CANADIAN MISSIONARIES IN MEIJI JAPAN

Canadian Missionaries in Meiji Japan: The Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada (1873-1889)

Abstract.

This thesis concerns itself with the first Canadian Protestant Mission to Japan from the arrival of the first Canadian Methodist missionaries in 1873 to the formation of the Japan Mission Annual Conference in 1889. During the 1870's the Canadian Mission was able to estable Mission outposts in Tokyo, Shizuoka and Yamanashi Prefectures. Many of the Japanese who became converts of the Canadian Mission turned to Christianity because they thought the Western religion to be the essence of European civilization. These Japanese were motivated by patriotism to advocate the adoption of Christianity as being necessary for Japan's national advancement to its goal of equality with the Treaty Powers. During the mid-1880's the Canadian Mission grew very rapidly in terms of both missionary personal and converts as Japanese attitudes toward Christianity became more tolerant.

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts.

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PREFACE.

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Preface.

The majority of historical studies on Protestantism in Meiji Japan (1868-1912) have dealt with either American or British missions and their converts. However, the United States and Great Britain were not the only nations to send missionaries to late nineteenth century Japan for a third country, Canada, also did. One reason why I have chosen to write on the first Canadian Mission in Japan is to show that Japanese Protestantism was a more diverse phenomenon than the preoccupation with American Puritanism and British Anglicanism would imply. While it cannot be said that Canadian Methodism existed as a third distinct form of Protestantism in Meiji Japan, the Canadian experience was still different from the other two groups. The study of the Canadian Mission, therefore, can help in illuminating certain questions in regards to the development of Christianity in Japan.

Why did Christianity appeal to some Japanese? One answer can be seen in the views of Nakamura Keiu (Masanao, 1832-1891), a leading Western-studies scholar in the early Meiji period, who was one of the early converts of the Canadians and the leader of the Christian Koishikawa band in Tokyo. Why did so many for adherents of the Tokugawa Shogunate become Christians in the 1870's? An explanation can be found in looking at Shizuoka, the ancestral home of the Tokugawa family, which was the first Canadian Mission outpost in the interior of Japan. How did missionaries view the question of extrterritoriality and treaty revision in the 1880's?

Charles S. Eby (1845-1928), a Canadian missionary, was particularly outspoken on these issues. Why did Christianity expand so rapidly in the mid-1880's? The expansion of the Canadian Mission reveals some reasons for this. It is hoped, through the investigation of a Methodist Mission from Canada, that this thesis might add to knowledge of the Japanese Christian Movement in Meiji Japan.

This study covers the formative years of the Methodist Mission from the arrival of the first two Canadian missionaries in Japan in 1873 to the formation of the Japan Mission Annual Conference in 1889. Very little academic work has been published in English on this early period of Canadian Methodist missionary activity with the result that this thesis is very much of a pioneer work. Therefore, for methodological purposes, it was found best to adopt the narrative style throughout the main body of the study.

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part One deals with the formation of the first two Mission centres in Shizuoka and Koishikawa, Tokyo. The personal acquaintance between the Canadians and Edward Warren Clark (1849-1907), an American lay teacher, played a great part in why the Canadians were able to find openings in Shizuoka and Tokyo, and in part why they were so successful in converting Japanese in those two areas. Clark had a profound influence on Nakamura Keiu and was instrumental introducing him and other Japanese who were later converted to the Canadians. The Koishikawa band in Tokyo was centred in Nakamura's Doninsha school, a leading Western-studies institution. Personal contacts seemed to play a large part in why Japanese Protestantism developed in certain areas and not in others in the 1870's. The reasons for conversion of

Japanese such as Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu (1859-1940), who became a leading pastor with the Canadian Mission, will be investigated. It appears that a growing knowledge of the West led some Japanese to Christianity for not only did they see it as the essence of Western civilization but also as having a higher moral and ethical code than Confucianism. In terms of the pattern of expansion, the Koishikawa band in the 1870's developed as a family affair.

Part Two deals with the expansion of the Canadian Mission in the late 1870's and 1880's. Two new missionary centres were opened up in the late 1870's in Numazu and Kofū. In Numazu Ebara Soroku (1842-1922), who later became a prominent Christian educator and politican, was the leader of the Christian band. Like the earlier Koishikawa band where Nakamura Keiu was all important, the Numazu group developed through the instigation and good-will of Ebara Soroku, a man of local if not national reputation. In the 1880's Christianity faced two major challenges from Western scientific scepticism on the one hand and rising Japanese nationalism on the other. A Canadian missionary, Charles S. Eby, did much to assuage, in a series of lectures, the threat from scientific scepticism and also to show the Japanese that the missionaries were in sympathy with Japanese aspirations for an end to extraterritorialty and revision of the treaties. Eby aided in engendering a spirit of unity and optimism among Christians in Japan and in creating a favorable attitude toward Christianity among some Japanese which was necessary for the rapid expansion of Protestantism in the 1880's.

In these years the Canadian Mission grew enormously in terms not only of converts but also in foreign personnel. A major effort of the Canadians

was in education and particularly, after the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada started work in 1882, in the development of girls' schools. During the mid-1880's it seems that the Canadian Mission increased in numbers largely due to opening up new missionary centres and new areas of endeavour such as schools rather than in expanding in already established fields. In 1889 the Canadian Mission had grown to such an extent that the Japan Mission Annual Conference was formed which gave the Mission virtually equal status with other Canadian Conferences within the Methodist Church of Canada.

Primary source material for this study has been drawn from three major archival collections: the records of the Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada in the United Church Archives in Victoria College, University of Toronto; the records of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America in the Gardiner Sage Library of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.; and the William Elliot Griffis Collection in Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A. Certain individuals have been kind enough to help me gather additional information. Dr. and Mrs. W.H.H. Norman kindly lent me their manuscript on the Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada. Miss Constance Chappell, not only lent me valuable manuscripts in her possession, but also wrote to friends in Japan on my behalf. Professor Jerry K. Fisher of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., kindly sent me tapes concerning Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu and Nakamura Keiu.

I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Nobuya Bamba and P. D. Marshall of McGill University for their advice and encouragement. I would also like to thank Professors C. H. Powles, of Trinity College

and Ernest E. Best of Victoria College, University of Toronto for the many illuminating conversations on Japanese Christianity I had with them during the time I was researching in Toronto.

INTRODUCTION

The Formation of the Japan Mission

Toronto, January 3rd 1873

> Dear Brother
> The Committee to whom was confided the responsibility of making the choice of brethern to commence a Mission to Japan have with great unanimity nominated you to take charge of this important enterprize of the Church.
> Personally we express our gratification that it is our duty to present this request for your acceptance, and trust the Spirit of God may abundantly rest upon you, inclining your heart to this noble work, and baptizing you for this special service to extend the Gospel of the Grace of God to the millions who are so destitute of the knowledge of Salvation (1).

So read the letter to George Cochran (1834-1901) from Enoch Wood and Lachian Taylor, the General Secretaries of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, inviting him to become one of the two missionaries to open its first foreign mission in Japan (2). The other minister asked to go with Cochran was Davidson McDonald (1837-1905). The Wesleyan Methodist Church was missionary in spirit and aims as the formation of the Japan Mission suggests (3). The Canadian Wesleyan Methodists had already been carrying out a very extensive missionary program in North America.

This missionary work had started in the early 1830's among the plains and mountain Indians of the North-West. Until after Confederation, when the Dominion was extended to incorporate this region, the stations in the North-West were regarded as Foreign Missions. Among the most famous of the early missionaries on the prairies were Robert Rundle, a British Wesleyan, after whom the magnificent mountain near Banff was named, and the Canadians George and John McDougall. In 1859 missionary work was started beyond the Rockies in British Columbia where Ebenezer Robson worked to convert the coastal tribes. Ten years later, a mission was opened at

Fort Garry in the Red River country under George Young. In 1872 the first missionary Conference in the North-West was held there. At the same time as work among the Indians in the North-West was being expanded, other missions were started in Quebec to convert the French - Canadian Roman Catholics to Protestantism. German missions were also formed in Hamilton and in Southern Ontario to cater for the spiritual needs of German immigrants (4).

The first suggestion of adding an overseas mission to the activities of the Church came from Dr. Morley Punshon (1824-1881) (5). Punshon felt that foreign missions had great value in quickening missionary zeal and deepening the spiritual life at home (6). In 1871 a Committee was formed to select the most suitable place to open the first foreign mission and finally Japan was selected for a number of reasons, though, some opposed Japan as a field because the missionaries would have to learn the difficult language, and some suggested that a mission to Italy, the heart of Roman Catholicism, would prove more fruitful (7). The most obvious reason was that the British Wesleyan Methodists did not have a mission there, although they had stations in Ceylon, India, South Africa, Australasia and China. The Canadian Mission to Japan would fill the gap in this world-wide Wesleyan network. In 1866 Protestant missionaries and other foreigners meeting for the Week of Prayer in Yokohama sent a letter to all the major missionary societies in the United States and Great Britain asking them to send out reinforcements or open missions in Japan (8). Up intil 1871 no Methodist Church had sent men in answer to this call, although at the same time as the Canadians were contemplating a Japan Mission so was the

Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. In 1872 George MacKay, the Canadian Presbyterian, landed in Formosa and inaugurated the first Canadian Mission in the Far East, which undoubtedly spurred on the Methodists to start their foreign mission in Japan.

In October 1872 at the Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society held in Brockville, it was reported that the Society had a surplus of $6,305.82. It was moved by John MacDonald, the lay treasurer of the Society, and seconded by Punshon that this sum be used to establish the Japan Mission (9). The optimistic mood of this meeting is seen in the words of W. H. Gibbs, the Member of Parliament for Oshawa:

> The past year has been one of great prosperity, and we should remember that this imposed upon us weighty obligations. The day of small things, as regards the Dominion, was past and the same was true of our Mission-work. We have occupied the great territory of the North-West, and we would hear more about that great country from the members of the Deputation who had visited during the past year. Our work has now crossed the continent, and our Society has now launched its Pacific, he hoped that ere long she would cast anchor in the harbor of Yokohama, and our Missionaries would preach the Gospel to the millions of Japan. We have a glorious future before us in this great country and I trust our Mission work will keep pace with our material advancement (10).

In this extract, can perhaps be seen a sense of Canadian nationalism. Certainly it reveals a consciousness of the opportunities to be grasped in the West and possibly the realization that the main missionary work in the future would be there (11). A feeling of pride is shown in that the Wesleyan Methodists had already spanned the continent and now were about to embark on a venture beyond its boundaries. Many of the Wesleyan Methodists were enthusiastic about the Japan Mission and perhaps shared similar views with Gibbs, as during the winter of 1872 more than $10,000

was raised by special subscription for the equipment of the Japan missionaries.

One of the leading supporters of the proposal for a foreign mission was Alexander Sutherland (1833-1910) (12). In 1874 Sutherland was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the newly formed Methodist Church of Canada. He held this position until his death in 1910. Sutherland has been described as "a missionary statesman in an imperial, if at times imperious manner" (13). The Japan Mission was only one of his many concerns, but he was thoroughly informed about it, and it developed along the lines he dictated. The image that Canadian Methodists had of Japan work came from Sutherland, for after 1878 he censored all missionary letters to the Methodist weekly newspaper, the Christian Guardian, and was editor of the other missionary organ, the Missionary Outlook. Sutherland was conservative and cautious in his approach to mission work in Japan. This was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that he was responsible for the raising of funds for missionary work, and he proved to be very effective in raising money. This naturally led him to want to see no wastage of money, which might cause a decrease in giving if it became known. The Japan Mission suffered from a perennial shortage of mone; nonetheless throughout Sutherland was extremely fair to it, in the light of the income of the Society and the demands placed upon it by other missions. Sutherland always remained an advocate of the Japan Mission through all its difficulties, and always wielded his power for what he thought was its best interest.

The two missionaries chosen by the Mission Board to open the field in Japan were both among the very best of Wesleyan Methodist ministers.

George Cochran had been born in Ireland but his family came out to Upper Canada shortly after his birth and settled on a farm near Owen Sound. He went through a religious experience in 1852 with the result that he felt called to the ministry and was taken on probation in 1854. During the next eighteen years, Cochran held numerous appointments in southern Ontario culminating in his becoming the pastor of the new Metropolitan Church in Toronto, one of the most prestigious pastorates in the Church. He was a self-educated man, for he had been brought up on a farm where there were no opportunities for higher education. However, he collected a library of choice and valuable books as well as taking private lessions in Hebrew and Greek to improve his biblical knowledge. By 1873 he was known as a man of deep learning and good intellect; this is further exemplified by the fact that when he returned from the Japan Mission, he became Dean of the Maclay Theological College, which was founded by a retired Methodist Episcopal missionary, and later Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Southern California. Cochran was also noted as being an excellent orator. He was married with three young children whom he took out to Japan with him; one of his daughters, Maud Cochran, later in the 1880's served for five years as a missionary with the Canadian Methodist Woman's Missionary Society.

Davidson McDonald was born in Picton, Ontario, of Scottish parents. After graduating from the local Grammar School, he entered the business world. McDonald underwent a religious experience in 1858 and the following year was received on probation for the ministry. After attending Victoria College in Coburg, the Methodist institution for higher learning he was ordained in 1864 and took up pastoral duties. In 1870 he was given permission to attend the medical school of Victoria College from which he

graduated a doctor in medicine at the convocation of 1873. McDonald was married but he did not have any children. While studying medicine, he had been living with Enoch Wood, the General Secretary of the Missionary Society. As Wood was very much involved with the planning of the Japan Mission, it is obvious that McDonald was influenced by him. McDonald remained in Japan except for furloughs for the rest of his life after 1873. He died in Toronto in 1905, while on leave from Japan, on the day of the announcement of Admiral Togo's victory over the Russians in the Tsushima Straits. In his later years he was known largely to the foreign community in Tokyo as a doctor and a mason rather than a missionary even though for many years he was President of the Japan Mission Annual Conference (14).

Although Cochran and McDonald went to Japan by the order of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society rather than by their own accord, both had been known to be very much in sympathy with the idea of the Japan Mission. It is to be noted that both these men went through a religious experience at an adult age. This was a personal conversion which changed their lives in that it was on account of this intense experience that they decided to join the ministry. This religious experience is a characteristic which is seen in the New England Puritanism that certain American Protestant missionaries imported to Japan (15). The two Canadian missionaries had a wealth of varied experience behind them and were mature men. Cochran was thirty-nine years old and McDonald thirty-six, when they went to Japan.

On May 7th 1873 an enthusiastic valedictory service was held for them in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, presided over by Morley Punshon. The

next week the missionaries left for Japan, travelling across the United States to San Francisco where they embarked on a steamer for Yokohama.

Footnotes

1. Hls g4 (Folder 109) in the United Church Archives located in Victoria College, University of Toronto, hitherto designated (UCA).

2. This mission was also the first Canadian mission in Japan. It was not until 1888, when the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada sent out two missionaries, that a second Canadian Church entered the field.

3. The missionary attitudes of the Methodists can be summarized in Wesley's phrase, "I look upon all the world as my parish". Alexander Sutherland, Methodism in Canada: Its Work and Its Story (London, 1903), p. 270.
It was generally felt the great purpose of the Methodist Church was to preach the gospel to the whole creation, and its mission was only fulfilled in so far as this was done.

The Canadian Methodist movement itself started as an extension of the missionary programs of the American Methodist Episcopal Church and the British Wesleyan Methodist Church in the years after the American Revolutionary War. After 1833 the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, the largest Methodist body in British North America, was organized as a Conference under the supervision of the General Conference of the British Wesleyan Methodists.

Until 1872 the missionary work of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodists was carried out in conjunction with the British Church. One of the reasons why foreign missionary activity on the part of Canadian Churches was a lade development, is due to the fact that most of them were daughter churches of missionary societies. They had to achieve independence from the fostering societies before embarking on a foreign missionary program.

4. It has to be remembered that the domestic missions of the Canadian Methodists especially those in what became the Canadian West were the paramount concern of the Missionary Society. This was particularly true once the Canadian Pacific railway was built and large-scale immigration to the Canadian West began.

5. William Morley Punshon was a distinguished British Wesleyan Methodist, who had been invited in 1868 to Canada to become the President of both the Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodists in Canada and of the Wesleyan Methodists of Eastern British America. Punshon was the man responsible for the working out of a union of Methodist bodies in the new Dominion which occured in 1874. By this union, the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada joined with the Wesleyan Methodists of Eastern British America and the New Connexion Methodist Church to form the Methodist Church of Canada. In 1882 the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada joined the Methodist Church of Canada.

The union of 1874 added missions in Newfoundland and Bermuda to the work of the Missionary Society.

It has been written about Punshon that he was a man of "deep

scholarship and moving eloquence", he led the larger conferences to a vision of the time "when, beneath the flag of that Dominion, there will be but one mighty Methodist organization with its voice of praise and prayer...reaching from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean".
H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, (Toronto, 1956) p. 216.

6. It has to be stressed that Punshon had tremendous influence over Canadian Wesleyans. The motivation for a foreign mission, just as it had for Methodist union, largely came from him. Punshon's interest in foreign missions can be seen in the fact that, after his return to England in 1873, he became one of the Secretaries of the Missionary Society of the British Wesleyan Church. The Canadians acknowledge Punshon's role in bringing about the Japan Mission as is seen in:
Alexander Sutherland, Methodist Church and Missions in Canada and Newfoundland, (Toronto, 1905) p. 220

7. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, No. XIII, November 1871 (UCA) p. 199.

8. Charles W. Iglehart, A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan (Rutland, Vt., 1959), p. 42.

9. Christian Guardian, October 16th 1872.

10. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, No. XVII, November 1872 (UCA) p. 258.

11. Canadians looked with hope toward Western development. H. H. Walsh wrote concerning the West and Confederation:

> Union of all the self-governing colonies in British North America was seen as a preliminary step towards nationhood, but even then Canada would remain small both in population and in wealth in comparison to her expanding neighbour to the south. There was one obvious way that this disparity might be overcome - by the opening up of the northwest to colonization under the control of a federal government at Ottawa; western expansion also was seen by some as a means of reconciling Canada's two cultures through enlarged boundaries and greater national responsibilities.
> H. H. Walsh, op.cit. p. 228

The Wesleyans Methodists were in tune with the thinking of other Canadians in their stress upon the West. W.H.H. Gibbs was a federal politician and therefore it was perhaps only natural that he was express these aspirations.

12. Alexander Sutherland had been born in Guelph township and took up the profession of printer there. In 1852 he had a religious experience and became a probationer with the Wesleyan Methodist Church. After his ordination in 1859, he held various pastoral charges but more importantly he made his mark as an administrator. In 1874 at the First General Conference of the newly formed Methodist Church of Canada, Sutherland was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Missionary Society. In 1878 at the Second General Conference, on the retirement

of Enoch Wood, he also became General Secretary of the Missionary Society. Sutherland held these positions until his death in 1910. During the thirty-six years that he was an officer of the Missionary Society, he dominated the whole sphere of Canadian Methodist missionary work both domestic and foreign. Outside the Methodist Church, Sutherland was for some years President of the Ontario Temperance and Prohibitory League and afterwards was President of the Prohibition Third Party in that province.

13. H. H. Walsh op.cit., p. 279.

14. Japan Evangelist, Vol. XII No. 3 March 1905, pp. 72-80.
Nathaniel Burwash wrote of McDonald's medical work in Shizuoka:

> Such was his success that the Church at home begrudged the time and strength given to what they considered outside work, and suggested that his whole time should be given to the evangelistic work in which he was so successful. But when yielding for a little to this suggestion, a poor man came to him, with tears in his eyes, saying, "My child died because you did not go to save it", his heart told him, as it could not tell those at home, how essentially his evangelistic work was linked in with his loving work as a physician, opening to him the hearts of all the people so that he was soon to be "the most beloved missionary in all Japan".

Nathaniel Burwash Reverend Davidson Macdonald M.D., (Toronto; 1917), p. 12 G7b 302 (UCA).
While McDonald lived in Tokyo after 1879, he was appointed physician to the American Legation and was also consulted by the British, Spanish, French and Austian Legations. He also was doctor to many missionaries of all denominations including Roman Catholics. At the same time as being a physician to foreigners, he also did much unpaid work among the Japanese poor.

15. John F. Howes "Japanese Christians and American Missionaries" in Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization, edited by Marius B. Jansen, (Princeton 1969), pp. 337-368, p. 345.

The two Wesleyan Methodist missionaries have many characteristics in common with some of the American Protestant missionaries. However, the author does not think that the two Canadians can be said to have the same approach and attitude to Chiristian work in Japan as the Americans.

The upbringing and religious inclination of the Canadians is somewhat similar to their American counterparts from New England, dealt with in Howes' article. Wesleyan Methodism had its origins in the missionary zeal engendered by the Evangelical Revival in England in the 18th century. It was heavily influenced by the pietism of the Moravians and the German Lutherans at Halle. However, Wesleyan Methodism grew out of a schism with the established Church of England but still retained much of the doctrine of the older Church. One

important feature that Wesleyan Methodism retained was Arminianism and its opposition to Calvinism. The Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Dutch Reformed Churches from whom Howes takes representative missionaries in his study come from a Calvinistic origin. Therefore, they are different from Wesleyan Methodists.

The Methodist approach to missionary work was different to that of other missions in Japan. Albert Carman, the General Superintendant of the Methodist Church of Canada, wrote in 1898 about this:

> That the Presbyterian missions and the Episcopaliam missions of England and America are laboring in each case to build up an independent and distinctly organized Japanese Church, each after its own pattern and seperate from the Church at home. This is their theory, and they work accordingly. On the other hand the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, like our own, are toling to build up churches in Japan in organic connection with the home churches. The question of final seperation from the home church just now lies in abeyance. The Congregationalist, or Kumai churches have, after their system, attempted to erect each local society into a separate church, and zealously preached independence to the Japanese Christians; of which propagandism they are now reaping some bitter fruits.

Albert Carman, Report of the General Superintendent's Official Visit to the Mission in Japan, Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1898, pp. 14-15. (UCA).

The Canadian approach to missionary work was different to that of Protestant missionaries of other denominations.

PROLOGUE

Changing Attitudes toward Christianity in Japan

In 1859 when the first Protestant missionaries arrived in Japan, a very negative attitude greeted them because of the anti-foreign and anti-Christian tradition of this insular country in the Far East. Fourteen years later, however, the Canadians, upon landing, found a much more sympathetic view already prevailing. To understand the success of the Canadian Mission in the 1870's, then, it is appropriate first to investigate why and how the Japanese attitude toward Christianity changed so rapidly during this initial decade or so.

Sakoku and the ban on Christianity.

In 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) founded the Tokugawa Shogunate. Ieyasu and his immediate successors hoped to institute a system of government aimed at giving Japan stability and internal peace thus ensuring the control of the country for the Tokugawa family forever. In 1614 as part of this aim Ieyasu expelled all missionaries and promulgated a proscription edict against Christianity. He felt that a religion which denounced Shintō Kami and the teaching of Buddha as false and which was contrary to the Chu Hsi Neo-Confucian doctrine of his government, could not be tolerated. The Tokugawa rulers also regarded missionaries as harbingers of foreign aggression because of their intimate connection with the Portuguese and Spanish traders. Furthermore, the greatest number of converts tended to be found among those who were opposed to the

Tokugawa hegemony namely the Toyotomi rebels and the subjects of the outer lords (tozama, Tokugawa's traditional enemy) in the south-western part of Japan (1). As a corollary to the proscription edict, all Japanese were directed to become members of one of the principal sects of Buddhism and the Buddhist priests held responsible for seeing that none became Christian.

Despite the ban on Christianity, missionaries still continued to appear in Japan, smuggled there aboard Portuguese and Spanish merchant vessels. By the 1630's Tokygawa Iemitsu (1603-1651) had begun to think the best way of preventing these unwelcome intruders from coming to Japan was to stop completely the already dwindling trade with the Iberians. The Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638), in which Japanese Christians reputedly participated, spurred him on finally to put his ideas into effect. In 1638 the sakoku (closed-country) policy was adopted, which closed Japan to all foreign intercourse except with the Dutch and Chinese who were allowed limited trading privileges at Nagasaki.

The sakoku policy was instituted at a time when no European state had sufficient strength in the Far East to challenge it. Portuguese and Spanish power was on the decline; England was still not a maritime nation of any substance; and the Dutch thrown back to their East Indies bases with the loss of Formosa were content with their meagre foothold in Japan. Moreover, there was little in Japan to interest the European merchant for it offered nothing which could not be found elsewhere in Asia. Over the years the sakoku

policy became sanctioned by tradition and very much a matter of habit for the Japanese.

Rangaku and its pragmatic spirit.

The eighteenth century saw the genesis of a new attitude toward the West. This stemmed from Arai Hakuseki (1656-1725), a leading Confucian scholar, who as a result of his interviews with Giovanni Sidotti (1668-1716), a missionary who had been captured while trying to enter Japan in 1708, felt that there was no danger to Japan from Christianity. In 1720 the 8th Shogun, Yoshimune (1683-1751), influenced by Arai's mild views, relaxed the ban on the importation of books dealing with Western subjects (except Christianity) which hitherto had been an aspect of the sakoku policy. Yoshimune did this for a utilitarian and pragmatic purpose as he was interested in the benefits that might accrue from Western scientific knowledge and saw that the adoption of certain foreign skills could materially help Japan.

The result was the beginning of the rangaku (Dutch-Learning) school. As opposed to the kangaku (Chinese-Learning) school which stressed knowledge of the Confucian classics, the rangaku school concentrated upon practical studies and was thoroughly pragmatic in its orientation. In some fields such as medicine, astronomy and military science, it was found that European methods were superior to the Chinese. However, the ban on Christianity was still enforced

and most scholars stayed away from it. Though a few individual rangakusha (Dutch-Learning Scholars), such as Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821) and much later Watanabe Kazan (Noboru, 1793-1841), who translated from the Dutch a life of Christ, did superficially look at Christianity (2).

The practical advantages that might be gained from Western techniques led the Tokugawa Shogunate and many individual daimyo (lords), particularly the tozama ones, to sponsor samurai scholars in Dutch studies. Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788), the leading member of the Tokugawa Government from 1760 to 1786, was especially a great patron of the rangaku school. This was partially due to sheer avid curiosity for things Occidental which many Japanese shared with him. More important, though, was Tanuma's desire to find a solution to the chronic economic problems that beset Japan during the period he was in power. Traditional methods proved ineffective in solving these, and it is apparent that Tanuma did consider seriously the re-opening of Japan to foreign trade as a possible solution (3). This, however, was too drastic a step for the tradition-bound Tokugawa Government to take and the sakoku policy remained in force.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Russian activities in the Maritime Province and Sakhalin islands had caused the re-emergence of the fear of foreign aggression. This was further exacerbated by the appearance of foreign ships in Japanese waters such as H.M.S. Phaeton which entered Nagasaki in 1808. Simultaneously, however, patriotic concern for Japan's safety, stimulated by the overseas threat, created a growth of interest in the rangaku school,

mainly in Western military science as it had useful applications in building up Japan's coastal defences. China's defeat in the Opium War (1839-1842) further produced great alarm for it revealed the over-whelming superiority of European arms over the military forces of the strongest Empire in the Far East. Rangakusha such as Takashima Shuhan (1798-1866), Takano Nagahide (Choei, 1804-1850) and Sakuma Shonan (1811-1864) were acutely aware of the posed to their country by the West.

Yet, in the 1840's, their pleas for the development of, for example, a navy composed of warships of foreign design to protect coastal waters were almost completely ignored by the Tokugawa Shogunate. Their ideas, however, did have influence upon some patriots such as Katsu Awa (Kaishu, 1823-1899) and Yokoi Shonan (1809-1869), who were concerned with Japan's welfare. Patriotism moved the rangakusha to stress that benefit could be gained from the practical and utilitarian aspects for foreign learning. The implication of change in this was not entirely acceptable to the Tokugawa Government or the Japanese people at large, and in fact, some were assassinated for expressing their views. After Perry's arrival, their acknowledgement of European scientific superiority led some of them to search for the motive force behind this Western superiority, which further caused their interest in Christianity.

From Sonno-Joi to Kaikoku-Tobaku.

The coming of the Americans to Japan in 1853, followed the next

year by the British and Russians, threw the country into turmoil. The Tokugawa Shogunate proved too weak to eject the foreigners in accordance with the sakoku policy and the xenophobic sentiment of the people. Japan's weakness moved patriots to think of means by which the country could be strengthened so as not to be at the mercy of the foreigners. Certain rangakusha, such as Katsu Awa, were consulted by the Tokugawa Government for opinions as to the best way of dealing with the intruders. Katsu urged the establishment of a navy along foreign lines which would be financed through the promotion of trade (4). Yokoi Shōnan was another who urged continued relations with the West. In 1857 Yokoi became a political advisor to Matsudaira Shungaku (1828-1890), the daimyo of Echizen; he also was a close friend of Ōkubo Ichiō (1817-1888), and both of whom had influence in the Tokugawa Government (5). However, the inability of the Tokugawa Shogunate to deal with the foreigners manifested itself in 1858 when the Western Powers forced it to accept treaties which guaranteed the right of trade and residence at specified treaty ports (6).

Its impotency led many to question openly the Tokugawa Shogunate's right to rule and to see the solution to the troubles that racked Japan in the expulsion of the foreigners and the restoration of the Emperor to power. The sonnō-jōi (Expel the Barbarian-Revere the Emperor) school of thought had widespread support in the tozama provinces especially in Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa. Through the indecision within its own leadership and financial bankruptcy, the Tokugawa Government swiftly became incapable of controlling its internal

critics or effectively stabilizing relations with the foreigners.

In the 1860's the extreme anti-foreign doctrine of the sonnō-jōi group was modified by various factors. Twice the Treaty Powers used force against the Japanese. In 1863 a Royal Navy flotilla bombarded Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma province, in retaliation for the assassination of C. Lennox Richardson, an English merchant, by Satsuma samurai. Again in 1864 an international squadron destroyed fortifications along the Shimonoseki Straits which Chōshū troops had armed in order to bar the passage of foreign ships into the Inland Sea. These two incidents were followed by a peaceful international display of naval strength off Osaka in 1865 aimed at illustrating the Western Powers' preparedness to use force if the treaty stipulations of 1858 were not enforced. These events proved to the Japanese the impossibility of expelling the foreigners. The Osaka Affair of 1865 marked the turning-point in Japanese-Western relations for afterwards there was a definite decline of virulent anti-foreignism (7). It became bluntly plain that the only way Japan could become strong enough to stand up against the Treaty Powers was through the mastery of Western military techniques. Western learning, therefore, was necessary, and specialists in it needed to deal with the foreigners. As contact and knowledge of the West increased, so a more tolerant attitude emerged and, consonant with it a less negative view of Christianity.

Though anti-foreignism declined, anti-Tokugawa sentiment increased during the 1860's, as the Tokugawa Shogunate demonstrated its incapacity to govern the country. In 1864 this opposition to the Tokugawa

Government took the form of armed rebellion when Chōshū rose, but they were defeated. In 1866 Chōshū rebelled again, this time aided by Satsuma forces, and the combined strength of these two tozama provinces defeated the Tokugawa armies everywhere. From then on, it was only a matter of time until the whole structure of the Tokugawa Government was to collapse completely. The final debacle came in 1868, when Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa and Hizen forces deposed the Shogun and restored the Emperor Meiji (1851-1912) to power (8).

Article 5 of the Charter Oath of April 1868

The aims, powers and machinery of the new Meiji Government were published by Imperial Proclamation in June 1868. This Imperial Proclamation incorporated in it the Charter Oath which the Emperor Meiji had taken on April 6, 1868. The Charter Oath had five articles, the substance of which, according to Komura Jutarō (1855-1911), then a young student and much later Foreign Minister during the Russo-Japanese War, was "Representative government, National Unity, Liberty, Civilization and Promotion of Knowledge. Thus, his present Majesty has begun his prosperous reign with the promise of liberty for the people and free intercourse with foreign nations- a reign hopeful as happy for the people at home and honorable for the nation abroad" (9).

Article 5 of the Charter Oath stated "Knowledge shall be sought

throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule" (10). This showed the new Government's approval of relations with the West, and made the acquisition of foreign learning as the first order of business. The determination of the Meiji Government to change Japan and to set it on a new road, directed at bringing about equality between the Empire and the Western Powers, is summed up in the slogan Fukoku-kyohei (Enrich the Nation, Strengthen its Arms). Western science was encouraged as the sole means of achieving progress; Chinese learning was denounced in favour of jitsu-gaku (substantial learning) of the West (11). Komura stated:

> At about this time, the study of foreign languages became universal. The superiority of European politics, literature, philosophy, science, and arts excited admiration of those who studied anything about the subject. Translations of miscellaneous useful books by Fukuzawa, Uchida and versions of law books by Mitsgkuri and others had certainly a great influence upon the Japanese mind (12).

The Meiji Government's drive for Western knowledge did not bring about any immediate change in Japanese attitude toward Christianity. The first step taken by the new Government in regard to religion was an attempt to establish Shinto as the State religion. Shinto, because of its emphasis on the divinity of the Emperor and its being a native Japanese religion, naturally appealed to the Meiji leaders as a means to aid the consolidation of their power and national unity (13).

Verbeck and Missionary Efforts to Change Japanese Attitudes toward Christianity.

classes (18). In 1868 he wrote to J. M. Ferris, the Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Mission Board the "more than a year ago I had two very important pupils, Soyezima and Ookuma, who studied through with me a large part of the N.T. and the whole of our national constitution" (19). These two students were Soejima Tanemori (1828-1905), who became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Meiji Government in 1871, and Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), who became Minister of Finance in 1873.

In 1868 Verbeck was asked by his friends in the new Meiji Government to come to Tokyo "to establish a university or something of the kind" (20). He came to Tokyo, with thirty-six of his students from Nagasaki, to become professor and in 1870 principal of the Nankō Daigaku (21). In 1870 Verbeck wrote to Ferris about this college:

> At present time there is being translated and published by our College, from the French, the "Code Napoleon", from the English, "Perry's Political Economy" and from the Dutch, "Humbolt's Cosmos". Of the former two, some parts have been already published. It is a real pleasure to hear a man say: "I have just read the first volume of "Buckle's History of Civilization" and am going on to the second", or to have a man come and request you to help him with some hard passage in "Wayland's Moral Science". And of all this there was next to nothing only ten years ago! Is this not progress? (22).

This extract reveals that Article 5 of the Charter Oath was being taken seriously. As Verbeck noted, it also shows that a tremendous change had occured in Japan. Not only did Verbeck himself teach in Japanese schools, but also he arranged for some Japanese students to study abroad in the United States and, conversely, hired Americans

In 1859 the first Protestant missionaries of the Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed Churches of the United States arrived in Japan, and were joined within months by the Baptists (14). Foreigners by the treaties of 1858 could reside in the treaty ports but they could not, because of the ban on Christianity, propagate the Gospel (15). The first missionaries settled in two major centers, Yokohama and Nagasaki. Those living in Yokohama were placed in a particularly hostile situation because in those places the Legations of the Western Powers were located and so were naturally centers for xenophobic activity. The missionaries in Nagasaki were not confronted with such an open and violent hatred (16).

Few men did more to change Japanese attitudes toward the West and Christianity than Guido F. Verbeck (1830-1898), a Dutch Reformed missionary. He is the most important missionary and perhaps even the most influential foreigner in Japan in this regard. Verbeck had influence in two major areas, education and as an advisor to the Meiji Government after 1868 (17).

In 1859 when Verbeck arrived in Japan, he settled in Nagasaki where he soon found himself engaged in tutoring Government interpreters and others sent to him from neighbouring provinces. In 1863 Verbeck accepted the appointment of superintendent and teacher at the Government School for languages and foreign sciences in Nagasaki. The Governor of Nagasaki recommended him for the position even though he knew Verbeck was a missionary. By 1865 this school had over a hundred pupils with Verbeck himself only teaching the advanced

teachers for Japanese schools (23).

As well as being principal of the Nankō Daigaku, Verbeck also served as an advisor to the Meiji Government. In 1868 through his friendship with Ōkuma, he had been asked to give his advice in matters concerning the Imperial Proclamation of June of that year (24). In 1869 when the Meiji Government had begun to consider sending an Embassy abroad in order to negotiate with Western states the revision of the Treaties of 1858, Verbeck wrote a Brief Sketch in which he outlined his ideas concerning the organization, purpose and scope of the Japanese Embassy which might be sent abroad (25). In 1872 Verbeck wrote to Ferris about the Iwakura Embassy: "The Embassy is organized according to my paper (which I had sown in faith more than two years before) and sailed two months from the date of my paper being known to Iwakura and the Emperor" (26). Verbeck's purpose in writing the sketch was the hope that the Embassy sent abroad would aid in bringing religious toleration for Christianity. He added at the end of the paper a most important postscript in which he defined the meaning of religious toleration:

> Not a word need even be said or written about it in any Treaty or other public document. All that is necessary in this matter is that the people and the world generally know that the ancient cruel edicts against western religions have been repealed, and that as long as a subject is loyal to his Emperor, obeys the laws of his country, lives in peace with his neighbours, attends honestly to his trade, and commits no open crime or immorality, so long he shall not be persecuted for his faith, whether it be Buddhism, or Confucianism, or Protestantism, or Catholicism, or anything else. Religious toleration simply means that a subject of any country is allowed to hold such religious opinions and use such modes of worship as his own conscience approves (27).

No religious toleration could be approved by a Government which did not know the meaning of the term (28). Verbeck would not have defined it if he thought that everybody realized what was implied by the concept.

Once the Iwakura Embassy went abroad in 1872, it was found that the question of religious toleration was a vital one to Western Governments. In the United States, for instance, no treaty revision could be considered without the lifting of the ban on Christianity (29). At least when this arose Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1881), the leader of the Embassy, knew what was expected.

Other missionaries apart from Verbeck contributed to bringing about a new attitude toward Christianity. The missionaries in Yokohama engaged in educational work and by 1865 James C. Hepburn and David Thompson, two Presbyterian missionaries, were running, with the aid of Samuel R. Brown and James H. Ballagh, two Dutch Reformed missionaries, a school with some 40 students (30). In 1866 the Yokohama missionaries and some other foreign Christians showed their high spirits and their optimism for the future by issuing an appeal to major Mission Boards in the United States and Great Britain to send out missionaries to Japan (31). In 1867 regular Sunday services were conducted by Ballagh and Thompson in English and Japanese despite the ban on Christianity. In 1872 the Kirisuto Kyōkai (Church of Christ), the first Japanese Church, was founded in Yokohama by nine converts who had been baptized by Ballagh and who were pupils in the school in which he and other missionaries taught (32).

Certain American lay teachers, who had secured teaching posts

in Japan largely through Verbeck's good offices, were influential in changing the attitude of some Japanese toward Christianity. Three of them are particularly noteworthy. The first is Leroy Janes who in 1871 secured a teaching post in Higo province and around him in the mid-1870's would form the Christian band at Kumamoto (33). William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928) who taught at Fukui between 1871 and 1872, and then between 1872 and 1874 was the first professor of Chemistry at the Kaisei Gakkō (formerly the Nankō Daigaku) (34). Lastly, Edward Warren Clark (1849-1907) who taught in Shizuoka from 1871 to 1873 and then at the Kaisei Gakkō until 1875. The importance of these lay Christians cannot be underestimated for they influenced many to become converts.

Japanese Efforts to Change Attitudes toward Christianity.

The pragmatic spirit of the rangaku school continued on in the 1850's as it began to expand from its base in Dutch studies into the broader realms of Western studies.

In the mid-1860's the changed attitude toward the West was mirrored in a growing popularity for books on things Occidental by such writers as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) (35). In 1860 Fukuzawa accompanied the first Japanese Embassy to the United States. The next year he went abroad again with a mission that visited England, France, Prussia and other European countries. On his return to Japan, he wrote down his views of the West in a book Seiyō-

Jijō (Conditions in the West), which appeared in 1866. The book sold 150,000 copies almost immediately and pirated editions raised the number to 250,000. In this work and numerous others which he produced in the next few years, Fukuzawa described in simple fashion every day life in the West. He also emphasized the importance of Western learning. In regards to religion, Fukuzawa felt that it was positively harmful for a government to identify itself with any single faith (36). The number of sales of his books show the tremendous curiosity that the Japanese had about the West, and is indicative of a changed attitude toward it.

Other writers following Fukuzawa's lead began to describe the West. Some were interested in finding the underlying reason for Western superiority, and this led them to study Christianity. Among them was Nakamura Keiu (Masanao, 1832-1891) (37). In 1866 Nakamura was sent by the Tokugawa Government to England to study. In 1868 he returned to Japan, and, after the Meiji Restoration, followed the former Tokugawa Shogun into exile in Shizuoka. There he began to translate books into Japanese, the first major one being Samuel Smiles' Self-Help, which he titled Saikoku Risshi-hen (Article on Success in the West) (38). This book rivalled Fukuzawa's Seijō-Jijō and Uchida Masao's Yochi Shiryaku (Short World Geography) as one of the most read books in the early Meiji period. In 1872 he published John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, being translated under the title Jiyū no Ri (Principles of Freedom).

In the year previous to this, in 1871, Nakamura had written a

memorial to the Emperor urging the toleration of Christianity. In it Nakamura wrote under the guise of a subject of a foreign power, warmly praising Japan for the reforms adopted, but wondering why Christianity was still put under ban as an evil sect. He went on to say that the wealth and power of the Western nations was in their religion:

> The industry, patience, and perseverance displayed in their arts, inventions, and machinery, all have their origin in the faith, hope, and charity of their religion. In general we may say that the condition of Western countries is but the outward leaf and blossom of their religion, and religion is the root and foundation on which their prosperity depends (39).

Christianity, in other words, was the essence of Western civilization. The realization of this fact by many Japanese was the reason why they became Christian. If Japan was to become strong like the Western nations, then it must tolerate Christianity. Nakamura even suggested that the Emperor became a Christian for this act would improve Japan's relations with the West. The acceptance of Christianity on the part of the Japanese was seen as a patriotic gesture which could materially benefit the country. The Western religion was utilitarian and practical in nature because it was the reason behind the Western strength. This memorial was bitterly attacked by an article in the Japan Herald by a writer signing himself U.B., who considered it "presumptuous, impertinent, and utterly opposed to the facts" (40). Nonetheless, Nakamura's memorial got wide circulation.

In 1872 Mori Arinori (1847-1889), the Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, and a Christian, wrote a memorial urging

the toleration of Christianity. It argued that liberty of conscience, especially in matters of religious faith, was not only an inherent right of man but also a most fundamental element to advance all human interests. Mori pointed out that religion was entirely a matter of individual belief, and that no one man or Government could presume to possess the authority of repudiating whatever faith any man might cherish within himself. He stated that the introduction of Christianity could not be otherwise, either socially or politically, than a blessing because:

> the society which receives the addition of a new knowledge, and a power of the character of the Christian morality and faith, will necessarily better its condition by becoming both wiser and stronger. This is no mere assertion. It is fact, demonstrated by the history of the nations of the earth, among which none have so greatly advanced to the head of civilization as those whose religion has been Christianity. However, injurious and fearful it may temporarily appear, the evidence of the benefits of such a policy will sooner or later accustom opponents to its adoption in the ratio of their better acquaintance with the true philosophy of social improvement and political progress (41).

The strong Western nations were all Christian, and therefore to be strong like them, Japan would have to become Christian. Both Nakamura and Mori saw it as their patriotic duty to advocate the lifting of the ban on Christianity. Before Perry's arrival, rangakusha had reached the conclusion that Western science was superior to Chinese learning. Twenty years later some of their direct descendants with greater knowledge of the West, broadened by foreign travel, had concluded that Western religion was also superior to Far Eastern ones.

Thus, on February 19th 1873, a few months before the first two missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada landed in Japan, the public notices banning Christianity were brought down at the instigation of Iwakura Tomomi in order to ameliorate diplomatic relations with the Western Powers. Although the proscription of Christianity remained law until 1889, the removal of the edicts prohibiting it, was taken by the missionaries as a signal to begin active propagation of the Gospel among the Japanese.

Footnotes

1. The daimyo (lords) of the various provinces in Tokugawa Japan, outside those directly related to the Tokugawa family itself, were of two kinds, the fudai and the tozama. The distinction between them depended upon their relationship with Tokugawa Ieyasu after the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598. Those who held the eastern seaboard provinces, as well as others who had supported Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, were regarded as hereditary vassals and styled fudai. Those who had belonged to the Toyotomi faction but had submitted to Ieyasu after Sekigahara and the fall of Osaka in 1615 were regarded as vassals who though presumed loyal must be kept under surveillance. These were called tozama (outer lords).

There were four major classes in Tokugawa Japan: the Soldier (samurai), the Farmer, the Artisan, and the Trader. Of these the samurai class numbered less than one-tenth (probably not much more than one-twentieth) of the total population, and the peasants about eight-tenths. By and large the samurai was the educated class and provided the adminstrative talent for the local governments of the individual provinces to which they belonged.

2. Certain kokugaku (National-Learning) scholars such as Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) also showed an interest in Christianity. Donald Keene wrote:

> Hirata entirely remodelled the amorphous Shinto religion along Christian lines, affirming his belief in a central divinity who ruled over all creation, rather than in countless gods of approximately equal powers, the usual Shinto view. The immortality of the soul, the existence of the devel, the reward in heaven or punishment in hell for deeds done on earth, and many other Christian concepts were taken over by Hirata.

Donald Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers 1720-1798 (London, 1952), p. 110.

3. John Whitney Hall, Tanuma Okitsugu 1719-1788: Forerunner of Modern Japan (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 90.

4. Katsu also urged the development of a competent corps of interpreters and foreign-affairs experts as well as the training of military specialists. His suggestions played a significant role in the Government's decision to set up the school for the preparation, control, and dissemination of Western knowledge known as Bansho Shirabesho (Foreign Book Research Institute).
Marius Jansen, Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration (Princeton, 1961), p. 155.

In the 1860's Katsu became the Naval Commissioner of the Tokugawa Navy, a position which he continued to hold after the Meiji Restoration as Navy Minister in the Meiji Government.

During the Meiji period, Katsu was known to be a Christian sympathizer. It was reported by his grand-daughter-in-law:

> A week or two before Count Katz Awa's death, my brother heard from his lips a clear confession of personal belief in Christ. It gladdened our hearts, although we all felt he was not any time far from the Kingdom. Some time previous (and after Evangelist Needham's visit) he would refer to Christianity pleasantly, adding in his characteristically humourous way, that he hardly dared to make a public confession of his faith, for fear the missionaries would make him 'preach all the time'. He was no Buddhist in these last days, even though he was buried with the impressive Buddhist ritual.

Edward Warren Clark, Katz Awa "The Bismarck of Japan" or The Story of A Noble Life (New York, 1904), p. 88.

5. Yokoi Shōnan was influenced by Christianity, and must be credited as being one of the first rangekusha to consider it seriously. Richard T. Chang wrote concerning Yokoi's views of Christianity:

> To sum up, Yokoi Shōnan viewed Christianity as the ethical system of the West, consonant with yet inferior to true Confucianism, or the Way of the Three Dynasties. To him Christianity explained in part the benevolence of the western governments towards their people. Above all, Christianity was the key to the impressive material achievements of the West.

Richard T. Chang, "Yokoi Shōnan's View of Christianity". Monumenta Nipponica, 1966, XXI, p. 272.
Yokoi's views are important because he reached the same conclusions as other Japanese who later converted to Christianity after the proscription edicts were taken down in 1873.

6. The Treaty ports opened to foreign residence by the Treaties of 1858 were Hakodate, Kanagawa (Yokohama being shortly substituted for this town), Nagasaki, Hyogo (Kobe, opened in 1868), Osaka (opened in 1868), Niigata (opened in 1869), and Tokyo (opened in 1869). Foreign residence in these cities was usually restricted to a district within it as in the case of Tsukiji in Tokyo. Foreigners could not go outside the Treaty ports without first obtaining permission from the Japanese Government. To live outside the Treaty ports a foreigner had to be employed under contract by the Japanese Government or by an individual Japanese with Government approval. Likewise foreigners could not own property outside the Treaty ports. Within the Treaty ports foreigners were under the jurisdiction of their national consuls and subject to their own national laws and not Japanese criminal laws.

7. Ernest E. Best, Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis: The Japanese Case (Leiden, 1966), p. 26.
The Osaka Affair of 1865 also signals the beginning of kaikoku-tobaku (Open the Country-Overthrow the Bakufu). 1865 is also the year in which quite close personal relations begin to develop between the younger members of the British Legation in Japan such as Algernon

Mitford, Ernest Satow, and William Willis and leading members of the anti-Tokugawa faction such as Saigō Takamori, Itō Hirobumi and Kido Kōin. These personal contacts did much to remove the anti-foreign feelings of at least some of the men who would rise to power after the Meiji Restoration.

8. The failure of the Tokugawa Government to defeat Chōshū in 1866 revealed the Shogunate's inability to control the internal affairs of Japan. In November 1867 Tokugawa Keiki, the Shogun, surrendered his administrative authority to the Imperial Court. However, the former Shogun still retained his lands and revenues which would make him the most powerful individual daimyo in the council of daimyo that the Imperial Court hoped to summon to discuss the problems which beset Japan. This arrangement was unsatisfactory to the samurai leaders of Satsuma and Choshu who wished to see the ex-Shogun deprived of all his lands, revenues and privileges. In January 1868 the anti-Tokugawa faction with the sanction of the Emperor led a coup against Tokugawa Keiki in order to achieve their aim. At first the former Shogun resisted and a certain amount of fighting took place between his supporters and Imperial forces. However, on the advice of such people as Katsu Awa, Tokugawa Keiki voluntarily submitted to the Imperial forces after the fall of Tokyo and retired to exile in his ancestral home of Shizuoka. In April 1868 the Charter Oath was promulgated which marks the real beginning of de facto rule by the Meiji Emperor and his Government.

9. Komura Jutarō, My Autobiography, written nine page manuscript, dated 1874, in William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A. hitherto designated as (WEGC), Box XVII-1.

10. Grace Fox, Britain and Japan 1858-1883 (London, 1969), p. 241.

11. Anesaki Masaharu, History of Japanese Religion, with Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation (London, 1963), p. 333.

12. Komura, op.cit.

13. The establishment of Shinto by the Meiji Government and the forming of the Jingi-kan (National Cult Department) led to a vigorous persecution of Buddhism which was regarded as foreign. The persecution of Buddhism involved the abolition of all privileges granted to Buddhist priests and the confiscation of a large part of properties belonging to Buddhist institutions. While the Meiji Restoration did not bring immediate toleration of Christianity, it certainly did not aid Buddhism. It was only in 1877 that Buddhist bodies were granted autonomy again.

14. A second wave of missionaries arrived in 1869 when the Church Missionary Society (low Church of England) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregationalist) sent out their first representatives. By 1872 seven missionary organizations were working in Japan. In 1873 a third wave arrived. They belonged

to the American Baptist Free Missionary Society, the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society of the United States, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (high Church of England) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Canada.

15. Guido Verbeck (1830-1898), a missionary with the Dutch Reformed Church in America, wrote that if the subject of Christianity was brought up in the presence of a Japanese, "his hand would almost involuntarily be applied to his throat to indicate the extreme peril of such a topic".
George B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan: A Study in the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures (New York, 1958), p. 468.

It was extremely difficult, moreover, for the missionaries to obtain Japanese teachers. James C. Hepburn, a Presbyterian medical missionary, who first resided in Kanagawa, was fortunate to get one by 1860, but only in the disguise of a servant.

Guido Verbeck to Isaac Ferris, February 11th 1860, in Letters and Records of Guido F. Verbeck, in the Gardiner Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A., hitherto designated (NBTS). Box 727.3N.

16. Verbeck to Peltz, September 29th 1862, Box 747.3N (NBTS). Verbeck does not go into the reasons why Nagasaki was spared the murderous attacks upon foreigners which took place in Yokohama and Edo (Tokyo). Perhaps it was because the people in Nagasaki were more familiar with foreigners and their ways due to the long Dutch presence.

17. Guido Verbeck was born in Zeist, Netherlands in 1830 and studied engineering in Utrecht, before emigrating to join his brother in the United States in the mid-1850's. There he realized that his vocation was in the Church, and he graduated from the Theological Seminary at Auburn, New York, in 1859. His knowledge of Dutch and his known linguistic ability made him an obvious choice for the proposed Japan Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church.

18. Verbeck to Peltz, June 5th 1865, Box 747.3N (NBTS).

19. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, May 4th 1868, Box 747.3N (NBTS). As well as teaching at the Government school in Nagasaki, Verbeck taught at a school called the Chienkan which was run by Saga province. It was at this latter school that Verbeck taught Soejima and Okuma.

20. Verbeck to Ferris, February 23rd 1869, Box 747.3N (NBTS).

21. This school grew out of the Yogaku Shō (Institute of Western Knowledge), which was established by the Tokugawa Government in 1857, and the Shōhei-kō (Confucian College). The first foreign teacher was employed in 1866, Mr. Gratama, of Holland, as professor of Chemistry. In 1873 the Nanko Daigaku changed its name to Kaisei Gakkō with the introduction of special courses in law, engineering and mining. In 1876 amalgamation with Tokyo Medical School produced Tokyo University.

22. Verbeck to Ferris, April 21st 1870, Box 747.3N (NBTS).
In regards to missionary teachers and Japanese attitudes to them, Verbeck wrote in the case of the Nankō Daigaku:

> Now the students have learned to like and respect missionary, (I might say more) and the authorities of the school acknowledge that missionaries are their most reliable teachers. Only a few days ago I had proof of this, being requested to secure the services of another "missionary" (named as such) for the College; and they were glad, and so was I, that I succeeded in getting Rev. Mr. Cornes (of the Presbyterian mission) for one year, to enter on his duties next week.

Verbeck to Ferris, February 21st 1870, Box 747.3N (NBTS).
Japanese realization that missionaries were often good teachers greatly aided in bringing about a more tolerant attitude toward them.

23. While he was still teaching in Nagasaki, Verbeck aided some Japanese students in getting places in institutions of higher learning in the United States. Many of the students, whom he helped, came fromSatsuma province. Among these Satsuma men were Yoshida Kiyonari (John Wesley Iwoske Nagai, 1845-1891) who became Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington between 1874 and 1882, and Hatakeyama Yoshinari (1845-1876) who became director of the Kaisei Gakko from 1873 to 1875. Both these men were Christians. The Government positions which they obtained after their return to Japan showed the great need that existed for people with foreign training, regardless of religious belief. Certain of the Satsuma Christians at Rutgers College wanted to study theology, for Verbeck wrote to Ferris in 1869:

> You are right as to the men of Satsuma who wish to study theology. As good and active lay Christians they may be received back and entrusted with office, and thus become eminently useful to their country. If any study theology, as a profession, they destroy their own chances of usefulness I think, as it my be doubtful whether they can come back at all.

Verbeck to Ferris, June 29th 1869, Box 747.3n (NBTS).
In 1869 students leaving Japan were instructed not to change their religion.

In 1867 Verbeck received invitations from the daimyo of Tosa, Kaga, Hizen and the puissant Lord of Satsuma asking him to go to their provinces and open Western-learning schools similar to the one in Nagasaki. Verbeck noted "these four are among the foremost Princes of Japan, all wishing to go forward on foreign principles, wish it were on Christian".
Verbeck to Ferris, September 7th 1867, Box 747.3N (NBTS)
In 1868 he wrote that the daimyo of Hizen, who had read through the Bible, wanted "not only to get me to come and pay a visit to him, but to settle in his principality for good and to establish schools for the purpose of civilizing his people on a Christian foundation".
Verbeck to Ferris, December 18th 1868, Box 747.3N (NBTS).
It is interesting to note that this is one of the first requests for a teacher to come into the interior of Japan for a specifically Christ-

ian purpose and that it came also from a tozama province. In 1867 Johnathan Goble, a Baptist missionary, was teaching English for the daimyo of Tosa. In 1868 the daimyo of Kaga, through Verbeck, invited Rev. Thompson (David Thompson), a Presbyterian missionary, to come to his province and teach there. When Verbeck moved to Tokyo, he still received requests for teachers but mainly from fudai provinces in central Honshu. Some of these positions Verbeck was able to fill with lay Christians. The vast majority of early Japanese Christians came from provinces which had supported the Tokugawa Shogunate before the Restoration. This was partly due to the fact that most Christian teachers were employed in what had been fudai provinces. Although it is a matter of surmise, it is probable that if Verbeck had been able to fill the requests from tozama provinces in Kyushu with Christian teachers, then in the 1870's there would have been a much larger proportion of Japanese Christians from tozama provinces than there were in reality.

24. In May 1868 Verbeck wrote to Ferris that he had been consulted concerning the revision of the national constitution by the Privy Council of the Governor of Kyushu, of which Okuma Shigenobu was a member:

> On Saturday last I was invited to a special meeting of some leading members of the said privy council to be consulted on matters in regards to the revision of the national constitution, and tomorrow a similar meeting is to take place. You may be sure that my friends and pupils will work hard for not only the repeal of the ancient edicts against Christianity, but if possible for universal toleration in the empire.

Verbeck to Ferris, May 4th 1868, Box 747.3N (NBTS).
The Imperial Proclamation of June 1868 is sometimes referred to as the first Meiji constitution.

25. Verbeck, Brief Sketch, ten page written manuscript, Box 747.3T (NBTS).

26. Verbeck to Ferris, August 1st 1872, Box 747.3N (NBTS).
This was a slight exaggeration on Verbeck's part, the Iwakura Embassy was not constructed strictly according to his plan which rather "offered the Meiji leaders a design which they adopted to their ends, not his".

Albert Altman, "Guido Verbeck and the Iwakura Mission", Japan Quarterly, 1966, XIII, p. 57.

27. Verbeck, Brief Sketch, op.cit..

28. Verbeck wrote concerning the ignorance of the meaning of religious toleration:

> From what I have sometimes noticed in conversations with intelligent individuals, it seems to me that there is a misunderstanding in regard to what Europeans call religious toleration. Some people seem to have a vague idea, that, to grant religious toleration involves the necessity on the part of the Government openly to approve of the reli-

gion of the West, and to recommend it to the people at large. No such thing is involved in the term.
Verbeck, Brief Sketch, op.cit..

29. Stephen W. Ryder, A Historical-Educational Study of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America (York, Pa: 1935), p. 40.
The Treaties of 1858 allowed foreigners in Japan the free exercise of their religion, and the right to erect suitable places of worship. Until 1867 foreign diplomats in Japan paid little attention to the ban on Christianity. This was because to countries such as Great Britain it was a non-problem as there were no British missionaries in Japan.
The diplomatic initative in regards to Christianity came from France in 1867 when the Tokugawa authorities in Kyūshū began to arrest Roman Catholic Japanese in Urakami, a village close to Nagasaki. The French Minister Leon Roche intervened on behalf of these Japanese Christians and was able to secure their release on the promise that French Catholic missionary activities would cease. In May 1868 the Meiji Government began a more vigorous persecution against Catholics in Kyūshū. Some 3000 were deported from the villages of the Urakami valley to other parts of Japan. Despite protests from the foreign diplomatic community, the Meiji Government still continued its anti-Christian persecutions in Kyūshū. The Meiji Government maintained, in defence of its policy, that the Urakami people were not persecuted as Christians but as being disloyal Japanese subjects. The Iwakura Embassy landed in the United States in December 1871 at the same time as the news of the arrests and exile of Christians from Shimabara reached there. The Japanese found that the Americans were well-informed about these persecutions.
The persecutions in Kyūshū were carried out against Roman Catholic Japanese and not Protestants. In regards to the sizeable numbers of Christians persecuted, it has to be noted that the Urakani Christians were not the converts of French Roman Catholic missionaries but rather had retained their Christian beliefs in secret from the early 17th century.

30. Five of the students from this school began to study the Bible with Hepburn in his home on Sundays but this lasted only a few weeks before Government officials stopped them coming and ordered them to burn their Bibles. The Bible Class was discontinued but the inquirers asked for English Bibles so that they could study at home. Norman manuscript, p. 20. In the personal possession of Dr. W.H.H. Norman.

31. S. R. Brown to Ferris, January 11th 1866, Letters of S.R. Brown 1859-1880, Box 747.4N (NBTS).

32. The formation of this church had a pronounced effect on the Missionary Conference which was held in September 1872 for a resolution was passed commending its basis, name and polity as a model for

future Japanese churches and calling for the continuation of inter-denominational unity among missionaries, such as was seen in the creation of this church.

33. The request for an "ex-Lieutenant of the army to come to Higo to teach" came from Yokoi Daihei whom Verbeck had aided when Yokoi had gone to the United States in 1866. Yokoi Daihei was a nephew of Yokoi Shōnan.
Verbeck to Ferris, August 20th 1870, Box 747.3N (NBTS).

34. W. E. Griffis had graduated in the scientific course at Rutgers College in 1869, and had begun to study theology at Herzog Hall in New Brunswick, when partially due to an unhappy love affair, he felt it his mission to go to Japan. Griffis became a Congregationalist minister after leaving Japan and a prolific writer on Japan and the Far East.

E. W. Clark had also graduated in the scientific course at Rutgers College in 1869. At Rutgers he was a particularly close friend of Hatakeyama Yoshinari when the Japanese had attended that college. Clark became an Episcopalian clergyman after leaving Japan, but maintained his connection with the country by later visits and through his friendship with Katsu Awa, whose biography he wrote.

35. Fukuzawa's response to the Americans reaching Japan was to leave his home in Nakatsu in 1854, and go to Nagasaki in the hope of learning something of gunnery from the Dutch. Unfortunately circumstances prevented him from staying in Nagasaki. However, the next year he managed to enter a school run in Osaka by Ōgata Koan, a Dutch-trained physician. Fukuzawa studied Dutch, anatomy and chemistry under extremely adverse conditions because of the great numbers of students and lack of books. It was the realization that Western science was superior to Chinese, which kept him and other students studying despite the Herculean difficulties involved. In 1858 Fukuzawa was ordered to start a Western-learning school in Edo (present Tokyo) by the daimyo of Nakatsu. He began to study English in 1858 after a visit to the foreign concession in Yokohama, where he found to his chagrin, nobody understood Dutch.
W. G. Aston, "Fukuzawa Yukichi: Author and Schoolmaster", Volume 234, pp. 4-9 (WEGC).

36. Carmen Blacker, The Japanese Enlightment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Cambridge, Eng., 1964), pp. 7-8.

37. Nakamura was educated as a child in Chinese studies and was reputed not only to have a remarkable memory, but also to have been an excellent calligrapher. He entered the Shōhei-kō, the official Tokugawa Government school for Confucian learning, where he became a disciple of Satō Issai. Nakamura proved himself to be an outstanding Confucian scholar and in 1855 became a professor at the Shohei-ko at a remarkable young age. During the 1850's he also began rangaku school studies under Katsuagawa Kooko (1826-1881). In 1862 he began to study English.

38. Self-Help, with Illustrations of Character and Conduct by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904) was first published in England in 1859. It was an overwhelming success with 55,000 copies being sold by 1864. The book deals with the lives of famous men and how they struggled through adversity to success. It is interesting to note that Christianity is hardly mentioned in the book.

39. Otis Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Mission (New York, 1909), p. 75.

40. W. E. Griffis, Journal, May 30th 1872, Loose Sheets, AC.2064 (WEGC).
Grace Fox noted that copies of Nakamura's memorial were given to Ernest Satow, an interpreter at the British Legation, by Kido Kōin and Itō Hirobumi, two leading members of the Meiji Government, who both stated privately that the anti-Christian prohibition must be lifted soon.
Grace Fox, op.cit., p. 499.

41. Mori Arinori, "Religious Freedom in Japan", privately printed 1874, Volume 224-A, p.7 (WEGC).

PART 1:

THE FIRST MISSION CENTRES

CHAPTER 1:

THE FIRST MONTHS

On June 30th 1873 Cochran and McDonald landed in Yokohama. However, after coming so far, they were not content to remain there for they felt Tokyo held greater possibilities for Christian work. Fortunately, within months of their arrival in Japan, the Canadians were able to find openings not only in Tokyo but also in Shizuoka in Suruga province.

General Background.

The early 1870's saw a tremendous growth in Western-learning studies in Meiji Japan. The acquisition of Western knowledge was seen by ambitious young men not only as necessary for the fulfillment of Japan's aspirations for equality with European states but also as a means for their own personal advancement (1). The pattern of development of Christianity in the 1870's was largely in bands of converts which formed around foreign lay or missionary teachers in Western-learning schools (2). Personal contacts or friendships between potential foreign Christian teachers and Japanese officials or individuals played a great part in where these teachers taught and thus where Christianity was propagated. To a great extent, the establishment of the first Canadian Mission centres in Shizuoka and Koishikawa, Tokyo was a result of the friendship of the Canadians with Edward Warren Clark, an American lay teacher, and with Nakamura Keiu. The Canadians were extremely fortunate to be able to begin evangelizing in two places which had been exposed to both Western-learning and Christian ideas before their arrival. However, the successful formation of the Shizuoka and Koishikawa bands can not be solely understood in terms of local circum-

stances. Japanese attitudes toward Christianity in the mid-1870's should also be taken into account.

Nakamura Keiu, who was one of the early converts of the Canadian Mission, was a leading advocate of Christianity and his views had considerable influence in Japan. Nakamura was a prominent figure in the Meirokusha (Society of the Sixth Year of Meiji). This society of leading Western-learning scholars was concerned with raising Japan into the realm indicated by "the magical word bunmei-kaika (civilization) and were convinced to accomplish this end the first essential was the radical reform of Japanese morale" (3). The Meirokusha was the spear-head of the keimō (Enlightenment) movement in Japan (4). In 1875 Nakamura wrote an article in the Meiroku Zasshi, the magazine of the Meirokusha, titled "Views on Reconstructing the Character of the People," in which he criticized the Japanese people for not changing their views with the new progressive Meiji era:

> While the containing vessel of the people - the government - has since 1868 taken on a superior shape or form, in comparison with that of olden times, the people still are the same as formerly, and have the same slave-like disposition: a people arrogant towards inferiors and fawning over superiors, an uneducated illiterate people, fond of dissipation, not of reading books, a people which does not reflect on its obligations, a people which knows not the rule of Heaven (5).

A political transformation had been accomplished in the Meiji Restoration, but the people had not changed from Tokugawa times. Japan could not progress toward its goal of equality with the Western powers unless a transformation in thought took place. Reforem was necessary and "to do this, religion, ethics, and art were needed. With Christianity, the

mainstay of Western civilization, Nakamura said, Japan could be reformed on the Western model" (6). Nakamura thought that Christianity was the essence of Western civilization. Therefore, the central problem of Japan's national advancement could be solved by the adoption of the Western religion. It has to be stressed that it was not the spiritual aspect of Christianity which appealed to Nakamura but rather its ethical and moral teachings. Nakamura felt Christianity was an extension of Confucianism, one step beyond it toward the understanding of reality (7).

At first the Meirokusha was receptive to Christian ideas, even Nishimura Shigeki (1827-1902), who was an ardent Confucianist, was a zealous student of Christianity (8). Fukuzawa Yukichi, another member of the society, was not anti-Christian at that time as can be seen in the fact he employed a S.P.G. missionary, A.C. Shaw, to teach his children (9). The members of the Meirokusha were united in the purpose of enlightening the people and though they might air different approaches to common concerns, it was only after the demise of the society in September 1875 that the dilemma of how to reconcile the "Japanese soul" and Western ways of thought which adversely effected Christianity came into the open.

Christianity was not without its critics, for in 1873 the first major Japanese criticism of Christianity in the Meiji period was published. Yasui Sakuken, a leading Confucian scholar, wrote Benmō (Exposure of Falsehood) which had a preface by Shimazu Saburo, the puissant daimyō of Satsuma. In this book Yasui attacked Christianity because he thought that it fostered disloyal and unfilial behaviour. Christianity also appeared to oppose the Japanese Imperial system for it did not recognize the authority of the sovereign of any country.

Unlike many previous criticisms of Christianity, Yasui's attack was all the more potent because he made use of Biblical reference to support his arguments (10). Benmō is important, for it set a pattern in the types of arguments used by later anti-Christians in their criticisms against Japanese Christianity. However, in the mid-1870's the attacks of such people as Yasui did not greatly effect the success of the Japanese Christian Movement.

It was important to the success of the Canadian Mission in the mid-1870's that Christianity was seen as a means of aiding in the national advancement of Japan. At this time there was little opposition to Christianity among leading Western-learning scholars. It is now appropriate to turn and look at the work of the Canadian Mission in detail.

Yokohama.

By 1873 Yokohama, the seaport of Tokyo, had become a major centre for both missionary and foreign interests in Japan with a foreign population of over a thousand. The Dutch Reformed, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians and Baptists all had missionaries working there. At the beginning of June 1873, Robert S. Maclay (1824-1907) had opened the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States there. Maclay planned to make Yokohama the headquarters for his mission and he was provided with $10,000 for the purpose of church-building. It seemed unnecessary crowding to the Canadian newcomers to make Yokohama their headquarters when Tokyo was so close and had less missionaries. Cochran wrote:

> If I could be content to live comfortably in the pleasant foreign settlement on the Yokohama Bluff, and not anxious to be in the thick of the work, it might be well enough for me to stay here, and appear to keep a position; but having come 8000 miles to preach the gospel to the heathen, I think it poor policy to stay within twenty miles of them, instead of going right in amongst them where they are (11).

Furthermore, Cochran felt the native population in Yokohama accessible to the missionaries was limited, and work among them difficult because of the influence of the foreign community which was not all favorable to missionary activity. Yokohama was the best point for gaining information about the country but Cochran thought Tokyo was the Mission Field of Japan. From the beginning, the Canadians were looking for opportunities to move out of Yokohama.

The two missionaries could not go straight way to the Capital. One of the major problems which prevented this was that foreign residence was restricted to the Tsukiji district on the Tokyo waterfront where the sale of property was strictly controlled by the Government. The buying of property rather than renting it, was desirable because Cochran thought one of the reasons why the Presbyterians, who in November 1873 started the first Japanese church in Tsukiji, were not harassed by the authorities was that they owned their own buildings (12). Another factor that militated against an early move to Tsukiji was that other missions, the Methodist Episcopal, the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians were looking for property as well as the Canadians. Moreover, because the cost of living in Tokyo was exceedingly high, Cochran believed that he could not rent a residence for less than $75 a month and thus the Canadians had to remain in Yokohams.

They rented a house on Yokohama Bluff close to the British Legation

and to the Methodist Episcopal Maclay's house. Their immediate task was language study. In this McDonald showed more aptitude than Cochran, for by December 1873 he had begun to give short memorized sermons in his Sunday Japanese Bible Class. In 1876 Charles Eby wrote of McDonald that the "natives assure me that he speaks very correctly" (13). Of course, in the latter case, one has to discount a little for the desire of Japanese acquaintances to be polite. However, McDonald had obviously made great progress. Cochran's difficulties with the language can be seen in his statement:

> There are only three things that can reconcile the time and labor required for the mastery of this strange tongue - - Money, politics, and souls. We are told the literature it contains is not rich enough to reward the search. Let the merchant turn it into gold, the statesman into national aggrandizement, I am content to make it the vehicle of conveying the knowledge of the love of Christ to the souls of perishing men, and feel assured that this is the highest aim (14).

Cochran doggedly struggled on with Japanese study and learnt something of the language for in 1878 he was made Secretary of the Committee for the translation of the Old Testament which was chaired by James C. Hepburn, the Presbyterian missionary (15). Cochran's election was due more to his administrative ability and his Biblical knowledge than to his Japanese. Many missionaries had difficulty with Japanese so that a knowledge of English was almost a prerequisite for Japanese inquirers in the 1870's before they could be converted by a missionary. Many of the misunderstandings which sometimes arose between converts and missionaries could be attributed to language.

An Opening in Shizuoka.

In October 1873 Cochran left Yokohama with Henry Loomis, a Presbyterian missionary, for a three week trip into the interior of Japan. One of the places they visited was Shizuoka where Edward Warren Clark was teaching at the Government School (16). In October 1873 Clark wrote to William Elliot Griffis, his best friend and Professor of Chemistry at the Kaisei Gakkō:

> I enjoyed very much the visit which Mr. Loomis and Mr. Cochrane (of Canada) have just made me. They were here for some little time, so that I got quite acquainted with Mr. Cochrane, whom I liked very much. Your name was constantly mentioned between us, and you would have been amused if you could have seen how appreciatingly certain articles of yours were read, which I showed the two gents: - each of them, I believe, swallowed and digested your Shintoism article twice, and then Mr. Cochrane took notes from it! I told him, while he was scribbling away over your weighty ideas, that he ought to become acquainted with the illustrious author whom he was copying, and he said he would like to by all means. So I gave him a line of introduction to your majesty, and I hope that you'll receive him graciously. He's from Toronto, and is a man of ability and good sense (17).

This meeting and friendship between Cochran and Clark was one of the most fortunate happenings for the future success of the Canadian Mission. It was through Clark that the majority of the early converts were introduced to the Canadians.

At the time of Cochran's stay in Shizuoka, Clark was about to leave the city to become an assistant professor, at Katsu Awa's request, at the Kaisei Gakko. Knowing this, Mr. Hitomi, the director of the Government School asked Cochran to come to Shizuoka to teach English. The offer showed how desperate the Japanese were to obtain foreign teachers for it was made after only a very brief acquaintance. It also confirms that missionaries were particularly sought after as Englsih teachers for a foreign instructor could have been obtained in Yokohama. Furthermore, Clark had taught French and Chemistry in addition to English at the school,

while Cochran could only offer English. Hitomi had no objection to the missionary teaching the Bible and Christianity as Clark had already set the precedent in Shizuoka. The invitation was totally unsought by Cochran and he guessed it came to him "chiefly perhaps because I am British" (18), the Presbyterian Loomis who could have been asked was an American. Cochran, because he had children, declined to go but he realized, as this was one of the first opportunities for a missionary to reside and plant a Mission in the interior of the country, that it could not be turned down. McDonald, who had no children, consented to go in Cochran's place.

As no foreigner was allowed to reside outside the treaty ports, Government approval had to be procured and there was a long delay in getting this. In January 1874 McDonald, having given up hope of obtaining Government permission, moved from Yokohama to a hotel in Tsukiji to begin work in the Capital. He felt that the time to occupy Tokyo had come. However, in April 1874 the authorities allowed him to go to Shizuoka.

Nakamura Keiu and the Dōninsha School

After his excursion to Shizuoka, Cochran returned to Yokohama and settled down to a pleasant life there. He joined the scholarly Asiatic Society of Japan and later became an officer but never did give a paper. Membership in the Society, though, put him into contact with the leading foreign scholars of Japan. He was a frequent visitor at the house of Mrs. Mary Pruyn, a missionary with the Woman's Union Society for Heathen Lands, where many missionaries such as James H. Ballagh of the Dutch Reformed

and the Presbyterian Henry Loomis, and missionary sympathizers such as W. E. Griffis and his sister used to go (19). Cochran was a regular guest preacher at the Union Church in Yokohama which had been erected to cater to the needs of the foreign community there. In December 1873 an Evangelical Alliance was formed inspired by the great Evangelical Alliance meeting in New York earlier that winter. Cochran was made Corresponding Secretary (20). The formation of the Evangelical Alliance showed how closely the missionaries worked together and also that they all knew each other. Cochran's appointment as Corresponding Secretary indicated that the others regarded him highly. The creation of the Alliance caused considerable interest among the foreign community at large.

As part of the founding exercises of the Evangelical Alliance, on the first Sunday in 1874 Cochran preached a sermon at the Union Church on "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit". E. W. Clark and his friend Nakamura Keiu were among those who came down from Tokyo to attend this service (21). At the prayer meeting on that Sunday evening Cochran was introduced to Nakamura by Clark. Nakamura had been impressed by Cochran's sermon and asked him for a copy of it. Not long after their invitation Nakamura invited Cochran to visit him in Tokyo.

Cochran knew of Nakamura as the Chinese translator to the Meiji Government; as the translator of Samuel Smiles' Self-Help and John Stuart Mill's On Liberty; and as the writer of the memorial to the Government concerning the toleration of Christianity. He knew also that Nakamura had read the Bible in English as well as in Chinese and was very interested in the Christian religion. What Cochran did not realize but discovered when

he visited Nakamura was that he also ran a school. This was the Dōninsha school which Nakamura had started in order to educate young men belonging to the families of his personal friends, having over 100 pupils when Cochran first visited it. Most of the pupils were learning English and quite a number could speak it with tolerable fluency and correctness. The Dōninsha rivalled Fukuzawa Yukichi's Keio and Mitsukuri Shūhei's Mitsukuri Jiku as one of the foremost private Western-learning schools in Tokyo. Nakamura's reason for asking Cochran to come and see him was to inquire whether it was convenient for Cochran to visit occasionally on Sunday and preach to the young men of his school who could understand Englsih, and also that he might himself receive instruction in the doctrines of the Gospel. Cochran agreed at once.

The next Sunday he returned and was astonished to find a congregation of over 30 young men assembled to hear him. Many of them had Bibles in their hands, and were able to understand an English sermon when delivered slowly and distinctly in simple sentences. At Nakamura's request, Cochran preached on "Man's sinful state, and need of a Saviour". The congregation listened with earnest attention and at the end asked some intelligent questions. Because he was impressed by them, Cochran told Nakamura that as he had no intention of gathering a congregation in Yokohama, he would gladly hold a regular Sunday service in Nakamura's home. Nakamura willingly accepted this offer (22). It is important to note that Nakamura was interested in Cochran because he was a Christian minister and not as a potential English teacher for his school.

The offer of holding Sunday services was obviously very welcome to

Nakamura. Edward Warren Clark, since his coming to Tokyo from Shizuoka in late December 1873, had been giving Bible Classes at the Doninsha on Sunday afternoons. In February 1874, S. R. Brown, the Dutch Reformed missionary, had attended one of these Bible Classes with Clark. Like Cochran, Brown was very impressed both with Nakamura whom he thought "if not already one of Christ's disciples seems not far from the kingdom of heaven" and with the Bible Class (23). Brown went through a portion of the Ist. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans with eighteen people. Among the hearers, he recognized a former pupil of his in the Government school in Yokohama who was a Christian and worked as an assistant teacher at the Dōninsha. The room in which the Bible Class was given was well furnished with English Bibles and the wall decorated with numerous large illuminated Biblical texts (24). It is apparent that this group at the Doninsha had quite a knowledge of Christianity. Clark had not been in Tokyo long enough prior to Brown's visit to have held more than three or four Bible Classes. This points to the fact that the inspiration for Christianity at the Dōninsha stemmed from the Japanese themselves and specifically from Nakamura. Their growing knowledge of Christianity and open zeal for more understanding showed that they were ready for instruction from a person like Cochran who had a profound knowledge of Christianity. Clark had no theological training and moreover he had other Bible Classes with the students at the Kaisei Gakkō so that it was inconvenient for him to take the class at the Dōninsha.

Cochran began to come up to the Dōninsha, every Saturday and return to Yokohama on Monday. Sometimes he stayed with Nakamura who provided him with a comfortable Japanese bed and excellent meals served in foreign

style and at other times with Clark who lived with W. E. Griffis and his sister Margaret Clark Griffis (1838-1913). When he stayed with Clark, Cochran would help with Clark's Bible Class of Kaisei Gakko pupils on Sunday evenings. Both Griffis and Clark held Bible Classes every Sunday morning and evening for the Kaisei Gakko students. These two Chemistry professors were not the only teachers at the Kaisei Gakko giving Christian instruction outside of the school; Dr. E. P. Veeder, the professor of Experimental and Cosmical Physics, and after 1875 E. W. Syles, the professor of History and Philosophy, were others doing the same. At that time Christian influence at the Kaisei Gakko was strong. Griffis and Clark's work among these college students opened a new channel for potential converts to Cochran. In other ways the weekends spent with Clark aided Cochran not only because Griffis was there to answer questions on Japanese life but also because through them he became acquainted with their Tokyo friends both foreign and Japanese.

The First Converts.

During the week Cochran still lived in Yokohama. On April 5th 1874, he baptized his first converts to Christianity. These were Makinō Ekichirō and Yasutomi Kiyohikō. Makinō was Cochran's Japanese teacher and had been with him since January 1874. He was twenty- five years old. Makino was a samurai and had been well-educated in Japanese and Chinese. On coming to Cochran, he expressed a strong desire to read the Bible and understand the Christian religion. At this time there was only three Gospels in the Japanese language but Cochran was able to procure for him, through the Chinese Mission Press in Shanghai, the Bible and several books

on the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity in Chinese. Aside from reading these, Makinō attended the regular services of the Japanese Church in Yokohama among whose members he had friends. At first Cochran could not be much help to him because Makino did not speak English. However, after a few weeks, this communication gap had virtually disappeared with Makinō's increasing facility with English. When Makino expressed his desire for baptism and said that he hoped to devote his life to the work of propagating the Gospel, Cochran was prepared to baptize him.

The other convert Yasutomi Kiyohikō was also a samurai and well-educated. He had originally come to Yokohama from his province on the West coast of Japan to learn English. For five months prior to his baptism, he had been working as a porter in Cochran's house in return for board and English lessons. It was his close contact with Cochran and his family which led him toward Christianity until at length he asked Cochran for baptism. Yasutomi had been taught in school that Christianity was an evil religion, but on coming to Cochran's home he became convinced that "Confucianism is not a sufficient guide of human life, but is silent together on the subjects which most concern mankind, namely those of sin and a Saviour (25).

Maclay and I. E. Correll of the Methodist Episcopal Mission were present at the baptism service, perhaps a little envious because they had not converted any one yet. It was not until October 1874 that the Methodist Episcopalians reaped their first fruits (26). The conversion of a missionary's Japanese teacher and household servants was a common phenomenon. It appears that what was important in this was not so much the guidance given to the inquirer by the missionary but rather the example

of his life and the strength of his personality. Both Makinō and Yasutomi wanted to become Christian and were not coerced into becoming such by Cochran. It is important to note that Yasutomi saw Christianity in Confucian terms in so far as he realized Christianity was superior to Confucianism. There appeared to be no conflict between Confucianism and Christianity. The moral teachings of Christianity added to the Confucian ethic.

Move to Tokyo.

Despite these conversions in Yokohama, Cochran still remained interested in moving permanently to Tokyo. In april 1874, Nakamura invited Cochran to come and live with him at the Dōninsha in Koishikawa, Tokyo. Nakamura wrote to Cochran:

> Dear Sir:
>
> I have heard from Mr. Sugiyama that you are searching for your residence in Tōkri Eastern Capitol, will you allow me the liberty of asking you something abruptly? Christ said, "Into whatever city or town ye shall enter, inquire in it who is worthy, and abide there till ye go thence". I know that I am not worthy to receive you. My house, as you know, is not at all convenient for a foreigner, much more it is not worthy to receive any noted man. But as missionaries were distinguished by their self-denial, fortitude, and kindly feeling toward all of the human race whatever, as I shall ask you with the words springing from my heart, whether you will condescendingly live in my humble house? Christ said; "They that be whole, need not a physician, but they that are sick. I am not come to call the righteous, but the sinners to repentance". As I am a sinful man particularly and sick in mind, so I am in need of a physician, and of some body to call me to repentance, "Contact with the good never fails to impart good, and we carry with us some of the blessing, as travellers' garments retain the odour of the flowers and shrubs through which they have passed". (Smiles' Self-Help) (sic). If you deign to live in my house I shall have great advantage from you. And even should you not teach me I shall not fail to receive

your good influence (27).

The Mr. Sugiyama mentioned by Nakamura was a teacher at the school in Shizuoka where McDonald taught and had studied English for a time in Yokohama where he had become a Christian (28). The letter reveals that Nakamura's interest in Christianity was not its spiritual but rather its moral teachings.

As it was illegal for a foreigner to reside outside of the treaty concessions, Nakamura obviously had to hire Cochran as an Englsih teacher in order to get Government permission for him to reside on Doninsha compound. However, the English teaching job was only a formality for Cochran knew that his primary task at the Doninsha would be Christian teaching. There did not seem to be any difficulty in getting approval from the authorities to allow Cochran to live outside Tsukiji. Shortly after Cochran agreed to come and live at the Doninsha, Nakamura asked Cochran "to meet a large company of his friends-distinguished sinologues, and persons of rank whom he expected to entertain at dinner. Among others was Mr. Okubs (sic), the Lord Mayor of the city of Yedo; and and man who had been in public life many years, first under the Tycoon, and now under the Mikado" (29). This was Ōkubo Ichiō (1817-1888), a friend of Katsu Awa who had been an advisor to the former Tokugawa Shogun in Shizuoka and since 1872 Lord Mayor of Tokyo. Nakamura introduced Cochran to Ōkubo as a missionary and told him that Cochran had preached the day before in his house. Ōkubo then knew Cochran and Nakamura were doing something illegal in propagating the Gospel, and it was his responsibility as Lord Mayor to stop it. However, Ōkubo did not seem to mind. Previously in Shizuoka, Ōkubo

had allowed E. W. Clark to carry on his Bible Classes unhindered. It was a matter of great importance to the early Christian movement in Tokyo during the 1870's that a person with a tolerant if not sympathetic attitude toward Christianity was Lord Mayor of Tokyo for he had the power and legal right to persecute Japanese Christians (30). At this party Cochran learnt that "Mr. Katsu, the present Admiral of the Navy in Japan, advised the people of Shidzuoka, to secure, if possible, the services of a Missionary to take charge of their school; and this was the chief reason of their overture to Dr. McDonald" (31). This confirms that missionaries as teachers were held in high regard. Katsu was a person who was very sympathetic toward Christianity even more so than Ōkubo Ichiō.

Cochran did not move to the Doninsha until August 1874. He wished to stay in Yokohama until the middle of July when the lease on his house expired. In the interim Nakamura built him a foreign style house in the Doninsha compound which was not ready for occupancy until August. Leaving Yokohama posed a problem as to what would happen to his converts. Makinō, for a time, followed Cochran to Tokyo but soon returned to Yokohama as all his friends were there. Apparently he attached himself to the Methodist Episcopalians for in 1876 Maclay made a mention of a "Brother Makino" who was in charge of their mission station at Uraga near Yokohama (32). Yasutomi went to Tokyo to attend a Japanese school which was only five miles from the Dōninsha and so kept in touch with Cochran. A third convert, Minagaki, who was another of Cochran's Japanese teachers and whom Cochran had baptized just prior to his leaving Yokohama, became an elder in one of the Presbyterian Churches there. One of the things which militated against Christianity was

the movement of missionaries. All three converts had been employees of Cochran and had lost their livelihood as well as their Christian teacher when he left. Many would stay away from missionaries because of the risk and insecurity in terms of the future if the missionaries moved.

As chronologically Canadian missionary work in the interior of Japan began before Cochran started to live in Tokyo, it is only right to turn now to examine this work in Shizuoka. As Clark and Nakamura who were both vitally important in Tokyo were previously in Shizuoka prior to McDonald's coming, it is necessary in order better to understand their commitment to Christianity in Tokyo to deal first with their experiences in Shizuoka where Clark laid the foundations upon which McDonald built one of the first Christian Churches in the interior of Japan.

Footnotes

1. In regards to the reasons why he was attracted to it, Komura Jutarō wrote in 1874:

> Shortly after the end of the war, I set out on journey for Nagaski with the purpose of studying English, for that city was once considered the best place for learning foreign languages. On my departure, I met with difficulties. Many old-fashioned friends of mine did not indeed oppose to my going, but tried to let me change my design. My father who was then in Osaka had sagacity to foresee the importance of acquiring the knowledge of one of foreign languages, the study of which has become afterwards universal throughout the Empire. He wrote to me that I should not change my design under whatever circumstances. I could not, of course, see the growing importance and usefulness of the new course of study I was about to enter and I had strong inclination to continue the study of the Classics.

Komura Jutarō, Autobiography, op.cit.
As the centre of Western-learning studies had shifted from Nagasaki, Komura travelled to Tokyo where he entered the Kaisei Gakko.

N. Kishiro, another student at the Kaisei Gakko, wrote in 1874 about his motivation to take up Western-learning:

> While I was staying in Tokei (Tokyo), I saw many foreign books and other things which revealed me their superiority in arts and sciences. After returning home my sincere desire to study English which I believed the best in arts and sciences, led me to sacrifice all my enjoyments in family; and thus I left Sitzoka (Shizuoka) for Tokei - this was about two years ago.

N. Kishirō, My First Impression of Foreigners, one page hand-written manuscript, Box X111-1 (WEGC).
What is impressive is the tremendous lengths that these two students went to in order to study Western-learning. Both had to leave home, and in Komura's case travel a great distance in order to study in Tokyo. It obviously meant quite a sacrifice on their part.

2. In regards to the most important Christian bands formed in the 1870's Yōichi Honda and Yakichi Yamaji wrote:

> The earliest endeavours were naturally made by foreign missionaries and the teachers engaged in English schools in different parts of the country, amongst whom may be named the Revs. G.F. Verbeck, D.D., David Thompson, D.D., and E. P. Veeder, D.D., of the Kaisei Gakkō (Government College) of Tokyo; W.S. Clark, LL.D., of the Nōgakkō (Agricultural College) of Sapporo; the Rev. S.R. Brown, D.D., of the Shubunkan school at Yokohama; Captain Janes, of the Eigakkō (English School) at Kumamoto; John Ing, of the Tōōgijuku School at Hirosaki; W.E. Griffis, D.D., of the Fukui School; and Rev. George Cochran, of Mr. Keiu Nakamura's Dōninsha School, Tōkyō.

Yoichi Honda and Yakichi Yamaji, "Japanese Religious Beliefs: Christianity", in Fifty Years of New Japan, compiled by Shigenobu Okuma, English version ed. by Marcus B. Huish, (New York, 1909).
Carmen Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Cambridge, Eng., 1964), p. 32

The Meirokusha was formed in 1873. It was envisaged as a Japanese learned society similar to the learned societies in the United States. Among its original members were Tsuda Mamichi (1829-1894), Sugi Koji (1828-1917), Nishi Amane (1829-1894), Kato Hiroyuki (1836-1904), Nishimura Shigeki (1827-1902), Mitsukuri Shūhei (1825-1886), Mitsukuri Rinshō (1846-1897), Mori Arinori, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Keiu. These men were among the leading Western-learning scholars in Japan. All of these men, except for Nishimura Shigeki, Mori Arinori, and Fukuzawa Yukichi, had taught or studied in the Tokugawa Bansho Shirabesho (Foreign Book Research Institute) or the Kaiseijō (Institute of Development) during the 1860's. This perhaps shows that the Tokugawa Government was the most progressive and pro-Western force in Japan during the 1860's.

4. Keimō was understood to mean "'enlightening the darkenss' of the masses, educating them not merely to a knowledge of new facts, but to an entirely new outlook on the universe, to a rethinking of some of their most unquestioned assumptions about man, nature and value".
Carmon Blacker, op.cit., p. 32

5. Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, ed. Kosaka Massaki, tr. David Abosch, (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 118-119.

6. Irwin Scheiner, Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), p. 62.

7. ibid., p. 62.

8. Hiromichi Kozaki, Reminiscences of Seventy Years: The Autobiography of a Japanese Pastor, tr. Nariaki Kozaki, (Tokyo, 1934), p.55.

9. In regards to Alexander Croft Shaw (1846-1902). Shaw was born in Oak Hill, Toronto, the son of Major Alexander Shaw. He was educated at Upper Canada College and at Trinity University, Toronto where he received his. B.A. in 1867 and M.A. in 1871. He was ordained in 1870 by the Bishop of Toronto. After his ordination he went to England and in 1873 was accepted as a missionary by the S.P.G. He was one of the first three S.P.G. missionaries sent to Japan and was instrumental in founding the Church of England in Tokyo. In 1881 he was appointed Chaplain to the British Legation in Tokyo. In 1887 he became Archdeacon of Japan. For more details concerning Shaw and the work of the S.P.G. in Tokyo see:
C.H. Powles, "Victorian Missionaries in Meiji Japan: The Shiba Sect 1873-1900", unpublished Ph.d. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1868.

Shaw wrote about his acceptance of Fukuzawa Yukichi's offer

of employment:

> I have accepted the offer of a Japanese to live with him and teach his three children English. I had a considerable debate with myself as to whether I should undertake the duty for it involves of course an entirely solitary life - but at length made up my mind to do so. For in the first place the father of my pupil truly if not the most prominent man in the country as far as educational matters are concerned. He has established large schools at several of the principal cities and is altogether very liberal minded and progressive.

A.C. Shaw to Bullock, May 14th 1874, Letters and Papers, Bombay, Colombo, Labaun, North China, Victoria 1868-1874, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, 15 Tufton Street, London, England.
It is coincidence that Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Keiu, perhaps the two major Western-learning educators in the 1870's, both employed, and had living with them, Canadians in 1874.

10. Honda and Yamaji wrote concerning Yasui Sakuken and Benmō that "his essay was a masterpiece, rare at a time when the level of men's knowledge was not high. His criticism of the Bible was acute enough to make the Christians reflect upon their beliefs.
Honda and Yamaji, loc.cit., p. 81.

11. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874, in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, XX1V, August 1874, p. 377. (UCA).

12. Cochran Letter, October 6th 1873, in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, XX1, November 1873, p. 335. (UCA).

13. Eby Letter, October 24th 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 11, January 1877, p. 174 (UCA).

14. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874 loc.cit., p. 377.

15. "Japanese Translation of the Bible" reprinted from The Japan Mail, February 3rd 1878, Box 10 X-3 (WEGC).

16. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, October 28th 1873, Box 10 X-3 (WEGC).

17. ibid.,

18. Cochran Letter, January 21st 1874, in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, XX111, May 1874, p. 355. (UCA).

19. Margaret Clark Griffis, Journal 1871-1873, November 5th 1873, AC.2065 (WEGC). Margaret Clark Griffis (1838-1913) was W.E. Griffis' sister. She lived with her brother in Tokyo between 1872 and 1874. Margaret Griffis worked as a teacher in Mrs. E. P. Veeder's girls' school.

20. S. R. Brown to J. M. Ferris, December 5th 1873, Box 747.4N (NBTS).

21. In late December 1873 E. W. Clark moved permanently from Shizuoka to Tokyo in order to take up his teaching position at the Kaisei Gakko. Clark took up residence with W. E. Griffis and his sister. It is interesting to note that Nakamura Keiu becomes a very frequent visitor to the Griffis household after Clark became a part of it.

22. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874, loc.cit., p. 378.

23. S. R. Brown to J. M. Ferris, February 19th 1874. Box 747.4N (NBTS).

24. ibid..

25. Fiftieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in connection with the English Conference. P.xxxvi (UCA).

26. Wade Crawford Barclay, The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845-1939, (New York, 1959), Volume 3, p. 669.

27. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874, loc.cit., p. 379.

28. I wish to thank Prof. Jerry K. Fisher of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., for this information.

29. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874, loc.cit., pp. 379-380.

30. Hiromichi Kozaki, Reminiscences of Seventy Years: The Autobiography of a Japanese Pastor (Tokyo, 1934), p. 59.

31. Cochran Letter, April 22nd 1874, loc.cit., p. 380.

32. Wade Crawford Barclay, op.cit., p. 673.

CHAPTER 2:

SHIZUOKA.

In April 1874 when McDonald arrived in Shizuoka, he found that many of the former Tokugawa samurai, who were living there, were receptive to Christianity. To a large extent, this receptivity can be explained as being a result of the progressive and pro-Western spirit of the Shizuoka people and their previous exposure to Christian ideas through Edward Warren Clark. It was an important factor in McDonald's success in building up a strong Christian church in Shizuoka.

Edward Warren Clark in Shizuoka.

Shizuoka in Suruga province (Shizuoka Prefecture) was the ancestral home of the Tokugawa family and a city of an estimated 60,000. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868 the former Tokugawa Shogun Hitotsubashi Keiki (Yoshinobu, 1837-1913) went to live there in retirement bringing with him many of his immediate retainers. Approximately 6,000 Tokugawa samurai had been settled in Shizuoka or the vicinity at the time of Chochran's visit.

In 1868 a number of leading Western-learning scholars and translators such as Nakamura Keiu and Tsuda Mamichi (Shindō, 1829-1903) joined the former Shogun in exile. Before 1868 the Restoration movement had contained too much anti-foreignism as seen in the sonnō-jōi to enjoy the support of scholars who believed in Western cultural superiority (1). In the 1860's the Tokugawa Government had increasingly taken on a pro-Western attitude. Until it became clear that the Meiji Government was sincere in transforming Japan along Western lines, many Western-learning scholars chose to remain in exile with the former Shogun.

The progressive spirit of these men took concrete form in the development of two major Western learning institutions for the benefit of the young sons of Tokugawa exiles in the years immediately following the Restoration. One was the Heigakkō in Numazu which will be discussed in a later chapter and the other was the Denshujō in Shizuoka. Katsu Awa was instrumental in the formation of the Shizuoka school (2). The founding of this school was in harmony with Article 5 of the Meiji Constitution and also in line with Katsu's own thinking in regards to the need for Western studies. Edward Warren Clark was the first foreign teacher to be appointed to the Denshujo in 1871. Clark wrote about this school at the time of his arrival in Shizuoka:

> With an institution of nearly one thousand students, under the supervision of a single foreigner with fifty Japanese assistants to direct and instruct; with classes in various scientific departments both theoretical and practical; with interpreters to be drilled, regulations to be made and enforced, experiments prepared, and lectures given through the three-fold medium of English, French, and Japanese, you may believe I had my hands full (3).

In 1871 the school was one of the leading Western-learning schools in Japan.

Verbeck, in searching for young American teachers to come out to Japan in order to fill the many requests he had for them, had been told about Clark by William Elliot Griffis. Ever since Griffis had gone to Japan, Clark had wanted to come out and join his friend. Tired of waiting for a definite offer of employment to come to him in the Unted States, Clark went out to Japan in October 1871. Prior to his departure, he had taken the precaution of buying and shipping chemistry equipment to Japan. J.

M. Ferris, the Secretary of the Dutch Reformed Missionary Society, had furnished him with a letter of introduction to Verbeck. The most important letters of introduction were written for him by his Japanese friends whom he knew through Rutgers College. Hatakeyama Yoshinari, a very close friend of his, wrote several letters on his behalf. Hatakeyama was already marked for leadership in the Meiji Government and had been summoned to return a number of times to Japan by the Meiji Government as they needed his advice in various matters. He disregarded these requests because he wished to see Europe first which he did later with the Iwakura Embassy. Iwakura Asahi gave Clark an introductory note to his father Iwakura Tomomi, the Prime Minister of the Left. Katsu Korōku, who had been studying at the Naval Academy at Anapolis, gave him a letter introducing Clark to his father Katsu Awa (4). Personal connections were vitally important to the placing of foreign Christians in the interior of Japan. As has been noted, it was on account of Verbeck's friendship with Yokoi Daihei and Matsudaira Shungaku that Leroy Janes and W. E. Griffis were employed respectively in Kumamoto and Fukui. It was as a result of his introduction to Katsu Awa that Clark came to accept the appointment in Shizuoka instead of numerous other positions in Japan.

After his first interview with Katsu concerning the contract for this teaching post, Clark found that the Japanese Foreign Office had included a stipulation that prevented him from teaching Christianity. Clark refused to sign the contract unless he was allowed to teach the Bible. He felt it impossible for a "Christian man to bind himself to go for three years among a heathen people, and yet to hold his tongue on the Christian religion!" (5). This was an unprecedented stand to take on Clark's part. His friend Griffis and other foreign teachers had never complained about their contracts on account of Christianity. However, Clark persisted and the Foreign Affairs

Department gave him his own way and the religious article was taken out of his contract. Previous to this, he had visited Iwakura Tomomi when he first arrived in Japan in company with Verbeck to tell him how his son Asahi was getting on in the United States. Iwakura was greatly pleased when Clark gave him a photograph of Asahi, Hatakeyama Yoshinari and Clark himself (6). Clark thought Iwakura was responsible for seeing the religious stipulation taken out of his contract. Thus Clark went to Shizuoka in November 1871 as the first foreigner who was free to teach Christianity in the interior of Japan.

Among the first people Clark met in Japan was Nakamura Keiu who since the Meiji Restoration had been living in retirement in Suruga province (7). When Clark arrived in Shizuoka, Nakamura came to live with him for a time. Clark wrote to Griffis that Nakamura "speaks English pretty well, and is engaged in translating English books. He is the one who translated Smile's "Self-Help" (sic), and while staying with me has been translating John Stuart Mill on "Liberty" (!)" (8). How much influence Clark had on Nakamura during the translation of this book is a matter of surmise. However, Nakamura declined, partially on Clark's account, an invitation from Iwakura to join his Embassy becasue, "inasmuch as his habits of study and retirement were well known, and especially as his Province had now engaged "so excellent" (?) an American teacher, he would beg to forgo his trip around the world, and stay home and study" (9). In order to stay close to Clark, Nakamura became the Chinese professor at the school in which Clark taught and was his most intimate friend in Shinzuoka. Clark certainly had a profound influence on Nakamura in regards to Christianity as can be seen in the fact that Nakamura translated Primary Truths of Religion, written by

Clark's uncle who was Episcopalian Bishop of Rhode Island (10).

Nakamura remained with Clark in Shizuoka until mid-1872 when he moved to Tokyo but still kept very close ties with him. Ōkubo Ichiō, who was a leading advisor to the former Tokugawa Shogun in Shizuoka, when Clark arrived was another close friend. Okubo sent his ten year old son to live with Clark doing this in full knowledge that Clark was holding Bible Classes in his home (11). Ōkubo had been a very influential figure in the Tokugawa Government and as director of the Bansho Shirabesho (Foreign Books Research Institute) for some years, one of its leading pro-Western members. Ōkubo's pro-Western inclination and friendship with Clark is important because in 1872 he became Lord Mayor of Tokyo during the time when the first missionaries began to propagate the Gospel in that city. Katsu Awa also became a close friend and built for him a house on the wall of Shizuoka Castle which McDonald would later occupy. Clark's reception in Shizuoka was on the whole exceedingly friendly (12). This was largely due to the progressive and pro-Western spirit of the Shizuoka people.

By the end of 1872, Clark's natural enthusiasm for Shizuoka was beginning to flag. This was partly caused by the fact that all his friends, best students and anybody who had brains or energy had left to go to Tokyo. Clark wrote:

> The old feudal system was abolished, the Mikado had transferred his court to Tokio, which heretofore had been the capital of the military chief, or Tycoon. The latter had retired with his retainers to Shidz-u-o-ka, which became the St. Helena of Tycoonism. The men who formerly ruled Japan were therefore my associates and advisors in Shidz-u-o-ka. But their successors at the Mikado's capital found themselves unable to manage the affairs of government, hitherto left in the hands of the Tycoon.

> They had not the practical skill to guide the ship of state with steadiness through the troubled waters of political change.
>
> Therefore they sent to Shidz-u-o-ka and called away my friends and my brightest students, assigning them important positions at the capital (13).

Ōkubo Ichiō, Katsu Awa, Yamoaka Tesshu and Enomoto Takeaki were among the most famous former Tokugawa officials who came to hold high office in the Meiji Government. In local government many former Tokugawa bureaucrats also held positions so that for a number of years after the Restoration their influence was predominant in traditional Tokugawa strongholds, especially in Shizuoka and Tokyo. It is obvious that there were opportunities in the new Meiji Government for former Tokugawa adherents. The ex-samurai, as they were among the most progressive and pro-Western people in Japan could particularly take advantage of the Meiji Government's need for skilled civil servants.

By the beginning of 1873 Clark was becoming disappointed with the Shizuoka school and particularly the lack of support given to it by the Mombushō (Educational Department) and the provincial educational officers. Clark was disgusted with the "chaotic, or rather 'Japonic' state" into which the school had fallen (14). In June 1873 Clark complained about "how my plans and enthusiasm had been baffled in the past, how each and every repeated attempt which I had made with the Kenchio, with the Mombusho, and with one officer after another of the School had been disregarded" (15). His relations with Hitomi, the manager of the school, were not altogether happy but it was mainly with the Government that Clark had issue concerning the school. He was put in charge of it in June 1873 but this did not give him any great pleasure because he felt that the school was virtually destroyed.

The difficulties which Clark encountered with the school were by no means untypical. McDonald found himself in similar difficulties when he inherited Clark's position. The advantage which McDonald possessed was that Clark had gone before him. It was probably with some relief that Clark left Shizuoka in answer to Katsu Awa's appeal to come to Tokyo and teach Chemistry at the Kaisei Gakkō.

It appears to be a trend in the development of Japanese Christianity in the early 1870's that conversion to Christianity only occured after a relatively lengthy exposure to Western-learning and Christian ideas. In the case of the Kumamoto band, Leroy Janes "did not evangelize the students in the beginning but waited almost until they asked him to teach them about Christianity" (16). In the case of Shizuoka, Clark had worked and propagated the Gospel for over two years before McDonald arrived.

McDonald in Shizuoka.

McDonald arrived in Shizuoka in the beginning of April 1874. He was accompanied from Tokyo by a former prince of the Tokugawa family who lived with McDonald for a time in Shizuoka in order to attend the school and learn English (17). McDonald's duties at the school were less arduous than Clark's for he only taught English in the mornings there. However, as he was a medical doctor, McDonald received patients at his home on the Castle wall during the afternoon. Hitomi, the same manager of the school as in Clark's time, had made it quite well-known that McDonald was a missionary. McDonald wrote "I frequently hear myself spoken of as the Kiyoshi, that is, Missionary, and I am quite sure that the authorities from the

governor down are well aware of the real object of my coming here" (18). On April 19th 1874 he held his first Bible Class which consisted of a reading of the Lord's Prayer and was attended by seventeen people (19). The authorities made no attempt to stop him from conducting it; this non-interference and the number of people in attendance can be seen as direct legacies of Clark's Bible Classes.

In his Bible Classes McDonald stressed that they met together on Sunday, not merely to study the Bible but also to worship God, and in explaining the Gospel tried to lead them to seek Jesus as their Saviour. One Sunday, he became so overwrought, while reading with them the Ascension, that he could not refrain from weeping "and it was with difficulty that I read the few verses of the last Chapter of Mathew. The Great Commission seemed to have the depth of meaning and intensity that I never saw or felt before" (20) His Bible Classes quickly bore fruit for in September 1874 McDonald baptized eleven people. Before their baptism, McDonald had given them special instruction as to the nature and the obligation of Christian life, the doctrines of Christianity and the Christian Church. They had also discussed the condition of the country, the possibility of opposition to their baptism and even of persecution. Only one of the eleven had any fears concerning baptism:

> One of the candidates said that, as the Government prohibited Christianity, he would like to be baptized privately, as he did not wish to openly break the law. I explained to him that there were limits beyond which the Government had no right to enact laws, and should not expect obedience when its laws interfered with the liberty of conscience, and with our duty toward God, that God should be obeyed rather than man. I appreciated the difficulty of his position, especially as he was a married man; and I felt that becoming a Christian in the interior of Japan was very different from becoming a Christian in Canada, where every right of man is guarded by law. I told

> him, however, that I could not give him private baptism, and that if he became a Christian, he must do so openly and of his own free choice. When he came to the next meeting he was as firm as any of them. He gives promise of becoming a useful man (21).

McDonald made it quite clear what the converts might expect in terms of persecution and it is evident that he did not force anybody into becoming a Christian. They became Christians entirely of their own free choice. There is no reference in McDonald's letters of persecution of the converts by members of their own families as in the case of the young Christians of the Kumamoto band.

After the baptism service, a Christian Church was organized on September 27th 1874 in accordance with Canadian Methodist discipline. Tsuchiya Hiroku (Sugiyama Seichi) and Yamanaka Yemū were chosen class leader and assistant leader. Both these men later became pastors with the Canadian Mission and very actively helped McDonald in his Christian work. Both these men were samurai. Tsuchiya was particularly of very high rank within that class. A Class Meeting was held every Wednesday night and on Sunday morning and evening services were given. McDonald wrote about this Class of Christians:

> You may deem the appointment of class leader and assistant somewhat premature. I, however, think that the men are worthy, and I am desirous that, in case I should be obliged to leave here, there may be some persons who have been accustomed to hold meetings, and even to speak to the people about the truth of the Bible (22).

McDonald was the only missionary in the area, and his continued presence in Shizuoka was not all that secure after the expiration of his two year contract. Thus he wanted to give the converts an anchor in this Japanese-led Class so as to make them independent of his guidance as quickly as

possible. McDonald wrote about the Christian work that he was doing as seeming to be "underground foundational work. Whether it will ever rise above ground and become visible or not I cannot say, but I hope so" (23).

By March 1875 McDonald had baptized twenty-six people, twenty-two of them being students at the school (24). However, it soon became evident that interest in Christianity was not solely restricted to the school. By 1876 Christianity had gained a certain popularity in Shizuoka among the townspeople, for McDonald wrote about his Sunday services:

> we are obliged to check the geta (wooden clogs). About four Sabbaths ago, they told me that 380 pairs were checked: moreover about forty persons were crowded around the window outside, and numbers were obliged to return, as they could not get into the house, and as space outside near the windows was also occupied (25).

Attendance was not always that high but it indicates that McDonald was drawing other people than students to his services. Other Christian groups such as the Kumamoto and Sapporo bands were largely restricted to students but this is not true in the case of Shizuoka. The numbers of converts increased quite steadily until by 1877 McDonald had baptized 120 people and had found it necessary to rent a hall in Shizuoka where regular services were conducted with an average attendance of thirty-five (26). McDonald at that date must have been a missionary with one of the largest tallies of baptisms in the interior of Japan.

Buddhist and Shintō Opposition.

There was no opposition to McDonald's propagating the Gospel from the authorities in Shizuoka. In November 1875 he wrote that "at the

present the authorities here are very friendly. They intimated that they would like to become better acquainted with us, and about a month ago, the Governor of the Province, Vice-Governor, Provincial Secretary, and three others dined with us and spent the evening" (27). McDonald was sure that they would not act against him unless they felt obliged by some pressure to do so. The tolerant attitude of the authorities was one of the reasons why McDonald was able to attract so many people to his services. Nonetheless, there was opposition from Buddhist and Shintō priests in Shizuoka who were stimulated by McDonald's activities to take better care of their followers. McDonald wrote:

> The Shinto priests told the people that Christianity is a corrupt religion, and required them to affix their name and seals to a solemn declaration in writing that they would not go to hear the preaching of the Gospel, and that they would not become Christian. They were also informed that if any one became a Christian, he should not any longer be regarded as a citizen (28).

In July 1876 Amenomori (Matsubara) Nobushige, a student at the Kaisei Gakkō in Tokyo, wrote to W. E. Griffis about the state of affairs in Shizuoka:

> In Shizuoka we are informed that about five hundred of the people are gathered together on Sunday evenings to receive the "Bread of Life" sent down from heaven. The cause of gathering together of so many people is very striking. Let me tell you. The Shinto and Budhist priests are very much vexed at the progress which the Christians make at Shidzuoka in preaching the Gospel. Accordingly they the Shinto and Budhist priests tried every means in their power to prevent the progress of Christianity. They spoke very bad of the religion in every form of expression they can find to prevent the people from going to hear the Gospels. But their attempt was utterly in vain: for the people having heard such a bad report of Christianity began to wish to decide whether it was nearly as bad as the priests said by themselves. So from that time since the Christian preachers have always a large congregation while there are but few who attend the Shinto or Budhist priests (29).

This extract is interesting not only in that it reveals that Japanese Christians were aware of the great Christian progress that appeared to be going on in Shizuoka but also the fact that Shintō and Buddhist priests were having difficulty in stopping it. It appears that anti-Christian propaganda was having the effect of stirring people's interest in Christianity.

Buddhism was seen by McDonald as the major opponent to Christianity, for while he thought that Buddhism had fallen into decay it still remained a powerful force. He wrote about Buddhism:

> There is but one power that can remove the encumbrance - take it away root and branch - that is, the Gospel; not the Gospel considered as a code of pure morals only, for Buddhism has many excellent precepts, but the Gospel as a Divine power in the salvation of the people, purifying the heart and the conscience, and blessing the people with the joys and hopes of spiritual life (30).

The opposition of the Buddhists and Shintōists made it difficult for a long time for Christians to hire a hall for worship in Shizuoka, but as the numbers of converts suggest, they were not successful in keeping inquirers away from McDonald.

There were pernicious rumours circulated in Shizuoka concerning McDonald. One such was, as McDonald wrote, that " I give each person who comes to the service an ichibu (25¢), but that no man is able to keep the money because, just as he is about starting to go home, I, by magic art, cause the money to return to my own pocket" (31). Stories such as the one above were common; Clark stated in 1873 that a rumour was current about him in which "the Ghosts of the Tokugawa family visit me every night and kill me by inches for daring to desecrate the ancient castle here with my Tojin presence.!" (32). These stories were perhaps more irritating than anything else to McDonald and Clark before him but

they might possibly have turned people away from the foreigners.

McDonald's Medical Work.

At first the school was the centre for Christianity in Shizuoka. A major problem with it was that many of the students, as in Clark's time, left to go to Tokyo. In April 1875 there were only thirty-five students registered at the school; some twenty students during the previous year had gone to Tokyo in order to search for employment. McDonald stated "those attending the school are Samurai. Since the revolution they have, to a great extent, been obliged to depend upon their own resources, which, with many, so far as money is concerned, are somewhat limited. Some of them, therefore, will probably avail themselves of the first suitable position that is offered to them" (33). This is one of the few references which McDonald makes to a noticeable shortage of money amongst the people in Shizuoka. Likewise, Clark's correspondence makes little reference to financial suffering. The lack of mention of obvious hardship in Shizuoka amongst the former Tokugawa samurai after the Meiji Restoration, leads one to believe that those in Shizuoka fared better than in other places. It is only natural that ambitious young men would want to leave a quiet provincial city to search for their fortune in the Capital. Through this movement away from Shizuoka, McDonald undoubtedly lost many potential converts. This was perhaps counter-balanced by his medical work.

In 1875 McDonald reported:

> During this year I have dispensed medicines freely in season and out of season, for although I have had stated times for

> dispensing, there were very many cases that I could not well refuse and that could not be reduced to rule. My medical work has cost me a great deal of labour, but it has been the means of doing good and making friends. I have also tried to keep up my study of the language and to teach the Bible as well as I was able, and in these things I think I have done full work for one man - the teaching of the day-school extra. I, however, feel that the work has been too much even for a strong man, and I purpose asking application to have the hours of teaching reduced from five to three, with, of course, a corresponding reduction in salary (34).

Among the first patients that he had treated in Shizuoka was an adopted child of the former Shogun who had been suffering from tubercular meningitis. Unfortunately the child died but the fact that McDonald had attended the former Shogun's child must have raised his reputation in the eyes of the local people. In 1876 the Shizuoka authorities opened a hospital in which McDonald was appointed the doctor. His medical work had the advantage of making him well-known for he did not restrict his practice to the elite even though some patients could not afford the medicines that he prescribed. The disadvantages of his medical work was that it took him away from his other work and tired him out. Moreover, isolated in the Japanese interior, McDonald began to feel that he was falling behind modern medical practices particularly in eye diseases which were a common ailment in Japan. Thus in 1877 he applied for leave from Japan so that he could attend the Ophthalmical Institution in New York for further study (35). The Mission Board in Toronto was extremely reluctant to give him permission to withdraw from the field but eventually did so in early 1878.

An Opening in Numazu.

During 1875 McDonald was approached by Ebara Soroku (1842-1922), who was running a Western-learning school in Numazu, some thirty-five miles from Shizuoka, to see if it could be arranged that a missionary similar to McDonald himself could come to Numazu and teach. Ebara had previously employed a foreigner from Yokohama at his school in Namazu but the man had proved unsuitable on moral grounds. Thus Ebara asked McDonald to procure a missionary. Ebara offered a salary of $500 and a house plus travel expenses from Yokohoma to Numazu. McDonald stressed to the Mission Board in Toronto that this opportunity be taken up, for he though "the Missionaries should get the schools of Japan under their influence as far as possible, that the education which the young men receive may be a Christian education. You can easily imagine the ruinous effect which a teacher of infidel principles would have upon a school like that of Numadzu" (36). The Mission Board was tardy in responding to this request. In April 1876 Sutherland, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Missionary Society, wrote to Cochran in Tokyo that "it seemed difficult to find a <u>suitable</u> man who was willing to go. Lately, however, prospects have been brightening. Bro. George Meacham has expressed his willingness to go, and although no absolute decision has yet been made in this case, yet it is satisfying to know that a Brother so devoted and scholarly is ready for the service" (37). It was not until September 1876 that reinforcements were sent out to Japan, George M. Meacham (1833-1917) and Charles S. Eby (1845-1926); of these two Meacham was designated to go to Numazu.

With Meacham in Numazu, McDonald's departure from Shizuoka did not

mean that the Canadian Mission was without a missionary in Suruga province. However, it was not until 1886 when F. A. Cassidy was sent to Shizuoka that a Canadian missionary resided there again. When McDonald returned to Japan in late 1879, he took up residence in Tsukiji where he worked as a doctor and an administrator of Canadian Mission affairs rather than an evangelist. In the eight years which lapsed between McDonald's departure from Shizuoka and Cassidy's arrival, the work was carried on solely by Japanese pastors with occasional help from visiting missionaries. During these eight years the Canadian Mission was the only Protestant organization at work in Shizuoka so the Japanese pastors could not look for help from other Protestant denominations. Yamanaka Yemū was pastor in Shizuoka after McDonald left. In 1881 Yamanaka reported a membership of 69. When it is considered that at that time the Canadian Mission had only 264 members and in Tokyo where they had three missionaries and four pastors only 94, Yamanaka was not doing badly despite the decline of numbers since McDonald's period (38). The Japanese pastors proved themselves capable of carrying on Christian work without the aid of missionaries. One of the major reasons why the Canadian Mission had little conflict with their Japanese pastors in comparison with some of the larger American missions can be seen in the fact that from very nearly the beginning of the work, the Japanese pastors had tremendous responsibility in carrying on the Canadian Mission. Shizuoka remained a stronghold of the Canadian Methodists solely because of the Japanese pastors. While McDonald raised the Church in Shizuoka, it has to be remembered that Clark, the American lay teacher, did much to lay the Christian foundations for that

Church.

Having looked at the foundation of the first Canadian Mission outpost in the interior of Japan, it is now best to turn to the beginnings of their work in Tokyo.

Footnotes

1. Thomas R. H. Havens, Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought (Princeton, 1970), p. 69.

2. Edward Warren Clark, Katz Awa, op.cit, p. 37.

3. Edward Warren Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan (New York, 1878), pp. 41-42.

4. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, October 21st 1871, Box 10 X-3 (WEGC). It appears that Clark was much better liked than Griffis by the Japanese who were their mutual acquaintances either at Rutgers College or in Japan. Clark never had the same difficulties with the Japanese which Griffis experienced, for instance, in terms of his contract at the Kaisei Gakkō in Tokyo. It is my personal feeling from reading Griffis' and Margaret Griffis' Journals that Griffis went out of his way to become acquainted with the leaders of Japanese society but never really became a close personal friend of any of them, with the exception perhaps of Nakamura Keiu. Clark, on the other hand, was undoubtedly a great personal friend of Nakamura, Katsu Awa, Ōkubo Ichiō, and Hatakeyama Yoshinari, the director of the Kaisei Gakkō after 1873.

5. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, November 27th 1871, AC 2064 (WEGC).

6. Ibid..

7. Clark first met Nakamura in Yokohama prior to his going to Shizuoka. Clark wrote:

> Na-ka-mu-ra was the name of one of the officers sent from the province where I was going; and although he was the most noted scholar of Chinese literature in Japan, he was assimple as a child, and quite amusing in his use of broken English.

E. W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, p. 13.

8. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, November 27th 1871, loc.cit..

9. Ibid..

10. E. W. Clark, Katz Awa, op.cit. p. 17.
Clark perhaps also had influence on Nakamura's decision to write the Memorial concerning the need for Christianity in Japan. This is very difficult to substantiate as Clark's correspondence make no mention of the Memorial. However, Clark mentions, in Life and Adventures in Japan, shortly after meeting Nakamura that:

> Not long after this Nakamura boldly presented a memorial to the imperial government suggesting that they build a Christian Church in Tokio! in order that Japanese subjects might have an opportunity of being instructed in the truth. Of course the government did not quite see it in that light. Nakamura was appointed to go abroad with the Japanese embassy then starting for America, but he declined,

saying that he had once lived in a Christian country-England-without learning Christianity, and now he wished to retire to his own province and study religious subjects with his new foreign teacher.

E.W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, op.cit. p. 14.
This Memorial is most probably the famous one. The fact that Nakamura did not learn about Christianity in England reinforces the importance of Clark's influence upon Nakamura's Christian thinking. However, one can not discount entirely the importance of Christian books in Chinese such as W.A.P. Martin's Evidences of Christianity which Nakamura had probably read before meeting Clark. Nonetheless, it has to be remembered that Nakamura's anotated translation of Martin's book appeared as late as 1881 which might mean that Nakamura did not consider it all that vital a Christian book. It is my contention that Clark and later Cochran were of great importance in influencing Nakamura's Christian views.

11. Clark wrote concerning the first Sunday that he was in Shizuoka:

> On the very first Sabbath, at the request of many of my brightest pupils, I explained the teachings of Christianity to as earnest and intelligent body of young men as it was every my privilege to address. They listened for more than two hours to a careful presentation of Christian truth, warmly thanking me at the close, and gladly accepted a copy of the Scriptures, which I gave each of them, promising to study the chapter assigned for the next Sabbath.

E. W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, op.cit., p. 36
After a time the Japanese organized themselves into their own Bible Class.

12. Clark only mentions one incident in Shizuoka when there was an attempt on his life. This was during a hunting expedition.
E. W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, op.cit., pp. 88-89.

13. E. W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, op.cit., pp. 128-129.

14. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, October 26th 1872, AC 2064 (WEGC).

15. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, January 9th 1873, AC 2064 (WEGC).
Clark protested against the emphasis of centralizing education in Tokyo at the expense of provincial centres. The school in which McDonald taught was nothing like the institution in which Clark had first taught.

16. John F. Howes, "Japanese Christians and American Missionaries", in Changing Japanase Attitudes Toward Modernization, ed. by Marius B. Jansen (Princeton, 1969), p. 363.

17. Nathaniel Burwash, Rev. Davidson MacDonald M.D. (Toronto, 1917), p. 8, G7b302 (UCA).

18. McDonald Letter, May 19th 1874, in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, XX1V, August 1874, p. 383 (UCA).

19. John W. Saunby, The New Chivalry in Japan: Methodist Golden Jubilee (Toronto, 1923), p. 63.

20. McDonald Letter, May 19th 1874, loc.cit., p. 383.

21. McDonald Letter, October 1st 1874, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 1, January 1875, p. 7 (UCA).

22. Ibid., p. 8.

23. McDonald Letter in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 11, pp. 382-383, (UCA).

24. Fifty-First Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxlii (UCA).

25. McDonald Letter, April 7th 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 1V, August 1876, p. 150 (UCA).

26. Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxi (UCA).

27. McDonald Letter, November 22nd 1875, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, March 1876, p. 91 (UCA).

28. Ibid., p. 90

29. Amenormori (Matsubara) Nobushige to W. E. Griffis, July 23rd 1876, AC 2083 (WEGC).

30. Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxvi (UCA).

31. McDonald Letter, November 22nd 1875, loc. cit., p. 91.

32. E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis, April 21st 1873, AC 2064 (WEGC).

33. McDonald Letter, March 1875, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 111, June 1875, p. 46 (UCA).

34. Ibid., p. 46.

35. E. Wood to D. McDonald, May 14th 1877, Wesleyan Mission Letter Book A, H11di (UCA).

36. Fift-Second Annual Report, op.cit., p. xxxviii.

37. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, April 18th 1876, Sutherland Letter Book H11d2 (UCA).

38. Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxiv (UCA).

CHAPTER 3:

THE KOISHIKAWA BAND

While McDonald and later Meacham had been working in Suruga province, Cochran had begun to lay the foundation of the Canadian Mission in Tokyo. The Koishikawa band was centred in Nakamura Keiu's Doninsha school. It was largely made up of families of teachers and pupils at the Dōninsha and Kaisei Gakkō. Among the members of the Koishikawa band there appears little alienation from Japanese society, rather they are in the forefront of the drive for the modernization of Japan. By 1879 the growth of the Koishikawa band necessitated the building of the first Canadian Mission Church in Ushigome, Tokyo.

Cochran at the Dōninsha school.

Cochran moved to Nakamura's Dōninsha school in Koishikawa, Tokyo in late August 1874. However, he did not regard his living at the Doninsha as a permanent arrangement, for he wrote:

> The thought, however, must not be entertained even for a moment, that the idea of securing a permanent location of our own in this city is abandoned. It is only postponed until we can purchase to advantage. Tsukidji is in many respects well situated for missionary work, but it is already occupied by two or three societies, and it does not seem to me the better way for all the missionaries to crowd together in one community. The funds which our people have generously placed at the disposal of the Society for the purchase of mission property here, can be held sacred for this use until the time comes for the selection of grounds and the erection of buildings. And as political events move suddenly and fitfully in the East, the country may open sooner than we anticipate; it is well therefore to be prepared at any time to make a choice (1).

At the Dōninsha Cochran taught English one or two hours daily but his main work was religious. He held a morning and afternoon service every Sunday with an average attendance at each service of between thirty-five

and fifty. The morning service consisted of a reading of the psalms in alternate responses, prayer and a short discourse on some topic of Christian doctrine. The evening service was conducted as a Bible Class. Cochran wrote "the interest is remarkably dood, considering that I speak only to such as are more or less acquainted with English. Mr. Nakamura assists occasionally by interpreting for me. As soon as I am able to use the native language freely, I shall have a larger audience" (2). Five nights a week he also gave Bible Classes. In early 1875 Cochran wrote about these Bible Classes:

> A class of twenty people meets in my study, five evenings of the week, to read the New Testament. We have already gone over the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and are now reading in Romans. I explain every thing, as far as time permits, as we go on, giving opportunity for asking questions. This is an exceedingly interesting service, and one from which I expect to see considerable fruit. At first we met in our dining-room, but that becoming too small we adjourned to the study, a separate room 15 x 18, built for me since I came here. On Sunday evening we meet to sing hyms and pray; last Sunday, twenty Japanese were present. (3)

In the mornings Cochran held family prayers to which six or seven Japanese came. While the majority of people were students at the Doninsha, a number came from the Kaisei Gakkō to the Sunday Services. Many of these knew Cochran through Clark and Griffis' Bible Classes there and in Cochran's opinion were "first-class young men, who have studied from five to six years, and read, write and speak it (English) fluently" (4).

Nakamura Keiu's Baptism.

Nakamura was the first one to ask for baptism. After prayers one morning in the middle of November 1874, he asked Cochran, "if you are willing,

I would like to be baptized on next Christmas-day, as I wish to begin the public profession of my new life from some important Christian epoch" (5). Nakamura made this request voluntarily and also intimated that his eighteen year old adopted son Kazuyoshi would like to be baptized as well. Cochran agreed and began to give Nakamura and his adopted son special instruction. He stressed to them the spirituality of Christianity as shown in the doctrines of Grace; the necessity of a change of heart in order to gain a new life; and also the moral duties involved in the profession of Christianity. For some time before he was baptized, Nakamura carried on his person a copy of the No. 2 Catechism which he consulted frequently for the proof-texts and definitions of doctrine. The day before his baptism he asked Cochran if he could assume a Christian name in addition to his Japanese name. Together Cochran and Nakamura searched through the vocabulary of common English names in Webster's Dictionary and Nakamura chose John because it meant " the gracious gift of God" (6).

The baptism took place at ten o'clock on Christmas morning 1874. The service was held in the parlor of Cochran's home and was witnessed by both students and friends; among those present were General Viscount Saigō's wife and daughter who made a magnificent floral presentation (7). Cochran preached a short sermon, followed by the singing of hymns and finally the baptism of Nakamura and his adopted son. The conversion of Nakamura was greeted with joy in Canada when it was announced:

> Dr. Wood having referred to the conversion of Mr. Nakamura of Yedo, it was proposed to present him with a copy of Wesley's Sermons as a token of our Christian regard, and the Rev. I Elliot kindly offered to present him with a copy of Watson's

Institutes. Mr. Dowly of Simcoe wished to have the privilege of giving him a copy of Wesley's Sermons (8).

Nakamura's conversion to Christianity and his baptism was a signal for others to make a public confession of their faith.

In March 1875, four teachers in the school, Tojō Sezō, Tannō Naonobu, Kōzu Sensaburō, and Hosòi Seishō were baptized. Of these Hosoi later became an evangelist with the Canadian Mission. In the following May, Nakamura Tetsu, Nakamura's wife, her sister Miss Taka, who was to become the wife of Nakamura's adopted son, and her brother Takahashi Kinjurō were baptized. At the same time Asakawa Koko, who later became a pastor with the Canadain Mission, and Yasutomi Kiyohikō, whom Cochran had baptized in Yokohama, now joined the Koishikawa band in Tokyo. Within the year Asakawa's mother, Asakawa Yō, had also joined the Church. In August 1875 two more teachers at the school Tanii Hasamichi and Asoaka Hajime were baptized along with Asoaka's wife Yasu and son Sanmura.

The Growth of the Koishikawa Band.

On Sunday, November 21st 1875 Kawamura Isami and Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu were baptized (9). Both these young men were students at the Kaisei Gakko. It has to be stressed that the Kaisei Gakko was the foremost Western-learning institution in Tokyo and its graduates could look forward to a promising career in the Meiji civil service. At this time the Kaisei Gakko was a centre of considerable Christian activity in Tokyo (10).

Kawamura Isami had been attending the Sunday services at the Doninsha for some time before his baptism. Kawamura had been in the

United States where he had studied for two years at Ann Arbor, Michigan. While there he had lived with a religious family who had taken him to the class meetings and to Sunday school at their Church. Shortly after his return to Japan, he began to come to Cochran's services and became a candidate for baptism. It was feared as he was an only son and his father had been an officer of some rank under the Shogunate, that his father might oppose his becoming a Christian. His father, however, gave his full consent and even came to see his son baptized.(11). Within six months Kawamura's mother and his cousin Ito Yuri had also become converted (12).

The person baptized with Kawamura was Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu who was to become the leading pastor in the Canadian Mission and an outstanding Japanese Christian (13). Hiraiwa was born on December 17th 1859 in Koishikawa, Tokyo near the Kirishitan Zaka (Christian Slope), the eldest son of Hiraiwa Kumei. His father held a hereditary position under the Tokugawa Shogunate, being assigned to the office of searching out and bringing to summary justice all persons charged with belonging to the proscribed Christian sect. The Hiraiwas were descendants of the family who had supplied men for the Sekigahara battle and of that Hiraiwa who had served as financial minister under Tokugawa Ieyasu (14). Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu entered school at the age of six studying Chinese poetry and history. At the age of twelve he entered the public school at Ichigaya, one of the first six schools of the kind established in Tokyo, the new Capital. Here he was soon promoted to the rank of assistant teacher, and shortly after was, through official recommendation, admitted to a school founded for the promotion of Western-learning in which he continued until

it was abolished. Following this, Hiraiwa went to Yokohama to study English and German for seven months under an American instructor Werteim Louis.

In 1873 Hiraiwa wrote public examinations for entrance into the Kaisei Gakko and was awarded a full scholarship. It was only on account of this scholarship that he could continue his education because his father had failed financially after the Meiji Restoration and his family was extremely poor. His ambition was eventually to study law with the aim of joining the Justice Department of the Meiji Government. He also had a great desire to travel abroad (15).

At the Kaisei Gakko he studied natural science where Clark was one of his professors. Hiraiwa was fond of reading such books as Darwin's Origin of Species, Huxley's Evolution and Haeckel's Wonders of the Universe. His readings and his hereditary prejuidice made him dislike Christianity intensely and he bullied his fellow students who attended the Bible Classes which Clark held on Sunday evenings. One Sunday he went to a Bible Class but thought Clark's method of teaching the Bible was childish, although he admired him in the science class-room. He, therefore, did not continue to go and still bullied those students that did. One thing, however, which struck him about the one Bible Class he attended was that Clark had played the organ. This was the first time Hiraiwa had heard organ music and he wanted to hear it again but without the Christian teaching. One night he went again to hear the music when it happened that Cochran was there. Hiraiwa was very much impressed by Cochran and after the class had a personal interview with him where he received an invitation to come to the next Sunday Service at the Dōninsha. Hiraiwa went because he wanted an able

and authoritative teacher from whom he could find out the errors and evils of the Bible.

He began to attend the services regularly for the Dōninsha was conveniently on his way home from the Kaisei Gakkō dormitory where he stayed week-days to his father's home in Koishikawa where he spent Sundays. Other Kaisei Gakkō students also went to the Sunday services among whom were Ōto Kenjirō, who later became a pastor, Tadera Shoichi, Oyagi Hiichirō, Inonō Nakeru, Miyake Jōrin and Kawamura Isami. At the time of Nakamura's baptism, which Hiraiwa witnessed, he still had doubts concerning Christianity. After borrowing some books from Cochran's library, he became convinced that Christianity was not evil but it was much higher and purer in ethical teaching than Confucianism (16). So he became a Christian in November 1875 and after that Christmas began to preach everywhere he went.

Before his baptism, Hiraiwa had a family consultation with his parents and close relatives concerning the step which he was about to take. There was little that his parents could do if they wished to oppose him for already he was virtually the head of his family. The family was very poor and looked for support from Hiraiwa in the future. His mother to whom Hiraiwa was very close was also gravely ill. Hiraiwa was a very proud and strong-willed person and therefore always did what he wanted. In 1876, a year after his conversion and baptism, in order to support his family, Hiraiwa left the Kaisei Gakkō without graduating thus ending any hope of a law career.

Hiraiwa, as the eldest son, had to see to his brothers and sisters' education and his parents' welfare. His eldest brother was adopted by the

Ōda family and was able later to obtain positions in the Educational Ministry, in the Japanese Postal Service and finally ended his career working in the judicial courts in Osaka. His second younger brother was adopted by the Akiabara family but unfortunately died at an early age. His eldest sister later became the wife of the pastor Kobayashi Mitsuyasu (1857-1899). His second younger sister later became a High School teacher and was very active in Christian work. His mother died shortly after his leaving the Kaisei Gakkō but he still had his father to care for.

Hiraiwa's dropping out of the Kaisei Gakko meant that he had to pay back his scholarship money to the Educational Department so he was under a double burden. His undoubted brilliance had caught the attention of a number of influential people and through Mitsukuri Rinshō, a leading official in the Educational Department, Hiraiwa was able to get a position as a science teacher at the Government Higher Normal School at Ochanomizu. In 1879 he took on the additional duties of teaching gymnastics and the following year was made the headmaster of the school (17). Soon after this, although he was now married to the sister of Baron Kanda Naibu, Hiraiwa gave up his secular ambitions and became a pastor. Inoue Kaoru, a leading member of the Meiji Government wrote of Hiraiwa, "that it was a shame he was not in the Government because if he was he would be the top man" (18). Hiraiwa had the possibility of a brilliant lay career ahead of him when he became a pastor. As a pastor apart from his administrative efficiency, Hiraiwa was noted for his beautiful benedictions.

Soon after his own converstion, Hiraiwa converted his uncle Ōta Kijirō,

his aunt Ōta Tou, his cousin Ōta Ai, and his uncle's apprentices Hamada Kenejirō and Yamaguchi Toyō. In March 1879, his father Hiraiwa Kumei, his brother Hiraiwa Yoshiaki, and his sisters Hiraiwa Toyo and Hiraiwa Chiyō were baptized. Christianity appears very much to have been a family affair.

The Formation of the Japan District.

As the numbers of converts increased, the church began to organize. In December 1875, a class was formed with Nakamura as Leader and his adopted son as Steward. There were eighteen members of this original class, three of whom soon left to go to the United States. According to Cochran, they were Kōzu Sensaburō, a man of "good intellectual ability, a fair scholar, quite unassuming and a person of great moral worth" who went to attend the State Normal School in Albany, New York and two others Lawara and Asukawa who went as attaches of the Japanese Commission to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 (19). This was further seen in the fact that at the Centennial Exhibition, "a visiting Japanese commissioner was asked if he knew Dr. Cochran. The man grasped the hand of the questioner and said eagerly, "Dr. Cochran baptized me", and introduced me to a fellow-commissioner, also a convert of our new mission" (20). The remaining members of the class eagerly entered into the spirit of their meetings. They were willing to take up a collection at every meeting to be applied for the contingent expenses of worship and for the future support of a Japanese agency. Cochran was pleased at this precedent of contributing to the Church and noted "there seems to be

a strong disposition amongst all native converts in Japan to cultivate the principle of self-support, so far as the propagation of our gospel by a native agency is concerned. And we feel that it is well to encourage them in this" (21).

For a long time Cochran had been entreating the Missionary Society at home to send out more reinforcements to Japan. In March 1876 he wrote:

> But unless we are strengthened at once we may nearly as well abandon the field. There can be no legitimate expansion of our work. We shall lose prestige. Every mission in Japan is strong in numbers now, except ours. The M.E. Church of the U.S. have had five men in the field from the beginning, and expect five more before the end of the present year. Cannot the United Methodist Church of Canada establish one strong foreign mission? If not, you may rely on it, to keep two men here, isolated, working alone, is the nearest thing to waste of funds that you can come to, after a certain point is reached, and we are almost touching that point at the present time. We ought to be able to meet the demands of the work as it opens out, and to take advantage of opportunities as they offer. If we cannot do this, there is disappointment, the limit of expansion is soon reached; the spirit of the mission suffers discouragement. Whereas if the mission was strong, able to push the work, train native helpers, look well after converts, establish preaching stations at sundry places that are open to us, there might be no limit to the growth of the Church, and the great common cause would be served as it ought to be (22).

In this extract can be seen a degree of interdenominational rivalry although the common cause is still stressed. Cochran was correct in saying that there was only so much that two men could do, and if there was to be continued expansion of the Mission more men were required. In 1875 the Missionary Society had been in no position to send out reinforcements. The financial depression in Canada had caused a drop in the Society's income and the difficulty remained of selecting the right persons to be sent out. However, at last in September 1876 George M. Meacham and Charles S. Eby came

out.

Cochran took the opportunity of their arrival in Japan to form the Japan District of the Toronto Conferences in Canada. The mission was thus incorporated as an integral part of the Methodist Church of Canada, just in the same way that prior to the Methodist union of 1874 the Wesleyan Methodist had been part of the British Wesleyan Methodist Church. Cochran was elected the Chairman of the District, and Eby was made the Secretary as he was going to stay in Tokyo to help Cochran. On the insistence of Nakamura and Hiraiwa, a resolution was passed to the effect that the official title of the Church be the Japan Methodist Church instead of being named part of the Canadian Church which it was in fact (23). The Japan Methodist Church was the name under which the Canadian Mission became known in Japan.

The Need for Native Evangelists.

Cochran began to give the members of Nakamura's class the chance to preach. Every Sunday he began holding services in Japanese, and at these every week a different member of the class gave a short discourse under Cochran's supervision. Many of the members showed a strong disposition to go out and preach the Gospel:

> The work of the brethern thus far has been largely among the students and teachers, and a remarkable proportion of the converts are anxious to preach Christ, whom they have learned to love. Nearly a score are already local preachers, and more are coming on. Most of them, if the way was open, would become evangelists and preachers of the most promising class. They are nearly all graduates or undergraduates of the Imperial University, and some of them, of eminent scholarly attainments. They are thoroughly versed in Chinese classics and Confucian philosophy, but they are babes in Christian theology (24).

The first candidate whom Cochran began to train to become an evangelist was Asagawa Koko who was a very keen local preacher. Others soon followed him, Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu and Hosoi Seisho from the Koishikawa band and Tsuchiya Hiroku and Yamanaka Yemu from Shizuoka. Apart from the antipathy of friends toward the Christian religion, the major stumbling block that stood in their way of becoming evangelists was the financial one. Cochran felt it only right that the Canadian Mission should be prepared to support these evangelists (25). The Mission Board in Toronto was at first rather apprehensive about this because if "they were accorded the full status of minister they might like those in India demand the same remuneration as the missionaries for their services" (26). There was serious alarm in Toronto concerning the rapidly increasing expenditures of the Japan Mission and the magnitude of the operations which the missionaries seemed disposed to engage in. In 1876 the cost of the Mission had risen from $3346 to $14,430 due mainly to the cost of buying property and bringing out the two missionaries to Japan. The cost of supporting Japanese evangelists could only add to this and with the expansion of the Mission, the number of evangelists to be paid could only increase. It was with some relief that the Mission Board learnt from McDonald that the rate of pay for Japanese evangelists should range from $6 per month for students, to $10, $12 or $15 per month for men in full connexion with $12 per annum additional for each child. This was in line with the income of evangelists belonging to other missions but nowhere near the $1893 per annum that it was costing the Mission Board to support Cochran and his family in Japan (27).

Eby, the new missionary in Tokyo, wrote in October 1876 concerning Japanese evangelists:

> We fear to lay hands hastily on any man, and the very fact of their previous culture makes the further thorough training in Christian doctrine absolutely necessary before they can be entrusted with the great work of the ministry; for these men must be, to a great extent, the foundation stones of our future Church in Japan..... But, after suitable buildings are once provided the expense would be poor, small, and the Japanese, though would help somewhat. We could then have a number of young men under our care all the time, and have sent out certain months of the year in evangelistic work, until they could be entrusted with the full work of the ministry (28).

Unfortunately the Mission Board could not afford a theological school such as Eby envisaged. Sutherland, the Secretary of the Mission Board, wrote to Cochran cautioning him about Eby and his plans:

> You will need to move with great caution in the matter of the Institute. Let me say confidentially, if you let Bro. Eby hold the reins he will drive you into hopelss burdens and embarassments. You are the head of the Mission, and both for your own comfort, and the continued confidence of the church at home, you must keep the control firmly in your own hands. On not a few occasions Brethern who have read Bro. E.'s letters have greeted me with the remark " I see Eby is at his wild schemes again". Here we are in hearty sympathy with your work in Japan; but with a prospective debt this year of over $50,000, increased expenditure in any department will be a very grave matter at Central Board (29).

The missionaries still continued to advocate the founding of a theological school but in vain.

The Baptism of Yokoi Tokiō.

In 1876 Mrs. Cochran began to fall sick. The house which the Cochrans occupied in the Dōninsha compound was deemed to be unhealthy due to its proximity to a large pond. Thus, in June 1876, the Cochrans moved

to a new residence in Surugadai, Tokyo still outside the treaty concessions. Cochran still retained his connection with the Dōninsha, for he went to the school to teach English language and hold his English Bible Classes. However, he held his Sunday services in his new Surugadai residence.

Among those who attended the Sunday service in Surugadai were Yokoi Tokiō, son of Yokoi Shōnan, and Yamazaki Tamenori who both belonged to the famed Kumamoto band and were now fellow-students of Hiraiwa's at the Kaisei Gakkō (30). Yamazaki had left the Yōgakkō (English School) in Kumamoto where the Christian group had formed around the English teacher Leroy Janes before the Mount Hanaoka Incident in which these Japanese boys professed publicly their faith in Christianity (31). Yamazaki was noted for his scholastic ability, for it was said that "even such talented students as Inoue Tetsujirō and Wadagaki Kenzō with whom he had studied at the Imperial University for one year, were not his equal" (32). Yokoi Tokiō had taken part in the Mount Hanaoka Incident but in April 1876 his family had forgiven him to the extent that they sent him to Tokyo to attend the Kaisei Gakkō (33). Yokoi and Yamazaki together with Wada Masachka, who was also at the Kaisei Gakkō, were baptized by Cochran in August 1876. The following month, though, the three of them left Tokyo to join their friends at the Dōshisha school in Kyoto which had been founded by the Japanese Congregationalist pastor Niijima Jō (1843-1890) in 1875 and was supported by the American Board. Yamazaki unfortunately died in 1881 but Yokoi lived to become a very renowned Congregationalist pastor and President of Dōshisha University. Later in the 1880's Cochran would have influence on another member of the Kumamoto band, Kozaki Hiromichi (34).

Move to Tsukiji.

The Cochrans stay in Surugadai was not of a long duration; Cochran had begun to think that it was time for the mission to buy property in Tsukiji. He thought that "no missionary should be subordinate to Japanese, either in the service of the Government, or of private individuals, if he can possibly help it. A man is better prepared to work for Christ, and can judge better as to the effect of his work, if he stands on independent groung" (35). He thought that he had been employed under the most favorable circumstances with Nakamura but he wanted to move back to Tsukiji. It is interesting to note that McDonald did not mind working under contract to the Japanese while apparently Cochran did. Other missionaries lived very well in Western style house in Tsukiji; this might have been an influence on Cochran to want to leave his less confortable house in Surugadai. Another reason was that Eby had been unable to obtain Government permission to reside outside the Treaty concessions, even though Nakamura offered him a position at the Dōninsha. The housing problem was solved with the Mission Board giving Cochran and Eby permission to buy property in Tsukiji where the two missionaries settled at the end of 1876.

The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 brought about a temporary reaction against Christianity and the West (36). The changed Japanese attitude in 1877 caused Cochran to write:

> The Japanese politeness to foreigners is only a mask, under it there is a deep hatred to foreigners and their religion. There is spread through England and America a most absurd and false idea of the civilization and progress of Japan, which it will take some time to correct. The longer a man lives here, and the more closely he comes to know the native character, the more thoroughly does he learn that they are

> false at the core, just as might be expected of a nation as long bound up in superstition and moral night (37).

One of the results of the Satsuma Rebellion was that many schools in which English had been taught were closed down. This prompted Cochran to state "like children that weary of one toy after another, the Japanese have played with many things in western civilization only to cast them aside as they found them unsuited to their tastes or too costly to keep up" (38). Cochran reveals a certain intolerance or contempt for the Japanese which was typical of many evangelistic Protestant missionaries in Japan at that time.

The low spirits of the missionaries caused by the depressing situation in Japan had an adverse effect on some of their supporters at home. Sutherland wrote to Cochran that several members of the Missionary Society's Committee of Finance and Consultation "expressed the opinion that the tone of letters from the Brethern left it very doubtful whether the brethern there intended to remain in the field" (39). Thus some were hesitant to approve large expenditures for the Mission because they considered it an unwise investment if the missionaries were not prepared to stay in Japan. The dismal outlook was relieved to an extent with the offer of a teaching post in Kofū coming to Eby as a result of a trip into the interior which he had taken in 1877. Just prior to his departure for Kofu in early 1878, Eby was also asked to become a professor at Tokyo University (former Kaisei Gakkō) which he turned down even though the salary offered was $2400 because of the better prospects for proselytizing in Kofū. Eby's appointment in Yamanashi prefecture, to an extent, aided in the defeat of a motion in the General Conference in 1878 for the amalgamation of the

Canadian Mission with that of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States which was tabled by those disappointed with this first foreign mission because of its expense and the apparent desire of the missionaries for their early return to Canada (40). Sutherland was particularly adamant against any such union between the Canadian Mission and the Americans.

The Ushigome Church.

The removal of the missionaries to Tsukiji left the Japanese without a convenient place to worship in. The number of converts were such also that it was awkward to hold services in the living-room of Cochran's home in Tsukiji. Cochran began, therefore, to look for a suitable preaching-place. In 1877 he rented a large house belonging to the Matsudaira family on the crowded street of Kagurasaka but unfortunately this place was too big and too good with the result that people were afraid to come in and the attendance was very small. The failure to attract people to this preaching-place was undoubtedly a factor in the pessimistic views of the two missionaries in Tokyo in 1877. In February 1878 this place was abandoned and services carried on in the home of Hiraiwa's uncle Ōta Kijirō in Ushigome, Tokyo. Some time after a vacant lot was bought at No. 17 Tsukudō Mayemachi where a plain foreign style church edifice of four ken by seven was built. This Canadian Methodist Church building was dedicated on December 9th 1878 with Cochran preaching the dedication sermon in English with Hiraiwa acting as inter-

preter. Nakamura delivered the dedication address, while Dr. Julian Soper of the Methodist Episcopal Mission gave a congratulatory speech. The total membership of the Tokyo Church was forty-three. By March 1879 it had risen to forty-nine.

In March 1879 Cochran, having received reluctant permission from the Mission Board, returned to Canada. His wife had already preceded him in late 1877 on account of her poor health and continuing anxiety about her made Cochran request to be withdrawn. Cochran took up pastoral duties once more in Canada and for one year served as President of the Toronto Conference. However, in 1882 he was asked again by the Mission Board to go back to Japan to become Principal of the new Canadian Mission school, the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō.

The Koishikawa band which had its base around Nakamura and his Doninsha school was one of the early groups of Christians in Tokyo. Nakamura, its leader,was a man of national reputation and a leading advocate of the modernization of Japan. Christianity was regarded as the essence of Western civilization, and superior in its ethical and moral teachings to Confucianism. Many of the early converts were students at the Kaisei Gakkō who could look forward to rising to high positions in the Meiji Government bureaucracy. Conversion to Christianity does not appear to have effected any converts ability to obtain Government appointments for Kōzu Sensaburō and the two Christians who went to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia were sent to the United States by the Meiji Government. Among the converts there is apparently little alienation from Japanese society or their immediate families. It appears that Christianity in the Koishikawa band developed as a family affair. In this respect, it differs greatly from other Christian bands such as the Kumamoto group.

Partly this is due to the fact that many of the male converts even the younger ones such as Hiraiwa were in fact heads of their families. Another point to be stressed is the fact that the Koishikawa band was formed in Tokyo, the centre of Western-learning in Japan, with the result that its members and their families were much more exposed to Western ideas and more progressive in their thinking perhaps than areas such as Kumamoto which were far removed from centres of foreign activity.

After Cochran's departure, the work in Tokyo was carried on by Meacham and McDonald, who returned to Japan in 1879, with the assistance of Tsuchiya Hiroku, Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu and others. In late 1879 a second Church was opened in Shitaya, Tokyo and this marked the gradual expansion of gradual expansion of the Canadian Mission from the original core of the Koishikawa band. With the formation of this second Church the first phase of the missionary work in Tokyo was over.

It is now time to look at the expansion of the Canadian Mission with the formation of the last two major Mission outposts in the interior during the late 1870's and the rapid growth of the Mission in the 1880's.

Footnotes

1. Cochran Letter, October 5th 1874, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 111, January 1875, p. 6. (UCA).

2. Ibid., p. 6.

3. Fifty-First Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxxii. (UCA).

4. Ibid., p. xxxii.

5. Cochran Letter, March 3s1st 1875, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 111, June 1875, p. 42. (UCA).

6. Ibid., p. 43.

7. Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

8. Minutes of the Committee of Consultation and Finance, April 1874-April 1890, H11c10 (UCA).

9. Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, The relation of Rev. George Cochran D. D. to the Ushigome Church, typescript, H13F4 (52) (UCA).

E. W. Clark knew Kawamura Isami. Kawamura accompanied Clark on a visit to Kyoto in 1874. At that time Kawamura was fourteen years old and had just returned from Ann Arbor, Michigan. Clark described him thus:

> He was full of fun, and it was quite an amusement to me and my American friend to get Sammy, as we called him, to entertain us in talking about the nice things he had left at Ann Arbor, for which he evidently felt homesick, He was full of the schoolboy spirit of frolic. He spoke English perfectly, and used so many droll expressions and American idioms, which I had not heard since leaving home, that his tongue kept us in continual good-humour.
>
> As we journeyed over the hills he made us merry telling of his experiences with the boys and girls in America, and he said it was very hard for him to come back to Japanese customs, food, and mode of living, after being used to such comfortable American home as he had at Ann Arbor.

E. W. Clark, Life and Adventures in Japan, op.cit., p. 209.

The next year when Cochran baptized him, Kawamura would be only fifteen which was even younger than Hiraiwa.

10. In regards to Christianity at the Kaisei Gakko mention has already been made of the Bible Classes undertaken by E. W. Clark and W. E. Griffis. In 1874 Aoyama Hajime, a student at the Kaisei Gakkō who had been a pupil of Griffis in Fukui, wrote to Griffis:

> I visit the church in Tsukiji in every sunday with Carl Kasahara, (another former pupil of Griffis in Fukui at the Kaisei Gakko) and

> Yamada and it is very pleasant to us to hear the preaching in English language in the morning and in the afternoon. Mr. Thompson preaches us by Japanese language and we sing the song which is translated into Japanese and at even, Dr. Veeder preaches us kindly at his own home and many pupils of Kaisei-Gakko come to hear.

Aoyama Hajime to W. E. Griffis, 14th December 1874, AC 2083 (WEGC). P. V. Veeder was Professor of Experimental and Cosmical Physics at the Kaisei Gakkō. While Hatakeyama Yoshinari, who was a Christian, was director of the Kaisei Gakkō, Christianity appears to have caused a great deal of interest at the Kaisei Gakkō. It is only after Hatakeyama's death in 1876 that an anti-Christian feeling begins to pervade the institution.

11. Cochran Letter, March 22nd 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, IV, June 1876, p. 125 (UCA).

12. Kawamura Isami's mother was a leading supporter of the Canadian Mission's girl school, Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakkō, which was founded in 1884. Missionary Outlook, IV, May 1886, p. 75 (UCA).
It is apparent that Kawamura's father was ofvery high social rank.

13. In many ways, Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu was to the Canadian Mission what Honda Yoichi was to the Methodist Episcopal Mission. In 1912 Hiraiwa succeeded Honda as Bishop of the autonomous Japan Methodist Church.

14. Geoge Sansom, History of Japan 1334 to 1615 (London, 1964), p. 412.

15. I wish to thank Prof. Jerry K. Fisher of Maclester College for this information.

16. Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, op.cit.,

17. Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, op.cit.

18. I wish to thank Rev. Iwai Hiraku of the Japanese United Church, Montreal, for this information.

19. Cochran Letter, March 22nd 1876, loc.cit., p. 125.

20. Methodist Magazine and Review, July 1901, p. 91.

21. Cochran Letter, March 22nd 1876, loc.cit., p. 125

22. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

23. Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, op.cit.

24. Eby Letter, October 24th 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, IV, January 1877 (UCA).

25. Cochran Letter, May 3rd 1877, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 1V, September 1877, p. 239 (UCA).

26. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, September 8th 1877, H11d3 (UCA).

27. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, October 2nd 1878, H11d3 (UCA).

28. Eby Letter, October 24th 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 111, p. 175 (UCA).

29. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, September 8th 1877, H11d3 (UCA).

30. Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, op. cit.

In 1876 Akai Yu, a student at the Kaisei Gakko, wrote to Margaret Griffis that "with one of my schoolmates, a pupil of Captain Janes in the Kumamoto Ei-Go-Gakko, I go to the Christian Society, which is held every Wednesday afternoon".
Akai Yu to M. C. Griffis, December 10th 1876, AC 2083 (WEGC).

The presence of the Kumamoto Christians obviously caused quite a stir amongst the Christian students at the Kaisei Gakko.

31. Kozaki Hiromichi, Reminiscences of Seventy Years, op.cit., pp. 25-26.

The Mount Hanaoka Incident took place on January 30th 1876 when some thrity-five of the pupils in the Yogakko (English School) in Kumamoto climbed Mount Hanaoka and took a solemn oath, under the Kanekake Pine, affirming their belief in Christianity. Among those who took part were Kanamori Michitomi, Yokoi Tokiō, Ebina Danjō, and Miyagawa Tsuneteru. All these men became prominant pastors in the Kumiai (Congregational) Church.

32. Ibid., p. 26.

33. Many of those who had taken part in the Mount Hanaoka Incident were persecuted by their parents for declaring themselves Christians. Kanamori Michitomi was placed in solitary confinement by his father in a house of a relative. Yokoi Tokiō's mother declared that she would commit suicide if Yokoi did not recant. Naturally enough, she did not commit suicide. However, for some weeks Yokoi was confined to his home until about April whe he was permmitted to go to Tokyo and enter the Kaisei Gakkō.

The persecution of Yokoi did not last for very long in that he was shortly allowed to go to Tokyo. His opportunities for advancement were much greater in Tokyo than in Kumamoto. It was his own decision to leave the Christian atmosphere at the Kaisei Gakkō to join those of his friends from Kumamoto who had enrolled at the Dōshisha school in Kyoto. It seems wrong to me to place too much emphasis upon his mother's reaction, spectacular though it might have been, to Yokoi's Christian beliefs when within a few weeks of the Mount Hanaoka Incident he was allowed to go to Tokyo.

34. Kozaki names Cochran as one of three missionaries who he was on intimate terms for amany years and from who he derived great profit in matters of scholarship and thought. Kozaki wrote of Cochran as " a man well versed in New Testament problems, the higher criticism of the Old Testament, and other theological problems. For the study of the New

Testament he recommended to me the works of Bishop Lightfoot, for some time Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and those of Professor Sanday of Oxford. For this I have never ceased to feel gratefull".
Kozaki Hiromichi, Reminiscences of Seventy Years, pp. 372-373.
The other two missionaries who Kozaki was especially indebted to were Dr. Henry Faulds, a missionary with the Scottish Presbyterian Mission, and Dr. John Gulick of Osaka.

35. Cochran Letter, March 22nd 1876, loc.cit., p. 127.

36. The Satsuma Rebellion was a rebellion of discontented former samurai led by Saigō Takamori (1827-1877). It might best be described as a struggle of conservative or reactionary opinion against the progressive Meiji Government. A Government which could not tolerate any subversive or separtist trends.
George Sansom, The Western World and Japan: A Study in the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures (New York, 1958), p. 331.
The result of the Rebellion was an economic depression in Japan which resulted in the closing of many Western-learning schools. The Rebellion, to an extent, was zenophobic and thus brought a reaction against the West.

37. Cochran Letter, May 3rd 1877, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, September 1877, p. 240 (UCA).

38. Cochran Letter, August 8th 1877, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, February 1878, p. 280 (UCA).

39. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, February 8th 1878, H11d3 (UCA).

40. Journal of Proceedings, General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1874 and 1878, p. 104 (UCA).

PART II

THE EXPANDING MISSION

CHAPTER 4:

NUMAZU AND KOFŪ

In September 1876 George Meacham began to propagate the Gospel in Numazu in Suruga province (Shizuoka Prefecture). Like the earlier Koishikawa band where Nakamura was all important, the Numazu group developed through the instigation and good-will of Ebara Soroku (1842-1922), a man of local if not national reputation. In 1878 Charles Eby opened a fourth centre for the Canadian Mission in Kofū in Yamanashi Prefecture. The establishment of these two Canadian Mission outposts in the interior of Japan marks the beginning of the expansion of the Mission.

General Background.

The late 1870's mark the beginning of a reaction against Christianity in Japan. This was partially due to scientific scepticism imported from the West; a rising spirit of nationalism as a result of the failure of some of the Western powers particularly Great Britain to revise their treaties with Japan; and perhaps a growing concern among certain Japanese intellectuals about the effect of Western ideas on Japanese culture. It is to be noted, however, that in the midst of this reaction, the Canadian Mission was able to plant a church in Kofū in 1879. This reaction against Christianity started primarily in Tokyo and it took time for it to have an effect in the interior of Japan.

Scientific scepticism became a challenge to Christianity in Japan, when Edward S. Morse (1838-1925), Professor of Zoology at Tokyo University (former Kaisei Gakkō), began in 1877 to popularize Darwinian evolutionary theories (1). Morse found a receptive audience in Japan for his evolutionary ideas and particularly the students at Fukuzawa Yukichi's

Keiō school were prominent in publicizing them (2). The Canadian Mission, like the majority of other missions in Japan, was adversely effected by scientific scepticism (3). Charles Eby played an important part, through a series of lectures titled "Social, Political, Historical, Scientific and Ethical Relations of Christianity" delivered in 1883, in defending Christianity against this threat (4).

During the early 1880's a second challenge to Christianity appeared in the rising spirit of Japanese nationalism. The question of treaty revision was a vexing one to the Japanese. The failure of Western states to revise their treaties with Japan especially in regards to the extra-territoriality clause created an atmosphere of anti-foreignism in Japan. Fukuzawa Yukichi was especially virulent in his attacks on Christianity and the presence of missionaries in Japan whom he considered to be the harbingers of foreign aggression (5). Missionaries such as Eby tried as much as possible to assuage Japanese anti-Christian feeling by showing that Christian missionaries were in sympathy with Japanese aspirations for treaty revision and an end to extraterritoriality (6).

Japanese Christians were particularly active in defending their religious views and patriotism against charges of disloyalty to the Emperor levelled against them by xenophobic Japanese nationalists. Instead of being disheartened by these challenges to Christianity, Japanese Christians tended to be strengthened by them. In 1880 the Seinenkwai (Y.M.C.A.) was formed in Tokyo and later in that year began to publish the Rikugō Zasshi (Cosmos Magazine) which became an influential magazine in the Meiji period (7). In 1883 the activities of the Seinenkwai climaxed in the great gatherings of Japanese Christians at the Uenō Park meetings in Tokyo which were characterized by a feeling of tremendous optimism for the rapid

evangelization of Japan (8). Likewise in 1883 a similar feeling of optimism was engendered at the Conference of Protestant missionaries held in Osaka. In 1884 Eby delivered an important speech in Tokyo in which he called for immediate Christianization of Japan which revealed his great hopes for the future of Christianity in Japan that many other missionaries shared (9).

In the mid-1880's Japanese attitudes toward Christianity and the West changed. This was largely due to renewed Japanese hopes for treaty revision. In an attempt to convince the Western powers that Japan had assimilated Western civilization, it was felt by some Japanese that conversion to Christianity might aid in the fulfillment of Japanese aspirations. In 1884 Fukuzawa Yukichi changed his views on Christianity to the position that he now felt it necessary for Japan to adopt Christianity in order to be considered equal to the foreign powers (10).

To an extent, the rapid expansion of Christianity in the mid-1880's was the result of this changed Japanese attitude toward Christianity. However, as the expansion of the Canadian Mission will show, its growth in numbers of converts came largely from new areas of missionary endeavour such as Mission schools and the opening of new Mission outposts in the interior rather than an increase in membership in established fields. This points to the fact that the reasons for the rapid expansion of Christianity in the mid-1880's are more complex than can be explained solely in terms of the enthusiasm manifested for Christianity as a result of the hope for treaty revision.

Meacham in Numazu.

In September 1876 George Meacham, his wife and his sister-in-law, Miss Martha Moulton, arrived in Numazu. Meacham had been born in Ameliasburg, Ontario where his father was postmaster. He entered the ministry of the Westeyan Methodist Church in 1856 at the age of twenty-three and served his probation on the Maitland circuit. He graduated from Victoria College in 1860 and settled down to pastoral duties serving in numerous churches in sourthern Ontario and Quebec. In 1872 he received an M.A. from Victoria. In 1875 he was stationed at Dundas near Hamilton, Ontario. Meacham's first thought of undertaking missionary work came when reading William Arthur's Mission of Mysore, especially the sentence in which Arthur spoke of standing with his back against a heathen temple, preaching to the people (11). He volunteered his services for Japan when the original choice of the Mission Board, D. G. Sutherland, was unable to go. Meacham was a man noted for his scholarship and because of this he was chosen to take the teaching position offered by Ebara Soroku in Numazu.

Meacham's reception in Numazu was extremely friendly, partly due to the fact that he was one of the first foreigners to come there and therefore was an oddity. The school in Numazu was a two storied house of cut-stone built in a style, which Meacham thought, would have done credit to any Canadian town. It had a faculty of eight, two of whom apart from Meacham himself were engaged as English teachers. Meacham wrote " Mr. Yebara, the Principal, is a fine man, deeply interested in the study of Christianity: but his knowledge of the English language is so very limited, that he cannot acquire very rapidly that acquaintance with it which he desires. Two of the teachers are profoundly interested in the

study of the Bible, and I believe are seeking Christ with great earnestness" (12). With one of the teachers from the school as interpreter, Meacham began to hold services in his Buddhist temple home with an attendance of some eighty to ninety people. Meacham wrote, "I never felt more at home in Canada in preaching than here, and never had I better attention, though the poor creatures, many of them, know not a word I say" (13). Despite language difficulties, Meacham, by the end of January 1877, had converted six people, Ebara Soroku, the two English teachers in the school and three of the pupils (14).

Ebara Soroku.

Ebara Soroku, the principal of the school and the man responsible for bringing Meacham to Numazu, was the most important man in the town. He had been born in Tokyo in 1842, the son of a retainer of the Tokugawa Shogun. His early education had been typical of a samurai, receiving a literary education in Chinese, history and mathematics with abacus; and a military training consisting of sword and rifle exercises and horsmanship. The poverty of his family restricted his formal education and required him to work but he educated himself as much as possible. In his later life, he said that when he was young he could not even afford to buy a kite and some of his happiest moments were helping other young people to buy kites and things which he could not afford (15). The financial difficulties of his boyhood proved to be a mainspring for motivation for helping other people which characterized his later career. At eighteen he was sent to Yokohama as one of the guards for the protection of the foreigners and there he began to study Dutch in his leisure time.

During the Shogunal expeditions against Choshu in the mid-1860's Ebara rose to prominence as a soldier reaching a rank equivalent to lieutenant-colonel in the Tokugawa Army. Ebara fought in the battle of Fushima-Toba in January 1868 in which the Tokugawa forces were defeated near Kyoto by the Imperial Army of Satsuma and Choshu. After the Shogun surrendered to the Emperor, some of his retainers still continued to fight against the ne Meiji Government. Ebara was one of them. He commanded troops with valour at the battle of Kazusa but was badly wounded in this engagement. For three weeks he hid without medical attention under a farmer's house near the battlefield until he made good his escape to Tokyo. There he remained in hiding with friends in Ushigome before finally escaping to Numazu. Fortunately for Ebara, he had friends in the Meiji Government and some six months after the battle of Kazusa he was able to come out of hiding. Ebara was appointed Guncho (head officer) of the Numazu district by the Meiji Government.

Finding himself in a position of influence, and forseeing that the feudal system was going to be abolished, Ebara resolved to establish a school in Numazu in which young men could receive a training that would make them useful to their country:

> This was the first school in Japan into which chairs or benches were introduced for the accomodation of the pupils who had all been accustomed to squat upon the floor. Hitherto Chinese literature alone had been taught in the schools; he introduced English, mathematics, gymnastics, horsemanship, and swimming. He also originated the system of charging a small tuiton fee. For all these innovations he was severely criticised by the conservatives of the time. (16)

This school showed that Ebara was in the forefront of the introduction of new educational forms in Japan. Among the teachers at this school was Nishi Amane who later was to rise to prominence as an intellectual

thinker and translator. In 1870 the school was closed down and moved from Numazu to Tokyo where it developed into the Military Academy in Ichigaya (17).

In 1870 Ebara was sent by the Meiji Government on an educational mission to the United States and England. On his return to Numazu, he established the Western-learning school at which Meacham taught. Ebara had been a Confucianist, but never a believer in either Buddhism or Shintoism. At first he had a strong dislike for Christianity because its doctrines seemed to him unworthy of intelligent men. His prejuidices, however, had been greatly modified by what he had learnt in the West. When introducing Meacham to his school, he had told his pupils that Meacham was a minister of the best religion in the world (18). Ebara's acceptance of Christianity was in tune with his progressive ideas. While he had been an adherent of the Tokugawa family, he had made his peace with the Meiji Government and been given a Government post. It was on account of respect for Ebara's reputation and his ideas that a number of pupils in his school became Christian.

Growth of the Numazu Band.

After the first conversions, the interest in Christianity in Numazu increased, for in late January 1877 Meacham addressed an enthusiastic congregation of over 200. As long as Ebara remained in Numazu, Meacham could expect large audiences to attend his services. A preaching place was opened six miles from Numazu in the village of Niita, and another started in Yoshiwari about ten miles away. McDonald sent one of his converts Henry Satoh to help Meacham in Yoshiwari. At first the turnout

there was very good but it suddenly dropped off because an officer of the local government had put his ban on the services. This was one of the few instances of opposition to Christian propagation in this area. There was a certain amount of opposition to Meacham from some of the teachers in the school but there was nothing that they could do against him while Ebara was Principal.

After eighteen months in Numazu, Meacham had gathered around him a band of thirty-seven converts with Bible Classes conducted by Ebara and Suyeyoshi, one of the English teachers in the school. Moreover plans were being laid for the building of a permanent chapel. Unfortunately, however, in the early summer of 1878 Ebara's school was burnt down. As this was a time of financial depression as a result of the Satsuma Rebellion of the year before, there was no immediate prospect of it being rebuilt. Thus Meacham was forced to return from Numazu and go to Tokyo as he was not permitted to live outside the treaty concessions without employment.

Meacham's departure from Numazu meant that there was no Canadian missionary in Suruga province, for McDonald had already left Shizuoka on furlough. Meacham was replaced by Asagawa Koko who was sent out from Tokyo. Thus Numazu, like Shizuoka, was developed solely by Japanese pastors during the early 1880's. In 1881 Miyagawa Minori (1860-1884) who was then pastor in Numazu reported having 48 people in his congregation. The increase in membership of the Numazu Church was not great in the three years since Meacham's departure. Nonetheless, a church was kept in existence and this was, in itself, quite an accomplishment.

Ebara remained a staunch Christian and a zealous local preacher and did much to maintain the vigour of the Church. In 1884 Ebara was stricken with tuberculosis but miraculously survived even though he lost the use of a lung. This illness reinforced his Christian faith. In 1890 the Jiyutō (Liberal) Party nominated him as their candidate in the Suntō Electoral Division of Shizuoka Prefecture for the first Imperial Diet:

> Ebara accepted the nomination with reluctance. Although his opponent spent money freely in the contest, and although he tried to arouse the prejuidice of the electors by pointing to him as a Christian, and insinuating that, as such, he would probably be disloyal to the Emperor, yet Mr. Ebara was triumphantly elected, having won more than two thirds of the votes cast. He held his seat in the Diet for nine years, and then resigned, but he continued to be a member of the Committee of Management of the Liberal Party (19).

In 1912 Ebara was raised to the peerage. His election to the Diet and his later ennoblement showed that his Christian faith did not prevent him from leading an active public life. He was instrumental in bringing the Canadian Mission to Numazu and his personal popularity was an important factor in the maintenance of the Church there.

An Opening in Kofu.

In 1878, almost coinciding with Meacham's departure from Numazu, Charles S. Eby (184501928), who had come out to Japan with Meacham in 1876, took up a teaching position in Kofu in Yamanashi Prefecture and there opened up a third major centre for the Canadian Mission in the interior of Japan.

Eby was born in Goderich, Ontario in 1845. In 1866, having decided to enter the ministry, he enrolled at Victoria College, Coburg. In 1868 he took leave of absence from Victoria to make an extended visit to continental Europe in order to learn German and French even though the venture meant that he had to go into debt. (20). In 1871 he graduated

from Victoria College and was ordained the same year by Morley Punshon. In the following five years before he went out to Japan, Eby was engaged in mission work among the German immigrants in Hamilton, Ontario. Eby was the youngest of the first four missionaries to be sent out to Japan and the only one who had previous experience in missionary work.

The first sign of a possibility for an opening in the interior for Eby came in 1877 when he received an invitation from a group of students in Nambu, a small village in Yamanashi Prefecture, to come and visit them. The originator of this request was a Mr. Kondō "a man of some thirty-five years, of great popularity, and held in honour by all the people, has charge of all the school interests of Nambu and this cluster of villages; has a private school for the study of Chinese of his own, and his the representative of the people in the government of the Ken" (21). Eby wrote of the prospects in Nambu:

> Now in this ken there is no Christian teacher. Occasionally a missionary has made a flying visit through and preached. But they have heard about the way of Jesus, and one was specially drawn to study Christianity by reading Guizot's History of Civilization. The result was that they decided to form a club, call a missionary and study the matter of Christianity, and then if they like it, to try to have it introduced. So Mr.Kondo wrote to his friend at the university in Tokyo, and the result was that I happened, I trust providentially, to be the missionary who was invited to come and tell the story of the cross to these seekers after truth in Nambu (22).

Kondō's friend was a member of Cochran's Bible Class which Eby had taken over and so it was natural that Eby should be asked. In the summer of 1877 Eby accompanied by Hiraiwa visited Nambu.

Eby was entertained on his arrival by Kondō and lodged in a Nichiren sect temple where he began almost immediately to hold meetings:

> At three o'clock had a meeting of the big folks of the village, kucho, kocho, policemen, the member, teachers, students etc. etc. were there, and we talked until five. They seemed pleased and we gave them all the Gospels of Mathew we had, as that was the book we were going first to study and they wanted to read for themselves. The village people and officials are all satisfied, but the policemen are in a quandrary. What is their duty in this matter? What will the head chief in Yamanashi say, if this thing is allowed? They seem personally satisfied. Derean work is going on, Chinese bibles are in demand, English bibles are borrowed by those who can read them and I sent off to Shizuoka for more bibles (23).

Eby's reception in Nambu was very similar to what Meacham's had been on his arrival to Numazu and attracted very much the same interest from the people. The Nichiren priests, however, did not approve of Eby staying in their temple and preaching the Gospel. One of the priests protested to the kuchō (head man) who replied to the Buddhist that Eby and Hiraiwa were visiting Nambu simply to talk to "some people who wanted to hear about Christ. And then he posted off himself, not to the high priest, but to the governor of the ken, armed with the Gospel of Mathew, and what he could carry of the three sermons he had heard, which he declared were enough to convince any sane man" (24). The result was that Eby and Hiraiwa had to move their temporary residence from the Nichiren temple to a Shin Shiu temple where the priest was old and did not mind them preaching. The kuchō was unable to obtain an interview with the governor of Yamanashi but was able to speak to the chief of police for the prefecture who told him in regard to Christian propagation "that any positive permission would be difficult to obtain, for the face of the law of the land was turned against Christianity, but he and his people could do as they like about the matter and no one would interfere with them" (25). The opposition to Eby from the Nichiren sect could have

been expected. The attitude of the chief of police was perhaps a little surprising as this was the year of the Satsuma Rebellion which marked the beginning of an anti-Western and anti-Christian trend in Japan as a whole. Toward the end of his stay in Nambu, Eby wrote:

> Mr. Kondo and the friends who stayed with him, said they wanted to build me a house and a church, so as to be entirely independent of all these outside influences. I explained our way of working, and of the prospect of having native preachers, for such places would serve a circuit and be with them constantly, and that the missionaries would plant the cause everywhere possible, and frequently visit them. They seemed much pleased, and if present appearances bear full fruit, we will have a self-supporting church here in a year or so, with church-building and parsonage (26).

Eby thought Nambu was too small a village to warrant his taking up residence there. However, he said that if it could be arranged, he would be willing to live in Kofū, a town of some 40,000 and capital of Yamanashi Prefecture. Despite Eby's rejection of their offer, the people of Nambu still maintained their interest in Christianity for from time to time Eby received queries from them about the meaning of certain passages in the Bible. In the case of Nambu, it was Kondo, the officer in charge of education in the village, who was instrumental in asking Eby to come there. It is apparent that through reading about the West and especially through reading Guizot, Kondō and others in the village had come to realize the importance of Christianity. This motivated them to want to learn more about it.

In 1878 Eby was asked by a group of young men in Kofū who wanted to learn English in order to study Western science, to become their teacher. Eby wrote about this group "I saw the persons interested in my coming, they are but little more than boys, and of course have very little money at their disposal. We arranged for a contract which was to give me

a minimum of work in teaching, so that my strength could be devoted to the gospel" (27). The main bulk of English teaching was to be done by Eby's wife so that he had time to proselytize. It was the fact that he had time to propagate the Gospel which made him refuse the professorship at the Kaisei Gakkō which he had been offered.

Growth of the Kofu band.

Among the first converts in Kofū were Shinkai Eitaro (who later, with Judge Miyokoshi, established the Eiwa Jō Gakkō, the Canadian Mission's girls' school in Kofu), Komiyama Seiso (who later became a member of the Prefectural assembly and was instrumental in the foundation of a modern Fire Department in the city), Terada Kisaku (who was a disciple of Ebara Soroku and became important in the social welfare movement in Yamanashi Prefecture), and Kobayashi Mitsuyasu (who became a leading pastor in the Canadian Mission and also married Hiraiwa's sister).

In his Christian work Eby helped by Asagawa Kokō who was sent from Tokyo to be with him. Asagawa's example greatly influenced Kobayashi Mitsuyasa toward conversion. It was said about his conversion that "the good behaviour of two of Dr. Eby's helpers, Asagawa and Kanei, as different, as he said, from that of ordinary students as snow from charcoal, made a deep impression on his mind; for he saw it was because of their faith in Christ, and on the 17th of July 1878, he began the study of the Gospels with his friend Kaneko" (28). While credit for conversion is usually given to the missionary, the part played by his Japanese helpers should not be underestimated. From Kofū Eby made numerous excursions into the country, travelling by horse, jinrikisha and on foot and

preaching wherever he went. On these trips Eby was accompanied by Asagawa or Kobayashi.

In 1880 Eby began to feel that he had outgrown his usefulness in Kofū. Many years later in reviewing his career as a missionary in Japan, Eby wrote:

> Early in 1878, an opening occurred in the interior. In Kofu we put in two and a half of the happiest years of my life. The soil was virgin and difficult. The climate was right for health. A parish of half a million gave room for action. A Church was planted, seed sown amid the hills.
>
> But as I studied the situation, I felt more and more convinced that Tokyo was the place where our strength should be concentrated if we were ever to take Japan for God. Providence pointed out that as my field, as indeed, Dr. Wood had told me he thought it should be, where the preparation that my previous career had given me would have its widest opportunity (29).

It could be said that Eby's restless personality was such that he was not content to stay for a long time in a small quiet interior city. Eby's decision to move back to Tokyo and Tsukiji caused Sutherland to ask McDonald: "Why does he propose to return? It seems to us that every effort should be made to secure a reengagement; or if that be impossible an opening should be sought elsewhere. One thing is certain, the Board will not look favorably on a project to locate three of our Missionaries in Tokyo" (30). Despite Sutherland's objections, the Japan District Meeting of 1880 made a firm decision in Eby's favor, asking him to return to Tokyo (31). Eby felt that the Japanese congregation in Kofu could just as well carry on the propagation of the Gospel by themselves without his help. In this he proved correct, for in the next year with Tsuchiya Hiroku as pastor, it was noted:

> The spiritual strength of the little flock has greatly increased

> as is evidenced by the fact - a remarkable fact in Japan - that the removal of the foreign missionary caused no strain, no weakening on the part of those left behind. Instead of declension there has been steady growth ever since I left, as is evidenced by the number received on trial, and the doubled financial return of the last quarter. Most of the new members reported are the wives and children of men who were members before, but two or three new families have come in. Full members 25, on trial 11, children under twelve years 9, total 45, increase 17 (32).

It was not until 1887 when John W. Saunby was sent to Kofu that a Canadian missionary was located there again. In the early 1880's the Church in Kofu, like those in Shizuoka and Numazu, was solely developed and continued by Japanese pastors. By the end of 1880 the three Canadian missionaries were all residing in Tokyo.

The development of the Churches in Kofū and Numazu reveals certain similarities with the first two Mission centres. Like the Koishikawa band which had as its leader Nakamura Keiu, the Numazu band had in its leader, Ebara Soroku, a man of some prominence. Again like the Koishikawa band, the Kofu church expanded as a result of the male members converting their immediate families to Christianity. There is little evidence of alienation. Ebara Soroku, before his conversion, had come to realize, perhaps as a result of his travels abroad, that Christianity was the best religion in the world. Kobayashi Mitsuyasu of the Kofū group found "when reading Wilson's Universal History his mind was much enlightened as he discovered the great power of Christianity in promoting the world's civilisation, and he was convinced that such a religion must have a great influence upon the private life of individuals " (33). Christianity was seen as a great power in promoting the world's civilization. The appeal of Christianity was its moral and ethical code. Ebara and Kobayashi's

views of Christianity were very much like those of the converts of the Koishikawa band. It is important to note particularly in the case of the Kofū Church that it was founded during a time of apparent general reaction against the West and Christianity in the late 1870's. It is my opinion that perhaps too much emphasis has been placed in the past on seemingly national trends effecting the development of Christianity. I feel that much more attention should be put on local circumstances. This is also true in regards to the slow growth of Christianity during the early 1890's, which is also held to be a period of national reaction against the West and Christianity.

Footnotes

1. In October 1877 Morse gave a series of three lectures on Darwinian evolutionary theories at Tokyo University. Morse wrote of his first lecture which was attended by some five or six hundred people:

> The audience seemed to be keenly interested, and it was delightful to explain Darwinian theory without running up against theological prejuidice as I often did at home. The moment I finished there was a rousing and nervous clappingof hands which made my cheeks tingle. One of the Japanese professors told me that this was the first lecture ever given in Japan on Darwinism or Evolution.

Edward S. Morse, Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878-9, 1882-83 (Boston, 1917), Vol. 1, pp.39-40

Darwinian theories were known in Japan before Morse popularized them. Hiraiwa mentioned that he had read Darwin while he had been a student at the Kaisei Gakkō. In regards to evolutionary theories and Christianity, it has to be remembered that so many of the early foreign Christians in Japan such as Clark and Griffis were hired as science teachers and they seemed to be able to resolve this conflict without too much difficulty while still maintaining their Christian beliefs.

One of the important facets of this attack on Christianity from scientific scepticism was that it was an attempt to discredit Christianity in Japan through ideas imported from the West. Darwin's ideas were not the only ones used against Christianity. In March 1877 Yatabe Ryokichi, a graduate of Cornell University and Professor of Botany at Tokyo University, used Tom Paine's arguments to attack Christianity.
Robert S. Schwantes "Christianity versus Science" in Far Eastern Quarterly, pp. 124-125.
R.S. Brown to J. M. Ferris, April 12th 1877, Box 747. 4N (NBTS).

2. In 1880 two students at Fukuzawa's Keiō school translated Robert Ingersoll's article "The Christian Religion" originally published in the North America Review. In this article Ingersoll" denied vehemently that the passages of the Bible ' upholding the institutions of savage men were inspired by God '. These statements of historical relativism seriously threatened Christian claims of direct revelation and absolute unchanging truths".
Robert S. Schwantes "Christianity versus Science", loc.cit., p. 126.
In October and November 1878 Morse gave a series of lectures on Darwinism, at the invitation of Fukuzawa, before a lecture association known as the New Kodankai. In November and December of the same year Ernest P. Fenellosa, Professor of Philosophy at Tokyo University, was invited to give a lecture series before the New Kodankai on "Evolution of Religions". This was an attack on Biblical authority in which Fenellosa showed how sophisticated faiths had developed gradually from the animistic beliefs of savages.
Edward S. Morse, Japan Day by Day, op.cit., Vol. 2, pp. 428-429.
Robert S. Schwantes, "Christianity versus Science", loc.cit., p. 126.

3. In 1882 McDonald wrote in connection with the Canadian Mission:

> If, at the commencement of Mission work in this country, any one entertained the thought, or hope that, owing to the readiness on the part of the Japanese to adopt foreign ideas, the people

> would come in multitudes to Christ, the hope is not likely to be realized for years to come. At present time, every inch of territory taken from the enemy and annexed to the Kingdom of Christ is the result of severe struggle. The priests of Buddhism and Shintoism have organized an opposition in which neither effort nor money is sparingly used, but, perhaps next to the carnal mind, which is enmity against God, infidelity, in its various shapes, is likely to prove the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity, for it seems that every form of unbelief in the Western world is likely to appear in Japan. The latest is Robert Ingersoll's "Cration on the God". This has been translated and published, and will, doubtless, have a wide circulation. While we are in no doubt as to the side to which victory will turn, these things show that the work in Japan has its difficulties and that the old adversary is not likely to capitulate until compelled.

Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xxxi (UCA).

McDonald's remarks show that scientific scepticism was seriously effecting the work of the Canadian Mission. It is to be noted that in 1880 Kozu Sensaburo, a former member of the Koishikawa band, brought out a book Jinsoron, a translation of Darwin's Descent of Man.

Robert S. Schwantes, "Christianity versus Science", loc.cit., p. 126.

This must have annoyed Canadian missionaries and converts who knew Kozu. In 1882 Hiraiwa wrote in a more optimistic vein concerning scientific scepticism:

> As to private study, I am now digging into philosophical books, so as to acquaint myself with the opposer's position, and to qualify myself for future battle. All my university mates and friends (all graduated now) breathe the spirit of Spencer and also are leaning to materialism. I must be able to say some words to them if they ask me the reason of hope in me. The more I read and think, I am more convinced that ministers of the gospel should be well versed in the words of God, and teach the people in their pure form, undefiled by man's wisdom and sagacity, as they are not the discovery of man but revelation from on high.

Hiraiwa Y. to G. Cochran, June 2nd, 1882, in Missionary Outlook, 11, September 1882. (UCA).

4. This was a series of seven lectures in all, five delivered by Eby, one by Professor J.A. Ewing of the Science Department of Tokyo University, and one by Professor Dixon of the College of Engineering. They were held in the Meiji Kuaido, the largest auditorium in Tokyo. The lecture series was inspired by the succesful speaking tour of Rev. Joseph Cook in Japan in 1882. The first lecture "Christianity and Civilization with a Prelude on the Antiquity of Man" was given by Eby on January 6th 1883 with Judge Bingham, the United States Minister in Japan, presiding over the meeting and giving the introductory address. In his introduction Bingham stated that "our modern civilization is largely the offspring of Christianity.

It is physical, intellectual and moral development of individual and collective man, the citizen and the nation. Its beneficient outgoings are to be seen in the science, literature and laws, and in the history, past and present, of our race".
C.S. Eby, Tokyo Lectures. 1. Christianity and Civilization with a Prelude on the Antiquity of Man (Tokyo, 1883), pp. ii-iii (UCA).
In his speech Eby naturally followed in the same vein as the American Minister stressing that "Christianity is (1) a revelation of the mind of God to the mind of man through Jesus Christ, and of the means by which man may be in eternal harmony with God; and (2) an unfolding to us of the Creator's ideal of a complete man, in the man Christ Jesus, and of the way by which mankind may reach this ideal, the following of which is the progress of the truest civilization, and the attainment of which its grandest culmination".
C.S. Eby, ibid. p. 33.
Eby's ideas were very similar to those that Nakamura Keiu had expressed, in that Christianity was seen as the underlying force behind the strength of the Western powers. Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister Plenipotentiary, through whose good offices the Meiji Kuaido had been obtained without charge for the lectures, proposed the publication of the lectures and gave three hundred dollars to cover printer's charges. The success of the lecture series was noted in the Japan Weekly Mail which said of them: "We desire to record our conviction, founded upon evidence which reaches us from all quarters, that they have proved a most remarkable success in attracting the attention of the educated classes of Japanese to the principles of Christian morality".
Missionary Outlook, 111, July 1883, p. 99 (UCA).

5. In 1881 Fukuzawa stated in regards to Christianity and missionaries:

> If all the Christian missionaries are not spies of their respective governments, and in addition to this the Japanese rascals who become their slaves, and aid them in diffusing this religion, should be called the abettors of these (tai-ko-mochi) mountebanks. Are not these Japanese Christians like the very worst robbers, who would consent to sell their country? Ah! if there are indeed those who have a spirit of love for their country, then let them not lose even one day, but at once mature some plan by which they may oppose, restrain and destroy this evil. For at present no greater danger threatens Japan (than Christianity), and there is no more urgent duty resting upon my countrymen than of resisting its progress.

"Christianity A National Injury" in Chrysanthemum, Vol. 1. October 1881, p. 394. (C.S. Eby was the editor of the Chrysanthemum 1881-1883).
Fukuzawa opposed Christianity on nationalistic grounds. In 1882 Hiraiwa wrote of Fukuzawa:

> He makes determinate effort to make Buddhism Japanese religion, not because he himself believes in it and thinks it best, but simply as his policy in regard to foreign affairs. He came to dislike foreigners and foreign nations, as they, he thinks, despise Japanese nation and disregard her rights. He edits Daily News and

writes the editorial every day. The paper takes every opportunity to ridicule and attack Christianity.

Hiraiwa Y. to G. Cochran, June 2nd 1882 in Missionary Outlook, Loc.cit.

6. In 1884 Eby gave a speech titled "The Eastern Pioneer of Western Civilization and the Recognition Her Efforts Receive". This was a defence of British policy toward Japan and also a statement in regards to missionary attitude toward the question of extraterritoriality. Eby stated in regards to missionary views of this question:

> But we cannot refrain from earnestly protesting against a policy that would treat Japan as China must be treated while opposed to Western civilization, or Corea, now newly opened to the West. We believe that Japan's spirit and progress and pledges are such as entitle her to some place among civilized nations. She ought not to be condemned to a sort of isolation, rejected from the comity of Oriental nations as having abandoned all that the Orient held dear, rejected from the comity of Western nations as not yet having reached the height - not of the average Western nation- but as not yet equal to the ripest and the best.

C.S. Eby, "The Eastern Pioneer of Western Civilization and the Recognition her Efforts Receive", W.E. Griffis 229, (WEGC) pp. 51-52.
This extract shows that the missionaries were in sympathy with Japan's attempt to obtain some form of equal recognition with the Western powers. Eby's views on extraterritoriality perhaps aided him in gaining a certain amount of prominence among missionaries with the Japanese leaders. Through Captain Brinkley, the editor of the Japan Mail, Eby was introduced to Ito Hirobumi and Inouye Kaoru. One service which Eby performed for Ito was the translation of the German text of a draft Constitution for Japan into English.

7. The Seinenkwai was formed in early 1880 on the urging of Kanda Naibu, who later became Hiraiwa's brother-in-law. Kozaki Hiromichi, a member of the Kumamoto band and a graduate of the Doshisha school in Kyoto, was elected its first President. In October 1880 the Seinenkwai began to publish the Rikugō Zasshi under Kozaki's editorship. The aims of the magazine were to improve the morale, customs, and manners of the people, not only of the lower classes but also of the middle and upper classes; to promote religion for it felt that all should be subordinated to religion; and to clear up erroneous views of the Christian religion and to show what Christianity really was.
G. F. Verbeck, "Review of the Rikugo Zasshi" in Chrysanthemum, Vol. 1, April 1881, pp. 150-153.
In 1882 Hiraiwa noted that "the Y.M.C.A. of Tokyo is doing good work; I mean the Native Association, and the magazine which is published under its auspices is well received among the people".
Hiraiwa Y. to G. Cochran, June 2nd 1882, in Missionary Outlook, loc.cit.

8. In 1884 Hiraiwa wrote about these gatherings to Mrs. G. Cochran:

> You heard, I suppose, from Dr. Meacham of the Ecumenical gathering of native Christians in last May, which were very grand meetings. Well, that formed a new epoch in the history

> of Japanese Christianity, which made since then very rapid progress in the realm. Already there have been added more than two thousand souls, by rough calculation, to the whole community of the Protestant Church in the last year, and there were over seven thousand Christians in the realm by the last December, including children.

Hiraiwa Y. to Mrs. G. Cochran, January 1st 1884, in Missionary Outlook, 1V, June 1886, p. 96 (UCA).
Kozaki Hiromichi wrote about the Ueno Park meetings that "the success of these gatherings produced on all present the conviction that Japan would be Christianized in less than a decade and that at least the majority of the representatives to be returned to our Diet, which was to be opened in 1890, would be Christians".
H. Kozaki, Reminiscences of Seventy Years, op. cit.,p.73.
This idea that Japan would be Christianized within a decade was based upon a mathematical juggling of figures of converts and their ability to convert others. It would cause a certain amount of trouble to the Japanese Christian Movement for it filled many with a false hope which would only leter be shattered. The tremendous revival of spirit among the Japanese Christians as a result of the Ueno Park meetings happily coincided with a changed attitude toward the West and Christianity in Japanese society at large.

9. In this speech "Immediate Christianization of Japan. Prospects, Plans, Results", delivered before the Tokyo and Yokohama Missionary Conference, Eby called for a tremendous inter-denominational effort in propagating Christianity. He thought that there should be at least 100 missionaries involved in direct evangelistic work. He advocated the establishment of a central Apologetical Institute of Christian Philosophy complete with lecture hall, library and publishing house. Eby also suggested the creation of a national Christian university which would not only offer better advantages than the Imperial University in Tokyo but also rival the best universities in the West. Eby's ideas were utopian and unpractical. However, they were enthusiastically approved by the Tokyo and Yokohama Missionary Conference. This speech reveals a false sence of optimism concerning the possibilities in Japan.
C.S. Eby, Immediate Christianization of Japan. Prospects, Plans, Results" (Tokyo, 1884), W.E. Griffis 228, (WEGC).
Otis Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 176.

10. Fukuzawa published an article "The Adoption of the Foreign Religion is Necessary" in which he stated that in order for Japan to be considered equal to the foreign powers it must adopt Christianity:

> As an absolutely necessary preliminary, however, the Christian religion will not fail to bring the feelings of our people and the institutions of our land into harmony with those of the lands of the Occident. We earnestly desire, therefore, for the sake of our nation administration that steps be taken for the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

Otis Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 173.
In 1884 Hiraiwa wrote to Meacham:

> The Tokiyo Times (Jiji Shimpo) has lately changed its spirit

> toward Christianity entirely. As you know, it has been apparently against Christianity from its beginning, and said many evils of it; but it is decidedly for Christianity, and issued two or three friendly editorials for her already. It has many offsprings throughout our country, and those offspring papers catched the same spirit on. Consequently the student class began to take interest in Christianity very greatly, so that Christian lectures everywhere are very attentively listened to. The Government itself is also in favour of Christianity now, and desires its spread.

Hiraiwa Y. to G. Meacham, August 13th 1884, in Missionary Outlook, IV, October 1884, p. 158 (UCA).

11. Box 4 H13F (152) (UCA).

12. Meacham Letter, October 19th 1876, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, January 1877, p. 171 (UCA).

13. Ibid., p. 172.

14. Meacham Letter, January 20th 1877, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, April 1877, p. 195 (UCA).

15. I wish to thank Rev. H. Iwai of the Japanese United Church, Montreal, for this information.

16. John Scott, "Hon. Soroku Ebara M.P." in Japan Evangelist, IX, No. 2 February 1902, p. 42.

17. Ibid., p. 44.
This school, the Heigakkō, like its sister school the Denshujo in Shizuoka was built for the benefit of the young sons of Tokugawa exiles in Suruga province in the years immediately following the Restoration. It is interesting to note that Prof. Havens in dealing with Nishi Amane's involvement in this school does not mention Ebara. Thomas R. H. Havens, Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought, op.cit. It is apparent, however, that Ebara played a large part in the formation of this school and the setting out of its curriculum. The fact that Nishi Amane taught at the school undoubtedly meant that Ebara was aware of the most progressive trends in Western-learning studies.

18. John Scott, "Hon. Soroku Ebara M.P.", loc.cit., p. 45.

19. Ibid., p. 45
The Jiyutō (Liberal) Party was founded in October 1881 by Itagaki Taisuke, one of the leaders in the Meiji Restoration, in anticipation of the establishment of an Imperial Diet in 1890. Prominent among the members of the Liberal Party was Gotō Shōjirō, another former leader in the Meiji Government. The intentions of the Liberal party were "to endeavour to extend the liberties of the people, maintain their rights, promote their happiness and improve their social condition". J.H. Gubbins, The Making of Modern Japan: An Account of the Progress of Japan from Pre-Feudal Days to Constitutional Government and the

Position of a Great Power, with Chapters on Religion, The Complex Family System, Education, etc. (London, 1922), p. 22.
The Liberal Party was at the forefront of the agitation for popular reform in the 1880's. It is my opinion that Ebara's involvement in politics was most influenced by his experiences in his early life which resulted in his desire to help people and his Christian ideals, while complementary to this altruistic concer, were secondary in his motivation to enter politics.

20. Eby was almost perpetually in debt. Two years after his arrival in Japan, he was still paying off his Canadian debts.
A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, July 10th 1878, H 11d3 (UCA).
Unfortunately Eby had a similar attitude toward Mission funds as he had to his own.

21. Eby Letter, "Interesting Journal of a Missionary Tour in Japan", in Missionary Notices, 111, p. 258. (UCA).

22. Ibid., p. 259.

23. Ibid., p. 261.

24. Ibid., p. 262.

25. Ibid., p. 263.

26. Ibid., p. 262.

27. Eby Letter, March 7th 1878, in Missionary Notices, Third Series, 111, p. 305. (UCA).

28. Minutes of the Japan Mission Conference, 1899, p. 16. (UCA)

29. C.S. Eby to A. Carman, August 31st 1898. Japan Mission, General Correspondence 1894-1919-, H13F1 (3) (UCA).

30. A. Sutherland to D. McDonald, March 10th 1880, H11d4 (UCA).

31. Missionary Outlook, 1, p. 47. (UCA).

32. Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p. xl.

33. Minutes of the Japan Mission Conference, 1899, p. 16 (UCA).

CHAPTER 5:

CANADIAN MISSION SCHOOLS

The numerical growth of the Canadian Mission in the 1880's was largely a result of the opening-up of new Mission stations and the commencement of work in new areas of endeavour. One of the most important new areas of Canadian Activity, where many people were converted, was in Mission schools. In 1884 a theological institute and a boys' school, the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō, was founded in Azabu, Tokyo. In the same year the W.M.S. (the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada), which had begun work in Japan in 1882, opened a girls' school, the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō, in Azabu, Tokyo.

The Need for Male Mission Schools.

The establishment of a national educational system, which was advocated by such people as Mori Arinori in the early 1870's as being necessary for Japan's advancement, was one of the major priorities of the Meiji Government(1). The Fundamental Code of Education of 1872 set down the guidelines for the creation of a modern national school system. The 1872 Code called for "the immediate establishment of eight universities, 256 middle schools, and 53,760 elementary schools; compulsory education was set at four years"(2). The efforts of the Meiji Government in building-up a comprehensive national educational system were such as to lead Verbeck in 1879, when asked about his views concerning a projected school to be organized by the Dutch Reformed Mission, to state:

> The most important thing in Japan to-day is the Gospel faithfully preached, and if this should be at all interfered with by the new college, as far as the contribution of means is concerned, I think it had better be left alone. The Government does so much for secular education and its institutions are so complete in their various appointments, that if an independent College is to be gotten up, it had needs to be a very good and superior one (3).

Verbeck's statement in regards to Government institutions for male secular education was only partially true. The major effort of the Meiji Government in the 1870's was in the development of higher education particularly Tokyo University and in the sending of students

to study abroad. It was apparent by 1879 that neither the central Government nor local authorities could afford to fully implement the proposals of the 1872 Code for the establishment of elementary and middle schools (4). Therefore, there was scope for independent Missions schools to provide secular education at the lower level.

In the 1870's the Government had placed emphasis upon the acquisition of Western-learning in accordance with Article 5 of the Imperial Proclamation of 1868. However, by the late 1870's certain individuals such as Motoda Eifu (1818-1891), the Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor, had become concerned with the effect of Westernization upon Japanese morals. This concern manifested itself in 1879 in the Imperial Rescript Kyogaku Taishi (The Great Principles of Education) which stated:

> Although we set out to take in the best features of the West and bring in new things in order to achieve the high aims of the Meiji Restoration-abandonment of the undesirable plactices of the past and learning from the outside world- this procedure had a serious defect: It reduced benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety to a secondary position. The danger of indiscriminate emulation of Western ways is that in the end our people will forget the great principles governing and the relations between ruler and subject, and father and son. (5).

Westernization had gone too far in education and a return to Confucian values was urged. This traditionalistic view was incorporated in the Memorandum for Elementary School Teachers which clearly showed that the nucleus of education was to be in moral training in loyalty and filial piety (6). The reaction against Western-learning in Government schools can be seen as part of the general anti-Western and nationalistic trends in Japanese society in the late 1870's and early 1880's. To an extent Mission schools benefitted from the anti-Western-learning attitude in Government schools, for it meant that in order to study Western-learning outside of higher institutions, such as Tokyo University, students would have to enter independent schools. The continued demand for Western-learning despite national trends is revealed perhaps in the fact that the late 1870's and early 1880's was a period in which a number of Mission Schools were

founded. It was during this time that the Canadians began to think of opening a Mission school.

As early as 1875, Cochran had urged the formation of a theological institute in order to train Japanese pastors. In 1882 there was a suggestion that the Canadians should form a Union Theological School with the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Sutherland did not approve of any union with the Americans for he wrote in November 1882:

> Your letter referring to proposals for a Union Theological School, was laid before the Committee. They were unanimously of opinion that it would not be wise for us to enter into such a union, as it might prove a serious cause of embarrassment in the future. Whatever is done in the matter of education should be done on our own account and by our own men. (7).

This meant that the Canadian Mission would have to find money for the founding of its own school, for the missionaries continued to press for the opening of a theological institute even though it might have to be a modest one due to financial restrictions:

> We need a first-class school to develop a native ministry, and to put us in a position in which we can wield influence upon the Japanese which we should. The Japanese are fully alive to the importance of education. They were a literary people even before foreigners came to their country; but the desire for learning has been quickened, and their thoughts widened by influences from the west. Young men, year by year, come to Tokyo from different parts of the Empire in quest of learning. Many become connected with the government schools, while many enter the mission schools, hear the Word, become converted, and carry the news of salvation to their homes. The Mission that has no school gets none of these young men, and must be content to labor in a more limited sphere, and must accept smaller results than a Mission that has an institution of learning (8).

The Mission Board in Toronto came to recognize "the vast importance of the work of Christian Education in Japan as a means of leavening the thought of the young men of the nation, and of raising up a thoroughly trained native Ministry" (9). There were two major reasons for having a Mission school, the first was to train

Japanese pastors and the second was to provide secular education in the hope of converting students to Christianity.

In the mid-1880's Japanese attitudes toward the West and Christianity changed. In 1884 Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909), a leading member of the Meiji Government, returned to Japan from Europe where he had been studying Western political systems as a prelude to the task of preparing a new Constitution to replace the 1868 Imperial Proclamation. Itō vigorously advocated the introduction of Western ideas. Kobayashi Mitsuyasu was recorded as saying about Itō's return in 1884:

> The consequence was, western customs, good and bad, foreign dress, meat, wine, tobacco, etc., rushed in upon our country like a tidal wave. It was a very dangerous period for our nation; but one good result was the withdrawal of all opposition to Christianity. Persecution, which had been rife before, ceased at once. Everything changed, with the rest of the feeling toward Christianity. The missionaries, indeed all foreigners, were made welcome everywhere, and treated with respect by both Government and police. The cry arose for the teaching of English in the schools (10).

The hope for treaty revision was one of the main causes for this change in attitude toward the West. Both Itō, who became Prime Minister of Japan in December 1885, and Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915), who was Foreign Minister, were intent on impressing the foreign powers with Japan's readiness to accept certain Western ideas in the hope that this would change the obdurant attitude of the European nations toward Treaty revision. This pro-Western trend stimulated an increased demand for Western-learning studies. As the Government schools had not stressed Western-learning in the early 1880's, the independent Mission schools came to be regarded as the most advanced and modern centers for Western-learning. Therefore, many ambitious individuals who sought to aid not only Japan's national advancement but also to further their own personal advancement were attracted to these Christian schools. It was fortunate for the Canadian Mission that it opened its school in 1884 at the beginning of this new pro-Western trend.

Toyō Eiwa Gakkō

In 1884 a site was chosen in Azabu, Tokyo and land bought in the same of the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō Kwaisha of which Asagawa Koko was President and Kobayashi Mitsuyasu was Secretary. As foreigners could not own property outside the treaty concessions, the Canadians had to form a Japanese company, legally controlled by their pastors, in order to obtain property. Although the Canadian Mission never had any problems in using such an expedient, some Missions did have trouble with their Japanese trustees as was illustrated in the case of the Congregationalists and Doshisha school in Kyoto (11).

There was some difficulty in getting Government permission to open a Christian school, for there was apparently a feeling in Government circles that Christianity was to be equated with Republicanism and that the school would cause great trouble. It appeared for a time that the Government would not grant permission for the Toyo Eiwa Gakko to open (12). Permission, however, was granted in early 1884 as a result of the changed attitude toward the West.

In the summer of 1884 buildings for a boys' preparatory school and the theological institute were erected on the Azabu site. George Cochran came back to Japan from Canada to become the Principal of the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō and teach in the theological department. A new missionary, Robert Whittington, was sent out to take charge of the lay academic department. The school was opened on December 1st, 1884, with eighteen students (13). The theological department would always remain small, in 1889, for example, there were only seven students enrolled in it. The academic department of the school was very successful in attracting students and the great expansion of the school took place in this department. In 1885, the number of academic pupils had risen to a hundred and fifty of whom eight were boarders with the result that the buildings had to be enlarged. In 1885, another missionary, T. A. Large, was sent out from Canada

to teach mathematics in the expanded school. John Saunby who came out to Japan in 1886 and for a short time taught at the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō, before going on to Kofū, wrote:

> From the opening of the Toyo Eiwa Gakko in 1884 so popular did it become that within a year its overcrowded halls necessitated enlargement, and even with this increased accomodation it was again crowded to capacity and admission had to be refused to many applicants. This phenomenonal success continued until the Academy became the largest mission school of its day in the capital. It was noted for the high standard of its Western education made available to the students who thronged its classrooms. Nor was evangelism allowed to remain in the background; daily worship, Bible instruction and Sabbath services were so blessed of God that in one year, 1887, no less than forty of the students confessed Christ and received baptism (14).

The Toyō Eiwa Gakkō was popular because it gave a thorough education in both Japanese and English. The aim of the academic department was stated in 1889 as "imparting a thorough training in the Japanese and English languages and literatures and in science and mathematics. It extends over a period of seven years - three, Preparatory and four, Collegiate. Candidates for admission are expected to be graduates of the Elementary Schools" (15). The education that the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō offered in its combination of Japanese and English studies through its Japanese and Canadian staff was something which could not be found in the majority of Government schools. This appealed to students who hoped to gain admission into Tokyo University or institutions of higher learning overseas.

The Toyō Eiwa Gakkō was very much effected in the early 1890's by both the economic depression and the resurgence of nationalistic and anti-Western feeling in Japan. In 1891, attendence at the school was particularly bad because of crop failures the year before and "the false notion of the national attachment or Kokusui Hozon Shugi which exerted a powerful influence over the middle class people and which proved to be a strong barrier against the introduction of anything that is

foreign had reached its climax this year. All Christian schools especially in Tokyo have suffered from this influence" (16). The kokusui hozon movement was concerned with the preserving of Japan's national essence and was antagonistic to foreign influence. It expressed the concern of some Japanese that the process of indiscrimate borrowing from the West which had characterized the mid-1880's had gone too far. The movement gained popularity after the formation of the Seikyosha (Society for Political Education) and the publication of its magazine Nihonjin (The Japanese) in early 1888 (17). The Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 also worked against the influence of foreign education. This Rescript placed morals as the center of the educational curriculum and particularly stressed sonno aikoku (Reverence for the Emperor and Patriotism). While this Rescript only effected Government schools, the lack of open emphasis upon reverence to the Emperor in Mission schools was regarded by some as unpatriotic. In the early 1890's the Toyo Eiwa Gakko did not have the right to dispense Government diplomas. This meant that students could not enter higher Government schools after their graduation from the Mission school. Thus the Toyo Eiwa Gakko only appealed to those students who had no ambitions to continue their education after completion of their courses there.

In 1895, the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō was granted Middle School status by the Meiji Government. Thus its graduates could continue their education in higher Government schools. In the same year, Ebara Soroku was made the President of the school. Ebara was at this time a member of the Diet and his popularity not only as a public figure but also as an educator was one reason why a renewed interest in the school began to develop. Moreover, Japan's success in the Sino-Japanese War had reaised the country's hopes for treaty revision and brought a more favorable attitude toward the West. After 1895, the numbers of students at the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō increased very rapidly. In 1899 there were five hundred and eighty students in the adademic department (18). This was the last year of the school's operation, for in 1899 the Education Department of the Meiji Government brought out an Instruction which prohibited religious

teaching in any school which had the right to grant Government diplomas (19). As a result of this the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō and the majority of other Christian schools were closed down. After the closure a new school company was formed by Ebara and the buildings taken over by his Azabu Middle School which, although Christian influence was strong, it was not a Canadian Mission institution (20).

The Need for Female Mission Schools.

In 1884 at the same time as the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō was opened, the W.M.S. (the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada) opened a girls' school, the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō, on the Azabu site (21). The W.M.S. felt:

> Very little can be done in the way of Christian work in this land or any other apart from schools, and it is advised that such be opened as soon as possible, employing native Christian teachers, under the supervision of the lady missionaries, who shall visit the home of the children and thereby secure regular attendance, and at the same time gain influence over the parents, winning them to the church services (22).

There was also a need for trained Christian workers for it was thought that Japanese Bible-women might be able to gain access into homes where foreigners might not be welcome. It is in the realm of female education that the Canadian Mission made one of its greatest and lasting contributions to Japanese life.

Much less was done in terms of women's education than men's by the Japanese authorities in the Meiji era. Traditionally, education for Japanese girls was intended to prepare them to fill their subordinate position in life with ease and grace. Schwantes states in regards to this:

> In the terakoya they were taught to write and read polite letters in kana but few women had any extensive knowledge of Chinese characters. Sewing schools and the pages of the Onna Niwa Oshie (Women's Household Guide) taught the minute details of domestic work.

> Cultured ladies learned elaborate etiquette of the tea ceremony and the formal patterns of flower arrangement; and women of all classes except perhaps the lowest were familiar with the moral precepts of the Onna Daigaku (Great Learning for Women). In this work Kaibara Ekken, the seventeenth century educator and philospher, summarized in popular language the Confucian virtues of obedience, filial piety, humility, and industry which were fitting to the passive (yin of the yin-yang dichtomy) nature of the female sex. An essential part of the trousseau which a girl took with her at marriage, the Onna Daigaku, continued to be the standard of conduct well into modern times (23).

The position of women in Japanese society did not change radically after the coming of Perry to Japan:

> In contrast to the stimulus that echnology and political thought received after resumption of intercourse with the West, Japanese family life changed only slightly and slowly. Men in business and public life had opportunities to learn new things through association with foreigners; but their wives, restricted by custom to the home, continued to think and to act as in the days of Kaibara Ekken. Change in the social status of women could come only with the education of the younger generation. This fact was given official recognition in a statement made by Emperor Mitsuhito in the early seventies:
> "Females hitherto have had no position socially, because it was considered that they were without understanding but if educated and intelligent they should have due respect" (24).

The Educational Code of 1872 made elementary education compulsory for girls as well as boys, but at no time during the Meiji era did females attend the shogakkō, elementary schools, in the same proportions as males.

In the 1870's the Meiji Government started certain schools for the education of young women. In 1872 the Tokyo Jogakko was founded for the education of daimyo and Government officials' daughters. Margaret Clark Griffis, the sister of W. E. Griffis, was in charge of this school from early 1873 to her departure from Japan in 1874. Its foreign staff was largely provided, as was a similar school set up in Kyoto, by the wives or relations of foreign employees of the Government or missionaries. Many of

these women such as Margaret Griffis were sincere Christians and therefore these first Government schools were not without Christian influence. In 1875 the Tokyo Normal School for Girls was founded of which Nakamura Keiu was the first Principal. Nakamura thought that "the rearing of men and women should be equal, there should not be two different kinds of education. If all human beings want to maintain the highest level of perfection it would be well that men and women receive the same rearing. By doing this, they will progress together. Pure-hearted women must go hand-in-hand with virtuous men" (25). This is a rejection of the ideas of Kaibara Ekken.

In 1872 the first Japanese girls were sent abroad to the United States to be educated. Among the five girls was Tsuda Ume, the daughter of the Methodist Episcopalian Tsuda Sen, who later became a leading Christian educator and the founder of Tsuda Juku University In Tokyo. Among the others were Yamakawa Sutematsu, who married Marshal Ōyama Iwao, a leading general in the Imperial Army, and Nagai Shige who married Uryu Sotokichi, a leading admiral in the Imperial Navy. These latter two women through their position gained by good marriages did much to influence the wives of leading Government officials to show concern about the lot of women in Japanese society. Unfortunately the sending of females abroad to be educated was not sustained by the Meiji Government after this first trial. The Meiji Government was unable to provide sufficient educational facilities for females in Japan. The role played by Mission schools in helping to fill this vacuum was extremely important (26).

Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō -

In 1884 a building which could accomodate twenty boarders was erected on the Azabu site below the boys' school. Miss Martha Cartmell, the first Canadian woman missionary in Japan, was the Principal aided by two other missionaries Miss Eliza Spencer, who

later became Mrs. T. A. Large, and Miss Maud Cochran, the youngest daughter of George Cochran. From its first opening the girls' school was a success, for it was reported "families of wealth and position have sought entrance for their daughters, and have shown their appreciation by repeated and exceedingly kind acts of hospitality to our representatives the teachers" (27). Among the first pupils were two daughters of Itō Hirobumi (28). It is true to say that the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō attracted students of a much higher social class than the boys' school. In 1886 Tsuyuki Seichi, one of the Japanese teachers wrote:

> Though there are eight hundred boys' and girls' schools in Tokio, there is not one school which gives the good education of good Japanese, Chinese, English, together except Normal and Empress' school.
>
> Ladies, I am very proud to say that those who wish to receive a good education in Japanese, Chinese, English, fancy works, etiquette, piano, etc., must come to our school.
>
> We have four foreign teachers, three Japanese teachers who are graduates of the Normal school, and one Chinese teacher, but there is not a private school that has four foreign teachers except other mission schools; but as I have said that they are supporting many students in these schools themselves, therefore the people in wealthy and high rank do not like to put their daughters together with them.
>
> Most of our students who are in wealthy and high rank are able to go to the Empress' School, but they do not go to it, but they come to our school; then there must be a reason for their coming. The people do not like to put as boarders their daughters in a school, though the school is far from their houses; however, our boarders are the daughters in wealthy and high ranks, and it also gives evidence being a good school (sic) (29).

The Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō was able to compete with the best girls' schools in Tokyo. It offered a type of education which could not be obtained elsewhere. The fact that the school attracted the attention of the upper classes, who were interested in giving their daughters a Western-learning education, is shown again in an account of the

closing exercises of the school year in November 1885:

> On the afternoon of the 23rd, the closing exercises of the Anglo-Japanese Ladies' School took place. Persons of the higher rank, both Japanese and foreigners, were present, among them Madam Inouye (Inoue Kaoru's wife) and Lady Kawamura, as well as many gentlemen in official position. The rooms were beautifully decorated; the singing, essays and poems of the students were all highly appreciated. The refreshments were also good. Those were present about a hundred guests (30).

The girls' school, like the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō, had to be expanded very shortly after its opening due to demand for places. In 1887 there were 127 boarders and 100 day pupils at the school, of whom sixty-five were Christians (31). In 1889 it was reported:

> The Anglo-Oriental Ladies School at Azabu has been in successful operation since the year 1884. Sixteen students have completed the Japanese Course of study. The average attendance during the past year was about 225. Of these 100 are Christians and are divided into five classes which meet regularly in the school. Besides these there are always a number of enquirers who are seeking the truth. The Sunday School and morning service have an average attendance of over 200. Attendance at these is compulsory. All expenses of this school except those of the foreign ladies are met by the students' fees etc. (32).

In the 1890's there was a decrease in the number of students attending the school. In 1891 there were only 84 pupils, and it was noted:

> Our decreased numbers cannot be attributed to the loss of interest in woman's education alone; nor to the fact that there is now less demand for English. In some cases, girls have been called from school because there are now good schools established near their own homes; where the expenses are less than in Tokyo; and since the salaries of men in government employ have been lowered, many find that they cannot afford to expend so much on the education of their daughters (33).

The reasons for the decline of numbers in the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō are different from those given in the case of the boys' school. There is no mention of nationalistic feeling but rather salary cuts

of civil servants and the development of other schools. There was a certain advantage to be gained from smaller numbers in that the teachers were able to give more individual attention to their students. This is reflected in the fact that in 1891 nearly half of the schoolgirls were Christians, some thirty-five converts out of a total of eighty-four. It was not until after the turn of the century that the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō reached an attendance of over 100 pupils again.

Mrs. Matsuo Yoshikō who graduated from the school in 1915 wrote about life at the school:

> In those days the school preferred the pupils to live in the dormitory and the smallest ones - a few of them even 6 or 7 years old - were taken to church every Sunday (after Sunday School) to sit through the regular service for adults, and if any of them was bold enough even to whisper a word or two to the little friend sitting next and if caught by Miss Blackmore, the child would be ordered, after church, to 'stay in bed' without the noon meal. Or, if any of us had forgotten to take in our laundry Saturday evening and it happened to rain Sunday morning, we had to leave it on the lines, as any work - even taking in the laundry was not fit for the Sabbath (34).

While the letter describes the school in the 1900's during the Principalship of Miss I. S. Blackmore, it gives some impression of the strict if not harsh discipline which must have also existed earlier in the 1880's and 1890's. The sister of Takagi Katsuo (nee Uchida) described her impression of the school in the 1910's:

> I was born on the 12th of Dec. 1898 in New York City U.S.A. My father was a diplomatic officer and he with my mother spent most of their lives in foreign lands. While he had been in New York as a consul general of Japan I was born there. When I was three years of age, he brought me back to Japan and put me under the care

> of my grand-mother at Kyushu. When I was nine, my father put me into the dormitory of Toyo Eiwa school where my two elder sisters were already in. There, I was taught for the first time about God and Jesus Chirst the Saviour. From morn till night, we were in a religious atmosphere, with services twice a day.
>
> The principal Miss Blackmore seemed very strict and I was very much afraid of her. Almost everybody must have felt the same. When we have done something against the rules we were severely punished. For instance, there was a rule 'do not run in the corridors', as if anyone ran, she had to repeat writing the rule one hundred times on a sheet of paper and handed to the office-room.
>
> On Sunday mornings we all had to attend the Church service and listen to the sermon. While I was in the primary class, I couldn't understand at all, but gradually I began to realize them (35).

Certain things are interesting about this letter. The first is the father was in the diplomatic corps (he later became Minister to Sweden) and the school provided a place where he could put his daughters while abroad. It might be said that this type of school appealed to the rising Westernized elite. A second point to be noted is the religious atmosphere, and it is no wonder considering the young age of the students that so many were converted. A third point is the discipline in the school. It would be, of course, the type of discipline which one would expect to find in a Canadian or English boarding school of the same period. On another level, it might perhaps be said that the rigorous Christian nature of the school might well have brought out certain qualities which one also might find in samurai of an earlier period.

Girls' Schools in the Interior.

Unlike the male mission, the W.M.S. quickly began to estab-

lish schools outside of Tokyo. The Governor of Shizuoka, Sekiguchi Ryukichi, whose daughter was attending the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō in Tokyo, and Hiraiwa were the prime movers in asking the W.M.S. to establish a school in Shizuoka. In 1887 the W.M.S. was in a position to accept this offer. For it was stated that "during the year an offer was made in Toronto of a thousand dollars, for the special purpose of opening a school in some other city in Japan. Shidzuoka was recommended, a building free of rent, and contributions insuring the Society against loss for two years were offered" (36). Miss M. J. Cunningham of Halifax, Nova Scotia was sent out to teach in the new school which was opened in 1887 with some fifty students in attendance. In 1888 Miss Kate Morgan was sent out to help Miss Cunningham in teaching. In 1889 the school was expanded with the acquisition of a new building capable of accomodating 50 boarders and as many day students. The building was provided by the Japanese. The number of pupils remained the same, nonetheless. At this time four of the five Japanese teachers and seven of the pupils were Christians. In 1891 the attendance at the Shizuoka school was only 19, due to similar casuses as seen in the case of the Tokyo school. The same year the W.M.S. took over full responsibility for the maintenance of the school as the Japanese shareholders were unable to continue their full financial support.

In 1889 a third girls' school was established in Kofū. Miss Agnes Wintemute who had come out to Japan in 1886 to reinforce the women missionaries in Tokyo, was sent to open the school in Kofu.

For some time previously the W.M.S. had hoped to establish a school there. In 1889 Miss Wintemute reported:

> During the winter, enquiries were made as to the best means of sending a lady out there, and the result was that a number of the prominent men of the province of which Kofu is the chief city, formed themselves into a committee of founders, and sent to our council a proposed basis upon which they would be glad to cooperate with our society in establishing and carrying on a Girls' School there. This proposal was taken as a providential opening for us, and after careful consideration, was accepted (37).

As in Shizuoka the Japanese provided and furnished the building. The W.M.S. was in charge of the business management of the school and responsible for paying any deficit in the running costs. The school started with only nine pupils in attendance, but the numbers increased. In 1891 there were 31 students of whom 28 were boarders and 19 of whom were Christians. Miss Wintemute wrote in 1891 that "Kofu is one of the few places that seems not to have been yet effected by the general reaction against woman's education. Indeed, we are thankful to be able to report the past year's work as most encouraging in every respect, the school having grown not only in numbers but in the confidence and favor of the people" (38). Kofu was far removed from the major centers of Japan and therefore was less likely to be effected by trends which developed in Tokyo.

It is interesting to note that while the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō was formed through Mission initiative, the W.M.S. schools particularly those in Shizuoka and Kofu came into being as a result of requests from the Japanese. Moreover, the Shizuoka and Kofū schools began with facilities and buildings provided by the Japanese at no cost to the W.M.S. The girls' schools were by in large self-

supporting in that the cost of operation for the schools were paid out of fees, the only committment that the W.M.S. had to undertake was the salaries of their missionaries. Unlike the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō, the W.M.S. schools were uneffected by the Education Department's Instruction of 1899. Perhaps it is a reflection upon Meiji attitude toward women, that while many Japanese disapproved of religious instruction being given to males, they were not concerned about females. The type of education given in the girls' schools was very different from the traditional education given females. Instead of preparing females for a subordinate role in life, Christian education prepared them to expect equality with men. This might have caused certain difficulties in adjusting to society at large once the female had graduated. It is also apparent that the schoolgirls were often of a higher class than their male counterparts in the Toyō Eiwa Gakkō. It also seems that a higher proportion of the females in the schools were Christians than males. The numbers of pupils who were converted in the Canadian Mission schools in the 1880's considerably increased the figures of converts of the Mission during those years.

Footnotes

1. In 1872 Mori wrote:

> The best and most practical precautions for progress are as follows: The establishment of proper laws by which all the proper rights of man shall be recognized and protected from violence: and the organization of an educational system by which the whole condition of our people shall be so elevated that their moral strength will sufficiently protect their rights, even without the additional dry and unsatisfactory shield of the written law of the state.

Mori Arinori, "Religious Freedom in Japan," op.cit., p.9

2. Herbert Passin. Society and Education in Japan, (New York, 1965), p. 73.

3. Verveck to Ferris, June 18th 1879, Box 747 3N (NBTS).

4. Passin, op.cit., p. 73

5. Ibid., p. 227

6. Ibid., p. 84

7. Sutherland to McDonald, January 17th 1882, H11d7 (UCA).

8. Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada (UCA)

9. Sutherland to McDonald, October 3, 1883, H11d8 (UCA).

10. Missionary Outlook, XV11, p. 45 (UCA).

11. In 1898 Rev. Albert Carman, the General Superintendant of the Methodist Church of Canada, visited Japan. Carman wrote of a visit to the Doshisha school in Kyoto:

> When asked to show Bro. Coates and myself through those magnificent edifices, some of them sacred bequests for Christian work, Dr. Davis, one of their old missionaries and an active worker in founding the educational establishment said: "I do not think they will refuse me the key; I have done work enough here to entitle me to take a friend in; I will try anyhow". The key was obtained and we visited a plant worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, coolly perverted from the original foundation, and taken possession of by breach of trust; and high authorities assure them there is no redress in any law or court, for foreigners cannot hold property, and the Japanese trustees are legal owners and within their legal rights. Nor is this all, for the Congregational brethern, preaching the independence of the churches, and that the native laborers must increase and the missionaries must decrease, put

> all their property into the hands of this native Doshisha Board, and have now notice to quit the very houses in which they live, with a few years delay as a compromise.

Albert Carman, Confidential Report of the General Superintendant's Official Visit to the Mission in Japan, 1898, p.23 (UCA).
The case of the American Board and the Doshisha school is perhaps an extreme case but it showed what might happen if the missionaries ran afoul of their Japanese Board of trustees. Jerome Davis' statement reveals how bad the relations between the Japanese and himself particularly had become. Fortunately the Canadians were spared such a misfortune.

12. Missionary Outlook, XV11, p.45, (UCA).

13. Missionary Outlook, V, p.12 (UCA).

14. John W. Saunby, New Chivalry in Japan, op.cit., pp.90-100.

15. Minutes of the Japan Conference, First Annual Report, June 13th 1889, p.40, H13g3 (UCA).

16. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Third Annual Report, 1891, p.30. H13g3 (UCA).

17. Kenneth B. Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895 (Stanford, 1969) pp.66-71.

18. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Eleventh Annual Report, 1899, p.63, H13g3 (UCA).

19. The attitude of missionaries to this Instruction is seen in a letter from Benjamin Chappell (1852-1925), a missionary teacher at the Methodist Episcopalian school Aoyama Gakuin, to Rev. Dr. Smith August 19th 1899. In this Chappell wrote:

> On August 16, a meeting of representatives of the different Christian schools was held, and the following after a long discussion, passed unanimously (both Japanese and foreigners):
> "The representatives of six Christian schools (the Doshisha, American Board; Aoyama Gakuin, M.E.; Meiji Gakuin, Presby.; St. Paul's, Prot. Ep.; Azabu, Can. Meth.; and Prot. Meth. of Nagoya), met in Conference on Aug. 16 in Tokyo to consider what course to pursue in view of the recent Instruction of the Ed. Dept.; excluding entirely all religion from private schools receiving any recognition of the Dept., would submit to the respective officers of the various Christian schools effected by the regulations the following for their consideration.
>
> The Constitution of the Empire grants religious liberty; the Instruction of the Ed. Dept. definitely and more completely than every forbids all teaching of religion,

> as all religious exercises, to all schools seeking Government recognition. We feel that this is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the Empire in practically restricting the liberty of parents in deciding upon the education of their children. We are not here raising any objection to the Ed. Department's making such restrictions for public schools supported by public funds, but we feel that to put these same restrictions upon private schools supported by private funds works great injustice. We feel even more strongly that these regulations make it impossible for Christian schools to seek the recognition of the government and its accompanying privileges. We are of the conviction that any Christian school, founded on Christian principles supported in any measure by the gifts and prayers of Christian people to exclude in any degree Christianity from its ruling principles, or from its daily school life, would be disloyalty to our common Lord and to the Churches aiding our schools. We call upon all officers and teachers of Christian schools to take a firm and decided stand on this matter, not yielding any Christian principle for the sake of securing or maintaining Government privileges.

B. Chappell to Rev. Dr. Smith, August 19th, 1899, in the Journal of Benjamin Chappell 1898-1899, in the possession of Miss Constance Chappell.

20. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Twelfth Annual Report, 1900, p.46, H13g3 (UCA).

21. The W.M.S. was formed in 1880. The first suggestion for a Woman's Missionary Society similar to the already existing female societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States and the Presbyterian Church of Canada was made at the General Conference of 1878. In June 1880 during the Annual Conference in Hamilton, Ontario, on Sutherland's urging, a committee of ten ladies was appointed to draft a constitution and bye-laws. The W.M.S. thus formed was independent of the male Missionary Society but according to Article Eight of its constitution: "This Society shall work in harmony with the authorities of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, and be subject to their approval in the employment and remuneration of Missionaries or other agents, the designation of fields of labor, and in the general plans and designs of the work".
Constitution of the W.M.S. in First Annual Report of W.M.S., 1, p.32, EgF5 (UCA). The first mention of the proposal for the formation of the W.M.S. in Journal of Proceedings of the Second General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada 1878, p.220.

In January 1882 Sutherland wrote to Mrs. J. Gooderham, the first President of the W.M.S., that "I have just recieved a letter from Dr. McDonald, Chairman of the Japan District, and sent you an

extract referring to the need which exists there for Lady missionaries - thinking it may interest the ladies assembled this afternoon. I sincerely hope the ladies of the Toronto branch of the W.M.S. will extend their sympathies to take in Japan".
Sutherland to Mrs. J. Gooderham, January 17th 1882, H11d7 (UCA).

In late 1882 Miss Martha J. Cartmell, the W.M.S.'s first missionary, was sent to Japan. The country became the main field of endeavour for the female Society. The W.M.S. supported Miss Cartmell and the other women missionaries who followed her out to Japan so that there was no cost involved to the Central (male) Missionary Society. The one major drawback which arose from having two Societies working in Japan was that the women missionaries were responsible to the Executive Board of the W.M.S. and not to Sutherland and the Central Mission Board. This meant arbitration was difficult in cases of conflict in policy or personality between the missionaries of the two different Societies.

22. Second Annual Report of the W.M.S., EgF5 (UCA).

23. Robert S. Schwantes, "American Influence in the Education of Meiji Japan", unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, Harvard University, 1950, pp.185-186.

24. Robert S. Schwantes, "American Influence in the Education of Meiji Japan" op.cit., p.186.

25. Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, op.cit., p.120.

26. By the 1880's there was one or more boarding schools for girls in each of the major centers of missionary activity. The Methodist Episcopalian, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians had established schools in Tokyo which developed into the Aoyama Gakuin, Joshi Gakuin, and Rikkyō Jogakkō. The establishment of the Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō showed that despite other schools there still existed a need for more Mission schools for girls.

27. Fourth Annual Report of the W.M.S., EgF5 (UCA).

28. H. L. Platt, The Story of the Years: A History of the Woman's Missionary Society 1881-1906. (Toronto, 1926), Vol. 2, p.18.

29. Missionary Outlook, V1, June-July 1886, p.101, (UCA).

30. Missionary Outlook, V1, May 1886, p.75 (UCA).

31. H. L. Platt, The Story of the Years, op.cit., p.13.

32. Minutes of the Japan Conference, First Annual Report, 1889, p.40, H13g3 (UCA).

33. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Third Annual Report, 1891, p.45, H13g3 (UCA).

34. Letter from Mrs. Yoshiko Matsuo (nee Tanabe) to Miss Constance Chappell. In the possession of Miss C. Chappell. Miss Chappell was kind enough to write on my behald to certain early Toyō Eiwa Jō Gakkō graduates in Japan in order to ask them to write briefly about their experiences at the school.

35. Letter from the sister of Takagi Katsuo (nee Uchida) to Miss Constance Chappell. In the possession of Miss C. Chappell.

36. Sixth Annual Report of the W.M.S., EgF5 (UCA).

37. Minutes of the Japan Conference, First Annual Report, p.40, H13g3 (UCA).

38. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Third Annual Report, p.44, H13g3 (UCA).

Appendix 1.

The Formation of the Japan Mission Conference 1889.

Commission.
To the Foreign and Native Ministers of the Methodist Church in Japan in connection with the Methodist Church (Canada) and all others whom it may concern.
Greeting,--
Whereas the General Conference of the Methodist Church at its session held in the City of Toronto, Dominion of Canada, in the month of Sept. 1886, did enact with reference to the work of the Methodist Church in Japan, as follows:--
When there are fifteen or more ordained ministers in the Field, and the General Board of Missions, or its Committee of Consultation and Finance recommends the step, the Mission shall be erected into a Mission Conference, with power to divide into two or more districts.

And Whereas, pursuant to the above action, the said Committee of Consultation and Finance at the meeting held on the 26th day of February 1889 did resolve as follows:--

That if the General Secretary on his contemplated visit to Japan shall find that there are fifteen or more ordained Missionaries in that country, whose names appear on the Minutes of the Toronto Conference he shall have authority to organize an Annual Conference in Japan, in accordance with the express wish of the Mission Council and in harmony with the Discipline of the Methodist Church.

NOW THIS WRITING CERTIFIETH that the Reverend Alexander Sutherland, Doctor of Divinity, and our General Secretary of Mission, is fully authorized, under the foregoing provisions, to organize an Annual Conference of the Methodist Church in Japan, and for that solemn and important work he is hereby affectionately, and in fear of God, commended to the Brethern in that country:--

Signed, and the Seal of the Methodist Church affixed at Toronto, this 2nd day of May 1889 in the presence of Jas. N. Shannon.

A. Carman
John A. Williams
General Superintendants.

Minutes of the Japan Mission Conference, 1889, p.6., H13g3 (UCA).

Appendix 2.

Address to the General Mission Board and the Church in Canada from the Japanese Conference 1889.

Beloved Brethern:
Although we cannot understand fully your circumstances and surroundings in a land so far away and so different from our own, we still do pray that grace, mercy, and peace may abound upon you all. We thank you for your constant sympathy, shown to us so practically by the sending of missionaires for years, and their constant work of love in preaching Jesus to us who were afar off. Through their earnest work, more than a thousand have become children of God, who were formerly stiff-necked and rebellious against the truth as it is in Jesus. We are like boys and girls who have not yet learned geography, but we have learnt most thoroughly that there is such a place as Canada, and that the people there are rich in love and great in good works.

We thank you at this special juncture, you sent to visit us our beloved brother, Dr. Sutherland, clothed with authority to erect our Church in Japan into an Annual Conference. Under his kind management, and with the co-operation of the other brethern,this has become an accomplished fact, and the first session has been held with tokens of the Divine blessing. This will be an epoch in the history of Japan Methodism worthy of special record and grateful remembrance. Besides this, Dr. Sutherland delivered lectures and sermons, both in the capital and during an extended visit through Yamanashi and Shidzuoka prefectures. These addresses, characterized by earnestness and eloquence, leave behind them an incalculable benefit, for which we thank both him and you. Permit us to express our gratitude for another signal mark of your favor in 1887, you extended an invitation to our brother Hiraiwa to visit you, and while he was with you made him forget the fact that he was among strangers, by the fullness of your hospitality. The benefits of his visit were not a few, and were not confined to himself but extended to us also.

We esteem it an honor to place this short expression of our gratitude in Dr. Sutherland's hands, as he now leaves our shores, to be conveyed to you. We pray continually that upon you all may rest the richest benediction of God in temporal and spiritual matters.

We remain,
Honored and beloved brethern,
On behalf of the Japan Conference,

Toyama Kohei
Yamanaka Emu
Ebara Soroku.

Missionary Outlook, 1X, November 1889, pp.162-163.

CHAPTER 6:

RAPID GROWTH

The establishment of Mission schools was only one aspect of the growth of the Canadian Mission in the 1880's. During these years the evangelistic work of the Mission was greatly extended with the founding of new Churches in the interior. This was due to the increased numbers of Canadian evangelists at work and the eagerness of the Japanese pastors to propagate the Gospel. The work of the Canadian Mission came to a climax in 1889 with the formation of the Japan Mission Conference.

Evangelistic Work

The 1880's had begun with the Canadian Mission having only three missionaries at work in Japan. The withdrawal of Meacham to Canada in 1882 caused Sutherland to doubt whether the Canadian Church would be willing to continue to support the Mission in Japan (1). However, Sutherland's fears were fortunately unfounded. Nonetheless, missionaries' early departure from Japan only accentuated the need for more workers in the country if the gains of the 1870's were to be sustained and the Canadian Mission expanded. The entrance of the W.M.S. into the field in 1882 and the establishment of the two Mission schools in Azabu, Tokyo in 1884 added more personnel to the missionary force. Even so more Canadians were needed to carry on direct evangelistic work.

In 1884 Charles T. Cocking, a third year B.A. student at Victoria College, was sent out as an evangelist. After some time

in Tokyo, Cocking was sent to Shizuoka to assist Hiraiwa who was the pastor there. It appeared that Cocking was loath to go there, for in June 1886 Sutherland wrote to McDonald:

> Mr. Cocking was not sent to Tokyo. He is not really needed in Tokyo, and we do not consider him suitable for Tokyo. If he will not take the work to which he is assigned the sooner he is discontinued the better. The young man whom we purpose to send for the evangelistic work will be expected to devote his time exclusively to that, except in so far as a little teaching may give him the privilege of residing in a place where he could not otherwise be allowed to reside (2).

Cocking eventually did go to Shizuoka but he was not a particularly successful missionary. In 1890 he was withdrawn from the Japan Work. In 1885 T. A. Large, who had just graduated from Victoria College, came out as an evangelist but almost immediately was seconded to the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō where he taught mathematics and science until his murder by burglars in 1890. In 1886 a third young missionary, E. Odlum, arrived in Japan but he too was seconded to the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō where he remained only three years before returning permanently to Ontario. These three appointments can be seen as an attempt by the Mission Board to send out younger men to the field. Cocking and Large were not ordained ministers when they came out to Japan. Of the three, only Large can be considered suited for the work there and unfortunately he was killed after being in Japan only five years. The problem of more evangelists still remained, as two of the three were engaged in the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō.

Apart from Cocking, only Eby, who lived in Tsukiji, was free

to engage in evangelistic work. McDonald, who also lived in Tsukiji, was restricted to a great extent from participating in this type of work by his medical practice in Tokyo. Others such as Cochran and Robert Whittington were engaged in teaching at the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō. In the mid-1880's the Canadian Mission had to rely heavily upon its Japanese pastors to propagate the Gospel. The evangelistic work of the Canadian missionaries largely took the form of preaching tours in the interior. The Canadian Mission, therefore, was at first in a poor position to take advantage of the upsurge of interest in Christianity in Japan after 1883 (3).

The first signs of this new interest in Christianity in terms of the Canadian Mission can perhaps be seen in 1883 when the Tsukiji Church, the third Canadian Mission church in Tokyo, proclaimed itself self-supporting (4). In the same year the Kofū Church began the practice of making pledges for weekly payments (5). This shows a growing involvement of the Japanese members in their churches as well as an expression of their desire to free themselves from Canadian financial support. In the summer of 1884 Eby and McDonald went on an evangelistic tour of Yamanashi and Shizuoka Prefectures which was climaxed by a meeting in Shizuoka during which some 4,000 people came to hear them over two evenings (6). The indication of potential growth in numbers of converts given by the Shizuoka meeting was very encouraging. However, although the Shizuoka Church became self-supporting in 1888, its membership did not rise very much after 1884. It is true to say that the Canadian

Mission did not expand very greatly in established areas in the 1880's.

The Japanese pastors were eager to extend the work of the Mission into new centers. In 1884 Hamamatsu in Shizuoka Prefecture was occupied entirely on the initiative of the Japanese converts. Hamamatsu was a major center of Buddhism having a number of important temples in its neighbourhood and much of the prosperity of the town was due to the flow of pilgrims to these temples (7). At first the townspeople did not welcome the Methodist intrusion. This was further exacerbated by the apparent fact that Christianity had received a bad reputation from the work carried on there by Roman Catholics. In Hamamatsu the Japanese pastor Yuki Munizō was faced with a double struggle against the Buddhists and the Roman Catholics.

In 1886 the Missionary Society in Canada sanctioned the formation of a Japan Methodist Missionary Society. The creation of this Society showed that the Japanese were anxious to undertake the task of spreading the Word on their own. The Japan Methodist Missionary Society supported for a time an evangelist in Takikawa, Hokkaido, but unfortunately this northern Mission outpost had to be abandoned because of lack of funds and inability to draw converts into the Church. In 1891 the Japanese Society was only supporting one evangelist (8). The Japanese members of the Church could not afford to support their own missionaries in the field although the spirit to do so was present.

Sutherland was convenced that Japan would be chiefly evan-

gelized by the Japanese themselves. In 1887 Sutherland wrote to Eby that "the number of native candidates for the ministry is another interesting feature, giving strength to the conviction that Japan will be evangelized chiefly by the Japanese" (9). In 1889 he wrote in his Report, after his visit to Japan, concerning the Japanese pastors:

> In this connection let me say, that I do not think it is necessary now, and may be not in the future, to send many additional foreign missionaries to Japan. Thoroughly competent foreigners will be needed for a time to man the schools, and to guide and oversee the work, until such time as experience will enable the Japanese to do it themselves. But I do not think the foreigner will be a permanent factor in the development of Christianity in that land. A great harvest is to be gathered, and as yet the laborers are few; but my conviction is that, in the long run, Japan will be evangelized by the ministry, and the Church that gives special attention to this work will do the most for the spiritual regeneration of Japan (10).

Some of the Canadian missionaries, particularly Eby, did not feel that all the evangelistic work should be left to the Japanese workers.

The Self-Support Band.

In 1886 Eby went home on furlough, and while in Canada he proposed the formation of a Self-Support Band. Eby wrote about his proposal:

> One could not be impressed with the greatness of the opportunity in Japan, and the comparatively small amount that we as a Church were able to do or likely to be able to do on ordinary lines. For years the impression had grown upon my mind that indirectly much might be added

> to the work of the Board by making use of the opportunity in schools where English teachers were required. The impression grew upon me when at home in 1886, and when I returned in the end of that year it seemed to me that the time had come for action. The Government and Directors of the schools were seeking for teachers and found it difficult to get really suitable men. Why not have these schools supplied by Christian men from amongst whom we called to that work might graduate into the Missionary force (11).

The aim of the Self-Support Band was to supply auxiliary workers to the missionary force without expense to the Mission Board. Eby was greatly influenced in the formulation of this idea by the marked success of Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission (12). However, he felt that the China Inland Mission's separation from the regular church organization was a fundamental mistake. His Self-Support Band, while not drawing money from the Mission Board, would work in conjunction with it. Eby saw his Self-Support Band as a means of bringing to Japan the Canadian evangelists that the Mission Board could not provide.

While the Mission Board promised its moral support for the Self-Support Band, there was difference of opinion concerning the Band from the beginning. In 1887 Sutherland wrote to Eby: "True, those who go out are not supposed to be dependent on the funds of the Society but when once they get out there is no telling how many may be "roped in", to use your expression, and become part of our regular staff" (13). Sutherland went on to say that a great deal of caution had to be exercised for "the romance of the thing is likely to attract a good many, and although it may be said they go on their own responsibility, yet if they prove failures something

will have to be done with them, for they cannot be left to starve in a strange land" (14). McDonald who had been on furlough in 1887 when the idea was in vogue among Canadian Methodists later wrote:

> Was it a wise movement, a necessary movement? I never regarded it as either wise or necessary. From the very first I saw that there could be no permanency about it, and believed that my attitude saved the Band from what would have been a serious embarrassment and many individuals from disaster. When I saw home last the Band furor was at its height. You would be astonished at the number who were under its influence - young men, men with families, physicians in practice, who appealed to me about going. I put the facts and the dangers before them in such a way that not one of these men came (15).

In 1891 Eby dissolved the Self-Support Band because he felt it lacked the moral support of the Missionary Society and was faced with the opposition of Sutherland and McDonald.

Twelve volunteers including one woman, Miss Cushing, came out to Japan under the Self-Support scheme. In 1887 the first two members of the Band, Francis A. Cassidy and John W. Saunby, came out to Japan. The former went to teach school in Shizuoka and the latter went to Kofū. In 1888 Daniel Riel McKenzie (1861-1935) came out to teach school in Kanazawa in Ishikawa Prefecture. The same year J. G. Dunlop, a graduate of Queen's University in Kingston, took up a teaching post at Hamamatsu. In 1889 William Elliot began to teach in Kofu and later Matsumoto. The same year Harper Coates came out and was posted to Kofu. Ebenezer Crummy arrived in 1890 to take up a position in Toyama. All these men later became full missionaries with the Canadian Mission. While the Self-Support Band was dissolved by Eby in 1891, it was successful to a point.

The Self-Support Band provided personnel in areas which otherwise would not have been served by Canadians and also as a result of it the missionary force of the Canadian Mission was expanded with experienced men.

In 1888 Cochran, who was the chairman of the Japan District wrote:

> One great cause of the success of the past year has been the hopefulness of the present situation in the larger amount of inspection and work given by foreign missionaries to direct the efforts of the native brethern. Their inexperience, when left to themselves, often leads them into ruts and laxity, while the consciousness of the scrutiny of a foreign brother gives an impulse to effort, and is always a source of advice and help. The presence of Bros. Cassidy and Cocking in Shizuoka, of Bro. Saunby in Kofu, of Bro. Dunlop in Hamamatsu, has had a large influence, both direct and indirect, on the upbuilding of the churches in those places. Their presence causes almost a revolution in the dignity of the public service, in the singing, in organizing for work, in carrying out discipline, in giving confidence to the little flocks in the presence of opposition; all this aside from the regular work of the Bible Classes, preaching and lecturing, in which they are becoming more and more efficient (17).

Cochran felt that the new men were doing a good job and that the Mission was benefitting from their presence. He did not have the same view as Sutherland in regards to the ability of the Japanese pastors to carry on the evangelistic work alone. Cochran's argument that Canadian missionaries were indispensable in evangelistic work was reinforced by the fact that in 1887 Eby, at Cochran's request, had been released from other duties to become Evangelistic Superintendant. Eby thought that his position as Evangelistic Superintendant did much to co-ordinate the efforts of the Mission and stated as a result of it "our membership grew 60 percent, and our financial income 100 percent. There was progress and enthusiasm all along the line" (18).

In 1888 when McDonald returned to Japan from Canada and became Chairman of the Japan District in succession to Cochran, he abolished Eby's position. McDonald did not believe that the position was necessary or worthwhile. Moreover, he felt that his authority as Chairman of the Japan District would be jeopardized if there was a division in powers. Despite the fact that Eby was no longer in charge of evangelistic work the Canadian Mission continued to grow in numbers of converts (19).

The Central Tabernacle.

As well as bringing out more personnel to aid in the evangelistic work, Eby felt there was need of an evangelistic headquarters. In the late 1880's he advocated a project to build a Central Hall in Tokyo in the neighbourhood of the Imperial University in the hope of converting the students. Eby nursed the idea of "reaching the brain of Japan" in the quickest and most effective way which he felt was through the building of a very large church. At first he wanted this to be an interdenominational endeavour on the part of all the Protestant missions in Japan, but he failed to get financial support from the other missions. In 1886 while in Canada on furlough, Eby started to raise money for the building of the Central Tabernacle. Eby wrote about the foundation of the Central Tabernacle:

> I have already referred to my thoughts concerning the establishment of a Central Mission in the great city of Tokyo, of having raised a certain amount of subscriptions when in Canada in 1886, of the appeal of the Council in 1887

> for $25,000.00 with which to rise and build, of its being left in abeyance for one year while I gave myself to Evangelistic Work and money was asked for the Azabu Church, and how on the return of Dr. McDonald, I returned to the Central Mission undertaking. In the year 1888 the first members of the Band subscribed $2,500.00 to buy land and a little over $1,000.00 towards the building. The Council was by no means unanimous in its approbation of this scheme, but I worked on with the expectation that the result would justify my plans, and opposition would be changed into hearty co-operation (20).

In 1888 Sutherland was sympathetic toward taking advantage of the great opportunities that existed in Tokyo but there were many demands upon the Mission Board for money and the sums which Eby wanted could not be spared (21). Sutherland's approach to the building was cautious. In 1889 he wrote:

> Dr. Eby's earnest desire to reach and influence the masses of the people in the quickest and most effectual way, should command our respectful sympathy, but should not blind us to defects of plans and methods. The conception of "getting his finger on the pulse of Japan" as he himself has phrased it, is a grand one, but it is, I fear illusive. To get one's finger on the pulse of either man or a nation, only helps to diagnose a disease, and so indicate a remedy, and if we were in any doubt on the one point or the other, exceptional treatment might be justified; but we know already what the malady is that afflicts Japan, and we know what is the only sufficient remedy. To a limited exten-, and among a certain class of people, lectures on apologetics may serve a useful purpose; but to spend much time on this work would be a mistake. Not infrequently such lectures suggest more doubts than they allay, and it is but seldom they convince, much less convert. Even the Bishop of the Greek Church in Japan has cautioned his clergy against the practice, bidding them preach the Gospel and lease the lecturing to the Protestants (22).

Sutherland had serious doubts as to the feasibility of Eby's Central Tabernacle concept which was echoed by McDonald in Japan.

However, in 1890 a church edifice with a seating capacity of 600 was built close to the Imperial University. This building was burnt down the next year but was rebuilt and opened its door for regular service the same year. The Central Tabernacle remained the major church of the Canadian Mission until the formation of the autonomous Japan Methodist Church in 1907. While it was not as large as Eby had envisaged, its erection appeared to be a crowning achievement to the great growth of the Canadian Mission in the 1880's. It perhaps also reveals the dangerous enthusiasm which was engendered by the relatively large numbers of conversions in that decade. For the Central Tabernacle proved to be a mixed blessing to the Mission in that the evangelistic programs which emanated from it never had the success among the student population in Tokyo as was hoped and the money needed for its operation was out of proportion in the light of the success and needs of other smaller churches of the Canadian Mission (23).

The Mission Council

In 1886 Eby, when in Canada, had suggested the augmentation of certain organizational changes within the Mission structure in Japan. He proposed the formation of a Japan Mission Council at the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada held in 1886. The Mission Council was made up of foreign missionaries and it was responsible for the work of foreign missionaries. The Mission Council

also claimed the right to regulate all matters of property and finance.

Since 1876 the Japan field had been organized as the Japan District which was an intregal part of the Toronto Conference. The Japan District was invariable under the chairmanship of Cochran or McDonald. Below the annual District Meeting, each circuit held its quarterly meetings. Up until 1881 the only ordained men in the District were Canadians. In 1881, however, McDonald had been authorized by the Toronto Conference to ordain four Japanese, Hiraiwa, Yamanaka, Hosoi and Tsuchiya. These men took their places in the District on the same footing as the Canadian missionaries (24). In 1888 Cochran was given permission to ordain two men, Toyama Kohei and T. A. Large. At the opening of the Japan District Meeting in 1888, there were six ordained Canadians and three Japanese with two others, McDonald and Hiraiwa, absent in Canada. There were eight Japanese probationers and six men on trial, all of them Japanese except for J. G. Dunlop. It appeared that if all were on the same equal footing, the Japan District would quickly pass into the control of the Japanese pastors.

The Mission Council prevented Japanese control of the District having any effect in that the Mission Council had control over finances and the stationing of foreign missionaries. The Stationing Committee of the Japan District had only power to place the Japanese pastors. The Mission Council created a division between the Canadians and the Japanese brethern and severely limited the

proper functioning of the Japan District.

One of the things which the Mission Council had control over was the salaries of the Japanese pastors. In 1888 when Hiraiwa was in Canada at the request and at the expense of the Mission Board, he brought the question of differences in salaries between Canadian missionaries and Japanese pastors to the attention of Sutherland. Undoubtedly some of the Japanese pastors were in financial trouble because of their low wages. Sutherland wrote:

> Respecting the difference between the salaries of Canadian and native missionaries I would say that the salaries of the native missionaires are based upon recommendations that come from the Mission Council, but the amounts which we grant are not expected to be permanent but only to help until such times as the native church can become independent of foreign aid. It is not unlikely that the question of salaries to native missionaries will come under review at the approaching meeting of the General Board, and it is possible that in some cases, at least, there may be an advance. Still, I cannot promise this, and even if an advance is made it is not likely to be a very large one. I think that the increase of the salaries of all the native brethern should be kept steadily in view, but that, at the same time, this increase should come chiefly from the givings of the native churches, rather than from increased grants from the Missionary Board (25).

It has to be noted that there was no Japanese representation on the Mission Council. The fact that Hiraiwa brought the question of Japanese pastors' pay to Sutherland's attention can only mean that the Mission Council was unwilling to consider any increase and it was on its recommendations that salaries were based. On the the reasons why very few Japanese became pastors in the 1890's was due to the fact that their salaries were exceedingly low. The Mission Council

remained in operation even after the formation of the Japan Mission Conference and was only finally dissolved in 1941. In a very real sense the existence of the Mission Council revealed that the majority of the Canadian missionaries considered themselves superior to their Japanese brethern in that the missionaries alone were allowed to decide where Canadians should be stationed and where Canadian money should be spent.

The Japan Mission Conference

In 1889 Sutherland went out to Japan on a visit of inspection. As early as 1881 he had been requested by the Mission to come out but it was only in 1889 that he was able at last to comply with their wish. In January 1888, correspondence had been begun on the subject of raising the Japan District to the status of a Conference (26). A Mission in order to gain Conference status according to the Discipline of the Methodist Church of Canada had to have a minimum of 15 ordained ministers. In 1889 there were 9 foreign missionaries, 6 ordained Japanese pastors and 6 probationers for the ministry of whom two were propared for ordination when Sutherland came to Japan. The Canadian Mission had a membership of 1,716 (27). Already the Canadian Church had given Sutherland the necessary commission to create a Japan Mission Conference if the requirements of the Discipline were met (28).

The Mission Conference had all the powers of a Canadian Conference

with two exceptions. The first was that it could only elect representatives to the General Conference, the Mission Board and other Connexional Committees, when authorized by the Mission Board. The second was that it could not interfere in any way with the administration of the Mission Board (29). The Canadian Mission was divided into three districts Tokyo, Shizuoka and Yamanashi. In the Tokyo district there were five organized churches, one of which, Tsukiji, was self-supporting. There were six circuits in the Shizuoka District and the Shizuoka Church was self-supporting. There were three circuits in the Yamanashi District and Kofu Church with some 150 members gave promise of soon becoming self-supporting. McDonald was elected the first President and annually re-elected to that office, except in 1892 when Cochran held the position, until 1899 when he retired from active Mission work. In 1901 Hiraiwa was elected the first Japanese President.

The formation of the Japan Mission Conference gave the Japanese Church equal status, apart from the two limitations, with the other Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church of Canada. The Japan Mission Conference continued in existence until 1907 when the autonomous Japan Methodist Church was formed by the union of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Methodist Church of Canada.

The Japan Mission Conference was the highest decision-making body in Japan. Through its various committees the Japanese members both lay and pastor were able to wield considerable power. The

Educational Committee, for instance, upon which Ebara Soroku served, laid down the administrative rules and curriculum for the Mission schools. The Discipline Committee, upon which Yamaji Aizan (Yakichi, 1864-1917) served in the late 1890's, made sure that the Japanese pastors abided by the Methodist Discipline. The Conference also to an extent laid down the editorial policy of the Gokyō, the Methodist magazine, of which Yamaji Aizan was editor in the mid-1890's. It also directed the work of the Japan Methodist Missionary Society. Although it did not have power over the stationing of Canadian missionaries and the use of Canadian money which was under the control of the Mission Council, the Conference, under the sumpathetic Presidency of McDonald, allowed the Japanese to voice their opinions on Mission policy and to take part in its formulation. At the same time the Conference did not exclude Canadian missionaries, thus its rulings can be regarded as the united expression of both Canadians and Japanese in Mission affairs.

The growth of the Canadian Mission in terms of converts during the late 1880's came as a result of opening-up new Mission centers rather than large increases in membership in established areas. In the 1890's the slowed growth of the Mission can in part be accounted for by the fact that the Canadians did not continue to form new Mission centers.

Footnotes.

1. In regards to Meacham's withdrawal, Sutherland wrote:

> How the whole matter must present itself to our people you can easily see. In the course of eight years we have expended in connection with the Japan Mission not far short of $60,000, and what have we as a result? A Mission from which two out of four Missionaries return just when they have so far mastered the language as to be able to use it, so that all the Society's expenditure so far as they are concerned, goes for next to nothing. Worse than this is the impression produced, and which sometimes finds ominous expression, that if one wanted to find the spirit of heroism, of devotion to duty, of self-denial, he must look for it elsewhere than among the missions of the Methodist Church.

A. Sutherland to G. Meacham, May 10th 1881, H11d 6 (UCA).
Cochran's return to Canada in 1879 had caused a renewal of opposition to the Japan Mission in Canada and Sutherland felt that Meacham's withdrawal would make the Methodist Church unwilling to continue to support the mission.

2. A. Sutherland to D. McDonald, June 26th 1886, H11e 3 (UCA).

3. In 1883 Robert S. Maclay, the Methodist Episcopal missionary wrote that "a spirit of religious revival ... is spreading in Japan, both among the foreign community and among Japanese Christians. I have not before seen anything like it since coming to Japan".
W. Barclay, The Methodist Episcopal Church, op.cit., p.692.
In 1886 H. Evington of the Church Missionary Society noted:

> "an unmistakable growth of public opinion in favor of the truth and even the necessity of Christianity, "and that it is now acknowledged by unbelievers "to be the only religion that can hold its own in the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, and, what is more, the only one that can produce the necessary moral change in the hearts of the people."

C. F. Warren, Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society (London, 1887), p.273.

4. A. Sutherland to D. McDonald, October 3rd 1883, H11d8 (UCA).

5. Missionary Outlook, 111, p.126 (UCA).

6. Sixty-First Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xl (UCA).

7. Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xii (UCA).

Footnotes continued.

The major increases in conversions to the Canadian Mission took place after 1886. Hamamatsu accounted for a good proportion of the increase. In 1887 some 185 members were added to the Mission with Hamamatsu bringing in the most converts. In 1888 it was reported that the membership had increased by 497 over the previous year with the Azabu church in Tokyo leading the gains with 145 and Hamamatsu following with 105. In view of the fact that the Azabu church served the two mission schools in Tokyo, it is understandable why it was the most successful of Tokyo churches in increasing membership. In 1887 it had been reported that there were 40 Christians at the Toyo Eiwa Gakko and 65 Christians at the Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko. As these figures would be included Sixty-Fourth Annual Report (1887-1888), it means that the Azabu Church only expanded by 40 converts outside of the students. The success in Hamanatsu leads one to perhaps conclude in the case of the Canadian Mission that the increase in membership in the late 1880's was due to expansion into new areas rather than gains in established areas. Part of the success in Hamamatsu can be explained in the fact that some converts came over from the Roman Catholic Mission there, for it was reported in 1887 that "Hamamatsu has taken a spring to the from in rolling up a membership; and best of all, as we increase, Roman Catholicism and Greek propagandism seem to be on the decline, many of their best members coming to us, and the question has been mooted among the Roman Catholics in Hamamatsu whether they shall not come to us in a body."
Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (UCA).

8. Minutes of the Japan Conference, Third Annual Report, 1891, p.51 H13g3 (UCA).

9. A. Sutherland to C. S. Eby, May 30th 1887, H11e4 (UCA).

10. Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xxxii (UCA).

11. C. S. Eby to A. Carman, August 31st 1898. Japan Mission, General Correspondence 1894-1919. H13F1 (3) (UCA).

12. Ibid.
James Hudson Taylor founded the China Inland Mission in 1865. The Mission was interdenominational. Its primary aim was widespread evangelism. The direction of the Mission was in China and its missionaires wore Chinese dress in order to far as possible indentify themselves with the Chinese people. By 1885 the China Inland Mission had 641 missionaries working in it in every province of China except for three.
Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp.333-336.

13. A. Sutherland to C. S. Eby, May 30th 1887, loc.cit.

14. A. Sutherland to C. S. Eby, May 30th 1887, loc.cit.

15. Stenographic Report of Proceedings. Re. Japan Affairs at Annual Meeting of the General Board, Montreal, October 1895, p.23 (UCA).

16. D. R. McKenzie's reasons for coming out to Japan are illustrative of the reasons why people volunteered for the Band. McKenzie had graduated from Victoria College in 1887, and was stationed as a candidate for the ministry at Charing Cross near Windsor, Ontario. Prior to this McKenzie had decided that he wanted to become a missionary but there was no call and he had to be content to work in the home field. In August 1887 he read a letter from Charles Eby in the Christian Guardian "appealing to young Canadians who desired to become missionaries, to come to Japan to teach in the Government Colleges about to be opened to earn their living, and to act as an auxiliary missionary force to our regular mission staff, as the Mission Board was not then sending any more missionaries to Japan". D. R. McKenzie, Off to Japan. Typescript in the possession of Miss Constance Chappell.

In this typescript, McKenzie noted about the literature on Japan in Canada in 1888 that "The supply of literature on Japan on sale in Canada must, I think, have been very limited in those days, for the only book of the sort I remember to have had to read on ship-board (on the voyage from Vancouver to Yokohama), was one containing letters from Dr. McClay, an early Methodist Episcopal missionary who had gone to Japan fourteen years before, and in which he described his experiences in those days".
D. R. McKenzie, Off to Japan. loc.cit.
The book which McKenzie is most probably referring to is:
Arthur Collins Maclay, A Budget of Letters from Japan: Reminiscences of Work and Travel in Japan (New York, 1886).

17. Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xii (UCA).

18. C. S. Eby to A. Carman, August 31st 1898, loc.cit.

19. Statistics for the Mission show a tremendous increase in the late 1880's.

	1886	1890	Increase.
Membership	591	1,716	1,125.
Contributions yen	903.04	6,491.35	5,588.31
Value of church yen property.	28,085	64,843	36,758.
Scholars in Sun-	542	1,486	944.

Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xv (UCA).

Statistics for 1890-1907.

	Increase	Decrease
1890-1891	103.	
1891-1892	142.	
1892-1893	59.	
1893-1894		6.
1894-1895	89.	
1895-1896	85.	
1896-1897	142.	
1897-1898	102.	
1898-1899		33.
1899-1900	42.	
1900-1901		1.
1901-1902	323.	
1902-1903	111.	
1903-1904	144.	
1904-1905	no figures.	
1905-1906	150.	
1906	total membership of Canadian Mission 3,105.	
1907	Formation of the Autonomous Japan Methodist Church.	

Figures taken from individual Annual Reports of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. (UCA).

It is interesting to note that worst years of the Canadian Mission in terms of bringing new members into the Mission were the years 1898-1901. This was the time of the seizure of territory om China by Russia, Germany, France and Great Britain. It was during this period that the Toyo Eiwa Gakko was closed down. Only one year in the early 1890's did the Canadian Mission show a decrease in membership. The early 1890's was a period in which the Canadian Mission was not expanding into new fields. The tremendous growth of the Mission in the years 1886-1890 was something that was not repeated again. It, therefore, should be regarded as an unusual phenomenon.

20. C. S. Eby to A. Carman, August 31st, 1898, loc.cit.

21. A. Sutherland to G. Cochran, January 4th 1888, H11e5 (UCA).

22. Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xxiii (UCA).

23. Hiraiwa in a letter to Sutherland in 1905 complained bitterly about the failure of the Central Tabernacle in comparison with the Azabu Church. It was also a failure in the light of the success which his friends Miyagawa Tsuneteru in Osaka, Harada Tasuke in Kobe, and Ebina Danjo in Tokyo had achieved with larger churches. One of the major problems with the Central Tabernacle was that it was in a sense

two churches; one, an evangelistic organization under the superintendancy of a missionary and second, a Japanese church with a congregation under a Japanese pastor. Unfortunately there was a certain lack of co-operation between its two elements.
Hiraiwa Y. to A. Sutherland, March 22nd 1905, Alexander Sutherland Papers. H11i2 Box - (61) (UCA).

24. Missionary Outlook, 11, p.30 (UCA).

25. A. Sutherland to Hiraiwa Y., July 20th 1888, H11e5 (UCA).

26. Norman manuscript, p.88. In the possession of Dr. W. H. H. Norman. In terms of the formation of a Mission Conference in Japan. The Canadians had the example of the Methodist Episcopal Mission which had formed an Annual Conference in 1884.

27. Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, p.xv (UCA).

28. Appendix 1

29. No-man manuscript, p.88, loc.cit

CONCLUSION

Conclusion.

One of the major questions in the studying of Christianity in Meiji Japan has been the motivation for conversion. The reasons for becoming Christian of the early converts of the Canadian Mission in the 1870's offers an answer to this question.

Nakamura Keiu's reasons for becoming a Christian had their root in his assumption that Christianity was the essence of Western civilization. He felt that Christianity was the underlying force behind the superiority of the West. Therefore the central problem of Japan's national advancement in the 1870's could be solved if the country adopted the Western religion. Nakamura saw Christianity as an extension of Confucianism. He came to believe that the moral and ethical code of Christianity was superior to Confucian morals and ethics. Christianity, therefore, offered to raise Japanese morals to a higher level than traditional codes. Thus its adoption would bring the Japanese people nearer to the goal of bunmei-kaika (civilization and enlightenment) which was the aim of the Meirokusha. It was the practical and utilitarian aspects of Christianity which appealed to Nakamura. He was motivated by patriotism to advocate Christianity for he felt that it could greatly benefit Japan.

There is little evidence, at least in the case of the Koishikawa band, that conversion took place as a result of alienation from society. The leader of the group was Nakamura Keiu who was a man of local if not national reputation and widely respected for his views. His Christian ideas undoubtedly influenced others to convert. A large proportion of

the Koishikawa group was made up of students from the Kaisei Gakko (Tokyo University) which was the foremost West-learning as well as the highest educational institution in Japan. Therefore, these students could look forward to a promising career in the Meiji civil service, and in fact, these converts were in the forefront of the Japanese drive to gain Western knowledge. The fact of being a Christian, in the early 1870's, did not interfere with a man's career or opportunities in the bureaucracy. On the contrary, rather, men of Western knowledge - whether Christian or not - were very precious and useful for the Meiji Government which had to cope with many difficult problems with the West at that time. This is evidenced by the appointment of two members of the Koishikawa band to the Japanese delegation which went to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and that others such as Kozu Sensaburo were sent to the United States to study by the Meiji Government. When Hiraiwa became a Christian, he was a full scholarship student at the Kaisei Gakko. Kawamura Isami had already studied abroad where he had learnt something of Christianity. Their reasons for conversion to Christianity were similar to those of Nakamura in that they believed its moral and ethical teachings were superior to Confucianism and that the Western religion could be of great benefit to Japan.

In the 1870's the Christian groups of the Canadian Mission tended to expand in family units. This was particularly true of the Koishikawa and Kofū bands. The majority of male members were able to convert their close relatives to Christianity. There does not seem to be the hostility from their families as witnessed in Kumamoto,

for instance, after the Mount Hanaoka Incident. In the case of the Canadian Mission, there appears to be little alienation of converts from their immediate families.

Personal friendship and knowledge between missionaries and individual Japanese were important to the development of Christianity in the first Meiji decade. Leroy Janes, for example, went to Kumamoto because of the special relation that existed between Verbeck and Yokoi Daihei. It was through Verbeck's friendship with Matsudaira Shungaku that Griffis went to teach in Fukui. As a result of his introductory letter to Katsu Awa, Clark was hired as an instructor in the Shizuoka school (1). In the case of the Canadian Mission, it was through their friendship with Clark that the Canadians were introduced to Nakamura Keiu and to many others who later converted to Canadian Methodism. One of the reasons why Nakamura asked Cochran to teach Christianity at the Doninsha was because Cochran was Clark's friend. Ebara Soroku asked for a Canadian missionary to come to Numazu because he knew McDonald.

The majority of early converts to Christianity in the 1870's were former Tokugawa samurai. There are certain reasons for this, too. The friendship and personal relations between such people as Katsu Awa, Ōkubo Ichiō, and Matsudaira Shungaku (former Tokugawa people) and missionaries, and the geographical closeness of the former <u>fudai</u> provinces in Central Honshu to the Tokyo-Yokohama area, the major center of missionary activity and Westernization, resulted in Christian teachers like Griffis and Clark

teaching in former Tokugawa strongholds. Tokyo itself was the former capital of the Shogunate and so it was natural that the converts there should tend to come from a Tokugawa background. It is apparent that the ex-Tokugawa samurai were among the most progressive and pro-Western people in Japan, partly because they had been exposed to Western contact more directly and for a much longer time than remote tozama people. The early establishment of the Denshujō in Shizuoka and the Heigakkō in Numazu revealed the desire of the Tokugawa exiles in Suruga province to acquire Western-learning. The Kaisei Gakkō, where many missionaries and Westerners taught, was an outgrowth from the Tokugawa Shoheiko, and naturally in the early 1870's the majority of students at it were from Tokugawa backgrounds.

During the 1880's the Canadian Mission underwent a period of rapid growth. In the 1884 the Toyo Eiwa Gakko was founded together with its W.M.S. sister school. Most of the converts who were added to the Canadian Mission in Tokyo in the 1880's came from these two schools. The expansion of the Mission in terms of foreign missionaries and lay evangelists from the Self-Support Band allowed new mission outposts to be opened, while at the same time adding foreign personnel to already established fields such as Shizuoka and Kofū. However, it was in the new areas such as Hamamatsu that the greatest number of conversions were made. The utopian optimism that was engendered by missionaries such as Charles Eby and the actual successes of the mid-1880's led to an over-

expansion of the Canadian Mission. The expense of building the Central Tabernacle in Tokyo was unwarranted in the light of the resources of the Mission, but the establishment of the Tabernacle was an example of how this utopian optimism effected the Canadian Mission. The beginning of the 1890's not only brought a change in the political climate in Japan to one that was anti-foreign and indirectly anti-Christian as a result of the failure to revise the Treaties with the Western powers, but also a decrease in the amount of money that was available for the Japan Mission.

I feel that past historians have perhaps tended to place too much emphasis upon the political climate in Japan causing the retarded growth of Christianity during the two anti-Christian reactions in the late 1870's and early 1890's. It appears that at least in the case of the Canadian Mission its growth in numbers of members was dependent upon the opening of new Mission fields and new areas of endeavour. Once a church had been established in a locale, without hardly an exception, it only grew very slowly in size. During the late 1870's the Canadian Mission was able to open up a new center in Kofu but in the first years of the 1880's the Mission suffered from a shortage of foreign missionaries and those in Japan were confined, after Eby's return from Kofu, to Tsukiji. The result was that until 1884 the Canadian Mission only grew very slightly. Similarly, at the beginning of the 1890's the Canadian Mission was suffering from the consequences of over-expansion in the late 1880's and was not opening up new mission

outposts.

Certain factors are important concerning the organization of the Canadian Mission. The use of the Methodist Class as a basic organizational form in the case of each of the Canadian Mission Christian bands is interesting for a number of reasons. First it shows the adoption of a Canadian Methodist structure and not the development of a uniquely Japanese Christian form. The normal structure and discipline of the Canadian Methodist Church was applied directly to the fledgling Japanese Church. In 1876 the Methodist Classes in Shizuoka and Tokyo were organized into the Japan District of the Toronto Conference. The Mission in Japan was always regarded as an integral part of the Canadian Church. This is an extremely important difference between it and Missions from other denominations such as the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The Methodist organization of the Canadian Mission gave it a definite hierarchical order of command and decision-making. This was one of the reasons why the Canadian Mission did not suffer from the same difficulties between missionaries and Japanese members as occurred in the more loosely structured Presbyterian and Congregationalist Missions in the 1880's and 1890's. However, it has to be noted that the formation of the Mission Council in 1886, which gave financial control of Canadian money to the foreign missionaries alone, did at times create difficulties between the missionaries and their Japanese brethern. In 1889 the formation of the Japan Mission Annual Conference gave the Mission equal status, with certain reservations,

with other Canadian Conferences in the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada.

The Methodist organization of the Canadian Mission did not interfere with certain aspirations of the Japanese members. In 1875 the Methodist Class of the Koishikawa band adopted the practice of holding a collection at its meetings. This collection expressed the hope of the converts that they would soon be able to propagate Christianity without foreign aid. The idea of having a collection was something new to the Japanese for they had never supported either Shinto or Buddhism in the same way as Canadian Christians supported their churches with donations. The main wealth of Shintō and Buddhism came from landholdings, and it was unusual for a believer to give money to them except for a specific purpose. While the spirit of giving donations rapidly developed, the Japanese churches did not reach the goal of self-support as quickly as might have been expected of a Canadian church. Those churches, which became self-supporting in the 1880's, such a Tsukiji became so largely through the missionaries themselves giving liberally to them. Unfortunately, the fact was that many of the Japanese members were poor and could not afford to give much to their churches. Likewise the Japanese attempt to maintain a Home Missionary Society without Canadian funds faltered solely because of shortage of money. However, there was scope in the Canadian Mission for the implementation of the desires and initiative of Japanese members. Moreover, as there were so few Canadian missionaries in Japan until the mid-1880's, the Canadian Mission depended very heavily upon its Japanese pastors to continue on the work.

The Canadian missionaries who went to Japan were representative of the very best ministers in the Canadian Methodist Church. George Cochran undoubtedly had a great influence upon Nakamura Keiu during the period when Nakamura was most vigorously advocating the acceptance of Christian ideals in the Meirokusha. Cochran's influence was not restricted solely to the Canadian Mission for Kozaki Hiromichi, perhaps one of the greatest of all Japanese Christians, was also influenced by him. During the 1880's and early 1890's Cochran was Principal of the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō where he taught such people as Yamaji Aizan, who later became a well-known newspaper editor and also a Japanese Christian historian. Davidson McDonald was a medical missionary and it was due to him that Shizuoka became a stronghold of the Canadian Mission. McDonald's great contribution to the Canadian Mission in the 1880's and 1890's was as an administrator. He was long-time Chairman of the Japan District and later President of the Japan Mission Annual Conference. McDonald's presence in Japan until his death in 1905 gave the Canadian Mission work a great sense of continuity.

Charles Eby was the most passionate evangelist of all the Canadian missionaries. Eby founded the church in Kofu but his greatest work was in the 1880's. He was editor of the Chrysanthemum magazine, in which missionary and Japanese views toward Christianity were aired, for two years. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the Protestant missionary movement in Japan was the series of speeches which he gave in 1883 and 1884. These had an undoubted effect of

raising missionary hopes in regards to the quick evangelization of Japan. George Meacham was the least influential figure of the first four missionaries. His importance to the Canadian Mission was that he founded the Numazu church and baptized Ebara Soroku. In the late 1880's and 1890's he worked outside of the Canadian Mission as pastor of the Union Church in Yokohama and was a respected figure in the foreign community there.

Alexander Sutherland was Secretary of the Mission Board throughout this period and continued to be until his death in 1910. Even though at times Sutherland was disappointed with the Canadian Mission as is seen when Meacham decided to return to Canada in 1881, he remained a staunch supporter of it. His policy was a cautious and conservative one, he taught in terms of gradual growth like McDonald. In the 1880's Sutherland was opposed to any union with American Methodist Episcopalian Missions, he saw to it that the Canadian Mission remained solely an endeavour of the Canadian Methodist Church.

This thesis has covered the first sixteen years of the Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada. The first Canadians in Japan played a small but important role in the development of the Japanese Christian Movement as well as the intellectual movement of Western-learning through people like Nakamura Keiu. In the later part of the Meiji era, the Canadian Mission still continued to influence the intellectual, political and religious life of Japan through such individuals as Yamaji Aizan, Ebara Soroku

and Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu. The Canadian Mission in the late Meiji period has as yet not been fully explored by historians. In regards to the period this thesis covers, I feel that a worthwhile study could be written in English about Christian influence at the Kaisei Gakko in the early 1870's. This I leave to future Japanese Christian historians.

The work of this first Canadian Mission still goes on today under the auspices of the United Church of Canada.

Footnotes:

1. At times it was impossible to fill requests for Christian teachers. S. R. Brown of the Dutch Reformed Mission wrote to Ferris in 1877:

> Now there comes a letter from Honda the elder of the Hirosaki Church, urging us to send up a man of our mission, when Mr. Ing leaves Hirosaki to take charge of the school, and at the same time help this infant church. He says that about $1200 of the Daimo's appropriation for the support of the school will be available towards the support of the missionary. The remainder of the $3000 is spent for native teachers, and other expenses of the school. Honda says if we cannot give them this and the school will have to pass into the hands of the Methodist Mission, which would be glad to take up work there.

S. R. Brown to J. M. Ferris, Janaury 29th 1877 Box 747.4N (NBTS). Honday Yōichi was a close friend of Brown and one of the converts in the Yokohama band. John Ing was a Methodist Episcopal missionary in that Church's China Mission. In 1876 Ing had been passing through Japan on his way home to the United States when he had answered an urgent request to teach at the Hirosaki school. Honda shows a certain loyalty to the Dutch Reformed Mission and to his friend Brown in requesting that a Dutch Reformed missionary be sent to Hirosaki. Unfortunately Brown was unable to get a missionary for Hirosaki and the Christian work fell into the hands of the Methodist Episcopalian Mission. Honda later became an eminent Methodist Episcopalian.

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1. Primary Sources.

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i. In the possession of Miss Constance Chappell.

Journal of Benjamin Chappell 1898-1900. Benjamin Chappell (1852-1925) was a Canadian who was a Methodist Episcopal missionary in Japan. Chappell was the dean of the Anglo-Japanese College, Aoyama, 1898-1907. The Journal is extremely valuable because of Chappell's correspondence concerning the Educational Instruction of 1899. It also contains some missionary views on medical work in Japan. Chappell was on close personal terms with the Canadian Methodist Missionaries and went often to the Canadian Church at Azabu, Tokyo for the Sunday afternoon English service.

Letters in regards to the early days at Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko. Four letters to Miss Chappell from early Japanese graduates of the girls' school which give an excellent picture of the Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko in the 1910's and Japanese students' impressions of the missionary teachers particularly Miss I. Blackmore.

Off For Japan by Dr. R. McKenzie (1861-1935). Typescript. 1934. 8 pages. In this typescript McKenzie gave his reasons for going out to Japan as a member of the Self-Support Band. It reveals impression of Japan in Canada in the late 1880's and also the effect of Charles Eby's proposals for the Self-Support Band on Victoria College.

ii. In the possession of Dr. W. H. H. Norman.

Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada. Typescript. 103 pages. Dr. and Mrs. Norman are engaged in researching and writing a history of the Canadian Mission in Japan (1873-1972) for the United Church of Canada. When Mrs. Norman kindly lent me their typescript, it went as far as 1900.

B. ARCHIVES

i. William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.A.

This magnificent Collection contains not only the vast majority of William Elliot Griffis' correspondence and manuscripts for his books but also his library which has in it many valuable books on Japan. Edward Warren Clark's correspondence with Griffis is also located here.

Primary Sources continued.

a. Correspondence and Manuscripts.

Box V111-1: Information concerning early foreign employees of the Japanese Government.
The Rutgers Graduates in Japan by W. E. Griffis.

Box 1X-5: Some letters from E. W. Clark to W. E. Griffis from Shizuoka in 1873. Article on Charles Eby and the Central Tabernacle from The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Time, January 28th, 1891.

Box X-2: Pictures of Shizuoka in 1873. Most of E. W. Clark's letters to Margaret Clark Griffis 1871-1873. Some correspondence between Clark and Griffis.

Box X-3: Article, Japanese Translation of the Bible, reprinted from the "Japan Mail", 1888, which mentions George Cochran.

Box X111-1: essays of students at the Kaisei Gakko in 1874 on their impression of foreigners, on their views of the opinions of old people in Japan. A number of the essays show a strong Christian influence.

Box XV111-1: Komura Jutarō, My Autobiography, handwritten, 10 pages, dated 1874, Kaisei Gakkō. Komura gave his family background and the reasons why he chose to study Western-learning. His interpretation of the Meiji Restoration and Japan's position in the world is quite remarkable considering he was only seventeen when he wrote this article.

Box XV111-3: The New Premier of Japan: Count Shigenobu Okuma. Griffis gives some details of Verbeck's influence on Okuma.

AC.2064: Family Correspondence: Most of Clark's letters to Griffis 1871-1873 from Shizuoka are in this box.

AC.2064: Journal of W. E. Griffis 1871-1877. It covers his days in Fukui and at the Kaisei Gakkō in Tokyo.

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