not only where the material was but would also give some idea of the new topics raised.

From this process I evolved what I call a sketchbook technique. The main lines of a given area are blocked out in preparation for further study. Questions are raised and directions outlined for further development. But because of its very breadth and lack of definite conclusions the use of the sketchbook method also implies certain limitations in the scope of the treatment. For instance, I do not stop to define basic concepts such as culture or cultural influence, modernization, plurality, or dialectic and affirmation,

trusting that the context will give these terms sufficient meaning.

Although this study deals with people, it bypasses the fascinations of biography in favour of a more partial, contextual treatment. Individuals possess historical significance in relation to various movements and influences in the society of their day. At this stage I am more interested in such details about Shaw, Bickersteth and Lloyd than in creating a word portrait of them. I have therefore treated them here as types of Victorian Englishman rather than as individuals.

Such treatment may end up by producing caricatures of these men rather than clear portraits. It may be said that there is no such thing as a typical Victorian, just as there are exceptions to the kind of American who is conjured up here. Such objections, even though justified, miss the point of my method. Types are necessary to obtain contrasts. The three Shiba missionaries stood for certain tendencies inherent in the English culture of their day. In a similar way, Americans like Janes, Davis and Clark revealed attitudes which were common to the post-puritan society of their country.⁶ Because the Americans are already being studied by others I have neglected them in order to spend more time with the less known Englishmen who made their own distinctive contribution to their adopted land.

⁶Howes, "Japanese Christians," p. 340.

CHAPTER II

LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN IN TRANSITION

A. Japan looks west

The geographical, economic, political and cultural factors which allowed Japan to modernize without losing its national identity or political autonomy have been analyzed at great length.¹ Here it is intended simply to point to certain elements which will help to give meaning to the investigation which follows.

Any study of Japanese relations with the West cannot avoid recognizing the significance of geography.² The same isolation which, in the seventh and twelfth centuries, enabled Japan to escape domination by China, also saved her from the European powers in the nineteenth. Japan and Britain were at opposite ends of the earth from each other. Japan's closest neighbour across the Pacific was America, and the United States was as yet uninterested in political

¹E.g., The Princeton series which began with Marius Jansen ed., Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization (Princeton, 1964).

²R. S. Scalapino, "Environmental and Foreign Contributions" in R. E. Ward and D. A. Rustow ed., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton, 1964), 64-90: p. 67.

empire. So Japan retained freedom to manoeuvre.

Geography alone could not have saved Japan from domination if she had not also been a relatively poor country. The British commercial interests in India and China were aware, through Dutch reports, that there was little profit to be gained from trade with Japan. So through much of the nineteenth century they were content to let the United States take the initiative in diplomacy.³ The Japanese themselves had developed a culture which was largely the result of an economy of survival. Scarcity was interpreted as simplicity. Man was part of his environment, not over and above it as in the West. Rice culture and the struggle for land together emphasized the importance of group organization. Transcendent values were subordinated to the demands of practical necessity.⁴

Because Japan never developed a basic ideology or orthodoxy of her own she remained free to make use of a number of theoretical answers to human problems.⁵ "The Japanese have a taste and talent . . . for Eclecticism,"

³W. G. Beasley, Great Britain and the Opening of Japan 1834-1858 (London, 1951), pp. 48-49.

⁴Nishitani Keiji, "Nihon ni okeru dentōteki shūkyō ishiki" [The Traditional Religious Consciousness of Japan] in Takeda Kiyoko ed., Shisōshi no hōhō to taishō [Methods and Objectives in the History of Thought] (Tokyo, 1961), 241-270: pp. 244-245.

⁵Maruyama Masao, Nihon no shisō [Japanese Thought], (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 8-10, 14-15.

observed an early missionary commentator.⁶ Other observers have noted a certain hodge-podge character in the rush to catch up with the European powers at the time of the Restoration.⁷ In the same spirit of eclecticism ancient Japan used Buddhism and Chinese political theory to modernize herself in the early period of unification. Neo-Confucianism and technical knowledge from abroad were likewise used to strengthen the feudal structure of the country under the Tokugawa shogunate. But to none of these systems did the Japanese attach any transcendental, or ultimate, value. To the outsider there seemed at times to be a lack of seriousness in the way that aesthetic and moral, religious and political questions were examined and debated. In any case by the eighteenth century Japanese society tolerated a degree of intellectual plurality which the western nations were not to achieve for another hundred years. The flexibility of mind reflected by this variety belied the somewhat rigid facade of orthodoxy thrown up by the Tokugawa regime. When that government crumbled, intellectuals and politicians alike

⁶E. W. Syle, "A Forecast Concerning Japan" in CMI, XIV (1889), p. 464.

⁷Katō Shūichi, "Nihonjin no seikaizō" [The Japanese Image of the World] in Kindai Nihon shisōshi kōza [Lectures on the History of Modern Japanese Thought], vol. VIII (Tokyo, 1961), 225-282: p. 242.

were freed to experiment with increased creativity.

If there was anything to which the Japanese attached abiding worth, it was to hierarchical relationships. Political relations occupied a high place in their scale of values. In common with the Chinese, they venerated their ancestors. But immediate family loyalties tended to be drawn into the framework of veneration for the superior beings known as kami. This word has been translated in modern times as "god" or "gods". But in reality it means anything or anyone in nature or in human affairs who may merit submission. The service of the kami and politics were one: matsurigoto. Again, the word in modern Japanese means a religious observance, but in ancient times it also meant "to conduct the affairs of state." Thus, traditionally, Japanese did not distinguish between religion and politics. Even with the gradual appearance of functional differentiation in society this identification was slow to disappear. For instance under the centralized feudalism of the Tokugawa shogunate, the code of Bushido--the way of the samurai--required that duty to one's family (piety) take second place to duty to one's lord (loyalty). Chinese Confucianism had exalted filial piety as the keystone of all virtues. Japan gave lip-service to this belief, but in fact they taught

that political loyalty was an even higher demand.⁸

It was this reservoir of political energy which the leaders of the Meiji Restoration were able to tap. When loyalty to feudal lord was transmuted into loyalty to emperor, patriotism was born. This preeminence of the political in the Japanese hierarchy of virtues was a puzzling fact to the early European observers of the Restoration. "The absorption and pre-occupation of the whole popular mind with political questions has . . . militated against religious enquiry," wrote one of them when the Meiji Constitution was promulgated.⁹ Today it can be seen that it was this very preoccupation which helped the Japanese to modernize so rapidly. To a far greater extent than many other pre-modern societies they were able instinctively to subordinate private or communal interests to the attainment of public goals. In fact it seemed that there was an intuitive realization that the preservation of their own existence depended on two conditions: the willingness to pull together and the readiness to scrap old means in favour of new if the situation appeared to demand it.

The ability to change in order to preserve national identity was well illustrated by an incident which took place

⁸R. N. Bellah, "Values and Social Change in Modern Japan" in Studies on Modernization of Japan (Tokyo, 1962), 13-56: p. 40.

⁹EB-SPG, 13/1/90.

at the beginning of the eighteenth century. After nearly a hundred years of seclusion from contact with the outside world the Japanese felt little threat of an invasion. But there was internal crisis. The nature of the shogunate had changed. The authority of a personal dictator had given place to rule by a developed bureaucracy. The following question now seemed important: could stable government be maintained solely by traditional means? Might it not prove advantageous to make use of foreign knowledge which was available but forbidden? In its fear of foreign influence the shogunate had ruled that no literature from western sources might be read in Japan. But if a distinction were to be laid down between religious or metaphysical, and secular or technical, knowledge, might it not be safe to use the latter kind for the upholding of what was truly Japanese?

The earliest modern example of this distinction between that which appertained to Japan's soul--wakon--and that which was merely a technique which could safely be imported from abroad--yōzai--occurred in 1708. A Jesuit priest, Sidotti, had been arrested after attempting to enter the country secretly. He was brought to Edo, the modern Tokyo, and was there examined by the shogunal official and Confucian scholar, Arai Hakuseki. In the course of his interrogation Hakuseki was confronted with a whole new view of western learning made irresistible because it could be approached as pure technical efficiency. He concluded, "One cannot deny

that such subjects as astronomy and geography, or even the lesser techniques and crafts of [Western learning] have a right to be called scholarly achievements."¹⁰ As an upholder of Confucian orthodoxy and an official advisor to the government, Hakuseki was not free to affirm the spiritual foundations of Western thought. He appears to have pondered its meaning with surprising sympathy. But his published opinion concluded that no spiritual benefit could be expected from a culture which was, after all, barbarian.¹¹

By setting up a dichotomy between techniques and the spiritual values of the society which uses them, Hakuseki was able to do two things. First, he was able to reaffirm the traditional values of Japanese culture. But he also broke down contemporary objections to all foreign knowledge. In this way he was able to open the minds of his countrymen and prepare them to adopt modern technological learning in the service of their country.

There is some doubt as to how far the principle of wakon yōzai was capable of allowing for a thorough

¹⁰ Seiyō kibun [A Record of Western Things] quoted in Ebisawa Arimichi, Namban gakutō no kenkyū [A Study of Jesuit Scholarship in Japan] (Tokyo, 1958), p. 134.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 363. "I thought that perhaps the doctrine of the existence of a Creator may not be false." But "Roman learning is accustomed to deal only with matter and mechanics, and . . . is not acquainted with things above matter." Transl. by W. B. Wright, "The Capture and Captivity of Père Giovan Batista Sidotti" in TASJ, 1st series, IX (Mar. 8, 1881), 156-172: p. 166.

modernization of knowledge.¹² True, it became the basis for the rise of the rangaku, Dutch learning, which is generally regarded as the precursor of scientific studies in Japan. But as long as the rangaku scholars concentrated on buttressing shogunal government, the range of their explorations remained limited. They rarely progressed beyond a level of technical curiosity to achieve a truly rational approach to knowledge itself. The officials were not free to become scientists until movements arose which challenged the pretensions of the Shogunate to be custodians of the Japanese soul.

In the nineteenth century the external threat to Japan's autonomy once more began to concern its leaders. There was a notable increase of foreign shipping in Japanese waters. The rape of China by the Western powers caused men to be anxious lest a like fate should overtake their own land. External pressure made the internal crisis more acute. The shogunate was now seen to be secondary to the ancestral way of life. At this stage the scholars were concerned with the best methods for the defence of their country against foreign aggression, even though it might mean adopting the spirit of science, as well as its techniques. Sakuma Shōzan, the gunnery expert and amateur scientist, extended the wakon

¹²Numata Jirō, Bakumatsu yōgaku shi [A History of Western Studies at the Close of the Shogunate] (Tokyo, 1951), p. 5. See also Donald Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe (London, 1952), pp. 98-101.

yōzai principle to read "western techniques and eastern morality."¹³ No longer were the two areas thought of as a dichotomy; they were now seen to be in combination. The combination would prove to be highly unstable. But much that was new in the thought of modern Japan was to emerge out of this tenuous association.

The leaders of the Meiji Restoration inherited the tradition of the late Tokugawa experimenters. They were as determined as any Japanese never to relinquish what was essential in the Japanese character. The fundamentally traditional mode of their thought is implicit in the term "Restoration" itself. They worked with and through a conservative bureaucracy which they had in the main taken over from the shogunate. They were less concerned to establish a new way of life than to accumulate the tools with which to make their country strong and rich.¹⁴ Their impatience and concern for quality led to frequent changes which influenced later observers to judge them unsystematic and superficial. But they were always careful to control the channels through which knowledge of western techniques entered the country. For instance, in the early phases of modernization it became

¹³"Seiyō no gijutsu to tōyō no dōtoku." Carmen Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 21-22.

¹⁴G. B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (London & New York, 1950), pp. 385, 424-425.

necessary to invite a great many foreign experts, not only to advise in the building of new communication systems and industrial installations, but also to operate them until indigenous personnel could be trained. Such experts were always kept in an employee (yatoi) relation to the government. No foreign-controlled departments of the civil service, as in China under the late Manchu Empire, were ever permitted to develop.¹⁵

Even so, this attempt at control broke down in at least three ways. First, the laissez-faire theories which increasingly conditioned western diplomacy in the nineteenth century made it difficult for Japan to keep the country altogether free of foreign influence. The foreign powers believed they had a divine right to access for business and Christianity throughout the world.¹⁶ At first diplomats were willing to recognize traditional Japanese prejudices against Christianity. But they were unable to stand for long against the pressure of public opinion in their own countries. Behind the outcry over the Japanese persecution of the hidden Christians at Uragami lay concealed the desire to have the official prohibition of Christianity lifted so that

¹⁵K. M. Rohan, "Lighthouses and the Yatoi Experience of R. H. Brunton" MN, XX-1 (1965), pp. 64-80; J. M. Strachan, in MF, 1881, p. 178.

¹⁶See, for instance, Charles MacFarlane, Japan (Hartford, 1856), p. 100.

missionaries would be free to propagate their religion. Later on, agitation by missionaries for treaty revision reflected a similar motivation.

Secondly, traditional ideas were challenged from within the country itself. The philosophes of the Japanese enlightenment, Fukuzawa Yukichi and his friends, campaigned for education in habits of individual autonomy. Such new habits naturally challenged concepts of status in a society that had until recently esteemed hereditary rank so highly. The democratic ideas of the party movement appeared to face the body politic with individualistic anarchy. The widening gap between conservative bureaucrats and forward-looking intellectuals resulted in a breakdown of communication between the two groups. Finally, because of the ad hoc nature of early modernization, even the leaders often revealed uncertainty about the meaning of the national identity. Yōzai were plentiful, but where and what was the wakon which they were meant to nourish?

This uncertainty was reflected in a basic duality, or ambivalence, in the character of Japan's approach to the West. At the close of the Shogunate, jōi and kaikoku parties had vied for leadership. Both parties agreed on the necessity for defending their country's independence against the threat of foreign domination. But the jōi group had stressed internal reform to the exclusion of foreign means. Their name came from their cry, "Expel the barbarian!" The

kaikoku men, on the other hand, had advocated the opening of the country to foreign intercourse in order to make it strong. The swing between these two ways of looking at the West was to characterize Japan well into the twentieth century.¹⁷

B. Restoration and modernization: 1870-1900

The ambivalence latent in Japan's approach to the West can be well documented by reference to the period covered in this study. The interaction between nationalism and cosmopolitan opinion during the Meiji era was often seen, particularly by missionary writers, as a simple temporal sequence in which a period of interest in foreign things was followed by one of nationalist reaction. But the actual process was much more complex than such a scheme would imply. Ideas that were conservative and liberal, modes of action which were traditional and modern all coexisted, often within the consciousness of a single individual. In society as a whole, the situation was even more mixed. True, the balance shifted from time to time so that one pole or another appeared to be emphasized. But there was always an exception to prove the rule.

The theory of bi-polarity provides a useful key for understanding the situation between 1870 and 1887. This

¹⁷Katō, "Nihonjin," pp. 230-231.

period is generally known as the Age of Enlightenment, Bumnei kaika. It is described as a time of openness to western culture. The period, it is maintained, may have begun gradually but it increased to a climax of pro-western fervour in the mid-eighties, only to be followed by a nationalist reaction whose beginning was marked by the failure of treaty negotiations in 1887. This view is, of course, partly true. Fukuzawa's book Things Western, published in 1866, sold 250,000 copies within a few years. Another best-seller of the period, Nakamura's translation of Smiles' Self Help, appeared in 1871.¹⁸ Western-style education also began in 1871 with the establishment of the Ministry of Education. The Gregorian calendar was adopted on January 1, 1873. The following February notice-boards prohibiting Christianity, which had stood in all public places for over two hundred years, were removed. 1873 was also notable as the year which gave its name to the first society of intellectuals, the Meiropusha. The members of this group explicitly rejected the old wakon yōzai dichotomy, stating that "It is incorrect to distinguish East from West on the score of ethics and science."¹⁹ By the eighties "The craze for western learning

¹⁸ Kuyama Yasushi ed., Kindai Nihon to Kirisutokyo [Christianity and Modern Japan] (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 35-36; Blacker, Enlightenment, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹ Nakamura Keiu, quoted in ibid., p. 31. See also Kōsaka Masaaki ed., Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, trans. David Abosch (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 1-2.

had spread like wildfire and it was a time when even the girls in the drinking-houses had to slip in a foreign word or two when they chatted with the customers. In every part of Tokyo could be seen the signs of the instructors in Western studies. The band of those who made their living by teaching poor English was increasing daily."²⁰

The shallow nature of westernization during this period was well understood by sensitive observers. The epithets they used to describe it were "superficial," "frivolous," "under construction," and so forth.²¹ The people of early Meiji possessed little insight into the living--and therefore complex--nature of western civilization. The West was looked on as a box of tools out of which might be borrowed various objects according to one's fancy or need. But because it was objectified in this manner, western culture could also be seen as a threat against which the country, or the individual, must strengthen itself. The two poles, "from which" and "against," were complementary.²²

The same ambivalence was noticeable in the government's attitude to Christianity. The western faith had to be

²⁰ Yamaji Aisan, *Gendai nihon kyōkai shiron* [Essays in Contemporary Japanese Church History] (Tokyo, 1906), p. 6. See also Sansom, *Western World*, pp. 378-385.

²¹ Katō, "Nihonjin," p. 242.

²² Sansom, *Western World*, p. 385.

tolerated in order to maintain friendly relations with the "Christian" powers. But Christianity's historic connection with subversion at home meant that the rulers could not afford to grant it complete toleration.²³ Among intellectuals, too, the attraction of things western was mixed with apprehension lest Europeanization might lead to the loss of national identity. The early liberals--Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nishimura Shigeki, Katō Hiroyuki--at first proclaimed the need for independence and self-reliance. But before long they gave up hope because the people seemed incapable of learning the new lessons. Consequently they turned to support the top-down legislation of the government.²⁴ They could do so because liberal and traditional ideas had always been at war within their own persons.

The tension which had been set up by the conflicting demands of tradition and modernization, of eastern and western manners, often gave rise to spectacular incidents. Not only did public opinion change suddenly. Individuals who had been ardent exponents of westernization, or of "progressive" ideas, might exhibit a sudden "re-conversion" to the ways of their ancestors. Such was the case of Tokutomi

²³Cary, pp. 82-84.

²⁴Sumiya Mikio, Kindai nihon no keisei to kirisutokyō [Christianity and the Formation of Modern Japan], rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1962), p. 52, n. 7.

Iichirō (Sohō), a noted political journalist of the late nineteenth century. Having studied at Dōshisha, a Christian university, he founded the journal Kokumin no tomo (The People's Companion) in 1887. Until 1895 he was one of the most famous supporters of the democratic movement in Japan and his paper was read by thousands. But on the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War Sohō broke completely with the liberal movement. He spent the rest of a long life as an ardent nationalist, dying in 1957. This type of sudden reversion occurred so frequently during the history of Japan's modernization that sociologists attached special significance to it, giving it a technical name, tenkō.²⁵

Perhaps the atmosphere of the period of Enlightenment can be a little better understood by seeing what had become of the stream of opinion, known as jōi, which had earlier advocated expulsion of the western barbarian from Japan. Some of the more extreme exponents, it is true, continued to commit acts of lawless violence. Assassination as a mode of political action never quite died out in Japan. But for the majority overt xenophobia was being transmuted into new forms. It was one of the factors behind the growth of the new nationalism. This nationalism permeated the movement for parliamentary government and people's rights, a fact which explains the tendency toward aggressive expansion that has

²⁵Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai ed., Tenkō [Reversion], 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1959-1960). For Sohō, see Kosaka, Thought, pp. 184-186; 201-209; 362.

always puzzled foreign observers of the democratic movement. As a missionary observer noted in 1880, the writing of nationalistic articles and campaigns urging people to "buy Japanese" had become substitutes for violence, which was now largely limited to the sōshi bullies.²⁶ But though it might have sublimated its feelings of aggression by participating in the agitation for democracy, the movement for popular rights always contained within itself the possibility of tenkō to nationalism. Nakae Chōmin, a hero of the left-wing democrats, could still say of the Emperor, "The Son of Heaven . . . is exalted high above the people of this country He is just like the God of the Christians."²⁷

This polarity of conservative nationalism and cosmopolitanism was reflected and symbolized by two conflicting views of modernization which emerged in the eighties and nineties. They were represented approximately by the bureaucrats on the one hand, and by the new class of critical intellectuals on the other. For the bureaucrats modernization was to be a reformation (ishin) without revolution. Its symbol was the restoration of imperial rule. Many of

²⁶ Strachan in MF, 1881, p. 211.

²⁷ Heimin no mesamashi [The Awakening of the Common Man] (1890), quoted in Takeda Kiyoko, "Tennōsei shisō no keisei" [The Formation of Ideas concerning the Emperor-system], in Iwanami nihon rekishi [Iwanami History of Japan], XVI (Tokyo, 1962), 267-311: p. 287.

them had been trained in the service of the old shogunate. Their natural bent was conservative and authoritarian. And they passed on to their successors that habit of mind.²⁸ Consequently, the importation of foreign material and technique was to be governed by strictly limited goals. In line with the popular slogan fukoku kyōhei, "a wealthy nation and a strong soldiery," the bureaucrats were chiefly interested in fostering institutions which would help the country to achieve these twin goals. They seem to have established a hierarchy of value among the countries from which the materials were to be imported. Germany was considered best because its institutions were most authoritarian. Britain was good because its attitudes were utilitarian, but its institutions were less authoritarian. America was geographically closest and its materials most readily available,²⁹ but its republican democracy and Puritan Christianity repelled thoughtful Japanese.

The conservative modernizers probably saw that national rights and individual rights, national independence and the autonomy of the individual, had to go hand in hand. But the urgency which they felt to strengthen the nation, together with their authoritarian habits, led them "to

²⁸D. M. Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan (Seattle, 1964), p. 6. Sansom, Western World, pp. 424-425.

²⁹Katō, "Nihonjin," p. 252.

expand the rights of the state to the sacrifice of the rights of the people."³⁰ This explains the ruthless way in which they attempted to suppress the democratic movement. It also explains why they exhibited a certain flexibility of policy whenever the strength of the opposition demanded it. In doing so they showed themselves to be inheritors of the classical Japanese tradition of a ruling class, giving way in order to preserve. This policy laid them open to the accusation of opportunism, but they were not blind reactionaries.³¹

Where the bureaucrats saw modernization mainly in material and institutional terms, the intellectuals were more interested in questions of personal autonomy. Modernization for them meant release from the restrictions of tradition and the achievement of full individuality. Most of them belonged outside the administration and were freer to criticize its shortcomings. They were also outsiders in a more profound, spiritual, sense. The government was dominated by leaders who had belonged to two of the former feudal domains of Chōshū and Satsuma. Possibilities for public promotion were slight for individuals who did not come

³⁰Ibid., p. 254. Although Fukuzawa never formally sided with the bureaucrats, whom he professed to despise, his record showed him to have been on the side of the conservative modernizers. Sumiya, Kindai, p. 69.

³¹Scalapino, "Contributions," p. 66.

from that part of the country. Many of those who had been left out became journalists, politicians and in general social critics. By the nineties additional factors had deepened the intellectuals' sense of alienation from the society of their day. The abolition of the samurai class, from which most of them came, in 1876 left them in a position of social insecurity. Their training in the new educational system made them aware of problems beyond the capabilities of the new bureaucrats. Having lost their accustomed place in the established hierarchy, they were made more conscious of themselves as individuals.³²

The change in the nature of the intellectuals' interests was visible in their relation to political movements. During the late seventies and eighties they had been involved in the local agitation which surrounded the beginning of the democratic party movement. With the achievement of parliamentary government in 1890, many of them withdrew from active participation in politics. But they maintained a critical interest, acting as commentators in the press or taking part in specific campaigns. In the meantime a new generation had appeared. Its members concerned themselves more specifically with non-

³²Tatsuo Arima, "Uchimura Kanzō: A Study of the Post-Meiji Japanese Intelligentsia," in Papers on Japan (Vol. 1) (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 130-188: p. 138.

political questions of aesthetics or personality.³³ Following the Sino-Japanese War the intellectual who had reverted to nationalism emerged. Thus the intellectual world became diversified into social radicals, nationalists, aesthetes, and those "interested in individuals without any social or political preoccupation."³⁴ All of these groups possessed in common two characteristics. They stood apart or against the society of their day as it was developing. But they were also tied to it by their own attitude of nationalism.³⁵ Although they opposed the bureaucrats in many ways they were one with them in their desire to see Japan a great and independent country.

One area where bureaucrats, intellectuals and people were able to join in common activity was in the campaign for revision of the treaties with the western powers. Known in Japanese as "unequal treaties," the agreements which had been made with the old Shogunate allowed many advantages to the foreigner which were resented as elements of colonialism by the politically conscious classes. Such provisions as extra-territorial rights in the Treaty Ports and a tax

³³Kōsaka, Thought, p. 198.

³⁴Tatsuo Arima, "Uchimura Kanzo," unpublished prize thesis (Harvard, 1957), p. x.

³⁵J. F. Howes, "Japan's Enigma: the Young Uchimura Kanzō" unpublished doctoral thesis (Columbia, 1965), pp. 6-8.

structure which allowed special advantages to foreign businessmen were seen as symbols of Japan's inability to deal with the West on a footing of equality. As long as the nation was materially weak and a strong public opinion did not exist at home, the bureaucrats were forced to adopt an attitude of deference to the more powerful states. The arrogance of their stand toward China and Korea acted as compensation for their feelings of impotence in the face of the Western nations.³⁶ But in the grass-roots nationalism which had grown along with the democratic movement the government discovered an unexpected ally. In rejecting the compromise measures devised by the foreign minister Ōkuma and his fellow-bureaucrats in 1889 the people were able to show the foreign powers directly that a new age had arrived. The opposition expressed in the rapidly growing vernacular press was quoted in the London papers as evidence of a need for change.³⁷ Thus even before the Japanese achieved equality in diplomatic relations with the foreign powers in 1894 the nation considered itself ready to be treated as a great and modern power. It needed only the victory over China the following year to bring the fact home to the world.

³⁶Inoue Kiyoshi, Jōyaku kaisei [Treaty Revision] (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 30-31.

³⁷See, for instance, The Times (London), leaders (editorials) for February 20, 1889 and March 7, 1889.

C. Christianity and social change

The exact nature of the part played by Christianity in the modernization of Japan continues to be a matter for discussion by scholars. To those primarily interested in the growth of modern political and economic structures, its significance is incidental. Because the Christian Church became the property of a class of intellectuals who had partially lost contact with their own society, its influence upon other parts of Meiji Japan remained slight. Even among intellectuals it ceased to exercise a decisive effect after the first decade of the twentieth century. For this reason many western historians have been inclined to treat Christian influence in the nineteenth century, along with its earlier phase in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as an isolated episode without much lasting significance.³⁸

Such a conclusion misses one important aspect of the ideological role which Christianity has played. Quite apart from whatever success missionaries may have achieved in building up a Christian movement, Japanese attitudes to Christianity have provided a kind of indicator of the readiness of society to welcome or reject social change. Japanese thought has historically demonstrated an astonishing capacity for absorbing a variety of different, and often

³⁸G. B. Sansom, Japan, A Short Cultural History (London & New York, 1944), p. 506. Richard Storry, A History of Modern Japan (London, 1960), does not even mention Christianity in the modern period.

conflicting, ideas from abroad. In the process of doing so it has seldom been compelled itself to change fundamentally. But of all these ideas only Christianity--and its related Western ideology, Marxism--has really challenged the basic assumptions of the indigenous way of life.³⁹ Consequently, Japanese attitudes to this faith, particularly during periods of social change and experiment, have provided a clue to the willingness of leaders of opinion to reexamine or change the basic structure of their own society.

This ideological role of Christianity can be traced back over two hundred and fifty years of Japanese history. It was first demonstrated by the decision of the Tokugawa Shoguns early in the seventeenth century to ban Catholicism. The polity of the Tokugawa Shogunate was based on a series of complex relations between the central and local feudal domains. In order to maintain stability it was necessary to keep these relations in equilibrium so that no change in the balance of economic forces or of social classes might pose a threat to the continuation of shogunal rule. Christianity posed such a threat. Not only had it given the great domains of Western Japan a foreign political orientation which was a potential challenge to the Tokugawa hegemony,⁴⁰ it also threatened to upset traditional notions

³⁹Maruyama, Shisō, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁰C. R. Boxer, The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650 (Berkeley and London, 1951), pp. 310-314.

of class and the family, of the meaning of human life and the status of women. Thus the idea, actively propagated by the Tokugawa government, that Christianity was an "evil sect" (jashūmon), symbolized their fear of anything that might disturb the status quo.⁴¹

When the official Confucian scholar, Hayashi Razan, in the middle of the seventeenth century attacked the heterodox teacher, Kumazawa Banzan, he did so by calling him a "crypto-Christian" (Yaso no hempō).⁴² Actually, Banzan, as a Confucian, was equally contemptuous of Christianity and Buddhism, calling them both foreign foolishness.⁴³ It was his individualistic interpretation of Confucian teaching which Razan saw as a danger to the official ideology. This he implied was equivalent in its effect to Christianity. Fifty years later Arai Hakuseki, himself an official Confucianist, was able to adopt a stand which differed little from that taken by Kumazawa. The difference seems to have been that the Shogunate now felt secure from outside attack.

⁴¹Ebisawa Arimichi, Kindai nihon bunka no tanjō [The Birth of Modern Japanese Culture] (Tokyo, 1956), ch. 3. For the way in which propaganda was carried out, see the same author's Namban, pp. 259-269.

⁴²Ebisawa, Namban, p. 270

⁴³Daigaku wakumon, trans. G. Fisher as "Certain Questions regarding the Great Learning," in TASJ, 2nd series, XVI (1938), 259-356: p. 323. See also Ebisawa, Namban, pp. 270-272.

It was seeking new ways of making itself even stronger within the country. So Hakuseki was able to point to the profit which might be derived from the study of Western technology.⁴⁴

The "Dutch scholars" of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who first studied Western science in Japan, soon went beyond the wakon yōzai dichotomy devised by Hakuseki. Using the Dutch as a screen, they became versed in the Chinese works of the Jesuit missionary-scientists. In this way they were able to absorb the empirical spirit of Renaissance Europe which carried them forward past the formal rationalism of their Confucian upbringing. This effort to gain a closer acquaintance with the spirit of Western culture explains the somewhat bizarre references to be found in many of their works. For instance the historical scheme of the nineteenth-century nationalist scholar, Satō Nobuhiro, begins with an account of creation straight out of Genesis, complete with Adam and Eve.⁴⁵ The same interest in the "spirit of western science" drove the associate of Sakuma Shōzan, Watanabe Kazan, to translate from Dutch a life of Christ.⁴⁶ Thus, for forward-looking intellectuals at least, dread of the evil sect had been overcome by curiosity about a powerful new way of life. But the dread

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 272-281.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 332-335.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 346-347; Sanson Western World, pp. 259-266.

lingered on in the guise of popular superstition for many years.

The ambiguity of the Meiji government leaders' attitude to Christianity indicated their unreadiness for basic change. Some of their most powerful representatives were present in Nagasaki when the hidden Catholics of Urakami were rounded up and exiled to northern Japan in 1871.⁴⁷ The inconsistency revealed by their support of the persecution has led one distinguished western historian to remark that "The reason for this action is not clear."⁴⁸ Yet Kido's remark to Sir Harry Parkes, the British minister, revealed the fact that he was operating on an assumption which was as old as the persecution policy itself. The Japanese government, he insisted, did not persecute for "private religious opinions," but only for taking "the religion of foreigners, Christianity, and [making] it a cloak for dangerous conspiracy."⁴⁹

A similar ambiguity was revealed in the attitude taken by the same men at the time that the public notice boards proclaiming the prohibition of Christianity were removed in 1873.⁵⁰ In spite of protestations to the contrary from

⁴⁷Okuma Shigenobu, Inoue Kaoru, and Kido Kōin. Sansom, ibid., p. 390.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Interview with Parkes in the Times, Feb. 12, 1872, quoted in CMI, VIII (1872), p. 79.

⁵⁰The order read in part, "Since the matter of the proclamation prohibiting Christianity is well known, they shall henceforth be removed." Sumiya, Kindai, p. 10.

various quarters, this ambiguity continued throughout the period under study. Both the Meiji Constitution of 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education which was issued the following year assumed an established status for the Shinto religion (Kokka Shintō). Thus the freedom of religion which was proclaimed in the Constitution was at best partial. But clarification of this fact would have been detrimental to the negotiations for treaty revision which were being carried on with the western powers at the time. Therefore official quarters were discreetly silent during the controversy which raged over religion and education during the nineties. With treaty revision successfully accomplished in 1899 the government felt secure. The Ministry of Education issued its Order No. 12 prohibiting religious instruction in accredited schools on August 3, the following day.⁵¹

It seems fairly clear that the Meiji leaders were resolved not to allow Christianity to become a divisive factor in public affairs. As a "private religious opinion" they had no objections to it. If it appeared that it would support social order and personal morality they would even be willing to give it limited recognition. In fact their actions reveal that they did not quite know what to make of it. The traditional Japanese approach to life, its concept

⁵¹D. M. Brown, Nationalism in Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), p. 137. For a discussion of the religious implications of both constitution and rescript, ibid., pp. 114-118.

of wakon, was essentially unique, concrete and local. It could be compared with other cultures or ways of life. It could even develop by taking elements of other cultures into itself. But the Christian claim to universality and finality was wholly alien to its way of thinking. The idea of belief in one God who was true for Japanese and European alike corresponded to nothing in their own experience.⁵²

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century Christianity was looked upon by certain persons as an alternate ideology to Shinto to assist in the unification and modernization of the nation. Buddhism and Chinese culture in general had played this role in the unification of ancient Japan. The Tokugawas had used Chu Hsi Confucianism to provide a sanction for their status society. But by the time of the Restoration the Shinto National Learning-- actually a compound of Confucianism with traditional myths-- was the only body of ideas which appeared to give wholehearted support to the goals of the Emperor's party. To educated men, in particular those who looked to the West for scientific knowledge, many of the Shinto ideas seemed hopelessly primitive. Thus they toyed with the idea of

⁵²The writer is indebted to Dr. Shūichi Katō for this observation. See also Maruyama, *Shisō*, p. 21. For a somewhat different interpretation, see Nishitani, "Nihon," pp. 241-253.

treating Christianity in much the same way that Prince Shōtoku in the seventh century had treated Buddhism. Among the leading members of the Meirokusha, Nakamura Keiu, the translator of Mill and Smiles, and Tsuda Sen, a specialist in agriculture, became Christians. Mori Arinori, the pro-American Minister of Education, was assassinated for appearing to be pro-Christian.

The member of this group who throughout his life most faithfully mirrored the fluctuations of Japanese opinion was Fukuzawa Yukichi. During the height of pro-western feeling in the eighties he proposed with apparent cynicism that Japan adopt a Christian dress uniform. But for most of his life he publicly opposed such a policy. As a utilitarian and an agnostic, he saw little value in any religion. Yet in his private life he maintained friendly relations with a number of missionaries, the most intimate among them with the family of Alexander Croft Shaw.⁵³ Fukuzawa's stand was closely related to the one taken by other members of the establishment who had early concluded that Christianity exercised too limited an appeal for the general public to be of practical use. In the end their decision to opt for Shinto resulted more from political opportunism than conviction. As a contemporary British observer noted, "There can be little doubt . . . that

⁵³ Ishikawa Kammei, Fukuzawa Yukichi den [Biography of Fukuzawa Yukichi], 4 vols. (Tokyo, 1932-1933), IV, pp. 60-64.

the authorities in their attitude towards religion have invariably been guided by political expediency, rather than by religious motives."⁵⁴

Throughout the Meiji period Christianity gained its most active supporters as an ideology of opposition. The earliest converts had been samurai who belonged either to the old shogunal party, or else to clans which had been left out of the new government. In this respect they resembled the leaders of the democratic movement who had left the government in 1873 over a dispute concerning the invasion of Korea.⁵⁵ It was therefore natural that the two movements should be closely associated. Later on, when many intellectuals became disappointed with the compromises into which the democratic leaders entered with the government, they looked to Christianity as a means to self-fulfilment. Thus a number of the outstanding writers and poets of the eighteen eighties and nineties either were Christians or passed through a Christian phase.⁵⁶ Having become disillusioned with

⁵⁴J. H. Gubbins, The Making of Modern Japan (London, 1922), p. 140.

⁵⁵Sumiya, Kindai, pp. 52-56; Nobutaka Ike, The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan (Baltimore, 1950), mentions Christianity only in passing and ignores completely the connection mentioned here. Pp. 87-105; 111-123.

⁵⁶For a discussion of literature and Christianity, see Kuyama, Kindai, pp. 147-167.

political action, they saw modernization as consisting in the development of individual personality. Toward the beginning of the twentieth century Christianity enjoyed a brief renaissance of political influence with the socialist movement. But by that time the majority of Christian leaders had made their peace with the establishment and the agitators found themselves forced out of the church.

The rise of nationalism in the late eighties and nineties intensified the drift toward polarization which Christianity as an ideology of opposition had begun to reflect. During the Enlightenment, leaders had been willing to consider the western faith as one of a number of possible alternatives open to the new society. At that stage it was still being rejected in the popular mind as an evil superstition.⁵⁷ The sympathies of the people lay with that vague complex of traditional social relations known as the kokutai which had developed over the long period of Japan's seclusion.

Kokutai has been translated variously as "national polity," and "the spirit of the nation." Although basically a social rather than a religious concept, it came to develop overtones of faith through its connection with the cult of the Emperor. As national self-consciousness began to develop the ideas associated with kokutai appeared to provide an

⁵⁷At the height of the pro-western period, campaigns against Christianity, known as Yaso-taiji, were regularly carried on. Cary, pp. 177-180.

ideology for the popular mind. Its appeal was all the greater because it was less alien and more compatible with traditional modes of thought than the newer theories from abroad. It was therefore natural that the government should increasingly have encouraged the spread of kokutai ideas as a welcome antidote to the radicalism of the opposition. The connection of certain Christians with the democratic movement led the more extreme nationalists to look upon Christianity as representative of all the alien and subversive ideas that were coming into the country from abroad. The emphasis of other Christians on individual autonomy and self-fulfilment also seemed to demonstrate that its teachings conflicted with the organic harmony of the traditional family virtues.

This polarization was not only reflected in the social and political realms. It made itself felt in a growing tension within individuals, leading to revulsions of feeling, or even to suicide.⁵⁸ Yet it is characteristic of the complexity of the problem that the society was even then willing to tolerate a Christianity which knew its place. Fukuzawa and other members of the establishment were always willing to accept certain Christians, notably Anglicans and Unitarians, because they did not conform to the pattern of opposition exhibited by the American Puritan tradition.

⁵⁸For the significance of the suicide of Kitamura Tōkoku, see Kōsaka, Thought, pp. 269-288.

When the latter finally ceased to be critical of the traditional ideology, it too was accepted into the religious life of the new nation.

D. Religion in Japanese society and the cult of the Emperor

Japanese leaders in the Meiji era may have found it difficult to understand the nature of western Christianity. But it was equally difficult for western missionaries and other foreign observers to grasp the peculiar character and function of religion in Japan. Americans and Europeans were inheritors of over a thousand years during which the culture known as Christendom had arisen. During that time no religious system or institution other than Christian had been able to maintain a significant existence in their world. Even after the Reformation, when Christendom began to split into conflicting denominations and secular thought appeared, the values of Europe remained common to all. In the nineteenth century there might be "infidels," "agnostics," or "heretics," but all remained certain that their common morality was based on Christian teaching.⁵⁹

Apart from this tradition of a single orthodoxy, westerners, whether Christians or secular humanists, possessed

⁵⁹W. E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven & London, 1957), Ch. 10, pp. 218-222 and passim. Mill, George Eliot, Huxley, Newman and many others reflected this common attitude.

a number of other features in common. For one thing they took for granted the concept of transcendence. Whether by affirmation or denial, they recognized that human life was governed by an interplay, or tension, between two levels or areas which were separate and distinct: the temporal and the eternal, the secular and the religious, the church and the state. For most, this dualism presented itself as an assumption that the demands of conscience ought to be considered as transcending the realm of social custom or law. Thus most Europeans or Americans would make private commitment the touchstone of belief. Public adherence--Paris vaut bien une messe--might be permissible for certain reasons, but it was what a man really believed that counted.⁶⁰

In all these respects the Japanese religious tradition was directly contrary to the European. Japan, during its thousand years and more of recorded history, had entertained many orthodoxies. The primitive tribal cult had given way after the sixth and seventh centuries to Buddhism from China. The new society which arose at that time used Confucian ethics and principles of government to modernize itself. By the twelfth century Japanese Buddhism had developed its own indigenous forms which became the dominant modes of expression for feudal society. The new feudalism

⁶⁰ Bellah, "Values," pp. 18-20. The Huguenot prince, Henri of Navarre, is reputed to have said "Paris is well worth a Mass" when he abjured Protestantism in 1572.

of the Tokugawa Shogunate adopted neo-Confucian ethics as its ideology, relegating Buddhism to the position of an opiate for the people. In the eighteenth century, the aesthetic nationalism which called itself Shinto made its appearance. Schools of utilitarians and proto-scientists added their voices in increasing profusion. Thus by the time of the Meiji Restoration there was no one religion, sect or school to which the name Japanese could be applied.

There was nothing in the Japanese religious tradition which corresponded exactly to the Christian concept of transcendence.⁶¹ The individual was not thought of as standing over against reality, as in the Western tradition, but rather he participated directly in the world of nature and society. As one Japanese scholar has expressed it, "It is not that we apprehend by our intellect a level of 'true being' beyond 'things'. It is rather that, as we participate at the level of things as they are real, before our eyes, we become aware of things in their reality."⁶² Because this was so, Japanese society never developed a prophetic tradition like that of the Judaeo-Christian heritage. Its Middle Ages did not have a Church which stood over against the political order and judged its

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 32-38.

⁶²Nishitani, "Nihon," p. 245. Italics in the original.

institutions by reference to a transcendent Will of God.⁶³

Consequently, religious adherence was primarily a matter of public and corporate duty. In the ancient cult, a person belonged automatically to the shrine of the community into which he was either born or adopted. This concept, common to all tribal religions, did not disappear with later developments in Japanese society. In modern times it was reaffirmed by the Tokugawa policy of registering all families with one or another Buddhist temple.⁶⁴ But its firmest foundation rested on the characteristic assumption that public duty (kō) took precedence over private inclination (shi). Actually no real distinction was made between the two, or if it was it was assumed that "Private affairs . . . always involved something shady and . . . akin, or even equivalent, to evil."⁶⁵ In this situation the individual protected himself psychologically, either by persuading himself that his private interests coincided with the public good, or else by making a formal distinction between principle (tatema) and

⁶³An interesting illustration is provided by the difference in meaning of two words which describe a similar concept. "Sincerity" in English means primarily "honesty" or "integrity." The corresponding word "magokoro" in Japanese means "faithful" or "devoted." The English word applies primarily to the internal integrity of the individual, while the Japanese stresses the individual's state of integration with his community.

⁶⁴G. B. Sansom, A History of Japan 1615-1867 (London, 1964), p. 42.

⁶⁵Masao Maruyama, Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics (London, 1963), p. 7.

inmost feeling (naishin).⁶⁶ As a result, it was extremely rare for anyone to presume that his individual will, or conscience, could be made the basis for a direct criticism of society. Such a person would logically lay himself open, as did Kumazawa Banzan, to the accusation of being a "crypto-Christian."

It was startling to a Christian how even the most exclusive follower of a Japanese sect could affirm the principle of plurality in belief and practice.⁶⁷ Motoori Norinaga, the great Shinto nationalist and literary historian of the eighteenth century, was a fervent critic of Confucianism and Buddhism, both of which he considered to be alien teachings. Yet even he was able to say, "If a matter can best be resolved by Confucianism, let it be resolved by Confucianism. If Buddhism fits best, then let it be solved by Buddhism. These are all Shinto [the way of the gods] for the time."⁶⁸ A disciple of Norinaga was even more intolerant than his master yet did not hesitate to make use of Christian teachings to fill out his Shinto cosmology.⁶⁹ They

⁶⁶Kamishima Jirō, Kindai Nihon no seishin kōzō [Structures of Thought in Modern Japan] (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 73-75.

⁶⁷See above, fn. 6.

⁶⁸Suzuya tōmonroku, quoted in Maruyama, Shisō, p. 21. For Norinaga, see R. Tsunoda, W. T. de Bary, and Donald Keene ed., Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York, 1958), pp. 508-510; 520-542.

⁶⁹Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) used the Genesis creation story. Ebisawa, Namban, pp. 410-422.

were able to do so because of what a modern scholar has called the capacity of the indigenous tradition to include many heterogeneous ideas and teachings in an "infinite embrace." "Shinto," he writes, "like an absurdly elongated cloth bag, has filled up the content of its teachings by syncretizing with whatever religion happened to be most powerful at any given period." This trait, he concludes, is not just true of the religion alone, but is an expression "in concentrated form of the 'tradition' of the Japanese way of thinking."⁷⁰

In other words, the multiplicity of religions in Japanese society was more apparent than real. It reflected the Eastern ability to tolerate a variety of interpretations of truth. But it was most characteristically Japanese in its functionalism. Thus Shinto was the name given both to the national cult and to religious techniques associated with agriculture, or with birth and procreation. Confucianism was for morality and government; Buddhism for a belief in life after death, or for aesthetic sensibility. But hidden within each lay a unique approach to life, an indigenous faith, which comprehended them all. It has been called Shinto, but that is too formal a term for it, too much like a religious system. Other names come closer. Yamato damashii, the soul of Japan, or its Sinicized form, wakon, is perhaps the best description. There is a vagueness and

⁷⁰Maruyama, Shisō, pp. 20-21.

elasticity in the concept which fits the description that has been given. A further term to which we have also already referred is kokutai, the national polity or social expression of the Japanese soul. These concepts were used in varying form by Confucianists, Buddhists, and Utilitarians alike throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They attained a sinister connotation by their association with militarism in the twentieth. It was to some form of them that the intellectual "reverted" when the burden of the West became too much for him.

To Westerners, it was difficult to understand how far these were religious concepts and how far they were social or ethical.⁷¹ Their difficulty resulted from their own cultural baggage. The European tradition needs to make some distinction between secular and religious. For the Japanese it sufficed that within the concepts was contained the ultimate description of their national identity. This identity was social and ethical in that it comprised the relations of the people living together under the aegis of the Imperial Family. It was also religious because it constituted a value-system which was capable of providing meaning, coherence and continuity to the society.⁷² Like other

⁷¹Sansom, Western World, p. 482.

⁷²Bellah, "Religion and Progress in Modern Asia," in R. N. Bellah ed., Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New York & London, 1965), pp. 170-173.

religions it could be rationalized in many ways, but in itself it was beyond rationality. Its basic nature was indicated by the commitment of the people to it.

The concept of the kokutai reveals in its structure just the sort of amalgam of political conservatism, social solidarity and religious faith which illustrates this point. In its most modern form it did not gain widespread acceptance before the beginning of the twentieth century. But its roots stretched back beyond to the secluded Japan of the Shogunate, and its ideas conditioned the thinking of social theorists throughout the nineteenth century.⁷³ Like the tradition which produced it, the concepts employed in the kokutai are vague and difficult to define. They are so all-embracing that they can be used at once for quite conflicting purposes. The expression hakkō ichiu--"the eight corners of the world under one roof"--is an instance. During most of Japan's modern history the idea was used almost exclusively as a shibboleth of nationalism. It radiated overtones of messianic fanaticism. It meant the inclusion of all the world by conquest within the unique and powerful household of the Yamato emperor. It denoted racial superiority and

⁷³For a convenient summary, see J. K. Fairbank, E.O. Reischauer and A. M. Craig, East Asia, The Modern Transformation (Boston, 1965), pp. 531-538. The English version of the authoritative Japanese government exposition is R. K. Hall ed., Kokutai no hongi, Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan, by J. O. Gauntlett (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

colonial exploitation. Yet in spite of all that, for those who wished to do so the idea could also be interpreted to mean "the universal brotherhood of all men."⁷⁴

The most rational aspect of the kokutai owed its origins to the Confucian morality of family and nation which had become current during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the Meiji reformers were forced to simplify it to fit the changed conditions of a growing new nation. Tokugawa society had possessed a complex structure which expressed itself in a great variety of terms denoting gradations of status and responsibility. There had been a kind of natural law theory to provide metaphysical justification. In its modern form all this was stripped down to a few basic points: loyalty to the emperor and to those in authority; obedience and service to parents; harmony between classes, and the idea of the emperor as the keystone of the social structure.⁷⁵

The concept of the "family state" which emerged was summarized in the famous Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890. This document was distributed to all schools in the country and was read periodically in a setting of great solemnity. Combined with the customary morality of family and community which already existed, it proved to be a

⁷⁴Maruyama, Shisō, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁵Fairbank, Reischauer & Craig, p. 537.

powerful tool for forging national solidarity. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the concept of social structure which it set forth was already obsolescent as society became increasingly urban and industrial. It needed more than rational custom to shore it up. The religious interpretation of the family, never completely distinguished from morality, provided this support. As one exponent understood it, "The family is a continual religious service for the ancestors. The family head . . . represents them in this world."⁷⁶ This idea of the family was essentially Chinese and could be as divisive of the larger society as it was cohesive within its own limits. Kokutai thought solved this problem by looking for its spiritual axis to the common ancestry of the nation in the imperial line. All Japan was to be a single racial and spiritual family. In China loyalty to the family, kō, and loyalty to the ruler, chū, had been in conflict. But in Japan loyalty to the state and filial piety came to be seen as a single virtue, for "loyalty is the source of all good."⁷⁷

It is possible to distinguish Confucian family spirituality from Shinto mythology in the kokutai, but only for purposes of analysis. The two are closely fused in

⁷⁶Hozumi Yatsuka, quoted in ibid., p. 534.

⁷⁷Yamada Sukejirō, Sakae [Glory], II (Tokyo, 1940), p. 114.

Japanese thought. The modern architects of the Constitution and the Rescript on Education never attempted to separate them. One of these architects was Motoda Eifu, the Confucian tutor of the Meiji Emperor. Considered today to have been the seminal mind behind the Constitution and the chief author of the Rescript, he steadfastly withstood all attempts to "Europeanize" the idea of the monarchy and state. For him the imperial line was sui generis and literally descended from the gods. It could not be described with words which corresponded to institutions outside Japan. Other drafts of the Constitution had used the regular Japanese translation for the western word "emperor," kōtei. Motoda insisted on substituting the title tennō, "heavenly emperor."⁷⁸

This incident illustrates how the religious nature of the kokutai came to be summed up in the mystique of the Emperor cult. When Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru began to prepare the drafts of Japan's first constitution during the early eighties, they turned away from British models to the more authoritarian principles of the German state. But even their German advisors were disturbed at the reasons of the Japanese for omitting a description of the Emperor's powers from the body of the document. They felt that the constitution's preamble "went beyond history to mythology by using such terms as 'from the creation of the earth,'

⁷⁸Takeda, Tennōsei, pp. 267-268.

and allowed for irresponsibility by stating that the emperor 'reigns but does not rule.'⁷⁹ Phrases such as "coeval with heaven and earth," or "a single lineage for ten thousand generations," abound in the language of the kokutai. They came from the Shinto mythology which formed the first part of the earliest Japanese chronicles. In a modern constitution they introduced an element of irrationality which was to have ominous consequences for the future of the nation.

The Meiji reformers saw in kokutai ideas, with their mixture of history, law and mythology, a way of interpreting to popular minds the German historicist theory of the organic state which they had chosen to be the basis of the first constitution. Even the idea of using religion to form its unifying principle might be said to have been borrowed.⁸⁰ At a solemn meeting of the Privy Council in the presence of the Emperor in 1888, Itō presented his draft. In the course of his remarks he commented that Japan was the first nation in the East to have a constitution. It differed from the West where all nations had produced constitutions in the process of a long history of political activity. He continued,

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 278.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 280. Scalapino, "Contributions," p. 74.

Accordingly, at this time when our constitution is being formed, it is first necessary to seek for a unifying principle [literally, "an axle," kijiku] for our nation If we were to delegate political power to the blind disputation of the people without such a principle, government would become disordered and the nation would be ruined In Europe the beginnings of constitutional rule go back for over 1000 years; and not only are the people well versed in this system, but religion forms a common principle which deeply permeates men's hearts and unifies them. But in our country religion . . . is weak. There is not one that could serve as a unifying principle for the nation. Buddhism today has fallen into decline. Shinto is based on the precepts of our forefathers. It communicates these precepts to us, yet as a religion it has little power to move men's hearts. Only the Imperial House can become the unifying principle for our country.⁸¹

Thus the Emperor system was to take the place in the modernization of Japan that Christianity had occupied for a thousand years of history in the West.

At the time that the Constitution was being drafted, Itō's was not the only interpretation of the Emperor's role. Liberal thinkers like Fukuzawa Yukichi and the leaders of the democratic party movement favoured patterns based on British constitutionalism, or even the social contract theories of the French republicans.⁸² But such ideas, popular as they were with intellectuals, could not stand against the official, "mythic" approach. The ruling oligarchy used the

⁸¹Quoted in Maruyama, Shisō, p. 29. Fairbank, Reischauer & Craig, pp. 532-533, contains a different translation.

⁸²Blacker, Enlightenment, pp. 118-119, 123-124; Takeda, Tennōsei, pp. 283-284.

new religion as an ideological screen to control the people while many of them adopted for themselves the attitude that the Imperial power was indeed constitutionally limited.⁸³

They were able to do so effectively because the religion itself was not new--only the way of using it. It was made up of "traditional Japanese feelings about the state, the community, and the family; and these could scarcely have been drawn together and turned into political purposes if they had not been deep-seated and sincere."⁸⁴

Few westerners in Meiji actually saw or came to grips with the religious side of the Emperor cult. There were one or two. For instance, Basil Hall Chamberlain expressed concern by writing a pamphlet entitled "The Invention of a New Religion."⁸⁵ The missionaries saw their task to be the conversion of the Japanese from "pagan" or "heathen" religions. These they interpreted, in terms of their western experience, as the Shinto religion, or the Buddhist religion. Because these historic faiths appeared to be in decline they decided that the Japanese were being lured away from belief, as were their own compatriots, by scientific agnosticism

⁸³Takeda, Tennosei, p. 280.

⁸⁴Sansom, Western World, p. 482.

⁸⁵See Maki Kenji, Kindai ni okeru seiyōjin no nihon rekishikan [Western Views of Japanese History in Modern Times] (Tokyo, 1951), p. 82. "Invention" was republished as part of the entry, "Bushidō," in the 6th ed. of Things Japanese (Tokyo, 1939).

("infidelity") or by the fascinations of trade and political action.⁸⁶ They did not realize that religion in Japan was not an institutional, or even theological, structure at all but was rather a "value-system" which centred about family and emperor.⁸⁷ How Christianity came to terms with that system would in the end determine its future in the new nation.

⁸⁶Cary, p. 143. Also ACS in MF (1874), p. 71; EB in ibid. (1891), p. 209.

⁸⁷Bellah, "Values," p. 30.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH MISSIONARIES APPROACH JAPAN

A. 1873--A fruitful year

The year in which Alexander Croft Shaw, the founder of the Shiba Sect, arrived in Tokyo was a fruitful and significant year in the histories of both Great Britain and Japan. In Japan it is known as the sixth year of the Meiji Era. A number of incidents reflected the growing pace at which political restoration was being transformed into social modernization. On January 1st the nation adopted the Gregorian calendar in place of the old Chinese methods of counting time. In February the government gave the order to remove the notice boards which had denigrated Christianity as an evil sect. In July Mori Arinori, recently returned from the United States, helped to found the Meirokusha, the first association of self-conscious intellectuals in the country. In September of that same year the great mission headed by Prince Iwakura Tomomi arrived home after an absence of two years in the United States and Europe.

In England 1873 marked the peak of a long period of industrial expansion which had begun at least as far back as the fifties.¹ In following years there were rumblings

¹A. E. Musson, "British Industrial Growth 1873-96: a Balanced View," Economic History Review, XVII (1964), p. 398.

of crisis in agriculture and finance, but industry and wealth had come to stay, and with them a growth in social criticism. Reform legislation, the development of trade unions and the rise of a professional civil service, all reflected the gradual emergence of the broader forms of government which were to take the place of the old oligarchic control by the landed interests. Among intellectuals the dogmatic assurance and optimism of the High Victorians was beginning to give way to a new spirit of doubt and anxiety. But middle-class British society was still more interested in an expanding commerce and in the revival of Christianity which had begun around 1859. It was these twin movements of expansion which provided the background for the arrival of the first Anglican missionaries in Japan.

The growth of interest in Japan is illustrated by the fact that more missionaries came from abroad to Japan in 1873 than in any previous year. Guido Verbeck, the contemporary historian of the missionary movement, noted in his survey of the year, "The year 1873 . . . is remarkable for having witnessed the arrival of by far the largest number of missionaries that ever came to Japan in any one year, either before or after." It was nearly as many as had arrived in the past 14 years put together: "16 married missionaries, 7 single female, and 6 single male missionaries,

making a total of 29."² The majority were, of course, from the United States. But five men from England and the first missionaries from Canada all arrived in the latter part of that year.

There were a number of reasons for this sudden increase. A general advance in communications made it easier for people to travel. Both the Suez Canal and the first transcontinental railway across America had been completed in 1869. Telegraphic communication between Europe and America had begun in 1866. In 1870 India and the Far East were connected to the network of cables.³ By 1873 American society had become stabilized following the disruptions of the Civil War.

Even in distant Britain, interest in Japan had grown perceptibly. Sir Harry Parkes, the able and energetic Minister Plenipotentiary, had been home in England at the beginning of 1872, when he was interviewed at length by the Times. His remarks were the subject of widespread comment in other journals.⁴ Articles published by popular magazines which hitherto had largely ignored the subject

²"History of Protestant Missions in Japan," Proceedings of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan (Yokohama, 1883), pp. 56-57. (Hereafter Osaka Conference.)

³C.J.H. Hayes, A Generation of Materialism (New York, 1961), pp. 88-91.

⁴The Times, Feb. 12, 1872. Comments in CMI, VIII (1872), pp. 65-79.

reflected this rise in interest. Blackwood's Magazine for September 1872 called attention to "this sudden revolution of thought and feeling, more wonderful even than the political revolution which has occurred."⁵ The Edinburgh Review hoped that Japan would be mature enough to change her institutions gradually, rather than by violent upheaval.⁶

Not only was there an increase in the quantity of writing about Japan. Attitudes changed from the customary posture of exotic fantasy to a more direct and realistic assessment. The works of the sixties--Alcock's Capital of the Tycoon, or Smith's Ten Weeks in Japan--still basically represented the opinions of onlookers denied direct access to the subject of their observations.⁷ Behind the changed tone in the seventies lay the first-hand reporting that was beginning to come in from men on the spot. There was now a small but significant number of observers who could communicate directly with the Japanese. George Ensor, the first CMS missionary to Japan, wrote a series of letters home during his short stay in the country between 1869 and 1873.⁸

⁵Comment in CMI, IX (1873), p. 18. The article was entitled "Japan", CXII, 369-388.

⁶CXXXVI (July 1872), p. 138.

⁷Thomas Baty, "The Literary Introduction of Japan to Europe" in MN, vols. VII, VIII, & IX (Tokyo, 1951-1953), VIII, pp. 25, 33-34. Rutherford Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon, 2 vols. (London, 1863); George Smith, Ten Weeks in Japan (London, 1861).

⁸CMS Letters 1870-1873; CMI, vols. VIII & IX.

Although couched in the jargon of Victorian Evangelical piety, they were scholarly in tone and covered many aspects of Japan's history, religions and politics. Japanese words were spelt correctly and the sources noted showed careful study. Ensor only converted two men to Christianity during his entire term, but one of them was an intelligent, though erratic, Buddhist priest who appears to have guided his master well.⁹

Between 1868 and 1872 news of the persecution of "hidden Catholics" near Nagasaki aroused widespread reactions in Europe and America.¹⁰ From 1862 on, thousands of Japanese, who had secretly practised Christianity for two centuries during which the religion was forbidden, had cautiously made themselves known to French missionaries. The government rounded up about four thousand of them, imprisoned them and transported many to the north of the country. Ensor had been an eyewitness of some of these incidents. His observations were typical of foreign views, although as an Evangelical Protestant he was inclined to

⁹Cary, p. 72. Wright to SPG, 21/12/73 & 24/9/74. The man was Kojima, or Futagawa, Ittō. Sumiya, Kindai, pp. 10-12.

¹⁰Sansom, Western World, pp. 390-391. Ian Shevill, "Aspects of British Missionary Activity in Japan, 1868-1894," unpublished doctoral thesis (London, n. d.), pp. 47-51, is valuable because based on direct examination of Foreign Office documents. Also M. Paske-Smith, Japanese Traditions of Christianity (Kobe & London, 1931), pp. 113-125.

blame the "idolatry" of the Catholics for part of their plight.¹¹ Nevertheless, citizens of both Catholic and Protestant nations were shocked at what they considered to be a case of barbaric intolerance in a country which was beginning to show signs of enlightenment. Both missionaries and diplomats joined to rally opinion at home, while the foreign representatives protested to the Japanese government in the strongest terms. In 1872 Parkes was able to report that "He had . . . been authorized by her Majesty's Government not to hesitate to remonstrate with the Japanese Government in cases of unkind and intolerant treatment of Native Christians. He was aware that other foreign ministers had also received similar instructions."¹²

Finally, both the British and the American general public were made directly aware of the existence of the new power through the visit of the Iwakura Mission to their countries between 1871 and 1873. This event was important, not only to the West but to Japan.¹³ Seventy to eighty Japanese, many of whom belonged to the top ranks of the ruling class, spent over two years abroad, observing all aspects of

¹¹CMI, VIII, 117; Cary, pp. 71, 92-94.

¹²Times interview, quoted in CMI, VIII, 78.

¹³Katō, "Nihonjin," 234-236. Included were Kido, Ōkubo and Itō, three of the leaders of the Restoration, plus three of the great daimyō, or feudal rulers, and their retinues.

western government and society. Their leader belonged to the ancient hereditary aristocracy of Kyoto. The delegation was entertained, not only in the principal capitals of Europe and America, but also in many smaller cities, and their presence there provoked the liveliest interest on the part of the populace. The abolition of the notice-boards prohibiting Christianity resulted from the vigorous representations made in all the countries which they visited.¹⁴

Because of the conviction in the popular mind that the blessings of civilization were directly related to Christianity, Englishmen on the whole were anxious to see missionaries go to Japan. The feeling of Britons interested in the Far East at the time was expressed in an editorial published in the China Mail for March 4th, 1873. After explaining that Japan was about to open its doors to civilization and to Christianity, it urged the Church of England to take advantage of the situation. "What ought the action of the Christian, and especially the English church be to this notable occasion? . . . She [the Church of England] is rich beyond comparison with other churches, rich in this world's possessions, rich in men, rich in learning. Nor is she poor in zeal." Although there is "scanty evidence of her ardour in [Japan]," the article continued, she must be willing to act. Otherwise Christianity will be brought into

¹⁴Cary, pp. 80-81.

ill favour "by a set of ignorant fanatics" representing the American sects.¹⁵

The slighting comparison with the Americans is significant. British and American commercial interests were engaged in competition in China and were beginning to extend their rivalry to Japan. The reference to fanatics also reveals the assumption that Anglicans would be more moderate in their approach to the new country and would therefore have greater success. It also infers that Church of England men were socially more acceptable. All of these were themes that recurred repeatedly. The British in the Far East felt that they approached Japan in a spirit which was different to the attitudes expressed by other countries. They were prepared to accept the new nation as a partner. And they hoped that they themselves would be accepted on that basis.

When the English missionaries finally reached Japan they discovered that the Americans were well ahead of them. Protestant missionaries from the United States had first come to the country in 1859. Ten years later, when the first Englishman arrived, he found some seventeen Americans had preceded him.¹⁶ Even more important than the number was the

¹⁵Quoted in Shevill, "Aspects," p. 53. Such opinion was not universal: Paul A. Cohen, China and Christianity (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 193-196.

¹⁶Osaka Conference, p. 184*.

extent of their preparedness. The American J. C. Hepburn had published his great Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary in 1867.¹⁷ All of the Americans, though hindered by government restrictions against proselytization, had been able to acquire a working knowledge of the language and customs. It took Ensor a further five years to equip himself, by which time illness had forced him to return home. It was 1878 before there existed in Japan a body of British missionaries who were technically qualified to begin work.

The reasons for this lag are not difficult to discover. Japan was marginal to British interests in the Orient.¹⁸ For Americans it was on the main route to China and therefore an important way-station. Among Englishmen it appealed only to certain specialized groups. To missionaries and businessmen Japan constituted a new frontier which challenged them. As early as 1852, a popular English book on Japan appealed for active intervention in opening up the country to commerce and Christianity. "We must not be outstripped in the East even by the Americans," it cried. "The instincts of nature, the natural law, stronger than all others, will impel mankind to invade and break up such excluding systems as those which obtain in Japan."¹⁹

¹⁷Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸Beasley, Great Britain, pp. 48-49.

¹⁹MacFarlane, Japan, pp. 108; 100 & 197.

Officers of the Royal Navy in 1845 had formed the Loochoo Naval Mission and sent a medical missionary, B. J. Bettelheim, to Naha in the hope that he would be able from there to proceed on to Japan. But the mission ended in failure ten years later.²⁰

One reason why Englishmen did not go earlier to Japan was the negative stand taken by their own government. Experience in China had taught the Foreign Office that missionaries complicated negotiations with foreign powers. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British minister to Japan, was an active supporter of the Church Missionary Society. But this fact did not prevent him when he was transferred to China from trenchant criticism of the uncompromising adventurousness of the Protestant missionaries he found there.²¹ Regardless of Chinese hostility, they had pressed into the interior, provoking incidents which sometimes resulted in their murder. Such actions made it hard for the two governments to conclude mutually acceptable trade agreements. The British government had no desire to see this explosive situation repeated in Japan. Thus, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel reserved £2000

²⁰ Cary, pp. 18 & 35.

²¹ Cohen, *China*, pp. 194-199. For Alcock and CMS, see Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 3 vols. (London, 1899), II, 591, 600; III, 92.

to send a man to Japan in 1861 they were dissuaded from doing so by the Foreign Minister, Lord John Russell.²² Between 1860 and 1862 a series of political assassinations in and around Tokyo reflected the instability of a rapidly changing order. The death of a missionary might have upset an already delicate state of affairs.

Within a few years the situation had changed. The British Naval Mission transferred its funds to CMS after closing down operations in Okinawa. Anonymous donations to the same society in 1866 made it possible to plan a mission, with the result that Ensor set out for Japan in 1869, followed by another missionary in 1871. Within two years five more Anglicans followed. Though ill health compelled Ensor to return home in 1873, by the end of the same year there were six men representing the Church of England in Japan.

This number increased yearly until, in 1900, there were over a hundred Anglicans living in every part of the country. These missionaries formed one of the most stable groups of foreign residents in Japan. Both diplomats and businessmen, by the nature of their occupations, tended to come and go. But the interests of the missionaries forced them to learn the language and customs of the country. It was to their advantage to remain for as long a period as possible. If they happened as well to be intelligent observers

²²Herbert Moore, The Christian Faith in Japan (London, 1904), p. 59.

their comments should provide valuable insights.

Unfortunately, most of them were interested only in the limited aspects of their own professional occupation. But there were a few whose observations ranged beyond those limits. What they had to say about Meiji Japan and how they looked at a culture which was strikingly different to their own; how their own point of view changed with their experience in Japan: a study of such material can furnish profitable insights on a subject with which they were--whether they knew it or not--intimately concerned.

B. Englishmen view Japan

During the second half of the nineteenth century Britain's political and financial commitments in Japan were considerable--a fact which in recent years has been obscured by American influence since 1945. Particularly during the earlier stages of the Restoration, Britain occupied a special place in Japanese minds due to her status as the greatest world power of the day. The pragmatic character of British thought possessed a strong appeal for the leaders of the Enlightenment. Among politicians this Anglophile tradition later gave way to a more radical, republican approach to reform. But pro-British sentiments remained as a "liberal" wing of conservative bureaucratic thought. They emerged, following the Pacific War, in the kind of attitude represented by the most durable of the post-war prime

ministers, Yoshida Shigeru.

Fear was a strong feature of Japan's earliest consciousness that Great Britain was a powerful force in international politics. Rumours of the Opium Wars in China, skilfully elaborated by the Dutch, convinced the Shogunate that Britain planned to attack their own country.²³ This fear of aggression was used by the American minister, Townsend Harris, as a useful lever in his later negotiations with the Japanese.²⁴ But fear and admiration are closely related emotions, especially in a status-conscious society. The exhibition of British naval power at the bombardment of Kagoshima in 1863 did much to shift the policies of the Restoration forces from their initial stance of negative isolationism.²⁵

The imperial goals of the British complemented Japanese ambitions in Korea and Formosa. Japanese diplomacy had gained important advantages at an early stage when England was at war with Russia. The desire to keep Russian ships out of Japanese ports during the Crimean War had turned

²³W. G. Beasley, Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy 1853-1868 (London & New York, 1955), pp. 4, 7; Great Britain, p. 42.

²⁴M. E. Cosenza ed., The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 486, 495; Beasley, Select, p. 161.

²⁵E. O. Reischauer, Japan Past and Present, 3rd ed. (Tokyo, 1964), p. 116.

the British envoy, Sir John Stirling, from exclusive interest in China to conclude the first treaty with Japan.²⁶ The community of interest became even more evident as imperialist policies grew stronger in the seventies and eighties. The growing political and military power of Japan, together with the British need of an ally who could offset Russian advances in northeastern Asia, gained equality for the young nation in the negotiations for treaty-revision which took place between 1884 and 1894.²⁷ British cooperation in turn freed Japan to pursue her path of conquest on the continent.

On a more personal plane, the interest taken by the British minister, Sir Harry Parkes, in the ambitions of the Satsuma-Chōshū coalition resulted in a unique position of advantage for Britain following the Restoration.²⁸ Parkes' personal interest in turn resulted from important economic commitments already undertaken by British businessmen in Western Japan. The activities of the firm of Glover and Company of Nagasaki furnish a good example. Glover helped

²⁶Beasley, Great Britain, p. 9; Inoue, Jōyaku, p. 6.

²⁷Inoue, Jōyaku, pp. 184-192.

²⁸Ishii Takashi, Meiji ishin no kokusaiteki kankyō [The International Background of the Meiji Restoration] rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 492-93; 513-22. M. Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa (Kobe, 1930) pp. 152 & 169. James Murdoch & Ischō Yamagata, A History of Japan, III (London, 1926), p. 760.

first in the industrialization of the fief of Hizen and later supplied Chōshū with a warship and rifles so that they could resist the Shogunate.²⁹ Traders like Glover worked with the British consul at Nagasaki to cement the early relations out of which later goodwill developed.

Following the Restoration, British influence continued to be strong. Englishmen assisted in the building of a modern communications system. Great Britain was the only nation to which Japan turned for financial assistance.³⁰ All through the Meiji period, although American interests increased steadily, British commercial commitments remained the heaviest of all foreign concerns.³¹ An English visitor as late as 1881 remarked of the businessmen in the port city of Yokohama: "The Americans . . . equal all the others put together except the British; and these are three times as numerous as the Americans."³² In Kōbe the proportion would probably have been even higher.

²⁹Ishii, Meiji, pp. 466, 518, 530; Paske-Smith, Barbarians, pp. 156, 181; Fairbank, Reischauer & Craig, East Asia, p. 223.

³⁰Ibid., p. 234.

³¹In 1882, 1200 out of 2650 foreign residents were British; in 1890, 1400 out of 3260. F. C. Jones, Extraterritoriality in Japan (New Haven & London, 1931), p. 92.

³²Strachan in MF, 1881, pp. 279-280.

Japanese intellectuals during the seventies and eighties showed an interest in British thought which paralleled the practical commitments of that country. English Utilitarianism was one of the dominant interests among the members of the Meirokusha, who were responsible for introducing the works of Mill and Spencer during the seventies. British political theory also constituted one important stream in the early democratic movement as the father of parliamentary government, Ozaki Yukio, has attested in his reminiscences.³³ Even among the leaders of the left wing of the party movement, whose inspiration was largely French, the writings of Baba Tatsui were first based on British models.³⁴ The moderate democratic party, the Kaishintō, self-consciously pointed to British liberalism for its inspiration, while intellectuals connected with the same party were responsible for starting a vogue for the political novels of Disraeli and Lytton during the mid-eighties.³⁵

By the end of the eighties, Japanese political thought had developed its own goals and methods. The bureaucratic leaders of this period tended to respect German ideas more

³³Gakudō kaikoroku [Reminiscences of Gakudō (Ozaki)], 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1951), I, pp. 26-27.

³⁴Sansom, Western World, pp. 417-418. Baba in 1876 wrote The Treaty between Japan and England (in English) to bring the unequal treaties to the attention of English statesmen. Inoue, Jōyaku, p. 63.

³⁵Kōsaka, Thought, pp. 195-198; Sansom, Western World, pp. 397-398.

than British, because of their authoritarian and organic emphasis. The radical intellectuals looked to American and European thinkers for guidance. Henry George and Ferdinand Lasalle displaced Mill and Smiles. Yet well on into the twentieth century British ideas constituted an important second rank of influence. The Imperial Navy, whose officers were descended from the earlier Satsuma admirers of British sea power, sailed under confirmed Anglophiles.³⁶ And insofar as the conservative upper classes sought culture abroad, they looked to England.

Possibly most important of all was the general esteem accorded English culture by the petty intelligentsia. School teachers, local officials, or independent farmers lived close to the common people to whom they were often related by ties of kinship. Thus they were in the best position to influence the ideas of ordinary Japanese. The American Congregational missionary, D. C. Greene, told in 1893 of meeting a farmer's son in the hill country of Gumma Prefecture. The boy was reading the poetical books of the Bible, and had also read Tennyson's "Enoch Arden." A school teacher in the same region had read Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship, and "one or more of his biographies, besides considerable of the writings of Lord Macaulay." Green comments, "I do not

³⁶Fairbank, Reischauer & Craig, East Asia, p. 237; Reischauer, Japan, p. 116.

maintain that these students were in a position to gain all from their books that one of us might gain, but their minds were nevertheless busied with English thought."³⁷

In contrast to the extent of British involvement in Japan, the distant island country still occupied a marginal position in the thinking of most late Victorian Englishmen at home. India, or even China, were the countries about which they thought when the Orient was mentioned. This marginality of Japan to the total concerns of Empire explains why the general public in Britain still considered the country exotic even though many of their fellows were well informed. As early as 1872, clear and expertly written articles had begun to appear in the major journals. The world of art was beginning to be excited about pottery and prints. But as late as 1885 Gilbert and Sullivan still reflected the popular view when they composed the Mikado.³⁸

Nevertheless in the latter decades of the nineteenth century both specialists and the general public were beginning to understand Japan better. When Alexander Shaw landed at Yokohama in 1873, he knew little about the country in which he planned to work. But when Edward Bickersteth

³⁷H. Ritter, A History of Protestant Missions in Japan (Tokyo, 1898), pp. 262-263. For the petty intellectual, see Maruyama, Thought and Behaviour, pp. 57-65.

³⁸Earl Miner, The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature (Princeton, 1958), pp. 55-57.

arrived, some thirteen years later, he revealed a fairly detailed and accurate grasp of its history and customs. In the interval detailed information had become available through the efforts of various experts. This information was gaining circulation beyond the confines of specialized groups through the medium of a number of different organs, not least of which were the magazines of the missionary societies.

Because of their special interest in opening up a new field of activity, the missionary societies had been among the earliest agencies to popularize such ideas. Five years after Perry's historic voyage to Japan, the Religious Tract Society of London published a small work entitled Japan Opened. It consisted of extracts from the official narrative of the Perry expedition and was evidently designed for use as missionary propaganda.³⁹ The forces of commerce, diplomacy and evangelism frequently converged in the nineteenth century European advance into foreign countries. There may have been tensions on the field between the different interests. Still everyone took for granted that all would cooperate in the discovery of new frontiers for the blessings of western civilization. The degree of cooperation varied from country to country. French diplomacy worked closely with its missionaries.⁴⁰

³⁹Introduction, p. x. A second edition appeared in 1859.

⁴⁰Cohen, China, pp. 200-224.

Americans emphasized a cleavage between church and state. The British commingled the two methods.

Three important sources contributed to the increase in both technical and general knowledge concerning Japan between 1870 and 1900. The first was a small but distinguished group of diplomats, scholars and journalists who resided there during all or part of these years. Many of them had been chosen and trained by the British minister, Harry Parkes. Parkes stressed the importance of learning the language for all his consuls.⁴¹ In the course of his eighteen years in Japan he gathered about him a brilliant staff of men whose names stand in the front rank of early foreign scholarship.⁴² Close to the diplomats were the resident scholars and journalists, foremost among whom was Basil Hall Chamberlain. He was the son of a British admiral and the grandson of one of the founders of the Loochoo mission of 1845. In 1885 Mori Arinori appointed him professor of Japanese language and literature at Tokyo Imperial University, an astounding distinction for a foreigner.⁴³

⁴¹S. Lane-Poole & F. V. Dickins, Life of Sir Harry Parkes, II (London, 1894), pp. 170 & 253.

⁴²Adams, Aston, Gubbins, Hall, McClatchie, Mitford, Siebold and Satow were all early scholars of Japanese studies who started with Parkes. Jones, Extraterritoriality, p. 95.

⁴³B. H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 6th ed. (London & Kobe, 1939), Preface, pp. xi-xiv. Maki, Kindai, p. 81, points out that the craze for everything Western was at its height in 1885.

Both Aston and he worked on grammars of the language while their translations of Japanese literature formed the first introduction of western readers to that rich store. He first published his encyclopaedic guide to Japan, Things Japanese, in 1890; it went into six editions, the last complete version of which appeared in 1939.⁴⁴

The missionaries formed a second important group. The names of Batchelor, Dening, Griffis, Hepburn and Lloyd rank with the diplomat-scholars as trail blazers. Sir Ernest Satow, who himself had been responsible for a great deal of the preliminary work in Japanese grammar, once wrote that "the pioneers . . . in the making of Japanese-English dictionaries were three American missionaries, Mr. Liggins, Dr. Hepburn and Dr. Samuel Browne."⁴⁵ Hepburn's dictionary formed the foundation of all modern works, while his method of Romanizing Japanese became standard for English-speaking countries. Griffis' two-volume work, The Mikado's Empire, first appeared in 1876. Thereafter it went into many editions and was for a long time the most widely read introduction to Japan.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Chamberlain, p. viii.

⁴⁵"Christian Missions," p. 127.

⁴⁶Baty, "Introduction," VIII, p. 28; Akira Iriye, "Minds Across the Pacific: Japan in American Writing (1853-1883)," in Papers on Japan (Vol. 1) (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp. 1-41: 26.

The scholarly work of the missionaries was one reason why Edward Bickersteth was better informed about Japan than Alexander Shaw.⁴⁷

A spate of travel literature dealing with Japan supplied a third source of knowledge. The popularity of this genre was tremendous. For example, Henry M. Field's From Egypt to Japan, which first appeared in 1877, went into thirteen editions.⁴⁸ One of the most accurate observers was a remarkable woman, Isabella Bird (Mrs. J. F. Bishop), who travelled for six months on foot and on horseback up and down Japan at a time when few foreigners were permitted into the interior. Her two volume work, Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, was first published by Murray in 1880 and rapidly became a best-seller.⁴⁹ Mrs. Bishop came to know and admire the members of the Shiba mission and contributed generously to their work.⁵⁰

How far knowledge of Japan progressed within the space of a few years may be seen by comparing the literature of the sixties with articles which were published less than ten years later. The first modern introduction of Japan to the West was Alcock's Capital of the Tycoon, which

⁴⁷EB-father, 16/3/86, in Life, p. 150.

⁴⁸Iriye, "Minds," pp. 22 & 29n.

⁴⁹Baty, "Introduction," VIII, p. 38.

⁵⁰Life, pp. 241 & 376.

appeared in 1863. Before that time almost everything had been based on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources. Alcock had been trained as a doctor prior to his appointment as a diplomat.⁵¹ Skills in observation which he had derived from both science and politics helped him to produce a detailed and readable account of three years' residence in Japan. Yet this account still reflected an isolation similar to that which appeared in the writings of his American predecessor, Townsend Harris. The most outstanding symptom of this was a certain neurotic inability to accept statements from Japanese sources at face value.⁵² His work also reflects the lingering stereotype of Japan as a kind of survival of the Middle Ages.⁵³ For the romantic Victorian, already in love with his own dream of Medieval Europe, this stereotype constituted one of the main attractions of the newly discovered country. A Mr. W. Burges, writing about the Japanese court at the International Exhibition of 1862, exclaimed in bliss, "Truly the Japanese Court is the real medieval court of the Exhibition."⁵⁴

⁵¹Baty, "Introduction," p. 32 notes that two famous earlier observers, Kaempfer and von Siebold, had also been doctors.

⁵²Capital, II, pp. 69, 104. For Harris, see W. E. Griffis, Townsend Harris in Japan (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1896), p. 155.

⁵³Capital, I, 440, 432; II, 348.

⁵⁴The Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1862, qu. in Miner, Tradition, p. 29.

The craze for wood-block prints and blue china which swept over England in the seventies further emphasized this love of the ancient and exotic.⁵⁵

The articles which appeared in English magazines in response to public interest created by the Iwakura Mission in 1872 exhibited quite a different spirit. The Edinburgh Review in July, 1872, criticized an American publication for its overly rosy view of the Restoration. It buttressed its judgements by references to the Japan Weekly Mail and other on-the-spot observers.⁵⁶ More realistic treatment replaced the isolation and romanticism of the former period. A similar realism distinguished an article in Blackwood's Magazine a few months later.⁵⁷

By the nineties, Japan was regularly referred to as the Great Britain of the Orient, which indicated a new level of acceptance in English minds. A writer in Blackwood's for December, 1894, referred to the "immense number of articles" about Japan then in circulation.⁵⁸ Now, though,

⁵⁵William Gaunt, The Aesthetic Adventure (London, 1957), p. 78. Miner, Tradition, pp. 53-55.

⁵⁶"Reform in Japan," a review of The Japanese in America by Charles Lanman, vol. CXXXVI (July, 1872), pp. 244-269.

⁵⁷"Japan," CXII (September, 1872), pp. 369-388.

⁵⁸"The Position of Japan," in vol. CLVI, pp. 878-888: p. 878. The quotation refers to newspaper reports, generally unfavorable to Japan, on treaty-revision and the Sino-Japanese War.

Japan was justified not for its medievalism, but for its modernity: its volume of trade and national wealth were rising and its education was seen to be practically on a par with that of Great Britain. Even in war, the author noted with approval, the island country was following a European path.⁵⁹

From Alcock on, two themes run through all British literature on Japan. The first was the idea that modernization is not in itself necessarily all good. Alcock was disturbed by the inroads made by Western merchants and missionaries into a society which he considered every bit as good as Europe.⁶⁰ The Edinburgh Review similarly thought that American writers, in voicing all out approval, coloured what they saw in Japan according to their own aspirations for the country.⁶¹ The second theme was related. Modernization will be better if it is gradual. The Edinburgh Review expressed this theme as follows: "We can only hope that Japanese statesmen will . . . steadily refuse to be hurried recklessly on to uproot everything that is ancient and to plant to their place without preparation or adaptation the institutions of other countries . . ."⁶² These twin

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 883.

⁶⁰Capital, I, 198, 450; II, 348, 364.

⁶¹"Reform," p. 138.

⁶²Ibid. See also Iriye, "Minds," pp. 27, 32.

themes also colour the writings of the missionaries. They formed part of the basis of the British approach to Japanese culture.

C. British society and the Church of England

The missionaries--at least at first--shared many of the general attitudes of the British people toward Japan. Their ideas were further moulded by their heritage as churchmen and as members of the upper strata of English society. The three clergymen who are the objects of this study all belonged to the established Church of England. This church claimed descent from the Catholic Church which had been planted in English soil over a thousand years previously by missionaries from the Mediterranean world. During the disturbances which surrounded the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, the English church had repudiated the claim to temporal jurisdiction of the Roman Pope, and had transferred this political authority to the king. It therefore differed from the Protestantism of the continent of Europe in that it claimed no clear break from Catholicism in matters of faith and church order. But its denial of Papal authority had pushed it into the Protestant camp, from which it received certain decisive influences. This mixed nature of Anglicanism is important to note. It meant that its members resembled Catholics in some ways and Protestants in others; as a result both

viewed the Anglicans with suspicion.⁶³

The term "established" meant that the Church of England was looked upon by the state as the church of the whole English people. Its temporal head was the king, who must be a member. It enjoyed special privileges, such as the authority to collect tithes, or church taxes. Its bishops, though formally elected by the church, were in fact appointed by the state. Protestants viewed this arrangement with disfavour from the first. In the seventeenth century many "Puritans" felt themselves forced to dissociate themselves from the Establishment, thereby becoming Dissenters, or Nonconformists. Theological differences reflected a corresponding change in class relations. Many members of the urban middle classes became Dissenters, while the country gentry and farmers tended to side with the Established Church. Social interests influenced both the theological and the political orientation of Englishmen.

In the nineteenth century the Church of England was far from homogeneous, whether in its theological outlook or in the class connections of its membership. It

⁶³"We have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy," the statesman Pitt is reputed to have said. Prior, Life of Burke (1790), Ch. 10.

was divided theologically into High ("Catholic"), Low ("evangelical") and Broad ("liberal") parties. Each represented interpretations of doctrine which were often in conflict with one another. The class structure of England was changing rapidly. These changes also affected the nature of the church.

It is difficult to obtain a clear and accurate picture of the class relations of British Christianity in the nineteenth century. Sociologists with the help of statistical studies are just beginning to examine the subject, so that the historian must still be content with approximations.⁶⁴ A religious census, conducted in 1851, showed that less than half of the population of England and Wales attended church on one particular Sunday.⁶⁵ There are a number of reasons for this startling insight into an age which has usually been thought of as having been more religious than most.⁶⁶ Probably most important was the fact that few inhabitants of the large new working-class communities habitually went to church. For them "Church was for toffs."⁶⁷

⁶⁴David Martin, A Sociology of English Religion (London, 1967), p. 7.

⁶⁵Kitson Clark, Making, 149. For analysis of this survey see W.S.F. Pickering, "The Religious Census of 1851--a useless experiment?" British Journal of Sociology 18 (1967), pp. 382-407.

⁶⁶Kitson Clark, Making, p. 147.

⁶⁷K. S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (London & Toronto, 1963), pp. 57, 323.

The report of a survey of London conducted by Charles Booth in the nineties gives some idea of the complex nature of the problem. In general Anglicans belonged to the upper and middle classes, while Nonconformists came from the middle classes. But the same middle classes also included many Evangelical Anglicans, the wing of the Established Church closest to Protestantism. There was also a complex stratification of Nonconformity within the middle classes, with such sects as the Unitarians and Quakers enjoying an elite position.⁶⁸

Individuals often shifted from church to church according to their place in the class structure. Thus the father of the famous Liberal Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, had begun life as a Presbyterian. But as he advanced in the social scale, he became an Anglican and a Tory.⁶⁹ Even within the Established Church, shifts in social status were often reflected in the "churchmanship," or party allegiance, of an individual. For instance, when Gladstone's father became an Anglican, he fitted most naturally into the Low wing which was nearest to his former Presbyterianism. His son, having attended Oxford at the time of the Tractarian revival, was influenced by the High Church ideas of his

⁶⁸ Martin, Sociology, pp. 29-33; Kitson Clark, Making, p. 159.

⁶⁹ Philip Magnus, Gladstone (London, 1963), p. 1.

aristocratic fellow undergraduates. He retained this personal connection throughout his life, even after leaving the Tory Party. The noted anti-slavery leader, William Wilberforce, came from a family of merchants in the north of England. During his most active period as a politician he was associated with the group of Whig bankers and businessmen known popularly as the Clapham Sect, all of whom were enthusiastic Evangelicals. Two of his sons, however, became leaders in the High Church party. One of them, Samuel, became Bishop of Oxford in 1845 and sat in the House of Lords.⁷⁰

In general, the strength of the Church of England during the nineteenth century lay in the rural districts of the Home Counties where society was still more stable and organic in its relationships. Two of the outstanding High Churchmen of the Victorian period, John Keble and Edward Pusey, belonged to the landed gentry. One of the subjects of this study, Edward Bickersteth, also came from a distinguished family of country gentlemen. The other two, Alexander Shaw and Arthur Lloyd, belonged to army families. As the army and the Church were the two most common professions for the younger sons of landed households, their way of life was much the same.⁷¹

⁷⁰Cornish, English Church, p. 37.

⁷¹F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1963), p. 287.

At the beginning of the century, these agrarian interests had controlled British Society. They held the largest number of seats in Parliament. The professions and the civil service were largely recruited from among their sons. They set the tone of life at the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They saw themselves as a responsible elite to whom God had committed the care of the nation. They distrusted democracy because they believed the common people unfitted to rule.⁷²

In 1870, the landed gentry still formed a majority in Parliament. But now they ruled "by grace of the middle classes, . . . whose power to thrust them aside was already in existence even if it as yet lay dormant and unused."⁷³ The two great facts of the nineteenth century, population growth and industrial expansion, had created a new situation. The growth of cities and factories both made necessary a new type of technical knowledge. The new professional administrator was beginning to take the place of the old gentleman amateur with his generalized knowledge.⁷⁴ The Reform Act in 1884 extended the franchise and weakened the hold of the gentry on Parliament. Universities and the civil service were becoming more accessible to those who

⁷²Ibid., pp. 16-17; Kitson Clark, Making, pp. 42-48.

⁷³Thompson, Landed, p. 278.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 287.

possessed the ability to qualify through the examinations.⁷⁵

In spite of these changes, the ethos of the landed interests did not lose its appeal. Though deprived of direct power the gentry still supplied the trappings of power. Titles, estates, public schools, the universities, the Established Church, all were channels through which the middle classes had to pass in order to be publicly recognized as members of the ruling elite. By 1890 it is clear to later students that money, not land, was the basis of power. Even then, "the little world of the country house continued serenely on its patriarchal ways until in the twentieth century it was abruptly shattered by death duties, surtax, servant shortage, unionized farmers, and the break-up of estates."⁷⁶

Extensive reform also altered the shape of the Established Church during the nineteenth century. Its structure and organization had changed little since the seventeenth century. In the meantime the population shifts brought about by the Industrial Revolution had left it almost completely out of touch with the urban centres. Reform proceeded both from within and without. The ecclesiastical reform bills which Parliament began to debate from 1832 on all carried

⁷⁵E. L. Woodward, The Age of Reform, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1962), pp. 491, 622.

⁷⁶Thompson, Landed, p. 185; see also p. 299.

measures to reduce the cost of the Establishment. Even before that the church itself had begun to strengthen the foundations of its spiritual and material autonomy. Revised clerical salaries abolished the glaring inequalities that had existed. The appearance of many new church buildings represented a belated attempt to accommodate the new urban populations. The abolition of religious tests for parliament and the universities meant that the Church of England could no longer claim these places as its exclusive preserve. Although still the Established Church, by the eighties it was well on the road to becoming in actual fact one of several denominations associated with English society.⁷⁷

The changes in thought which accompanied these shifts of classes and institutions are well known. The scientific and evolutionary agnosticism of Mill, Spencer and Huxley had shocked Anglican orthodoxy in the sixties. But by the eighties even churchmen largely accepted the scientific interpretation of the natural world. Both science and Christianity were now being challenged by an even more sceptical aestheticism. These currents and eddies in the world of ideas do not seem greatly to have troubled the bulk of the nation. Even those who never went to church considered themselves in some sense Christian and Protestant. Religion

⁷⁷Woodward, Reform, pp. 503-525.

was part of being an Englishman.⁷⁸

Despite the criticisms of the free thinkers, the seventies were years of religious enthusiasm.⁷⁹ The Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century had arisen in the old Church of the countryside. The second revival, which took place approximately between 1859 and 1875, turned men's eyes to the cities. Out of it grew such movements as the Salvation Army. The universities reflected this revival of religion. University missions were founded in the slums of London and the industrial Midlands to take religion to the workers. Simultaneously, there was an increase of interest in work overseas. Missions at home and abroad formed a two-pronged attack on unbelief throughout the world.

The increase in missionary fervour was directly related to the new defensive position of the church in society. Anglicanism was no longer the ideology of a stable ruling class. The gentry had survived by drawing the new classes into its own style of life. The Church of England, too, by becoming a denomination, found itself in a freer relation to society and to its members. It could now extend beyond the confines of the state whose patronage had formerly imprisoned it. Movements like the Lambeth Conference began to draw together Anglicans from outside the British Isles to debate a strategy based on belief rather than

⁷⁸Kitson Clark, Making, p. 148.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 188-189.

nationality. As long as the Church of England had been regarded as "the realm turned Christian," it had felt no need to propagate itself. Church and community had been coterminous: membership in each was automatic. Now the old community was breaking up and the church found itself challenged by other free organizations to grow or die.

Nevertheless the church did not yet find itself as much on the periphery of society in the late nineteenth century as it tended to be in the twentieth. John Stuart Mill and Thomas Huxley belonged to the same learned societies as the theologians Frederick Denison Maurice and Samuel Wilberforce.⁸⁰ In Tokyo diplomats like Alcock, Parkes and Satow, scholars and journalists like Chamberlain and Brinkley, all rubbed shoulders with the missionaries and supported their work. Social duty and religious allegiance still reinforced each other. Those who served abroad, whether diplomats, scholars or clergymen, usually all came from the same social class, shared a common university experience and looked at the world in a similar way.

D. British missionaries view the Japanese

British missionaries in Japan possessed the same general outlook as any educated Victorian. In common with

⁸⁰ M. St. J. Packe, The Life of John Stuart Mill (London, 1954), pp. 82-85; William Irvine, Apes, Angels, and Victorians (New York, 1955), pp. 4-6, 251.

other Englishmen in Japan their letters reflected the way in which these assumptions governed their approach to the country. The nature and requirements of their work even gave them a certain advantage over their fellow Westerners as students of its culture.

As sources of information, the missionary writings reveal certain limitations. They rarely contain general observations or analytical descriptions of Japanese society. For the most part the missionaries wrote for business or personal reasons. Their interests were usually professional and institutional rather than scholarly, so that they talked more about matters of church organization than about persons or cultures. Their closest associates were usually their fellow foreigners. In extreme cases, as certain Japanese critics have noted, they treated the people of the land almost as though they were "objects of evangelism" rather than human persons.⁸¹ For the historian these limitations are not necessarily a disadvantage. A more accurate impression can sometimes be culled from chance remarks which reveal unconscious assumptions than from carefully thought-out descriptions.

⁸¹J. F. Howes, "Japanese Protestant Stereotypes and the Role of the Missionary," Japan Christian Quarterly, XXXIII (Summer, 1967), 1-10: p. 3.

The limited vision revealed by many missionaries was connected with a second characteristic. Few of them felt any great compulsion to prepare themselves for work in a certain area.⁸² This attitude resulted in part from the Victorian idea that a general education would fit a man to tackle any kind of problem.⁸³ When the CMS sent their first missionary, George Ensor, to Japan in 1869, they spoke glibly about "the comparative facility with which the language can be acquired." He had been a Scholar of Queen's College, Cambridge, which was all the preparation he needed.⁸⁴ A sense of cultural superiority which resulted from the technical advances of the West reinforced this comfortable optimism.⁸⁵ The British had taught the Japanese how to use lighthouses, steamships and railways. They could equally well teach them Christianity. In fact, some of those who had begun as technical advisors did end up as missionaries. For instance, S. H. Pole was employed by the Japanese government between 1873-76 in the building of the new railway. He returned to Japan as a missionary of the CMS in 1883.⁸⁶ But probably stronger than any of these sentiments was the

⁸²A general characteristic of the 19th century missionary movement. See Cairns, Prelude, pp. 162-167.

⁸³Houghton, Victorian, pp. 141-143.

⁸⁴Shevill, "Aspects," p. 38.

⁸⁵Houghton, Victorian, p. 111.

⁸⁶Plummer-SPG, 18/11/76.

sense of messianic assurance with which most missionaries set out on their careers. The missionary was "an adherent of a cause commanded by God and backed by divine assurance."⁸⁷ He needed no further preparation. ←

Because of such assumptions the missionaries were at first unfitted to understand the culture of the country in which they worked. To their credit it must be admitted that many of them saw this weakness and tried to remedy it. Ensor quickly realized his own unpreparedness. He wrote that the language "combines all the difficulties of Chinese with those peculiar to itself."⁸⁸ He further affirmed that Englishmen must understand the social situation in Japan if they were to evangelize it. Accordingly he set out to produce a scholarly set of studies on religion and politics which turned out to be his main contribution to the cause.

The first representative of the SPG, Alexander Shaw, arrived in Japan equally unprepared. But three years later he was writing home urging his office to compose "a reference book . . . containing information concerning such distant and little known mission stations as this." He appended to his letter a series of notes on climate, clothing, where to purchase supplies, and other useful facts. He warned against candidates studying Japanese in England, lest they fall into

⁸⁷Cairns, Prelude, p. 154.

⁸⁸Ensor-CMS, 13/9/70. See also Shevill, "Aspects," p. 39.

bad habits. He provided a bibliography of the new grammars and dictionaries by Hepburn, Aston and Satow. And finally, he urged that Buddhism be studied, recommending books by St. Hilaire and Max Muller.⁸⁹

Thus by the time his successors arrived on the field they were much better prepared. Even so, a Canadian missionary who wrote as late as 1894 was still bemoaning the "inexperience and ignorance of missionaries" as one of the main barriers to communication. "Every missionary," he wrote, " . . . reaches the shores of Japan with scarcely an idea" of its language, history, geography and customs.⁹⁰ This criticism in itself reflected a recognition that knowledge of culture was important. Some missionaries never achieved even the desire to study the culture, being content with the bare minimum of language necessary for their preaching. Some of them, even in the twentieth century, remained unable after as much as forty years of residence to understand an address given by an educated Japanese.

The members of the Shiba Sect were all agreed that it was important to understand the culture of Japan. Because they concerned themselves primarily with institutional organization they could not give first place to study. But they took an intelligent interest in questions of

⁸⁹ACS-SPG, 9/10/76.

⁹⁰J. G. Waller, "Obstacles in the Mission Field," CCM, VIII (1894), p. 8.

language, custom, religion and politics, going beyond the bare minimum needed for their work. By the chance comments scattered through their writings, they exhibited a fairly coherent attitude toward Japan.

In common with most foreigners, the missionaries' feelings for Japan were ambivalent. They admired its energy, initiative and independence. One of them in 1881 commended the government's determination to replace its foreign advisors as soon as possible and pointed to Chinese lack of independence as the result of an opposite policy.⁹¹ They frequently contrasted Japanese progressiveness and Chinese decadence and considered the war between the two countries justified because Japan would be able to bring the benefits of civilization to Korea, a country which China had neglected.⁹² Japanese independence of spirit was also contrasted with a lack of the same spirit in India.⁹³

As representatives of a royalist church, the Englishmen tended to admire the solid aristocratic virtues of the Japanese. They approved of the government's determination to limit the degree of democratic participation in legislation to a social elite.⁹⁴ They praised the qualities of

⁹¹Strachan, MF 1881, pp. 178, 210.

⁹²EB-SPG, 15/1/95. See also "The Position of Japan," Blackwood's, Dec., 1894, pp. 878-881.

⁹³EB-father in Life, p. 165.

⁹⁴ACS in MF 1891, p. 214.

patriotism and chivalry which they saw as a preparation for Christianity.⁹⁵

At the same time the missionaries found that even the virtues which they admired were not flawless. The drive for national independence could easily turn to xenophobia.

"National prejudice," wrote one of them, ". . . most marked in China [exists] . . . in a slightly less degree . . . in Japan."⁹⁶ The feeling was not limited to non-believers, but caused Christian converts to want to set up a Church "which shall be distinctly Japanese."⁹⁷ All the missionaries were disturbed by the propensity for what they called "lying and licentiousness." Among the earlier writers, this view was simply stated as a regrettable fact, an inconsistency similar to the barbaric treatment of prisoners and criminals. Later on, some attempt was made to understand the reasons for its prevalence. Lying came from the emphasis on superficial politeness, while licentiousness was connected with the low regard in which women were held.⁹⁸

Probably the most common missionary comment on the Japanese concerned their obsession with political action, social advancement and the making of wealth. Japanese historians use the expression risshin shusse--getting on and

⁹⁵Ensor in CMI 1899, p. 661.

⁹⁶Waller, "Obstacles," VII, 249; Strachan in MF 1881, p. 211.

⁹⁷ACS in MF 1886, pp. 271-272; Foss-SPG, 31/12/81; Poole-SPG, 22/12/83.

⁹⁸Waller, "Obstacles," VII, p. 250, quoting Niiijima Jō.

succeeding in life--to describe the prevalent popular spirit of Meiji society. There is no doubt that this spirit communicated itself to the foreign onlookers. Time and time again, remarks about it appear in their letters. They saw it as the main reason for their own lack of success: "People's minds are so absorbed with political change and with striving after wealth and position that religion is altogether overlooked."⁹⁹ But it also explained the general decline in the indigenous faiths. "The love of the people of Nagano for Buddhism," wrote Waller, "reaches only to their purses, never to their hearts."¹⁰⁰

In general there was little hostility in the writing of the SPG missionaries toward Japanese religions. They were seen as "pagan" but not necessarily as evil. One remarkably sympathetic article on Shinto stressed its lack of idolatry and concentration on purification.¹⁰¹ The Japanese religions were seen as a preparation for Christianity.¹⁰² Missionaries were urged to study Buddhism: "What can we expect of missionaries who in a Buddhist land are quite ignorant of Buddhism?" asked one of their number.¹⁰³ It was no wonder, then, that one of these men, Arthur Lloyd, became

⁹⁹Ibid., 248; ACS in MF, 1889, p. 328; EB-SPG, 13/1/90.

¹⁰⁰"Obstacles," VII, 163.

¹⁰¹CCM II (1888), p. 132.

¹⁰²Herbert Moore, Christian Faith, p. 42.

¹⁰³Waller, "Obstacles," VIII, p. 7.

the first foreigner to make a serious study of that faith as it had developed in Japan. It was almost a matter of regret to the missionaries that religious faith seemed to be declining before the onslaughts of modern thought. Early in his career Shaw wrote home, "The battle lies no more, I believe, between Christianity and heathenism, but between Christianity and infidelity. So here, as at home, the fight goes on."¹⁰⁴

Shaw's American Protestant colleagues would have agreed with this judgement.¹⁰⁵ But there were many other opinions to which they might have taken exception. The British and Americans looked at foreign cultures with different eyes. In Africa it has been noted that there was "the Livingstone way and the Stanley way" with the natives.¹⁰⁶ The American Stanley was brutally direct in his approach, while the Scotsman Livingstone preferred slower, more conciliatory and indirect methods. Americans tended to see foreign cultures in simplistic terms as new frontiers to be exploited. They judged them to be good or bad depending on whether or not they were seen to be progressing toward a more modern, or democratic, goal.¹⁰⁷ But the Englishmen looked on the same cultures as a sacred trust where power was to be

¹⁰⁴ACS in MF 1874, p. 71; EB-Searle, 31/3/86 in Life, p. 158.

¹⁰⁵J. T. Gulick in Cary, pp. 143-144.

¹⁰⁶Cairns, Prelude, p. 44.

¹⁰⁷Iriye, "Minds," p. 22.

used only in a context of moral purpose.¹⁰⁸

This basic difference in approach was reflected, mutatis mutandis, in the views of British and American missionaries in Japan. The Englishmen belonged to a status society which had enjoyed a long history. They loved tradition and the things of the past. They loved Japan for laying hold on the very things that were disappearing in their own country. The Americans, on the other hand, were still in conscious rebellion against that old society. They looked forward to the building of a new world. So they saw the battle for a new order in Japan as a good thing. The Englishmen were aristocrats, or at least gentlemen. They thought in terms of chivalry, and of relations with inferiors and subordinates in terms of responsibility.¹⁰⁹ They saw less that was wrong in the old feudal values of Japanese society. The Americans valued equality and brotherhood. Their teachings appealed to the very people who were attempting to break out of the traditional way of life into a new, less status-conscious, society.

It is no wonder, then, that the Americans should have seen the new Japan, with its striving toward democratic institutions, in a favorable light. William Elliot Griffis, the missionary historian and biographer, expressed it thus:

¹⁰⁸Cairns, Prelude, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 36

"The noblest trait in the Japanese character is his willingness to change for the better when he discovers his wrong or inferiority."¹¹⁰ The British were equally admirers of Japan's push toward civilization. But they did not see the process as one of unalloyed perfection.¹¹¹ They tended to mistrust revolutionary change which would imperil much that had seemed valuable in the past. They were thus freer than were the Americans to admire the older elements of the traditional culture: the virtues of obedience and patriotism, the old arts and religious practices.

One final difference: the Puritan tradition which had played so large a role in the development of American society tended to distrust all human institutions, including culture; it drew a clear distinction between the elect and the depraved and considered society to be filled with depraved individuals. The British tradition, in spite of its partial acceptance of Protestant ideas, still retained much of the optimistic humanism which it had inherited from medieval catholicism. This humanism was particularly strong among the older, land-holding gentry and manifested itself in the unconscious assumptions of the Anglican missionaries. They

¹¹⁰"The Recent Revolutions in Japan," North American Review (April, 1875), quoted in Iriye, "Minds," p. 24.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 27.

viewed Japanese traditional society and its institutions as something of value in and for themselves. They could accept the culture of their adopted land without feeling the need for radical change.

CHAPTER IV

THE TORY CHURCH AND MISSIONARY EXPLORATION:

ALEXANDER CROFT SHAW

A. High Anglicanism in crisis

In 1877 Alexander Croft Shaw began the work at Shiba in the city of Tokyo out of which developed the Shiba Sect. Unlike other missionaries of his day, he did not found a school, give public lectures, or preach in the streets. Instead, he built a replica of the little brick Gothic churches which were springing up all over England at that time. He imported stained glass for the windows from France at great cost and dressed his Japanese choir in flowing white surplices. His reason for this somewhat unorthodox approach was characteristic. "I wish to make every possible distinction between my services and those of the Dissenters. Dissent . . . is going to be in Japan the sorest hindrance to Christianity."¹

Two aspects of this statement are worth noting. The most obvious distinction that Shaw was making was social and political. Church, spelt with a capital C, meant the Established Church of England. Dissent denoted those

¹ACS-SPG, 11/7/79.

Protestant denominations which did not conform to the Establishment. The use of the word "Dissent" itself, quite proper for the eighteenth century, by the late nineteenth century had a distinctly derogatory ring. It smacked of snobbery: that is, it reflected a clash of values between those whose way of life had been shaped by landed interests and a group of men who were "in trade."²

The statement also revealed a theological bias. In this case "Church" represented the Church of England as a historic branch of the universal, or catholic, church: descended from Christ through the apostles. Dissent now stood for those churches of the Reformation which had disregarded the catholicity of Christianity by breaking away from its historic structure. As most of the members of the Shiba Sect agreed with Shaw on both of these judgements, it would be helpful to examine their significance in greater detail.³

The British missionaries who helped to found the Shiba Sect all belonged to the High Church tradition in the Church of England, though some of them may not consciously have associated themselves with it. For there were many shades of High Churchman. There were Tory churchmen, descended from the Caroline divines of the seventeenth century, who

²Woodward, Reform, p. 502 fn.

³See, for instance, AL-SPG, 10/10/85.

combined a catholic devotion with strong loyalty to Throne and Establishment. Their catholicism arose from a love of the Church's traditional faith and practice rather than the attractions of Roman papalism. Such leaders of the Oxford Movement as the poet John Keble and the theologian E. B. Pusey, though history may call them reformers, were conservatives by birth and temperament, and belonged to this class. Then there were converts from the Evangelical persuasion who brought with them a strain of deep personal piety. William Ewart Gladstone, the great Liberal prime minister, and John Henry Newman, the most brilliant thinker of the Oxford Movement, might be classed in this category. Some High Churchmen even had "Broad," or liberal, sympathies. That is, they combined traditionalism in church practice with interest in modern currents of thought. The antiquarian E. L. Cutts, with whom Shaw once worked in London, belonged to this group, as did R. W. Church, one of the founders of the popular church paper, The Guardian. Finally, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there emerged the Liberal Catholics. These were High Church men who attempted to express their beliefs in a form compatible with modern scientific and philosophical schools of thought. Their theological modernism was often coupled with a certain degree of socialism which ranged from the mild humanitarian ideas of Charles Gore and Scott Holland to the Marxian romanticism of Conrad Noel.

In spite of the great variety of their views, it is still possible to point out certain common features which justify the use of a single name for the High Church movement. High Churchmen possessed a common ethos which was partially derived from their training at the two ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Their outlook, as befitted gentlemen, tended to be aristocratic, paternalistic and humanitarian. They had travelled a good deal on the European continent and were conscious of contemporary trends, particularly in politics, art and literature.

In addition to a common social background High Churchmen possessed a theological point of view which distinguished them from both Broad and Low Anglicans. Low Churchmen--which included the Evangelicals--were the most Protestant party within the Church of England. They treasured the Reformation heritage with its emphasis on individual conversion, faith and ethical decision. "Broad Church" was not really a party at all but was rather a label applied to individuals who adopted a liberal approach to the intellectual and scientific trends in the secular society of their day. It included many diverse figures such as the poet Tennyson and the educator Thomas Arnold. High Churchmen all stressed a "Catholic" theology--corporate, sacramental and church-centred--which affirmed the continuity of their faith with the English Church of pre-Reformation days. Their preference for quiet spiritual nurture over spectacular

conversion issued from a humanism which is broadly termed Arminian. That is, it ascribed positive value to human nature and institutions in contrast to the Calvinism of evangelical Protestantism, which taught the depravity of man and all social institutions.

The High Church tradition underwent a remarkable renaissance during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. At the time of the Irish Temporalities Bill of 1833, Tory churchmen, many of them Oxford dons, resisted what they considered to be unjustifiable tampering with religious interests by the Whig state. The beginning of the Oxford Movement, as this renaissance came to be known, is usually dated from a sermon entitled "National Apostacy," preached at Oxford by John Keble on July 14, 1833. In his sermon Keble attacked what he considered "meddling" in ecclesiastical affairs by legislators and called for resistance. Actually, though, the Oxford Movement involved much more than a political conflict between Church and State. It was concerned with the total reformation of church life, though it first concentrated on a search for a principle of ecclesiastical authority which would allow the Church to be free of the state in spiritual matters.

In a series of Tracts for the Times--which also gave the movement its early name, "Tractarian"--the reformers appealed to the historic traditions of the universal Church, more especially to the order of bishops as

its supreme rulers.⁴ By doing so they proclaimed the independence of the Church of England from domination in spiritual affairs by the Crown. Thus a movement which had started out as a conservative reaction developed revolutionary implications because it judged both Church and State as they existed and demanded change.⁵

This coupling of cultural and theological conservatism with resistance had a long history in Anglicanism. It went back at least as far as the royalism of Archbishop Laud and the Anglican (Caroline) Divines of the seventeenth century who had supported the Stuart monarchy against the Puritans. Following the Restoration their successors resisted the accession of William III to the English throne, preferring exile to breaking their oath of allegiance to James II. The same tradition is traceable in the independence asserted by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, against the Whig establishment of the Hanover regime. Resistance could, in fact, be termed a characteristic of High Anglicanism.⁶

⁴Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church (Montreal, 1968), pp. 6-7, 41-52.

⁵Owen Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement (London, 1960), p. 14.

⁶E. R. Fairweather, The Oxford Movement (New York, 1964), pp. 4-8. See also Bowen, Idea, pp. 120-121.

The Anglo-catholic revival, as the Oxford Movement was also later called, proved to be more than a reform movement within the institutional Church of England. By the middle of the nineteenth century it represented one of the two main religious influences on the life of the British people. Roughly speaking, it was identified with Tory reform much as the Evangelicals and Nonconformists were behind the Whigs. Its influence is visible in the lives of leaders like Gladstone.⁷ On a more popular level, its connection with political and social life can be seen in a weekly paper like the Guardian. This journal was founded in London in 1846 "to advocate the settlement of great political questions as the groundwork of Progress." It supported "Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell and the League." It included well-written criticisms of music and the arts, as well as religious and political comments. Later, in the nineties, when members of the Shiba Sect were carrying on controversies in its columns, the masthead was more specific. It now represented "the ground taken by the High Church party on matters religious and political." But this greater clarity of purpose also revealed that the Church's influence had become more limited. By the second quarter of the twentieth century the paper's range had shrunk even further.

⁷Magnus, Gladstone, pp. 12, 122n. This fact explains why Gladstone was never at ease with doctrinaire radicals like John Bright.

It was now "the authoritative newspaper of the Church of England," giving "firsthand information on all subjects affecting the interests of the Church." It finally suspended publication at the end of 1951.⁸

Actually, this progressive dwindling of the Guardian's interests symbolized the crisis within the movement which the paper represented. The High Church party stood for a sincere effort on the part of the British conservative humanist tradition to find a religious answer to the problems of modernization. It was hampered by its roots in the landed interests--a declining force--and it was never really able to shake off the inner contradiction between its cultural conservatism and its social and intellectual liberalism. The crisis became acute as the encounter with science progressed. With the publication in 1889 of the collection of essays entitled Lux Mundi the High Church movement split into conservative and liberal wings.⁹ The liberals were the predecessors of twentieth-century Anglican humanism as represented by Archbishop William Temple and the economist R. H. Tawney. But the attraction of conservative Anglo-catholicism did not at once disappear. Its emphasis on formal ritual and beauty in worship, together

⁸For policy and dates, see Newspaper Press Directory, vols. 1847, 1851, 1890, & 1952 (London), ad loc. For cultural influence, Bowen, Idea, pp. 82, 163-164.

⁹Cornish, English Church, pp. 359-362.

with the undoubted dedication of its practitioners, appealed strongly to the heart. It supplied the motive power for settlement work in the industrial slums. A variety of late Victorians such as the artist and critic William Morris, the elder Arnold Toynbee, the youthful G. K. Chesterton and Lord Hugh Cecil were all influenced at critical periods in their careers by these aspects of the High Church movement. But by the end of the nineteenth century it no longer exercised the political power it had enjoyed in the days of Robert Peel and Samuel Wilberforce.

The ideas of nineteenth-century Anglo-catholicism provided a common bond between the English members of the Shiba Sect. Each one represented some facet of its multi-form nature. Shaw's temperament and training inclined him to the conservative or High-Church wing. Lloyd was a catholic by personal conviction, but his sympathies were Broad. Bickersteth belonged to the liberal branch of the later stages of the movement. All emphasized the corporate, sacramental and humanistic aspects of Christian teaching. All stressed scholarship. All were gentlemen in an age when the landed interests from which the gentry sprang were ceasing to play a decisive part in the fortunes of their own society. For them their mission to Japan implied the fulfilment of a dream that had not come to pass in England: the founding of a Church which should become the conscience

of a nation.¹⁰

B. British society and foreign missions

The Catholic, or High Church, party was not the only, or by any means the most powerful, party within the Church of England.¹¹ The great overseas expansion of Anglicanism in the nineteenth century had been mainly influenced by the Evangelical revival of the previous century. A movement which stressed individual commitment and personal moral discipline, Evangelicalism had exercised a profound influence on the leaders of the rising middle class and the Whig aristocracy. Bankers and parliamentarians like Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce; or leaders in education like Charles Simeon of Cambridge; all were in strategic positions to guide the society of their day. The Evangelical movement, in common with its more refractory sister movement, the Methodists, had joined in the common revival of pietism which arose first in northern Europe at the close of the seventeenth century. It was pietism, supported by the general commercial expansion of western society, which gave the strongest impetus to the modern missionary movement.¹²

¹⁰AL-SPG, 23/2/87.

¹¹For parties in the Church of England, see Woodward, Reform, pp. 503-521.

¹²K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols. (New York and London, 1937-1945), III, 46-48.

The chief organ of evangelical Anglicanism was the Church Missionary Society (CMS), founded in London on April 12th, 1799. The dominant influence behind this society was the group of laymen known as the Clapham Sect. The group included Wilberforce and Macaulay as well as Henry Thornton, the financier, Charles Grant of the East India Company, and the lawyer James Stephen.¹³ In keeping with its close business connections, CMS reflected the strong conviction of free-enterprise economics. It claimed the right to go wherever the Gospel called. It recognized no earthly authority beyond itself, whether of church or state.¹⁴

From the beginning, CMS was a party venture. That is, it represented exclusively the theology of the Evangelical movement, and designed its organization to that end. Its missionaries, whether or not they had already received theological training, were expected to enter the CMS training school at Islington. This meant that the members possessed a strong sense of identity and of community with one another. It also allowed the Society to take candidates who were not university graduates and to

¹³Stock, History, I, pp. 41-43. For the Clapham Sect, see E. M. Howse, Saints in Politics: the "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom. (London and Toronto, 1952).

¹⁴Stock, History, I, p. 65. Businessmen predominated on the governing board: Ibid., pp. 69-70.

give them a training course to fit them for foreign service. Indeed, many of the early CMS missionaries to Japan arrived on the field as laymen who had previously been clerks, or employees in small businesses. They preached a simple Gospel of personal conversion which matched their own experience in lay life. Their attachment was to their own Society, rather than to the Church, which many of them considered corrupt.

The independence of the Society was further guaranteed by strict rules for the conduct of business by missionaries abroad. There the main governing body was the Conference of missionaries, presided over by a senior Field Representative. Directives from headquarters were distributed by this representative, who was also responsible for seeing that detailed minutes of the Conference were sent back.¹⁵ Paradoxically, this concern for freedom of action led to a certain rigidity in many matters. When a central ecclesiastical organization was being planned in Japan, it was the strong party character of CMS which provided the biggest stumbling block to union.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the business background of its members made for comparative efficiency in such matters as salaries, furloughs and medical services.

¹⁵See "Minutes and Reports of Conferences," CMS Archives.

¹⁶Shevill, "Aspects," pp. 223-227. Bickersteth criticized CMS for sending out "pages of regulations for native Churches." Life, p. 165.

One illustration will suffice to show the extent of the missionary commitments of CMS when it opened its Japan mission in 1869. That year it spent £144,198 on foreign missions. In terms of mid-twentieth century salaries and cost of living, the amount would be close to £300,000, or a million dollars. CMS missionaries were working in Canada, the West Indies, East and West Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Middle East, India and China.¹⁷

Nothing could present a greater contrast to the tightly knit CMS than its elder sister, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Founded in 1701, its background was aristocratic and mercantilist. In common with the usage of the day, it had been granted a Royal Charter by William III. The preamble stated that the object of the new society was to provide "Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loving Subjects (In many of our Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas) in the Principles of true religion."¹⁸ The primary purpose of SPG was not evangelism. It was rather pastoral care: to minister to emigrant Britons in the Crown-sponsored colonies of America and the Indies. But this very concern for the colonials included by implication a further, missionary function. In a

¹⁷Centenary Volume of C. M. S. (London, 1902), p. 717.

¹⁸C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 2 vols. (London, 1901), I, 932.

sermon preached at the first anniversary of its founding, the Dean of Lincoln stressed this dual role: "In the first place to settle the state of religion as well as may be amongst our own people." And secondly, "then to proceed in the best methods they can towards the conversion of the natives."¹⁹

During the nineteenth century SPG steadily expanded its missionary activities under the twin stimuli of the Evangelical revival and the expansion of British interests. Its own representatives stoutly maintained that this missionary function had been of equal importance from the beginning.²⁰ But because most SPG men had formerly worked in areas colonized by Britain, their ministry was popularly considered to be primarily to the colonists. In pre-revolutionary New England, for instance, certain clergy felt a call to evangelize the Indians. In those cases conflicts arose which even resulted in the colonists' petitioning for the recall of a minister whom they considered to have been delinquent. By the middle of the nineteenth century many SPG men were exclusively engaged in missionary work. But the remnants of the earlier tradition may be seen in the greater willingness of the SPG missionaries to spend time on work with members of the English

¹⁹Ibid., p. 7.

²⁰Ibid., p. 8.

community.

SPG and CMS differed in their theological positions. As a society which represented the Established Church, SPG disavowed any particular party connection. But the very existence of CMS meant that Evangelicals were drawn off into that society. Thus it was natural that the new energy contributed by the Oxford Movement should have strengthened SPG. Financial support for SPG increased greatly as the movement gained momentum. During the eighteenth century, annual subscriptions to SPG for missionary work had never exceeded £850. In 1833 these had risen to £8,956, and by 1853 they amounted to £36,843.²¹ Prominent High Churchmen such as Bishop Wilberforce and Mr. Gladstone were among its leaders.

In spite of its general High Church orientation there was a good variety of viewpoint among SPG missionaries. In Japan, for example, when a substitute was being considered to take Shaw's place during his first home leave in 1883, the name of Hugh Foss of Kobe was proposed. But Shaw objected because Foss was "a Low Churchman." . . . It would be impossible for me to work with men whose views on Church affairs are so different to my own."²² Foss's position may have seemed low to the High Church Shiba men, but there were

²¹ Shevill, "Aspects," p. 32.

²² ACS-SPG, 29/12/82. See also ACS-SPG, 5/7/82, and Wright - SPG, 3/1/80.

few militant Evangelicals in SPG.²³

When it came to administration, SPG lacked the efficiency of CMS. Perhaps this was due to the aristocratic origins of the older society. In the nineteenth century the secretariat was still showing a fine cavalier disregard for finance and regulations. When Shaw wished to marry, SPG at first refused to pay the fare of his fiancée to Japan.²⁴ Because it was assumed that recipients would have private means, salaries were low. When a missionary went on furlough, he was put on half pay. Such practices put a great strain on anyone who depended on his salary for his entire income.²⁵ In comparison to the system of home leave every seven years adopted by most evangelical missions, SPG furloughs were irregular. Shaw returned home only twice during his entire thirty years in Japan. For a man working in English-speaking North America this practice would not have been a hardship. But for someone living in an entirely different culture like Japan it resulted in nervous and physical fatigue.

²³H. P. Thompson, Into All Lands (London, 1951), p. 116.

²⁴SPG-ACS, 4/6/75.

²⁵Bickersteth spent his own money freely for trips home and other activities. Shaw and Lloyd, who had no private income, suffered. ACS - SPG, 5/7/82, 4/7/83, 4/1/94; AL-SPG, 15/5/86.

Unimaginative administration and financial parsimony were problems related to SPG's budget which was smaller than that of CMS. By 1870 a mere £70-80,000 per annum was being spent on missionary projects. Yet overseas commitments were widespread. They ranged from Canada and the United States to West Africa, Australia, India, South Africa, the British West Indies, Borneo, China, Singapore, Mauritius, Melanesia and Madagascar.²⁶

British missionary societies reflected the tendency of Englishmen to form voluntary associations for specific purposes. Neither SPG nor CMS enjoyed the official sponsorship of the Church of England. They were only two among hundreds of semi-private societies founded after the late seventeenth century for the improvement of manners and conditions of life. Even the missionary movement had other organs in addition to the CMS and the SPG. Individuals founded societies according to their interests: they included such particular groups as the Universities Mission to Central Africa and the Church of England Zenana Mission. Individuals even went at their own expense. They included well-born women like Hannah Riddell who with many others had followed the example of Florence Nightingale. In 1895 Miss Riddell began

²⁶Pascoe, Two Hundred, II, 831. For estimates, see also Shevill, "Aspects," p. 32.

the work among lepers in Kyushu which has won a lasting place for her in the annals of social welfare in Japan.

Pluralism in ideology paralleled this pluralism in practice. Protestant missionary organizations usually included only one theological point of view. Even when non-denominational, they shared the common beliefs of evangelical pietism. The Church of England had to account for deep theological differences within its own ranks. The catholic churchmanship of SPG and the evangelical piety of CMS gave rise to conflicts of purpose and method which continually complicated work on the field. Social differences reinforced theological tension. Throughout the nineteenth century the men of SPG continued to be recruited from the universities and the upper middle classes. CMS, on the other hand, in accepting non-graduates, reflected its lower-middle class connections. The great pioneer student of Ainu life in Japan, John Batchelor of CMS, encountered stiff opposition from the Shiba men when he applied to Bickersteth for ordination. "He was not a graduate," wrote Shaw.²⁷ Another man came out under SPG, but soon transferred to CMS. He had come from a country parish whose connections were with the older society but found himself happier among people who did not worry about his grammar.²⁸

²⁷ACS-SPG, 16/7/89.

²⁸The man was A. C. Chappell, a pioneer in the education of the blind in Gifu, Central Japan. Chappell-SPG, 6/12/87; SPG-AL, 6/1/88; ACS-SPG, 16/7/89; EB-SPG, 13/1/90.

One final comparison. Since SPG had begun as an auxiliary to the church, it presupposed loyalty to the regional authority, whether ecclesiastical or secular. This characteristic helped SPG missionaries adjust to local society more easily than their colleagues of the CMS. Since CMS had begun as a quasi-monastic society with its own system of authority and discipline, individuals and groups within this tradition could act dynamically in a fluid situation. But in the strongly conservative Japanese society with its own young church they encountered more difficulty in "fitting in," than the missionaries of the SPG.

C. A Canadian in London

In 1871 natives of the Melanesian island of Nukapu ritually murdered the young Anglican missionary bishop, John Coleridge Patteson, in restitution for five fellow islanders who had been kidnapped by white traders. In memory of this romantic and popular hero a great meeting was held at the Albert Hall in London on December 20, 1872.²⁹ The speaker at that time was Samuel Wilberforce, now Bishop of Winchester, the foremost ecclesiastical orator of his

²⁹Cornish, English Church, pp. 415-419. Patteson's biography was written, in 2 volumes, by the popular novelist, Charlotte Yonge (London, Macmillan's, 1874).

day. Both of the major missionary societies reaped a harvest of volunteers from among those who had attended the memorial. One of them was a young Canadian who had come to study in London, Alexander Croft Shaw.³⁰

Personal temperament, family background and education all fitted Shaw to represent the High Church tradition in Japan. "Don't be original," the Tractarian leader John Keble is reputed to have advised a friend.³¹ Nothing could have suited Shaw's shy, cautious nature better. Yet, just as the Oxford Movement had started out to preserve, but went on to change, the status quo, so Shaw's careful conservatism proved to be the source of a new approach to Japan and its culture.

Alexander Croft Shaw, says an article in a Japanese encyclopedia, "was born in Toronto, Canada . . . of an aristocratic Scottish family."³² The combination of distinguished

³⁰Pascoe, Two Hundred, II, 717. The writer is indebted to Shaw's son, Dr. R.D.M. Shaw, and to his grand-daughter, Mrs. J. M. Grandy, for information throughout.

³¹Probably Newman: Chadwick, Mind, p. 36. Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in her widely read novel Robert Elsmere (Bk. II, ch. 16) had an Anglican bishop say, "Place before your eyes two precepts, and only two. One is Preach the Gospel; and the other is, Put down enthusiasm The Church of England in a nutshell."

³²Kawade Takeo, ed. Nihon rekishi daijiten [Japan Historical Encyclopedia] 20 vols. (Tokyo, 1956-60), X, 155: art. "Shaw, Alexander Croft [sic] 1846-1902."

lineage with colonial birth seems to have become a decisive factor in the formation of his personality. Shaw was born on June 26, 1846, the eldest son of Major Alex Shaw and his wife Grace MacQueen. The men of the Shaw family had been fighting clansmen, then professional soldiers, for many generations.³³ Alexander's great-grandfather was Aeneas Shaw, who had fought with Rogers' Rangers during the American War of Independence. In 1791 he came to York (Toronto) with the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, and rose to become Adjutant-General of militia during the War of 1812.³⁴ Members of the family also served as soldiers during the Rebellion of 1837 and the youthful Alexander's father had seen action in the Fenian Raids of 1866. A street in Toronto still bears the family name.

Because his heart had been affected by rheumatic fever in childhood, Alexander Shaw did not become a soldier. He chose the Church instead, an equally honorable profession for a gentleman. In 1867 he was awarded a first-class B. A. in Theology by Trinity University, Toronto and received his Master's degree two years later. Trinity had been founded

³³Norman Shaw, History of the Clan Shaw (London, n.d.), pp. 34-36, 39.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 37-38; Mary Quayle Innis ed., Mrs. Simcoe's Diary, pp. 52-53, 93-99.

in 1852 by the Tory bishop of Toronto, John Strachan, to uphold the principles of Church and Throne against the University of Toronto, which was fast becoming a secular institution. By the middle of the century the younger college was well known for its Tractarian associations.³⁵

Following a brief period as a parish priest in Canada, Shaw crossed the Atlantic to London. There he worked under the noted antiquarian, E. L. Cutts, vicar of Holy Trinity, Haverstock Hill. Cutts, too, was a High Churchman, albeit a man of liberal sympathies.³⁶ He wrote prolifically: two of his books on Church History were later translated by Arthur Lloyd into Japanese for the benefit of the theological students at Shiba.³⁷

It was while Shaw was studying under Cutts that the Albert Hall meeting took place. A photograph taken at that time shows the young priest as a handsome and romantic Victorian. Dark curly hair and a moustache ring a pale face in which glowing eyes hint at fires burning deep within. Later pictures, more common in Japan, show the hair and

³⁵T. A. Reed ed., A History of the University of Trinity College Toronto 1852-1952 (Toronto, 1952), pp. 22, 24, 37-49. For Tractarianism at Trinity, see J. S. Moir, "The Correspondence of Bishop Strachan and John Henry Newman," Canadian Journal of Theology, III, p. 219.

³⁶Dictionary of National Biography (Supplement, 1901), p. 460. The writer is indebted to Prof. Owen Chadwick of Cambridge University for further information.

³⁷AL-SPG, 25/4/90.

and whiskers gone; the face drawn and lined with ill health and hard work; the long upper lip suggesting a touch of dourness. But the dark, glowing eyes remain.

Shaw's High Church convictions stressed obedience. The SPG was opening work in both China and Japan at that time and they had appealed for two volunteers for each mission. Shaw first chose China. When one of the Japan candidates was suddenly forced to resign, SPG appealed to Shaw to fill the vacancy and he immediately agreed. Thus it was almost by chance that the founder of the Shiba Sect came to Tokyo.³⁸

In the summer of 1873 Shaw set out for Japan, accompanied by his colleague in the mission, William Ball Wright. The two of them journeyed by the newly opened railway across the northern United States, visiting family and friends along the way. They finally reached Yokohama on September 25th. There they were met by the Reverend E. W. Syle, chaplain to the foreign community, with whom they stayed until they could find more permanent lodgings.³⁹

Soon after their arrival the two young missionaries were invited to an interview with the redoubtable Sir Harry Parkes, Her Majesty's Minister in Tokyo. The diplomat was then at the height of his career

³⁸SPG Annual Report, 1872, p. 85; Pascoe, History, II, 717 fn.

³⁹Wright-SPG, 6/10/73, 30/10/73.

as a pioneer of British imperialist policies in the Orient. Yet he seems never to have grudged the missionaries an opportunity to discuss their problems. The image of him which their correspondence reflects suggests a prudent and friendly--though not uncritical--counsellor. Parkes began the interview with a criticism of the Protestant missionary methods because they scattered themselves too thinly throughout the port cities of Japan. He advised Shaw and Wright to concentrate on Tokyo both because it was the new political capital and because business and education were increasingly moving there. Secondly, he counselled them if possible to avoid living in the foreign concessions, where free contact with the Japanese would be difficult. True to his word, he had his staff find rooms for them in a Buddhist temple, Daishōji, in the Mita district of central Tokyo.⁴⁰ Shaw never forgot Parkes' advice. Concentration in Tokyo and life outside the concession thereafter became the two basic tenets of his missionary strategy.

By the end of the year the two missionaries were well settled into their new life. Wright described it in a letter to the home office. "We . . . get up at 6:30 and have morning prayer at 7, breakfast at 7:30. At 8 I have a man coming to read St. Mark's Gospel in English, and at 8:30 another reads St. John in vernacular At 10 my

⁴⁰ Ibid.

teacher comes and stays till 12. . . . At 1 p.m. we dine, from 2 to 4 I work at the writing, and at 6 we have Evening Prayer."⁴¹

The strict routine described in this account, together with the use of the first person plural, both conjure up an image of community life, run on semi-monastic lines. Living with Shaw and Wright were three young Americans of similar Tractarian persuasion. A sixth member was the Japanese priest of the temple himself. But the experiment was too romantic to be realistic and it hardly outlasted the year. Like most missionaries, even "catholic" ones, they were all notorious individualists. Their love for group discipline could not overcome temperamental and cultural differences.

At the same time, the letter reveals two things. First, the SPG men from the beginning resolved to work on lines that would emphasize a group, rather than an individual, approach. Second, it shows that the founders of the Shiba Sect instinctively respected Japanese culture. Wright continues in his letter:

The Bozu of our temple is a very intelligent young man aged 28 . . . and has been getting me occasionally to give him a few lessons in English. One day we had a conversation about prayer. I expressed my surprise that he should think God would like such prayers as

⁴¹Wright-SPG, 21/12/73.

his,--Sanskrit words repeated over and over again without knowing their meaning, accompanied by the beat of a drum. He replied by a tatoyeba (a parable): "If a little snow falls, it soon melts; but if a great deal keeps falling, a large heap is raised So if I say the prayer once or twice, Butsu forgets it; but if I keep on praying, . . . a great heap is raised, and Butsu cannot help seeing them." They are very fond of parables and illustrations.⁴²

Wright's words reveal a lack of aggressiveness, or even of defensiveness, toward the Buddhists which was rare among his fellow missionaries. Yet it reflects his basic point of view which allowed others to have their say. Such affirmation of the other man's right to his own opinion appeared regularly in the writings of the Shiba men.⁴³ For one of them--Arthur Lloyd--it provided the foundation for a lifelong study of Japanese culture.

One source of this accepting attitude is the humanism of the Shiba men, which they shared with others of their class in England. Along with Wright, Bickersteth, and many other SPG missionaries, Shaw was an aristocrat. His ancestors were Loyalists to the British Crown who had left the United States. He disliked Dissent for its social connotations and his conservatism showed up in an equal distaste for modern ideas. His favorite term for modernism

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³See, for instance, Shaw in MF, 1880, pp. 159-161; Herbert Moore, The Christian Faith in Japan (London, 1904), p. 42.

was "Infidelity."⁴⁴ He chose brick Gothic for his church in a land which preferred wood as a building material. He was also a confirmed political conservative and a monarchist. The growth of democratic ideas in Japan alarmed him.⁴⁵ Finally, as befitted an aristocrat, he looked upon his Japanese converts and colleagues with paternal solicitude. He adopted the young samurai, Imai Toshimichi, into his family, and he resisted all attempts to cut off financial support from his young church before he felt it was able to stand on its own feet.

Nevertheless, Shaw's social conservatism did not control all his ideas. He affirmed the evolutionary hypothesis at a time when many of his colleagues fought for a literal interpretation of the Bible.⁴⁶ His dislike of Dissent did not prevent him from recognizing worth in others. "Mr. Aston the translator at the Legation . . . is a Unitarian but a devout man," he remarked to a friend one day.⁴⁷ Thus Shaw's conservatism did not result in a dislike of all that was new or different. On certain political

⁴⁴ACS-SPG, 22/10/73.

⁴⁵ACS-SPG, 18/1/80; MF 1890, p. 329.

⁴⁶ACS-SPG, 18/1/80. For the background of this controversy, see R. S. Schwantes, "Christianity and Science: a Conflict of Ideas in Meiji Japan," Far Eastern Quarterly XII (February 1953), pp. 123-132.

⁴⁷ACS-SPG 18/1/80.

and theological questions he had made up his mind, but his conservatism rested upon the secure conviction of an aristocrat rather than the anxious insecurity of an aspiring nouveau-riche. He knew his own culture to be the greatest in the world, both in its material and in its spiritual achievements.

Shaw added to his aristocratic humanism a streak of independence derived from his colonial upbringing. Family tradition says that at some period in his life he had been made a blood-brother in an Iroquois Indian tribe. Chronic ill health never seems to have prevented him from enjoying outdoor life. On one long hike across the Usui pass in central Japan he discovered Karuizawa, the upland valley which he helped to develop into one of Japan's foremost resorts.⁴⁸ It was doubtless his independence which led him to live outside the foreign concession at a time when to do so involved difficulty and even personal danger. Because of this decision he later identified with the Japanese community to a much greater degree than most Westerners of his day.

⁴⁸ Kawade, Daijiten, X, 155; C. G. Knott, "Notes on the Summer Climate of Karuizawa," TASJ, 1st series, XIX (1891), 565-577: p. 565.

D. Life outside the concession

THE DEPARTURE OF MR. SHAW

Mr. and Mrs. Shaw and their party departed by train on the 19th of last month at 2:20 p.m. from Shimbashi Station. It was a deeply moving experience. A crowd of over five hundred persons was at the station to see them off. Included among the church members and other ladies and gentlemen--both foreign and Japanese--were the venerable Mr. Fukuzawa Yukichi, Dr. Toyama [President of the Imperial University], and Mr. Tomita, former governor of the Tokyo Metropolis. It was indeed striking evidence of the long-standing influence exercised by the Archdeacon and his wife in this city.⁴⁹

In 1894 patriotic feelings were running high in Japan. Public opinion had forced the government to attempt a much more thoroughgoing revision of the foreign treaties than its leaders had at first contemplated. The country was on the eve of war with China. Some anti-foreign bullies had recently roughed up Shaw himself on the street and thereby had touched off a minor international incident.⁵⁰ Yet the above report reflects none of this atmosphere. A chance reader might conclude that some distinguished educational advisor from Great Britain had returned home, for both Mr. Fukuzawa and Mr. Toyama were leaders in the field of higher education. To a Japanese reader the names mentioned would indicate that the Shaws possessed a wide

⁴⁹NS, V. 51 (February 1, 1894), p. 18.

⁵⁰Nihon gaikō bunsho [Japanese Diplomatic Documents] (Tokyo, from 1936), XXVII-1-ix. Kajima Morinosuke, Nichi-ei gaikoshi [History of Anglo-Japanese Diplomatic Relations] (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 143-146. MF 1894, p. 78.

influence in Tokyo society.

Actually, Shaw had been surprised and deeply moved by the warmth of his send-off. "An amount of affection has been shown me both by the English Community and the Japanese that has astonished and overwhelmed me," he wrote home on the day before his departure. There had been a reception by the British Chargé d'affaires and Japanese dignitaries "from Ministers of State downwards, have joined in expressions of regret at my leaving."⁵¹ He had arrived unnoticed at Yokohama over twenty years earlier as a simple missionary, but now he was a public figure.

In 1889 he had been invited to the promulgation ceremonies for the Meiji constitution, "and afterwards received from Count Ito, the framer of it, a beautifully printed copy, which I greatly value."⁵² The following year he "was one of the few foreigners privileged to be present" at the opening of the first session of the Diet on October 28th.⁵³ Earlier that same year, when his health broke down, the Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon Yūsen) had sent him, together with Mrs. Shaw, on a free cruise to "the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii]" and back.⁵⁴ In 1895 he "received a formal

⁵¹ACS-SPG, 18/1/94.

⁵²ACS in MF 1890, p. 329.

⁵³ACS in MF 1891, p. 214.

⁵⁴ACS-SPG, 19/3/90; NS, I-5 (April 1, 1890), p. 14.

letter of thanks from the Japanese Government . . . for my services to the country 'in one of the most critical periods of her history.'"⁵⁵ And finally, when he died at the early age of 56 in 1902, his widow received a special donation from the Emperor: "a remarkable acknowledgement . . . in token of his appreciation of the Archdeacon's labours in respect of education."⁵⁶

There are several reasons why Shaw achieved such fame at a time of declining foreign influence. The most obvious was his lifelong connection with the British Legation. Although his office of chaplain was purely honorary, he was obviously held in esteem by his compatriots. The sharpness of the Legation's reaction to news of the assault on him had a personal, as well as a political, side. The status-conscious Japanese, whose ancestors had marked the way the Portuguese merchants honoured the Jesuit missionaries, recognized Shaw for his connections.

At the same time Shaw's popularity rested on more solid foundations than mere social status. His contributions to education and social welfare in the growing new city of Tokyo had made him well known. They explain the presence at the station of a former mayor of the city and the president

⁵⁵ACS-SPG, 17/9/95; NS, V-77 (April 1, 1895), pp. 29-30: "The Japanese Government on August 2nd last sent by the hand of its Minister to Great Britain, Viscount Katō, a formal letter of thanks."

⁵⁶Foss-SPG, 26/3/02; see also Shūhō, V-3 (March 3, 1902), pp. 1-2; MF 1902, p. 236.

of the university. Several times, when disastrous fires and earthquakes swept the city, Shaw had rallied the foreign community to provide clothing and financial aid.⁵⁷ He had worked with Toyama to help found a school for the daughters of wealthy citizens. Perhaps the fact that he had been invited to cooperate in that scheme implied the most important reason for his fame. He was one of a small circle of foreigners who had been accepted by Japanese society as a person who "understood Japan."⁵⁸ The term is used generally of anyone with whom the Japanese feel at ease. But in Shaw's case it meant even more. He had been accepted by members of the Meiji ruling class as a conservative modernizer whose methods would not endanger their own goals for the new society.

The lifelong friendship which existed between Shaw and the noted educator and journalist, Fukuzawa Yukichi, furnishes the best documented example of this acceptance. When Fukuzawa went to Shimbashi to see Shaw off in 1894, the two men had been friends for twenty years. It is probable that the Englishman owed much of his success in Japan to this association. Fukuzawa represented, more than any one individual, the image of modernization as it was conceived by

⁵⁷ACS-SEG, 4/10/80. See also Pascoe, Two Hundred, II, 724 g.

⁵⁸Kawade, Daijiten, X, p. 155. See also obituaries in Appendix III.

the average urban Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Unlike the democratic leaders of the Jiyūtō, who inclined to the French revolutionary tradition of natural rights, Fukuzawa was a confirmed Anglophile.⁶⁰ In later life despair at the weakness of popular support led him to cooperate with the government's policy of modernization from above. But his writings, his educational activities at Keiō, the university he founded, and the editorial policy of his newspaper, the Jiji shimpō, were all dedicated to teaching "the Japanese people the value of science and the spirit of independence."⁶¹ He was personally convinced that modernization must begin from below, through a change in social relations at the individual level.

Like many great public figures, Fukuzawa's private life did not always accord with his writings. His sturdy traditional relations with his wife and children have disappointed some readers of his tract on women, Shin onna daigaku.⁶² His friendship with the Shaw family also reflected such an inconsistency. Except for a brief period in the eighties, when he had publicly advocated its adoption for

⁵⁹Sansom, Western World, p. 427. So widely were his writings read that all popular works of information about the West came to be known as Fukuzawa-books. Blacker, Enlightenment, p. 27.

⁶⁰Ozaki, Kaikoroku, pp. 26-27.

⁶¹Sumiya, Kindai, p. 52n.

⁶²Blacker, Enlightenment, p. 157, fn. 44.

prudential reasons, Fukuzawa had always opposed Christianity.⁶³ Yet almost a decade earlier, in the spring of 1874, he had invited Shaw to live in his household and tutor his two older sons.⁶⁴ By the following year Shaw was also teaching "moral, . . . really Christian, science" to the students at Keiō.⁶⁵ Before long he had a full-blown study group going, from which emerged his first converts. Among the latter was the youthful Ozaki Yukio, the future father of parliamentary government. Ozaki, whose Christian connections are little known, in old age confessed that he had been converted because he was not strong-willed enough to resist the Archdeacon's charm.⁶⁶

By the end of 1876, Shaw's missionary activities occupied most of his time. But his friendship with the Fukuzawas did not end with his move to Shiba. It seems

⁶³Ibid., p. 58. Cary, p. 157, makes the following acute remark: "Caring little for religion itself, Mr. Fukuzawa in questions connected with it seems to have been almost as much a follower as a leader of public opinion."

⁶⁴ACS-SPG, 14/5/74. Japanese text of the agreement in FYZ, XVII, 170.

⁶⁵ACS-SPG, 30/8/75. Actually Fukuzawa often used missionaries in his school--because they cost little? Ishikawa, Fukuzawa, IV, 60-64.

⁶⁶Letter from the Rev. P. I. Hosogai of Sendai. The date of Ozaki's baptism in Nihon Seikōkai rekishi hensan iinkai hen, Nihon Seikōkai hyakunenshi [Centennial History of the Nihon Seikōkai] (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 59-60. Hereafter cited as Matsudaira, Hyakunen shi.

clear that Fukuzawa advised him on the purchase of the property. And scattered references to the association continue throughout Fukuzawa's letters. In May, 1886, a letter from Mrs. Fukuzawa to her son, studying in America, mentions that "the children have gone to Shaw-san's to play."⁶⁷

Fukuzawa's biographer relates an incident which shows the depth of Shaw's training in things Japanese. The builder of the new mission house in Shiba had failed to complete it on the promised day. So Shaw, the Scotsman, was about to insist on the payment of a fine. An argument ensued and Fukuzawa was drawn in as go-between. His plain-spoken admonition to Shaw is worth a full quotation:

It is common for a Japanese carpenter to be one or two days later than the time stated in the contract. To censure him for that, as you (omae-san) are doing, would be to insist on having things done foreign style down to the last dot. If that's the way you think you are going to do missionary work in Japan, you'll be greatly mistaken. Once you are in Japan, you must take care to study the manners and customs of the Japanese and try not to act contrary to them. That is the only way you will be able to devise proper methods for propagating your faith.⁶⁸

Actually, Shaw was more often criticized for his methods by his foreign colleagues than by the Japanese. They considered his decision to "live with the Japanese" unconventional, to say the least. He defended it on two grounds. First, it would be good for his language study to

⁶⁷FYZ, XVIII, 34. Other letters in XX, 135, 138.

⁶⁸Ishikawa, Fukuzawa, IV, 61.

be in a Japanese home.⁶⁹ Shaw had no illusions about the difficulty of Japanese. He criticised the laxity of his fellow-missionaries when they could not speak it: "Through your ignorance of the language you are likely to make many dangerous theological errors in your attempted explanations." For many years he took care not to be without an interpreter in any situation where such misunderstanding might arise.⁷⁰

There was a second, and even more important, reason why Shaw went to live with the Fukuzawas. It enabled him to remain outside the foreign concession. Under the terms of the original treaties all Westerners, unless employed by the government or by individual Japanese, had to reside in certain assigned districts of the treaty-ports. This allowed the government easy control of their movements. But the principle of extra-territoriality, upon which the foreign powers insisted, made these concessions extremely unpopular with the Japanese. As nationalistic feeling grew, it became more and more difficult for Westerners and Japanese to mix naturally within their confines.⁷¹ Shaw understood this and disliked the concessions intensely. He criticized his colleagues for their willingness to live in them and would himself adopt

⁶⁹ACS-SPG, 30/8/75; 14/5/74.

⁷⁰ACS-SPG, 21/2/74; 26/3/78. As late as 1890, when he had to give an important public lecture, Imai acted as his interpreter. NS, I-2 (Nov. 1, 1890), p. 5.

⁷¹EB-SPG, 29/6/86, 18/12/88.

almost any stratagem in order to stay outside.⁷²

When the requirements of Shaw's work forced him to move away from Keiō, the local authorities objected to his construction of a house at Shiba. "This difficulty was overcome," he wrote home, "by the kindness of Sir Harry Parkes, who represented to the Foreign Department at Yedo that I was really Chaplain to the Legation, having--for the last two years single-handed--conducted the English service ever since I was in Yedo."⁷³ This purely honorary status continued for the rest of his life. It led to the building up of an English congregation at St. Andrew's which included many distinguished figures. Parkes himself was chairman of the church committee, as was Hugh Fraser, a later Minister. In 1883 a valedictory address was signed, among others, by Basil Hall Chamberlain, the scholar of Japanese literature and Captain Brinkley, the journalist and historian.⁷⁴ Their association extended beyond the limits of the church as Shaw

⁷²ACS-SPG, 13/7/78, 9/5/85. In 1892 he wrote of the Bluff in Yokohama, "A hopeless place for mission work . . . where no Japanese is allowed to live." ACS-SPG, 5/6/92. Other members of the Sect echoed his prejudice. "There are more suicides and murders (in proportion to the numbers) among Yokohama's foreign population in a year than at Monte Carlo." J. G. Waller in CCM, VII, p. 234.

⁷³ACS-SPG, 5/5/77; MF 1877, p. 423.

⁷⁴C. K. Sansbury, A History of Saint Andrew's Church, Tokyo (English Congregation) 1879-1939 (Tokyo, 1939), pp. 3 and 5.

was also an early member of the Asiatic Society of Japan which these men had helped to found.⁷⁵

The same independence which characterized Shaw's resolution to live outside the concession also marked his relations with the foreign community. When he started to build his brick church, the foreigners wished to subscribe to the building fund. But Shaw at first refused. "An objection is often felt by the English," he noted, "to worship in the same building as the natives." He did not wish them to think that the new building would be theirs, if this would hinder its free use for work with Japanese. The foreign congregation subscribed anyway, on his terms, "in recognition of my service to them."⁷⁶ When the church--designed by de Boinville, an English architect employed by the Japanese government--was dedicated on June 4, 1879, Shaw duly repeated that the generous contributions from the foreign community did not denote control. "My Church is a mission church."⁷⁷

Shaw's mature independence which did not repudiate all association with his compatriots but affirmed his identification with the Japanese was not shared by many missionaries

⁷⁵Shaw's name appears in the annual list of members from 1873 until 1895, when he was elected a life member along with Brinkley, Cary, Chamberlain and Griffis.

⁷⁶ACS-SPG, 27/9/78.

⁷⁷ACS-SPG, 11/7/79.

of his time. Most of them hoped for a revision of the foreign treaties so that they would be free to travel around the country, but they seemed to be quite content to base themselves in the concessions. The location of their churches, on the Bluff in Yokohama, at Tsukiji in Tokyo and Kawaguchi in Osaka, reflected this attitude. But Shaw, perhaps because of his colonial heritage, hated the foreign concessions. Certainly Canadians were among the first missionaries to venture beyond the treaty ports and into the interior.⁷⁸ In any case, living outside the concession became the first clear mark of the Shiba Sect. It symbolized their affirmation of Japanese culture.

E. The birth of the Shiba Sect

A chance remark in the official history of the SPG throws some light on the beginnings of Alexander Shaw's missionary methods. "Mr. Shaw was almost the only . . . missionary [in 1877] who had not opened a school."⁷⁹ The statement shows that from the first Shaw was an individualist who refused to follow the well tried methods of his contemporaries. Instead, almost involuntarily, he devised a strategy which was to distinguish his approach--and the

⁷⁸Canadian Methodists first worked at Numazu in 1877; Cary, pp. 127, 140. A Canadian Anglican, Waller, was first to go to Fukushima in the Tōhoku, and to Nagano.

⁷⁹Pascoe, Two Hundred, II, 719.

action of those who followed him--from the conventional missionary policies of his time. It was the result of this approach that would later be known as the Shiba Sect.

From the time of his move to the Fukuzawa household it became apparent that Shaw preferred to work alone. At first he excused himself to his fellow Westerners on the grounds that he could learn Japanese faster in this way. But before long his colleagues recognized that this was Shaw's way of working and they sometimes resented it.⁸⁰ Shaw's individualism did not extend to his relations with the Japanese. As early as 1875 he was collaborating with his language teacher, Tajimi Jūrō ("Senosaki"), in writing "apologies for Christianity (in answer to numerous attacks on it)."⁸¹ Parkes thought them good enough to have them published.

All missionaries had "native helpers" upon whom they depended for their written work. These men, some of them able scholars, usually stood in an inferior employee-relation to the missionary. Official annals rarely mentioned them.⁸²

⁸⁰Wright-SPG 15/4/79; Hopper-SPG, 9/4/84.

⁸¹ACS-SPG, 30/8/75.

⁸²For instance, Okuno Masatsuna and Matsuyama Takayoshi were both well educated scholars who played an important part in the first translation of the Bible. Ebisawa Arimichi, *Nihon no seisho* [The Bible in Japan] (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 122, 150-152, 181-182. For this characteristic in other missionaries, see Cairns, Prelude, pp. 114-115.

Such was not the case with Shaw's helpers. The name of his teacher, Tajimi, appears in correspondence as early as 1875. Both Shaw and Wright appreciated their assistants and, following their conversion to Christianity, began to think of having them ordained.⁸³ As Anglicans, this would mean a gradual advance up a chain of "orders," with the missionary a superior in the hierarchy for some time to come. Such a practice differed from general Protestant usage in two ways. As an ordained man, the Japanese would be a colleague, not merely an employee. Also the hierarchical nature of Anglican orders meant that there was an organic relation between westerner and Japanese which did not exist in the looser scheme of, say, a Congregational ministry. In the latter case, the attainment of equality through ordination often meant the severance of a relationship which had become unbearable. Thus among Protestants, westerner and Japanese each formed a congregation, separate and equal.⁸⁴

Shaw added to this institutional structure a new type of relationship. In 1888 he wrote about one of his disciples, "Imai Toshimichi John," "I in a manner adopted him when he was quite a little fellow, and he lived in my household for years. I have now given him to the Church, and God has given me this great comfort, that if I have done

⁸³ACS-SPG, 4/8/76; Wright-SPG, 12/9/75; 30/5/79.

⁸⁴Howes, "Japanese Christians," p. 359.

nothing else than train Imai my life would not have been for naught."⁸⁵ There is no doubt that Imai reciprocated these sentiments. In a letter written in 1894 to Shaw, who was in England, he signed himself "your son, John."⁸⁶ To sonship in the faith--a European pattern--Shaw had added adoption, a distinctively Japanese method of consolidating relations.⁸⁷ Thus was formed the nucleus of the Shiba Sect: a family-type community, open enough to be capable of gathering in others to swell its ranks, but also presenting to the outside an impression of unity which even amounted to exclusiveness.

It is only possible to speculate about the reasons why Shaw should have adopted this method. Nothing in his writings helps to explain them. He seems to have embraced the plan intuitively. Perhaps the clannishness of his highland Scots background had something to do with it. His shyness, which made it difficult for him to work with his peers from the West, might be another reason. Certainly, taking boys into a missionary household was nothing new. Gregory the Great in the sixth century had taken young Anglo-Saxons into his household. The Jesuits did the same with their dōjuku, high-born Japanese youths, in the sixteenth century. Closer to Shaw's own time, Bishop Patteson of Melanesia took young people from the islands to be trained at mission stations.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ACS-SPG, 29/6/88.

⁸⁶Quoted in MF 1894, p. 5.

⁸⁷See Beardsley, in Hall and Beardsley, Twelve Doors, pp. 80-84.

⁸⁸Cornish, English Church, p. 417.

The idea was inherent in British institutions as far apart as apprenticeship and the public school. The new element was the attitude which the young Japanese brought to the relationship, and the way in which Shaw affirmed it. At a time when others concentrated on founding institutions on a Western pattern, he steadily affirmed, "These young men are really my chief hope."⁸⁹

The ha, however, is something more than an adoptive family relationship. It is a loose social organization, grouped about a leader or teacher, who stands in a paternal relation to the group. Its model is the feudal household, in which live not only children, but also servants and retainers. On this model, then, if Shaw was the teacher-father, Tajimi was the chief retainer (karō). It was Tajimi who was Shaw's first business-manager and spokesman, as well as his language teacher.⁹⁰ When the youthful Imai decided to move from the quarters of the Numata Fief in 1875, he first lived with Tajimi. Only after Shaw had constructed more spacious quarters for himself at Shiba in 1876 did he join the missionary's household.⁹¹

With the building of the Shiba mission station, the membership of the Sect began to grow. The Seikyōsha, a

⁸⁹ACS-SPG, 29/6/88.

⁹⁰ACS-SPG, 28/12/76; Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, p. 127.

⁹¹Imai Toshimichi, Shinjin no ko-ō [God's Call and Man's Response] (Tokyo, 1925), p. 3.

residence for young students, was built in 1879. Tajimi directed it under Shaw's close supervision. Where his colleague, Wright, viewed the institution as an embryo seminary, Shaw emphasized its community life.⁹² He took pains to see that no one, not even a missionary, who did not agree with his way of doing things should be allowed to influence its style.

Shaw's jealousy for his community extended to his fellow SPG missionaries. When going on furlough, he wrote concerning a successor, "I do not want Hopper, who is single and a low churchman." Since even the popular Hugh Foss would not do either, it appeared that Shaw preferred to have a complete outsider who would simply carry out his instructions while he was away.⁹³ Needless to say, his colleagues resented this exclusion, one of them writing in biting tones about "the Scandal of a divided S.P.G. work . . . in Tokio."⁹⁴ But these were his contemporaries, and the men who came later, seeing the fruits of the work, were quite willing to fall in with Shaw's methods.

Naturally, this acceptance of Shaw's personal leadership

⁹²Wright-SPG, 30/5/79; AL-SPG, 23/2/87; Pascoe, II, 721. For the date of the first Seikyōsha, Imai, Shinjin, p. 3; Matsudaira Itarō, "Seikōkai shingakuin shi" [History of the Central Theological College], SK, III-1 (June 1956), p. 7.

⁹³ACS-SPG, 5/7/82, 29/12/82.

⁹⁴Hopper-SPG, 9/4/84. Verbeck commented sadly that the SPG missionaries had not sent either delegates or reports to the Missionary Conference in Osaka in 1883. Osaka Conference, p. 162*.

did not mean the same thing for foreigners and Japanese. Most of the latter were his own converts, whereas the missionaries found themselves appointed to Shiba because it had become, through Shaw's efforts, the centre of work in Tokyo. It is not easy to discern the precise reasons why Shaw should have accepted some missionaries into the fellowship of the Sect and rejected others. Churchmanship was a factor, but not the sole one. He seems to have avoided Wright, who was a High Churchman, and he certainly rejected Hopper and Foss because they were Low.⁹⁵ But he accepted the American Bishop Williams, a Low Churchman.⁹⁶ Neither Bickersteth nor Lloyd was a consistent High Churchman, but they were included. Shaw accepted individual members of the Saint Andrew's Community, although he objected to their organization.⁹⁷

The only clear criterion common to all these cases was whether or not the individual recognized Shaw's personal leadership, missionary strategy and judgement on things Japanese. Certainly all were willing to live outside the concession, many of them in the Shiba compound. All agreed on the necessity of a concentrated, church-centered strategy and rejected the public, mass approach to evangelism characteristic of the evangelicals. They recognized Shaw's

⁹⁵ACS-SPG, 7/5/75, 29/12/82.

⁹⁶ACS-SPG, 1/7/78; Wright-SPG, 7/1/79, 30/9/79.

⁹⁷ACS-SPG, 15/12/93.

leadership because he had been longest in Japan. He exercised charismatic rather than formal power.

Under Shaw's guidance, the Shiba Sect developed a dual chain of succession, or personal leadership. When Shaw died, his place as missionary leader was taken by the head of the St. Andrew's Community, Armine King. But within King's lifetime, the real leadership devolved onto the Japanese.⁹⁸ Imai inherited Shaw's mantle and passed it on to a series of personal disciples. The present rector of St. Andrews is a son of Imai Toshimichi.⁹⁹ There is no doubt that, of the two traditions, it was the Japanese that was the more durable. Its growth was indigenous and natural. Once it had grown beyond its personal ties with its founder, it had only slight need of foreign help.

To Westerners, Shaw's method seemed exotic. As an early observer noted, it was "somewhat different from that hitherto followed by English missionaries in Japan."¹⁰⁰ Even his admirers found it difficult to play a subordinate part for long. Bickersteth's office as a bishop freed him from the beginning, but he was astute enough to recognize Shaw's leadership by making him Archdeacon of Tokyo. Lloyd

⁹⁸After 1900, foreigners remained at St. Andrew's chiefly as chaplains to the English congregation. Sansbury, St. Andrew's, pp. 18-38.

⁹⁹Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, p. 234.

¹⁰⁰MF, 1875, p. 357.

soon departed for the university campus. Most of the others found some means of escape.

Though Shaw's paternalism annoyed his fellow missionaries, it reinforced traditional Japanese attitudes. He recognized this. "I endeavour to bind as many to the work as possible by giving them little offices. . . . In this way they are led to feel that they are really living and working members of the Church, and to take a greater interest in its extension."¹⁰¹ Many expatriate Britons in positions of authority showed similar benevolent attitudes toward "the natives." The policy of indirect rule devised by Shaw's contemporaries in the African and Indian colonial services reflected a comparable frame of mind. But two features made the Shiba experiment distinctive. One was Shaw's own gentle independence. Because he opted firmly, even at the risk of misunderstanding, for identification with the Japanese work, he successfully fended off foreign leadership. Saint Andrew's became one of the first Anglican churches to have an autonomous, indigenous ministry when Imai was appointed pastor in 1894 with two younger Japanese to assist him.¹⁰²

Finally, because Shaw's paternalism approximated the family pattern of Japanese social relations, his converts

¹⁰¹ACS-SPG, 8/7/76.

¹⁰²Imai, Shinjin, p. 5. "This church has produced five bishops--Sasaki Shinji, Onishi Kensuke, Makita Makoto, Ueda Kazuyoshi and Nosse Hidetoshi--as well as many other clergy from among its members." Matsudaira, Hyakunen shi, p. 234.

could make it their own. They have maintained their traditional relationship with him since his death through ceremonial visits to his grave in the Aoyama Cemetery in central Tokyo. They were able, in a sense, to adopt him into the family system, building around his benevolent authority a familiar complex of personal ties. It was this embryonic structure which grew and developed into the Shiba Sect.

CHAPTER V

ECCENTRIC SCHOLARSHIP AND LIBERAL EDUCATION:

ARTHUR LLOYD

A. From Shiba to Mita: missionaries and educators

There is an old photograph of the faculty of the Keiō Gijuku University, taken in 1897 and used as the frontispiece to volume XVIII of the Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi. In it, seated next to the founder in a place of honour, is a round-faced, smiling Westerner, very Victorian in bushy moustache and side-whiskers. This is Arthur Lloyd.

Lloyd is recognized today in Japan, along with Murray and Verbeck and a few others, as one of the pioneers who helped the country develop a modern educational system. His students remember him as a rosy-cheeked, roly-poly Englishman of tremendous energy who often worked 18 hours a day, but was unfailingly good-natured and interested in their problems. That he was also an Anglican missionary who developed an original approach to Japanese culture has not hitherto been equally recognized. Lloyd began his life in Japan as a member of the Shiba Sect. He arrived with his family in the summer of 1884 to take the place of

W. B. Wright, who had resigned.¹ Shaw was in England at the time. He had opposed the appointment because he had heard from a friend in Liverpool that Lloyd was "unsuitable."²

No two men could have been more different. Shaw had arrived in Japan an untried colonial. Lloyd had given up a successful career in the British establishment as a scholar. He had been a Fellow and Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge's oldest college, and held concurrently several well-paid sinecures.³ In contrast to Shaw's cautiousness, Lloyd exuded a self-confidence which bordered on foolhardiness. Shaw endured ill health for most of his life. Lloyd's robust energy was famous, both among his colleagues and the Japanese.⁴ Lloyd's bubbling humour appeared the direct opposite of Shaw's dour Scots temperament. Shaw was a theological conservative who was continually disturbed by Lloyd's liberalism.⁵ Shaw published almost nothing, whereas a bibliography of Lloyd's works covers ten two-column pages of Japanese print.⁶

¹SPG-Poole, 18/7/84; AL-SPG, 16/8/84. Date of arrival was August 13, 1884. For student reminiscences, see KBKS, pp. 291-292.

²ACS-SPG, 21/4/84.

³MF, 1884, p. 196.

⁴ACS-SPG, 28/9/88; KBKS, pp. 291-292.

⁵See, for instance, ACS-SPG, 12/3/84, 5/5/84.

⁶KBKS, pp. 252-260, 293.

Nevertheless, the two men got on surprisingly well together. They had certain things in common. Lloyd, like Shaw, was the son of a professional soldier. He was born in Simla on April 10, 1852, where his father served in the Indian army, having attained the rank of Major-general at the time of his son's birth. Both men inherited from their background an aristocratic temperament. In spite of divergent intellectual interests both were strongly committed to the rigorous personal piety of the Oxford Movement.

It is not surprising, then, that Shaw's initial opposition to Lloyd's appointment should have turned to approval when they met. "I think my informant at Liverpool must have been mistaken," he wrote upon his return to Japan.⁷ The immediate reasons are not far to seek. By the time Shaw arrived, Lloyd was busily engaged consolidating Wright's work at Kyōbashi and Shimōsa with the Shiba station.⁸ Shaw had always considered Wright's judgement poor because he scattered his efforts too widely, so this was a point in Lloyd's favour. Lloyd also adhered to Shiba strategy by living outside the concession from the first. Within a month of his arrival he wrote home that he had found housing "through the kindness of Mr. Tsuda, a Native Christian belonging to the Methodist body." His home was

⁷ACS-SPG, 28/11/84.

⁸AL-SPG, 26/3/85.

in Azabu, "a very nice suburb of Tokio, quite in the country."⁹ "Mr. Tsuda" was Tsuda Sen, one of the original members of the Meirokusha.

Lloyd's activities soon took him beyond the bounds of the Shiba compound. Before leaving for Japan, he had incurred certain debts which he was unable to pay out of his salary. In order to help with repayment, he requested permission to take a position as an English teacher in a Japanese school.¹⁰ Many missionaries had already been employed by the government as teachers. The names of Verbeck, Griffis and Syle are well known. But Lloyd at first encountered some opposition from his church authorities. The newly appointed English bishop to Japan did not think it "seemly" that a Churchman--read English gentleman--should work for pay in a native institution. "Two former clergymen of the Church of England, a Dr. Somers . . . and Mr. Dening [are doing so] and for the honour of the Church before the Japanese, I would not have another."¹¹ That both of these men had left the Church did not help matters.

Shaw and his Japanese colleagues supported Lloyd, and at the beginning of January they detailed two men to help

⁹AL-SPG, 26/9/84. For Tsuda identification, see KBKS, p. 246.

¹⁰KBKS, p. 245; AL-SPG in Dossier envelope "L".

¹¹Poole-SPG, 22/1/85.

him set up a private school.¹² But before the month had ended he had also been invited to teach at Keiō. "I have amalgamated," he writes, "with a large Native school in the immediate neighbourhood . . . my school becoming a sort of Modern Language Department of Mr. Fukuzawa's."¹³ Within six months of his arrival in the country, Lloyd was teaching in five different schools. He had also begun to preach in Japanese "sufficiently well to be understood," though he admitted "I do not get much time for study."¹⁴ Even the bishop who had opposed him was forced grudgingly to admit that he had been wrong.¹⁵

By the following year, Fukuzawa had appointed Lloyd to be head of the English department and had built him "a large European house" on the campus at Mita.¹⁶ There was no doubt that the venture was a success. Keiō was Japan's top school of English and the boom for things western was at its peak. The new position opened up new possibilities to Lloyd. He conceived the idea of a Teaching Mission, to

¹² Shimada, Wright's old teacher, and Iida Eijirō. AL-SPG, 1/1/85.

¹³ AL-SPG, 21/1/85; FYZ XVII, 768.

¹⁴ AL-SPG, 1/1/85; 21/1/85; 26/3/85. The schools were Keiō, Tokyo University Medical School, Tokyo Naval Hospital, Seikyōsha, and his own school at Azabu. AL-SPG, 10/6/85; MF 1885, p. 212.

¹⁵ Poole-SPG, 8/6/85.

¹⁶ AL-SPG, 16/3/86; 1/9/86. FYZ XVIII, 99, 140.

be made up of young Englishmen whom he would introduce into the higher schools of Japan. There they would have a chance to influence for Christianity the lives of countless young Japanese.

The idea began when Lloyd rallied a band of local Anglican volunteers to teach at Keiō in order to prevent the English department from being "invaded by Methodists." "I don't want to let the Dissenters have it all their own way, you know," he wrote.¹⁷ A school principal from England who was visiting Tokyo, gave the men "six weeks of most valuable assistance . . . [and] friendly criticisms." Soon Lloyd was importing teachers from England. By 1887 there were six men at Keiō and candidates introduced by Lloyd were teaching in government schools in Nagoya, Gifu and Wakayama. The Jiji Shimpō, Fukuzawa's paper, opened a registry of vacant positions for which Lloyd was to find teachers. Lloyd's delight was unbounded. "We have the moulding of the nation's education in our hands," he wrote.¹⁸

Lloyd's optimism was short-lived. Two factors precluded real success. Although 1887 marks the climax of pro-western feeling in Japan, it also saw the first real upsurge of modern nationalism.¹⁹ This sentiment naturally made

¹⁷MF 1887, pp. 33-38; AL-SPG, 10/10/85, 1/2/87.

¹⁸AL-SPG, 23/2/87.

¹⁹Brown, Nationalism, p. 112.

itself felt most quickly among students. Although its influence did not immediately harm Lloyd's work, it became more and more difficult to be a missionary and a teacher at once. Early in 1890 he wrote, "The anti-foreign feeling amongst the budding politicians of Japan is growing at a great pace. Don't be surprised if you hear of a row. Living as I do amongst the students I see a good deal of it, more than most people do."²⁰ Other signs of the rise of nationalist sentiment were more subtle. Fukuzawa now favoured the Unitarians, whose ideas seemed more amenable to a "Japanese" interpretation. In 1889 he appointed three of their number to Keiō over Lloyd's head. Lloyd accepted them with characteristic good humour. "My Unitarian colleagues are nice educated men, with all the vigour of new brooms," he reported to headquarters.²¹

Nationalism was not the only factor to militate against Lloyd's scheme. His wife's health, which had been bad when they arrived in Japan, took a turn for the worse. Her tubercular condition demanded a drier climate than Japan could provide. So when Trinity University, Toronto, invited him to go there to teach classics he accepted. Both

²⁰AL-SPG, 26/5/90.

²¹Ibid. For the connection between Unitarianism and nationalism see Schwantes, "Christianity versus Science," p. 128. For the appointments, Cary, p. 200; Ritter, History, p. 318.

his wife's illness and the increased difficulty of working at Keiō contributed to his decision to leave Japan.²²

Between 1890 and 1893 Lloyd taught at Trinity, Shaw's old college. The Provost of Trinity at the time was C.W.E. Body, a classmate of Bickersteth's at Cambridge and an enthusiastic supporter of foreign missions. The two men combined efforts to acquaint the student body with the work in Japan. In 1893 Lloyd's wife died, leaving him with three young children. Though he had just been appointed headmaster of the boys' school associated with Trinity, he immediately began to make plans to return to Japan. Within the year he was back at the old post at Keiō. Fukuzawa thought so highly of him that he paid him a monthly salary of ¥250, a magnificent sum for the times. Lloyd lost no time in finding a new mother for his children. Mary von Fallot, the widow of a German engineer, had been a colleague at Keiō from the time of his first term there and she proved to be a fitting mate to him in all his varied pursuits.²³

During Lloyd's absence in Canada the missionary situation at Keiō had changed. After he left Tokyo, the Teaching Mission had lapsed into its individual parts. Lloyd was too erratic to be a good organizer and it soon became evident that the scheme had depended on his personal efforts

²²AL-SPG, 26/5/90.

²³KBKS, p. 247; AL-SPG, 17/8/93. For Body, see Life, p. 23.

to sustain it. The government had taken full charge of employment in its own schools. Lloyd himself no longer appeared convinced of the value of such a Mission. Certainly his colleagues at Shiba considered his project a failure. "I in common, I am sure, with the members of the University Mission here," wrote Shaw, "consider much too favourable an account of his work in Japan [has been given]. The effect of what work he did has been very little."²⁴ There is more than a trace of pique evident in these words. Lloyd's project had received more publicity than Shaw's own unspectacular work. But the judgement also mirrored the general opinion of Lloyd's missionary contemporaries. The Teaching Mission had not made enough converts.

Granted that few actual converts were made, Lloyd's experiment still indicated a fresh attitude to the question of cultural contact. Lloyd did not care whether the members of his Mission were aggressive evangelists or not. In one of the letters he wrote to England appealing for men he made this quite clear.²⁵ It was this very fact which laid him open to criticism from his more professionally minded colleagues. He allowed his men to do nothing more than be English Christians, living and associating with Japanese,

²⁴ACS-SPG, 12/2/91. See also EB-SPG, 16/4/90.

²⁵AL-SPG, 23/2/87. Even after the Mission lapsed St. Andrew's continued to supply English teachers to Keiō well on into the twentieth century.

and of course doing their duty as teachers.

B. The graduate as a public figure

Arthur Lloyd's personal reputation as a scholar and an English gentleman was not diminished by the failure of his Teaching Mission. His success in the academic world of Tokyo grew steadily. He ended his days at the peak of the Japanese university hierarchy as a lecturer at the Imperial University. One clue to his achievement was the status which he enjoyed as a scholar. Fukuzawa, in writing to a friend, mentioned that "Lloyd is the only real scholar (gakusha) among the six or seven foreigners teaching English here."²⁶ Another clue was his cosmopolitan sociability which contrasted with the somewhat narrow interests of many missionaries.²⁷ He was at ease in at least three modern languages besides English. His interests ranged broadly over the fields of literature, history and philosophy, as well as religion.

Assuredly Lloyd's equable and inquisitive temperament formed the basis of his broad ranging scholarship. But the training which he had received at Cambridge should not be underestimated. The capacity of a university education to broaden the outlook of the English clergyman has often been noted.

²⁶FYZ XVIII, 99.

²⁷Howes, "Japanese Christians," p. 342.

One famous study of Victorian England points out that, "The Clergyman was rarely an instructed theologian, but he was not a seminarist. The scholar growing up among men destined for a public career took some tincture of public interests . . ."28

Most SPG men were "graduates." That is, they usually had a Cambridge or Oxford B.A. or M.A. which was often a combined degree in Arts and Theology. The old charter of the Society had stipulated that its missionaries be "learned and Orthodox Ministers."²⁹ It was therefore the policy of the SPG to send only men who had a university training to the foreign field. The English members of the Shiba Sect recognized and approved of this custom. Shaw objected to Bickersteth's ordaining of certain lay missionaries because they were not graduates. Bickersteth himself continually emphasized that men who came to Japan should have degrees.

The stress laid on the degree did not simply reflect a love of academic excellence. CMS, which was an organization with middle-class origins, did not lay as much store by it. Oxford and Cambridge in the nineteenth century were, much more than in the twentieth, a training ground for the sons of the gentry. Even when the middle classes invaded the colleges, as they had done by Lloyd's time, they took on the accents and customs which they found already prevailing

²⁸G. M. Young, Victorian England: Portrait of an Age (London, 1964), p. 96.

²⁹Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 932.

there. To have attended public school and university was "one way to become a gentleman."³⁰

Between 1850 and 1890 various reforms at Oxford and Cambridge mirrored the shifts in power within society at large. A higher proportion of middle class students were enrolling.³¹ The curriculum was "modernized" to include the natural and social sciences, law and history. Non-sectarian universities, founded in London and Manchester, marked a differentiation in goals between landed and urban interests.³² The fact that the majority of SPG missionaries in Japan were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge meant that they reflected the ethos, still dominant in their time, of the land-owning classes.

The status consciousness characteristic of this ethos is often visible in the writings of the Shiba men. Shaw, Lloyd and Bickersteth all frequently stressed the social distinction between graduates and others.³³ In laying down qualifications for candidates, Bickersteth wrote, "They

³⁰Kitson Clark, Making, pp. 255 & 260. Hester Jenkins and D. C. Jones, "Social Class of Cambridge University Alumni of the 18th and 19th Centuries," The British Journal of Sociology, I (1950), 93-116: pp. 114-116.

³¹Jenkins and Jones, p. 114. C. A. Anderson & Miriam Schnaper, School and Society in England (Washington, 1952), p.6.

³²Woodward, Age, pp. 491-493.

³³See, for instance, ACS-SPG, 16/7/89; AL-SPG, 30/4/87; EB-SPG, 19/12/87.

should be taken from the gentle walks of life
 manners are a real missionary power in Japan. . . . people of
 different ranks do not permanently or for any length of time
 . . . coalesce."³⁴ Another member of the group, writing
 about the efforts to train an indigenous ministry, mentions
 the difficulty of getting "the stamp of student who is
 fitted by character and social standing to become an efficient
 clergyman."³⁵

On the whole the preoccupation with status was a subconscious assumption, rather than an explicit requirement. The Shiba missionaries fully understood the importance of a trained intellect for Meiji Japan. Bickersteth, in his letters home, never tired of making this point. "We need thoroughly educated clergy conversant with . . . modern modes of thought, . . . able to deal intelligently with the numerous difficulties which arise in a country which has suddenly been called to enter on an entirely new phase of its existence."³⁶ More than other mission fields, Japan was vitally interested in the intellectual currents of modern western society. A man who was not conversant with the latest controversies in German philosophy or British scientific and social theory could not hope to gain a hearing from an educated inquirer.

³⁴Life, p. 236.

³⁵L. B. Cholmondeley in Ritter, History, p. 298.

³⁶EB-SPG, 14/12/87.

British higher education was well fitted to produce the type of man who could respond to such a situation. It was founded on a training in which study of the Greek and Latin classics formed the principal part of the curriculum. Twentieth-century reaction to the narrowness of these studies has tended to stress the negative aspects of a classical education: its emphasis on rote learning; its lack of interest in scientific and historical inquiry, or its Quixotic preference for the gentleman amateur over the technically trained professional. Such criticisms are valid, but they neglect the benefits of a classical training. Classical education at its best developed disciplined, responsible leaders. The dedication of time and effort; precision in the use of words; recognition of an outlook and culture remote from immediate experience: all these and more became habits which remained throughout a man's life.

Broadly speaking, the type of personality produced was more important than the content of the learning. This could lead to an outlook verging on anti-intellectualism, a frame of mind which has been noted in some Victorians.³⁷ But it could also produce a broadly humanistic culture, the kind of "right knowing and right doing" which had been advocated

³⁷For instance, Charles Kingsley in Houghton, Victorian, p. 119.

by Matthew Arnold.³⁸ Its objective was of course the rearing of public servants. The theory was that a bureaucracy of professional technicians needed to be supervised by gentleman amateurs who could coordinate each speciality with the general requirements of the realm. On the intellectual plane it was the object of the university to train the amateur scholar. The era of specialization was just beginning at Oxford and Cambridge. The standard was still the Renaissance Man, a scholar who could tackle any problem as though it were an assignment in sight translation. One could still be a theologian and a botanist at once, or a politician and a student of Homer.³⁹ It was this environment which produced the great early scholars of Japanese studies: Aston, Satow and Chamberlain, Murdoch and Eliot, and "the last of the great amateurs," G. B. Sansom.⁴⁰

University education moulded a type of person whose traits have often been described. They can be summarized

³⁸Raymond Williams, Culture and Society (London, 1963), p. 134; Asa Briggs, Victorian People (London, 1965), p. 168.

³⁹For instance, Hort in H. G. Wood, Belief and Unbelief since 1850 (Cambridge, 1955), p. 44; Magnus, Gladstone, pp. 122-125. Thomas Arnold at Oriel learned that "the study of the classics could be used as an introduction to the study of living problems." Woodward, Age, p. 474.

⁴⁰Marius Jansen, Donald Keene and Arthur Wright, "Sir George Sansom: An Appreciation," in JAS XXIV: 4 (August, 1965), p. 561.

briefly as they appeared in the Shiba missionaries. Perhaps the most obvious feature was self-confidence. To what extent it was already in the missionaries' heritage as Victorians, or as members of a class of leaders, is of course difficult to determine. Among missionaries it was reinforced by the latent messianism of the movement to which they belonged. Their education, by its very limited scope, gave them a sense of achievement.⁴¹ If they could master Virgil and Homer by hard work, Sanskrit and Japanese should yield in similar fashion. Such was Lloyd's approach to languages: tackle them and they're yours.⁴² Bickersteth's letters reveal an equal confidence in his ability to understand the mind of modern Japan. Having read Guido Verbeck on the ship, he arrived in Nagasaki with a detailed analysis.⁴³

The only one who did not show a similar assurance was Shaw. His temperament was cautious and his training colonial. But he represented a second characteristic of the university mind: reserve, or dislike of ostentation. He criticized the Evangelicals strongly for their public

⁴¹Houghton, Victorian, pp. 138-154, gives a more detailed analysis.

⁴²AL-SPG, 1/1/85. Lloyd claimed to speak French, German and English, as well as Japanese, and to read Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Pali and Sanskrit. AL-SPG, 4/4/83, in Dossier envelope "L".

⁴³Life, p. 150.

preaching and aggressive proselytizing. He coupled his dislike of religious training in mission schools with this reserve. For, in common with other English intellectuals in the university tradition, he believed that intimate and precious thoughts ought not to be exposed to public gaze.⁴⁴

This same reserve lay behind the willingness of both Lloyd and Bickersteth to encourage English men and women to work in Japanese schools without expecting them to be active evangelists. In a sense, reserve was the mark of an ultimate self-confidence which required no demonstration to prove itself.

A third way in which university life had left its mark on the English missionaries showed in their disciplined habits and lifelong love of study. Many missionaries were so overwhelmed by the activities and practical requirements of their new life that they did little reading. But Wright and Shaw began life with a timetable in which study, work and recreation all found a place. Wright translated Diognetus into classical Chinese and Arai Hakuseki into English.⁴⁵ Lloyd might say that he had little time for study, but somehow he managed to learn how to read Chinese characters, an achievement which most missionaries never

⁴⁴ACS-SPG, 26/3/78, 11/7/79. See Isaac Williams, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," Tract No. 80 of Tracts for the Times (Oxford, 1840), pp. 68-74.

⁴⁵Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 808; "The Capture and Captivity of Pere Giovan Batista Sidotti in Japan from 1709 to 1715," in TASJ, 1st series, IX, 156-172.

attained. His output of publications alone witnesses to a basically disciplined life. Bickersteth read the Christian Fathers in Greek while riding in a jinrikisha. He was also able to provide his clergy with an up-to-date list of books to read on the science-religion controversy.⁴⁶

Closely related to discipline was the place given to physical exercise in the lives of university graduates. Gladstone's tree-felling exploits and walking expeditions have their counterpart in Shaw's camping trips to Karuizawa.⁴⁷ Bickersteth was a champion cricketer. Hugh Foss of Kobe played on the consular football team. Mountaineering in the Japan Alps was pioneered by another British missionary, Weston. Lloyd, on the whole, appears to have taken his exercise by walking, but this quite often took on heroic proportions, stretching from Tokyo as far as the Izu peninsula. As railway service in Japan was limited during most of the eighties and nineties, the basic requirements for getting from place to place on the extensive missionary journeys which all the Shiba men made involved a good deal of walking or riding on horseback.

Not all features of university training were positive. Concentration on a linguistic discipline meant that the Englishmen were at a disadvantage when it came to

⁴⁶"Pastoral for Holy Week, 1890," p. 36.

⁴⁷Magnus, Gladstone, pp. 193, 237.

logical or metaphysical thinking. Much of their thought appears fuzzy and inconclusive.⁴⁸ Bickersteth's writing is a prime example. Possessed of an excellent mind, he still refused to let it carry him through to clear conclusions.⁴⁹ To put it in its best light, this fuzziness was part of an unwillingness to make clearcut distinctions for fear that compromise might become impossible. At its worst it degenerated into dilettantism. Much of Lloyd's writing on Buddhism is useless to modern scholars because its speculations are so far fetched.⁵⁰

Three general observations conclude this analysis. When a man's standing at university was mentioned, this was not merely an expression of snobbishness. There was a much higher correlation between standing and success in later life than is usually recognized. When the Mission Field mentioned that Arthur Lloyd had taken "a first in the classical tripos," this meant that he was looked upon as a successful and outstanding scholar.⁵¹

Secondly, their university education gave the missionaries a common background with other graduates in Tokyo.

⁴⁸Houghton, Victorian, pp. 413-424.

⁴⁹Re bishops, Life, p. 354. Cholmondeley criticised him for a "characteristic faith in schemes working out automatically." SPG Reports 1889: "Cholmondeley."

⁵⁰M. Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion (London, 1930), p. 130 fn.1; R. J. Hammer, Japan's Religious Ferment (London, 1961), p. 198.

⁵¹Jenkins and Jones, "Social Class," p. 108.

In England Darwin, Huxley and Mill had rubbed shoulders with Cardinal Manning and F. D. Maurice in the Anonymous Club. So also in Tokyo, Shaw, Lloyd and Bickersteth met Aston, Chamberlain and Satow at the meetings of the Asiatic Society. The worlds of missionary, diplomat and scholar existed in greater proximity than they do in the twentieth century.

Thirdly, the classical education of the Oxford and Cambridge men shared certain points with the Chinese Confucian training of the samurai Japanese. Members of both groups stressed development of personality over content of study. Both had begun their education with a good deal of blind memory-work. Both believed essentially that higher education meant training for public service in an oligarchic society.⁵²

C. Colonies and missions

Diplomats and missionaries in Meiji Japan possessed a common background in their university training. Many of them had another bond: common ties with the British colonial service. Arthur Lloyd and Alexander Croft Shaw belonged to families which had served in colonial armies. One of Shaw's sons later built the post-office in Peking.

⁵²R. P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley, 1965), pp. 302 and 308f.

Bickersteth's family had been associated with Sierra Leone. He himself had ties with both India and Canada. This connection of missionaries with colonialism is worth study because it casts light on their motivation, aims and general manner of living.⁵³

Students who investigate the close ties between missionaries and colonies in the nineteenth century have usually regarded missions as one wing of European expansion. The community of interest between missionaries, traders and colonial administrators in Africa, for example, was typically expressed by David Livingstone during a speech to the undergraduates of Cambridge in 1857. "I go back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and Christianity."⁵⁴ Both commerce and missionary work required settled social conditions. Britain was seen as a civilizer.⁵⁵ When the British assumed power in the Lake Nyasa area an Anglican missionary society closely related to SPG remarked in its annual report that the "Providence of God is moulding events for the more effectual spread of His Gospel."⁵⁶

⁵³For Lloyd, see his application in SPG Dossier "L"; KBKS XII, p. 244. For Shaw, N. Shaw, Clan Shaw, pp. 35-39. For Bickersteth, Life, pp. 3, 11, 47-78 and 363.

⁵⁴Quoted in V. H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (London, 1964), p. 321.

⁵⁵Cairns, Prelude, pp. 243-244.

⁵⁶UMCA Annual Report for 1889-90, quoted in Cairns, p. 300, fn. 48.

In a country like Japan, where the interests of imperialism had to be pursued by careful diplomacy rather than by direct control, missionaries and diplomats worked hand in hand. They cooperated to put pressure on the Japanese government during its persecution of the Catholics at Urakami. When Sir Harry Parkes went to Korea to negotiate a treaty between that kingdom and Great Britain in 1881, he sent a memorandum to the English missionary bishop of North China with a copy to the home office of SPG. In it he pointed out that the treaty would provide a loophole for Anglican missionaries to enter Korea much as they had earlier entered Japan.⁵⁷ It is no chance that the Anglican cathedral in Seoul stands almost next door to the British Embassy.

Personal links between missionaries and diplomats have been less fully documented. Missionary children often became diplomats and colonial administrators.⁵⁸ The opposite was also true. Children of colonial civil servants became missionaries. They had inherited a sense of obligation for the well-being of the "native." As rulers they had enjoyed a higher social status and the greater freedom of life in the colonies made settled life in England difficult; their need for freedom drove them out once more. The cosmopolitan atmosphere in which they had been reared made them dissatisfied

⁵⁷"Memorandum to Bishop Scott of North China," SPG letters 12/1/82.

⁵⁸Sir Theophilus Shepstone, founder of Nyasaland, was the son of a missionary to Africa. Esler Denning, Edwin Reischauer, and Herbert Norman were all diplomats who had been born into missionary families serving in Japan.

with the provincialism of life in England. If their parents happened to be committed Christians, or if they themselves possessed strong convictions, a natural means to express their restlessness was to become foreign missionaries.

Arthur Lloyd provides an example of such motivation. On his application form, at the question "What consideration led you to offer yourself for Missionary Employment?" he replied, "Desire for more work."⁵⁹ In other words, Lloyd, the successful Cambridge scholar, was restless. Following his father's death his mother had taken her young son from India to live in Germany, but they had soon returned to England. While at Cambridge he had considered going to India in preparation for which he already had "a smattering of Hindustani and Pali."⁶⁰ Yet when SPG suggested that he go to Japan, he agreed and immediately began to study Japanese with a "Paul Yendo."⁶¹

Lloyd's religious convictions reflected as much restlessness as his movements from one continent to another. He began life as a Methodist but became an Anglican at an early age. While in Japan he was attracted by a small sect, the Irvingites. There was even a rumour that he had become a

⁵⁹Application, in SPG dossier "L".

⁶⁰AL-SPG, 4/4/83. Dossier "L".

⁶¹Ibid., 26/3/84.

Roman Catholic.⁶² His interest in Buddhism was more than academic. Both his teaching and his writing reveal the same inability to settle down.

The humanitarianism of the nineteenth-century British civil service--what G. M. Young has called "secularized evangelicalism"⁶³--provided a further bond between diplomats and missionaries. Members of the colonial and foreign services were often to be found on the boards of the great missionary societies. Sir Bartle Frere, the Indian and African administrator, Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Harry Parkes all served at one time or another on the boards of SPG and CMS. They were frequently consulted when a new field was about to be opened and gave their advice freely.⁶⁴ The British diplomat Satow defended Christian missions in China and Japan against its detractors. In a closely reasoned article he cited in evidence contributions to medical work and education, as well as "notions of constitutional government and personal liberty."⁶⁵ Evangelicals and Utilitarians like Charles Grant and James Mill cooperated in India to

⁶²The Christian Movement in Japan (Tokyo, 1912), p. 136. For the connection between activity and religious doubt in Victorians, see Houghton, Victorian, p. 133.

⁶³Victorian England, p. 5.

⁶⁴Stock, History, II, 205, 251; 582, 602; III, 565; 92; Life, p. 39.

⁶⁵"Christian Missions in China and Japan" in The East and the West, V (April, 1907), 121-134: p. 127.

produce an enlightened policy for the indigenous population. This concern for the autonomy of local customs and religions contrasted with the record of other powers such as Portugal and France.

British Colonial policy, often described as "indirect rule," furnishes a clue to understanding the nineteenth-century attitude to foreign cultures which members of the Shiba Sect shared. Humanitarianism formed only a part of this complex attitude. A study on Africa has described it as follows: "Not only did that policy contain respect for tribal cultures, but it implicitly contained serious doubts not only as to the capacity of the African to assimilate western standards, but of the wisdom of letting him make the attempt."⁶⁶ The dislike of Englishmen abroad for the "native" who has been "Europeanized," whether by learning English or adopting Christianity, is a commonplace of the literature of imperialism, from Kipling to Forster.⁶⁷

Naturally the missionary did not go that far. But the High Churchmen in particular tried not to alienate converts from their own culture. When Imai Toshimichi went to England in 1892, Shaw wrote, "I am not usually in favour of Japanese

⁶⁶ Cairns, Prelude, p. 220.

⁶⁷ "I have had twenty-five years' experience of this country . . . and . . . I have never known anything but disaster result when English people and Indians attempt to be intimate socially." E. M. Forster, A Passage to India (London, 1966), p. 161.

going to England, but Imai is a good steady fellow."⁶⁸ His attitude is a contrast to that of the Americans, who usually sent all their outstanding converts to study in the States. Shaw's attitude was not unusual among High Churchmen. The same ideas were repeated wherever Anglo-catholics and the SPG worked. The Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) "as a body was unique in its approach to [i.e., affirmation of] African culture and society."⁶⁹ SPG missionaries in Fiji were more tolerant of tribalism than were Nonconformists.⁷⁰ Patteson of Melanesia "was in no hurry to turn savages into Christians or converts into missionaries."⁷¹ There is little doubt that the upper middle-class background of both administrators and High Church missionaries helped confirm this attitude in both groups.

A further factor had entered in by the late nineteenth century to distinguish between the approach to culture of missionaries, on the one hand, and diplomats on the other. The High Church suspicion of the secular state, a consequence of the conflicts of the Oxford Movement, resulted in the Anglo-catholic attempt to dissociate their missionary activity

⁶⁸ACS-SPG, 30/3/92.

⁶⁹Cairns, Prelude, p.221.

⁷⁰J. D. Legge, Britain in Fiji: 1858-1880 (London, 1958), pp. 147-148.

⁷¹Cornish, History, II, 417.

as far as possible from the colonial enterprise. The UMCA in Africa "attempted to make a distinction between civilization and Christianity."⁷² Shaw in Tokyo was unwilling to allow too great an identification of his work with the foreign community.

In spite of such secondary distinctions, the ethos of the missionary movement continued to have much in common with the colonial way of life. The routine of life in concession and compound, whether in Africa, India, China or Japan, was essentially the same for missionaries, diplomats and businessmen. Although the missionary usually enjoyed a lower standard of living than did either of the other two groups, the still lower wage scales of eastern countries made it possible to employ servants to look after his needs and those of his family. Particularly in Japan, the pattern of life was modelled on a form which had grown up in China. Many of the earliest missionaries--Hepburn, Williams, Warren--had moved from the continent to Japan. They brought with them many of the institutions that had grown up in the earlier society: amahs and compradores, mission compounds and a dual standard of salary payment.⁷³

Because the SPG began missionary work in both China and Japan at approximately the same time, its members carried

⁷²Cairns, Prelude, p. 219.

⁷³P. A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats (Princeton, 1958), pp. 34-35.

over fewer of these attitudes than their colleagues in the evangelical missions. Part of Shaw's unwillingness to identify with the other missionaries may have resulted from this lack of common background. But there were important, though possibly unconscious, ways in which even the Shiba men fitted into the colonial pattern. Though Shaw lived outside the foreign concession, he drew his salary in Mexican dollars from a foreign bank and he personally paid his "native helpers." Both of these actions were difficult to avoid under the conditions of his time, but they helped identify him with the foreign community. He accepted the difference in standard of living which enabled him to pay his helpers at the rate of \$15.00 - \$20.00 per month, while he himself was receiving \$125.00.⁷⁴ He took his recreation with his fellow westerners at the Legation club in Tokyo or, during summer holidays, at Karuizawa.

This colonial ethos gave to the foreign community in Tokyo, whether missionary, business or diplomatic, a common way of life. It was one of the things that made colonial life romantic and made it difficult for any one who had experienced it to settle down at home. It cut the foreigner off from the local population on the one hand, but it also uprooted the westerner overseas from his own culture. He

⁷⁴For Japanese salary, see ACS-SPG, 30/5/79; for missionary, ACS-SPG, 5/7/82.

had become a "foreign missionary."⁷⁵ For the diplomat and the businessman, whose work in Japan was of a temporary nature, such separation was comparatively unimportant. But for the missionary, whose work entailed identification with his flock, it constituted a real barrier to communication between westerner and Japanese.

D. Liberal Anglicanism and secular culture

In spite of their personal friendship, Lloyd and Shaw stood miles apart in intellectual outlook. Though Lloyd was temperamentally an erratic High Churchman and a confirmed snob, intellectually he was a restless liberal. Where Shaw rarely showed much interest in matters which did not impinge directly on his own missionary activities, Lloyd's interests encompassed all sorts of subjects.⁷⁶ This far ranging concern with culture in general characterized the Broad, or liberal, tradition in Anglicanism. In Japan the strand of liberalism in Lloyd's character helped to form a bridge between two widely differing cultural streams.

The Reformation in the Church of England differed from continental Protestantism in that it did not completely repudiate the Renaissance tradition. The humanism of Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus continued to express itself in such movements as the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth

⁷⁵Cohen, China, p. 264.

⁷⁶See Appendix II.

century who were the English precursors of eighteenth-century rationalism.⁷⁷ During the first half of the nineteenth century this tradition had received a fresh infusion of thought from the German romantics and idealists such as Kant, Goethe and Hegel, and this was approximately the form in which students in Lloyd's day encountered it. The outstanding critics and essayists of his youth--Coleridge, Carlyle and Mill--all reflected the influence of the liberal style of thought.⁷⁸

Within the church liberalism attained its highest intellectual development in the writings of Frederick Denison Maurice, the Cambridge scholar and founder of Christian socialism. Maurice's writing suffered from lack of clarity. But he was continually attempting to mediate between the catholic, the liberal-humanist and the Protestant traditions in his church. In doing so he carried Christianity in what has been described as an "immanentist" direction because he tried "to discover within civilization . . . values which religious tradition saw outside it."⁷⁹

Their interest in the history of human development led the Broad Churchmen to be among the first to tackle the

⁷⁷G. R. Cragg, From Puritanism to the Age of Reason (Cambridge, 1950), ch. III.

⁷⁸Williams, Culture, ch. 3; Houghton, Victorian, p. 178.

⁷⁹C.C.J. Webb, A Study of Religious Thought in England from 1850 (Oxford, 1933), p. 29; for Maurice, see A. R. Vidler, F. D. Maurice and Company (London, 1966), Chs. 1-8.

problems posed for Christian belief by the newly enunciated theory of evolution. The botanist-theologian F.J.A. Hort of Cambridge was one of the earliest churchmen to indicate agreement with Charles Darwin.⁸⁰ In 1860 the publication of Essays and Reviews rocked the Church of England. In this symposium a group of liberal churchmen, which included such well known Victorian scholars as Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett, set out to discover a new way to approach theology through the free discussion of controversial subjects. Jowett's dictum, "Interpret the Scripture like any other book," caused a furor in a society which had been accustomed to hold Biblical truth as unique and inviolable.⁸¹ But the new discoveries of the geologists and biologists made the conservative position, represented by Samuel Wilberforce in his famous debate with Thomas Huxley at Oxford in the same year, no longer tenable.⁸² By the eighties and nineties, all but the most reactionary Anglicans had accepted the main points of the liberal position.

The liberals also reflected the rising interest in the social sciences which had become characteristic of mid-Victorian England. One of the contributors to Essays and Reviews had introduced British readers to the findings of

⁸⁰Wood, Belief, p. 44.

⁸¹Cornish, English Church, p. 220. Ch. 3 deals at length with the controversy.

⁸²Irvine, Apes, pp. 5-7.

German comparative religion. Hebrew religion was studied with the techniques of anthropology. Max Muller's long and illustrious career at Oxford made Englishmen aware of the insights of Hindu and Buddhist writings. Thus Shaw could urge SPG candidates for Japan in 1876 to read Muller's Chips from a German Workshop in preparation for their future work.⁸³

Lloyd's German connections opened the way for his contact with liberal ideas. His mother appears to have been German and certainly he himself both spoke and wrote the language with ease.⁸⁴ Shortly after graduating from Cambridge he spent some time at Tübingen, then the centre of German liberal historicism. There he first studied Buddhism, but the experience also generally influenced his intellectual development by deepening his interest in cultural subjects.⁸⁵

Lloyd's personality and interests reflected the split between loyalty to the Church and dedication to the unhindered pursuit of new knowledge which characterized the liberals. This split was symptomatic of a still deeper dualism inherent in the nature of liberalism itself. It took history and culture seriously. But the Broad churchmen

⁸³ACS-SPG, 9/10/76.

⁸⁴KBKS, p. 244.

⁸⁵Ibid. See also AL-SPG, dossier envelope "L".

never came to terms with the contradiction between what they believed to be the absolute and unchanging elements in Christian belief and the relativities of historical change and cultural diversity. Both the sere disillusionment of Mark Pattison's later life and Benjamin Jowett's comfortable retreat into his ivory tower at Oxford resulted from this flaw in their thought. The staid categories of their Victorian religion had proved inadequate to provide a theoretical basis for a view of culture which had advanced so far beyond their beliefs. ⁸⁶

So too with Lloyd. After his return to Japan from Canada in 1893 he never went back to direct evangelism with the same vigour. For one thing, the attitude of his students had changed. They no longer wanted Christianity. Lloyd's institutional ties with the Church had also become weaker. In 1894 Bickersteth reported that "Mr. Lloyd [had] again placed himself in communion with Irvingite teachers and accepted their doctrines."⁸⁷ His ties with that sect seem mainly to have been occasioned by his admiration for the good lives of its members. He did not stay long with them and reports came in of further wanderings. None of these

⁸⁶Green, Religion, chs. XI and XII; Irvine, Apes, pp. 304-306.

⁸⁷EB-SPG, 30/7/94; AL-SPG, 26/5/90; ACS in MF, 1891, p. 213. For the Irvingites, see P. E. Shaw, The Catholic Apostolic Church Sometimes called Irvingite (New York, 1946).

flirtations resulted in a conversion, and during this entire period Lloyd continued to contribute regularly to the publications of the Seikōkai.⁸⁸ One observer attributed this behaviour to his desire for Christian unity.⁸⁹

Actually Lloyd's cultural interests had broadened with the weakening of his denominational connections. Following his return to Japan he began to report on his studies in Japanese religions. He translated Japanese poems and novels into English. He wrote textbooks on English grammar and composition for Japanese schools. He even made a sally into the field of economic history.⁹⁰ Finally, he published the series of books which led Chamberlain to speak of him as "the first authority on Japanese Buddhism."⁹¹

⁸⁸Kirisutokyō shūhō [Christian Weekly News], VII-11 (Tokyo, May 15, 1903). Almost every issue of this paper between 1900 and 1910 contains at least one article by Lloyd.

⁸⁹Christian Movement in Japan, 1912, p. 136.

⁹⁰Among his translations were three famous novels: Ozaki Kōyo, Konjiki yasha (The Gold Demon), Kinoshita Naōe, Hi no hashira (Pillar of Fire), Tokutomi Roka, Shizen to ningen (Nature and man): KBKS, pp. 257 and 260; E. H. Norman notes his translation of an article by the German advisor to the Japanese government, Mayet, as important. Japan's Emergence as a Modern State (New York, 1940), p. 216. See also Appendix II.

⁹¹Things Japanese, 5th ed. (London and Yokohama, 1905), p. 78n.

E. Buddhism: the affirmation of Japanese culture

When Arthur Lloyd died suddenly on October 27, 1911, a long appreciation appeared in the student publication of the Tokyo Imperial University, Gakutō. It had been written by Professor Inoue Tetsujirō, a philosopher who is famous in the history of modern Japan as a bitter foe of Christianity. The article began by noting that Lloyd "was a distinguished scholar [whose] . . . profound learning in the field of literature was probably excelled by few men. But his most outstanding contribution lay in his studies of Buddhism." Inoue went on to point out that Lloyd's "particular interest lay in the reconciliation of Christianity with Buddhism through Amida, though he sought in many other ways to discover connections between the two faiths."⁹² After recounting various exploits in which Lloyd had demonstrated his prowess, both in his knowledge of Buddhist doctrines and also in the Japanese language, the article concluded by saying that he had not limited his studies to Buddhism, but had begun to examine Confucian thought as well.

Other English members of the Shiba Sect shared Arthur Lloyd's interest in Buddhism. Early in his career Alexander Croft Shaw wrote to England urging that succeeding candidates give priority in their preparation to the study

⁹²KBKS, pp. 260-262.

of Buddhism.⁹³ In fact Shaw seems to have been more tolerant of Buddhists than of deviants within his own church. Members of his family tell stories of his respect for the religious practices of his Japanese friends. When the English poet and student of Buddhism, Sir Edwin Arnold, left Japan following a lengthy visit Shaw wrote, "Sir Edwin Arnold leaves for home today. He has been very friendly and has helped me in many ways."⁹⁴ Bickersteth tended to view all Japanese religion as archaic and incapable of revival. But this evaluation did not cause him to reject it as "paganism." In one speech in London he referred to Anglicanism as "the church of the reconciliation." By this he seems to have meant that it enjoyed a unique place among both Christian denominations and other religions because it could mediate between them.⁹⁵

A comparatively unknown member of the Shiba Sect, Herbert Moore, most succinctly enunciated this common attitude:

We are all Shintoists, to a certain extent, for Shinto is the non-Christian version of the Communion of Saints. And we recognize the truth

⁹³ACS-SPG, 9/10/76: memo on Japan.

⁹⁴ACS-SPG, 3/12/90. Shaw's son told the writer of having attended a Buddhist funeral with his father, where the two joined in burning incense before the deceased's ashes. Such a practice was rejected by most missionaries.

⁹⁵Life, p. 202.

that Buddhism contains when we read Ecclesiastes in church. It is not the duty of the missionary to revile these old faiths. How can he, if he believes in the Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world? He would not quench the smoking flax; an imperfect faith is better than none at all, and may serve at least as a foundation to build upon.⁹⁶

For the SPG missionaries Christian truth did not differ from whatever was true in other religions. Christ enlightened every man and society, not just the European Christian. Thus the missionary's task was not to attack these old religions but to understand them.

When Professor Inoue wrote that Lloyd's particular interest was "the reconciliation of Christianity and Buddhism," he indicated Lloyd's willingness to go further than his fellow missionaries. Arthur Lloyd, in common with most missionaries, had come to his study as "a problem in Evangelism."⁹⁷ For most missionaries Buddhism remained marginal to their activity as propagandists of Christianity. But for Lloyd it became the central interest of his life, if such can be said of one who possessed so little system and so many interests. His articles on Buddhism came off the presses of at least five countries in English, German and Japanese. The first bore the curious title The Higher Buddhism in the Light of the Nicene Creed. It was published

⁹⁶Christian Faith in Japan (London, 1904), p. 42.

⁹⁷Wheat Among the Tares (London, 1908), p. 1.

in English by the Tsukiji Type Foundry in 1893 and appeared in a Japanese version at the end of the same year. Bickersteth commented that it "has much in it which is good and interesting but also some very erratic statements."⁹⁸ Lloyd's final work was The Creed of Half Japan, Historical Sketches of Japanese Buddhism.⁹⁹ It appeared in the same year that he died, and is the book of his most frequently found on library shelves.

Lloyd differed from other Western observers because he approached Buddhism from its Japanese side. Up to his time most western studies had started from Hinduism.¹⁰⁰ Their understanding of Indian thought therefore strongly coloured their view of Buddhism. But, as Inoue pointed out, Lloyd concerned himself principally with the two traditions which were indigenous to Japan, the Shin and the Nichiren sects. He also differed from his Japanese colleagues in that he brought to his study an earlier interest in literature and history. This background did not always prove to be an advantage. In his appreciation, Inoue remarked that "due to his attempt to discover . . . links [between Christianity and Buddhism] by historical means, he had not yet captured

⁹⁸EB-SPG, 30/7/94. KBKS XII, p. 253. For review by Imai, see NS, V, 50 (January, 1894), p. 54.

⁹⁹London, Smith Elder, 1911.

¹⁰⁰For instance, Max Müller. This was also true of Eliot and is only beginning to change in the mid-twentieth century.

the attention of the public as fully as he deserved."¹⁰¹ To a modern reader, the attempts seem far fetched and not very relevant. Claims to have found a connection between Shin Buddhism and Alexandrian Gnosticism, or Shingon and Manichaeism, by means of purported etymological similarities savour of crankiness to modern scholars.¹⁰² One of Lloyd's younger contemporaries at the Imperial University, Anezaki Masaharu, later criticized his conclusions. "Arthur Lloyd's contention, in his Creed of Half Japan, that Shingon Buddhism was greatly influenced by Manichaeism is not conclusive; his work is often marked by hasty conclusions; yet his suggestions are valuable and await further investigation."¹⁰³

Lloyd may have come to his study of Buddhism without sufficient technical preparation. But his attempt to reconcile Christianity and Buddhism represented only one portion of a lifelong endeavour to bridge the cultural gulf between his own country and Japan. Inoue mentioned that he had begun to study Chu Hsi Confucianism at the time of his death. He also wrote a paper for the Asiatic Society on one

¹⁰¹KBKS, p. 261.

¹⁰²See, for instance, Creed, pp. 160-167, 208-224.

¹⁰³History of Japanese Religion (London, 1930), p. 130, fn. 1. See also p. 148, fn.

of the popular small "Shinto" sects.¹⁰⁴ One biographer has described him as "an out-and-out lover of Japan" (kyokutan na shinnichi-ka).¹⁰⁵ The statement points to an effort on Lloyd's part to discover some kind of personal spiritual identity in his adopted culture.

Lloyd also maintained a lifelong interest in literature. His second wife's own linguistic knowledge enabled her to cooperate with him and some of his students in the translation of several well-known contemporary novels.¹⁰⁶ These works today chiefly interest the social historian. The translation is pedantic and over-literal. Yet the tone is sympathetic and the text reproduces successfully the combination of lyric phrase with high-flown romanticism characteristic of the genre. Lloyd also fancied himself as a poet. Anezaki used his translations of Buddhist verse in his History of Japanese Religion, though he felt constrained to remark that "the translator has lost somewhat the simple purity of the original."¹⁰⁷ Contemporary foreign readers valued these verses highly, but they now appear as dated as most of Lloyd's writing.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴"The Remonkyō," TASJ, XXIX-1 (Tokyo, 1901).

¹⁰⁵KBKS, p. 261.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 247.

¹⁰⁷pp. 174-175.

¹⁰⁸Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 5th ed., p. 381.

There are deep-rooted reasons why Lloyd's work has not withstood the test of time. His inability to settle down to concentrated study and his confidence in his linguistic ability led him to rely on facility with words when he might have spent more time trying to understand the concepts involved. In common with many liberals in his day he never grasped completely the problems involved in the relativity of history and cultures. His approach to Buddhism, professedly historical, simply looked backward without taking into account the process of change. He handled religion in the abstract, juggling different pieces to fit together according to his own fancy, without proper regard to the time and place from which each had come.

Lloyd was continually faced with a dilemma. He was an Englishman with the Englishman's way of looking at Japan. But his early experience in India had also given him an emotional attraction for the Orient. As a gentleman and a scholar, he had been uprooted from a Victorian society which was moving away from the aristocratic values he loved. He had now found a spiritual home in Japan, but in his search for cultural identification he overlooked the differences between his own and Japanese society. The iambic pentameter of his waka translations sacrificed the simple purity of the original. And Buddhism became a simple Christian heresy.

When all this has been said, it must be admitted that Arthur Lloyd represented at his best the British ability to see intrinsic value in an alien culture. His unscientific approach to Buddhism need not leave the reader dissatisfied. Scientific method is of limited value in the study of religion. A book like The Creed of Half Japan can better be seen as a work of mysticism; the confession of faith of an eccentric seeker after human community who tried throughout his life to bring men together. Read in this light, Lloyd's forced parallels become efforts to find a common meeting place for dialogue between two cultures. As Lloyd wrote at the end of his life,

Christianity, if it would win Buddhism for Christ . . . must take . . . into consideration [the strong hold that Buddhism has on the thoughts and affections of the people]. Buddhism needs its special preachers--men of sympathy and patience; men who, while proud of being Christians, are yet willing for Christ's sake, to be followers of S'akyamuni in all things lawful and honest; men who can say to the Buddhist, "I will walk with you, and together we will go to Him to whom you say S'akyamuni Himself bore witness."¹⁰⁹

Seen in this light the genteel verse renditions and the pedantic novels come into better focus. If they sufficed to give other Englishmen in Lloyd's day a partial glimpse of a way of life they did not know, they had accomplished their

¹⁰⁹Creed, p. 385.

purpose. Later generations might require a sounder and firmer bridge, but a few people would have crossed by the old one.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAILURE OF INSTITUTIONS:

EDWARD BICKERSTETH

A. The Nippon Seikōkai: a limited affirmation of autonomy

An intriguing and significant--though possibly apocryphal--story is told of a meeting between Edward Bickersteth and Niijima Jō, the great founder of Dōshisha University. Niijima, having returned from a trip to Tokyo, confided to a friend the deep impression made on him when he met the English bishop. "If he had only come to Japan ten years earlier," he exclaimed, "all Christianity in Japan might have become one through the Seikōkai."¹ Niijima represented the fruits of American Christianity, with its dialectical attitude to Japanese culture and the tension which it aroused between missionary and convert.² Bickersteth was the leader of the English tradition with its affirmative position on things Japanese. He succeeded in helping to found a church in which missionary and convert lived together in relative harmony.

¹Sasaki Jirō, Kaiko nijūnen [Twenty Years in Retrospect] (Kyōto, 1963), p. 86.

²Howes, "Japanese Christians," pp. 351-354.

In many ways Edward Bickersteth was the most representative Victorian in the Shiba group. He was born in 1850 into a family which traced its history as lords of the manor back to the days of King John. During the middle of the nineteenth century his family had belonged to the coterie of Whig gentry which supported the reformer Shaftesbury. His father was an Evangelical clergyman who was appointed Bishop of Exeter by Gladstone in 1885.³ Bickersteth himself was one of the many men of his age who was born an Evangelical but later grew nearer to the Anglo-Catholic position. As a Cambridge man he belonged to a tradition which combined missionary fervour with a strong social consciousness. As a student of the Cambridge theologians Lightfoot and Westcott he had also grappled with the conflicts of Christianity and modern thought. His appointment in 1885 to represent the Church of England in Japan as a bishop brought him to the summit of the ecclesiastical establishment. He was the only member of the Shiba Sect to be mentioned in English history books of the period.⁴

Bickersteth combined an attractive personality with considerable determination and strength of will. The many photographs scattered about Japan show a face whose features

³Life, pp. 1-5, 138.

⁴See, for instance, Cornish, English Church, II, 381, 388; Dictionary of National Biography, XXII, 194-195.

had preserved in early middle age a boyishness which verged on effeminacy. But the eyes are deep set; the nose and jaw long. His family and friends frequently mentioned his lanky height, his buoyant temperament, and a slight lisp in his speech. He led a life of deep devotion to prayer and meditation, but he also loved sports and, in spite of later ill health, enjoyed a game of cricket to the end of his days.

Edward Bickersteth came to his position of leadership in Japan through a combination of personal ability and good connections. Following a school career where he excelled in both studies and athletics, he won an open classical scholarship to Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1869. There he obtained both classical and theological degrees with honours and was elected a Fellow in 1875.⁵ His enthusiasm for foreign missions made him a natural leader among the distinguished group of teachers and students who at that time exercised considerable influence at the University. Many of them remained his lifelong friends and supporters.

In 1877 Bickersteth headed a mission of Cambridge scholars to India. Although forced by ill health to retire within five years, he was able in that short time to found a college, Saint Stephen's, which eventually became part of the Punjab University.⁶ This outstanding achievement brought

⁵Life, pp. 7 & 12.

⁶Ibid., p. 75.

him to the attention of church leaders in England. It made him a natural choice when the Archbishop of Canterbury was looking in 1885 for a man to send as head of the British mission in Japan.

It is ironic that, as one who had attained a measure of fame in his own country, Bickersteth should be unknown in Japan outside the Seikōkai. He had come to that country in his late thirties and his work was cut short by death within ten years. Japanese was the "sixth Eastern language" he had to tackle.⁷ Although he fully recognized the need to learn it thoroughly, other demands on his time always drew him away. "Undoubtedly a Bishop ought to know well the language of the people among whom he works," he wrote, "but it is difficult to see how, amid the pressure of other duties, the time is to be obtained without which it is impossible to get an effective knowledge of a difficult and complicated tongue."⁸ The only Japanese with whom he became really intimate was Imai, who was his constant interpreter.⁹

Like Shaw, Bickersteth suffered from poor health. Like Shaw he was also naturally reserved. Inability to speak

⁷Ibid., p. 151.

⁸Quoted in A. F. King and J. T. Imai ed., Edward Bickersteth, Missionary Bishop in Japan (Tokyo, 1914), p. 21.

⁹Life, p. 178. Imai wrote a short life in Japanese and collaborated in another in English. One of his grandsons was named Bikasutēsū, after the bishop.

the language, ill health and reserve combined to keep him from the free contacts with Japanese society that Lloyd and Shaw enjoyed. He has left a reputation in the Seikōkai of having been a scholar (gakusha), but few people know much about him.¹⁰

Bickersteth's institutional preoccupations left him with little time or energy for activities outside the Seikōkai. His name appears on the membership list of the Asiatic Society between 1886 and 1895. Shaw's introductions gained him one or two audiences with government dignitaries such as Itō Hirobumi.¹¹ But otherwise he spent practically all of his short time in Japan working within his own church, organizing, fostering leadership, and above all giving it himself.

Edward Bickersteth believed enthusiastically in autonomy for the Christians of Japan, but he saw this autonomy in terms of a limited and responsible independence. In this his attitude resembled the stand taken by the enlightened colonial administrators of his day.

Bickersteth's letters constantly affirmed Japanese autonomy. During his first lengthy sea voyage from England to Japan, he spent much time reading the accounts of his missionary predecessors. His studies were given intelligent

¹⁰Life, p. 405.

¹¹Ibid., p. 214. See also ACS-SPG, 1/10/86, 7/1/87.

direction by a veteran CMS missionary on the same ship. Accordingly his letters home were full of the subject from the beginning. "There is a most curious difference between the people of this country and India," he wrote to his father. "Here foreigners can only suggest and guide, in India they rule; so that even by missionaries, not to say Bishops, continued care has to be taken not to offend Japanese susceptibilities."¹² His early conversations with Shaw and other missionaries had made him fully aware of the temper of indigenous Christianity.¹³ In speaking to a gathering of missionaries in Osaka, only a few months after his arrival, he warned them: "A Japanese has said, 'We are glad of teachers, we require no masters!' On a like principle it can scarcely be doubted that in accepting Christianity . . . Japan will adopt no mere western type of faith."¹⁴

Bickersteth realized that the actions of his contemporaries in the missionary movement denied the autonomy of the Japanese Christians. Every missionary was a law unto himself, making his own analyses and setting up his own policies. The CMS with its strong central organization, could--and did--function on the

¹²Life, p. 165, one month after landing, 14/5/86. Also EB-SPG, 24/5/86; 2/6/86; Life, p. 160. As a principle, the regard for autonomy dates back to his Indian days: Life, p. 29.

¹³ACS-SPG, 14/5/86.

¹⁴Life, p. 307.

field quite independently of the local bishop. Even at so basic a level as the training of indigenous clergy, it proved to be impossible for years to organize a unified system. Each group--CMS, SPG, and the American Episcopalians--conducted its own school. Each was careful to avoid any broader arrangement which might later limit its freedom of action.¹⁵ But "freedom" in such cases meant freedom on the part of the missionary to make unilateral decisions. Given the rising tide of national sentiment among the Japanese, such one-sided control would inevitably lead to a kind of ecclesiastical war for independence. Shaw had already noticed the symptoms of such a movement. Just about the time that Bickersteth arrived in Japan he wrote home describing "certain able leaders" among the converts of the American Protestants whose purpose was to found "a grand national church without regard to [differences of] doctrine." Such an action, he prophesied, would lead to "congregationalism run wild." That is, it would result in a purely local Christianity which would possess few spiritual ties with any other country or church.¹⁶

For Bickersteth the only solution to the two problems--anarchic missionary policy and the drive for indigenous

¹⁵Wright-SPG, 30/5/79; Shevill, "Aspects," pp. 222-227, analyses in detail the nature of CMS control and the measures taken by Bickersteth to overcome it.

¹⁶ACS-SPG, 14/5/86.

autonomy--was to found a Japanese church. Such a body would enjoy administrative independence, but a common doctrine and polity would join it to other Anglican churches. Within one year of his arrival in Japan he was able to draw together both missionary support and native leadership to discuss these aims. On February 11th, 1887, the mythical Anniversary of the Founding of the Japanese Empire, the new church was established. On the motion of Shaw's lieutenant, Tajimi, it was officially named "Nippon Seikōkai." Nippon stood for Japan, while Seikōkai was the translation, imported from China, of the words in the Creed, "Holy Catholic Church." The words reflected the hope that the infant church would be both Japanese and universal.¹⁷

Bickersteth was delighted. Writing for the general public he set forth the main facts:

Japanese Christians in future days will look back, I believe, with pleasure to the first Synod of their Church in February 1887. It was a freely elected body, in which Europeans and Americans were greatly outnumbered by Japanese. Of the Japanese delegates the majority were men of education. In consequence, questions were discussed on their merits, not results merely accepted on authority. The main decisions arrived at were unanimous. A Japanese Church was organised.¹⁸

Writing to his father, Bickersteth was able to comment more freely on the outcome. "The C.M.S. ought now to be satisfied. Their Conference of Missionaries have passed a

¹⁷Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, p. 127.

¹⁸EB-SPG, 14/12/87: "Appeal."

vote of warm satisfaction unanimously, and the S.P.G. men also are pleased; so I hope the ship, which was a bit bested by the waves, will now reach port The Japanese are delighted at having done the thing with us, and no longer feel only dictated to--though, indeed, there was more feeling perhaps than fact about it."¹⁹

The slightly patronizing tone evident in the last lines points up the limitations of Bickersteth's scheme. The missionaries had no intention of immediately relinquishing their control. They were anxious to ensure that the new church remain, doctrinally, in communion with their own. But it was easier for Englishmen to understand the factors which would constitute catholicity than it was for them to see just how Christianity could be expressed in Japanese forms. Much of what they considered to be essential for maintaining community between Japanese and Western Anglicans seems to a later observer to have been secondary. For instance, to saddle an infant institution whose total membership was less than two hundred with the complex polity which had developed in the great national churches of Europe seems laughable. Bickersteth's pride in his "genuine native Church . . . with its own constitution and Canons . . . and Synod and vestries and missionary society, &c.,"²⁰ was premature.

¹⁹Life, pp. 189-190, 4/3/87.

²⁰Ibid., p. 212.

His idea that the church could grow into full autonomy only when it had developed the economic resources to support this machinery meant that Englishmen would monopolize its leadership for some years to come.²¹ Bickersteth's view of autonomy exemplified the best in the colonial administrative personality. But with all his intellectual acumen, he could not escape their characteristic shortcomings.²²

Despite these limitations, the founding of the Seikōkai had provided a place where Japanese and Englishmen might work together, each one conscious of his own contribution. Through its Canons, or regulations, Bickersteth had ensured that Japanese Anglicans should participate with missionaries in making decisions for the young church. Not only did they enjoy a majority of votes at the triennial synods which governed policy, they were also represented on the local Standing Committees, the executive bodies which worked with the bishop in each district. As a Japanese church the Seikōkai was not yet truly free. At times it came dangerously close to resembling an enclave of British Christianity. But it did stand for the British affirmation that the Japanese had a right to their own decisions. Shaw

²¹Tsukada Osamu, "Nihon seikōkai ni okeru senkyōshi seido no mondai" [The Problem of the Missionary-System in the Nihon Seikōkai] in Shingaku no Koe, XIV-1 (June, 1967), 25-36; p. 28.

²²Cairns, Prelude, p. 238.

had recognized their social autonomy by accepting the principle of the ha. Lloyd had fallen in love with their culture. Now Bickersteth proclaimed political autonomy for their institutions.

B. Liberal traditionalism: a via media

Edward Bickersteth's recognition of its political autonomy was not his only contribution to the Japanese church. His liberal approach to the burning question of science and religion saved Anglicans in Japan from the crippling effects of the controversies which racked Protestantism at the end of the century. A Japanese authority has judged that the arguments over the New Theology were as much responsible for the number of intellectuals who rejected Protestantism between 1890 and 1900 as was nationalist pressure.²³ Anglicans showed no appreciable loss in the same period.

Bickersteth's position, consistently maintained in both personal correspondence and pastoral letters to his clergy, represented a new kind of Anglicanism. Unlike the earlier liberalism depicted by the authors of Essays and Reviews, he understood that modern thought would require a fundamental change in theological methodology. He accepted the idea of relativity in culture and history more

²³Sumiya, Kindai, pp. 125-130. See also Schwantes, "Christianity versus Science," p. 131. For losses, see below, p. 277, also Appendix IV.

thoroughly. His liberalism therefore shows important advances beyond the somewhat unsophisticated and culture-bound Christianity of Arthur Lloyd.

Bickersteth's thought reflected a comparatively recent trend in Anglicanism. Twenty-five years earlier, when the storm over science and religion had burst, 11,000 clergymen had signed a manifesto affirming their belief "in the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures and in everlasting punishment."²⁴ It was about these two principles that controversy had gathered. E. B. Pusey, for sixty years the professor of Old Testament at Oxford, represented the arch-traditionalists. He had participated in the leadership of the Oxford Movement and had once fought to revive Catholic theology in the Church of England. In his youth he had even been influenced by liberal Biblical scholarship while studying in Germany. Now he joined with Evangelicals in the university to persecute such liberals as Benjamin Jowett.²⁵ Although a much more complex figure than most of the literalists, Pusey lent the weight of an eminent academic reputation to their cause.

For the literalists, the new ideas challenged the very basis of Christian belief because they cast doubt on what was called "the plenary inspiration" of Scripture. By asserting that the sacred writings had been culturally

²⁴Quoted in Woodward, Reform, p. 576.

²⁵Green, Religion, p. 308.

conditioned, the modernists implied that certain aspects need not be accepted as literal truth. A second point of debate concerned the doctrine of creation in the first book of the Old Testament, Genesis. The literalist believed that all species had been created by God in their present form within six days. This idea had been challenged by Darwin when he published the Origin of Species in 1859. The arguments of the traditionalists headed by Bishop Wilberforce only strengthened the impact of the scientists' assertions on the thinking public, so that the "attempt to destroy the Darwinian theory by theological weapons damaged the current theology more than the theory."²⁶

The scientists and agnostics were not the only critics of the traditionalists. As early as 1853 F. D. Maurice had been dismissed from the newly formed chair of theology at King's College, London, for "dangerous tendencies" in casting doubt on the doctrine of eternal torment in Hell.²⁷ In this heresy he had been joined by the youthful Hort at Cambridge. In 1863 the Cambridge mathematician who had been appointed bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, touched off one of the most far reaching and complicated controversies in Anglican history when he published a book casting doubt on the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the

²⁶Cornish, English Church, II, 224. See also Bowen, Idea, pp. 160-164.

²⁷Wood, Belief, p. 10. Cornish, History, pp. 201-202.

Bible.²⁸

Little of the virulence which attended these early controversies appears in Bickersteth's writings. He was a Cambridge man. It has been noted that that institution was ahead of Oxford in modernizing itself. Discussion there generated less heat than at Oxford, where the presence of reactionaries like Pusey and Wilberforce did much to keep the argument going. But as far as the church was concerned, the real difference at Cambridge in the seventies and eighties was represented by the presence of the famous "Cambridge Three." These were the theologians and biblical scholars, Brooke Foss Westcott, Joseph Barber Lightfoot, and Fenton John Anthony Hort. All flourished at the university between 1844 and 1892. Although considerably behind the German scholars they instilled in their students an attitude of open-mindedness to modern problems quite new in Victorian thought.²⁹

Westcott's dictum, "Belief in words is the foundation of belief in thought and belief in man," represented a reaction to the dogmatic subjectivity of the Oxford Movement and of High Victorianism in general.³⁰ All three men exercised

²⁸Ibid., Ch. 12.

²⁹Cornish, English Church, pp. 208-210.

³⁰Ibid., p. 209. For dogmatism, see Houghton, Victorian, Ch. 6.

great rigor in their own speciality. They insisted that theological formulation must begin with scientific and historical criticism of the ancient texts. The principles which they laid down have become the basis of modern theology as an academic discipline.

All of these scholars joined in a variety of pursuits outside their academic specialities. Hort, who had earlier been trained as a botanist, followed current scientific trends. Lightfoot and Westcott carried through life a concern for industrial problems which they had gained growing up in the Midlands.³¹ Both later served in turn as Bishop of Durham where they mediated fierce labour disputes. Westcott joined with others to lead first the settlement movement in the East End of London and then later the Christian Socialists.

A close relation existed at Cambridge between industrial missions at home and foreign missions abroad. The comfortably born undergraduates recognized responsibility to the proletariat of the city slums. Beatrice Webb said of Arnold Toynbee, the ardent young Oxford reformer and leader in the workers' education movement, "He knelt to the masses in the name of the upper and middle classes."³² The

³¹Cornish, English Church, pp. 209-210; Inglis, Churches, pp. 155, 275-287.

³²From My Apprenticeship, quoted in Inglis, Churches, p. 149. See also Bowen, Victorian Church, pp. 329-30.

university men also saw in the heathen, living in poverty and barbarism abroad, an "external proletariat."³³ It is not surprising, therefore, that the same individuals should have led both movements. The explorer-missionary David Livingstone's famous speech at Cambridge in 1857 resulted in the birth of the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Westcott, co-founder of Toynbee Hall, also helped in 1876 to start a university mission, the Cambridge Mission in North India, turning to one of his closest disciples, a young Fellow of Pembroke College, to lead it. That man was Edward Bickersteth.³⁴

The influence of the Cambridge theologians remained with Bickersteth throughout his life. It expressed itself in a pragmatic, rather than doctrinaire, approach to intellectual problems. Bickersteth was no radical, either socially or intellectually. Later on, in Japan, he showed no strong disposition to criticize Japanese expansion in Korea. He looked upon Arthur Lloyd's religious adventures with staid, though kindly, criticism. He entered the lists

³³Cairns, Prelude, p. 92.

³⁴Life, pp. 17, 26-44; see also Preface by Westcott to Edward Bickersteth, Our Heritage in the Church (London, 1905), p. vii, and Green, Religion, p. 322. Following the decision to establish this mission in Delhi, partly on the advice of Sir Bartle Frere, the name "Cambridge Mission to Delhi" was adopted in 1877. Life, pp. 39-42.

against the Unitarians in the cause of orthodox belief.³⁵ But his judgements were realistic. He may have entertained misgivings about Japanese imperialism, but he thought of that country as the Britain of the Orient. Japanese rule in Korea would bring concrete benefits to a less developed country and might be excused on those grounds. In theological matters he was a convinced Anglo-catholic, but he could always enjoy good relations with men of other parties. He seldom spoke of Protestants as Dissenters, but preferred to use the more objective term Nonconformist.

Bickersteth demonstrated the same flexible realism with regard to modern thought. He accepted the strength of the scientists' arguments and set about adjusting his own ideas to theirs. In a pastoral letter to his clergy he urged them "to cultivate the grace of sympathy as a qualification for which there is no substitute in dealing with doubt. They must study unbelief in its own records or they will fail to apprehend its point of view. They must learn never to claim for revelation the territory of natural science, nor to surrender to other claimants the domain of revelation."³⁶ He appended a reading list of books written by leading scientific agnostics. In particular he recommended the best selling novel by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Robert Elsmere,

³⁵Schwantes, "Christianity," p. 129.

³⁶Pastoral for Holy Week, 1890, p. 13. Italics added.

which told the story of a clergyman who had lost his faith.

For Bickersteth awareness of modern ideas was not a mere technique for defending a religious position which he did not intend to change. He realized clearly that science demanded a change in the modes of theological statement which might appear to some as a betrayal of belief. In reference to the vexed question of scriptural inspiration, Bickersteth wrote to his father: "In itself I feel it is just one of those questions on which it is wisdom to allow large liberty. The penalty for overstatement on either side is to be upset by some more scholarly mind and more balanced judgement. It is not a matter for ecclesiastical censure."³⁷ To his own clergy he was even more outspoken. "I am a little disappointed that there are not as yet, as far as I am aware, any among ourselves who are giving sustained and serious study to the Old Testament with a view to eventually forming opinions as to the new questions raised. . . . We cannot afford to neglect or ignore views of Holy Scripture which come to us accredited by the names of men who are . . . eminent linguists and critics."³⁸ He did not feel that they need fear these results. "I do not believe that we shall lose any of the Old Testament--though parts may be symbolic or dramatic which had been taken to be purely historical."³⁹

³⁷Life, pp. 411-412.

³⁸Pastoral for Advent, 1890, quoted in Life, pp. 413-414. Italics in original.

³⁹Letter to his sister May, Life, p. 413.

Thus evolution posed no threat and the bishop welcomed experiments in theological thinking which would take account of its implications.

Although not a trained theologian or philosopher, Bickersteth's ideas possessed many points in common with the writings of a new school of Anglican theology which had sprung up at this time. Its best known leaders were Charles Gore and Henry Scott Holland, two younger colleagues of Westcott in the Christian Socialist movement. These men, together with a number of other scholars at Oxford, had published in 1889 a collection of essays entitled Lux Mundi. In the preface Gore stated that "theology must take a new development." The Church must enter "into the apprehension of the new social and intellectual movements of each age . . . assimilate all new material, . . . welcome and give its place to all new knowledge."⁴⁰ Most of the authors who contributed to the symposium were in the High Church tradition. But they had been strongly influenced by the liberalism of Maurice and the neo-Hegelian idealism of T. H. Green. Consequently, the school which they represented was usually known as Liberal Catholicism.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Quoted in Cornish, English Church, p. 359. See also A. M. Ramsey, An Era in Anglican Theology: From Gore to Temple, (London and New York, 1960), pp. 2-15.

⁴¹ Bowen, Idea, p. 174. Inglis, Churches, pp. 150-152.

Bickersteth knew and admired Gore. "I have got as far as Gore's sixth Bampton Lecture," he wrote to his father. "I cannot but think that he may really be counted among the few masters in theology."⁴² The two men were much alike. Both exhibited the same mixture of traditionalism with openness to new ideas. Both were deeply involved in public activity. Both evinced something of the same fuzziness, or lack of logical consistency, in their thought. One was a trained theologian, the other a skilled ecclesiastical statesman. But the liberalism of both sprang from their reverence for facts. Because they were practical men, they were unwilling to raise up a system of thought whose logic, however beautiful in its consistency, might some day be "upset by some more scholarly mind."

C. University missions: gentleman scholars at work

The very fact of their having received the training and education of one University will be a bond of sympathy between the missionaries of no ordinary strength. Our English Universities have a character and tradition of their own, which are impressed by a thousand subtle and indefinable influences on those who pass through them, and will naturally engender unity of feeling and similarity in modes of thought. We refuse to regard the consideration of such influences and associations as merely sentimental.⁴³

It is difficult to overestimate the degree to which men like Edward Bickersteth and Arthur Lloyd were influenced

⁴²Life, p. 412.

⁴³EB in MF, March 1877; quoted in Life, p. 20.

by their university background. They were essentially ex-dons and their day-to-day actions were conditioned by their Cambridge experiences. Bickersteth rarely mentioned any of his missionary staff without appending a note on their university status.⁴⁴ He himself retained his Fellowship at Pembroke College for eighteen years. The larger part of that time he was absent in India or Japan, but those were the days before a Fellow had to be resident. He needed only to be unmarried.⁴⁵

Many of the inconsistencies in the ideas of the Shiba men can be explained by the fact that they had been educated at a university which was in process of particularly rapid change. Unconscious assumptions had not quite caught up with actuality. As Anglicans, the missionaries were members of a body which, until recently, had enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the two senior institutions. Until 1856 it had been necessary for all matriculants at Oxford and all candidates for degrees at Cambridge to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, the manifesto of the Church of England. This meant that no Roman Catholic, Non-conformist, non-Christian, or atheist could study at Oxford or graduate at Cambridge.⁴⁶ Chapel attendance remained compulsory until

⁴⁴For instance, EB-SPG, 19/12/87.

⁴⁵Life, p. 20.

⁴⁶Woodward, Reform, pp. 489-491; Kitson Clark, Making, p. 257.

1871. Broad reform was difficult because the individual colleges which made up the university dominated its government.⁴⁷ The colleges were, in theory, private institutions founded to educate the sons of those who had established them--and the clergy of the established church. Each had its own particular interests which were often in conflict. But the university which the colleges monopolized served a public social function. With the growth of a secular society its character as a religious institution had become increasingly anachronistic. Yet reform proceeded in patchy fashion. Even after the religious tests had been abolished and the public was permitted entrance, the privileged position of the Church of England remained. Though partially disestablished in the universities it was still the Church of the realm. Only Anglicans could become professors. The Church remained the single largest profession for all Oxford and Cambridge graduates.⁴⁸

This mixed, religious-secular character of the English university conditioned the attitude of the Shiba missionaries to education in Japan. Although Arthur Lloyd was the extreme example, they all in one way or another accepted Japanese secular institutions as similar in nature to their own. Their allusions to "the

⁴⁷S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, 6th ed. (London, 1965), p. 132.

⁴⁸Jenkins and Jones, "Social Class," pp. 98 and 101.

University," meaning Tokyo Imperial, or Keiō, betrayed the fact that they identified those institutions in their minds with their English experience.⁴⁹ Accordingly, they felt far more kindly toward them than did the Americans, who had come from denominational colleges.

The partial disestablishment of the Church of England within the ancient universities can be seen as one factor in the rise of the university missions. It was difficult for the nineteenth-century intellectual churchman to see secularization as anything but a negation, a loss to unbelief which had to be regained. Thus the struggle with "infidelity," the drive to establish slum missions, and the organization of bands for overseas work: all formed part of the same campaign against unbelief.

Each university had its own particular emphasis. Oxford first began missions to the slums. With the growth of liberalism the urge to gain proselytes gave way to the building of "bridges of goodwill" between the classes, and settlements took the place of missions.⁵⁰ Cambridge became the cradle of foreign missionaries to Africa, India and Melanesia. The university missions brought reinforcements from the Anglo-catholic wing of the church to a movement

⁴⁹See, for instance, EB in Life, p. 157; ACS-SPG, 5/7/81, 1/10/86; AL-SPG, 26/5/90.

⁵⁰Inglis, Churches, p. 155.

which had hitherto been predominantly Evangelical.⁵¹ But all the movements overlapped. Westcott of Cambridge was a director of Toynbee Hall, the London settlement house. Bickersteth drew most of the recruits for his university mission in Tokyo from Oxford.

One tradition which all shared was the public school. Westcott had been a master at Harrow before going to Cambridge in 1871.⁵² The mission to the South Pacific, led by Selwyn and Patteson, was backed by an auxiliary at Eton.⁵³ Gore had studied with Westcott at Harrow while Scott Holland had studied at Eton. Although the leaders of the Shiba Sect had attended smaller and less famous schools, the ethos of Rugby, Eton and Harrow formed part of the tradition which they loved. School and University combined to produce the gentleman--a personality compounded of classical learning, disciplined character, love of exercise, and dedication to the service of humanity--who was their ideal missionary.

The presence of Cambridge men in the university missions helped to make the members more open minded than most of the earlier Evangelicals. The disciples of

⁵¹Stephen Neill, A History of Modern Missions (London, 1964), p. 325.

⁵²Vidler, F. D. Maurice, pp. 263-265.

⁵³Cornish, English Church, pp. 412, 420.

Lightfoot and Westcott looked on missions as more than proselytization. Westcott had taught that Indian thought would itself contribute to the understanding of Christianity.⁵⁴ He helped found the mission to North India as a dialogue between intellectuals of the European-Christian, Hindu and Muslim traditions. One of Westcott's associates likened it to the ancient philosophical school at Alexandria, which had stressed liberal cultural interchange based on Eastern modes of thought.⁵⁵ The Englishmen who joined it were to learn the vernacular, rather than require the Indians to learn English as in the government schools.⁵⁶

When Edward Bickersteth was appointed in 1877 to head the newly founded Cambridge mission to Delhi, he added to his master's conception two ideas of his own. First, the mission was to be a community, or brotherhood. It was to use the best in the monastic tradition: celibacy for greater economy and mobility, a community house, and a simple discipline. But there were to be no perpetual vows. It was to be a free community on the lines of the Senior Common Room at Cambridge. The men would support each other, both intellectually and spiritually, but they would not be forced to do so.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Neill, Missions, p. 538.

⁵⁵Life, p. 70.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 74.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 29, 80, 92.

Secondly, it was to be free from any direct missionary control. Although Bickersteth later became a bishop and an administrator, he remained firm on this point. The community might be loosely affiliated with one or another of the missionary societies. But its first ties were to be with the university. It was, in effect, to be a community of Christian scholars. It must therefore be free from organizational commitments in order to follow its vocation to build bridges of goodwill between cultures.⁵⁸

Accordingly Bickersteth, Lloyd and the other Shiba men saw their vocation as a kind of university extension department. It was on these grounds that Bickersteth justified his long absentee tenure of the Fellowship at Cambridge.

He always held that if Fellowships were ever to be allotted to specific objects, it was not unreasonable that one should be held by a missionary. He maintained that the Christian sons of an ancient University were responsible not only for the confirmation of the faith, but also for its propagation.⁵⁹

This was the ideal which Bickersteth upheld with such success for five years in India. When illness brought him home to England, the way was open for new ventures. After a brief period of recuperation he was appointed in 1886 to represent the Church of England as its second missionary bishop in Japan. When he went there he carried his ideal

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 32-36; see also Cholmondeley-SPG, 29/6/89; EB-SPG, 16/4/90.

⁵⁹ Life, pp. 20-21.

with him.

D. University missions and Saint Andrew's Mission

When Edward Bickersteth arrived in Japan he lost no time in adding a new dimension to the Shiba Sect. Even before his departure from England he had begun to think of transferring the idea of the Delhi Mission to Japan. As soon as he had been acquainted with his appointment he issued an appeal which was backed up by his father, now Bishop of Exeter, and his old teacher, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham.

It is proposed to establish, as soon as men and means are available, an associated mission in Japan after the manner of the University missions in India. . . . The special object of the mission will be to reach the educated classes, while at the same time it is believed that it will form a useful centre for general mission work. It is hoped that in time educated Japanese Christians will be attached to the mission staff.⁶⁰

That the mission was intended to be a free, autonomous community of university men from two races was shown by Bickersteth's refusal to tie it in either to SPG or CMS. But it never achieved this objective. Bickersteth himself had become too closely committed to institutional activity with the Seikōkai and could not spare time or effort to think through a special function for the mission. Lloyd's individualism unfitted him for the guidance which only he

⁶⁰Quoted in Life, p. 216, 31/12/85. Italics original.

could have supplied. Shaw did not like the idea from the beginning. Thus it deteriorated into an ineffectual adjunct of the Shiba mission, petering out soon after its founder's death.

In spite of its lack of success the ideal of the university mission--or The Mission Brotherhood of Saint Andrew, as it came to be called in Tokyo⁶¹--was noble. Bickersteth was keenly aware of the influence which Christianity had exercised on intellectuals in Meiji Japan. "In a city like Tokyo," he wrote to his brother Samuel, ". . . men followed with keenest interest the battle between Christianity and agnosticism, where arguments might be answered at any moment by quotations from Huxley or Herbert Spencer." It was Edward's belief that a mission, "consisting exclusively of graduates of the English Universities would command the respect of the educated classes, and especially of the University of Tokyo, which sent its sons all over the country."⁶² But an aggressively evangelistic approach would not do, "because the educated Japanese mind is as yet in a state of indecision and uncertainty in reference to the whole subject of religion."⁶³ Thus a mission of intellectuals, displaying the reserve proper to gentlemen, was the ideal

⁶¹Ibid., p. 220.

⁶²Ibid., p. 219; pp. 209-210.

⁶³Ibid., p. 209.

solution for the approach to well bred Japanese.

Saint Andrew's was to be a disciplined community. Some of the romanticism of the Oxford Movement was apparent in the choice of a monastic pattern. But it was not a slavish imitation. "We are Christians of the nineteenth century, not of the first," the bishop wrote to one of his Japanese clergy, "and must not neglect our heritage."⁶⁴ The simple monastic rule was to be elaborated as they went along.⁶⁵ It involved poverty: "A small yearly sum is allowed each missionary; . . . probably 40l. or 50l. would be necessary . . . not 'indigence' in any sense, but no surplus."⁶⁶ Also celibacy: "It is understood that no one will be accepted . . . who is engaged to be married."⁶⁷ And finally, the brotherhood was to serve under the bishop, with an elected Head and a Chapter, where matters pertaining to the community could be discussed and decided in democratic agreement.⁶⁸ Bickersteth did not neglect the prudential advantages of such an arrangement. It was much cheaper than maintaining a series of families.⁶⁹

⁶⁴EB to the Rev. B. Terasawa, 31/12/87, in Life, p. 254.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 220.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 219.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 221: Rule, clause 3.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 221: Rules 7, 8, and 9.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 218.

But the main reasons were intellectual and spiritual. And of course, its independence was highly prized.

The community as it actually emerged did not work out exactly as its founder had planned. In the first place, only one man ever came from Cambridge. The others were all Oxford men, which meant that the narrower, more ecclesiastical view of the elder university predominated. Bickersteth found it difficult to maintain the Westcott liberalism which had been part of the dream. The men preferred to run a divinity school to train men for the Japanese ministry rather than carry on intellectual conversations with uncommitted scholars.⁷⁰

The changed situation in Japan in the late eighties and nineties further encouraged narrower objectives. It had become difficult to find many intellectuals who wanted to talk. Shaw had arrived when samurai like Imai still sought an alternative to the government's plan for modernization, and Christianity seemed a viable option. But by 1887, when Lionel Cholmondeley, [pronounced "Chumly"] the first member of the University Mission arrived, the nationalist reaction had set in and intellectuals spent their time in agitation for an elected assembly. Bickersteth's unfailing optimism had at first blinded him to the change in climate. But by

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 224-225.

1891 he complained that "political questions have ousted religious from the main position in the public eye."⁷¹

On the whole, the intellectuals had opted for an alignment with the British utilitarianism and social Darwinism which left them greater freedom to follow traditional Japanese methods. The long tradition of Confucian scholarship which they inherited predisposed them to look upon any religion as a matter for the uneducated masses. The attacks of the European free thinkers on Christianity touched a responsive chord in minds accustomed to hear a similar criticism of Buddhism. When Fukuzawa had advocated in 1884 that Japan "wear a religious dress uniform with others" he had felt that this would enable his country to enter "into the comity of Christian nations."⁷² But he soon returned to his former public stance of opposition, attacking Christianity almost daily in the editorial columns of his paper.⁷³ The hostility of the intellectuals caused the missionaries sadly to conclude that "the present temper . . . of the Japanese . . . is set on other things besides the Kingdom of God."⁷⁴

⁷¹EB-SPG, in MF, 1891, p. 209.

⁷²Jiji Shimpō, quoted in Cary, p. 174.

⁷³Sumiya, Kindai, p. 69.

⁷⁴EB-SPG, 26/9/92. For an interesting comment on this comment, see Chamberlain, Everyday Japan, 6th ed., p. 81.

At first, through Lloyd's introduction, Cholmondeley taught at Keiō. But Bickersteth wrote in 1890 that this work was not as "repaying from the missionary point of view as we anticipated." With the reorganization of a theological seminary at St. Andrew's in 1888, the need for teachers there pulled the qualified men in. The new churches which were being opened in other parts of Tokyo necessitated experienced clergy to supervise the Japanese workers. Thus, as public interest in discussion waned, the missionaries who had come to discuss were drawn off into jobs for which there was a more evident need. Shaw, always critical of what he felt to be an unorthodox experiment, noted rather sourly that they were not fulfilling their function. "The Bishop keeps them all living together simply superintending portions of [my] work."⁷⁵

There were other reasons why Saint Andrew's Brotherhood did not fulfil its expectations. There was the relative, but basic, lack of interest on the part of Englishmen in Japan. Parallel work in India and the Universities Mission in Africa both grew steadily during this period. But in both of these countries, British colonial commitments worked to keep interest alive. In Japan the Brotherhood never numbered more than seven or eight members.⁷⁶ Moreover those in the

⁷⁵ACS-SPG, 25/9/91. For reorganization of seminary, see Matsudaira, "Shingakuin-shi," p. 7; EB-SPG, 18/12/88.

⁷⁶Life, p. 217.

colonies met with a different reception: their benevolent paternalism was accepted. But in Japan, where Christianity exercised its greatest appeal among young intellectuals who were eager to escape paternalism in their own culture, the more individualistic gospel of the Americans possessed greater attractions.⁷⁷

Bickersteth could never rid himself of ambiguity with regard to the Brotherhood's goals. Because of his practical bent, he could not see intellectual discussion, or the building of cultural bridges, as activities valid in themselves. They must always work toward Christian conversion. This in turn required the construction of a Western-style ecclesiastical institution. Consequently, even before all the possibilities for a freer type of activity were exhausted the men of Saint Andrew's were fated to leave their community in the service of the organization. Lloyd had showed by his lifelong commitment to intellectual exploration that intellectual exchange served the ends of evangelism as long as the primary objective was not convert hunting. But Bickersteth was less willing to allow his men the necessary freedom. Thus the Saint Andrew's Mission never developed in the same way as the Oxford missions to London's East End: it did not grow from an organization for

⁷⁷This was the heyday of Uchimura's early period, as well as of the young writers around Meiji Gakuin. Kōsaka, Japanese Thought, pp. 187-191.

making proselytes to become a builder of bridges between cultures.

The final blow came when Bickersteth's own direct involvement in the project ended. In 1893, during a stay in England, he met and married Marion Forsyth, the daughter of a London barrister.⁷⁸ She was a charming and able woman who continued to work in Japan after her husband's death and published several articles and a book about the work there. Everyone at Shiba was happy except the members of the celibate mission. Shaw commented, "The Bishop has come back with his bride and seems very bright." But, he went on, his marriage is "a blow to . . . St. Andrew's. The Mission is in a very tottering state."⁷⁹

Bickersteth had never meant to keep the members of the brotherhood unmarried permanently, so his action involved no betrayal of principle. But his own withdrawal from the community left its members without the personal leadership which alone could hold them together. Within a few years most of the men had ceased to function as a distinct group. The only bond that now held them together was their broader loyalty to the Shiba mission. They had in effect become individual members of the Shiba Sect with whose general aims they agreed.

⁷⁸Life, p. 299.

⁷⁹ACS-SPG, 15/12/93.

The absorption of the Brotherhood into the Shiba Sect did not have a totally negative effect. Without doubt it had turned away from society at large to work with an in-group. But by so doing it added to the development of the Shiba Sect a certain style of life all its own. As Bickersteth expressed it, the aim of the theological school which the Brotherhood superintended was "not merely to carry on a course of instruction, but to create a tone and atmosphere, and maintain a life."⁸⁰ The tone of disciplined liberalism which had been part of the English university common-room was transferred to the men who were to become the leaders of the Seikōkai.⁸¹ Day-to-day contact with their students in the community life at Saint Andrew's also produced in the Englishmen a uniquely sensitive understanding of Japanese culture. The perception of value in Moore's account of Japanese religion was matched by other Shiba men who wrote on a wide range of subjects, from netsuke to Zen Buddhism.⁸²

Nevertheless, the Mission had lost its chance to enter into dialogue with Japanese society at large. It had become part of a sect, turned away from society. The process which had begun when its founder Edward Bickersteth

⁸⁰EB-Guild of St. Paul, 5/7/89, in Life, p. 225.

⁸¹In 1959, 5 out of the 10 bishops of the Seikokai had been educated at St. Andrew's. Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, p. 234.

⁸²See Appendix II.

married reached its conclusion when he died on August 5th, 1897, at the early age of 47. Bickersteth's successor admired Alexander Shaw's more orthodox approach. Under his leadership the Brotherhood was rapidly integrated into the Shiba organization. Although it retained its name well into the twentieth century, it had become an adjunct, rather than an autonomous body.

The failure of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew to bridge the cultures of East and West emphasizes certain weaknesses in the general approach of the English missionaries to modern society and foreign cultures. As "Churchmen" they looked to the past, to a medieval European model in which faith and its institutional form had been confused. They shared in the common Victorian understanding of modernization which experienced difficulty in seeing secularization as anything but negative. The rise of urban industrial society had forced the Church to relinquish certain areas of life it had once monopolized. Rather than welcoming this as a gain for mankind they interpreted it as a betrayal of an ancient heritage. The use of such expressions as "infidelity" to describe the thought of intellectuals who had rejected the Church reveals their frame of mind.

In Japan the British missionaries carried this negative attitude to modernization with them. It was this that influenced them to label the Confucian agnosticism of Fukuzawa and his confreres as "infidelity." That is, they

confused it with the free-thinking of Mill and Spencer, who shared their own Christian background. In doing so they showed themselves unable to distinguish between the post-Christian state of their own society and the quite different historical tradition which lay behind the culture in which they now found themselves. Men like Basil Hall Chamberlain--and even Arthur Lloyd--who worked without institutional vested interests could more freely understand the historical differences between their own and Japanese culture. This seems to be why Chamberlain alone of all the long-term residents in Japan possessed the insight to distinguish between the superficial irreligion of Fukuzawa and the actual religion which undergirded the Meiji state.⁸³ In recognizing the difference they could better accept the Japanese faith for its own sake.

Finally, the missionaries never fully saw the non-Christian religions as a positive force, in and for themselves, though the Shiba Englishmen approached closer to this recognition than many of their colleagues. Yet even they saw Buddhism and Shinto largely in terms of the praeparatio evangelii.⁸⁴ As they understood it, the indigenous religions would have to be turned into Christian--that is, European--

⁸³Everyday Japan, 6th ed., p. 81.

⁸⁴See, for instance, Moore's view, above, pp.196-197. Also Lloyd's preface to The Creed of Half Japan.

forms before they would attain to their fullest truth. Their gentlemanly tolerance never attained the intellectual breadth necessary for a dialogue between equals. It remained for a later generation to appreciate the meaning of Westcott's prophecy.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH MISSIONARIES AND JAPANESE SOCIETY

The English missionaries at Shiba formed a tiny minority of the missionaries from other lands and churches in Japan. In 1894 there were nine ordained men and three women directly connected with Saint Andrew's.¹ This group seems hardly worth mention beside the five-hundred-odd American Protestant missionaries. The importance of those in the Shiba group lies more in what they represented as part of the 125 British missionaries at work in various parts of Japan than in themselves.² Allowing for individual differences of theology or of personal and social outlook, they could claim to represent in general the attitudes of Anglican Christians to Japan.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century the Shiba missionaries had established their position as part of the larger British community in Japan more solidly, if anything, than in the seventies and eighties. SPG missionaries ministered to the two large English congregations at St. Andrew's in Tokyo and Christ Church-on-the-Bluff in

¹Minutes of SPG Annual Meeting, 3/1/94, in EB-SPG, 9/1/94.

²Figures for both American Protestants and Anglicans for 1896 in Ritter, History, pp. 350 & 352.

Yokohama. They counted the names of Fraser and Satow-- successors to Alcock and Parkes--among their advisors. The missionaries' dual function, as representatives of English life in Japan, and as influencers of opinion concerning Japan in their homeland, had increased in importance as mutual interests drew the two countries closer together.

A comparison of circulation figures for missionary publications and the secular press will give some idea of how widely missionary literature was read in England at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896, for example, the monthly combined circulation of the two main periodicals published by the CMS, the Gleaner and the Intelligencer, amounted to just under 90,000 copies. The SPG publications enjoyed a somewhat smaller circulation, but the number was still significant: 14,500 copies per month for the Mission Field in 1900, and 16,400 for the Gospel Missionary.³ If one considers that the total circulation of the Times at the end of the century was around 38,000 copies, these figures are quite impressive.⁴

It is as representatives, then, that the Shiba missionaries are important. Whatever was distinctive in their attitudes may be assumed to reflect, at least in part,

³Stock, III, 694; Pascoe, II, 814.

⁴In 1895 circulation was 37,359; in 1900, 38,176. See the Times (London, May 8, 1914), p. 9.

that which characterized the British approach to Japan. Nothing differentiated this approach more than its attitude toward Japanese society and, in particular, how they regarded the secular institutions of education and international politics.

A. Meiji educational policy and the mission school

When the British diplomat and pioneer in Japanese studies, Sir Ernest Satow, wrote of "the existing educational system of Japan, which a high authority has pronounced to be superior to our own,"⁵ he intended high praise. His opinion has been borne out by later scholars, as well as by the concrete evidence of Japan's success in modernization. Two factors governed the earliest stages of Meiji educational policy. The first was the need for a literate population to man the conscript army and supply the skilled services required for an industrial state. To fill this need sixteen months of schooling were made compulsory for children of both sexes in 1871. The term was extended to three years in 1880 and later to six years, so that by 1905 Japan could claim a literacy rate of 95 percent, one of the highest in the world.

Secondly, Japan needed a university system to supply administrators for its civil service and industry. According to the earliest plan it had been intended to found eight

⁵"Christian Missions," p. 127.

university districts, each with its own Imperial University. But before 1900 only two had been founded: Tokyo, in 1886 and Kyōto, in 1897. Also, the gap between primary and university levels was not completely filled until the end of this period.⁶ Entrance into the university naturally required much higher qualifications, particularly in foreign languages, than the primary schools could furnish.

During the closing years of the Shogunate the need for secondary education in languages and other subjects had been supplied by private tutorial schools, known as juku. Many of these juku specialized in the teaching of western studies, or yōgaku. Typical of them was Fukuzawa's Keiō Gijuku which later developed into the university. As the pace of modernization increased from 1870 to 1880, the demand for juku far outran the supply. Many of the courses at the University were given in English or German by foreign teachers, making a working knowledge of those languages essential. It was in partial response to this demand that the early mission schools arose.⁷

Prior to 1873 the missionaries, prohibited from direct evangelism, had concentrated on education. One of the

⁶ Figures and dates are from Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig, p. 277.

⁷ Fujio Ikado, "The Origin of the Social Status of Protestantism in Japan (1859-1918)," Contemporary Religions in Japan, II-1 and -2 (Tokyo, March and June, 1961), II-1, pp. 24-27.

outstanding examples is that of Guido Verbeck, the Dutch-American missionary who counted among his pupils in Nagasaki such young samurai as Ōkuma Shigenobu and Soeshima Taneomi. When these men later occupied important posts in the government they invited their teacher to guide them. Consequently, Verbeck was able to make an important contribution to the organization of the entire early scheme for schools and universities.⁸ With the increase in demand for juku many of the mission schools enlarged their scope. C. M. Williams, the American Episcopal missionary, moved his small school from Osaka to Tokyo in 1874. This school grew to become Rikkyō University. The Japanese Congregational convert, Niijima Jō, founded his school, the Dōshisha Yōgakkō, in Kyoto in 1875. Others, both missionaries and Japanese, followed suit.⁹

The mission schools during the nineteenth century were small in size. Rikkyō in 1898 had 100 students, Dōshisha 250.¹⁰ This limitation of numbers was deliberate. From the

⁸KBKS, III, 249-253. There is a biography by W. E. Griffis, Verbeck of Japan (N. Y., Fleming Revell, 1900). He was responsible for introducing American educators like Janes and Clark.

⁹Ozawa Saburō, Nihon Purotesutanto-shi kenkyū [Studies in the History of Japanese Protestantism] (Tokyo, 1964), p. 25, shows at least 30 schools founded between 1871-1881. This figure does not include a number which collapsed after the government founded its own secondary school system.

¹⁰Ritter, History, pp. 371 and 373. Dōshisha figure is just for the Academy, which corresponded to Rikkyō. There was also a College (40), Theological School (8), Science School (12), and Law School (3).

standpoint of the missionary, the primary aim of the school was conversion. This was accomplished by the personal influence of the missionary and his staff. The theory was that numbers should be kept at such a level that each student might become intimately acquainted with at least one of the Christian teachers. Even when the scope of the training widened and enrollment increased, the aim was retained. At this stage the model for the mission school became the American denominational college with its compulsory attendance at chapel and courses in Christian knowledge.

From the beginning, mission schools were more successful as teaching institutions than as evangelistic media. As long as the government secondary school system remained incomplete, they were exploited as stepping stones to higher education. This meant that the goal of the students usually lay beyond the Christian enterprise. Because their minds were set on university entrance or successful employment, they hesitated to endanger their future with the potential disadvantage involved in conversion. When, after 1894, the government began to increase its facilities for secondary education, the mission schools rapidly lost status.¹¹ Students at institutions without government accreditation did not enjoy the same privileges as those of the government schools. Postponement of military service and preferential

¹¹Ikado, "Origin," II-2, pp. 37-40.

treatment for university entrance proved to be enticing prizes for those at government institutions.

The mission schools faced a further crisis at the end of the century. The government no longer depended on their services. With the abolition of the unequal treaties there was no further need to placate the foreign powers whose citizens supported the schools. Certain powerful advisors of the government saw in Christianity a threat to national unity. Finally, in 1899, the Ministry of Education issued its famous Order No. 12 which prohibited all religious practices in the schools.¹² The mission schools were faced with a choice of giving up their compulsory courses and ceasing to be evangelistic media, or of accepting the regulations in order to retain their accreditation. Most of them--Aoyama Gakuin, Meiji Gakuin, and others--gave up government recognition rather than stop the courses.¹³

¹²Ozawa, Kenkyū, pp. 58-59. For the controversy on Religion and Education, see the same author's Uchimura Kanzo fukei jiken [The Uchimura Kanzo Disloyalty Incident] (Tokyo, 1961). Brown, Nationalism, p. 137, points out that the order was issued immediately the revised treaties came into force, and that "It was clearly a move against Christianity (since Shinto was legally not a religion and therefore would not be proscribed by the order) . . . " ACS, MF 1899 pp. 427-428, writes: "They appear also, at least in spirit, to be a violation of the very constitution, . . . which guarantees perfect religious freedom to all alike Though [they] extend to Buddhism and Shintoism equally with Christianity, yet as neither of the former any longer takes interest in the general education of the people, their practical effect extends to Christianity alone."

¹³Ozawa, Kenkyū, p. 58. Cary, p. 286.

Two colleges attempted a different solution. One of these was Niijima's Dōshisha in Kyoto. Its founder and many of its early leaders had been Japanese. Although it depended heavily for support on the American Board (Congregational Church), it had very early developed an indigenous character of its own. Some of the early radical political leaders of Japan had received their training there.¹⁴ It was not surprising, therefore, that this college should now try to compromise with the government. Some of its leaders proposed that the school desist from the explicit campaign for conversions and be satisfied to dispense "Christian education." But the missionary teachers strongly opposed this course. Following a bitter and protracted dispute, the Americans won out.¹⁵

A second college, Rikkyō Gakuin, took the opposite course. Rather than lose accreditation, its leaders dropped religious education from the list of required courses. They gave Christian instruction only on request and outside school hours.¹⁶ Rikkyō's action was significant. The American schools had shown that they would rather lose government recognition--and therefore good students--than relinquish denominational control. Rikkyō, though also an

¹⁴Kuyama, p. 262.

¹⁵Howes, "Japanese Christians," pp. 355-356.

¹⁶Matsudaira, Hyakunen shi, p. 288.

American institution, was affiliated with the Anglican Church. Several of the Shiba group taught there.¹⁷ In the crisis Anglicans showed themselves to be willing to pursue education for its own sake, depending on personal influence to make converts. In other words, a good education was considered a value in itself. It was therefore worthy of retention, apart from evangelism, as a missionary contribution to Japanese life. This was the Anglican view. But the Englishmen had an even more radical idea of the way it might be carried out.

B. The Anglican pattern: working in secular schools

Anglicans in general did not found mission schools. The two colleges affiliated with the Seikōkai, Rikkyō and Momoyama, had both been founded by American Episcopal missionaries. The English founded a number of girls' schools. Both CMS and SPG operated their own theological schools until the establishment of the Central Theological College in 1911. All of these arose in response to special needs not met by government institutions. In general, Anglicans preferred to work through the secular schools.

Alexander Shaw from the first avoided founding ordinary

¹⁷Shaw, Wright and Lloyd, as well as others from time to time. Lloyd was actually principal at the time this decision was taken. Ibid., pp. 277-287.

mission schools. As early as 1874 he disagreed with Wright because he considered the method to be inferior to "direct evangelism." Particularly for new missionaries he felt that it involved dangers because ignorance of the language might lead to misunderstanding by the pupils which would be difficult to correct in the classroom.¹⁸ He never changed this view. In 1878 he wrote home, "I am almost the only one in our communion here who has not opened a school, either from necessity or from choice."¹⁹ His reasons for the decision were eminently practical.

First of all they are unnecessary. The Government makes very excellent provision for the young. Secondly to render a school efficient takes up so much of the missionaries' time and energy that he has little left for mission work proper. Thirdly, [sic] as far as conversion is concerned the results are unsatisfactory. Of those who attend the schools only a very small proportion become converts and of these latter the majority on leaving school return to their heathen friends and fall away from grace.²⁰

Characteristically, Shaw was never dogmatic on the point. His study group at Keiō developed into a kind of night school for a while. It was through this class that Imai came. Later, after his move to Shiba in 1879, he named this class the Seikyōsha.²¹ But as he became occupied with

¹⁸ACS-SPG, 21/2/74.

¹⁹ACS-SPG, 26/3/78. SPG considered this an important point. Pascoe, II, 718-719.

²⁰ACS-SPG, Ibid. Underlining in original.

²¹Imai, Shinjin, p.3.

other work he dropped the school in 1884. It was resurrected under the same name in 1885 to help out Arthur Lloyd in his financial difficulties, but it remained small, never attaining to the formal proportions of an institution like Rikkyō. The name was passed on to become the Japanese designation for the Saint Andrew's Theological School.²²

For Shaw, conversion and group-building constituted the essence of evangelism. Education remained a sideline. Even in theological education, where the practical value was self-evident, his own main interest was in the students' life together. Shaw did his stint of teaching but left the leadership in that field to others. As far as general education was concerned, he was satisfied with the provision of the secular agencies.

What had begun as a personal quirk became the Shiba Sect's regular policy toward education.²³ Two illustrations, one involving Shaw and Bickersteth, and the other Arthur Lloyd, make this clear. In 1886 Shaw was approached by Dr. Masujima, a Buddhist lawyer who represented a group of highly placed educators and government officials.²⁴ In company with him Shaw visited the President of Tokyo Imperial

²²Matsudaira, "Shingakuin-shi," p. 7.

²³E.g., Bickersteth operated on this assumption from the outset: Life, p. 171.

²⁴Communication from Dr. R.D.M. Shaw.

University, Toyama Masakazu, where they discussed "the details of a scheme for the higher education of women, by which a large college or institute for this purpose is to be placed entirely in our hands."²⁵ Japanese leaders at this time were striving to emulate everything European. The university "literati," who "a very few years since were extremely hostile to Christianity," now appeared willing to trust the education of their daughters to western missionaries.²⁶

The Institute, as the missionaries came to call it, was to be no ordinary mission school. The sponsors were among the more conservative of the Japanese. They had even enlisted the patronage of Count Itō, the Minister of Education.²⁷ The Japanese members of the board were to supply money and administrative staff, while the missionaries were asked to employ qualified teachers in England. Bickersteth, as head of the British group, was elected to the board with Shaw. He plunged into the scheme with characteristic enthusiasm. "Here, if the scheme advances, is an offer to put under distinct Christian influence and instruction the young wives and daughters of the highest class in the capital,"

²⁵ACS-SPG, 1/10/86.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Life, p. 214: Toyama, who appears to have been the leader, combined conservatism with pro-British sentiments. Kawade, Daijiten, XIV, p. 20; XIII, p. 207.

he wrote.²⁸ Nevertheless, this advantage was not to be pressed too far. The school was to be "for secular education." "Although there will be no limitation of . . . Christian teaching out of official hours . . . it is most important not to compromise men holding the highest positions in the country."²⁹

The teachers, six in all, were headed by Miss E. MacRae, "Headmistress of the Church of England High School for Girls, Baker Street."³⁰ They arrived in Tokyo in the spring of 1888, and were duly housed in the old estate of the Satsuma Clan, which had been taken over for the school. With them was Mrs. Caroline Kirkes, a wealthy widow who acted as their manager. The hopes held by the missionaries for the success of the enterprise were only surpassed by Lloyd's hopes for his Teaching Mission.³¹

For two years the venture went moderately well. But it was given little publicity in England as Bickersteth did not wish to see its success endangered by too close an identification with the missionary enterprise. In the autumn of 1890 he reported to SPG headquarters, "it [the Institute] is becoming by degrees and after some vicissitudes

²⁸Life, p. 215; EB-SPG, 5/4/87.

²⁹EB-SPG, 26/3/87.

³⁰Life, p. 215: "Six ladies of exceedingly high culture and training . . . One and all had given up a successful career in England for the sake of Japan."

³¹EB-SPG, 5/4/87.

a very important centre of influence. Its work cannot safely be reported in the Magazine yet."³² Coming from Bickersteth, whose tendency was to overstate any possibilities of success, these words were somewhat less than encouraging. But the "vicissitudes" were not yet over. Behind the silence of the missionaries, a three-way struggle--between the ladies, the missionaries and the Japanese sponsors--was going on. News of the dissention finally burst out into the open at the beginning of 1892 when Shaw wrote sadly that "The ladies . . . return home . . . very embittered at what they think their ill-treatment by the Japanese."³³

Several issues were involved in the breakdown. The most obvious one, which was aired at great length in the columns of the Guardian, was the familiar one of conversion versus indirect influence. The controversy began when Mrs. Kirkes, who had remained in Japan, appealed for candidates to take the place of Miss MacRae's group. No religious instruction would be allowed, she wrote, but "anyone who desires to spread the Catholic faith may find this a great opportunity for exercising a Christian influence privately over Japanese girls and women of the upper class."³⁴ Miss

³²EB-SPG, 22/10/90.

³³ACS-SPG, 6/4/92.

³⁴Guardian, 7/9/92, p. 1330.

MacRae's supporters were quick to reply. They included the editor of the paper himself, who pointed out in an editorial that the idea of indirect influence was a dangerous illusion. He criticized the judgment of Bickersteth, Shaw and Mrs. Kirkes for staying with such a doubtful enterprise.³⁵ The argument went on for many months, as all the actors spoke their parts with increasing acrimony. The conflict came to an end with two long letters from Bickersteth, answering all the objections one by one, and coming down finally on the side of Christian influence in secular education.³⁶

Actually, as Shaw had remarked at the outset of the controversy, there was "quite another side to the question." "The truth is," he continued, "by self-will, by a determination to work on their own lines--regardless of all advice given by the Bishop or myself . . . -- [the ladies] have lost and spoiled a great opportunity."³⁷ In this case, the principle involved was the best means to be employed in working with non-Christian Japanese. Both Shaw and Bickersteth understood perfectly the importance of putting no pressure on the conservative families from which the girls of the school were drawn. They sensed, in spite

³⁵ Ibid., 16/11/92. See also Rev. Robert Wood, 19/10/92, p. 1572.

³⁶ Ibid., 25/1/93 and 8/2/93.

³⁷ ACS-SPG, 6/4/92.

of their optimism about conversions, the growing nationalism. When the negotiations were beginning, the sponsors had been willing to risk the conversion of their daughters to Christianity because this had been part of the current craze for Western things. But by the nineties this was no longer the case. It was now a case of "influence" or nothing. The British missionaries were quite happy to maintain contact with the school, even though it might continue to be completely secular.³⁸

In the end a compromise was reached. The school became purely Japanese. But it continued to recruit one or more Englishwomen for its staff through SPG, and the practice was resumed following the end of the Pacific War.³⁹ The example demonstrates the willingness of the Anglican missionaries to go against popular opinion at home to identify with the Japanese. They were glad to cooperate with non-Christians in a purely secular enterprise.

Arthur Lloyd's lifetime of work as a teacher in government universities represents the most outstanding example of

³⁸EB-SPG, 26/3/87; Guardian, 16/11/92, "A Missionary in Tokyo"; Ibid., 8/2/93 (EB). The Congregational Church, which made a number of converts among the same class during the eighties, lost most of them in the nineties. Sumiya, Kindai, p. 90; Cary, pp. 209-211.

³⁹The earliest name in Japanese, Shōreikai, was later changed to Toranomon Jogakkō, and finally, Tōkyō Jogakkan. Most Japanese sources hardly mention its missionary origins. See Baron Suyematsu in Alfred Stead ed., Japan by the Japanese (London, 1904), p. 260.

the above principle. His experiment with the Christian Teachers' mission was an attempt to build an organization based on such lines. The reasons for the Mission's failure have already been discussed. But Lloyd himself remained in secular education. Following his return to Japan from Canada in 1893 he resumed his work at Keiō. In 1898 he was invited to go to Rikkyō, where he founded an English school on the model of Keiō. Within the year he had also been appointed President of the college, a post which he held until the appointment of an American missionary in 1903. Before he left Rikkyō he had already begun to lecture at the Tokyo Higher School of Commerce (Hitotsubashi University). He remained in this position until his death in 1911. He attained the height of his career with his appointment as one of the three lecturers who followed the noted essayist and lover of Japan, Lafcadio Hearn, at Tokyo Imperial University in 1903.⁴⁰

For Lloyd, this kind of work was not a second best. Other clergymen like Denning and Somers had taken up teaching when they left the church over some disagreement on a point of belief.⁴¹ But Lloyd's many shifts never led to a fundamental loss of faith. Teaching was for him a better

⁴⁰ KBKS, pp. 247-252.

⁴¹ Shevill, "Aspects," p. 102; KBKS, II, 18-59; XIV, 364-418.

missionary activity than preaching. "One of the advantages of my position at a secular college," he wrote, "is that I am brought into contact with a class of people not very accessible to ordinary missionaries."⁴² It was because of his neutral position that he could associate with Buddhist priests and anti-Christian scholars like Inoue. Work in a secular institution was more than a tactic; it was a recognition of the worth of such an institution in and for itself. As his Japanese biographer remarked, "He offered his entire life to the cause of education in Japan."⁴³

The above two examples provide evidence that the Shiba missionaries adopted a more positive attitude to secular education than the American Protestants. All missionaries saw as their fundamental purpose the conversion of Japan to Christianity. But they viewed the way in which this goal was to be attained differently. The Americans saw it mainly as the gaining of individual converts. Thus their educational activity had to be arranged to obtain as many individual Christians as possible. The Englishmen were not so concerned with monopolizing education for evangelistic means. They loved the teaching activity in and for itself. They themselves had come through an

⁴²CCM, VIII (Aug., 1894), p. 200.

⁴³KBKS, p. 260.

experience in higher education which had left a deep impression on them, and they hoped to leave an equally deep impression in Japan.

C. Missionaries and treaty revision

When Alexander Croft Shaw died in Tokyo on March 13, 1902 the Meiji Emperor awarded him what, in the words of a contemporary, "is regarded as an almost unprecedented testimonial." It was a posthumous gift of ¥1,000, "in recognition of . . . services during the treaty revision, and his refutation of certain charges brought against the Japanese in the English Press during the Chino-Japanese War."⁴⁴

In 1891 Shaw himself had written as follows:

I drew up a memorial to the British Minister in a sense favourable to the abolition of the extraterritorial clauses in the treaties, and at the same time giving the Japanese credit for the progress they had made. This memorial was signed by all the British missionaries resident in Tokyo. Our action had a marked effect on public opinion . . .⁴⁵

As the passage shows, Shaw was the instigator, but he enjoyed the support of all the British missionaries. Once

⁴⁴MF, 1902, p. 236. Also Foss-SPG, 26/3/02; Shūhō, V-3 (21/3/02), p. 1. Foss put the value of the gift at £100 sterling, or about \$500 U.S. Shaw's own salary was £300 per annum. The gift was said to be double the sum usually given in the case of those who had performed some meritorious service for the state.

⁴⁵MF, 1891, p. 214.

more they were identifying with a society in whose institutions they felt confidence. Apart from the faith of individuals in it, they felt no urge to effect basic change.

Shaw's letters reveal a lifelong interest in the subject of treaty revision. Perhaps his residence in the family of Fukuzawa Yukichi had made him particularly sensitive to the question. At any rate he first mentioned it in a letter to headquarters less than five months after his arrival in Japan.⁴⁶ Thereafter he referred to the subject frequently, showing that he was aware of each new attempt at negotiation between the government and the western powers.

Shaw was not the only missionary to show interest. His contemporary and colleague in the CMS, C. F. Warren, also participated in the cause from an early date.⁴⁷ Bickersteth and Lloyd, too, remarked on the injustice inherent in the treaties.⁴⁸ Actually, more than a simple concern for justice motivated them. The missionaries were hampered by the Japanese insistence on limiting the travel and residence of foreigners outside the concessions. They saw the treaties, under which the concessions had been set up, as the main

⁴⁶ACS-SPG, 21/2/74, 14/5/74. This was the time, following the return of the Iwakura mission, when a second attempt was made by Japan to secure revision. Jones, p. 86. Fukuzawa's Bummeiron no gairyaku (1875) included an early attack on unequal treaties. Inoue, pp. 62-63. For Baba, see above Ch. III, fn. 33.

⁴⁷CMI, XI (1875), p. 42; Warren-CMS, 20/10/74.

⁴⁸EB-SPG, 27/1/91; MF, 1894, p. 131; 1895, p. 147.

source of their troubles. At this point their interests directly conflicted with the foreign business community.

Modern scholars on the whole have taken the position that foreign opinion in Japan unanimously opposed treaty revision, at least in its early stages between 1871 and 1889.⁴⁹ The conclusion is tempting. The missionaries in general were at one with the businessmen in their approval of British expansion. All saw the spread of western rule as an extension of law and order in the world. A small section of liberal intellectual opinion doubted this claim. Shaftesbury and Gladstone had bitterly criticized British policy during the Opium Wars. Their opinions were mirrored among university intellectuals who supported the policies of Gladstone at the height of his career.⁵⁰ Yet even among this group, sentiments gradually shifted toward an imperialism which revealed itself in a change in voting at the general elections of 1886. Among those who voted against Gladstone at that time was the Cambridge theologian Hort.⁵¹ The Cambridge men in Japan who, in spite of misgivings, supported Japanese imperialist policy in Korea

⁴⁹See, for instance, Jones, pp. 96, 102; Inoue, pp. 184-192.

⁵⁰For Shaftesbury, see Stock, History, I, 469-470. For Gladstone, Magnus, Gladstone, pp. 52, 129-130.

⁵¹John Roach, "Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia," Cambridge Historical Journal, XIII (1957), 58-81: p. 80; Inoue, p. 191. For Westcott's imperialism, see Vidler, Maurice, p. 277.

during the Sino-Japanese War also reflected this shift.⁵²

In spite of such common ideas, there was a deep-rooted conflict of interests between the members of the foreign community who were engaged in commerce and the missionaries. The businessmen wanted extraterritoriality because it gave them greater freedom to operate.⁵³ They also opposed changing the treaties because the tax structure guaranteed by them favoured their transactions.⁵⁴ The missionaries, on the other hand, opposed extraterritoriality because it provided the justification for the concession system. They wanted to enjoy unrestricted travel in the interior and to live outside the concessions so that they could widen the scope of their activity.⁵⁵ Their humanitarian interests made them criticize a tax structure which allowed foreigners advantages over the local population.⁵⁶

Extraterritoriality and the foreign control of customs revenues had not been included in the original treaties drawn up by Harris and Stirling. But once imported from China,

⁵²EB-SPG, 15/1/95; Life, pp. 368-370.

⁵³Inoue, pp. 35-42.

⁵⁴Jones, p. 87.

⁵⁵C. F. Warren, "The Present Position of Christianity in Japan," CMI, XI (1875), p. 42. E. E. Best, Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis (Leiden, 1966), p. 99.

⁵⁶"Memo on the proposed Revision of the Treaties," CMS File GI: J/02: 1884.

they became key points of debate.⁵⁷ Extraterritoriality was justified on the grounds that the Japanese possessed a different, less civilized, approach to the civil and criminal law. It was therefore necessary to guarantee the human rights of resident foreigners. But possession of extraterritorial rights also meant that the foreign population of the port cities remained above the law of the country in which they resided.⁵⁸ Moreover Japanese who were involved in suits with foreigners could not obtain redress beyond the local consular courts. Even the local courts were situated in the concessions and manned by untrained judges who spoke only English. In the event of an appeal to a higher court, it was necessary in the case of the British to travel to Shanghai, while the Americans required litigants to go to San Francisco.⁵⁹ As a natural result only extremely wealthy Japanese could appeal. It was inevitable, therefore, that the growth of national self-consciousness should lead to increasing pressure on the Japanese government to "abolish the unequal treaties." From 1874 on the government itself strove to carry out the legal reforms required by the Western powers. By 1878 the United States government proclaimed itself prepared to grant tariff autonomy.

⁵⁷Jones, p. 14.

⁵⁸Inoue, pp. 35-42; Jones, p. 53; Paske-Smith, Barbarians, pp. 254-256.

⁵⁹Jones, pp. 44-46.

Sir Harry Parkes, who earlier had been one of the architects of the treaty structure in China, remained resolute in his opposition to any revision in Japan. Even when the United States and Germany were ready to accept new treaties in 1882, the arguments of the business community and the danger that would be posed to the structure in China caused Parkes to hesitate.⁶⁰ But two factors operated to change British policy. The first was the growing threat of trade competition from Germany and the U. S. The second was the developing rivalry of British and Russian imperial interests in the Far East which increased the value to the English of Japan as an ally.⁶¹ The rise of nationalist opinion in Japan after 1887 provided increased impetus to negotiation.⁶² All these factors overruled the local opposition of the businessmen and their political lobby at Westminster. The break-through came with the signing of the Aoki-Kimberley Treaty between Great Britain and Japan on July 16, 1894. The other foreign powers soon followed suit.

It is against this background that the activities of the missionaries must be viewed. Their efforts provided welcome ammunition for the forces, both in England and in Japan, which strove to change the status quo. A joint

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 100-102.

⁶¹ Inoue, pp. 190-192.

⁶² Brown, Nationalism, p. 112; Inoue, pp. 184-189.

American and British conference of missionaries in the Kansai area in April, 1884 produced the first, somewhat tentative, effort. They expressed the opinion "that the time has arrived when substantial modification should be made in those provisions of the existing Treaties which give exceptional privileges . . . and which are considered by the Japanese Government and people to be an infringement of their just and sovereign rights." But the missionaries were also painfully aware that "The interests created under the Existing Treaties [i.e., the businessmen] certainly demand the most careful consideration . . . "⁶³ Twenty-eight of the most distinguished early missionaries signed this petition. They included Bishop Poole, D. C. Greene, D. W. Learned, C. F. Warren and Otis Cary. The tentative nature of the appeal reflected the current state of discussions, in particular the intransigence of Harry Parkes.

The pro-European fervour of the eighties, with its rush of converts into the church, took the missionaries' minds off the subject for a while. But the failure of Inoue and Ōkuma in 1886 and 1887, together with the ensuing "wave of anti-foreign feeling,"⁶⁴ spurred them once more to action. When the foreign business community in Yokohama sent a

⁶³"Memo, J/02:1884." The meeting took place shortly after the breakdown of the first Aoki negotiations.

⁶⁴ACS in MF, 1890, pp. 328-329.

memorandum to the British government opposing treaty revision in the autumn of 1890, the missionaries in the Tokyo area under Shaw's leadership countered with the memorial which the Emperor was later to remember with his gift.⁶⁵

Whatever effect the missionary action may have had in influencing British government decisions, the Japanese press was quick to approve. The latter had been in the forefront of the campaign for revision.⁶⁶ The public support of an influential group of foreigners filled them with joy. One of them commented editorially:

We have often said that the foreign missionaries in this country are men of the greatest enlightenment--they are torches that lead along the path of right. During the thirty and odd years of our country's foreign intercourse, had there been no missionaries here this country's amicable relations with foreign States would have been brought into a very questionable condition ere now. We are sincerely relieved to feel that many evil contingencies have been averted by this action of the British missionaries. We shall not easily forget that the British missionaries, though generally standing aloof from politics, have concerned themselves about this question of the amity of international relations, and have contributed very materially, as we believe, to a happy solution.⁶⁷

The Japanese editor noted two important characteristics of the British missionaries which their campaign had revealed. The first was their identification with the

⁶⁵CMI, XVI, 681.

⁶⁶See the table in Inoue, p. 153.

⁶⁷Translated in MF, 1/6/91. The source is not given.

Japanese cause. This is really what all the flattering verbiage about their being "torches that lead along the path of right" means. When the writer distinguishes carefully between missionaries and designates the British in particular, the implication is clear that they were the ones who identified most strongly.

Secondly, the British "generally . . . stood aloof from politics." Unlike the Americans--or at least their converts--they did not incur the accusation of disloyalty to the Meiji state.⁶⁸ Having been loyal to their own realm of England, they were willing to transfer this loyalty to their adopted society.

D. The limited nature of political action

The sudden emergence of the "non-political" Anglicans into the arena of political action intrigued the Japanese. As a result of the publicity ensuing from the missionaries' campaign for treaty revision, Alexander Shaw was asked to give a public lecture on "the relation of Christianity to the State." This he did, "to an audience numbering about 2,000 persons."⁶⁹ He spoke in English with Imai as interpreter, but only the Japanese text remains. Shaw summarized his conclusions in the closing paragraphs

⁶⁸Cary, p. 161.

⁶⁹ACS in MF, 1891, p. 214.

of the lecture:

Accordingly, the state needs religion Religion, possessing a high degree of power to move men's hearts--the very thing that is lacking in the state--can place before the citizenry the loftiest standards, the highest moral ideals. For though the government must necessarily be satisfied with a meaner level of human morality, religion commands that a man be perfect even as God in heaven is perfect, thus bestowing the highest ideals of which man is capable. And when a crime is committed to which the law does not extend, the state cannot make it an offense. But religion will not permit this, appealing to the one great law of society which commands that a man shall love his neighbour as himself.

The interpretation of Christianity which sees the faith as a purely personal matter, concerned only with the individual's salvation, is a most imperfect view. When it speaks about the Church, Christianity does so in terms of a kingdom--a political body--wherein the principles characteristic of a nation and family: the principles of authority, obedience and equality, are all summed up in the one great principle of love.⁷⁰

Quite apart from the characteristic Victorian emphasis on the function of religion as a sanction for social morality, Shaw's words reveal an important feature of Anglican thinking about Church and State.⁷¹ He was here giving

⁷⁰NS, I-13 (December 1890), p. 7.

⁷¹Thomas Hughes, the author of Tom Brown's School Days, reflected this idea when he wrote in 1878, "The connection between State and Church as it exists in England . . . forces . . . on all men engaged in public affairs--and so, upon the national conscience--the fact that the nation in its corporate capacity has a spiritual as well as a material life." The Old Church: what shall we do with it? (London, 1878), p. 191, quoted by Vidler, F. D. Maurice, p. 254. For Hughes and Victorian society, see Briggs, Victorian People, ch. 6. For a modern statement, see C. F. Garbett, Church and State in England (London, 1950), pp. 294-306.

expression to the idea of the Church as the soul, or conscience, of society. As it was this concept which lay behind the distinctive approach of the British missionaries to secular education and social action, it will be profitable to examine its meaning in somewhat greater detail.

The classical Anglican view of Church and State developed under the centralized rule of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs. This view was related to one stream of the medieval European tradition but was considerably modified under the stresses of Puritan and liberal criticism. In its earliest form it was defined by Thomas Hooker in Book VIII of his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. Little distinction was made between the Church, as a religious community, and the State, which was merely the natural aspect of the same society.⁷² During the later Middle Ages, the Catholic Church had tended to develop a theory of tension between two principles of authority, the Pope and the secular ruler. But because the "spiritual" authority of the Church was always considered in theory to be superior to the "secular" authority of the State, the rise of a strong state was always in practice viewed with concern. Now, under a strong king, the Anglicans had broken away from the Papacy. They therefore attempted to escape the idea of tension by reverting to

⁷²J. S. Marshall, Hooker and the Anglican Tradition (London, 1963), pp. 164-167.

an older concept which dated from the time of Constantine the Great and--later--of Charlemagne. According to this idea the Church was no longer considered to be set over against the State. Rather it was thought to infuse the structure of society, acting as the conscience, or soul, of the State. As such a view was compatible with the rise of a strong, central monarchy, it naturally found favour with the kings and queens who ruled England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Space will not permit us to examine the history of this idea in greater detail. Suffice it to say that in the nineteenth century two movements further influenced the form in which it was held by the Shiba missionaries. The first of these was the Oxford Movement. This reform, as has been already noted, attempted to rescue the Church from complete subordination to the state by emphasizing the spiritual authority of the bishops. This allowed the church to preserve its national form but gave it more power to run its own affairs.

The critical conservative thought usually associated with the names of Edmund Burke, S. T. Coleridge, and F. D. Maurice contributed a second influence. These thinkers, faced with the barbarizing effects of bourgeois individualism, looked for a cultural aristocracy which might soften and civilize the "Philistines." Coleridge saw this elite to be a secular extension of the ancient "clerisy." Maurice

identified it even more closely with the church itself. But all saw it as a class which would stand within society, serving society as a kind of conscience.⁷³

The Calvinist theory, which shaped the thought of the American Protestants, resembled the medieval Western tradition. Whether in its classical form, as a theocratic state, or in its modification as liberal democracy, the secular state was viewed as a necessary evil. As such its functions were to be limited leaving the church--or the individual--free to act.⁷⁴ Whether as church or as individual, a tension existed between the demands of conscience and the demands of the state. It was in the interests of conscience to keep the state weak.

For Anglicans, on the other hand, the idea of a strong state possessed positive value because it represented order and decency. The Church, by training up good Christians, would supply the state with good citizens. It would not itself make demands on the state. Rather it would trust its members to act in the interest of the public welfare. They would be acting in accordance with consciences which had been trained and sensitized by membership in the church.

⁷³Williams, Culture, pp. 23-31, 66-79, 122-123. Vidler, F. D. Maurice, pp. 167-169.

⁷⁴Leo Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom, rev. ed. (Boston, 1967), pp. 24-27; 92-93.

Alexander Shaw ended his lecture with the following question: "Is it not your desire to be confirmed by the faith which has been the source of power for the civilization of the Western nations? For it is from that faith that has come all that is best in them."⁷⁵ This question represented more than a simple "sell." Shaw was not just using the attractions of Western culture to propagate Christianity, though the idea was doubtless not absent from his mind.

Previous to asking the question, he had stated that Christianity recognized positive value in all systems of society, though no one form could lay claim to absolute worth. "Christianity does not point to any one type of political structure as being better than another. It recognizes differences in accordance with the nature of the people, the character of the state, and the various types of society from which that structure emerges."⁷⁶ In other words, Christianity can recognize what is good in a "free"--that is, a liberal-democratic--concept of the state, or in a conservative-aristocratic one. It can also see the merits of socialism.⁷⁷ Yet insofar as all give concrete expression to "the principles of authority, obedience and equality," they mirror principles which God has expressed through his

⁷⁵NS, I-13, p. 9.

⁷⁶Ibid., I-12, p. 6.

⁷⁷Ibid., I-13, p. 8.

divine society, the Church.

The Anglican missionaries showed that they really believed this by their confidence in Japanese society. Where the Americans insisted on the control of their own educational media, the Anglicans cooperated freely with secular schools. American Protestants saw above all the pagan nature of the Japanese state. Their ideas encouraged movements for social reform in a "Christian" direction. Their converts were leaders in the movement for representative government, for the abolition of prostitution, and the organization of labour.⁷⁸ The Anglicans, as the Japanese editor noted, "generally stood aloof from politics." This did not mean that they lacked interest in problems of social justice. Rather it meant that they related differently to the state. As a church they eschewed direct action. They preferred to accept the state as it was, as a concrete expression of order in the universe. As Christians, their duty was to support the best that was in the state, working to develop it by placing "before the citizenry the loftiest standards, the highest moral ideals." They affirmed the Meiji state as it stood. As Englishmen they interceded on its behalf before their own government, but as churchmen they avoided direct intrusion into the political process.

⁷⁸ Sumiya, Nihon shakai, pp. 65-77.

CHAPTER VIII

ANGLICANS AND THE MEIJI STATE

A. Christianity and nationalism

The proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 marked the formal swing of government policy away from Westernization to Nationalism. The subsequent decline in foreign influence involved important consequences for the advance of Christianity. Most historians of Protestantism single out the "Conflict of Education and Religion Controversy" which took place at that time. Professor Inoue Tetsujirō of Tokyo Imperial University, the friend of Arthur Lloyd, in 1892 and 1893 published a series of articles in which he attacked Christianity as the only ideology in Japan in basic opposition to the spirit of the Imperial Rescript.¹ Both Christians and their sympathizers responded and a lengthy debate followed in the press. On the whole the Christians defended themselves with skill. But the attack left its traces both within and without Protestantism. A distinguished historian wrote, shortly after: "Doubtless the charge laid against them [i.e., Protestants] led them to be

¹Ozawa, Uchimura, pp. 99-105; Cary, pp. 242-243.

more earnest in displaying their patriotism, and the morbid nationalism thus fostered increased the friction between them and the foreign missionaries."²

In 1899 the echoes of this controversy had not yet died down. One article showed that, at least outside the Church, the public still remembered the issues. "In Japan loyalty and filial piety are the focal points of morality," the writer maintained. "But in Christianity the focus is on God and Jesus, and loyalty and filial piety are denied."³ The locus of the conflict was seen to be between Christianity as a foreign ideology and the Japanese spirit of kokutai, the national essence. It was a confrontation between an alien religion and the national spirit rather than conflict of indigenous religious systems.

Among Protestants the tension created by this conflict of loyalty reached almost unbearable proportions after 1890. During the preceding period the various denominations had made a number of converts among the intellectuals. Congregationalists in particular, whose interpretation allowed for a fairly strong Japanese orientation, had even attracted

²Ibid., p. 243. For a detailed examination of the controversy, see Takeda Kiyoko, Ningenkan no sōkoku [Conflict in Views of Human Nature] (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 136-190.

³Kimura Takatarō, quoted in Brown, Nationalism, p. 137.

members of the ruling oligarchy.⁴ Many of these people rejected Christianity when they came to feel that it was "un-Japanese." As a result between 1891 and 1894 the Nikki, or Presbyterian, Church actually decreased in numbers from 11,253 to 10,787. Between 1891 and 1900 it was unable fully to recoup these losses, showing a net decrease from 11,253 to 11,117.⁵ The less dogmatic Congregationalists did not suffer so greatly at first, but they too registered a loss between 1894 and 1897 which had not been fully recovered by 1900.⁶ During the period between 1890 and 1900 Protestant Christianity as a whole showed a total increase in membership of only 18 per cent. Cary calls it "The Period of Retarded Growth."⁷

By contrast, one of the earliest histories of Japanese Anglicanism calls these same years "The Period of Organization and Development."⁸ Between 1892 and 1900, statistics of membership more than doubled, from 4,166 to 8,554. Following

⁴Sumiya, Kindai, pp. 87-90, 93. For a nationalistic quotation from the Congregationalist Ebina, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 6th ed., p. 88.

⁵Sumiya, Kindai, p. 124, fn. 4.

⁶See Appendix III.

⁷Cary, p. 212.

⁸This description was first applied in Motoda Sakunoshin, Nihon seikōkai-shi [History of the Seikōkai] (Tokyo, 1910), chs. 2 and 3, since when it has become standard: Matsudaira, Hyakunenshi, Parts III and IV.

the first synod in 1887, a series of synods between 1889 and 1896 gave the young church its basic structure. The number of Japanese leaders increased along with a steady growth in the missionary force from Great Britain, the United States and Canada. Only a few isolated incidents reflected the friction between convert and missionary which plagued the American-related Protestant denominations at the same time. These few incidents arose in regions where the missionaries were from the CMS, the most Protestant of the Anglican bodies.⁹

Anglican writers at this time revealed little of the high tension that afflicted the Protestants. Some of this lack of tension can be attributed to missionary optimism. Bickersteth, the most incurable of them all, was the last man to acknowledge failure in any enterprise. Shaw and the others continually pointed out the dangers of his glowing prose.¹⁰ But even Shaw rarely showed pessimism about his own work. Phrases such as "Prospects never looked brighter," appear frequently in his correspondence all through the nineties.¹¹ Such observations clash somewhat with periodic

⁹"There was displayed by the Southern delegates a spirit very antagonistic to the Foreign clergy. . . . The spirit of our Tokyo delegates is quite different." ACS-SPG, 4/5/91.

¹⁰ACS-SPG, 16/7/89, 12/2/91; Freese-SPG, 8/12/95. For optimism as characteristic of Victorians, see Houghton, Ch. 2; of missionaries, Cairns, Prelude, pp. 155-156.

¹¹ACS-SPG, 8/4/89, 4/5/91, 24/6/91.

allusions to the preference of the Japanese for politics over religion.¹² This commonly repeated judgement actually hid a rationalization employed to explain the lack of interest of the public and the lagging conversions. The truth is that the missionaries, because they stood outside the society in which they worked, never really came to grips with the true state of affairs.

Lack of tension was not limited to the carefree optimism of the missionaries. It also appeared in the writings of the Japanese Anglicans, who might have been expected to reflect more accurately the conflicts in their own society. Imai Toshimichi, who by 1890 was the undisputed Japanese leader of the Shiba Sect, spent a year in England studying at Cambridge between 1892 and 1893. Shortly after his return to Japan he contributed an article to the magazine Mission Field in which he discussed the religious situation. His reference to the Conflict ("collision") controversy sounded almost lackadaisical. After he had mentioned the various rebuttals of Inoue's attack in the secular press he went on to remark that the newspapers in general had shown a distinctly favourable attitude toward Christianity. He concluded:

¹²EB in MF, 1891, pp. 210.

The so-called "collision" was the great question of many years, and now the discussion is made general and public, and the discussion will go on for some years to come, until the principles of the national education founded upon the Imperial decree (which, as may be expected, is so general and vague that the explanation of it is so various according to the people who understand it) will be fully explained and definitely settled, and the consequences would be either that Christianity will be understood not to be fundamentally against the principle, or that the principle itself will be overthrown by the general opinion of the nation.¹³

Imai's attitude makes it necessary to seek a deeper reason than superficial optimism to explain the lack of tension among Anglicans in the face of growing Japanese nationalism. For one thing they were not as deeply involved in the political and social conflicts of their day and were therefore not as subject to the resultant stresses. But this in itself resulted from deliberate policy and from the nature of Anglican social theory. Imai, as a Japanese, understood the point of the argument. He belonged to a group about Kozaki Hiromichi and other Protestants who supported the socially conscious Young Men's Christian Association.¹⁴ But, as an Anglican, he did not feel obliged to take an active part in political agitation. His social responsibility as a priest lay in the performance of his sacerdotal and educational duties.

¹³MF, 1893, p. 414.

¹⁴He was guest lecturer at the YMCA Summer School at Tōzansō in the summers of 1913 and 1914. Shinjin, pp. x, 3 and 46.

The lack of tension in the missionaries also arose from a fundamental weakness in their understanding of Japanese modernization. Bickersteth, the most sophisticated observer among them, could never distinguish between modernization and Westernization. Like so many foreign observers of his day, he tended to equate the two. Japan had adopted "our civilization and customs with startling rapidity," he had noted with approval in an early letter. She had in the process assimilated "very much of our most advanced learning and knowledge, and herself is being admitted to a recognised position among the nations of the world."¹⁵

Bickersteth's optimism was connected with this evaluation. But he was later forced to admit that modernization meant not only industrialization and the adoption of British political institutions, but also the acceptance of the new materialism, or utilitarianism, of the West.¹⁶ He was unable to understand why Japanese intellectuals should have preferred the ideas of Mill and Spencer to Christianity. His diagnoses alternated between two explanations. One reflected the popular assumption that the sudden advance in political modernization had encouraged preoccupation with politics to the exclusion of other

¹⁵EB-Searle, 31/3/86, in Life, p. 155; see also p. 170.

¹⁶Pastoral, Lent 1892, p. 6.

interests. The other concluded that their own decadent religions held no attraction for educated minds. The Japanese needed only well educated university graduates from England who would be qualified to explain the Christian faith to them.¹⁷

The fact that certain traditional elements in Japan's social structure conditioned her approach to modernity: that it was not unbelief, but actually a deep commitment to certain values that was responsible for the difficulties of Christianity, did not occur to him. In this he differed little from his other Western colleagues. It required a Japanese to point out to the missionaries what they had missed. Somewhat surprisingly it was Imai, writing much later, who issued the warning. "The Japanese for the most part appear indifferent to religion of every kind," he explained. "However, this is but the appearance on the surface; for it is also true that they are unconsciously superstitious and conservative in religious matters."¹⁸

Given this fundamental misapprehension, the British missionaries expressed fair satisfaction with the course which the Meiji rulers had adopted. Superficially, it was similar enough to the situation in their own country.

¹⁷Above, fn. 12; Life, pp. 209-210.

¹⁸South Tokyo Diocesan Magazine, VII (April, 1903), p. 18.

Unlike the Americans they belonged to an empire, ruled over by a crowned monarch. They spoke of kingship in near-religious terms. The new Diet, with its House of Peers, resembled their own Parliament. The intellectuals with whom they associated--Fukuzawa, Toyama and the rest--probably interpreted events to them in metaphors from English life. When the Meiji Constitution appeared, it seemed to promise a constitutional monarchy on the British pattern.¹⁹

B. Anglican missionaries and the Meiji Constitution

Towards the end of 1889, Alexander Shaw wrote an eye-witness account of the promulgation of Japan's first modern constitution.

The great event of the year, from a Japanese point of view, was the bestowal, on the 11th of February, of a constitutional form of Government on the people by the Emperor. This will, of course, have far-reaching effects in the future, and the best friends of Japan are filled with a good deal of apprehension as to its immediate working. The first elections are to take place in July of this year, and already the numerous political parties into which public opinion is divided are beginning to bestir themselves with vigour. What is, however, specially interesting to us in the Constitution is its practical recognition in one of its clauses, and its declaration of toleration, of the Christian religion. I may mention, by the way, that I was present at the ceremony of the promulgation of the Constitution by the Emperor, and afterwards

¹⁹EB-SPG, 13/1/90. For Fukuzawa's "British" interpretation, see Takeda Kiyoko, "Tennōsei shisō no keisei," pp. 283-284.

received from Count Ito, the framer of it, a beautifully printed copy, which I greatly value.²⁰

At first sight, Shaw's statement that, "The best friends of Japan are filled with a good deal of apprehension" sounds critical. On closer examination, it will be seen that his disapproval had little to do with misgivings about the Constitution's "totalitarian" nature or with fears that the Shinto Emperor-system might become a challenge to Christianity.

Actually, Shaw worried lest the constitution might be too democratic and preoccupation with party politics might have a deleterious effect on the unity of the Japanese people. In these fears his colleagues joined him. Bickersteth, writing a year later, referred to conflicting feelings of sympathy and anxiety. The Japanese cannot help but be anxious, he admitted, "because it is only too possible that a nation of which there is as yet no large section controlled and strengthened by religious faith may not be able to bear so heavy a strain on its moral principles as representative institutions imply."²¹ Shaw about the same time expressed relief that these fears had not so far been realized. "Owing to the excellence of the arrangements, and also to the fact that the qualification for the franchise

²⁰MF, 1890, p. 329.

²¹MF, 1891, p. 209; also Pastoral, Lent 1892, p. 7.

is high, and therefore possessed by very few . . . the elections passed off quite quietly."²² In their fear of popular democracy, the missionaries showed themselves true sons of Victorian England.²³

The second fear, that the opportunity for wider political activity might take the people's minds off the more important subject of religion, betrays the missionaries' real preoccupation.²⁴ They were neither qualified by training, nor predisposed by interest, to view the constitution critically. Their own interests as evangelists conditioned their views on it. Accordingly they praised it almost unanimously because it appeared to grant freedom for Christianity. Alexander Shaw saw this as "specially interesting." Edward Bickersteth agreed: "Not the least notable section is that which secures liberty of religious worship to all subjects of the empire. Christianity, which less than twenty years ago was a proscribed faith, thus attains to the position of a religio licita."²⁵ Arthur Lloyd, enjoying a brief furlough in London, wrote in similar vein.²⁶ On this point they differed hardly at all

²²MF, 1891, p. 214.

²³Williams, Culture, p. 146.

²⁴EB-SPG, 13/1/90; MF, 1891, p. 209; Pastoral, Lent 1889, p. 9; cf. Cary, p. 213.

²⁵Pastoral, Lent 1889, p. 8. The Latin means "a legal religion."

²⁶MF, 1889, pp. 206-214. For American views, see Cary, pp. 82, 213.

from their American Protestant brethren.

For a critical view of the Constitution by an Anglican it is necessary to step outside the Shiba group. In 1889 a retired missionary, the Reverend E. W. Syle, wrote an article in the CMS journal Intelligencer entitled "A Forecast Concerning Japan."²⁷ It is one of the very few articles by a missionary which expresses misgivings about the fundamental nature of the Emperor system. Syle was an Englishman, but he was a Low Churchman who had emigrated as a young man to the United States, where he attended Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio. He then had worked for twenty-five years as a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in China. He later spent seven years in Japan as chaplain to the English congregation in Yokohama in which capacity he met the young Shaw on his first arrival in Japan. Syle also taught philosophy at the Kaisei Gakkō, an early name for the Tokyo Imperial University.²⁸ Both theologically and culturally, his views must be classed as nearer to the American Protestant than to the Anglican position, and so they are of interest as a contrast to the ideas of the Shiba men.

²⁷CMI, XIV (1889), pp. 457-464.

²⁸Ozawa Saburō, Nihon purotesutanto shi kenkyū, [The Study of Japanese Protestant History], pp. 356-371; CMI, XV (1890), pp. 796-797.

Syle began his observations on the Meiji Constitution with a formal bow to the clause which guaranteed freedom of religion.²⁹ But he then went on to mention two difficulties which a Christian might feel. First, "There is not (as a friendly critic writing from China remarks) any recognition of . . . a supreme power designated in China by the term T'ien" over the Emperor. For this reason Christians may be forced into a kind of "Arian or Sabellian heresy" in order to reconcile Shinto teachings with Christianity.³⁰ Stripped of the technical terminology, Syle was here saying that the concept of the Emperor delineated in the Constitution recognized no transcendent power or sanction over, or outside of, itself. For Christians to accept such a concept, which is basically a Shinto doctrine, meant that they would have to neglect the transcendent element in their own faith.

Syle further remarked that the Japanese have "a taste and talent . . . for Eclecticism." This might lead Christians into the kind of compromise with Japanese thought that would rob their faith of its uniqueness.³¹ These two criticisms resemble comments made by certain modern scholars about the Constitution. One Japanese social scientist has pointed out that the person of the Emperor, as

²⁹CMI, 1889, p. 461.

³⁰Ibid., p. 462.

³¹Ibid., p. 464.

described both there and in the Rescript on Education, becomes the source of all value for the nation. He "is regarded as 'the eternal culmination of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful throughout all ages and in all places.'"³² In other words, the Emperor's person subsumed within one authority the two principles represented in European culture by Church and State. Because no tension existed between the two, only absolutism could result.

This meant that any appeal, either to transcendent norms or to private conscience, had to be ruled out. "The Japanese State, being a moral entity, monopolized the right to determine values."³³ Likewise, there could be no real freedom of religion until the divinity of the Emperor was denied.³⁴ The clauses hailed by the missionaries were meaningless unless they were understood in the light of a prior acceptance of that divinity. But this would mean the rejection of the Christian claim that all values resided ultimately in a transcendent God.

Why were the Shiba missionaries not more sensitive to this point? Certainly their lack of political sophistication blinded them to circumstances outside the immediate

³²Quoted from Araki Sadao, The Spirit of Soldiers, a manual used during the Pacific War, in Maruyama, Thought and Behaviour, p. 8.

³³Ibid., p. 5.

³⁴Ibid., p. 6. Bellah, "Values," pp. 18-20.

institutional interests of their church. But there was a further factor which made it even more difficult for them to see the issue. As High Church Anglicans--that is, as conservative members of the British establishment--they looked upon the monarchy in their own country as a valuable, and even sacred, institution. They did not understand the differences which separated their own system from the Meiji, differences which stemmed from a different history. Sacral kingship in Europe, however divine its right, had always been "by the grace of God." In England its powers had been further curtailed and secularized by two centuries of non-conformity, rationalism and parliamentary government.³⁵

This non-conformist attitude toward kingship lay behind Syle's criticism of the Meiji Constitution. A similar tradition influenced Basil Hall Chamberlain to designate the Emperor system as "The Invention of a New Religion." Both of these men had inherited the tradition of dissent that had cut off the head of Charles Stuart and established Parliament as the seat of political authority in Britain. Lloyd and Shaw, on the other hand, belonged to the Royalist tradition which looked on Charles as a martyr saint and saw in the union of Church and State under the Crown the

³⁵Ibid.

source of all that was good in British civilization.

How close their romanticism came to the Japanese view of the Emperor can be seen in a famous quotation from Arthur Lloyd. He threw off the statement during a lecture, given in Japanese, on "The Nature of English Literature." The true flavour of the terminology is lost in translation, but some of the original fervour comes through: "Both you who are Japanese and we who are British subjects are able to enjoy our life and possessions in peace and safety in the world today thanks to the gracious power of our sovereign. How ineffable is the magnitude of the imperial benevolence!"³⁶

The gap between this romantic vision and the actual situation in England at the close of the nineteenth century was so wide that the modern reader cannot resist a smile as he reads it. But the statement furnishes insight into the political consciousness of the Shiba Englishmen. At the same time it is important to realize that this very romanticism formed a bridge between the missionaries and the Japanese of the middle and late nineties. It had not taken a period of reaction to produce Japanese imperialism in the nineties. It owed its origin to a whole complex of ideas about the state, the community and the family which

³⁶"Eikoku bungaku no hinsei," NS, V, 53-55 (March-May, 1894). Lloyd also repeatedly used the term "Eikoku-damashii," (the English spirit) which he had borrowed from the Japanese yamato-damashii, V-55, p. 10.

were already traditional to Japanese society.³⁷ Because the British missionaries did not challenge those ideas, their Japanese converts felt no inner tension between their new-found faith and the traditional ways.

C. State church and state Shinto

It seems fairly clear that the leaders of the Meiji establishment recognized a distinction between the English missionaries and the Americans. The Japanese, trained to be sensitive to points of status, saw in the deference shown the missionaries by members of the British diplomatic corps an official approval quite at variance with the American pattern. Because of this approval, pro-British leaders in the parliamentary and bureaucratic world of Tokyo felt no hesitation in associating with the missionaries and enlisting their help. Following the party conflicts of the eighties these same leaders emerged as mediators between the Meiji oligarchs and their more revolutionary minded colleagues of the Jiyūtō.³⁸ They therefore enjoyed a strategic position in the political world of the nineties.

The British tradition also exercised a strong influence among certain educators who joined Fukuzawa Yukichi in his

³⁷Sansom, Western World, p. 482.

³⁸Nobutaka Ike, The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 104, 186.

love for the English example of constitutional monarchy.³⁹ Toyama Masakazu, who as president of the Imperial University, worked with Shaw and Bickersteth to found the Ladies' Institute, was one of these. Having studied first in England and then in the United States, he became, along with Katō Hiroyuki and Inoue Tetsujirō, a strong ally of the Meiji statesmen in the field of higher education.⁴⁰ Toyama revealed his pro-British sympathies in some curious ways. For instance, he introduced into Japan the custom of giving three cheers on certain public occasions (banzai sanshō).⁴¹ As a poet he experimented with new forms in Japanese verse and translated Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade." That his name should have appeared frequently in the writings of the Shiba men shows that he was more than a chance guest at their houses.

Something deeper than recognition of status encouraged such bureaucratic literati to maintain social relations with the missionaries. These associations continued even during the period when other Imperial University professors were attacking Protestant Christianity for its incompatibility with the Japanese spirit. Samuel Bickersteth, Edward's younger brother and representative

³⁹Takeda, "Tennōsei," p. 283.

⁴⁰Kawade, Daijiten, XIV, 20; XIII, 207.

⁴¹Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who (Tokyo, 1958), p. 1728.

in England, wrote an article in the Guardian which casts some light on this tolerance of the Anglicans by the Japanese officials.

I was lately assured that one great reason why the Japanese Government is so ready to grant passports to English missionaries is that they recognise in the Christian Church a valuable ally in maintaining order and discipline among the newly enfranchised electors of Japan.⁴²

In other words, Anglicanism encouraged social stability.

Although the function of religion as a social stabilizer had ancient roots in Japan, the proliferation of religious forms during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made it difficult for the government to choose any one tradition to play the part of a national religion in the Meiji state. Because of its association with the Restoration, Shinto had been the natural choice, but the earliest experiments in establishing it as a state religion did not succeed.⁴³ There is some evidence to show that Itō actually toyed with the idea of making Christianity the state religion when he was drafting the constitution. Bickersteth's predecessor in Japan, Bishop Arthur Poole, has provided some light on this subject.

⁴²Guardian, 7/1/90.

⁴³Sansom, Western World, pp. 367, 388.

I cannot refrain from telling of a very remarkable sign of the present readiness of Japan for larger enterprise. I dined one evening with Mr. Ito the Minister for Foreign Affairs and practically the head of the Government. He spoke of the great readiness of the Government to favour Protestant Missionary effort and almost complained that we were not a larger community such as they could take cognizance of. Rumour says that when he was in Germany lately the Emperor spoke very strongly to him of the necessity of Evangelical Christianity for this country.⁴⁴

As American Protestantism was disqualified at this time through its associations with the rebel party movement, it is likely that the oligarchs were looking with speculative eyes on the Englishmen. Itō's complaint that they were not a larger community suggests this. But the Anglicans were not only too small a body, they were too alien. The oligarchs had to develop a new religion of their own to fit the pattern. Itō himself was quite open about this necessity when he confessed that Japan had no faith which could play a part similar to Christianity's in Europe. The Emperor-cult was developed to fill that gap.⁴⁵

The Meiji oligarchs may have rejected Anglicanism as an established church in Japan, but they seem to have retained confidence in it. Hence the assurance quoted by the younger Bickersteth. Hence also the choice of the Shiba men to help set up a school for the daughters of the

⁴⁴CMS File GI: J/02. Poole-CMS, 28/1/84. Underlining in original. See also Ritter, History, p. 50.

⁴⁵Takeda, "Tennōsei," p. 279.

establishment. Not only were the Englishmen socially acceptable, they were also politically safe. Indeed their faith, although foreign, came closest to being what the rulers desired of religion in their own society. This recognition contrasted strikingly with what the same men were saying at the time about American Christianity. The main differences between the two traditions go far to explain the difference in Japanese attitudes toward them.

First, the political neutrality of the Anglicans meant that they were understood to support the established system. There was no one among them like the American Congregational missionary, D. W. Learned, who first gave systematic lectures on socialism in Japan. It was said that he evangelized the country with a Bible in his right hand and a textbook on economics in his left. His colleague, Charles Garst, known in Japan as Tanzei Tarō, "Single-tax Taro," promoted the theories of Henry George.⁴⁶ Quite apart from such individual instances of political activism, the strongly dialectical approach of Puritan Christianity to ethical problems resulted in its producing many social rebels among its converts. The first diet, elected in 1891, included thirteen Christians among the three hundred members

⁴⁶Takeda Kiyoko in Kuyama, Kindai, p. 261; N. Ike, Beginnings, p. 118; Japan Christian Year Book, 1959 ed., pp. 121-122.

of the lower house.⁴⁷ Both the Speaker and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole were chosen from among the Christians. Their selection reflected the leading part they had played in the oppositionist Party movement. None of the thirteen were Anglicans.

The Anglicans approached society, as might be expected, with more paternalism than the American Protestants. They stressed social service rather than social action. Christians had led in the establishment of social welfare in Japan when the government still considered such areas properly within the prerogative of the family.⁴⁸ The first orphanages and leprosaria were founded by Christians. Christians also initiated work among the depressed communities of the outcast Eta. In all these fields Anglicans took an active part. As Hannah Riddell had pioneered in leper work in Kyushu,⁴⁹ so Shaw and Imai for some years carried on a project among the Eta community in the Tokyo suburb of Shinagawa. Another member of their group founded the first school for the blind. A Japanese member of the Shiba church founded the first home for retarded children

⁴⁷Cary, pp. 228-229; ACS in MF, 1891, pp. 215-216.

⁴⁸Sumiya Mikio, Nihon shakai to Kirisutokyō [Christianity and Japanese Society] (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 66-73; Galen Fisher, Creative Forces in Japan (New York, 1923), pp. 66-106.

⁴⁹There is a biography by her assistant, Ada H. Wright, Miss Hannah Riddell (Tokyo, 1935). See also Alfreda Arnold, The Light of Japan (Hartford, 1906), Ch. XI.

in Japan.⁵⁰ But where socially active Christians in the American tradition tended to progress from social service to political action, the Anglicans remained content with works of mercy. No socialist leaders like Abe Isoh or Katayama Sen developed out of their ranks.

This tradition of apolitical paternalistic humanitarianism issued from the aristocratic background of the British missionaries. American Protestants stressed humanitarianism, but they also emphasized the basic equality of all men in the sight of God.⁵¹ Their converts, who accepted these egalitarian ideas, found themselves in opposition to their own status-conscious society. The Anglicans felt no such tension. In 1895 the Church of England at home was still instructing its church-wardens "to assign seats in the church to the parishioners according to their degree . . . each according to his rank, so that there be no contention there about this matter."⁵² It seemed natural to them that both church and state should be organized hierarchically. Thus the missionaries fitted

⁵⁰Pascoe, Two Hundred, II, 724g; Arnold, Light, pp. 72-74, 185-192; Matsudaira, Hyakunen shi, pp. 296-297.

⁵¹Sumiya, Nihon shakai, p. 71; Nihon shihon shugi to Kirisutokyō [Christianity and Japanese Capitalism] (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 42-63.

⁵²Prideaux's Practical Guide to the Duties of Church-wardens (London, 1895), p. 288, quoted in Inglis, Churches, pp. 54-55.

easily into a social structure which was both monarchical and aristocratic.

The British missionaries' identification of their own state with that of Meiji influenced their actions in a number of ways. As part of their apparatus for work in Japan, the missionaries had translated and re-edited the Book of Common Prayer, the Anglican manual of worship. Shaw, as early as 1878, had mentioned his part in this work.⁵³ This English Prayer Book, as befitted a manual belonging to a state church, contained many prayers for the King of England and the Royal Family. When the new Japanese Prayer Book, or Kitōsho, was made, the translators simply substituted the name of the Japanese Emperor, together with the titles appropriate to him, for those of the English king. They made no distinction for the fact that the King of England, as Head of the Church, was compulsorily an Anglican layman, while the Emperor was a non-believer. The identification was absolute and simple. When the Sino-Japanese war began, it seemed equally fitting that Bickersteth should compose prayers for the safety of the Japanese forces.⁵⁴

⁵³ACS-SPG, 1/6/78. Shaw later wrote a historical survey of this work, Proceedings of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan . . . 1900 (Tokyo, 1901), pp. 881-890.

⁵⁴Life, pp. 369-370. See also "Pastoral Letter Before Day of Intercession," Appendix D to Pastoral, Lent 1895, p. 21. Imai composed similar prayers: see Appendix II.

No citizens of the Meiji state could have been more fervent nationalists.

Yet it must not be forgotten that Englishmen and Japanese would hear different things when they listened to these prayers. The missionaries merely heard the English words of their own prayer-book which had been translated into Japanese. But their converts heard an affirmation in some sort of the Shinto state. All the titles and expressions used had been borrowed from the tradition of Kokugaku, or National Learning. For the Japanese Anglicans their new faith was a simple extension of the old rather than a contradiction as it tended to be with the Protestants. The converts of the American missionaries had received with their faith a tradition which opposed the society of their ancestors. Any compromise with the old society involved for them a rejection of their new faith--and consequently, guilt. For the Anglicans the state Church of England had merely changed some of the forms of State Shinto. The old faith led easily into the new with little conflict or tension.

D. The Shiba Sect and the emperor system

How the integration of Shinto monarchy with Christianity worked out may be seen in the writings of two Japanese members of the Shiba Sect. Imai Toshimichi and Yamada Sukejirō were both personal disciples of Alexander

Shaw. Imai had also been close to Edward Bickersteth, while Yamada had been brought to Christianity by Arthur Lloyd. What they wrote demonstrates in part how they heard the words spoken by the missionaries.

Imai Toshimichi had started life as a samurai of the Numata Fief to the north of Tokyo. His father had died while he was still a boy. In 1875, while studying at a Confucian juku in Tokyo, he sought out Shaw's night school in Mita to study English. After Shaw made him his "adopted son," Imai became the most Anglicized among the Japanese leaders of the Seikōkai. He interpreted for Bickersteth during the latter's first years in Japan and spent several periods in England. Imai's European experience, rare among Anglican converts, made him highly valued as an intermediary between his Japanese colleagues and the Englishmen. His talents were practical rather than intellectual, but he was a conscientious student. After a period as pastor of the Japanese congregation at Saint Andrew's, he went on to become principal of Saint Hilda's (Kōran Jogakkō), a school for girls in Tokyo founded by Bickersteth in 1887. In 1902 he became the first Japanese principal of Saint Andrew's theological school. Finally in 1911 he was chosen to head the newly founded Central Theological College.

He died at a comparatively early age in 1919.⁵⁵

Yamada Sukejirō came of peasant stock from the country district southwest of Tokyo. Arthur Lloyd had discovered him there in 1886 as a youth of 19 and had brought him to Tokyo where Shaw baptized him. He was commissioned as a catechist, or junior cleric, by Bickersteth in 1887.⁵⁶ Unlike Imai he showed little evidence of influence by these missionaries. His thought was the most individual of any among the early converts. Developed over a long ministry spent entirely at Saint Andrew's, his interpretation of Christianity came to be known as Yamada shingaku, or Yamada theology.⁵⁷ He was largely self-educated. In contrast to Imai's Confucian background, Yamada seems to have read largely among the Shinto National Learning scholars. His earliest contact with Christianity had been through a man in his village who was known locally as sennin, the hermit. There is a good deal of the aesthetic nature worship which belongs to the indigenous eremitic

⁵⁵Biographical details culled from the writings of Shaw and Bickersteth, also from a chronology in Imai's posthumous collection, Shinjin no kōō, pp. 3-8, and from an unpublished paper by one of the writer's students, Ōki Hiroyuki.

⁵⁶Chronology in vol. II of the posthumous collection of Yamada's sermons and addresses entitled, Sakae, pp. 555-556. Other details in Seki Masakatsu, "Yamada Sukejirō no shōgai to shiso" [Life and Thought of Yamada Sukejirō], SK, XI-1, 17-26.

⁵⁷Matsudaira, Hyakunenshi, p. 326.

tradition worked into the fabric of Yamada's Christian teaching. It represents the farthest opposite pole to the ethical Christianity of American Protestantism.

Imai wrote many theological works in Japanese. Most of them were either translations or interpretations of English works for his theological students. He also wrote a few articles in English, interpreting the Japanese scene for the readers of the *Mission Field*.⁵⁸ His most ambitious work in the latter class was a slim volume entitled Bushido, published in 1906. It is a subjective attempt to explain the relation of Bushido to Japanese thought, and its bearing on Christianity. Other Japanese Protestant leaders have written similar treatises. The writers generally explained how their early Confucian training had prepared them for Christianity so that such works represented by-products from the authors' own conversion. Their contents thus revealed something of the conditions under which the writer had become a Christian.⁵⁹ Imai's writing reflects the same lack of tension or alienation revealed earlier in his attitude toward the controversy on religion and education.

⁵⁸See Appendix II.

⁵⁹Uchimura Kanzō's How I Became a Christian, and Nitobe Inazō's Bushido are examples. Not enough studies have as yet been made of this autobiographical literature to make any generalizations authoritative. The title of one such study, Takeda Kiyoko, Ningenkan no sōkoku, shows the dialectical nature of most Protestant experience.

Bushido, according to Imai, is the way in which the Japanese people expressed the essence of their spirit--Yamato damashii--in feudal times. It was the culmination of a process during which the same spirit had received in turn from Shintoism, Buddhism and Taoism "the enlightenment of religion and ethics."⁶⁰ Bushido had found in the seventeenth-century scholar, Yamaga Sokō, an eloquent spokesman, and his interpretation of it was popularly expressed in much of the literature and drama of the succeeding years. In the New Japan of the "Meiji Reformation" Bushido proved less adequate as an expression of Japanese solidarity because it had been developed within one class, the samurai. The Yamato damashii now was revealed in the broader and more flexible concept of aikokushin: "'loyalty' and 'patriotism' combined." "Every male child is born to be . . . [the Emperor's] soldier and owes to him obedience and sacrifice as impersonator [i.e. personification] of the nation itself from the hour of its divine origin to its endless future."⁶¹ But Yamato damashii also "developed in a one-sided way and revealed a weaker side which lowered it."⁶² That is, its exclusive preoccupation with warfare and its disregard of ethical

⁶⁰ J. T. Imai, Bushido: In the Past and in the Present (Tokyo, 1906), p. 70.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁶² Ibid., p. 71.

considerations--ends justifying means--showed that "it cannot suffice [by itself] but must be renewed and perfected in its union with Christ."⁶³

For Imai, citizenship in the Emperor-state involved two levels of value. It was good in itself. It instilled in the individual virtues of "obedience and sacrifice" in relation to the Emperor who is "the impersonator of the nation." But it also pointed toward a further fulfillment and purification by its union with the maturer virtues bestowed through membership in the Christian Church. This concept of Christianity as the purifier of the Kokutai, or national polity, Imai expounded at length through editorials in his journal the Nichiyō Sōshi.⁶⁴

It is more difficult to ascertain the early course taken by Yamada Sukejirō. Only his later writings survive, and they all reflect the newer phase of nationalism associated with the military adventures of the Shōwa period. In particular his strong emphasis on the peaceful spread of Japanese ideas reveals the growing anxiety which filled church leaders as they followed the events leading up to the Manchurian Incident. But his basic theme remains the same as Imai's. The Christian church is still the purifier

⁶³Ibid., p. 72.

⁶⁴Mori Ichirō, "Seikōkai shinto no kokka ishiki" [Ideas of the State of Seikokai Members] SK, XI-1 (Tokyo, July 1964), 9-16: p. 14.

of the national polity. Where Imai's emphasis was Confucian and ethical, Yamada brought to his exposition the literary language of Shinto mysticism. Like the National Learning which he admired, he expressed his ideas in terms which were allusive, obscure and often repetitious. Yet in spite of the difficulty of his concepts he was able to couch them in simple Japanese of considerable beauty.⁶⁵

Yamada expounded his ideas about Christianity and the State in three sets of lectures delivered over the space of about ten years. These were, "The Three Great Ideals of the Japanese People as seen by Christianity," "The Kokutai and Christianity," and "Christianity and the World Mission of the Japanese People."⁶⁶ All repeated the same themes with differing illustrations. For Yamada Japan had a unique contribution to make to social thought. Just as Europe had contributed the idea of the individual, and America the ideal of equality, so Japan had held from time immemorial the belief in "seeing the nation as God's nation (kannagara)."⁶⁷ The basic concepts of this view, such as the Emperor, the family, and the various social relations associated with them, were not merely ideas in men's minds

⁶⁵Matsudaira, Hyakunenshi, p. 326.

⁶⁶"Kirisutokyō yori mitaru waga kokumin no san dai shinnen" (1928), Sakae [Glory], II (Tokyo, 1939), pp. 96-124; "Waga kokutai to Kirisutokyō" (1934), 157-242; "Kirisutokyō to waga kokumin no sekaiteki shimei" (1938), 311-331.

⁶⁷Sakae, II, 320.

(kangae), but a revelation from the gods. From this same revelation flowed the other ideas expressed in the literature of the kokutai: the idea of the Emperor's line, "coeval with heaven and earth (tenjō mukyū)," and the brotherhood of all men under his benevolent reign (hakkō ichiu).⁶⁸

The latter concept, as revealed in the norito, or Shinto liturgical prayer, for the New Year implied the spread of Japanese culture throughout the world, "not through violent conquest, but in an eminently peaceful way."⁶⁹ Those who, like the scholar Satō Nobuhiro, dreamed of a different kind of unification preached "militarism, a way which directly contradicts the essence of our national spirit (kokutai)."⁷⁰

Because he held such views about traditional Japanese culture, Yamada reconciled them easily with his Christian beliefs. The doctrine of the Trinity for him furnished justification for the family system. Conversely, the Japanese state provided a foretaste of the Kingdom of Heaven. The two were not synonymous, but neither were they in fundamental opposition. In the final series of his lectures, he summed up his belief as follows: "Of course, the Kingdom of God transcends the state (kokka). But it is in no way inconsistent with our life as a nation, nor can it

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 118.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 119.

conflict with it . . . [rather, the Kingdom of God] becomes the living source out of which our national life is fulfilled."⁷¹

Imai and Yamada were not the only Japanese Anglicans to interpret the missionaries' teaching as an overall approval of the Meiji state. Motoda Sakunoshin, the first Japanese president of Rikkyō University and later the first Japanese bishop in the Nippon Seikōkai, held similar views.⁷² So did almost all other indigenous leaders of the Taishō era. That is not to say that they were completely uncritical. Imai pointed out the weak points of Bushido. Yamada considered militarism un-Japanese as well as un-Christian. Motoda was a leader in the campaign against legalized prostitution. But all of them considered it the function of the Church to identify itself with society in order to purify it. To do so they might have to risk being mistaken for non-Christians. But they themselves would know the difference. As Motoda explained in commenting on a later controversy, "Christians can conscientiously . . . [take] off their hats and [make] bows . . . to the Imperial ancestors and the great and good men of the past . . . in the same respectful manner but not in the same worshipping spirit

⁷¹Ibid., p. 324.

⁷²"Opportunities of the Japanese Church," in Milton Stauffer, ed., Japan Speaks for Herself (London, 1928), pp. 85-87. For Motoda as a social thinker, see Kamishima, Kindai nihon, pp. 134, 200 & 217.

as others . . . they are just as loyal, and sometimes even more so, to the imperial family."⁷³

⁷³Ibid., p. 86. See also C. W. Iglehart, A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan (Rutland and Tokyo, 1959), p. 141, commenting on the same issue: "Dr. S. Motoda of the Episcopal Church took a mediating position, distinguishing between 'veneration' and 'worship,' but he was almost alone."

CHAPTER IX

THE SHIBA SECT IN 1900

A. Christianity accommodates to Japanese society

The first decade of the nineteenth century is remembered in Japanese history as a period of social unrest which the government met with strong repression. In 1911 the execution of one of the early leaders of the socialist movement, together with eleven comrades, on trumped-up charges of treason shook the entire nation. Early in the following year the Home Minister called together representatives of Japan's three main religious groups: Buddhism, Shinto and Christianity. He appealed to them to assist the government by supplying moral leadership to the country. The leaders agreed almost unanimously.¹ This incident marked a new stage in the relation of Christianity to Japanese society. Toleration had now become recognition. Christianity had replaced Confucianism as one of Japan's official religions.

The change in government attitude reflected a parallel alteration of attitudes within Protestant Christianity. The earlier stance of opposition had been relaxed sufficiently

¹Kuyama, Kindai, pp. 334-352; Iglehart, Century, p. 140.

to make compromise possible. Actually, the newer attitudes had begun to emerge during the Sino-Japanese conflict and were revealed even more clearly in the war with Russia.² As with all such changes they marked the culmination of a gradual process of accommodation. In shaking off Western ties and endeavouring to become indigenous, Protestants had been compelled to make their peace with traditional society. They had disagreed among themselves over the question of whether the compromise was justified, and their final assent led to a condition similar to that which would have obtained if Christianity had made its peace with the Roman Empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius rather than at the time of Constantine.

One incident will illustrate the concern in Christian minds about the propriety of the accommodation. In 1892 a Presbyterian pastor, Tamura Naoomi, published a book in English entitled The Japanese Bride.³ In it he adopted a strongly critical attitude toward traditional Japanese family life. "Calling Japanese morality external and Pharisaical, he argued that apart from Christianity there could be no true love between husband and wife."⁴ Such

²Sumiya, Kindai, p. 138.

³Published by Harper's, New York.

⁴Kuyama, Kindai, p. 224. Takeda, Ningenkan, pp. 281-297, gives a detailed analysis of the incident.

criticisms had been commonplace among the early generation of Protestants. But now the book was attacked fiercely in the secular press and was finally banned altogether by the government. Even more significant was the response of Tamura's fellow churchmen. Leaders such as Uemura Masahisa in their youth had made statements every bit as radical, but now called for the author to be unfrocked and excommunicated. The bitterness of their onslaught was astonishing. Tamura had made two mistakes. He had maligned his own countrymen to foreigners. But even more important, his criticisms had come at a time when Japanese Christians anxiously hoped to ingratiate themselves with the members of their own society. His "softness to foreign ideas" was an act of treason against his own church. Consequently, despite scattered protests from fellow radicals, Tamura was expelled. Christianity had made up its mind to become Japanese.

Naturally, the pattern of accommodation was not uniform. The Japanese social scientist, Sumiya Mikio, has chosen four outstanding leaders of the period who, he feels, stood for differing types of approach.⁵ Ebina Danjō, the popular Congregational preacher and proponent of "Japanese Christianity," represented the most thoroughgoing spirit of compromise. Three others stood for attempts to coexist with

⁵Kindai, p. 139.

the native tradition without change of principle. Uchimura Kanzō sought a personal faith which would transcend society. Uemura Masahisa strove to build up a church which would stand apart from the pagan world. And Abe Isoh saw salvation as humanitarian social action. In all cases some sort of settlement was achieved. Protestant Christianity was on its way to becoming what Shaw was accustomed to call "a grand national Church."⁶

It is by now evident that Anglicanism and the Nihon Seikōkai did not really fit into any one of these typical approaches. Motoda Sakunoshin had played a leading part in the conference with the government in 1912. The cooperative attitude which he had displayed at that time might incline an observer to place the Seikōkai in the category of Japanese Christianity.⁷ But the Anglican emphasis on a sacramental church and their aversion to social action places them nearer to the ethos of the Presbyterian Uemura's Nikki movement. The integration of Japanese with Americans and Englishmen in the decision-making processes of the Seikōkai set it apart even from this latter group and places it in a class by itself.

⁶ACS-SPG, 14/5/86; elsewhere in MF, repeated in Pascoe, II, p. 721.

⁷Iglehart, Century, p. 141.

There was one even more decisive difference. In Sumiya's scheme, all four forms of accommodation had been achieved following a period of tension and conflict between Christians and traditional society, so that a settlement was reached only at the cost of a certain degree of compromise. But for Motoda and Yamada and their comrades, to cooperate with the state involved no compromise. It had been an article of faith from the beginning. They had differed in their original pattern of acceptance.

Another Japanese scholar, Chō (Takeda) Kiyoko has adopted a different method of analysing acceptance. She has noted five configurations, each one representing a typical way in which Christianity was accepted during the Meiji period. They can be stated schematically as follows:

1. Absorption (Maibotsu)--due to compromise.
2. Isolation (Koritsu)--due to nonconformity.
3. Rejection (Haikyō)--"in discarding [Christianity] . . . or rebelling [against it] . . . to fasten upon the living element in the faith by apostasy."
4. Confrontation (taiketsu)--"indigenization through militant confrontation . . . between Christianity and Japan's spiritual tradition."
5. Grafting (tsugiki)--"allowing confrontation to

remain latent."⁸

By using patterns rather than representative individuals in her analysis, Dr. Chō's scheme allows for considerable flexibility. Once again the observer is tempted to place the Seikōkai, with its easy adjustment to the traditional way of life, into Pattern 1. But this would involve abandoning the Anglican emphasis on the church and on cosmopolitanism. Actually, Pattern 5 comes nearest to fitting neatly. Confrontation was clearly latent, more so because the meeting between foreign and indigenous ideas took place in the community life of the church. In the cases of Uchimura and Nitobe which Dr. Chō uses, confrontation took place within the individual's personal development. Anglican lack of tension certainly resulted in part from latency. But it was also due to the fact that full responsibility for decision did not have to be borne by the individual, but was projected onto the corporate authority of the Church. In this way the Church had become for Japanese Anglicans equivalent to that "System of Irresponsibility" which Dr. Maruyama has pointed out in Japanese society at large.⁹

It should now be clear that the Seikōkai cannot really be fitted into any of the categories that have hitherto

⁸Shisōshi, pp. 275-282. Mrs. Chō often uses her maiden name, Takeda, which appears on a number of her books.

⁹Thought and Behaviour, p. 128.

been used to describe the relation of Protestantism to Japanese society. There are two simple methodological reasons for this discrepancy. The first is that when most Japanese, or even American, scholars speak of Protestant Christianity in the Meiji era, they actually refer to three denominational traditions, or four at most. These were the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, all of which had been introduced by American missionaries, mostly from the northeastern United States and Canada. But the Seikōkai owed its origins only in part to American missionaries. The majority of Anglicans had come from England.

Which leads on to the second point. For a variety of reasons, most contemporary studies have been preoccupied with the Japanese reception of Christianity. Not enough stress has been laid on the variety of sources from which it came. Studied as a social phenomenon in Japan--influence on such areas as literature or politics--this method could be justified. But for purposes of historical analysis it invites inaccuracy.

For instance, one cannot say without qualification that Protestantism appealed chiefly to the educated, urban Japanese. Anglicanism, at least, did more. In 1884 the congregation at Saint Andrew's "represented . . . no particular class."¹⁰ Eight years later Bickersteth was still

¹⁰Foss in MF, 1884, p. 4.

reporting that "The great majority of converts over the past year . . . are from the poorer classes."¹¹ This was one clear reason why the Seikōkai grew according to a different pattern from churches in the American tradition. It did not suffer as greatly from the reaction--predominantly on the part of intellectuals--to western ideas which took place in the late eighties and nineties.

In his report for 1892 Bickersteth wrote, "the number of baptisms in the Missions connected with SPG . . . has been larger than in any preceding year."¹² This shows that the Seikōkai, though starting its work much later than the Americans, maintained a steady rate of increase at a time when the latter were encountering resistance from nationalism. Consequently, by 1900 Anglican membership approximately equalled the figures of any one of the other denominations.¹³

B. Japanese Anglicanism

By 1900 the Shiba mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had become one of the principal

¹¹EB-SPG, 12/1/92; Anglicanism became the dominant faith in at least two villages, displacing both Buddhist temple and Shinto shrine: Shimo Fukuda in Chiba Prefecture, and Imagane in Hokkaido. Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, p. 88; King & Imai, Bickersteth, p. 23.

¹²EB-SPG, 12/1/92.

¹³Appendix IV.

centres of Christianity in Tokyo. An earthquake had destroyed Alexander Shaw's brick church in 1894 while Shaw himself was in England on leave. It had been replaced by a more suitable wooden structure which remained until Allied bombings during the Pacific War in turn destroyed it. In 1894, too, the English and Japanese congregations had been formally divided and each one occupied a separate building, Imai becoming rector of the Japanese congregation, with Yamada and a younger cleric as his assistants. Edward Bickersteth had died in 1897. Shaw died in 1902. Arthur Lloyd's busy schedule at various colleges left him little time for formal church work.

In this way by 1900 leadership in the Shiba Sect had passed into Japanese hands much earlier than with most Anglican work. Earlier still, the close association of the missionaries with Imai and his colleagues had resulted in the development of a distinctive ethos which was to permeate Japanese Anglicanism. The clergy, whom Shaw and Imai had trained, in particular reflected this ethos.¹⁴

The characteristics of the Shiba Sect were communicated to the wider membership of the Seikōkai through the

¹⁴It was evidently the hope of the missionaries that Imai would be the first indigenous bishop of the Seikōkai. ACS-SPG, 26/8/92. They worked hard to school him for this role. For example, on his third visit to England in 1908 he was received in audience by the then Prince of Wales, later George V. Shinjin, p. 6. But Imai died prematurely in 1919, and the first Japanese bishops were not elected until 1923.

gradual spread of congregations founded by Shiba men. Under Shaw's leadership the Christians based at St. Andrew's had founded at least six churches in different parts of Tokyo itself. The leaders and members of these congregations naturally associated with, and influenced, other Anglicans in the Tokyo area who belonged to the American Episcopal and CMS connections. Outside of Tokyo, Shiba men had founded rural churches in the neighbouring prefectures of Chiba and Kanagawa. Once the base at St. Andrew's was established to his satisfaction, Shaw himself had made journeys to help found congregations along the Tōkaidō route toward Kyoto. By 1900 there were churches in all the main cities along that highway as far as Gifu. In the nineties Canadian missionaries, working out of Shiba, had also established a series of stations in Nagano and Niigata prefectures. All of these units had been consolidated into the Diocese of South Tokyo, of which Edward Bickersteth was the organizer and first bishop. Missionaries and Japanese clergy from this diocese also transferred with fair frequency to the Diocese of Osaka which was also under English jurisdiction.¹⁵

But the ethos of the Shiba Sect did not communicate itself primarily through organizations. There was a distinctive and indefinable style to the men of St. Andrew's

¹⁵Matsudaira, Hyakunenshi, pp. 137-144.

which increasingly became one of the features of Anglicanism in Japan. In general, the Japanese members of the Shiba Sect had accepted the cultural conservatism of their leader. In contrast to the continued attempts of Protestants to bring themselves to the attention of their fellow countrymen by means of mass meetings, street preaching, and other types of public demonstration, the Anglicans preferred more unobtrusive methods. Personal contact and small study groups constituted their main mode of operation. They felt no need to be original.

In contrast to the emotional hostility which characterized the neo-conservatism of the Japanese Bride controversy, the Seikōkai expressed itself quietly but unashamedly. Uemura might repudiate his early criticisms of Japanese social morality. Yamada Sukejirō had no need to do so. He had always believed that the family structure of Japan reflected the Holy Trinity. The Family State was a God-given way of life, needing only the light of the Gospel to purify its few relics of barbarism.

There was one important difference between the conservatism of the Englishmen and their Japanese disciples. The British had been accustomed to a dominant position in their own country. Thus, even as guests in Japan, they maintained an outward-looking posture toward society, always ready to respond to overtures from people outside the church. Such an attitude became increasingly difficult for Japanese

Anglicans to continue. Unlike their leaders, they were not guests who enjoyed the privileges of residence with few of its responsibilities. They had to carry on their everyday life in a society which only recognized their existence with reluctance. Consequently they, in common with their Protestant brothers at this time, tended to turn in on themselves for mutual encouragement, leaving society to go its own way.

Among Anglicans a curious combination of English and Japanese virtues reinforced this spiritual isolation. The Shiba men made much of a phrase that had been coined by Imai to translate a lecture by Bickersteth, entitled "Our Heritage in the Church." The Japanese word for heritage, ishō, became a symbol of the loyalty which the Anglicans owed to the Catholic Faith. But characteristically the Japanese focussed their loyalty not so much on the faith itself as on the personal tradition (Shaw and the others) which had been the means of communicating the faith to them. A paradoxical situation resulted. The Anglicans were better adjusted to the mores of traditional Japanese society than were their Protestant colleagues. But they showed their "Japanese-ness" by forming a ha or sect, the object of whose loyalty was a tradition outside of Japan.

Two factors helped to weld the Shiba tradition together. One was the close personal ties which existed between missionary and Japanese clergy within the Seikōkai. The other was the somewhat déclassé nature of the converts

to Anglicanism. Where Protestants almost all belonged to the middle class, Anglicans included recruits from both upper classes and working people. The mixed nature of the Seikōkai made it difficult for members--particularly of the lower classes--to maintain their place in the ordinary structure of their society. They thus turned inward toward their own fellowship for an identity which they found in the "heritage."

Although sectarian in its retreat from society, the Shiba group did not develop the hostility to culture which usually marks sectarian groups. Loyalty to a heritage which had come from outside Japan had been made indigenous by adopting the source of the heritage into the framework of traditional values. Because the missionaries had affirmed Japanese nationalism, the Japanese Anglicans were able to remain confident that their own way of life was God given and needed only the purifying effect of grace to complete its promised goals. In other words, they had achieved a kind of synthesis between Japanese culture and the Christian faith. It was comparable on a small scale to the medieval synthesis between Roman Christianity and Teutonic culture.

Space will permit only a few examples of the way in which the synthesis took place. The missionaries had brought to Japan an attitude which in many ways was the antithesis of Puritan. As humanists they loved the good things in life. As catholics they stressed quiet growth through steady

community life in the church over spectacular conversion or ethical decision. Anglicans in Japan never had to give up tobacco or wine as their Protestant brothers had felt forced to do. This relatively easy-going, quiet approach found a response in the mystical quietism which had always existed in the indigenous religious tradition. Just as Yamada Sukejirō had first been told of Christianity by a man nicknamed "the hermit," others came to Japanese Anglicanism because its quiet acceptance felt natural. The Saint Andrew's tradition has always emphasized the element of peaceful aesthetic self-cultivation implicit in the hermit's life, rather than the more active ethical or intellectual enterprise which marked Presbyterians and Congregationalists. A number of Anglican clergy have written haiku, some of them even achieving national renown.¹⁶

This emphasis on mystical quietism was related to the Shinto tradition. Several of the outstanding early leaders of the Shiba Sect like Yamada had received training in the Shinto classics. The chief translator of psalms and prayers for the Seikōkai was a man who had been educated as a Shinto priest. He introduced into his translations many of the words and rhythms of the liturgical prayers, or norito. So greatly did this characteristic of the Anglicans attract

¹⁶For instance, the Rev. P. T. Takeda of Rikkyō University.

Japanese that some individuals came over to the Seikōkai from other Protestant groups because of it. Most outstanding of these was Matsuyama Takayoshi, one of Hepburn's chief assistants in the translation of the Bible. He too had been trained in kokugaku and found the general atmosphere of the Seikōkai more congenial than the austere Calvinism of his first allegiance.¹⁷ He is now known for a number of hymns which he composed with a distinctly nationalistic flavour.

Anglicans did not feel the need to pit themselves in continual struggle with Japanese culture. They, as Japanese, had been grafted on to a new tradition which had come to them from abroad. But loyalty to this foreign heritage did not commit them to radical change in their own way of life. The confrontation remained latent and they were free to cultivate many of the old Japanese virtues. That they had not betrayed the heritage was proved when, many years later, the Seikōkai refused to become part of the "Grand national Church." During the Pacific War, the Japanese government once more attempted to gain control of Christianity and to make it part of its ideological front. It was the Shiba Sect which led the resistance against government blandishments and kept Anglicans out of the newly

¹⁷Ebisawa, Seisho, pp. 178-183, 251-252, 339-340.

formed United Church.¹⁸

C. British Japanism

British missionaries had been conditioned by social background and theological training to affirm the value of their own society. When they left England, they transferred their affections to the world of Meiji Japan. Though the British were beginning to move away from aristocratic values, Japanese still saw good in them. Consequently the Englishmen felt at ease in Japan. The conservative Japanese who surrounded them put little pressure on them to change in an unwelcome--that is, democratic--direction. For this reason the general tone of Anglicanism was relaxed, so much so in fact that the lack of tension on the part of the missionaries often communicated itself to their converts as a lack of need for any change.

Nevertheless the Englishmen did change toward an increasing identification with Japan. This was an agreeable kind of change. It gave rise to little conflict between their Englishness and their love of Japan. Naturally, tension was not altogether absent. At least two young missionaries were forced to return home with "Japan head"

¹⁸ Matsudaira, Hyakunen-shi, Part V, Ch. 1. Matsumoto Masao, Ichikawa Sei Mariya Kyōkai sanjūshūnen kinen [Thirtieth Anniversary of St. Mary's Church, Ichikawa] (Ichikawa, 1964) pp. 40-68.

before they had finished their language study.¹⁹ But this symptom of exhaustion appeared in almost all foreigners who wanted to identify with the culture. Shaw himself suffered from it. As late as 1893 he wrote home, "The climate of Japan affects the nerves and brains in some way and when one gets run down it is very difficult to recover strength."²⁰

It is only possible to guess at the source of this tension. Personal experience would lead to the conclusion that it resulted from two frustrations. One was the inability to become integrated completely into a social system which was as tightly knit as Japan's. The other came from a continual sense that the missionary had to hold back from overt leadership among the independence-conscious Japanese. For Bickersteth, who was a bishop and a skilful manoeuvrer, such hesitation was unnecessary. But the fact that Shaw was willing to hand over responsibility to his Japanese disciples at a comparatively early stage may show that he experienced some strain.

On the whole, the missionaries were not conscious of such anxieties. Their correspondence generally reflected a sense of satisfaction with their lot. Shaw felt little need

¹⁹F. B. Plummer and E. C. Hopper. For Plummer, see medical report in I-MSS for 1879; for Hopper, Hopper-SPG, 7/1/84. Shaw noted, "The study of Japanese has often a serious effect in disarranging the functions of the brain." ACS-SPG, 26/3/78. Both of the above men got along well with the Japanese. ACS-SPG, 28/2/84.

²⁰ACS-SPG, 15/12/93.

to take regular or extended leave from his work. Lloyd was eager to return to Japan as soon as his family situation would allow it. Bickersteth's letters from Japan contained fewer criticisms of that country than did his correspondence from India. In the country of their adoption they could enjoy the best of both worlds. As Englishmen they were honoured guests who could pick and choose the kind of life they wanted to have. Whether as scholar-bishops, teachers or pastors, their followers accorded them a deference and loyalty which was becoming rare in their own land.

The Englishmen responded to this sense of well-being by an increasing identification with those aspects of Japanese life which seemed natural to them. Lloyd waxed lyrical about the Emperor. Bickersteth felt that the Japanese conquest of Korea would be for the good of civilization. Shaw found security in his role as father-teacher of the Shiba Sect. Each in his own way felt that he had also been accepted by Japan. Nor was this a complete fantasy, as the Japanese biographer hints when he calls Lloyd "an out-and-out Japan-lover." Shaw, too, was said to have "loved Japan."²¹ Both of these judgements indicate that the writers recognized the special sensitivity of these foreigners to Japanese manners and customs.

²¹KBKS, p. 261; Kawade, Daijiten, X, 155. See also Appendix III, 2.

Several characteristics of the Englishmen corresponded to similar traits among the Japanese with whom they associated. In spite of barriers of language and custom, these features helped to pave the way for good relations. Among these qualities the one perhaps most highly appreciated was reserve. The Japanese treasured such virtues as enryo which, though not identical with reserve, reflected a similar hesitation to intrude on a neighbour's privacy. Uchimura Kanzō's criticism of missionary methods resulted in part from the American missionaries' disregard of this right to privacy in intimate matters. It was most valued by Japanese who, like the Englishmen, had received their training as gentlemen.²²

A second characteristic of the Englishmen which appealed to the Japanese was their paternalism. To the conservative bureaucrats and other ex-samurai with whom they associated, the sense of responsibility (sekinin-kan) connected with upper-class attitudes exercised a particular attraction. Others felt secure in the knowledge that they would not be cast adrift in a hostile society but could expect help from their leaders.²³

²²Howes, "Japanese Christians," p. 354.

²³See, for instance, the manuscript appreciation by Imai in the Shaw papers of Mrs. Grandy, Ottawa.

The patriotism of the Englishmen proved to be a precious gift in an age of growing nationalism. It provided a bridge between the Japanese-ness of the converts and their sense of loyalty to their foreign leaders. Accordingly it was probably the main factor in allowing the Japanese Anglicans to keep latent the potential confrontation between national pride and the demands of a foreign faith. A similar trait was acknowledged in the Russian Orthodox missionary, Bishop Nicolai, when he urged his converts to pray for Japan during the Russo-Japanese War.²⁴

Finally, the humanism of the Englishmen provided an important link with a somewhat similar strand in the Japanese intellectual tradition. As has been seen, this humanism was derived from both theological and social sources. It allowed the missionaries to affirm Japanese culture as something valuable in and for itself. It conditioned them to emphasize personal relations over doctrines; to prefer gradual nurture over spectacular change. The Japanese who saw reformation as restoration and abhorred revolution welcomed English gradualism.

Because they felt themselves to have been accepted in Japan, the missionaries identified with their adopted society. Because they identified they felt secure, and they became increasingly open to new ideas, whether in their new

²⁴Cary, History, I, p. 418.

environment or in the world of thought at large. Their own contemporaries in England had formed parties. In doing so they had hardened the lines of difference between themselves and those opposed to them. In later life this hardening prevented them from accepting change. Conservatives like Pusey and Liddon became diehards. Erstwhile liberals like Jowett and Patteson retired into ivory towers of comfort or cynical disillusionment. But Shaw, Lloyd, Bickersteth and many others of their companions continued to grow, both intellectually and emotionally. Arthur Lloyd's attitude to Buddhism matured materially between, for example, The Higher Buddhism of 1893 and his The Creed of Half Japan written eighteen years later. Alexander Shaw first saw knowledge of Japanese culture as a tool for more efficient evangelism, but in later life he saw it as something lovely in itself.²⁵

A second area where growth and development were visible was in the relations of the Englishmen with their Japanese associates. At the beginning the English used indiscriminate and impersonal terminology to describe them. When Shaw went to live with Fukuzawa, he reported that he had gone to live "with the Japanese." But gradually names began to appear and personalities to emerge in his

²⁵ACS-SPG, 4/8/76: cf. "New Adverse Conditions in Japan," MF, 1899, pp. 425-428, and the incident mentioned in p. 196, fn. 94 above.

consciousness. So too with Lloyd. Of course, such a process of acquaintance was quite natural and common to anyone entering a strange environment. But, within the limitations of their paternalistic, hierarchical way of life, the Shiba men came prepared to enter into fairly close ties. Shaw's first experiment with Imai in 1879 developed into a closely-knit group of young Japanese. A little more than ten years later he was writing, "The prospect . . . is very bright. . . . These young men are really my chief hope." Four years later he was again expressing his happiness with his associates and comparing their relations to the "jealous spirit developed on the part of the Americans."²⁶

Perhaps the most basic reason why the Englishmen could feel at home in Japan was because they saw the Japanese primarily as people rather than as potential converts. This personalism extended beyond the Shiba Sect and may be seen in the attitudes of other British residents of Japan. John Batchelor, the pioneer student of the Ainu, lived for many years with a chief of that race and adopted two Ainu as his own children. Others intermarried with Japanese at a time when other Westerners considered such behaviour highly unorthodox. It was the final stage in an association which had produced so many of the first foreign students of Japanese culture and institutions.

²⁶ ACS-SPG, 29/6/88, 26/8/92.

D. The paradox of affirmation

The Shiba missionaries never carried their affirmation of Japanese culture through to complete identification. They remained open to Meiji society. Yet at the same time they identified with their own fellow countrymen by sharing in common activities, by sending their children back to England for their education, and in many other ways remaining foreign. They bequeathed a similarly paradoxical situation to the Seikōkai where Englishmen and Japanese worked in close association. On the one hand Japanese Anglicans felt at ease in their own society. But on the other their continuing loyalty to a heritage which had come to them from abroad inclined them to remain apart from both their fellow countrymen and from other Christians.

In order to grasp the true nature of the contribution which was made by the Shiba Englishmen, it is necessary to see them in their own world. They lived as nineteenth-century churchmen in Meiji Japan, and these particular horizons defined what they saw. In an age when their own country was developing the institutions of a modern, industrial, mass society, they serenely held to the values of High Victorianism. Their interests were limited by the nature of their activity, which was to propagate a certain kind of Christianity. To a later observer they often seemed to confuse culture and theology, never quite sure whether they were communicating a universal religion or a genteel

English view of civilization. In this they were at one with their friends of the diplomatic corps who still only partially practised separation of Church and State.

The missionaries never fully understood the nature and tenacity of the social forces with which they had to contend. They were so fascinated by the drive to modernize, which they interpreted as westernization, that their attention was diverted from the nature of the people who were doing the changing. They had some flashes of insight, as when Bickersteth commented on excessive Japanese interest in politics. But because they were conditioned by their interests to define religion as something institutional, they concluded that it meant the same thing for the Japanese. Thus they underestimated the force of the national consciousness, that vague web of values and relationships which constituted the real belief of the people.

This superficiality was especially noticeable in the attitude of the Englishmen to the Emperor. They equated the reverence shown to his person with stories told about the respect shown by their own ancestors to the Hanoverian King George II.²⁷ They never understood what the Japanese really meant when they spoke of the Emperor as the personification of the nation. In this they were no different from

²⁷Ritter, History, p. 267.

most of their fellow countrymen. Only one or two, like Syle or Chamberlain, saw through to the religious, or totalitarian, nature of the Emperor system.

The Japanese disciples of the missionaries, too, were prevented by their own affirmation of society from coming to grips with the contradiction in their position. They too had flashes of insight. Both Imai and Yamada were disturbed by the emphasis on militarism which was part of the nationalist tradition. But they tried to escape its implications by repudiating force and conjuring up the vision of a mythical golden age when the Japanese spirit had lived according to the arts of peace. They were unwilling to recognize the confrontation which remained latent in their consciousness. Later their successors could not escape the clash between the particularism of the old tradition and the universalism of the new.

Once the above limitations have been recognized, the significance of the Shiba Sect becomes apparent. The English missionaries and their Japanese comrades lived and worked at a time when the country was not yet ready for the kind of approach to cultural contact which they heralded. It was the age of Itō and Yamagata, of Palmerston and Parkes; in a word, of power politics. Intellectually, toleration of diverse ideas and systems of thought was still difficult for Japanese and Westerners alike. Ideas

of manifest destiny drove Americans to expand the frontiers of democracy and the Puritan spirit. Social Darwinism was seen as a victory of strong over weak societies.

The Shiba Englishmen sincerely believed the Christian gospel to be unique and final. They also thought that England had produced the greatest civilization of all time. At the same time they tolerated a greater degree of variety in their environment than might have been expected. As inheritors of a tradition of social leadership they felt little compulsion to change. Their security remained unchallenged by their experience in Japan. Furthermore, they belonged to a church which had learned to tolerate fairly sharp differences of theological outlook within its own ranks. Catholic and Protestant interpretations coexisted in the Church of England to an extent unknown in any other part of Europe or America. Finally, the English reverence for facts inclined them to value objective data more highly than abstract theory. Bickersteth understood that science had revealed something that was true. He therefore set about adjusting his beliefs to fit the new situation. Shaw and his disciples recognized the existence of Buddhism as a factor in their adoptive environment. So they respected it and tried to understand it.

In a similar way, the historical experience of the English people had led most of them to the conclusion that a neatly constructed society could not be attained by sudden

revolution. They therefore willingly put up with gradual change. This in turn meant that they were prepared to accept a great deal more variety and inconsistency to life in general. All of these factors helped to produce in the Shiba Sect, beneath the veneer of Victorian assurance, a real toleration of variety. As Shaw, the High Churchman, called the Unitarian Aston "a devout man," so Arthur Lloyd in later life saw in Buddhism and Christianity two expressions of a single truth.²⁸

Perhaps it was this willingness to put up with unsolved problems that allowed Japanese Anglicans to gloss over the latent contradictions in their own understanding so long. Their fellow countrymen in the American Protestant tradition had attempted to come to terms with the confrontation between their new faith and the old way of life, but they had underestimated the cost involved. They were able to salvage their own existence as Japanese Christians only by compromise and partial withdrawal. The Anglicans had been willing to approach the problem more slowly. In doing so they appear to have exhibited a kind of split personality. One half of them was conservative Japanese while another was Anglican.

²⁸KBKS, p. 261.

In a sense this approach reflected their realism. Japanese society was not yet ready to accept the radical pluralism represented by the continued presence of Christianity.²⁹ The situation can be compared to the intellectual climate of early Renaissance Europe. There society had been unable to tolerate a humanism which felt no need of faith, so the early humanists had divided faith and modern ideas into two compartments. This apparent compromise actually allowed them to proclaim the autonomy of each area. And of course it was the recognition of autonomy which prepared the way for a modern pluralistic view of society.

Somewhat similarly, those Japanese who had accepted the foreign faith were, in fact, forced to accommodate it at that stage by setting up a dualism which would allow them to "travel" between a Western church and their own Japan. But by this arrangement they could nurture and modernize their lives as Japanese and at the same time preserve their new ideas from the attacks of a hostile society. Certain early converts to Marxism in Japan used similar devices.³⁰

In the end, though, the real contribution of the Shiba Sect consisted in something even more basic than any of these attitudes. A society rushing to modernize itself had to

²⁹Maruyama, Shisō, p. 15.

³⁰Tenkō, p. 238, referring to the Marxist philosopher Kawakami Hajime.

follow many paths. It needed to lay economic foundations. Democratic institutions, educational opportunity, national autonomy, all had to be guaranteed their place. In this process Japan borrowed and used the ideas and institutions of many nations. But such interaction meant something different from true cultural communication. Japanese could borrow and use elements from Western society without necessarily understanding the society itself. They could treat ideas and institutions as things and not as living components of a complex pattern of culture. In the final analysis only communication between persons could produce cultural communication. What was needed was not merely knowledge about certain techniques or systems of thought but an opportunity for individuals of different cultures to live and work together. In the midst of a day-to-day routine in which a common responsibility for decisions about goals and methods were accepted; in short, by trusting each other as persons, the members of the Shiba Sect experienced the process of cultural communication in all its manifold complexity.

The American pattern, by its dialectical approach, helped Japan achieve that level of personal and intellectual autonomy which it needed in its development of a modern, urban, industrial way of life. The Shiba Sect stands as the symbol of a different approach. It stressed corporate endeavour toward a common goal. When they accepted each other as persons, Englishmen and Japanese could accept each other's cultures as different but appropriate each to its own heritage.

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APPENDIX I

Glossary of Japanese Names and Terms

- Abe Isoh 安部磯雄
 aikokushin 愛國心
 Aoki (Shūzō) 青木(周蔵)
 Arai Hakuseki 新井白石
 Baba Tatsui 馬場辰猪
 bakumatsu 幕末
 banzai sanshō 万歳三唱
 Beikoku mission ha 米国ミッシヨン派
 bōzu 坊主
 bummei kaika 文明開化
 bushidō 武士道
 Chiba (ken) 千葉(県)
 Chō Kiyoko cf. "Takeda"
 Chōshū (han) 長州(藩)
 chū 忠
 dōjuku 同宿
 Dōshisha yōgakkō 同志社洋学校
 Ebina Danjō 海老名弾正
 Edo 江戸
 enryo 遠慮
 Eta 穢多
 fukoku kyōhei 富國強兵
 Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉
 gakusha 學者
Gakutō 「學鐙」
 Gifu 岐阜
 Gumma (ken) 群馬(県)
 ha (batsu) 派(閥)
 haiku 俳句
 haikyō 背教
 hakkō ichiu 八紘一宇
 Hitotsubashi 一橋
 Hizen 肥前
 Iida Eijirō 飯田栄次郎
 Imai Toshimichi 今井壽道
 Inomata Kōzō 猪俣浩三
 Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎
 ishin 維新
 ishō 遺紹
 Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文
 Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視
 jashūmon 邪宗門
Jiji shimpō 「時事新報」

jinrikisha 人力車

Jiyūtō 自由党

jōi 攘夷

juku 塾

kaikoku 開國

Kaisei gakkō 開成学校

Kaishintō (立憲) 改進黨

kami 神

Kanagawa (ken) 神奈川県

kangae 考

kannagara 神ながら (惟神)

karō 家老

Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之

Kawaguchi 川口

Keiō (gijuku) 慶應 (義塾)

Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允

kijiku 機軸

kō [public] 公

kō [filial piety] 孝

Kōbe 神戸

Koizumi Shinzō 小泉信三

kokka Shintō 国家神道

kokugaku (sha) 国学 (者)

Kokumin no tomo 「國民之友」

kokutai 国体 (國體)

Kōran jogakkō 香蘭女学校

koritsu 孤立

kōtei 皇帝

Kumazawa Banzan 熊澤蕃山

Kyōbashi 京橋

kyokutan na 極端な親日家
shinnichi-ka

Kyōto 京都

Kyūshū 九州

maibotsu 埋没

Maruyama Masao 丸山真男

matsurigoto 政

Meiji 明治

Meiropusha 明六社

Mita 三田

Mori Arinori 森有礼

Motoda Sakunoshin 元田作之進

Nagasaki 長崎

Naha 那覇

naishin 内心

Nakae Chōmin 中江兆民

Nakamura Masanao (Keiu) 中村正直 (敬字)

nengō 年号

netsuke 根付け

Nichiren (shū) 日蓮 (宗)

Nihon Seikōkai 日本聖公会
 Nihon yūsen 日本郵船
 Niigata (ken) 新潟(県)
 Niijima Jō 新島襄
 Nikki (Nihon 日基(日本基督教會)
 Kirisuto Kyōkai)
 Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹
 Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稻造
 norito 祝詞
 Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信
 omae-san お前さん
 Ōsaka 大阪
 Ozaki Yukio (Gakudō) 尾崎
 行雄(号堂)
 Rangaku 蘭学
 Rikkyō gakuin 立教学院
 risshin shusse 立身出世
 Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山
 Satō Nobuhiro 佐藤信淵
 Satsuma (han) 薩摩(藩)
 Seikōkai 聖公会
 Seikyōsha 聖教社
 sekinin-kan 責任感
 sennin 仙人
 shi 私

Shi emu esu ha C.M.S. 派
 Shiba (ha) 芝(派)
 Shimada Otomaru 島田弟丸
 Shimōsa 下総
 Shin (shū) 真(宗)
 Shinagawa 品川
 Shingon (shū) 真言(宗)
 Shōgun 將軍
 Shōtoku (taishi) 聖德(太子)
 Soeshima Taneomi 副島種臣
 sōshi 壮士
 Sumiya Mikio 隅谷三喜男
 taiketsu 対決
 Tajimi Jūrō 多治見十郎
 Takeda (Chō) Kiyoko 竹田清子(長)
 Tamura Naoomi 田村直臣
 Tanzei Tarō 単税太郎
 tatemae 立7前
 tenjō mukyū 天壤無窮
 tenkō 転向
 tennō 天皇
 Tōkaidō 東海道
 Tokugawa 徳川
 Tokutomi Iichirō (Sohō) 徳富
 猪一郎(蘇峰)
 Tosa 土佐

Toyama Masakazu 外山正一

Tsuda Sen 津田 仙

tsugiki 接木

Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三

Uemura Masahisa 上村正久

Uragami 浦上

✓ Usui (tōge) 碓氷 (峠)

wakon yōzai 和魂洋財

Watanabe Kazan 渡邊 葦山

Yamada shingaku 山田神学

Yamada Sukejirō 山田助次郎

Yamato damashii 大和魂

Yaso no hempō 耶蘇の变法

yatoi 雇

yōgaku 洋学

Yokohama 横浜

Yoshida Shigeru 吉田茂

zaibatsu 財閥

Zen (shū) 禪 (宗)

APPENDIX II

Select Bibliography of Published Works by
Members of the Shiba Sect

Edward Bickersteth

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1888-1894.

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Hyakunen, p. 321), but is actually by his wife,
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Mrs. Bickersteth also wrote Japan (London, 1908).

L. B. Cholmondeley (pronounced "Chumly")

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[Younger members of the Shiba Sect also included the Canadian, Egerton Ryerson, who wrote The Netsuke of Japan, London, 1958; and Yoshizawa Naōe (C. N. Yoshizawa), who wrote a number of books on prayer.]

APPENDIX III

Extracts from the Contemporary Press

1. Obituary Notices for A. C. Shaw in Japan's English-language Press.

(Japan Mail, March 15, 1902)

The Archdeacon's career was in Japan. During nearly 30 years of his short life his ministrations were entirely in this country. The Japanese habitually spoke of him, Dr. Verbeck and Dr. Hepburn, as the three Seijin, and they spoke truly, for Archdeacon Shaw was one of those rare natures rich in noble qualities only, and absolutely free from the smallest trace of guile. Without commanding presence, and conspicuous chiefly for gentle, self-effacing ways, his influence was profounder and more permeating than that exercised by many a man of the most brilliant gifts. He won everywhere, not merely affection but love, and though religion, working with ordinary materials, could never have shaped such a character, he was none the less an honour to the Christianity which he so ardently espoused.

(Japan Register)

Tokyo has lost one of its oldest foreign residents in Archdeacon Shaw, and many of us, it is difficult to say how many, are feeling that we have lost one of our best and most trusted friends and counsellors. Quiet, unobtrusive, a man of excellent judgement, and of a singularly sympathetic and tactful nature, he knew how to conciliate friendships, and there have been few among the foreign residents who have been so well beloved among all classes as the late Archdeacon. There have been many evidences of the universal esteem in which he was held. One point remains to be noticed, a small point perhaps, but one which shows the affectionate character of the man. On the last day of his life, when he knew his hours were few, he summoned up what strength he had remaining to dictate to his wife his parting messages to some of his friends. One of these it has been our privilege to see. It shewed the

earnest desire of his soul for the welfare of a friend, and it was characteristic of him that in his dying hours he should have been mindful of the ties of friendship.

[N.B. Some of the above messages have been recorded in a notebook kept by Shaw's son, Norman. To Captain Brinkley: "I am grieved not to have seen Captain Brinkley again and I appreciate his work here." Basil Hall Chamberlain said of him, "We have all lost in him a friend and the example of a perfectly good man."]

2. A MODEST CHAPLAIN AS SEEN BY A JAPANESE

"Yorozu" Draws a Classic Portrait of a Quiet Christian Pastor

--No "Furo-oke" No Bath! Still Very Kind and Rich

To those who personally know the Chaplain to the British Embassy at Tokyo, the naivete of the Yorozu's account of the Rev. L. B. Cholmondeley must be extremely amusing if not positively delightful.

The occupant of a European house, whose brown paint is inclined to peel off, at 25 Iwato-cho, Ushigome, in the rear of a burial-ground, is over sixty in age (?), a Presbyterian of the Episcopal Church, and the Pastor of St. Barnaba's Church. He is known to be a noble man of the Cholmondeley Palace in England, but came out to Japan over twenty years ago, with plenty of money, to preach Christianity. Spending much for that object and also for purposes of charity anonymously, his bank deposits are understood to be still enormous. One day he watched a 'prentice boy steal his watch, but would say nothing, and on the following Sunday the young thief and other urchins of the neighbourhood were treated to the side-shows of Asakusa. Such a peculiar man!

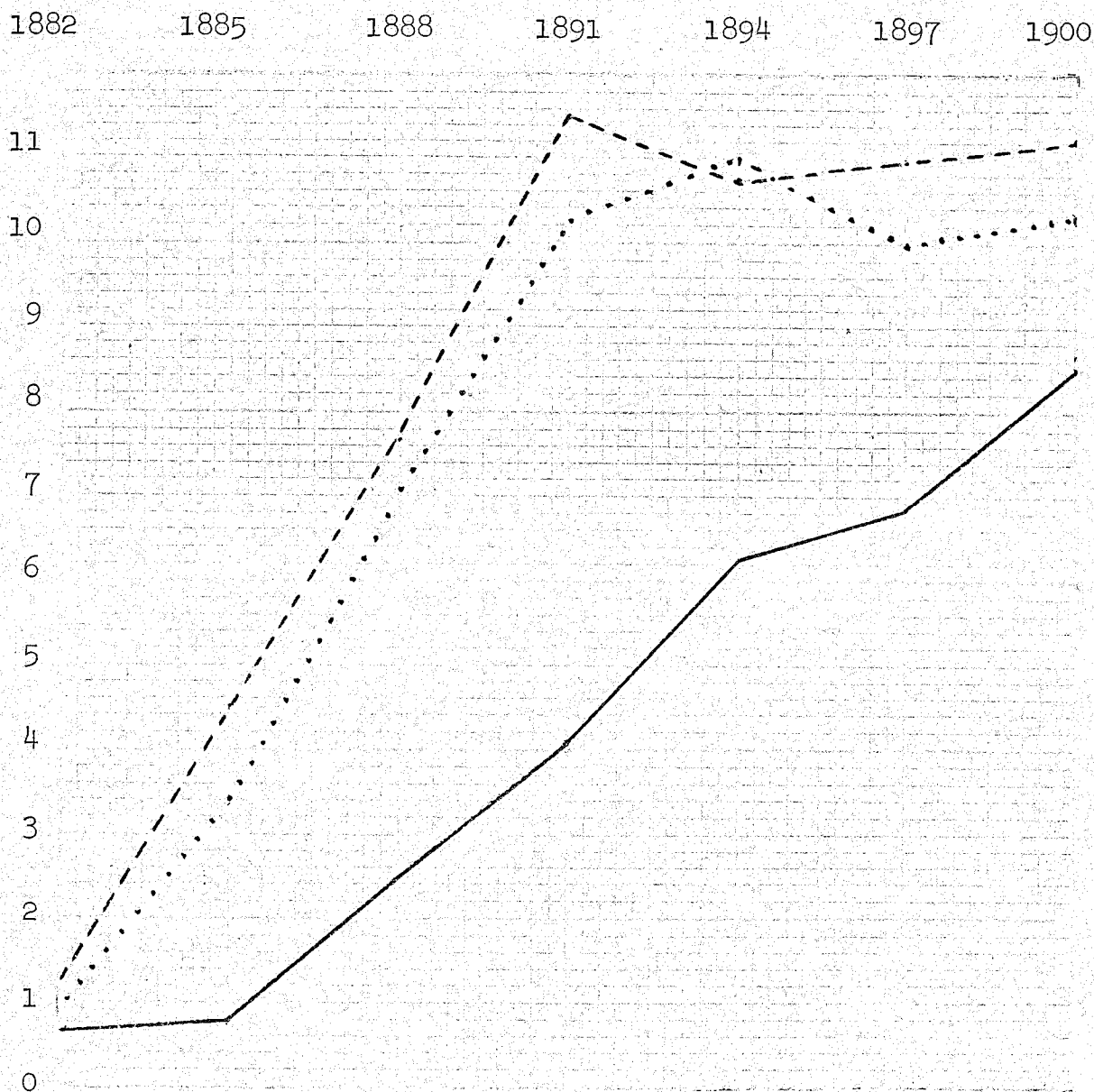
Born in a civilized country, and living in progressive Tokyo, this gentleman still dislikes gas or electricity, surprising his visitors with lamps of an antiquated style. Since coming to this country not even once has he bathed all these years, using every morning a basinful of hot-water for sponging all over (!). As soon as breakfast is over, he goes to church to begin the day. Of course he is a celibate, and keeps a man-cook and his wife. He likes Japan

very much, feels like a Japanese, and sent a congratulatory telegram to his mother country on the fall of Tsingtao, as well as riding about the city in tram cars and shouting Banzai everywhere at the top of his voice!

[Copied from the Japan Times, November 17, 1914, Lionel Berners Cholmondeley first came to Japan in 1887 as one of the first members of Bickersteth's University Mission. He left a multi-volume diary, now in the archives of the Nippon Seikōkai, Higashi 1-4-21, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, Japan, except for a few volumes which are in USPG archives.]

APPENDIX IV

Comparative Increase in Members: Seikōkai and Other
Protestant Groups



(Units of one thousand)

- Nihon Seikōkai (Anglican)
 - - - - - Nihon Kirisuto (Nikki, Presbyterian)
 Nihon Kumiai (Congregational)

Comparative Statistics for 1900

	Seikōkai	Kumiai	Nikki	Orthodox	R.C.
Total Missionaries	148	44	119	-	110 152*
Japanese clergy	45	38	81	376	32
Japanese lay workers	222	-	-	-	10*
Stations (churches)	219	192	238	296	251
Members	8,753	10,214	11,117	25,698	54,602
Contributions (in ¥1000)	10	31	34	9	-

(Figures from Tokyo Conference Report, 1900, pp. 882-883.)

* Men's and women's orders: includes ordained and lay workers.

Comparative Increase in Members: Seikōkai,
Nikki & Kumiai

