THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN

G.H. MOULE

S.P.G.

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A SAMURAI IN OFFICIAL DRESS, WEARING HIS TWO SWORDS

THE SPIRIT OF
JAPAN

BY THE REV.

G. H. MOULE, B.A.

SOMETIME MISSIONARY IN KYŪSHŪ, JAPAN

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TO

E. M. M.

WITHOUT WHOSE CONSTANT HELP

AND EXPERIENCED CRITICISM

THIS BOOK COULD NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The aim of the Author in writing the present volume stands self-confessed in the title. Only those who have had some share in the preparation of the book can know the care and labour that he has bestowed upon it, though all who read it will appreciate his anxiety that they should see Japan as far as possible through Japanese eyes. It will be obvious that the compass of a study text-book affords space for only a few of the many problems presented by a country in which such amazing changes have taken place in little more than half a century. It is also inevitable that where such great issues are at stake authorities will differ in matters of opinion as distinct from simple fact. It may, therefore, be more than usually necessary that reference should be made to other books in the study of the subject. This, however, is admittedly the reverse of a defect in a study text-book. At the same time the proofs have passed through the hands of a number of repre-

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sentative people to whom the book owes much. For criticisms and suggestions the Editor and his committee are grateful to Z. Goshi, Esq., and Y. Izumi, Esq., Miss Mayers, the Rev. Canon C. H. Robinson, D.D., and the Revs. F. Kettlewell and Herbert Moore, of the S.P.G., Sir Claude Macdonald, G.C.M.G., P.C., and the Revs. R. Bulstrode, M.A., A. R. Fuller, S. Painter, and C. Warren, M.A., of the C.M.S. Pictures have been kindly lent by the Author, the C.M.S., the S P.G., and the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Revs. F. Lenwood, M.A., S. Painter, and J. H. Ritson, M.A., Mr Clive Holland, Messrs Russell & Son, and the London News Agency, while the portrait of Neesima is taken from the *Life and Letters*, written by A. S. Hardy and published by Messrs Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York. The Editor trusts that no copyright has been infringed.

The length of the book has necessitated the omission of several desirable appendices. The Editor would therefore draw the more attention to the value of *The Christian Movement in Japan*, tenth issue, 1912, and the *Findings* of the Tōkyō conferences, particulars of which will be found in the Bibliography.

The Topics for Discussion which the Editor has appended to each chapter are intended by

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way of suggestion only, and cannot replace the assignments to be made by leaders of circles. They are designed to aid leaders in selecting salient points upon which to frame assignments, and to supply topics for discussion classes, young people's societies and meetings other than circles of the usual form.

The United Council for Missionary Education has not hitherto published a book on Japan. But though a number of Societies represented in the Council have no missionaries in Japan, none of them is without a vital interest in the progress of Christianity there. Even apart from the intrinsic importance of Japan as a nation, and of the place in the Catholic Church which only the Japanese Church can fill, her influence upon China, India, and the Pacific is a factor with which all Societies working in these fields have to reckon.

The ill-health of the Author has of necessity delayed the publication of the book a little, but the Editor cannot send the sheets to press without an expression of gratitude to the Author for his patience and ready cooperation in what must have proved, under the circumstances, an exceptionally tedious process of revision of the manuscript and proofs.

B. A. Y.

S.P.G. SUGGESTIONS TO LEADERS,
(15, TUFTON ST., WESTMINSTER.)

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

No Englishman or other foreigner, whatever the length of his residence in the Far East, can hope to do full justice to such a subject as "The Spirit of Japan." Nothing would have induced me to attempt the ambitious task of writing a book with this title but the express desire of Japanese friends that I should do something, on my enforced return to England, to give English Christians a better understanding of "the real Japanese." The unexpected invitation from the United Council for Missionary Education, that I should write their senior text-book for this year, has afforded me an opportunity of fulfilling the wish of my Japanese friends in a more far-reaching manner than they or I ever anticipated.

Any interpretation of the national genius, or spirit of Japan, will naturally be more trustworthy, if it is founded mainly on Japanese sources of information or on the authority of those foreigners who have, by long experience and careful research, been able to appreciate the Japanese point of

view. It will be noticed that in Chapters I., VI., and VII., the conclusions I draw are based almost entirely on the observations and opinions of Japanese writers. In Chapters II. and III., I am largely indebted to such standard works as Professor W. G. Aston's "Shintō," the late Rev. A. Lloyd's "The Creed of Half Japan," and in a less degree to Dr W. E. Griffis' "The Religions of Japan"; while most of the material in Chapters IV. and V. is derived from Dr Otis Cary's monumental work, "A History of Christianity in Japan"—written in 1909, in celebration of the Jubilee of Modern Christian Missions to the Japanese Empire.

Religion and history have played an all-important part in the formation of *Yamato-damashii*, or the Japan-spirit. Hence the prominence given in this book to the study of Shintō and Buddhism, and the constant reference to the historical background of the subject. I regret that no room could be found for a separate chapter on the history of Japan.

It is my earnest hope that God will so use what I have written that English sympathy with our Far Eastern Ally may be quickened and deepened, and that the cause of Christ's Kingdom in Japan may be correspondingly

advanced. A new era has opened in that land, and, with what we may call the prophetic instinct of a high-minded resolve, it has been styled "*Taishō*," or Great Righteousness. Shall we not pray for His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Yoshihito, that his ancient throne may be "established by righteousness," and that the righteousness which "exalteth a nation" may lead his people in the near future to nobler ideals and higher achievements than ever before?

G. H. M.

Cleobury North,
July 30*th*, 1913.

Note on the Pronunciation of Japanese Words.

"Japanese, when written phonetically with the Roman alphabet, requires the same letters as English with the exception of *l, q, v* and *x.* The letter *c* occurs only in the combination *ch,* which is sounded nearly like English *ch* in 'church,' but a little more softly.

"The vowels are sounded as in Spanish and Italian, but are always short unless marked with the sign of long quantity. It is impossible to express the values of the Japanase vowels correctly in English; but, speaking approximately, we may say that

a	resembles the	*a*	in "fatter," but is shorter.
e	,,	*e*	,, "men."
i	,,	*i*	,, "machine," but is shorter.
o	,,	*o*	,, "for" (not four.)
u	,,	*u*	,, "bush."
ō	,,	*o*	,, "bone" but is a purer *o.*
ū	,,	*oo*	,, "food."

"Very great care must be taken to distinguish the short from the long vowels. . . . When preceded by another vowel or by *n,* the vowel *e* is sounded as *ye, i* as *yi,* and *o* as *wo.* The dipthongs call for no remark, each vowel retaining its own proper sound. The consonants are pronounced approximately as in English, subject to the following remarks:

"*F* is a true labial; *G* never has the sound of *j*; *N* final is pronounced half-way between a true *n* and the French nasal *n*; *R* is the very softest of English *r's*; *Z,* when preceding the vowel *u,* has the sound of *dz.* Double consonants must, as in Italian, be sharply distinguished from simple ones.

"Generally speaking, the Japanese pronunciation both of vowels and of consonants is less broad and heavy than that current in most European languages, and especially in English.. Tones, such as those of the Chinese, are entirely absent. All the syllables of a word and all the words of a sentence are pronounced equally or nearly so."

(Condensed from Chapter II in Professor B. H. Chamberlain's *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese.*)

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MT. FUJI FROM LAKE HAKONE

The Spirit of Japan.

To face page 1 *of text.*

NOTE

This text-book is intended *primarily for use in Mission Study Circles,* and in connection with it Suggestions to Leaders concerning the making of assignments, etc., have been prepared. The Editorial Committee strongly recommend all Circles to make use of these "Suggestions." They may be obtained by writing to the Mission Study Secretary at any of the addresses given below.

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CHAPTER I

THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN JAPAN AND ENGLAND.
- Charm of Japanese Art, Scenery, and People.
- Russo-Japanese War a revelation of Japanese Characteristics.
- The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- Nobility of character shown by Japanese Soldiers.

BUSHIDŌ AND THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN.
- Bushidō defined.
- Its source in Yamato-damashii.
- Development under Feudalism.
- Samurai code of Honour and characteristic Virtues.
- Defects of Bushidō from both the Secular and the Religious points of view.
- The Problem of the place of Bushidō in modern Japan.

The "Great Britain of the East."

JAPAN has been aptly described as the "Great Britain of the East." It is not only her geographical position that makes her the counterpart of the British Isles; there is something also in her genius or spirit that appeals to the genius or spirit of the

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN JAPAN AND GREAT BRITAIN.

British nation. Her art and scenery, the manners and customs of her people, her ready assimilation of the ideas of Western civilisation, the splendid achievements of her army and navy, and the rapid expansion of her trade, are all subjects of real interest to the British public. Indeed, so frequently have these topics been dealt with in books and magazines and newspaper articles that another book on Japan seems almost superfluous. And further, the Siberian railway has brought Tōkyō within fourteen days' journey from London, so that it is comparatively easy nowadays to visit Japan and see with one's own eyes things one had previously only read in print.

Japanese Art.

The interest felt in England concerning "things Japanese" is very widespread.

Take for example the subject of Japanese art, remembering that "the art of a nation is the expression of its soul." What collector of articles of *vertu* does not know and appreciate the beauties of Kyōto or Tōkyō *cloisonné*, with its exquisitely coloured fragments of enamel overlaid on gold or silver or copper wire? What connoisseur in pottery would not give much to possess a specimen of the priceless old "Satsuma ware," with its "crackled" yellow surface and wonderful

dull gold ornamentation? Then think of the skill of the Japanese in damascene work, or ivory carving, or silk embroidery, or cut-velvet pictures, or various kinds of lacquer. Think again of the fascination of Japanese prints, of the slight but astonishingly clever productions of the Japanese artist's brush, or the quaint charm of the Japanese landscape-gardener's art.

Mt. Fuji.

Take, next, the scenery of Japan. One sometimes wonders whether the shape of any mountain in the world is quite as familiar as that of Mt. Fuji. This famous peak, more than 12,000 feet high, and snow capped for the greater part of the year, has impressed itself on the Far Eastern mind. Its fame was known of old to the Chinese. Japanese pilgrims have for generations past flocked from far and wide to climb its sacred slopes. The Buddhists call it "the Peak of the White Lotus," because it rises in white unsullied purity from the low level of the surrounding hills, like the lotus flower whose roots lie hid in the black mud of the stagnant pond. To the Japanese, Mt. Fuji is the symbol of perfection, the one spot on earth which is altogether and absolutely satisfying to eye and mind and soul. Thus it is that the shape of this mountain has been constantly repro-

duced in Japan on fans and trays, on cups and plates, on lacquer boxes and enamel vases, on the printed page and the painted scroll, on note-paper and envelopes, on cakes and sweetmeats, on almost every imaginable object, in fact, which could take the sacred form.

The Scenery of Japan.

Besides Mt. Fuji there are other impressive features in Japanese scenery, such as the blue Inland Sea with its numberless pine-clad islands, or Lake Biwa fringed with green, or the grandeur of active volcanoes like Mt. Asama or Mt. Aso. Then there are the old feudal castles, the picturesque temples and shrines, and all the glories of the plum and cherry blossoms, of wistaria and chrysanthemum, so loved by the flower-loving Japanese. Nor can anyone who has seen them fail to be charmed with the humbler sights—the little valleys standing so thick with corn or rice, the shallow rushing streams, the simple homesteads, the dark woods of cryptomeria, the winding roads leading onward and upward to the mountains. Even if we have not actually been in Japan, we feel we know what the scenery is like from the many books we have read and the pictures and photographs we have seen, and we appreciate its peculiar beauty and charm.

The People.

So it is with the people themselves. We feel we know something about them, even though we may never have met a Japanese.

The "simple life" which the Japanese practise, their neat and airy houses almost devoid of furniture, their versatility and ingenuity, their lively, cheerful nature and innate courtesy, the cleanliness of their persons, the tasteful and becoming dress and charming manners of the women, the loveableness of their good-tempered children have long been known and appreciated by an increasing number of English people.

The Chino-Japanese War.

It was not, however, till Japan had passed through the ordeals of her wars with China and Russia that England and the Western world generally began to pay serious attention to the characteristics of this remarkable nation. Hitherto it had been believed that, gifted though the Japanese were in many ways, they lacked those deeper and more lasting qualities which go to the making of a great nation. It was confidently predicted, at the commencement of the Chino-Japanese war in 1894, that China, with her gigantic strength and vast resources, would soon crush her puny adversary and humble Japanese pride in the dust. We know how these predictions were falsified. Chinese arms

and the undoubted valour of many Chinese officers and men were helpless before the superior strategy and the impetuous attacks of the once despised foe. The war was a revelation of the national strength of Japan and of the intensity of her national feelings; and later, the admirable conduct of the Japanese troops, engaged with the other allied forces in suppressing the Boxer rebellion in North China, confirmed the general opinion that Japan was fully qualified to be admitted into the fellowship of Western nations.

England was quick to recognise the worth of this new world-power, and the result was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was formed in 1902, renewed in 1909 and again in 1911, still remaining the dominating factor in Far Eastern politics.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 was of course regretted in England; but it was not considered that the Japanese were the aggressors, and their conduct of the war greatly intensified the existing feelings of respect and admiration for Japan. Indeed, British enthusiasm and sympathy were roused by the reports of Japanese heroism and devotion to such a pitch that for a time it almost seemed as if

nothing too good could be said or thought about our Far Eastern Ally.

Reaction of feeling after the Russo-Japanese War.

The close of the war naturally brought some reaction of feeling. The Japanese nation did not appear quite so admirable in peace as in war. The western States of North America became increasingly hostile to the Japanese; British merchants began to feel the effect of her keen commercial rivalry and complaint was made of her unscrupulous use of British trademarks; old stories of the dishonesty of Japanese merchants were revived; the formation of bogus companies was reported to be of common occurrence, and men of good standing were involved in the scandals that ensued; while the whole nation was said to be giving itself up entirely to gross materialism and the sordid quest of gold. Again, the Japanese Government's handling of affairs in Korea, and the events which led up to and followed the annexation of that unhappy country, were subjected to much severe criticism. Japanese policy in China also was regarded as open to suspicion, and wild rumours were afloat of her designs in the Pacific.

The Other Side.

On the other hand, we know something of our own national defects, and we recognise

with shame that the materialistic tendencies and ambitions of modern Japan are due largely to the fact that she has followed only too faithfully the example of our Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Making these allowances we cling to the belief that a nation which has acquitted itself so nobly in recent years will continue to be worthy of our affection and esteem.

The Japanese Soldier before the War.

Personal experience helps one to appreciate the real nobility of character evinced by the Japanese. I was stationed in a garrison town, the headquarters of the famous Sixth Division of the Japanese Army, during the greater part of the war with Russia. I saw the reservists coming in from the country and bidding a cheerful farewell to their relations and friends. I watched these men billeted in the town, helping in the house-work, nursing and amusing the children, or, like children themselves, strolling hand in hand along the crowded streets. As far as I remember, I never met a drunken or disorderly soldier throughout that period. Shortly after, the Sixth Division was ordered to the front. Day and night the troop-trains were being despatched, and for long hours at a stretch men, women and children waited to send the soldiers off with waving flags

CHERRY-BLOSSOM IN UENO PARK, TŌKYŌ

and loud shouts of *banzai!*[1] One wondered which to admire more, the cheerful, manly bearing of the soldiers, or the patient enthusiasm of the waiting crowds—an enthusiasm which hid many an aching heart and suppressed many a tear.

National Heroism.

Never before had a comparatively small Asiatic nation confronted, by itself, one of the greatest military powers in Europe. The stupendous nature of this conflict with the Colossus of the North and the tremendous importance of the issues at stake made the spectacle of national heroism more than usually impressive. The idea of defeat was of course never mentioned; but all knew, at the bottom of their hearts, that their country had begun a life-and-death struggle, the outcome of which it was impossible to foresee. And yet all smiled and cheered and kept up a brave front to the last.

The Spirit of the Sick and Wounded.

Many of these heroes I saw again, when they returned from the front. Some came as sick and wounded. I visited them in hospital, and found them, not brutalised by the terrible actualities of modern warfare, nor boastful, but full of their usual good-natured gaiety and childlike simplicity, and

[1] Literally "ten thousand years!" *i.e.*, "Long live Japan!" the Japanese equivalent for "Hurrah!"

modest withal as to their own achievements. Some among the number were sadly maimed and enfeebled; but even they were craving to take their place again in the fighting line, and, if needs be, lose not only health and limb but life itself for Emperor and native land.

Restraint in the Hour of Victory.

The victorious regiments returned with waving of flags and shouts of *banzai!* as they had started, and also with brave efforts to forget the tale of wounds and disease and death which the thinned ranks recorded. Throughout those days of rejoicing and excitement one heard no word of scorn or hatred of the enemy. There was no sudden loosening of the self-restraint that the nation had so long practised, no unseemly bragging to stain the hour of triumph.

One day my wife, travelling alone, found herself in a train full of returning soldiers. She described to me afterwards their courtesy and friendliness, though they were all in boisterous spirits at the prospect of reunion with their families. It was not a special train, and so civilians and soldiers were crowded together in the long Japanese railway carriages. "Give me your baby to hold a moment," said one soldier to a Japanese woman in the same compartment; "I have just such a one

waiting to welcome me home, and it is long since I had the joy of holding a baby in my arms." Then, Japanese-like, some of the fellow-passengers began to compose impromptu poems. Japanese poetry of this kind generally consists of brief odes, not more than seventeen syllables in length, and each enshrining some idea taken from nature. Accordingly one of the company, turning to my wife, asked her if she could supply him with a fresh poetical thought appropriate to the occasion. She pointed out of the carriage windows to the autumn tints in the woods and more particularly to the fast-reddening leaves of the wax-tree, saying, "Even the trees hang out flags of welcome in honour of your return." The man was delighted and at once worked the idea into a poem, which was read out to the company amid loud exclamations of approval both of the quality of the poem and of the English lady's readiness to enter into the spirit of their national joy.

National Disappointment and Signs of Demoralisation.

Such trifling incidents may at least serve to show that the Japanese soldier was not spoiled by success. Whether the nation as a whole suffered in morals from the effects of the war is another and more difficult question. The Japanese people are of a sanguine temperament, and the commercial

classes in particular expected great things from the successful issue of the struggle with Russia. They looked for a large indemnity to recoup the nation for the tremendous cost of the war, and also for territorial compensations and a phenomenal expansion of trade. The terms of the Portsmouth Treaty were a bitter disappointment to certain sections of the nation. The public began to realise that the legacy of the war would be a heavy and continued burden of taxation rather than immediate financial gain. It was not surprising that under these circumstances many were tempted to take short cuts to wealth, adopting various questionable methods of making money and still further lowering the standards of commercial honesty. All classes felt keenly the rise in the cost of living, and fretted at the bare idea that they, who had proved the victors in a war with a great European Power, were still so far behind Europe and America in the ordinary material comforts and amenities of everyday life.

Desire for Material Gain.

The Government itself took alarm at the growth of rank materialism. First there was the unusual publication of an Imperial Rescript warning the people against the love of luxury and ease, and exhorting all classes to practise severe economy, so as to give the nation

time to recover from the effects of the war and set the national finances on a sound basis. Then later the Education Department issued repeated instructions to the heads of schools and colleges, bidding them do all that was possible to check the evil tendencies of the day and to maintain the national spirit at its proper level. Not only was increased emphasis laid on the solemn reading of the original Imperial Rescript on Education and on the ceremony of unveiling the Emperor's picture before the assembled students and bowing towards it; but further, teachers were directed to take the students at stated intervals to local Shintō shrines and so to inculcate a spirit of high patriotism and reverence for the past. Still more recently, however, there were some signs of recognition of the existence of other religious forces besides Shintō, and the result was a semi-official attempt to bring together the leaders of Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity, with the express object of their working in harmony to supply the deficiencies of secular education, and so to preserve the old Japan-spirit and to build up the State.

Government Measures to Counteract Materialism.

More will be said about the policy of the Japanese Government in these matters in a

later chapter. The above facts are mentioned here simply to show that, if there has been any deterioration in the quality of the spirit of the Japanese nation since the close of the war with Russia, not only should full allowances be made for the temptations of the hour of victory and for the evil example of so-called Christian lands, but this fact also should be remembered—the Japanese Government, supported by the more sober-minded and far-seeing sections of public opinion, is fully alive to the dangers of the situation and is anxious to remedy the state of affairs.

Whatever may be the impression made upon us, however, by the bearing of the Japanese during and after this great crisis in their history, it is our present business to go a great deal deeper. It is easy to be misled by our own interpretation of facts. We must, if possible, enter into a sympathetic appreciation of Japanese ideals. What lies behind all that has been described? Our task is to gain a clearer understanding of what the Japanese themselves mean when they speak of the genius, or spirit of their nation—that genius or spirit to which they attribute their prowess in the arts of peace and war, and for the due maintenance of

which they are so manifestly anxious at the present time.

BUSHIDŌ AND THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN.

If questioned on the subject, we should probably reply that the Japanese sum up the characteristics of their national spirit in the term *Bushidō*. *Bushidō* is growing to be a familiar word in England. We have been told again and again that to it we must attribute most of the excellences of the Japanese race—in particular, their chivalry and heroism, their unswerving loyalty and burning patriotism. Many regard it as the systematised code of honour, the formulated scheme of ethics, the practical philosophy, and even the religion of the Japanese *samurai* or swordsman. As a matter of fact, the Japanese themselves would hesitate to read so much into the word. The Rev. J. Imai of Tōkyō, who has written an excellent little book on *Bushidō* from the Christian-Japanese point of view, and to whom the writer is indebted for much information on the subject, says that it has "no uniform creed," that it "has never dogmatised itself in a systematic form," that "it is not . . . a Philosophy" and has "made no profession to be a Religion, though in tracing it downwards we find it coloured in its course by Buddhist, Shintō, and Confucian doctrines."

What it is not.

And what it is.

So much for what *Bushidō* is not. As to what it is, Mr Imai declares himself to be "confronted with a most difficult question." He continues, "I am the son of a *samurai* family; I know what it means, I love what it is, but I cannot tell you in words that could express it adequately and fully. The English gentleman prides himself in all that being a gentleman means, but I imagine he would be equally at a loss to define in what being a gentleman consists."

We can infer from this statement by the son of a typical *samurai* family that *Bushidō* is an unwritten law, a traditional path of duty dating from feudal times, which the *samurai* obeys and follows by instinct. *Bushidō* literally means "The Way of the *bushi*"; and *bushi* is a knight or swordsman, being the scholarly Chinese equivalent for the native word *samurai*. This would seem to limit the operation of the genius or spirit of Japan to the traditional fighting class. Yet we know that in the wars with China and Russia labourers and artisans, tradesmen and office clerks were as good exponents of the heroism of *Bushidō* as the *samurai*, from which class alone in the feudal days the fighting men were drawn. We know, too, that the women of Japan have been not one whit

behind the men in the display of the same spirit. We must therefore look to ideals older and less exclusive than those of the feudal age, if we would understand what it is that has made Japan a great nation.

Yamato-damashii the Older Form of the Japan-spirit

Mr Imai, in the book to which I have already referred, points out that the more correct term to use in speaking of the genius or spirit of Japan would be *Yamato-damashii*—a purely Japanese word signifying "the Spirit, or Soul, of Yamato." Yamato was the name of the region in the central part of the main island of Japan (Hondo), occupied at the dawn of history by a powerful Japanese clan. This tribe by its indomitable spirit drove the aboriginal Ainu further north and obtained the supremacy over all the other Japanese tribes in the west and the south, finally welding them into one nation about the seventh century A.D., and inducing them to submit to the suzerainty of their own chieftain, or Mikado, as he came to be called. The origin of the Japanese race is a subject of much uncertainty and speculation, but it is universally acknowledged that it is a mixed race and it is also generally supposed that in the south-western districts of Japan a Malay element predominated, while in the Yamato region the population was mostly

of Korean or Tartar descent. This would explain the superior civilisation and military organisation of the Yamato men. It would explain also their nobler creed.

Spirit and Prowess of the ancient Yamato Men.

Dr Griffis,[1] writing on this subject, says: "The spirit and prowess of these early conquerors have left an indelible impress upon the language and the mind of the nation in the phrase *Yamato-damashii*—the spirit of (Divine and Unconquerable) Japan. . . . The Yamato men gradually advanced to conquest under the impulse, as they believed, of a divine command. . . . They claimed that their ancestors were from Heaven, that the Sun was their kinswoman and that their chief, or Mikado, was vice-regent of the heavenly gods, but that those whom they conquered were earth-born or sprung from the terrestrial divinities."

Characteristics reproduced in Modern Japan.

The main characteristics of the Yamato people were thus, first, a feeling of race superiority (heavenly descent and a divine commission, as they would express it); secondly, prowess in arms; and thirdly, intense loyalty to Imperial rule. The feudal system had not yet come into being. There was no separate fighting-class. There were no feudal lords to interpose their authority between the

[1] *Religions of Japan*, p. 44.

Mikado and his subjects. The Yamato tribe moved and fought as one man; however, they succeeded in inducing other Japanese tribes to follow their lead and become merged in their national and religious organisation.

To all this the spirit of modern Japan is closely akin. The Japanese of this twentieth century have a strong conviction of their superiority of race. They have given fresh proof of their traditional skill and bravery in warfare. They have once more shown that every section of their people can be united in the consolidating bond of fervent patriotism and unswerving devotion to the Emperor's sacred person. They believe they have a mission to perform in the world, partly ethical and partly political. The ethical part of their mission is to combine all that is best in Eastern and Western civilisation, while in politics they expect their nation to be at least the leader of the Orient if not the arbiter of peace and war in all regions bordering on the Pacific Ocean. In particular they look to their geographical propinquity and their racial affinities, their common knowledge and use of the Chinese written character, and their common inheritance of Buddhistic and Confucian teaching, to enable them to secure an overwhelming preponderance of

influence in developing the resources and shaping the future destiny of China. By their annexation first of Formosa (Japanese, *Taiwan*), then of Port Arthur and Dalny (Japanese, *Dairen*), and finally of Korea (Japanese, *Chōsen*), they have planted themselves still nearer the borders of China. These important territories, once part of, or tributary to, the Chinese Empire, are now in the undisputed possession of Japan; and the Japanese look to them not only as an outlet for their own surplus population, but also as strategic centres, whence their political, commercial, and civilising influence may make itself felt on the mainland of Asia.

Bushidō a concentrated form of Yamato-damashii.

We see, then, that we must look to the original *Yamato-damashii*, rather than to the mediæval *Bushidō*, for a proper understanding of the broader features of the genius or spirit of Japan. For details, however, a study of *Bushidō* is essential.

Bushidō was, in fact, a concentrated form of the old Japan-spirit. Its development may be traced to the organisation of the feudal system towards the end of the twelfth century A.D., and it reached its zenith in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was "not mere soldier courage disciplined

INTERIOR OF AN INN AT LAKE HAKONE

in the arts of war or trained in knightly accomplishments"; it was also "moral in its essence and conspicuous features." It cared little for the abstract speculations of philosophers, being concerned almost entirely with practical affairs. "It had no special doctrine of its own, but appropriated from the prevailing forms of religion or philosophy whatever was fit to harmonise with itself or to help in elevating its practical ethics." As we have already seen, it was an unwritten law, a traditional code of honour, which was gradually developed by men of the *samurai* class during a period of six or seven hundred years, from about the commencement of the feudal system to its abolition in 1868. We cannot point to any single man as its founder; but the Japanese cite one Yamaga Sōkō, who was born in 1622, as its most famous exponent. Sōkō became the founder of a well-known school of strategy and literature at Yedo and left behind him many volumes of literary and historic interest. One of these is styled "*Shidō*"—an abbreviated form of the word *Bushidō*. In this he records, with great minuteness of description, his idea of the whole duty of a *samurai*. The following very condensed account of this work, compiled from Mr Imai's translation, may serve to

enlighten English minds as to the details of the principles of *Bushidō*.

Yamaga Sōkō's exposition of the "Way of the Knight."

Sōkō dwells first on the need of a *samurai* to cultivate a sense of responsibility. He must hold allegiance to a lord and serve him faithfully. In the performance of this all-important duty, he must be loyal to other members of the clan. He must set a high example also in his family life, and to farmers, artisans and merchants, who by reason of their calling in life cannot attain to true nobility of character of their own accord. In order to fulfil this high function of being a guide and example to the lower classes, the *samurai* must take heed to himself, and study to know "the Way," either by following the precepts of approved exponents, or by inward reflection and his own natural instincts. Further, he must exercise the utmost diligence in carrying out his good intentions. The conquest of self-interest, sensual appetites and vain ambition depends on the depth of determination. Reform can come only by recognition of past shortcomings and can be maintained only by manly perseverance.

Mental Characteristics of Samurai.

Sōkō then described some of the mental characteristics of the true *samurai*. He tends and cultivates his mind, to prevent any weak and disorderly growth. He adopts

an attitude of "expansiveness" and a broad-minded view of things. He sets before him the highest possible ideals. He practises true gentleness in his demeanour; for there is a proverb which speaks of *Bushi no nasake*—the humane feelings of a knight. At the same time, while avoiding outward roughness of manners and tastes, he is manly through and through. Meanness and effeminacy, flattery and cringing, can have no part in the genuine manliness of such a man. Then, too, he can clearly discern between right and gain. He is contented with his lot, obedient to law and order, and preserves his equanimity under all circumstances. Uprightness is the guardian of his mind, honesty the ground on which he stands, constancy the root of all his virtues, making the ills of life supportable and even death welcome.

Samurai Ideals.

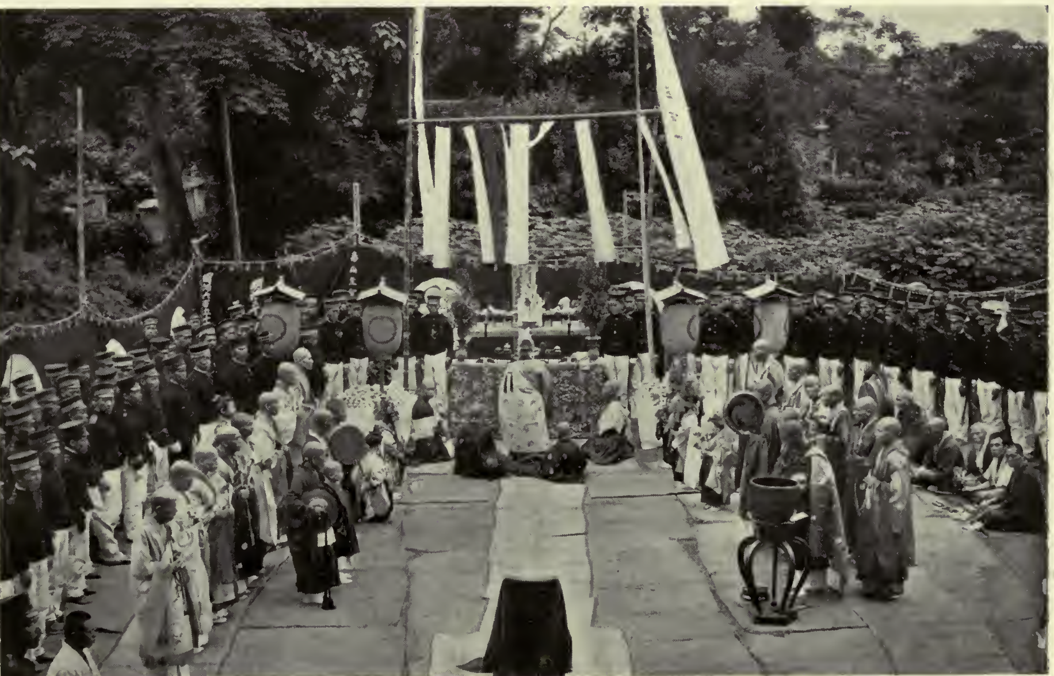
Sōkō next proceeds to lay stress on the culture of virtue and the acquirement of learning, after which he gives the following instruction in deportment and surroundings. "Be reverent in spirit and grave in your countenance and words. As Confucius says, 'See nothing and listen to nothing that is disreputable.' Weigh your words; be slow and deliberate in giving an opinion; suit your language to your subject and your

hearers; beware of egotistical talk. Let your face and bearing mirror the true dignity of your soul. Be strictly temperate in diet; observe propriety in dress and household arrangements; and have no treasures but your arms. Make a right use of each moment of every day. If you have wealth, employ it for useful purposes. Be moderate even in the pursuit of innocent pleasure and recreation."

There are further discourses at the end of Sōkō's book, dealing with what he considered the most important subject of self-examination. But enough has been said to show that the *samurai* of the seventeenth century was expected, even in what seem the trivial matters of life and conduct, to maintain a very high level of moral excellence. There is abundant evidence in Sōkō's writings and in the records of contemporaneous history to prove that few of the *samurai* lived up to their ideal; but the ideal was there and served at least as a guide and inspiration to all. It remains to this day as the prized inheritance of many families of *samurai* descent, and has also done much to mould the opinions and colour the imagination of the rest of the nation.

Has Bushidō Failed?

The problems we have to consider in connection with this subject are these.



BUDDHIST SERVICE OVER THE ASHES OF SOLDIERS KILLED IN BATTLE

First, can *Bushidō* be said to have failed, from a purely secular point of view? Secondly, what, if any, are its defects judged by the standards of Christianity?

With regard to the first question, it must be remembered that *Bushidō* was, as explained above, a concentrated form of the older and less exclusive *Yamato-damashii*. The tendency of this specialisation and limitation to the fighting-class was to place the rest of the nation more or less outside the operation of the Japan-spirit. True, the lower classes were supposed to be influenced and guided in all things by the *samurai*, and some of the higher craftsmen carried the spirit of *Bushidō* into the details of their work; but practically speaking, large sections of the nation were discouraged from the attainment of true nobility of character by the low estimation in which their various callings were held. Merchants, in particular, were so despised that, like the "publican" in New Testament times, they lived down to their reputation and became a despicable as well as a despised class. To this may be attributed the prevalence of commercial dishonesty in Japan, and the extreme difficulty that modern Japanese merchants of standing have experienced in securing the confidence of the business

Depreciation of Merchants.

world. That they are beginning to do so is evidenced by the world-wide reputation of certain Japanese firms, and the deservedly high credit attached to the financial guarantees on which the Japanese Government has raised its various loans in Europe.

Bushidō put a Premium on War.

Another evil result of this limitation of the Japan-spirit to the *samurai* was that it put a premium on war. If there was no fighting to be done, the *samurai* was without his chief occupation; and with his chief occupation gone, his character was bound to degenerate. War, therefore, was almost a necessity to keep *Bushidō* alive and healthy. "The spirit of the *samurai* was his sword," as the Japanese say. There was the long sword to be wielded against the enemy, and the short sword, which was also used on himself when honour demanded suicide. These two swords were constantly worn by the *samurai*, and ever reminded him of his calling. The brighter they were kept by service, the better for their master's character. Peace and safety inevitably led to a decline in the morals of the whole nation, the *samurai* giving way either to self-indulgence and luxury or to pride and truculence, and the rest of the people following his example.

Further defects in *Bushidō* under the feudal

Set the Clan before the Nation.

régime were these. Individual rights, family claims, even national interests and the Emperor's authority (pre-eminent though the latter was in theory) were all subordinated to loyalty to the clan and to the feudal lord. In times of war the individual's life was of no importance, and a war horse was more to a *samurai* than wife and child; the feudal lord could call out his men to march against the Emperor, and the ties which held the nation together were insecure in the extreme.

The Revolution of 1868, which was the climax of a long period of reaction against the abuses of the feudal system, restored the Emperor to his traditional position; it swept away the cramping effects of clan-loyalty; it unified the nation and inspired it with much stronger national sentiments than before. The modernised code of laws which followed recognised individual rights and introduced new ideas of property and family and public duty. When the feudal lords surrendered their fiefs to the Imperial Throne in return for grants of land and money, their clansmen also were pensioned off. But many *samurai* were compelled to eke out their pensions by earning their living in civilian employments or by trade. Through inexperience and loss of self-respect not a few

made shipwreck of their lives. Above all, the abandonment of the distinctive custom of wearing their two swords in public made many of the *samurai* feel that the day of *Bushidō* was over and that it could no longer be a force in their land.

"The Spirit is gone with the Sword."

And what shall we say of its position to-day, forty-five years after the Revolution? The Rev. J. Imai, in the book from which I have already quoted, writes as follows: "The spirit is gone with the sword. *Bushidō* becomes an archaism when its sword becomes a curio. Soldiers enrolled from every class become inspired with *Bushidō* with their rifles and bayonets. When these are put aside and they return to their homes, they are farmers again, traders or students, but not *samurai*. So *Bushidō* in khaki is alive, but it sleeps away in other dresses."

Can Bushidō be preserved?

Professor T. Inoue, another well-known Japanese (though not a Christian like Mr Imai), a conservative by repute and nationalistic in his views, gives the following opinion: "It is often said that *Bushidō* ought to be preserved as it had many good virtues; but its preservation will not do. It is against the natural course of things to try to preserve it in its old form. But we must develope the spirit of *Bushidō* to the

THE REV. J. IMAI

utmost, and to effect this we must throw away the form while retaining the spirit and adapting it to the more enlightened moral principles of modern times."

A type of the old-fashioned Knighthood.

Here and there in Japan, and for the most part hidden away in remote country districts, are men who hold opinions contrary to those given above. They cling to the belief that it is still possible, even under the new conditions of government and daily life and in spite of the materialistic tendencies of the age, to remain faithful to the principles and even to many of the formalities of *Bushidō*, as expounded, for instance, by Yamaga Sōkō.

I call to mind a man of this ultra-conservative type whose ancestors held a small fief in the heart of the Kyūshū mountains. The lands he now holds can bring him in but little revenue, being for the most part covered with forest and tall mountain grass. The few fields on the high table-land near his house he cultivates himself, with the help of one or two labourers. I have seen him working in the mud of the flooded rice-fields like a common coolie, when labour is scarce. He has also experimented in planting apple-orchards and other foreign fruit trees. He is bound to do something, and for him farmer's work is preferable to trade. But in spite of

this concession to the needs of the times, he is still every inch a *samurai* chieftain. His tall sinewy figure and fine full beard, unusual in a Japanese; his skill in hunting and shooting, and devotion to outdoor recreation; his appreciation of the beauties of nature and his keen literary instincts; his perfect manners and strict conformity to the traditional deportment of the true knight; the poverty-stricken appearance of his house, contrasting with the almost priceless value of his few treasures, chief of which is his ancestral sword, said to be eight hundred years old—these things afford a picture, drawn from life, of a modern Japanese who is proof against "modernism" in its many forms and preserves the outward form of *Bushidō* in nearly all its essential points. Is he right, and are Professor Inoue and Mr Imai wrong? Is it possible to keep up the old traditions and the old forms of *Bushidō*, making only such concessions to new conditions as are absolutely necessary, and of course conforming to new laws, the institution of democratic principles and the Emperor's restored authority? Or, on the other hand, must the last vestiges of feudalism be obliterated, and the Japanese nation seek for its inspiration in the older *Yamato-damashii*, which existed

long before *Bushidō* took shape, and seems in many respects more adaptable to modern circumstances?

Religious Defects of Bushidō.

And now, having considered the partial failure of *Bushidō* from a secular standpoint, we conclude this chapter with a few suggestions as to its defects when judged by the standard of the Christian religion. From the standpoint of any religion worthy of the name, *Bushidō* must surely be regarded as defective. Though influenced by the ethical teaching of various religions, it acknowledges no religious obligations. God is not included in its system. Its doctrine is that of self-help, self-culture, self-reliance. Its standards of right and wrong, its ideas of honour and duty, though indirectly influenced by Shintō and Buddhist and Confucian thought, are not directly based on any Divine sanction, but rest entirely on tradition or on the individual's own natural instincts. To any deeply religious mind such a system must appear doomed at least to partial failure; to an earnest Christian it seems more than impracticable. Believing as we do in God's revelation of man's fallen nature, the existence of sin, and the need of salvation from sin's guilt and power; resting our hopes, as we do, on Divine enlightenment and Divine

grace—what can we do but say that *Bushidō* without God was bound to fail in the past and that without Divine help there can be no revival of its nobler principles in the future? The life-giving energy of the Christian religion is needed to bring movement and vitality into its dry bones and empty forms.

Some Topics for Discussion.

The adequacy or otherwise of war as a test of national character.

The light thrown upon Kipling's dictum

> "East is East and West is West
> And never the twain shall meet"

by the place of Japan between East and West.

The power of *Bushidō* to supply a worthy personal ideal

The ideal *samurai* as compared with such a character as Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior."

The real elements of strength in *Bushidō* and the possibilities of permanence revealed in them.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR—SHINTŌ

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR IN THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN.

Religion of a Samurai.
Popular religious Observances.

SHINTŌ AS A NATIONAL CULT.

Early tenets.
Worship of the Wonderful and the Creative in Nature.
Mikado worship and its Political Effect.
Shintō liturgies and their lack of Moral Teaching.
Shintō Worship, Pilgrimages, and Priesthood.
Buddhist influence on Shintō.

REVIVAL OF PURE SHINTŌ AND ITS PRESENT POSITION.

Literary Revival.
The Great Revolution.
Reaction—tendency to deny that Shintō is a Religion.
Modern interpretation of Ancestor-worship.
Popularity of Nature-deities among Country People.

RELATION BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND SHINTŌ.

Parallel between Cæsar-worship and Shintō.

Points of Contact between Christianity and Shintō.
The Finer Elements and the Defects of Shintō in the light of Christianity.

Religious Element in the Spirit of Japan.

WHAT has been the religious factor in the formation and development of the spirit of Japan? The original Japan-spirit, known as *Yamato-damashii*, had a distinctly religious element; but because the feudal form of that spirit, *Bushidō*, seems to have left God out of its system, and because many people imagine that *Bushidō* now takes the place of religion in the average Japanese mind, it has been freely asserted that the Japanese are an irreligious people.

Relation of Bushidō to Religion.

As a matter of fact, even in feudal days the follower of *Bushidō* did not necessarily abjure all religious belief. In most cases, like many an English gentleman, he kept his religion in a separate compartment of his mind, unwilling to acknowledge its sanction or seek its aid in practical affairs, yet often retaining some reverence for Shintō, the traditional faith of his ancestors, and occasionally attracted also by the higher learning and literary superiority of Buddhism. So it is with the majority of men in the upper classes of Japan at the present day. If ques-

tioned on the subject, they would probably refuse to identify themselves with any form of religion. Birth and education, natural instincts, self-culture and self-reliance, they affirm, should be sufficient to carry a man through life. Yet while saying this, they will not deny that on certain occasions they take part in Shintō rites or pay some attention to Buddhist and even to Christian teaching.

Religious Observances of the Upper Classes.

Generally, amongst the upper classes, it is the woman only who tends the household shrines and performs the customary worship before them; but what she does is tolerated, if not encouraged, by the man, on the principle that "religion is necessary for women and children." The same idea will prompt a man to send his children to a Christian Sunday School, and permit his wife to visit lady missionaries' houses, while the most he will do himself is to purchase and read the Christian Bible. If he speaks at all about God, in his family circle or to his friends, he will nearly always use the impersonal term "Heaven," in accordance with Confucian teaching and practice. Confucianism indeed, with its emphasis on practical morality and its relegation of religion to the background of thought, has done much to prevent the average Japanese

gentleman from making any outward profession of religious beliefs. The clear-cut doctrines of Christianity and its definitely personal element render confession of that faith doubly difficult to one whose religious ideas have previously always been impersonal and indefinite.

Professor W. G. Aston may be quoted in this connection. "This impersonal habit of the Japanese mind," he says, "is shared by them with other races in the Far East, notably China. It is not confined to poetry, or even to literature, but is profoundly characteristic of their whole mental attitude, showing itself in their grammar, which is most sparing of personal pronouns; in their art, which has no school of portrait painting or monumental sculpture worth mentioning; in the late and imperfect development of the drama; and in their religious temper, with its strong bent towards rationalism, and its hazy recognition of a ruling personal power in the universe. To their minds things happen, rather than are done; the tides of fate are far more real to them than the strong will and endeavour which wrestles with them."

The Japanese not irreligious.

It is this impersonal and indefinite attitude of mind towards religion, emphasised in the upper and professional classes by strong

Confucian influences and the prominence of *Bushidō*, that has no doubt gained for the Japanese, in certain quarters, the unenviable reputation of being irreligious. A closer acquaintance with the masses of the people and a more careful inquiry into the real position of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan would do much to remove such an impression. We have already glanced at the religious observances of the upper classes. When we come to know something of the big merchants, or the thousands of petty tradesmen, or the multitudes of small farmers who form the bulk of the nation, it is surprising to find how large a part religion plays in their lives. Wayside images, mostly of Buddhist origin, though not now attached to any particular religious system, are common objects. Chief among these is *Jizō*, the traveller's god, beloved of children because of his protection of their spirits when they are taken to the unseen world. Two or more of the seven gods of fortune are found in nearly every house. Again, one has passed through the business quarters of Japanese towns at night, and, looking in through the open and lighted shop fronts, has seen in practically every house a costly Buddhist shrine with small lamps burning before it,

Religion of the Common People.

and often devotions being performed by both men and women. In many cases there would be a Shintō shrine as well somewhere on the premises, and also the usual shelf with ancestral tablets. It is much the same in the country districts. A traveller staying the night in a village inn, or lodging in a farmer's house, is almost certain to be awakened by the sound of clapping of hands which accompanies the daily morning recital of Shintō prayers. If there is a Shintō or Buddhist festival being held in the neighbourhood, he will find that it draws practically the whole population.

Shintō and Buddhism side by side.

The land is full of Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, and though many are old and dilapidated, and their courts the haunts of beggars and the play-ground of children, others are kept in good repair or have been re-built, sometimes at great cost, so that the people as a whole seem willing to pay for the maintenance of their old religions.

This devotion cannot be put down entirely to the superstition of ignorance. The present generation in Japan is not illiterate. About seventy per cent. of both boys and girls of school-going age receive the rudiments of a good modern education in the elementary schools. Those who proceed further with

their education and attend the country middle schools sometimes affect the irreligious exterior of the upper classes. But as a general rule, both in the country and in the commercial and industrial quarters of the towns, modern education has done but little to loosen the manifest hold of Shintō and Buddhism on the Japanese mind. In fact there is much reason for thinking that in certain respects both religions have recently taken a fresh lease of life. Hence the importance of something more than a superficial review of those two systems, so different in their origin, so closely connected in their after history, and at present sharing so equally the allegiance of the people of Japan.

Danger of underestimating the present influence of Shintō and Buddhism.

The writer's experience has been that the Christian public in England underestimates the present influence of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan, assuming that Western civilization and universal education have rendered their final decay and death only a matter of time. The real truth is that Christianity in that country is face to face not only with rank materialism and twentieth century rationalism or agnosticism, but also with two strongly entrenched systems of religion, both of which are ready to dispute with her for the possession of the land. The Christian forces can-

not afford to ignore two such formidable opponents. The wisdom of the Christian army that now attempts to occupy Japan will be shown first in full recognition of the strength of every foe—and in particular every religious foe—that opposes her occupation; secondly, in a clear understanding of the enemy's positions; and thirdly, in taking possession of those same positions and, wherever possible, not destroying them, but converting them to her own use and to the advancement of the final triumph of truth and righteousness.

The Christian Attitude.

With this object in view let us now consider Shintō—its original simplicity, its later developments, its return to the primitive order and its present strength.

SHINTŌ AS A NATIONAL CULT.

Shintō may be called the national cult of the Japanese. It is their oldest religion, and had its roots planted deeply in the primitive nature-worship of the prehistoric tribes, out of which the Japanese nation was evolved.

Animism in early Shintō.

Its original tenets would seem to have been as follows:—The early inhabitants of Japan believed that earth and sky, mountains and valleys, rivers and seas, were peopled with innumerable spirits and mythical monsters, many of which must be pacified or warded off by charms and incantations.

Such Animism is still found in its crudest form amongst the Ainu in the north, and it has by no means died out amongst the Japanese themselves. Indeed, Animism has always been an integral part of Shintō, and Animistic beliefs continue to this day among the lower classes.

Everywhere may be seen signs of a persistent belief in spirits and a desire to check any evil influences in the spirit-world. Such, for instance, are the amulets worn round the neck or carried in pouch or purse, the wooden or paper charms over the doors of dwelling houses, the flag-poles, banners and streamers at festivals, the bits of cloth that flutter over wells or on sacred trees, the tinkling bunches of glass hanging from the tea-house eaves, and the straw ropes stretched across the temple gateways.

The word Shintō is the Chinese form, adopted by later Japanese scholars, of what was originally known as *Kami-no-michi*—"the way of the gods." The word *kami* means anything superior, awe-inspiring, above the common or wonderful; it is even used of the authority of government. The idea of personality in the objects of Shintō worship, however, was not strongly developed. This was in accordance, no doubt, with the im-

Without a Personal God.

personal habit of the Japanese mind, to which allusion has already been made. Shintō, as we first know it, had probably little, if any, trace of a belief in an all-powerful Supreme Being. The Korean or Tartar element in the Japanese tribes may have brought with them from the Asiatic mainland some tradition of the Chinese *Shangti*, the Supreme Ruler of Heaven and Earth; but this must have been lost, at a very early date, in the maze of polytheistic ideas which is the main characteristic of Shintō when it first appears in history.

Worship of the Wonderful in Nature.

It was the wonderful in Nature that most attracted the worship of the Japanese race in early times. On every high hill and under every green tree, in every thick grove and round about every natural object of unusual and awe-inspiring appearance, and also in animals that suggested supernatural cunning, such as serpents, or the fox and the badger, they believed there dwelt a spirit, to which worship must be paid. The same primitive belief survives throughout the country districts of twentieth century Japan. Again and again has one seen a hollow tree, one struck by lightning, or another with strangely formed roots, a queer shaped rock in a prominent position, or a crag on

the summit of a hill, the approach to a beautiful waterfall, or a hole in the ground supposed to be inhabited by a snake or a fox, hung about with the straw ropes mentioned above: these, according to Shintō custom and belief, partly serve to mark the approach to a sacred spot and partly ward off from it the attacks of evil spirits.

Worship of Creative forces in Nature.

Besides the worship of the wonderful, there was also, from the first, a deep reverence for what was creative and beneficent in Nature—for the forces that reproduce life and provide warmth and food. Hence the prevalence of phallicism, which in primitive times and even in more recent days in Japan was not necessarily accompanied by degrading rites. There were, it is true, licentious orgies in connection with the festivals at certain shrines, some of which even now have a bad reputation for immoral practices; but speaking generally, phallicism was connected largely with prayers for health and prosperity, safety in travel and the like. The public exhibition of phallic symbols was forbidden by law early in the reign of the late Emperor, though they may still occasionally be found in private houses.

Hence also the prominence of *Amaterasu* the sun-goddess (who is not only ruler of

Heaven and divine ancestress of the Imperial house, but also the chief deity of food in the original pantheon of Shintō), and of *Inari* the rice-god, whose shrines are to-day most popular of all in the great rice-growing districts of Japan. From this, too, we may conclude that gratitude for benefits received and hopes of favours to come played quite as important a part as wonder and fear in forming the religious beliefs of the prehistoric Japanese tribe.

Development of Mikado Worship.

The next development of Shintō seems to have been due mainly to the influence of the Yamato tribe. It was not a difficult step to expand the original Shintō reverence for *kami* into worship of a great chieftain who, by the prowess of his followers and the awe-inspiring splendour of his reputed descent, was so manifestly superior to all else in this world. The Yamato men made this worship of their chieftain, or Mikado, the centre of their religion and also the centre of their policy. And further, the chieftains of lesser tribes, who submitted to the Mikado's rule, were given lower places in the Shintō pantheon.

Political Importance of this Development.

It would seem that original Shintō had a great reverence for the spirits of tribal ancestors (*i.e.* the chieftains of the tribes) and that this reverence paved the way for

WORSHIP OF THE SUN-GODDESS AT SUNRISE ON THE COAST OF JAPAN

actual worship of the Mikado and his satellites. The more general deification of heroes, sages and benefactors, and the almost universal worship of family ancestors, which was later so marked a feature of Japanese life, was more directly due to Buddhist and Confucian teaching imported from China. This expansion of the original Nature-worship of Shintō into worship of the Mikado's person, of the ancestors of the Imperial house, and of the spirits of those who, by their submission and subsequent devotion, had strengthened the Imperial Throne, was a development of the highest importance from a religious and still more from a political standpoint. It was a source of inspiration and strength to the Yamato men in their campaigns; it was the bond which helped to bind the tribes together; and later, as time went on, it emphasised that deep reverence for the past which gives a growing nation a sense of continuity and permanent cohesion. Wherever the Yamato men extended their authority they spread the network of Shintō influence, building shrines and organising the priesthood and developing an elaborate ritual.[1]

[1] The rules for the due performance of this ritual, as well as the accompanying liturgies (*norito*) and the mythology,

Shintō Liturgies and their lack of Ethical Teaching.

The ancient liturgies consisted for the most part of formulæ of address to "gods many and lords many," and of prayers for material blessings or for preservation from natural calamities. We find a few allusions to ceremonies of purification from wrong-doing, and more particularly from such ceremonial defilement as that incurred by leprosy, child-birth, or touching a corpse. Among the forms of wrong-doing mentioned in one of the oldest and best-known liturgies we find "breaking down divisions between rice-fields, filling up irrigation channels, removing water-pipes, sowing seed over again," also incest, bestiality and certain magical practices. But apart from these few allusions to certain crimes and the general emphasis

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which explained the order of precedence in the Shintō pantheon and traced the Mikados' divine descent, probably took definite shape soon after the advent of Buddhist and Chinese learning in the sixth century A.D., though they were not reduced to writing till a still later period. The oldest records in Japan, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, both date from the eighth century of our Christian era, and the principal source of information for the ceremonial of Shintō, the *Yengishiki*, was not written till the tenth century. Yet the mythology and the liturgies enshrined in these works are evidently of much greater antiquity than the periods during which they were first written. The probable explanation is that they were handed down orally by the hereditary priestly corporations attached to the Mikado's court, and by professional reciters.

on ceremonial purity, the moral note is scarcely struck at all in the Shintō liturgies. Many of the old liturgies are in use to this day. They are religious in so far as they recognise the bond between earth and heaven, look to heavenly powers with feelings of fear and awe, or of gratitude and hope, and proclaim the duty of worship and sacrifice. But they lack any distinction between right and wrong based on divine authority, and have no formulated code of morality. The Japanese themselves explain this by saying that their race of old had only to follow their natural instincts in order to be moral. Moral codes, they assert, were in the first place invented for such immoral people as the Chinese, or Western nations, and only reached Japan when the Japanese allowed themselves to be corrupted from their former simplicity and purity of life.

We see then that original Shintō had little, if any, idea of the righteousness of God, the sinfulness of man, or the need of salvation and inward purity of heart; and though its symbolism, resembling in not a few respects the ritual of the Jewish Tabernacle, was suggestive of such Christian ideas as appear, for example, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,

yet in essence it was fundamentally opposed to the Christian religion. It is this same disregard of the real depravity of the natural man and of the innate wickedness of the human heart that is so characteristic of modern Shintō.

Modern Attempts to supply this lack of Shintō.

Mention should be made here of certain developments of religious thought by which attempts have been made, in recent times, to supply the lack of moral teaching in original Shintō. In the first half of the nineteenth century there came into prominence a school of preachers who called their doctrine *Shingaku* or "heart-learning." Their sermons were delivered and printed in colloquial dialect, and their teaching contained an admixture of Shintō and Buddhist thought with a certain amount of rationalism and a free use of the maxims of Confucius and Mencius. Later in the same century two sects, the *Remmonkyō* and the *Tenrikyō*, came into existence. Both were founded by women, and both are connected with Shintō as far as the nature of their principal objects of worship is concerned, though their moral aims are much higher. The Tenrikyō in particular has made rapid progress during the last three or four years, and its adherents are already counted by millions.

APPROACH TO THE SHINTŌ SHRINES AT ISE

The Tenrikyō.

For a time it was under a cloud because of certain alleged scandals in connection with the practice of promiscuous dancing at its evening services. The dancing has been abandoned, though music and hand-clapping are still heard in their places of worship late at night. The special tenets of this sect are propagated with great zeal, and the priests are well trained. The teaching is partly Shintō, and many of the old Shintō liturgies, especially those referring to purification, are in use, though supplemented by almost Christian ideas of the sinfulness of sin, the importance of a high standard of moral conduct, and the duty of believers to show kindness one to the other. Patriotism is inculcated. Faith healing is practised, and emphasis laid on the merit of devoting one's worldly possessions to the cause. The moral teaching of these and one or two other Shintō sects, however, is something quite outside the scope of original Shintō, and the orthodox Shintō shrine is built without provision for congregational worship and instruction.

Shintō Shrines.

The Shintō shrines we see to-day for the most part conform strictly to the old ideas of architecture current among the Japanese long before Buddhism set foot in Japan. They are smaller and of simpler design than

Buddhist temples, though occasionally we can still find remains of Buddhist influence, as, for instance, in an elaborate gateway, a certain amount of ornamentation, or in the use of metal or stone within the shrine precincts, all of which were unknown in pure Shintō. Shintō shrines can nearly always be distinguished by the slender and peculiarly shaped gateway or arch called *torii*, one or more of which mark the approach to every Shintō sacred place. In pure Shintō the *torii* is always made of two upright and two horizontal beams of plain wood. If stained red, it shows that the shrine is dedicated to *Inari*, the rice-god. The shrine itself also is made of wood and the roof thatched with straw or covered with shingles, the whole being re-built every few decades.

Shintō Worship.

Worshippers come singly or in small groups, rinse their mouths and wash their hands ceremonially at a stone laver in the court, then stand in front of the shrine, draw the attention of the god by ringing a gong or small bell, or beating a drum, bow their heads, clap their hands, put up their petition and then retire. A large box with a slit in the cover stands close by, and into this their small offerings are cast. Children are brought when thirty-three days old to the

shrine, and generally receive their name at this time.

Absence of Images.

The sanctuary, whether approached by an outer shrine or standing by itself, contains no images of the god. The figures of foxes that usually stand in or before *Inari* shrines are not really an exception to this rule. Strict Shintō theologians maintain that the fox is only the messenger or attendant of *Inari*, and therefore should not be worshipped, but the country people seem to identify the two. It is the fear of these messengers of *Inari* that is responsible for the strange phenomenon known as "fox possession."[1]

In place of idols in a Shintō shrine there is usually a token enclosed in a casket. In some cases the casket has been seldom, if ever, opened, so that the priest does not know what it contains. This token is called the *shintai* (god-body), and is frequently a mirror or a sword or a stone, but may also be nothing but a tablet with the god's name. The round metal mirror which is the *shintai* of the sun-goddess is sometimes worshipped as a separate deity, and the tendency to confuse the token with the spirit of the deity it represents is seen in Shintō as in other religions.

[1] See page 96.

Shintō Prayers.

Prayers are sometimes written out on paper and deposited in the shrine. Small paper flags set up in the shrine, or in its neighbourhood, show that the prayers have been answered. The presentation of *ex voto* pictures is another way of recording grateful thanks for answered prayers, and these pictures are often hung in a special room attached to the group of shrine buildings. The setting up of miniature or full-sized *torii* is another way, and the Japanese certainly give us a lesson in the duty of returning thanks for benefits received.

Pilgrimages.

Another feature of Shintō worship, common in the olden days and in present times alike, is the custom of making a pilgrimage to one or more of the most famous distant shrines, or to some sacred mountain like Mt. Fuji. These pilgrimages, many of which are also to Buddhist temples, are generally organised in the spring or autumn when there are long spells of fine weather, and large numbers of men, women and elder children take part in them. The charms and certificates on sale at the shrines or temples thus visited are greatly prized, and are supposed to ward off misfortune and illness.

The Shintō Priesthood.

The head of the Shintō priesthood is the Emperor himself, and the custody of the

A SHINTŌ PRIEST AND PRIESTESS

most important shrines used to be in the hands of a priestly corporation, closely connected with the Imperial house. Virgin priestesses of noble birth were not unknown in the olden days, and some of them performed in the *kagura* or sacred pantomimic dance. At the present day Shintō priests combine other occupations with their priestly duties. They are not celibate or exempt from military service, and only wear their quaint distinctive dress when engaged in worship or in the performance of various ceremonials. As stated above, they do not now, as a rule, give moral teaching, but simply recite the liturgies, wave wands (*gohei*) over worshippers in purificatory rites, or take part in the sacred dances. They also attend to the offerings of rice, wine, fish, etc., placed in front of the sanctuaries, and when so engaged wear a white covering over their mouths to prevent contamination by human breath.

ADVENT OF BUDDHISM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SHINTŌ.

Between Shintō as we all know it in practice to-day and the Shintō that emerged some twelve hundred years ago from the dim obscurity of prehistoric times, closely similar though the two seem to outward view, there lies a millennium of Buddhist influence. The first Buddhist missionaries to Japan arrived from Korea in A.D. 552,

and were followed before long by others from China. The Imperial court was soon won over, and in several instances the head of the Shintō religion, the Mikado himself, not only embraced the Buddhist faith, but abdicated the throne and became a Buddhist monk as well. Yet for two centuries and a half the people as a whole clung tenaciously to the old "way of the gods." It has been said that Shintō is only a transfiguration of Japanese life, and so the early Japanese, with characteristics much the same in many respects as those we see in their modern descendants, naturally found the native cult far more congenial than the abstruse metaphysics and the new moral teaching and unfamiliar ceremonial of an exotic religion. We wonder, for instance, how the Japanese warrior of those days would contemplate the Buddhist doctrine of *karma*, the Buddhist prohibition against taking life, or the Buddhist insistence on gentleness and humility, poverty and the suppression of desire. There was nothing in common between Buddhism and Shintō except that in both the line of demarcation between the human and the divine was vague and indistinct, and the idea of God dimmed by an impersonal habit of mind.

So for many years Shintō seems to have held its own, making use of Buddhist learning to commit its mythology and liturgies to writing, but remaining a distinct religion. The Buddhist priests, however, were persistent in their endeavours to win the nation to their side. They made full use of the great advantages of art and learning and Imperial patronage. Their splendid temples and gorgeous ritual appealed to the æsthetic taste of an artistic people; their moral teaching found an echo in the hearts of many who hungered for something higher and nobler than the empty ceremonial of Shintō. Finally, early in the ninth century a famous Buddhist teacher, best known by his posthumous title, Kōbō Daishi, who had travelled in China but was a Japanese by birth, devised a complete scheme of reconciliation between Shintō and Buddhism. He declared he had obtained a revelation from the sun-goddess and another food-goddess at the Ise shrines, the most holy place in Shintō belief. Briefly, this revelation was that all the Shintō deities, whether nature-deities or deified men, were *avatars* or incarnations of Buddha, and that such incarnations might again be expected in the future, thus providing for the continual deification of Mikados and national heroes.

Shintō absorbed by Buddhism.

The Effort of Kōbō Daishi.

He further prepared elaborate catalogues and calendars, identifying well-known Shintō deities with equally well-known incarnations of Buddha, or, where necessary, inventing new names, and likewise giving Buddhist names to all the old popular Shintō festivals. By such "pious devices" (*hōben* is the Japanese word) Shintō prejudice was overcome. Kōbō Daishi's system was propagated with great zeal and met with instant success, and in this way was established the blend of Shintō and Buddhism known as *Ryōbu-Shintō* (*i.e.* "the two-fold way of the gods"), which for so many centuries held sway over the majority of the inhabitants of Japan. Many a Shintō shrine became a Buddhist temple; and though at first Shintō and Buddhist rites were alternately performed, the former became gradually merged in the latter, and before long the Buddhist priesthood was everywhere supreme, save only perhaps at the famous shrines of Ise and Izumo and a few other isolated spots.

Changes in the outward aspect of Shintō.

The austere simplicity of the original Shintō shrines was exchanged for the more ornate architecture of Buddhism, and the sacred edifices were filled with relics and images—a custom quite foreign to pure Shintō. The independent development of Shintō was

completely arrested, and it is a wonder that it was ever able to shake itself free again from Buddhist trammels.

REVIVAL OF PURE SHINTO AND ITS PRESENT POSITION.

Professor Chamberlain describes the movement which led up to the revival of pure Shintō as follows—"During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under the peaceful government of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shōguns,[1] the literati of Japan turned their eyes backward on the country's past. Old manuscripts were disinterred, old histories and poems were put into print, the old language was studied and imitated. Soon the movement became religious and political, above all, patriotic. . . . The Shōgunate was frowned on because it had supplanted the autocracy of the heaven-descended Mikado. Buddhism, and even Confucianism, were sneered at because of their foreign origin. Shintō gained by all this. . . . Great scholars . . . devoted themselves to a religious propaganda, if that can be called a religion which sets out from the principle that the two things needful are to follow one's natural impulses and to obey the Mikado."

The Great Revolution.

This renaissance of Japanese national senti-

[1] The Shōguns were the hereditary ministers of war, who, during the feudal era, usurped much of the Mikado's authority and became the virtual rulers of Japan.

ments, accompanied, as in the early days of the nation, by intense devotion to the old native religion, culminated in the Great Revolution of 1868. To many students of Japanese history this astonishing upheaval may seem a strangely sudden reversal of the policy which had shaped the nation's course for so many hundreds of years. But the ground had long been prepared. Buddhism, weakened for a time by its contest with Roman Catholic Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had won its way back to power for a while by zeal in persecuting the Christians. But it proved unwilling or unable to enter into the national revival, which was slowly reaching its zenith, and found itself in the end hopelessly discredited. The fall of the Shōgunate and the overthrow of the feudal system in 1868 was soon followed by the disestablishment and partial disendowment of Buddhism. Shintō was restored to its traditional position as the state religion, and duly recognised as the staunch upholder of the Mikado's supreme authority. The Ryōbu shrines were purged of all Buddhist relics and images, and Buddhist priests no longer allowed to officiate within their precincts. If the supporters of Shintō had altogether succeeded in their plans, the land itself

would soon have been purged of every foreign element—foreign trade and Western learning included.

Reactionary Tendencies of the New Movement checked.

But the force of a movement so violent, and withal in some ways so reactionary and retrograde, was bound to spend itself in time. Japan under the new *régime* was before long compelled to do the very thing that the Shintō revivalists most dreaded—namely, open her doors wide to the inflow of foreign ideas and influences. Buddhism began again to lift up her head. For a short time the council that had charge of Shintō affairs was supposed to hold equal authority with the Supreme Council of State. But it was soon reduced to the position of one of the ten government departments; then it became a board, and finally an ordinary bureau which does not do more than arrange for the maintenance of Shintō shrines out of public monies, and for the attendance of certain officials at the Imperial palace, where ceremonies of a semi-religious, semi-courtly character are held at stated intervals. There have been distinct attempts on the part of the Government and of Shintō leaders to show that Shintō is no longer a religion, but "merely a mechanism for keeping generations in touch with genera-

tions, and preserving the continuity of the nation's veneration for its ancestors." But in spite of these endeavours to make Shintō appear "nothing more than the embodiment of a national sentiment," it is still in practice and reality a religion to the bulk of the people.

Influence of the late Emperor Mutsuhito.

The late Emperor was a devout Shintōist, worshipping regularly at the domestic shrines within the precincts of the palace, and on certain solemn occasions paying visits to the shrines at Ise. His funeral in September 1912 was conducted entirely in accordance with Shintō rites, differing in this respect from that of the majority of his subjects, who are for the most part buried, or more often cremated, with Buddhist rites. At the beginning of his reign he most wisely discouraged the anti-foreign tendencies of the extreme Shintō party, but there can be little doubt that he never forgot what the country owed to them in the matter of the restoration of Imperial prestige and authority, and that he determined to live and die in strict accordance with Shintō ideals and to inspire his people with the same.

The modern Shintōist, in spite of professed contempt for foreign religious influence, has

A SHINTŌ SHRINE

Shintō and Confucian ideas of Ancestor-worship.

imbibed many Confucian ideas. Since the seventeenth century some Shintō scholars have even attempted to read into old Shintō such a definitely Confucian tenet as ancestor-worship. In Japan, however, the clan or nation has always been of more importance than the family, so that while the regular Confucian shelf with family ancestral tablets, —recognised as it is and used by Japanese Buddhism—is a common feature in nearly all Japanese households, modern Shintō, as distinct from Buddhism, has identified itself more with worshipping the spirits of those who might be called the ancestors of the village or town or locality or nation, rather than of the family by itself. Go where you may in Japan, you will find shrines dedicated to local or national heroes, sages and benefactors, and a firm belief that the welfare of the locality or nation depends on the continued favour and assistance of their spirits. Recently a great impetus to the observance of this particular form of Shintō worship has been given by the popularity of festivals (*shōkonsai*) in honour of the spirits of the vast numbers of men who lost their lives in the wars with China and Russia. These festivals are now a regular feature of Shintō worship in many parts of

the country. They are held in the spring and attract large crowds, many of whom are drawn chiefly by the gaieties — the games, races, processions and parades — which precede or follow the religious ceremony. On such occasions everybody seems to become a Shintōist, and one has seen government officials and Tōkyō notables at such festivals walking in procession behind Shintō priests, the former in modern European silk hat and full evening dress, after the French custom, and the latter in the ceremonial costume of a thousand years ago.

Count Ōkuma's Interpretation.

According to advanced Japanese thinkers like Count Ōkuma—a typical Japanese nobleman who seems to take an equal interest in Shintō, Buddhist and Christian thought—the worshipper does not, strictly speaking, *pray* before the shrine or tablet, where the spirits are localised for his benefit. He rather *reports* to them that which he has done or hopes to do; and this not for the sake of imparting information to them, but simply "as a means of introspection," to "objectivise" his actions and "to pass judgment on them, either by comparing them with those of his ancestors or by trying them in the light of the ideas which the worshipper supposes the spirits to have."

It is the old rationalistic view—that prayer has only a subjective value; and apart from the fact that the spirits of the dead thus oust the Lord of spirits from His rightful place, such worship tends to make man believe he is his own judge and his own saviour—a belief that is of course directly opposed to Christian truth.

Modern Worship of Nature Deities.

It would be more difficult for a man like Count Ōkuma to justify participation in the worship of the Nature-deities of Shintō. Yet to the bulk of the nation, living in the heart of the country, and in close touch with Nature, the worship of these Nature-deities is not merely formal and symbolic, but a matter of real religious significance, and in their eyes perhaps the chief means of bringing the human spirit into touch with the Divine.

Country Life bound up with it.

Not only so, but the peasant's life is bound up with its due observance. The farmer's yearly routine, the regular markets, the life and amusements of the village, the carnivals and pantomimic dances and drum-beating and flute-playing, so dear to the eye and ear of the country folk, all have a close connection with one or other of the Shintō Nature-deities. Tell the Japanese peasant or farmer that his polytheistic beliefs and his reverence for Nature-deities are in opposition to the

Christian faith in the one God and Creator of the Universe; tell him again that adhesion to the Christian faith will mean that he must cut himself loose from all connections with Shintō superstitions; and the natural man in him will feel at first that without Shintō all the taste and colour of country life will be gone.

ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIANITY TO SHINTŌ.

What can Christianity do to counteract the great attraction of the worship of these Shintō Nature-deities, or the equally strong attractions of ancestor-worship (using the term in its wider Shintō sense) or of "Mikadoism"?

Shintō is a power with which the Christian Church must reckon, if Christianity is to take possession of the spirit of Japan. In its powerful hold on the national spirit Shintō resembles the Cæsar-worship so prevalent throughout the Roman Empire in the first century of the Christian era. Shintō, however, is not so exclusive as the old Cæsar-worship, and has nothing of the persecuting spirit of which we read, for instance, in the Revelation of St John. But none the less in its superstitious reverence for the Emperor's person and house it is a formidable opponent to Christianity. To the Shintōist there is no harm in worshipping other gods—even

in worshipping the Christian's God—provided always that the worship of the Emperor and his divine ancestors comes first. To him the pre-eminence of Christ seems to endanger the very existence of Japanese loyalty and patriotism. By a not unnatural confusion of thought he further accuses Christianity of being the teacher of both individualism and socialism, if not of anarchism as well. To this antagonism and to these accusations Christianity must surely reply by laying all possible stress on that truly Christian motto—"Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King"—as the one safe foundation for national welfare, the one secret of joining together in perfect harmony the claims of the individual and the claims of society, the divine right (and duty) of an Imperial house, and the divine right (and duty) of a democracy.

How can Christianity counteract the Attractions of Shintō?

The Shintōist recognises no need for many of the beliefs and experiences that we count most vital to our Christianity. We cannot begin by appealing to his sense of sin or craving for redemption. So long as we are approaching him in the character of a Shintōist we find our points of contact only in some of the more external aspects of our

religion. But by these we may hope to commend to him a faith of which he will afterwards learn and love the deeper truths.

We have seen in Christian England, in comparatively recent times, a revival of the old Jewish harvest festival, and have had striking evidence of the fact that the Christian harvest festivals of to-day appeal to country people as no other of the older Church festivals have done. Would not the institution of some such Christian services as these bring before the Japanese villager, whether he be farmer, fisherman or artisan, the thought of the beneficent power of the one Creator God, ever present to guide and bless, at every stage of farm routine, before beginning any venture by land or sea, in and about every home, every village and every town throughout the land — and so counteract the attraction of the old Shintō worship of Nature-deities?

Again, the love of symbolism manifest in the numberless Shintō shrines, rock-inscriptions and other externals of religion, suggests a way of approach. There are some who think that much use should be made of the symbol of the Cross and of Biblical inscriptions, such as may be seen on public

buildings, fountains, and monuments in England, in order to remind the Japanese of their constant proximity to "things not seen." The fact that pure Shintō has never countenanced the Buddhist use of images and relics may be regarded as evidence that the Japanese are unlikely to fall into a superstitious use of Christian symbols.

What the Japanese Christians think.

The reader may think such suggestions somewhat fanciful, but the man or woman who has actually worked in Japan knows well enough that the newly baptised Japanese Christian, brought out of the atmosphere of Shintō, looks for something to take the place of what he has lost. Shintō, with its love of Nature and its gaiety, its insistence not only on the thought of divine interest in earthly affairs but also on that of communion with the spirits of the dead; Shintō with its festivals and carnivals, its pantomimic dances and quaint mythology and ancient liturgies, must be superseded by something truer and nobler and more edifying than anything Shintō affords, but none the less cheering and comforting to the Japanese mind. So think the Japanese Christians; and the result is seen in certain customs and observances which may seem strange or even childish to us, but which are akin

to our old English love of gaiety even in connection with religious matters—of holly and misletoe, for instance, and carol-singing, miracle-plays, pageants and processions. Church parties are arranged wherever there are newcomers to be welcomed to the Church or old friends to be wished God-speed on their removal elsewhere. The anniversary of the foundation of a church is also sometimes observed. Again, I have heard of a desire expressed to commemorate in some definitely Christian way the anniversaries of the deaths of those who have died in the Lord. In one church I knew the Christians used to meet together on All Saints' Day and then proceed to the graves of their dead, and after decorating them with flowers sing hymns full of resurrection hope and thoughts of our communion with the saints. And on another occasion I myself was asked by an old Japanese Christian to read suitable passages from the Bible and pray and sing over the bones of his ancestors, which he had just removed from the graveyard of a Buddhist temple to his own private burial ground in the hills. His idea was to mark his respect for their memory, his sense of communion with them, and his humble hope that through God's mercy the Christian joy which illumin-

ated his life might in some way have been made known to them also.

Shintō Contrasted with Christianity.

Some ways of finding points of contact with Christianity have been suggested, but Shintō presents more elements of contrast than points of contact with Christianity when once we penetrate beyond comparatively superficial observances. It is not without its deep and abiding truths. Its possession of these, however, must not be allowed to obscure its lack of much that is vital to a living and sufficient religion.

Shintō does not entirely miss the truth of man's original affinity with the divine, nor fail to realise in some sort the immanence of the Creative Power in creation. It bids men constantly remember "things not seen," and reminds them that wherever we go we are treading on holy ground. Resulting from this is the need of purification, of prayer, and of suitable offerings in token of gratitude to the Supreme Power. It has some conception of the immortality of the soul. It teaches practical duties such as bodily cleanliness, cheerful activity, and unswerving loyalty to the Emperor.

But when we have recounted these, we have all that is best in the foregleams or actual elements of truth to be found in Shintō.

What shall we say of its fatal defects? We think of its polytheistic ideas and confusion of thought as to the distinction between the human and the divine, its lack of high moral teaching, or even of any standard of right and wrong, its almost total ignoring of the fact of sin. We observe its tendency to produce a spirit of pride and self-reliance, its utter silence with regard to the mystery of the common but none the less terrible realities of pain and death, its practical denial of the need of salvation and of the hope of a Saviour. Can we wonder at the craving of the Japanese spirit for fuller and deeper satisfaction of the need that is shared by every people and kindred and tribe and nation? Can we not follow sympathetically the steps on the way to that yet unrealised satisfaction? We begin to understand how it was that in past centuries numbers of Japanese have looked away from the native cult to the Buddhism which comes from foreign lands in the hope that there, in Buddhism, the defects of Shintō might be made good and their deep soul-hunger satisfied.

SOME TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

The claim of the Japanese to be a religious people, compared with that of the Chinese or the Hindus.

Nature-worship as a help or hindrance to the introduction of higher forms of religion.

The permanent influence of Buddhism upon Shintō.

The living force of Shintō in the practical life of the people.

The hold of ancestor-worship upon modern Japan.

The place of patriotism in religion, especially in the light of the Old Testament.

Vital points of contact, whether by likeness or unlikeness, between Shintō and Christianity.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR—BUDDHISM

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.
- Story of Sakyamuni.
- Distinction between Northern and Southern Buddhism.
- The Amida Cult.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN JAPAN.
- Early Buddhist Missions.
- Influence with the Court.
- Kōbō Daishi and the Winning of the Masses.

BUDDHIST SECTS.
- i. Tendai.
- ii. Shingon.
- iii. Zen.
  - Their Influence in civilising Japan.
  - The Unrest of the Twelfth Century.
- iv. Jōdō.
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MODERN ACTIVITIES AND RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.
- Popular Superstitions.
- The Priesthood, Temples, and Worship.
- The Defects of the Amida Cult and the Fulness of Christianity.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

Japanese Buddhism not Orthodox.

When Buddhism entered Japan in the year A.D. 552, it was already nearly a thousand years old. Its historic founder, Gautama, known to the Japanese by his Sanskrit name, Sakyamuni, or the Japanese equivalent Shaka, is now generally supposed to have lived in the sixth century B.C. The story of his life and teaching must necessarily form the basis of any adequate study of orthodox Buddhism.

But Japanese Buddhism, as a whole, is so far removed from orthodoxy, and the personality and distinctive tenets of Sakyamuni have been so largely overshadowed in Japan by what is known as the Amida cult, that for our purpose in the study of "The Spirit of Japan" it will be sufficient merely to mention the outstanding features in his career.

Story of Sakyamuni.

Sakyamuni was the son of an Indian prince of high degree. He was brought up in the luxury and refinement of an Indian court, but, while still a young man, was profoundly impressed by the thought of human misery, and, leaving palace-home, wife and child, set out on his wanderings to find "the Way." After six years of various self-inflicted austerities and fastings, he at last, through meditation, received en-

lightenment. The truth that was revealed to his soul may be summed up in the following words:—Pain is universal. Pain is the result of desire. Destroy desire and you free yourself from pain. There is a Way by which you can attain to the destruction of desire, and its end is *Nirvana*, the passionless state of perfection. This "Noble Eightfold Path" had as its chief features meditation, self-suppression, and service of the poor and needy.

Sakyamuni devoted the rest of his life to the propagation of his doctrine, and gradually gathered out from the prevailing Brahminism of his day a body of faithful followers of the Way he preached. Sakyamuni was not a self-confessed agnostic, but it would seem that his system was partly a revolt against the excessive idolatry and superstition of Brahminism, and that its tendency was to make men independent of divine aid.

The separation of Northern from Southern Buddhism.

Sakyamuni died about 480 B.C., at Kusinagara in north-east India. In the conference immediately following his death dissension broke out amongst his followers. The cleavage which then appeared grew wider and wider until to-day we find the Buddhist world divided into two great camps, known as Northern and Southern Buddhism

respectively. The former occupies the vast territories of Nepal, Tibet, Siberia, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan; the latter is confined mainly to Ceylon, Burma, Assam and Siam. Both attempt to base their claim to recognition on certain *sutra* or canons of Buddhist Scriptures. The Northern Buddhists, for the most part, follow what is known as the *Mahayana*, or Great Vehicle; the Southern Buddhists the *Hinayana* or Little Vehicle, the word "vehicle" suggesting the idea that the *sutra* convey the believer along the right way. There is little doubt that the Southern Buddhists have kept the more closely to the spirit and teaching of their founder. The Northern Buddhists have wandered so far from the original faith that some of them seem to have little right to call themselves by the same name as their brethren in the south. Indeed, the differences which separate Northern Buddhism from Southern are really greater than those that divide, one from the other, the most extreme wings of the Christian Church.

Characteristics of Northern Buddhism.

It is necessary at the beginning of this chapter to emphasise the great difference between the Buddhism of Japan and that of Ceylon or Burma. When thinking of

Japanese Buddhists it is a mistake to imagine them as shaping their conduct and life on the precepts idealised for us in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, or actually preserved in the Indian rock inscriptions of the ancient Buddhist king, Asoka. It will be equally mistaken to form our estimate of Japanese Buddhism from what we may have heard or read concerning the essential features of modern orthodox Buddhism. The cardinal difference between Northern and Southern Buddhism is the materialistic and theistic bias of the former. Original Buddhism aimed at utter selflessness, with the suppression of all desire in this world, and the attainment, if possible, of *Nirvana* in the next. This ideal did not appeal to the peoples of central and more particularly of eastern Asia, who were more impressed by the tangible and visible externals of Buddhist worship and practice than by the inward message of Sakyamuni's system. For the same reason the vague doctrine of *Nirvana* was soon more or less superseded in their minds by definite beliefs in a material Paradise and a material Hell. The Northern Buddhists were also averse to the atheistic tendency of Sakyamuni's teaching, and generally preferred to follow man's natural instinct and

THE COLOSSAL IMAGE OF BUDDHA AT KAMAKURA

look for one or more personal objects of worship and reverence.

The Divine Essence and its Manifestations.

Northern Buddhists all agree in supposing that there is a divine essence which they call Buddha (Japanese, *Butsu*) everywhere present in the universe, and that this essence from time to time manifests itself in the world. Their tendency has been to give divine honour and worship to all such *avatars* or manifestations of the Buddhahood, and in particular to raise one of these, or sometimes a triad of these, to the supreme place in their pantheon. Accordingly, in Japanese Buddhist temples you will find many images, but generally one (or a group) of these taking the place of honour. The central image may represent the historic Sakyamuni; but more often, in the older sects, it is the image of an imaginary *avatar*, named *Vairoçana* (Japanese, *Beroshana*), and supposed to be the supreme manifestation of the Buddhahood. To show the mutual influence of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan, it may be mentioned in passing that this Vairoçana is also called by the Japanese *Dainichi* or Great Sun, being identified with *Amaterasu*, the sun-goddess of Shintō.

The greater number of Buddhists in Japan give the place of honour to yet another *avatar*

Amida.

called *Amitabha* (Japanese, *Amida*). To them Amida is a real person, the Creator of the World, the Lord of Boundless Life and Light, the All-Pitiful, All-Merciful Father. In past ages Amida is said to have appeared on earth as a monk. Having lived a perfect human life, he was about to return to his divine state when he looked back in pity on the sin and suffering of the world and registered a vow not to leave it till by much labour and suffering he had acquired sufficient merit to save mankind. This he accomplished in course of time, then retired to "the Western Paradise," where he is preparing "many mansions" for the souls of the saved. All who trust in Amida's merits and put their faith in Amida's name and follow Amida's way can enter this Paradise, and so by Another's help in this world and by easy stages, passing through Paradise, can attain at length to the perfect state of *Nirvana*.

The Amida Cult.

Nirvana thus remained, in theory, as the final goal, but to all intents and purposes "the Western Paradise" took its place in the minds of most Chinese and Japanese Buddhists. In the same way, though much of Sakyamuni's teaching was still reverenced in some Northern Buddhist monasteries, the average Buddhist layman in China and

Japan thought more of personal salvation and a sense of peace and assurance than of ridding himself of all desire. To him, Amida was not merely a teacher and guide but Saviour and God; and so he is at the present day to the great majority of Buddhist believers in Japan. Yet it must not be supposed that Amida is the sole object of worship in Northern Buddhism. Associated with him in his work of saving mankind are two other *avatars*, one of whom the Japanese call *Kwannon* or *Kwanyin*, the bisexual god of Mercy, while the other is named *Seishi*, or Divine Might. These three form one of the triads of Buddhist imagination, and their images are often grouped together in Japanese Buddhist temples.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN JAPAN.

The first Buddhist Missions to Japan.

This brief survey of the development of the Amida cult is necessary for a clear understanding of Japanese Buddhism. The first Buddhist missionaries to Japan, as we have seen, came from Korea in A.D. 552 and were followed early in the seventh and eighth centuries by missionaries from China. In A.D. 802 a Japanese Buddhist priest, best known by his posthumous name Dengyō Daishi, visited the head-quarters of the powerful Tendai sect in China, and then, returning to his native land, proceeded to

found a Japanese branch of the same sect. He built the famous monastery of Hieizan, near Kyōto, whither the Imperial Court had recently moved. In later years the Tendai monks of Japan played a leading part in the politics of their country. Like the priests of the later Shin sect, they were wont to fortify their monasteries, and, regardless of strict Buddhist scruples, actually fought in battle with the priests of rival sects or with lay enemies, after the fashion of the Christian clergy of mediæval days.

Profound Influence of the early Buddhist Missions on the Imperial Court and Government.

The early Buddhist missions to Japan were not successful in winning their way to the heart of the nation, but they had a profound influence on the Japanese Court and Government.

As stated in the previous chapter, Shintō was the unifying force among the Japanese people, drawing them together in a common bond of reverence for the Mikado's person. But if Shintō gave the motive power, Buddhist priests at Court elaborated the practical details of Imperial government, introducing freely the centralised bureaucratic system then in vogue in China, and also placing in the hands of the officials the invaluable assistance of a higher form of civilisation, with Chinese learning and the Confucian

system of ethical morality. Under this strong Buddhist influence architecture, education, art and literature, hitherto practically unknown in Japan, began to flourish. Splendid temples and pagodas, monasteries and wayside shrines sprang into existence in many provinces. But the masses of the people remained faithful to Shintō and persistently hostile to the Buddhist propaganda, until, as fully narrated in chapter I., Kōbō Daishi invented his scheme of absorbing Shintō into Buddhism.

Kōbō Daishi wins over the Masses of the People and founds the System of Ryōbu-Shintō.

Kōbō Daishi was a friend of Dengyō Daishi, the founder of the Japanese branch of the Tendai sect. Like his friend, Kōbō Daishi also paid a visit to China, and there attached himself not to the Tendai hierarchy but to the exponents of a new sect, recently imported from India, and somewhat resembling the grossly superstitious form of Buddhism then and now current in Tibet. On his return to Japan, Kōbō Daishi founded a branch of this new sect called Shingon; and eventually the influence of his system prevailed over the Tendai and the older sects, and swallowed up Shintō as well. But his crowning work was the propagation of Ryōbu-Shintō, that "two-fold way of the gods" by which Shintō

was reproduced in Buddhist dress, and the people of Japan tricked into the belief that they could, without inconsistency, be Shintōists and Buddhists at one and the same time.

Buddhism and Shintō still share the Allegiance of the Japanese People.

Kōbō Daishi's success was based on superstition, fraud and doubtful compromise, and it is not surprising to learn that his elaborate scheme eventually failed when Shintō finally re-asserted itself and in A.D. 1868, by official sanction and command, purged the interior of its shrines of all images. Yet the effect of Kōbō Daishi's work on the Japanese mind is seen to this day. Though Shintō and Buddhism are no longer officially united, to a large extent they share the allegiance of the Japanese people, and act as complements one to the other. The average Japanese seems to have no sense of the incongruity or doubtful historicity of many of his beliefs. Shintō and Buddhist shrines are often seen side by side, not only in private houses, but also in the same sacred spot, and worshippers go from one to the other without any idea of inconsistency. The same easy tolerance is shown by many towards Christianity, until it is understood that the Christian religion claims to be not co-equal with others but the supreme revelation of God.

THE BUDDHIST SECTS.

But before describing further developments, let us return for a moment to the more important of the older sects and note how far they have survived in modern Japan.

i. Tendai.

The *Tendai* sect was and is tolerant of many forms of belief. It made an attempt to harmonise all the Buddhist scriptures, and it further declared that a man could attain enlightenment either by reading the Scriptures or by the practice of meditation and contemplation. In its pantheon it included many Hindu deities; and the two colossal and grotesque images the traveller sees to-day in Japan on either side of the doorway of a Tendai temple are none other than the Indra and Brahma of the old Vedic mythology. The Tendai sect further teaches dualism and makes use of magic formulæ. Its priests have always believed in being "all things to all men"—practical politicians with men of the world; pandering to the superstitious beliefs of the lower classes; purveyors of culture to the learned and of deep philosophy to the inner circle of the enlightened.

I well remember a Buddhist friend of mine, who was abbot of a small country Tendai temple, telling me how one must let the common people cling to their old

beliefs, for they could not be expected to understand any higher teaching. The Shintō deities and Buddhist *avatars*, he said, and all the deified spirits of sages, heroes, benefactors and ancestors in general, were worshipped by the ignorant simply because they could not distinguish between reverence and worship. As for himself, he worshipped only the supreme manifestation of the Buddhahood. Whether this was Amida, Beroshana or Shaka, I could not ascertain. Later in our acquaintance I had some hopes of his coming to see in Christ the supreme manifestation of God, and the last time I visited him at his temple, he showed me a Christian Bible on his study table and assured me that he never failed to remember me and my work when reciting morning prayers before his altar. I asked him one day what he did when he visited the house of a parishioner to say prayers before some ancestral tablet on the anniversary of the death of a member of the family. His answer was characteristic. The members of the household no doubt thought he was addressing prayers to the spirit of the dead. He knew better; and the inner meaning of his prayers was rather this—a petition to the Supreme Being that

BUDDHIST PRIESTS

He would condescend, in the future, to show the same favours to the spirit of the dead as He had done in the past year. At another time he spoke to me of his strong hope that Buddhism and Christianity would amalgamate, and by their joint labours raise the moral and religious tone of all Japan.

The Tendai sect is still strong in Japan, and the mental attitude of the priest I have been describing seems to be typical of the Tendai leaders in olden days. And, indeed, it is probable that had Kōbō Daishi elected to make use of the Tendai system for his propaganda, he would have found it quite as pliable as the Shingon.

ii. Shingon.

Shingon was not without some teaching about Amida, but identified Amida with *Vairoçana*, who was the supreme object of worship amongst the two sects already mentioned. Shingon also made great use of Confucianism, and Kōbō Daishi himself declared that Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintō were "the three legs of a tripod on which the cauldron of the state might securely rest." On those three legs the State of Japan did rest for many centuries, till the Shintō revival and the renaissance of nationalistic feeling. Yet, even after the purging of the Shintō shrines, there remain to-day

some twelve thousand Shingon temples in Japan; and as we have already observed, there still remains in the mind of the Japanese the same easy tolerance and comprehensive tendencies as marked the older Buddhist sects.

iii. Zen.

So far no mention has been made of an important sect known as the *Zen*, which was introduced from China in the eighth century and, though divided into various sub-sects, has at times had great influence in Japan. The Zen is a contemplative sect. It has appealed to the aristocracy of Japan and its social prestige has been and is considerable. Its original popularity was due, no doubt, to a reaction against the excessive use of images and other externals in worship, and to the confusing multiplication of canonical scriptures, which were features of other Buddhist sects. In the Zen system emphasis is laid on introspection rather than upon worship and ritual, on the secret transmission of thought by thought rather than dependence on canonical writings or doctrinal traditions. On this account it has been compared to Quakerism. In order to master the flesh and reduce the mind to that state of vacuity in which it might be quite free from distraction, and so able to per-

ceive the truth and to become one with the Divine Essence, various kinds of austerities are practised. For instance, cold water is poured over the body, or the devotee sits motionless in one position for several hours or even for several days and nights in succession. During this time the eyes are fixed on one point, and the mind concentrated on a question propounded by the attendant priest. Meanwhile, a guardian watches to see if there is any relaxation of the limbs or nodding of the head, and uses his long stick freely at the slightest sign of weakness. The result is apparently a kind of mental ecstasy, during which an answer to the question propounded comes to the devotee. He is then invited to give forth his ideas for the comment and criticism of the priest and all who are engaged with him in the same task of self-enlightenment. No books are permitted in the temple, and it takes twenty years to qualify for the priesthood in this sect.

There is something in all this which even in this materialistic age appeals strongly to the educated and more thoughtful Japanese. There are numbers of officers, government officials, and educationalists in modern Japan to whom the practice of

the Zen system of self-discipline and self-culture gives something of the same intellectual and spiritual comfort as "quiet days" and "retreats" afford to many Christians in England. Yet Zen, with all its philosophy and mysticism and moral earnestness, is not of much practical assistance to its followers in their daily life, and is also strangely inconsistent in its adherence to such conventional Buddhist beliefs as the worship of the spirits of the dead.

These, then—Tendai, Shingon, and Zen—are the three most important of the older sects that survive in modern Japan. But there are three others dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—Jōdō, Shin, and Nichiren—which have played an equally important part in Japanese history and are to-day perhaps the greatest religious force in Japan apart from Christianity.

Civilising and educating Work of the older Sects.

The older sects had done much for the Japanese. They had been the sole civilising and educating agency in the days when Japan had barely emerged from the barbarism and ignorance of pre-historic times. They were the teachers under whom the Japanese nation began to grow up. They introduced Confucian ethics from China, and blending these with the humane senti-

ments of Indian Buddhism supplied the moral code that was lacking in Shintō; furthermore, they provided the intellectually-minded in Japan with abundant food for thought and study. But it would seem that all the while many of the Japanese were hungering and thirsting for some positive message of salvation. Neither Shintō, with its Nature-worship and its Mikado-worship, nor the older Buddhist sects with their art and learning, their deep philosophy and vague pantheism, nor again Ryōbu-Shintō, with its bewildering combination of the two religions, could really lift the burden of misery from men's hearts. The desire for a personal Saviour, the expectation of actual deliverance from evil, the hope of eventual attainment to a definite Realm of the Blest, were longings that could not be satisfied by the gorgeous ceremonial of Buddhist temples, or the worldly-wisdom and the metaphysical speculations of Buddhist priests.

Religious discontent in Japan in the Twelfth Century, A.D.

By the twelfth century A.D. the religious discontent of the common people in Japan seems to have become marked. It was a time of stir and movement and prolonged civil war. In those troublous days the heart of the Japanese nation seemed to be seeking

some simpler and more positive and comforting form of religion. It would have been a grand opportunity for the inauguration of a Christian mission. But except for the presence of a Nestorian physician at the Mikado's court in A.D. 789, there is no record of any Christian setting foot in Japan previous to the arrival of the Portuguese in A.D. 1542. Meanwhile Japan's spiritual need was in part met by a revival of the Amidaism which had long been current in China and not unknown in Japan, having been expounded and systematised by Zendō, the Chinese sage, who lived and preached in close touch with the leaders of the Nestorian mission to China in the seventh century.

Hōnen's work.

In A.D. 1175, a young Japanese priest and hermit afterwards known as Hōnen made a careful study of Zendō's commentary on the Buddhist scriptures. He was struck with a passage which seemed to him to supply the popular need of an easier way of salvation. It was a passage exhorting the believer to remember and repeat constantly the name of Amida "with a whole and undivided heart," and those who did so were assured that by this simple practice they could be saved and finally attain to

that Western Paradise where Amida waited to receive the faithful. The difficult path of renunciation and introspection, of self-effort and self-reliance, was for the few. Shaka in his pity—so Zendō maintained—also taught that there was an easy route for the many, and that this route could be traversed by faith in Amida's merits and the power of Amida's name.

iv. Foundation of the Jōdō sect.

Now it was this phase of Buddhist thought upon which Hōnen seized as likely to appeal to the prevailing desire for a simpler and more positive form of religious consolation. He forthwith founded a Japanese branch of the *Jōdō*, or Pure Land sect, which became very popular both with the common people and in Imperial and Shōgunal circles. Hōnen became a teacher to three Mikados in succession; subsequently magnificent temples and monasteries were built by his followers both at Kyōto and Nikkō, and in after years, under the patronage of the Tokugawa Shōguns, also in Yedo, the modern Tōkyō. The Jōdō temples were of unusual splendour and beauty, and their priests excelled in the performance of the minutiæ of an elaborate and ornate ritual, while they were quite willing to follow the Ryōbu-Shintō system and admit all the native deities of

Japan and also ancestral spirits into the Buddhist pantheon. As mentioned above, great emphasis was laid on the repetition of Amida's name. Hōnen himself set the example at the beginning of his career by repeating it sixty thousand times a day. To this day Jōdō priests and adherents, in private worship or in crowded congregations, make constant use of the phrase, "*Namu Amida Butsu*—Hail to Amida Buddha." The double rosary is much used as an aid to the repetition of the name, and one has seen Jōdō priests in a railway carriage diligently "telling their beads." This and the importance attached to ritual and to such observances as prescribed diet, fasting, penances, pilgrimages, and retirement to the cloister, have made some wonder whether mediæval Buddhists had any knowledge of the developments of mediæval Christianity. However this may be, a strange parallel between the history of Buddhism in Japan and that of Christianity in Europe is found in the reformation of current Buddhism by a Japanese Luther.

v. Shinran and the Shin sect.

Shinran, the founder of the *Shin* sect, was born A.D. 1173 and died in the year A.D. 1262. He was connected with the Minamoto clan and was a pupil of Hōnen.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SHIN SECT OF BUDDHISM AT NISHI-HONGWANJI, KYŌTO

While still young he began to dissent from some of the teachings of the Jōdō sect. He objected to the mechanical nature of many of the practices of Jōdō worshippers. He argued that though they professed to renounce the doctrine of self-reliance (*jiriki*), taught by the older sects, yet they were not true followers of the doctrine of reliance on Another (*tariki*). He declared that they trusted to faith *and* works, instead of to faith alone; and he maintained that heart-belief was of far greater importance than lip-service. In fact, heart-belief in the complete efficacy of Amida's merits was all that men needed to save them here and now from the miseries of this world as well as to bring them safe at last to the Western Paradise; and heart-belief, as Shinran taught, would, if genuine, show itself in devout prayer and moral earnestness. Shinran further set himself to discourage the various pious practices mentioned above, by which Jōdō believers endeavoured to store up merit for themselves. Instead of monkish seclusion he advocated family life for the priests, and life-long vows and rules of celibacy were abolished in his sect. He himself set the example by marrying a lady of the Imperial Court.

The importance of the Shin sect.

Such were the main principles on which the Shin sect was founded, and before long this new body of Japanese Buddhists began to wield even more power and influence than the parent sect from which it sprang. At the present time the Jōdō sect is still one of considerable size and importance, though now divided into several sub-sects. The Shin, however, is by far the largest of all the sects surviving in modern Japan; and though some years ago debts and internal dissension were said to have weakened its influence for a time, there is no doubt that to-day its position is one of increasing strength and activity.

vi. The Nichiren sect.

But before making further reference to the present position of the Shin sect in Japan, there remains yet one more sect to be noticed. This is the *Nichiren* sect, which was founded by a famous Japanese Buddhist leader of that name in the year A.D. 1282, and is the latest distinct development of Buddhism in Japan. A halo of legend and romance surrounds the person of Nichiren. It would seem that his life was spent mostly in the region of Yedo—the modern Tōkyō. The new sect he originated was evidently the result of a feeling of reaction against the Amidaism of Jōdō and Shin. The

Japanese mind, and indeed the mind of the Buddhist world generally, runs naturally to pantheism; and in Nichiren's system even brute beasts and inanimate objects were considered capable of attaining Buddhahood after various transmigrations. Together with the return to extreme pantheism, the recital of Buddhist scriptures was also held in high honour. In particular the *Hokkekyō*, better known by its Sanskrit name, the *Saddharma Pundarika*, was actually worshipped by the members of this sect, and in place of the refrain "*Namu Amida Butsu*," they constantly used the formula "*Namu Myō-hō-renge-kyō*,—Hail, O Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law." Nichiren also reverted to the doctrine of salvation by one's own efforts—for example by reverencing the Law, by self-examination and recital of prayers, and above all, by strict orthodoxy. The Nichiren sect, in fact, has always been intensely bigoted, and has waged bitter controversies with the other sects, which it regards as hopelessly heterodox. Nichiren himself was a fiery patriot with ultra-democratic views, and a zealous missionary in the northern regions of the Japanese Empire.

As the Nichiren sect was, so it is to-day,

Buddhist Superstition.

though it is gradually losing some of its sectarian bitterness of spirit. It is the most intensely Japanese of the Buddhist sects in Japan, and has done much to oppose modern Christian missions. Its adherents are drawn largely from the middle classes, and in some towns they have not seldom succeeded in making it impossible for the Christian missionary to hire suitable premises for evangelistic work. In country districts the Nichiren priests have often been in great request as exorcists of evil spirits —more especially in the case of people who have fallen victims to that strange form of hysteria known as fox-possession. We saw above that the fox is regarded as the attendant and messenger of the Shintō rice-god *Inari*; the popular belief is that those who in any way offend this deity are liable to possession by the spirit of the fox. The victims are said to bark like foxes, and in some cases red hairs are found on their clothes, and swellings are seen in various parts of the body. These disappear under the exorcisms of the Nichiren priests, and the victims regain their sanity and composure, sometimes after a paroxysm recalling the symptoms mentioned in the New Testament in the case of the casting out

of "deaf and dumb spirits."[1] Another characteristic of the modern adherents of the Nichiren sect is their ready acceptance of any object of worship. I have seen it reported that cheap prints of warriors like Napoleon, Moltke or Bismarck, or statesmen like Washington, Lincoln or even Roosevelt, are actually worshipped by them, and that they have held services for the spirits of horses killed in the Russo-Japanese war and of rats destroyed in order to prevent the spread of bubonic plague. The amount of superstition that survives in Buddhist Japan, both in the Nichiren and in other sects, is surprising when one considers the nobler side of Buddhism and the educated minds and high level of intelligence to be found in so many modern Japanese. There is one *avatar* of Buddha for instance, *Binzuru* by name, whose image is constantly resorted to by people suffering from various ailments, the practice being to stroke or touch that part of the image's figure which corresponds with the seat of suffering in the worshipper's own body. Again, soothsayers and fortune-tellers are

[1] I believe instances are on record of the name of Jesus being used and found efficacious in exorcising the so-called fox-spirit in Japan.

frequently consulted, even about the most trivial matters of everyday life, and though their books of magic and mysterious and astronomical and philosophical lore are derived from Chinese Taoist sources, their system was probably introduced by Buddhism, and has flourished side by side with the growth of the Buddhist sects in Japan.

Buddhism the Great Obstacle to Christianity.

To such depths of superstition has Buddhism sunk in certain respects that one turns again with some relief to the Amidaism of Shin, though the feeling of relief is clouded with apprehension lest this latter sect by the very nobility of its teaching and its many elements of Christian truth should prove all too formidable an obstacle in the way of the Christianisation of Japan. Once more we are faced with the question: can this strong position, held by a force which is in part at least hostile to Christianity, be turned and then occupied by the Christian Church for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in Japan? Or, on the other hand, will Japanese Buddhism, with its traditional tendency towards syncretism, attempt rather to capture the still far from strong position of Christianity in Japan, and absorbing into its system modern Christian modes of thought and expression, if not a modified belief in

Christ Himself, endeavour to arrest the progress of orthodox Christianity, just as the progress of Shintō was arrested a thousand years ago? There can of course be no doubt of the final triumph of Christianity in Japan, but if the Church of Christ underestimates its difficulties and neglects its opportunities in its Japanese campaign, the clock of Christian progress in the Far East may be put back for centuries.

MODERN ACTIVITIES AND RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

The Manifold Activities of Modern Japanese Buddhism.

We have to attempt to answer the question, knowing that Japanese Buddhism has on its side not only the manifold attractions of Tendai and Shingon, of Zen and Jōdō and Nichiren—all dear in one way or another to Japanese minds—but also, as the life and centre of modern Japanese Buddhist thought, the all-powerful Shin sect. The resources of this sect alone may be surmised when it is stated that it has well nigh twenty thousand temples in Japan. It is particularly strong in populous towns and among the lower classes; and yet its chief abbot is a peer of the realm and connected by marriage with the Imperial Family. It reaches, as no other sect does, the poor and also the class formerly known as *eta*, who were reckoned as outcasts in the olden days. It also allows to women

practically the same chance of salvation as to men. It has published portions of the *sutra* in the vernacular, and has had them bound in a form similar to that of the Christian Bibles and Testaments sold in Japan, while it also distributes Buddhist tracts. Many of its priests, too, are men of power. It is filled with missionary zeal, and its agents are now actively engaged in trying to put new life into the dead bones of Chinese and Korean Buddhism.

The Buddhist Priesthood.

For generations past Buddhist priests in Japan have been generally regarded as idle, ignorant and immoral, and have frequently been considered fit subjects for public contempt and caricature. Even as late as 1895 the Government found it necessary to exhort both Shintōists and Buddhists to pay more attention to the education of their priests. But the Shin sect now lays great stress on the training of an energetic, learned and high-minded priesthood; and other sects are sure to follow its example. The relaxation of the rules of celibacy and asceticism has spread in recent times to other sects, and most of the priests with whom I have come into contact in country districts have been married men of good character, and not altogether without earnest-

BUDDHIST MENDICANTS IN PILGRIM GARB, WITH PORTABLE SHRINES ON THEIR BACKS

ness of purpose in the performance of their duties. In the towns, however, I have not infrequently heard them described as useless members of society, and driven to rely on the aid of missioners from country temples in order to keep their own congregations together and secure the maintenance of themselves and the temples they so inefficiently serve. The Shin sect is striving to change all this, and in most Japanese towns you will find that nearly all the aggressive Buddhist work is done by priests of this denomination. It is largely through their efforts that Buddhist Sunday schools and kindergarten, Buddhist Young Men's Associations and Women's Guilds, Buddhist Missions and Preachings have become part of the regular machinery of the new Buddhism. The Buddhist priest is no longer universally despised. It must further be remembered that unlike the Shintō priesthood the Buddhist priest can always be recognised by his distinctive dress and tonsure. His duties do not end with the performance of occasional services before the temple altars. He is a parish priest, and makes parochial visitations, especially when he suspects that any of his people are being influenced by heterodox sects or by

Christianity. He is a regular visitor at times of sickness and death, and also on the anniversaries of deaths, when he is employed in reciting prayers before the ancestral tablets. Japanese Buddhism has laid great stress on the more or less Chinese idea of the worship of the spirits of family ancestors, finding that the Japanese mind readily accepted this as a natural supplement to its own native worship of the spirits of tribal and national ancestors. The Buddhist "Feast of All Souls," in the month of July, is one of the most popular and picturesque festivals in Japan; and at that time the spirits of the departed are all supposed to return for a brief period to their earthly homes.

Buddhist Temples and Temple Worship.

Again, all the older cemeteries are under the guardianship of Buddhist temples, and even in the public cemeteries the great majority of funerals are conducted by Buddhist priests. The temples, too, and their immediate precincts are centres of wide influence. A Buddhist temple is a far larger and more pretentious structure than a Shintō shrine. The heavy gateway and the long sloping tiled roofs of the main buildings with their carved gables suggest the Indian or Chinese origin of their style of architecture. The spacious courts

are adorned with stone lanterns, numerous images and outdoor shrines, and form favourite playgrounds for children, or an archery court for elderly men, or a convenient rendezvous for gossiping women; while at festival times they are filled with booths and resound with the laughter and chatter of crowds of merry-makers. The temples themselves are evidently intended for congregational worship. Believers may come singly and perform their devotions in much the same way as they do at Shintō shrines; but on some occasions they come in large crowds and enter the roomy building. There they see ceiling and woodwork richly carved and decorated with numerous Buddhist emblems. There are often several altars with gilded images and candelabra, and the air is heavy with burning incense. The central image will be of Amida, Beroshana, or Shaka, with groups of other *avatars* on either side, and sometimes relics of Budhist saints are exposed for worship. The worshippers kneel on the matted floor in Japanese fashion, and devoutly bow their heads, while the priests, with elaborate ritual and in splendid robes, burn incense, recite the scriptures and chant prayers. In Jōdō and Nichiren temples the congrega-

tion joins in chorus, repeating over and over again one or other of the Buddhist formulæ mentioned above and telling their beads.

Buddhist Preachers and Leaders, and the Devotion of their Followers.

At other times large audiences listen enraptured to some famous Buddhist preacher as, with sonorous voice and an amazing flow of language and wealth of picturesque illustration, he addresses the people in a popular manner, and presses home various points of Buddhist belief and Buddhist teaching, mingled with Confucian ethics. The offertory-box is in a prominent place, and worshippers are expected to give some contribution before they leave the building, if, indeed, a collection has not already been made. Vast sums of money have been raised by the Buddhists of Japan in quite recent times, for the repair or rebuilding of temples and other purposes. Women have always been the staunchest and most self-sacrificing upholders of the Buddhist cause. The writer once witnessed the arrival of the wife of the chief abbot of the Shin sect at a railway station, and marked the profound respect shown to her by the leading townspeople and local officials. She had come to that town to address a large meeting of women on the subject of the Forward

Movement in the Shin sect. There is one sight at the Shin headquarters in the Nishi Hongwanji temple at Kyōto, which few can see without feelings of admiration for the devotion shown by the female followers of Shin. This is a collection of fifty stout ropes, made entirely from the black hair of 250,000 Japanese women, who had sacrificed their locks in order that at the building of their temple each beam might be lifted into place by ropes composed of some worthier material than straw.

The Great Defect of th Amida Cult

Is not a religion which can still inspire such devotion in its followers a formidable rival to Christianity? And yet the pathos of it is that the Amida theory, which is manifestly the motive power in all that is best of modern Japanese Buddhism, rests not on fact but on fancy. The reader will no doubt already have observed that the Shin ideas about the need of a Saviour, justification by faith, and the saving power of vicarious suffering are not without certain defects, when judged by the standard of the Christian revelation. But the chief defect of Amidaism is that it is founded on a myth. It has no historical background, no historic Incarnation, no historic Atonement by death, no historic Resurrection

from the dead, no historic descent of Pentecostal power. In a word it lacks reality; and the more learned and thoughtful among the Shin leaders must surely know that when the fierce light of modern criticism is brought to bear on the Amida theory, the whole system will crumble away; then Japanese Buddhism will be compelled either to revert, as it frequently has done, to speculative philosophy and vague pantheism, or even to gross superstition, and so lose its motive power, or on the other hand to turn knowingly to Christ—even to Him, Whom for so many centuries it has ignorantly worshipped under the name and guise of *Amida Butsu*, Lord of Boundless Light and Life. And if further attempts are made to imitate Christian methods of work, or to adapt Christian ethics to Japanese ways, or to admit Christ to a place in the Buddhist pantheon, this can only delay the conquest of Christianity for a time.

When Christianity overcomes its Greatest Rival in Japan.

If the Christian Church remains true to its creed and loyal to its Lord, the brazen walls of Buddhism, against which we still seem to beat in vain, will fall with a crash, and the hosts of God will be able to enter into possession of the inner citadel of the Soul of Japan. Then we may see Christian clergy doing the parochial work of Buddhist

priests, and Christian congregations flocking to the spacious aisles of transformed Buddhist temples, and stately well-ordered Christian services and sacraments taking the place of Buddhist rites; then we may hear the old deep-toned Buddhist bells calling Christians to worship, Christian sermons preached with all the force and eloquence of famous Buddhist preachers, and Christian responses sounding where Buddhist formulæ once echoed; then we may note the relegation to oblivion of Buddhist pantheism and the confused medley of Buddhist scriptures, reverence being paid instead to the inspired Word of the one true God — all because the hollow fiction of Amida has been replaced by the truth and reality of Christ. The intellectual activity and humanising influences, the high art and noble idealism of Japanese Buddhism will find a purer and more practical, but none the less congenial, sphere within the borders of the Christian Church; while the self-sacrificing devotion of its followers will derive a fresh and more potent source of inspiration from the Cross of Christ.

The Main Appeal of Christianity to Japanese Buddhism.

In a word—the main appeal of Christianity to the Japanese Buddhist will be that it provides him with a personal Saviour and

God, true in the historicity of His claims, and real in the efficacy of His saving power. Buddhism has supplied the deeper note of religious feeling in the Spirit of Japan, and has so far prepared the way for the Christian conquest of that spirit. The sense of sin and the idea of a Saviour-God as supplied by Japanese Buddhism is no doubt imperfect and incomplete; yet Buddhism in Japan has done something to emphasise the feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest in the human heart, and to keep awake the desire for Divine assistance. It has been and is the duty and privilege of Christianity to complete the work of Buddhism in Far Eastern Asia, and where necessary to rebuild its edifice on the sure foundations of the Rock of Ages.

Some Topics for Discussion.

The attraction of Northern Buddhism, as compared with Southern, for the modern mind.

Sectarianism in non-Christian religions as illustrated in Buddhism.

The debt of Japan to Buddhism.

The "living forces" in Buddhism as opposed to Christianity.

"Would you really trouble to convert a good Buddhist?" —a question asked by an English Christian of a missionary on furlough.

The best way of approach to the Buddhist world.

THE FEUDAL CASTLE OF KUMAMOTO

CHAPTER IV

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

THE PIONEERS AND EARLY PROGRESS.
- Feudalism in possession.
- The Story of Xavier and Anjirō.
- The Jesuit Mission.
- Nobunaga and the First Embassy.

THE MARTYRS AND THE LONG PERSECUTION.
- Hideyoshi and his Edict.
- Indiscretions of Merchants and Missionaries.
- Dissensions among the Orders.
- The Great Persecution under Ieyasu.
- Courage of the Missionaries.
- Cruelties inflicted upon the Christians.
- The "Christian Rebellion."
- The Saving Remnant.

BEARING UPON MODERN MISSIONS.
- Reasons for Failure of Mediæval Missions.
  - (*a*) Political connection of Missionaries.
  - (*b*) Dissensions and Indiscretions.
  - (*c*) Failure to build a Japanese Church and Ministry.
- Reasons for Early Success despite unfavourable circumstances.
  - (*a*) High Standard of Morality.
  - (*b*) Devotion to Jesus Christ.

Summary of Preceding Chapters.

Before proceeding with the subjects indicated by the headings of these next two chapters, it will be well to summarise the main conclusions at which we have already arrived in our study of the Spirit of Japan. In the first chapter we saw that the Japanese themselves attribute the peculiar qualities and remarkable achievements of their nation to the spirit which characterised the Yamato tribe in prehistoric times and inspired the members with the idea of obtaining supremacy over other tribes and welding them into one nation under one ruler. This spirit they call *Yamato-damashii*, or the Japan-spirit. In the second chapter we noted how this Japan-spirit was cradled and nurtured by Shintō, and owes to Shintō not only its early strength and inspiration, but also its persistence through the chequered history of a thousand years and its modern renaissance. And lastly, in the third chapter, we traced the progress and development of Buddhism in Japan, and observed how the intensely nationalistic spirit of the Japanese people, though for the most part deriving its motive power from the native cult, was yet profoundly influenced by the practice and doctrine of a foreign religion. Buddhism became the predominant religious factor in the further

development of the Japan-spirit, equipping it with learning and civilisation, with art and culture, with the practical details of an imperial government harmonising with democratic principles, and finally with that mental activity and religious fervour so necessary for the making of a great nation.

The question at once suggests itself—What has the Christian Church done, late though it was in reaching the shores of Japan, to touch the imagination of the Japanese people and to show them that the Christian religion is not less, but rather far more, capable than Buddhism of enriching and ennobling their national genius? The story of the Roman Catholic missions to Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of the re-entry of Christianity in the nineteenth will provide an answer to this question.

THE PIONEERS AND EARLY PROGRESS.

Japan made known to Europe.

It would seem that the earliest reports of Japan to reach Christian Europe were conveyed by Marco Polo, the well-known Venetian merchant, traveller and writer of the thirteenth century. The first Europeans to set foot on Japanese soil were some Portuguese mariners, whose ship was driven thither by a storm in 1542.

Francis Xavier and Anjirō.

In the same year Francis Xavier with two other Jesuits commenced missionary work in

the Indian dominions of the King of Portugal, with Goa as their headquarters. About six years later, when in Malacca, Xavier met a young Japanese known in after-history as Anjirō. Anjirō had slain a man in a quarrel, and to avoid arrest fled from his native country, finding refuge in a Portuguese ship, which brought him to Malacca. On the voyage he was taught something about Christianity by the kindly merchant who had befriended him, and on landing he applied to the vicar of Malacca for baptism, but was refused on the ground that he was married to a pagan. Subsequently he planned to return to Japan, but when in sight of the Japanese coast was driven back to China by a storm. He was again befriended by a Portuguese, and advised to go first to Malacca once more, where he would be introduced to Xavier, and then to Goa, where he would receive instruction for baptism and might induce some of the Jesuit fathers to return with him to Japan. This he did, and was baptized at Goa on the Day of Pentecost, 1548. About the same time his servant and a third Japanese, whom Xavier had sent from Malacca, were also baptized—these three being the first-fruits of Japan. Meanwhile Xavier had made enquiries of Anjirō as to the prospects of

The First-fruits of Japan.

success, if a Christian Mission were sent to Japan. Anjirō's reply is worthy of record, and might be applied in part to the Japan of to-day. "My people," he said, "would not immediately become Christians; but they would first ask you a multitude of questions, weighing carefully your answers and your claims. Above all, they would observe whether your conduct agreed with your words. If you should satisfy them on these points by suitable replies to their inquiries and by a life above reproach, then as soon as the matter was known and fully examined, the king (*daimyō*), the nobles, and the educated people would become Christians. Six months would suffice; for the nation is one that always follows the guidance of reason."

Xavier lands in Japan

Fired with enthusiasm at the thought of preaching Christianity to such a nation, Xavier made every effort to overcome the objections of his friends, and eventually started for Japan, accompanied by father Torres, a lay brother named Fernandez, and the three Japanese Christians. At Malacca favourable reports of the attitude of the Japanese towards foreigners reached them from Portuguese merchants. Greatly encouraged, they continued their voyage in a Chinese corsair, reaching Kagoshima, the largest town in

Anjirō's native province of Satsuma, on August 15, 1549.

Japan was then in a state of turmoil. The fortunes of the powerful Ashikaga family, which had held the Shōgunate since 1338, were on the wane, and for some years members of this family had been fighting among themselves. Kyōto, the capital, was desolated and depopulated by cival war; the central authority of both Emperor and Shōgun had been reduced to a mere name. The feudal lords did each one "that which was right in his own eyes." Those that were strong appropriated the territories of their weaker neighbours. Farmers and artisans as well as *samurai* found their principal occupation in fighting, and ambitious retainers were often able to supplant their masters or to seize castles and win some kind of independence for themselves. By Xavier and his successors the *daimyō*, or feudal lords, were with some reason regarded as semi-independent kings. The *daimyō* of Satsuma and of the neighbouring province of Bungo were two of the most powerful lords in the southern island of Kyūshū, and they, with the *daimyō* of Hirado in the same island, were of one mind in their wish to welcome foreigners to their territories. In the main island, the *daimyō*

Feudalism and resultant Chaos.

The Daimyō welcome Foreigners.

of Yamaguchi wielded great authority, and Xavier, after an adventurous but fruitless journey in the depths of winter and on foot to Kyōto, where he had hoped to see the Emperor and effect his conversion, came to the conclusion that Yamaguchi was at that time a more hopeful and important centre than ruined Kyōto, and accordingly commenced work in the former city. Meanwhile Torres had made a good beginning at Hirado, Anjirō being left at Kagoshima to care for the small company of believers that had been gathered in as the result of a year's work in that place. Sad to relate, Anjirō's zeal soon weakened, as the result of Buddhist opposition, and he came to a bad end.

Xavier's Departure and Death.

From Yamaguchi Xavier received an urgent invitation to visit Bungo, and having arranged for the establishment of a mission there, took advantage of the sailing of a Portuguese ship from Bungo on November 20, 1551, to return to India and seek for reinforcements. In twenty-seven months this energetic, fervent-minded Spaniard had started Christian work in four of the most important provinces in Japan, and had seen some hundreds of converts gathered into the Christian fold. A year later he was attempting to find some opening in the apparently impenetrable walls that still en-

closed the Chinese Empire when he was struck down with fever, and died on an island off the coast of China.

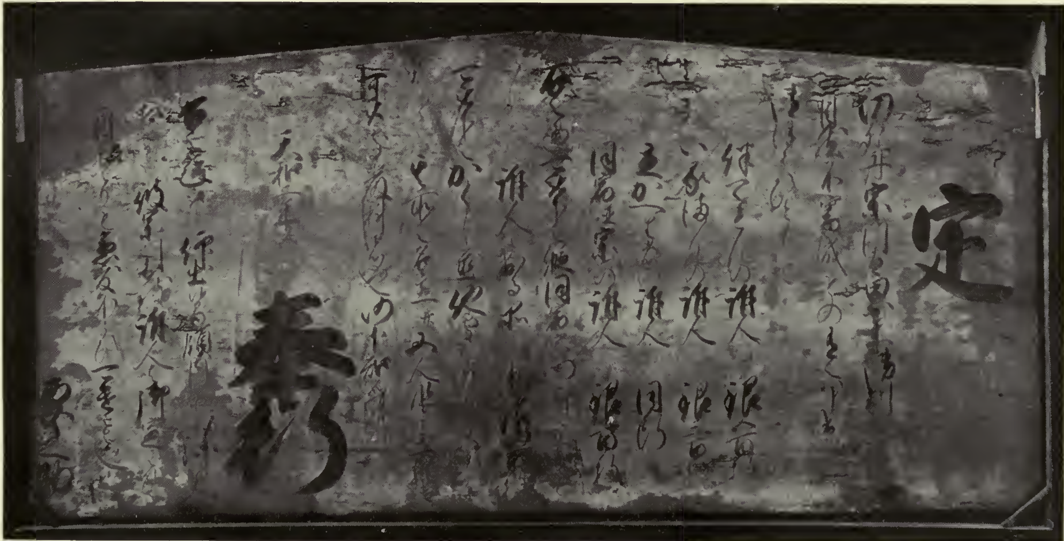
Progress of Jesuit Missions.

The reinforcements he had sent to Japan enabled the missionaries already in the field to extend their operations. By 1561 the churches of Japan were reckoned as five in number, while the Christians were now numbered by thousands. In 1563 the feudal lord of Ōmura—the first of the noble band of Christian *daimyō* — was converted, and twenty-five of his leading retainers received baptism at the same time. In Kyōto and its neighbourhood the work prospered exceedingly, and many men of high rank became Christians. The Shōgun became increasingly favourable, and the members of his court crowded to hear the sermons of father Vilela. In 1565 this Shōgun was slain, and Kyōto was again plunged into civil war. For a time the Buddhists obtained the ascendancy, and induced the Emperor to issue a proclamation prohibiting Christianity. This was the most serious check that the missionaries had hitherto received.

Rise of Nobunaga.

The outcome of the civil war was the rise to power of Nobunaga, the first of the "Three Great Men" who ruled Japan from 1568 to 1616 A.D. Nobunaga did not seize the

AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN NOTICE BOARD



(*Translation.*) EDICT AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

NOTICE.—Although the KIRISHITAN sect has been repeatedly prohibited, yet at every change of ruler it is right to issue a decree that rigid scrutiny must be made without cessation. Of course every suspicious person must be informed against. For their betrayal the following rewards will be given:—

For information against	"BATEREN" (Padre)	500 pieces silver
,, ,,	"IRUMAN" (Native Priest)	300 ,, ,,
,, ,,	EXILES who again believe this religion	300 ,, ,,
,, ,,	CATECHISTS or Ordinary Members	100 ,, ,,

Even Catechists or members who inform against the Bateren, or members of their own class, will be given 500 pieces of silver. according to the value of their information.

In case of concealment, not only the guilty persons, but the Mayor of the village and the whole company of five, together with all their relations, will be severely punished.

"BUGIYO," Chief of the Christian Extermination Commission.

P.S.—On account of my desire to exterminate this wicked religion, I will duplicate the reward offered by the Government to any one who will give information against those found believing this religion under my jurisdiction.

YENNOSUKE, *Village Mayor*.

Shōgunate, but his authority was paramount. He hated the Buddhist priests, whose influence with the Emperor was still considerable, and, partly out of opposition to them, began to show favour to the Christians. The work again went forward, and both there and in various parts of Kyūshū numbers of prominent men joined the Christian Church. Nobunaga himself never became a Christian, but continued to show favour to the Christian propaganda till his assassination in 1582. At that time it was reckoned that there were two hundred churches and 150,000 Christians in Japan, including three of the most powerful *daimyō* in Kyūshū. It was in this year also that these three great feudal lords sent an embassy to Europe. The embassy was composed of young men of high rank, and after visiting Macao and Goa they reached Lisbon, and from thence were taken through Spain to pay homage to the Pope at Rome. Wherever they went they were treated as ambassadors of royal rank, and it was intended, no doubt, that the very magnificence of their reception should impress on them the might and glory of the Christian lands of southern Europe. They were eight years absent from Japan, and on their return they found that the tide had begun to set against Christianity—so much so that

First Japanese Embassy to Europe.

the report they brought of their reception in Europe, far from impressing their fellow-countrymen in the way intended, served rather to confirm the growing suspicion that the Jesuit missions were but a cloak for designs of political conquests on the part of Western Powers.

THE MARTYRS AND THE LONG PERSECUTION.

Hideyoshi.

After Nobunaga's death the reins of power had fallen into the hands of one of his ablest retainers, Hideyoshi by name. A recent writer has described Hideyoshi as "the greatest man Japan has ever seen" and also "the greatest statesman of the century, whether in Japan or in Europe." His ambition was certainly boundless. By 1585 he felt himself strong enough to seize the office of regent, having consolidated his position in Central Japan by a judicious redistribution of fiefs. In the following year he gave an audience at the Ōsaka castle to the vice-provincial of the Jesuits and a large deputation of Christians. To them he explained his policy, saying that his next step would be to strengthen his authority in Kyūshū by reducing the fiefs of some of the *daimyō* in that island. He promised to give certain territories to Christian lords and the port of Nagasaki to the Church, and in return asked for their assistance in procuring two large ships

from the Portuguese. These he needed for the carrying out of further projects of conquest in Korea and China.

First Edict of Expulsion against the Jesuits.

A few days after this interview Hideyoshi gave the Jesuits a patent with permission to preach anywhere in his dominions, and certain other privileges. In 1587 he visited Kyūshū, a considerable part of which was then under Christian rule. Here a second interview with the vice-provincial was granted at Hakata. Hideyoshi appeared no less friendly than before; but suddenly, in a single night, his whole attitude changed, and on July 25, 1587, he issued an edict, ordering the Jesuits to leave Japan within twenty days—a period which was afterwards extended to six months. Japanese historians attribute the cause of this change of front to the arrogance of the Christian priests at Hakata; and it would certainly seem likely that Hideyoshi, noting the strength of Christianity in Kyūshū, merely followed his usual policy of preventing the formation of any coalition strong enough to oppose himself. In other words, his intention at first was not to destroy Christianity, but to reduce its political power. Another factor that contributed to his displeasure was the discovery that the Portuguese merchants were buying Japanese criminals and captives from

Reasons for the Antagonism.

the civil wars, and carrying them as slaves to India. It is said, too, that he resented Christian strictures on his private debaucheries, while the wording of the edict of expulsion showed that the forcible destruction of Buddhist temples, which unfortunately had been a common occurrence in several Christian fiefs, had given grave offence. Yet another reason for Hideyoshi's changed attitude may be found in the spread of Buddhist slanders accusing the Christians of sorcery. The medical and charitable work of the Jesuits was regarded with suspicion; and it would seem also that some of the less scrupulous of the Japanese Christian workers must have made use of legerdemain to impress the more ignorant of their hearers. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the belief, which afterwards dominated Japan for so many years, that Christianity and magic were closely connected.

Days of Suspense.

Various efforts were made to secure the withdrawal of the edict, but in vain. The six months of respite passed, and a ship was about to sail for Goa. The captain, however, was induced to declare that he had no room for so many passengers, and he sent an excuse to that effect to Hideyoshi. The immediate result was the destruction of mission buildings and

churches in Ōsaka and Kyōto. The Jesuits, who now numbered forty fathers and seventy-three lay-brothers (the latter including forty-seven Japanese), decided to scatter as widely as possible, and having adopted secular dress, to take refuge in the territories of certain Christian lords, and carry on their work for the time in secret. The Portuguese viceroy at Goa at once appointed father Valignani as a special envoy from himself, and sent him to Macao, in company with the Japanese ambassadors mentioned above, who were now returning home. The only result, however, was a letter from Hideyoshi to the viceroy, saying that he desired the continuation of trade with the Portuguese, but could not tolerate the presence of the missionaries, whose preaching caused religious strife and the subversion of Japanese laws and customs.

Hideyoshi's Campaign in Korea.

Meanwhile Hideyoshi's attention was taken up by the progress of his Korean campaign. The command of one of the two most important divisions in the invading army was given to a Christian lord named Konishi. There were four other Christian *daimyō* serving under him, and most of the rank and file in this division were also Christians, while for a time a Jesuit father was even allowed to accompany the force. The other division was led by Katō

Kiyomasa, a strong Buddhist and bitterly opposed to Christianity. There was great rivalry between these two divisions, but the honours in this not very creditable invasion of Korea were evenly divided. Hideyoshi had apparently no real doubt of Konishi's loyalty, though Katō did his best for a time to arouse suspicions against his Christian rival. It is possible that the faithful service of these Christian forces in Korea induced Hideyoshi to delay the execution of his edict against the Jesuits. Whether this was the reason of his inaction or not we cannot tell. Some think that the great man, now known by the title Taikō Sama, was too preoccupied with the conduct of the war, or that he feared the loss of Portuguese trade, which was daily becoming more of a necessity to the upper classes, owing to the new-born craze for European dress and Western ideas. The only thing certain was that the Jesuit missionaries here and there came out of hiding and that many thousands of new converts were added to the Church between the issuing of the edict in 1587 and 1595.

Interference of Spanish Merchants and Missionaries.

It almost seems that the Christian Church in Japan might have weathered the storm, had not certain indiscretions on the part of Spanish merchants and missionaries again aroused

Hideyoshi's wrath, and caused a renewal of active persecution in the last few years of his life. The Jesuit mission had hitherto been closely connected with Portuguese commerce and enterprise, and when Philip II. of Spain became also king of Portugal, the monopoly of trade and mission work in Japan was expressly reserved for the Portuguese and the Jesuits; the Pope also, in 1585, forbade any but Jesuits to exercise spiritual functions in Japan without his express permission. The Spanish merchants in the Philippines, however, had long been desirous of a share in the trade with Japan, and proceeded to make use of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries to forward their interests, in total disregard of the decrees of the Pope. The Jesuits were naturally angered at this intrusion into what they believed to be their own preserve—the more so as the newly arrived Franciscans settled down in Ōsaka and Nagasaki, towns already occupied by the Jesuits, and began to work in open defiance both of Hideyoshi's orders and of the protests of the Jesuits.

Resultant Dissensions amongst the Missionaries.

The dissension thus caused in the Christian community was fatal. Accusations and counter-accusations were forwarded to Rome, but without settlement of the quarrel. Even the appointment of the Jesuit father, Pierre

Martinez, in 1596, as the first Christian bishop in Japan, failed to restore harmony. About this time a Spanish ship was driven ashore during a tempest on the coast of Japan, and was seized by Hideyoshi's officers. The pilot of the ship, in his annoyance at this high-handed action, is said to have declared that the king of Spain was a most powerful monarch and would certainly take vengeance on those who wronged his subjects. He then produced a map of the world, and expatiated on the extent of the Spanish dominions, explaining further that the kings of Spain made a practice of using missionaries to prepare the way for their territorial conquests. This was reported to Hideyoshi, and greatly incensed him. He considered that he was the rightful suzerain of the Philippine Islands, and this fresh proof of what seemed to him the growing arrogance of Western powers no doubt helped to determine his course of action during the last two years of his life. The heavy hand of his displeasure fell first on the Franciscans. Three fathers and three brothers of this Order, with twenty Japanese Christians, were publicly crucified at Nagasaki on February 5, 1597. Among the Japanese were three brothers of the Society of Jesus, the others being young men and lads in the employ of

First Official Execution of Christians.

the Franciscans. There had been isolated cases of martyrdom some years previously, the victims being done to death by anti-Christian lords. The Twenty-Six, however, were the first to suffer by the order of the Government.

Second Anti-Christian Edict.

This drastic step was followed by another edict forbidding any *daimyō* to become a Christian, and ordering that all Jesuit missionaries were to be assembled at Nagasaki and sent out of the country as soon as possible. Exception was made of a few who might remain for the sake of ministering to the Portuguese merchants. The surviving Franciscans were at once deported. The majority of the Jesuits came to Nagasaki; but when the ship sailed, towards the end of 1597, Portuguese laymen dressed as priests crowded the decks, while the real priests remained on shore in concealment. The following year many churches and Jesuit residences in Kyūshū were destroyed.

Ieyasu in Power.

Hideyoshi died in 1598, and was succeeded in power by Ieyasu, whom he had nominated as the principal guardian of his young son. Ieyasu at once recalled the armies from Korea and thus set free the Christian *daimyō* from active service. Their return to their own fiefs and Ieyasu's encouragement of both Portuguese and Spanish trade led the mission-

aries to come out of hiding. Hideyoshi's edicts were ignored for the time being, and in two years another seventy thousand Christians were added to the Church, making a total of about 300,000 at this time. In 1600, however, Konishi, the great Christian *daimyō*, who had commanded a division in the Korean campaign and had been most active in Christian propaganda since his return, was rash enough to join in a great concerted movement against Ieyasu. The coalition was decisively beaten at the great battle of Sekigahara, on October 21st of that year, Konishi and another pro-Christian lord, amongst others, being beheaded. Four other Christian lords were deprived of their territories at the same time, while Katō Kiyomasa, the leading Buddhist *daimyō* in Kyūshū, began an active persecution of the Christians in his fief.

Rapid Advance of the Church followed by Complete Disaster.

These troubles quickly reduced the Church to about two-thirds of its strength previous to 1600. In the same year the Pope endeavoured to heal the quarrel between the Jesuits and the other Orders by allowing the latter to work in Japan, but only on condition that they went under the Portuguese flag. The Spanish merchants and priests, however, continued to disregard the Papal mandate. Further bodies

Further Indiscretions of Merchants and Missionaries.

of Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians from the Philippines landed in Japan, and the dissensions between these and the Jesuits had not a little to do with increasing the distrust of the Japanese. Matters were further complicated by the arrival of Dutch merchants. On the first of the Dutch ships to arrive off the coast of Japan in 1600 was an English pilot named Will Adams, who did much to open the way for Dutch and English commerce. He was much trusted by Ieyasu, who employed him in shipbuilding and as an adviser in foreign affairs, and eventually persuaded him to settle down in Japan. He was given a small fief, and his tomb is honoured to this day by the Japanese. Both he and Richard Cocks, who became manager of the English factory at Hirado in 1614, seem to have felt the strong antipathy displayed to them by the Roman Catholic missionaries, and their diaries show that they were not likely to speak favourably to the Japanese authorities about subjects of those countries with which England was then at war. There is, however, no reason for supposing that they concealed the nature of their own religion or were guilty of the un-Christian conduct that is laid to the charge of some of the later Dutch merchants.

In 1603 Ieyasu had himself appointed

Persecution becomes General.

Shōgun, and so laid the foundations of the famous Tokugawa Shōgunate, which lasted till 1868; Yedo, the modern Tōkyō, was their capital. In spite of his nominal retirement in favour of his son in 1605, Ieyasu continued to hold the reins of power till his death in 1616. Up to the year 1612 he continued to show favour to the missionaries. It is plain, however, that his attitude was due solely to his wish for commerce with foreign nations. Finally he became suspicious of the Spanish, as Hideyoshi had been; and from 1612 onwards persecution became general in many parts of Japan. Churches were demolished, the priests again driven into hiding, and leading Christians compelled to apostatise or suffer banishment. The Christians organised "Confraternities of Martyrdom" to prepare themselves to meet the gathering storm. Even little children scourged themselves till the blood ran, to accustom themselves to pain. For many of them, as they knew, would be called upon to suffer with their parents. On October 17, 1613, three prominent retainers of the *daimyō* of Arima in Kyūshū were burned with their families at the stake. They were supplied by their fellow-believers with festal robes, and a large image, representing our Saviour bound to the column where He was scourged, was

"Confraternities of Martyrdom."

erected in sight of the condemned Christians. After the faggots were lighted all joined in chanting the Creeds, the Paternoster and the Ave Maria. The cords that bound one of the children were quickly burned through, and the little one, thus set free, ran to his mother. "Look up to Heaven," she said; and clinging to her he perished in the flames.

The Second Embassy to Europe.

In other parts of Japan persecution was not so fierce, and even lagged for a time. Sotelo, a Franciscan father working in Yedo, was actually able to organise another Japanese embassy to Europe. This embassy was sent on the sole responsibility of Date Masamune, the powerful *daimyō* of Sendai. Date was not a Christian, and was more interested in Sotelo's plans for trade between Japan, Mexico, and Spain than in religion. The embassy started in 1613, and, travelling by Mexico, reached Spain in 1615. By the time of its return in 1620 Date had become a persecutor.

Ieyasu's Edict.

Meanwhile, Ieyasu's anger against the Christians increased. He was especially incensed at the reports that the Christians worshipped the relics of the martyrs in Kyūshū. He declared that a religion which taught reverence for the memory of criminals was "devilish." On January 27, 1614, he issued

a decree saying that Christianity must be crushed, on the ground that the missionaries planned to obtain possession of the land and encouraged disregard of the laws. Buddhist priests were also authorised to examine into the orthodoxy of their parishioners and supply certificates of the same. The missionaries and many of their converts were expelled from Kyōto. The former were sent to Nagasaki, for deportation. Nagasaki was still practically a Christian city, so that the various Orders, on arrival there, were able to organise imposing processions, in which leading priests scourged themselves or practised various austerities, to prepare the minds of the Christians for the coming tribulation. The altars in the churches were solemnly dismantled and the sanctuary lamps extinguished, while crosses and other emblems and relics were hidden away. Even the bones of the Christian dead were removed to other places, for fear of desecration.

Courage and Pertinacity of the Missionaries.

On November 7, 1614, about one hundred priests of the various Orders, with two ex-*daimyō* and other notable Japanese Christians, were deported to Manila and Macao. A few of the missionaries managed to return at once in small boats, leaving the junks on which they had sailed as soon as the guard-boats had

put back to Nagasaki harbour. Others had remained in concealment on shore, and so avoided deportation. It is estimated that about fifty of these heroic missionaries continued their work in disguise, travelling by night, visiting the sick, cheering the sad, administering the Sacraments, and even winning new converts. Ieyasu was for a time engaged in a struggle with Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori, with whom he had picked a quarrel. Many Christians sided with Hideyori, and when the latter's great castle at Ōsaka was captured, they were involved in the ruin of his cause.

Hidetada continues the Policy of Persecution.

Ieyasu died on June 1, 1616, and was succeeded by his son Hidetada, who at once began a vigorous campaign against the Christian religion. Richard Cocks, the English factor mentioned above, was hard put to it to explain that while the English were Christians and the king of England was called "Defender of the Faith," yet both the king and the people of England were hostile to the Jesuits. It was not without difficulty that he secured permission for the English to remain at Hirado, and even that concession was withdrawn in later years. By 1620 Cocks reported that the churches in Nagasaki had all been pulled down and the churchyards desecrated, but he added,

"I do not rejoice herein, but wish all *Japon* were Christian." Previously to this more priests had been expelled from the country; several had been put to death; and a price was put on the heads of those who were still at large. Executions of Japanese Christians were frequent. Japanese and Dutch historians say that about this time letters were discovered on captured ships, disclosing a Christian plot for calling in Spanish and Portuguese aid; but European writers are inclined to think these were Dutch forgeries in support of commercial and political rivalries. The story, whether true or false, must have fanned the flame. On October 7, 1619, fifty-two martyrs were burned to death at Kyōto. A herald preceded the carts calling out that these people were to die because they were Christians, and from time to time the Christians answered, "It is true; we die for Jesus. Blessed be Jesus." Women and children filled nine out of the eleven carts which conveyed the condemned Christians to the place of execution. One mother was there with five young children, from three to thirteen years of age; and all were burnt at the stake. On September 10, 1622, fifty-five more were executed at Nagasaki, including father Spinola, a Jesuit of noble birth and high scientific attainments, who had been in Japan

since 1602, and also eight other foreign priests. Yet it is recorded that, even with death staring all Christians in the face, the bitter dissensions between Jesuits and the other Orders still continued.

In 1623 Hidetada transferred the Shōgunate to his son, Iemitsu, and this was made the occasion for another outbreak of cruel persecution. The majority of the martyrs were crucified in the Japanese fashion, bound to a cross and transfixed with spears, or beheaded, or burned at the stake. Some were exposed naked in a pool of water in winter-time as night approached, with a snowstorm and frost setting in, and there slowly frozen to death. This was in the northerly region of Sendai; but in Kyūshū others were plunged into boiling sulphur springs. But the still worse ordeal of "the fosse" was invented a few years later; by this the victim was suspended in a pit head downwards, bound with cords in such a way as to retard the circulation of the blood. Death rarely came before two or three days at the earliest to relieve the intense suffering caused by congestion of blood in the head. The victim had generally one arm left free, with which to make the required sign of his recantation of the Christian faith.

Cruelties Inflicted upon the Christians.

Of the foreign priests only one is said to have yielded to this terrible torture, but his recantation was used to secure the apostasy of many of the weaker of the Japanese Christians. The policy of the Government was generally to strike at the priests and at prominent Christians and their families, and so terrify the humbler Christians into submission. Many of the latter must have died from hunger and exposure when driven into hiding or exile; others were no doubt cut down without trial or any form of legality. The official executions, carefully noted by the few priests who survived and afterwards escaped from the country, numbered about two thousand victims at the most.

In June 1635 new orders were sent by Iemitsu to all *daimyō*, ordering the complete extirpation of Christianity. Japanese ships and Japanese subjects were forbidden to go to foreign countries; and in the following year the Portuguese merchants, who still came for trade, were to be confined on landing to the small island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki.

The "Christian Rebellion."

In 1637 occurred the Shimabara Revolt, or "the Christian Rebellion," as it is called by the Japanese. For some years the farmers in the island of Amakusa and the neighbour-

ing peninsula of Shimabara, in Kyūshū, had suffered from the cruel exactions of their feudal lord, and at last rose in revolt. Large numbers of these peasants were Christians and had suffered for their faith as well as from taxation. The revolt was led by a young Christian who claimed supernatural powers. Not a few Christian warriors flocked to his banner; but the majority of the force under his command was composed of farmers and peasants, who yet showed extraordinary skill and courage in waging an unequal fight against the troops sent to suppress the revolt. Finally some twenty thousand men, women and children shut themselves into an old deserted castle in the peninsula of Shimabara. There they held out for some months against the repeated attacks of a vastly superior army. Even a Dutch ship was pressed into the service to help, with its cannon, in reducing the stubborn garrison, but with no great effect. The battlements were decorated with wooden crosses and Christian banners, while Christian war-songs sounded from the walls. At last ammunition and provisions gave out, and the castle was carried by assault on April 12, 1638. The entire garrison, irrespective of age and sex, was put to the sword. But some tardy recognition of the justice of their protest

against over-taxation was shown in the fact that the feudal lord, whose tyranny was the chief cause of the rising, was condemned to commit suicide.

Expulsion of Portuguese Merchants.

This formidable revolt persuaded the Government that no efforts should be spared that would result in the complete extirpation of Christianity. The Portuguese were suspected of having encouraged the rising, and in 1639 orders were given forbidding them to come any more to Japan, on pain of death. In spite of this the Portuguese merchants of Macao sent a ship to Nagasaki in the following year, with an embassy authorised to disclaim all connection with the revolt and to re-open commercial relations. The ship was seized and burned, and the four envoys with fifty-seven other persons were beheaded, leaving only thirteen of the crew to take the news back to Macao. Near the place where the heads of the slain were exposed the authorities had erected two notice boards, one setting forth the reason for their execution, and the other containing this bombastic inscription—"So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that if the king of Spain, or the Christians' God, or the great God of all violate this command, he

shall pay for it with his head." In 1647 two Portuguese ships again appeared; but though the crew were spared, they were not allowed to land and had to return without accomplishing anything. The Dutch alone were allowed to remain, and that only under most humiliating conditions, being strictly confined to Deshima and having to avoid any outward expression of Christian belief.

No Missionaries Remaining.

Meanwhile all the missionaries, except the one who had apostatised, had been killed or expelled. Throughout the earlier years of persecution reinforcements had occasionally arrived, while those who were expelled often managed to return in disguise. But it would seem that none escaped the rigorous search for priests in the years immediately following the Shimabara revolt. A band of Jesuits landed in 1642, but were all tortured and put to death. A second band, which followed them a year later, met the same fate, according to Roman Catholic historians. The Japanese say that all but one of this second band apostatised, and settled down in Japan, the last survivor, Chiara by name, dying at Yedo in 1685. In 1708 father Sidotti, a native of Palermo, had himself put on shore on the coast of Kyūshū. He was soon discovered, and carried prisoner first to Nagasaki

and then to Yedo, where he died in captivity six years later. He had the satisfaction of baptizing in prison a man and his wife who acted as his servants, and who had previously been in the service of Chiara.

The Remnant.

The Japanese Christians, thus left without priests and Sacraments, without Bibles (for the Jesuits, though they are said to have translated the whole New Testament, do not seem to have placed it in the hands of their converts) and without Christian instruction, save the knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments and the possession of a few Christian manuals, were yet not wholly extirpated. Some fled to Macao, the Philippines, Siam and other countries. Others remained, but managed to keep their faith a secret. As late as 1665 three hundred and seventy are said to have been put to death. The Government posted notices in every town and village prohibiting amongst other things "the evil sect of Christianity," and offering rewards for the discovery of priests or converts. They further appointed special officers whose duty it was to hunt out the Christians. One of their most effective plans was to make suspected persons trample on a cross or a picture of Christ. Those who

The Test—Trampling the Cross.

refused were at once condemned as Christians and put to death. Yet some Christians are said to have acquiesced outwardly, trampling on the sacred emblem, as ordered, and then, returning to their homes, to have washed their feet and drunk the water. In 1669 the authorities at Nagasaki made a copper tablet or medallion with the Crucifixion scene on one side and a representation of Our Lord bound for scourging on the other; this was in regular use till the nineteenth century. A Dutch traveller, visiting Nagasaki in 1775, describes the yearly inspection of the inhabitants of each ward of the city, and mentions that even little children were held by their mothers in such a way that their tiny feet trampled the figure of Christ. The Christian Church established in Japan in the year of grace 1549, with such promise of abiding success, seemed, a hundred years later, to have been utterly destroyed. In less than fifty years Christianity had succeeded in captivating the imagination and securing the allegiance of hundreds of thousands of Japanese, including many of the noblest and highest in the land. In another fifty years the ground thus gained was almost entirely lost, and the Japan-spirit was left with a strong and bitter bias against the Christian Religion.

The tragic story of the introduction of Christianity into Japan has been told with some detail, partly because of its intrinsic interest and as an act of homage to the heroism of the early Christian missionaries and their Japanese converts, but more particularly because of its bearing on the problem of modern Christian missionary effort among the Japanese people. To learn the lessons of past experience is the obvious duty of the Christian Church, and no one who is praying and working for the ultimate Christianisation of the spirit of modern Japan can afford to overlook the reasons for the previous success and failure of Christianity in that land.

BEARING UPON MODERN MISSIONS.

Reasons for the Failure of Mediæval Missions in Japan.

(*a*) Political Connection of Missionaries.

The reasons for failure are, perhaps, more obvious to the average Protestant reader. First and foremost there was the neglect to take into account the intense nationalism of the Japan-spirit. The claims of the Roman Church to political supremacy here, as elsewhere, blinded her sympathies and weakened her spiritual endeavours. The close connection of the Jesuits with the Portuguese Government, and still more that of the other Orders with the power and authority of Spain, did far more harm than good to the missionaries' cause.

The temporary advantages they enjoyed while the craze for foreign trade lasted were not to be compared with the difficulties they afterwards experienced, when once suspicion of the designs of foreign Powers had seized on the Japanese mind.

(b) Dissensions and Indiscretions.

The dissensions between the rival forces of Christianity, the indiscretions of individual Portuguese or Spanish merchants, the harshness of some of the Christian *daimyō* in pulling down Buddhist temples and expelling Buddhist priests from their territories, the unfortunate participation of other prominent Christians in movements against the authority of Ieyasu, and finally the confessedly Christian character of the Shimabara revolt in its later developments, all provide further reasons for the downfall of the early Christian Church in Japan. We might mention, too, the lack of cohesion or of any settled policy among the Christian or pro-Christian feudal lords. None of them was strong enough to form a Christian coalition; and indeed, in the earlier days, so loose was the bond between the principalities where Christianity was favoured that Christian soldiers were often forced, through loyalty to their respective masters, to fight against one another. One instance is recorded of a truce arranged at Christmas

time between two contending parties; the Christians on either side met together to receive the Sacrament and exchange Christmas greetings, then separated with mutual apologies for the necessity of resuming hostilities!

(*c*) Failure to build up a Japanese Church and Ministry.

Yet another reason for failure was the neglect to provide an adequate supply of Japanese priests. There is reason for believing that many of the leading Jesuits were afraid to admit Japanese converts too freely to the higher ranks of their Society, and preferred to keep the control of the mission in their own hands. Japanese fathers were never numerous, though large numbers of Japanese brothers and other lay-workers were regularly employed. It is probable that, after the final expulsion or martyrdom of the priests, many of the workers of humbler grades continued in secret to instruct the faithful and to keep the small remnant of Christians in Kyūshū from altogether lapsing into Buddhism. Two hundred and fifty years afterwards it was discovered by the newly arrived French Roman Catholic missionaries at Nagasaki that lay-baptism had been practised from generation to generation and that definite Christian instruction had been handed down both orally and by the use of Christian manuals. But the paucity of Japanese priests from the first,

and the absence of any provision for the continuation of a native ministry, as also the neglect to leave behind them the Scriptures in Japanese, were no doubt partly responsible for the sad fact that in every part of Japan, except certain districts in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, the Christian Church was literally wiped out.

How far these causes of failure in the past have in any way recurred under modern conditions I leave to the consideration of the reader, merely remarking that neglect to take into account the intense nationalism of the Japan-spirit, reliance on European or American prestige, the inharmonious multiplication of Christian forces, the lack of *esprit de corps* among the Japanese Christians as a whole, and a certain hesitation in placing the control of mission work in the hands of the Japanese Church and the Japanese ministry, are faults by no means unknown in modern missionary enterprise in Japan.

Reasons for Early Success despite Unfavourable Conditions.

And now let me add one word about the reason for the rapid success of the early Christian Church of Japan in the days before the great failure. Some may think that the conditions in Japan were peculiarly favourable at that time. As a matter of fact, apart from the widespread desire for foreign trade, the out-

look was not propitious. The central government was far from strong when Christianity first arrived, and for more than half the period during which the missionaries were at work the country was constantly convulsed with civil war. The Buddhist authorities, again, did all they could to oppose Christianity. Morally, the Buddhist priesthood was very weak in those days, and the bold denunciation by the early missionaries of the unspeakable vice that was notorious in the Buddhist monasteries brought them almost at once into collision with the Buddhist community. Politically the Buddhists were then at the zenith of their power. Shintō had long been absorbed into their system, and they dominated every department of the nation's life. But the gross immorality and worldliness of the Buddhist priests had begun to alienate the sympathies of many of the *samurai* class. Nobunaga for one so cordially detested them that he attacked the fortified monastery of the Tendai sect near Kyōto, captured it, and put to the sword all its inmates with the priests, their concubines and their children; while on another occasion his heavy hand was felt by priests of the Nichiren sect. Nobunaga's favour may have been a help to the Christian Church in some respects, but it increased Buddhist opposition,

and the fact remains that the political and religious outlook in Japan in those days was on the whole unpropitious to the advance of Christianity. To what then must we attribute the early success of the Christian Church?

(a) High Standard of Morality.

One reason of its success was the high standard of morality that it preached and practised. So severe, indeed, were the strictures which the missionaries laid on the national sins of the Japanese of that day, such as immorality and infanticide, that many were offended thereby. Nobunaga himself frequently remarked that if the seventh commandment (according to our enumeration of the Decalogue) were not made obligatory on all Christians, he and many other great men would apply for baptism. This, with the emphasis on the sinfulness of sin and the actuality of salvation, and the profound importance attached to penance and self-discipline (exaggerated though the latter may have been), was all in striking contrast to the hollow unreality of contemporaneous Buddhism, and appealed to those whose trust in the Buddhist faith was beginning to wane.

(b) Devotion to Jesus Christ.

Then the extraordinary zeal and energy and learning of the Jesuits counted for much. But if there was any one thing to which we may point as the chief cause of their

success, I think we may say it was their devotion to Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Mariolatry was freely taught by the early Christian missionaries to Japan, and one has heard of an ancient image of the Virgin and Child now worshipped by Japanese Buddhists in a Buddhist temple. But there is abundant evidence that the central object in the early Christian places of worship in Japan was not the Virgin and the Infant Christ, but Christ crucified. I have before me, as I write, a thin piece of Japanese paper, on which is traced the design of the two sides of the medallion made at Nagasaki in 1669, for the purpose of the trampling ceremony. The paper is brown and stained with age, and a note on one side states that the tracing was made in the Nagasaki town-office about eighty-five years ago. I bought it for a small sum from a countryman in the heart of the Kyūshū mountains. Did some ancestor of his copy it for its historical interest, or perchance to terrify some inhabitant of his village who was suspected of being a secret adherent of the "evil sect"? The paper is silent on that point; but it is a mute witness of the fact attested by abundance of other evidence, that the belief in a suffering and crucified Saviour was the centre of the Christian teaching of

those days, and the source of strength no less than it was the rock of stumbling. *In hoc signo vicit Ecclesia et vincet.*

Some Topics for Discussion.

Political circumstances as a help or a hindrance in the introduction of Christianity into Japan.

The relative value of the work of the Jesuit missionaries and that of the pioneer Japanese Christians, in opening up Japan to the Gospel.

The distinguishing glories of the early missions to Japan.

Persecution as an element in the spiritual progress of the Church in Japan.

The rebuke and the appeal made to the whole Church by the failure of mediæval missions in Japan.

CHAPTER V

THE REINTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

CONDITIONS IN JAPAN AT BEGINNING OF NINETEENTH CENTURY.
- Isolation of Japan.
- Influence of Confucianism and Buddhism.
- Forces making for Change.

PIONEER STAGE OF MODERN MISSIONS.
- Opening of the Closed Doors.
- Work of Verbeck, Williams and Hepburn.
- Abolition of Shōgunate.
- Discovery of numbers of Secret Christians.
- Difficulties of Pioneer Work.
- Neesima and the Dōshisha.
- Influence of Christianity in Progress of Japan.

REACTION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.
- Political Causes.
- Theological Controversies.
- Connection of Christianity with the West.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.
- Difficulties in the way of Educational Missions.
- Medical Missions no longer a necessity.
- Emphasis on Evangelistic Work.

JAPANESE historians, from the seventeenth century to the present time, are unanimous

JOSEPH HARDY NEESIMA

in declaring that the attempted destruction of the early Christian Church in Japan, harsh though it must seem from a modern point of view, was an absolute necessity for the preservation of national unity. The spirit of Japan could not brook foreign interference or threat of foreign domination; and rightly or wrongly the rulers of Japan in those days believed that the missionaries were the *avant couriers* of the king of Spain. Besides, Christianity was a hindrance to the complete unification of Japan, for which Nobunaga and, still more, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu had all worked. So long as Christianity was powerful enough to attract large numbers of Japanese, and yet continued to be opposed to the Ryōbu-Shintō, which was the religion of the bulk of the nation, Japan was a house divided against itself and therefore in danger of foreign invasion.

Japanese fear of Foreign Domination.

Two courses lay before the men who then controlled the nation's destiny. They could themselves have embraced Christianity and then have so encouraged its propagation that within a short time the Christian Church might have become the rallying centre of the nation. But, after considerable hesitation, they chose the more obvious alternative of crushing the new religion before it grew

too strong; and their action was so far justified that for two hundred and fifty years Japan was free from civil war and foreign intrigue. Throughout that period the Tokugawa line of Shōguns reigned supreme. The Shōgun was still nominally the minister and vassal of the Emperor, but the latter lived in splendid retirement at Kyōto, while the former ruled in the Emperor's name at Yedo. In the last great redistribution of fiefs by Ieyasu, it was so arranged that all the more important territories came under the rule of members or dependents of the Tokugawa family; while to prevent any of the other *daimyō* from cultivating too great a sense of independence, it was decided that every feudal lord should spend six months of each year at Yedo, and for the rest of the time should leave his wife and family there, as hostages for his continued loyalty.

Government centralised under the Tokugawas.

By such means as this the authority of the central government was greatly strengthened; but the provinces must have derived no good from the frequent absence of the territorial lords, whose officers had every opportunity of mismanaging affairs while their masters lived in enforced retirement at the Shōgun's capital. Another frequent

cause of unrest and trouble was the large number of *rōnin* scattered about the country. These *rōnin* were *samurai* who had been outlawed or had lost their feudal lord through death or other causes. They roamed everywhere seeking employment, and their presence was one of the causes of the Revolution of 1868. The country also suffered from the prohibition of both foreign commerce and the building of any large sea-going ships. The imports through the agency of the Dutch merchants at Nagasaki were naturally limited in quantity and kind. Inter-port trade was reduced to insignificant proportions, and the status of the Japanese merchant declined. Each province was dependent largely on its own resources, and agriculture was the principal industry. The life of the people was monotonous in the extreme, but not altogether unhappy so long as the *daimyō* and his officers lived up to their profession of *Bushidō*. Art flourished, and the feudal *régime* had a noble and picturesque side, though there are old people in Japan to-day who could also tell something of its darker side. The truculence of less worthy representatives of the *samurai* class, the disregard of the value of individual human lives, the callous treatment of lunatics,

CONDITIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Darker aspects of Feudal Japan.

or of the sick in times of pestilence, or of lepers and beggars, the torture of criminals, and the infliction of the death penalty for trifling offences, must all be set against the picture we may have formed in our minds of the beauty of "Old Japan."

Meanwhile the Confucian classics sufficed to satisfy the intellectual needs of the nation —at least until the revival of the purely national literature of Japan. Confucian ethics had long been known by the Japanese, but it was Ieyasu who first caused the Confucian classics to be printed in Japan. During the two hundred and fifty years that followed, the national ideals seemed to be formed largely on Confucian ethics. There was, however, one great distinction between Japanese and Chinese Confucianism and it was this. In the "five relations" of child to parent, servant to lord, younger brother or sister to elder, wife to husband, and friend to friend, filial piety had always held the first place in China. In Japan loyalty to master or lord took the precedence, and it was on this modification of the original Chinese Confucianism that the feudal system of Japan and *Bushidō* rested.

Influence of Confucianism.

Thus Confucianism, no less than Buddhism, became increasingly Japonicized. Save for

Isolation of Japan.

a few Dutch books of scientific character and occasional contact with Chinese thought, which filtered in through Nagasaki, Japan gradually became completely isolated from the outside world. To all appearance it seemed as if she had actually and permanently succeeded in shutting out all foreign influence and living a life of her own, in full accordance with her own national ideals. So stereotyped had the system of government and the life of the people become that change might well have been judged impossible. Buddhism, too, in its Japanese dress, appeared to have regained its popularity, and to have settled down into a fixed groove dominating Shintō, as it had done for centuries past. It was now further strengthened by its position as the official inquisitor entrusted with the duty of detecting the presence of any "evil sects." Meanwhile, "Christianity was remembered only as an awful scar on the national annals."

Forces of Change.

But God, who forgives the mistakes and failures of His Church, and never forgets the toil and patience and tribulation of His faithful servants, was preparing the way for the reintroduction of the Christian religion into Japan. Beneath the apparently unchangeable surface of Japanese life there were

forces at work that were destined to bring to an end the *régime* of the Tokugawa Shōguns. The leaven that was to work this unlooked-for change was slow in taking effect, and it was not Christian in its origin. It was due rather to the revival of Shintō, of which some account was given in the second chapter.

It is related of the founder of this new movement—the famous *daimyō* of Mito, in the seventeenth century—that one of his retainers was a Christian, who had somehow escaped persecution and death. One day he was summoned to his lord's presence, and asked to set forth reasons for the faith he professed. In answer he handed to his master a Chinese New Testament.[1] The great man is said to have read and re-read the book, and then to have shut it up, and, sealing it so that it could not be opened without breaking his seal, to have written these words on the cover—"Surely this is a wonderful book, worthy of acceptance. Its effect is to create in the believer a longing for liberty and freedom, for which the present state of our country is not yet ripe. Mito Komon forbids this book to be opened."

[1] Probably one of the Gospel harmonies or selected translations made by the Roman Catholic missionaries in China.

The printed page of the Christian revelation was thus sealed up, and the testimony of the Christian Church was likewise sealed. But the Shintō leaven was at work, and went on working silently and secretly for more than a century and a half, undermining the paramount influence of Buddhism and Confucianism and preparing the way for a great national renaissance. During that period the authority of the Shōgunate remained to all intents and purposes unimpaired. In 1853, however, its reputation was greatly weakened by the failure of its officers to repel Commodore Perry's mission, sent by the United States Government to request facilities for trade. The first treaty with the U.S.A., opening two ports to American trade, was signed the following year. This was followed by the conclusion of treaties with other nations, including one with Great Britain, which was ratified on August 26th, 1858. It was a much more comprehensive document than that which embodied the result of Commodore Perry's negotiations; but the latter had already been replaced by a revised treaty, negotiated by Mr Townsend Harris, signed in July 1858. Mr Harris was an earnest Christian and determined to secure toleration for Christianity, if possible;

PIONEER STAGE OF MODERN MISSIONS.

Way opened for Missionary Work.

and though definite permission for missionaries to proselytise was not inserted in this treaty, there were clauses allowing Americans in Japan "the free exercise of their religion" and "the right to erect suitable places of worship." The American Government promised that its subjects in Japan would abstain from doing anything to excite religious animosity, while the Japanese on their part professed to have abolished already "the trampling on religious emblems." Other nations were not slow to take advantage of the concessions thus granted, and it was under shelter of these clauses that Christian ministers of religion again entered the country. Chaplains from the various men-of-war soon found they were not interfered with in the conduct of Christian services and Christian burials on shore. Then, on May 2nd, 1859, the Rev. J. Liggins of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America landed at Nagasaki as the first Christian missionary since Sidotti.

Pioneers of Modern Missions.

A month later he was followed by the Rev. C. M. Williams (afterwards Bishop) of the same mission. A few months later still Roman Catholic missionaries, who had for many years previously been attempting to reach Japan by establishing a mission in the Lūchū islands, arrived at Yedo and

A CHRISTIAN KINDERGARTEN

Hakodate. In the autumn of the same year Dr Hepburn of the American Presbyterian Board, and the Rev. S. R. Brown, the Rev. G. F. Verbeck and Dr Simmons, of the Reformed Church in America, reached Kanagawa.

Verbeck. Of the five pioneers of Protestant missions in Japan whose names have just been mentioned, perhaps the most famous are the Rev. G. F. Verbeck, Bishop Williams, and Dr Hepburn. The first of these three was a Dutchman by birth, though educated in the United States. He was much trusted by the Japanese Government, and influenced very deeply the foundation of their great educational system. As far back as 1877 he received from the Emperor the Third Class decoration of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun—an honour which was also conferred on Dr Hepburn in 1905, when this veteran missionary, then in retirement in America, celebrated his ninetieth birthday.
Hepburn. Dr Hepburn worked in Japan till 1892, and gained the esteem of all, both Japanese and foreigners, by "the beauty of his character, his untiring charity, his absolute self-negation, and his steady zeal in the cause of everything good." His work was chiefly medical and literary.
Williams. That of Bishop Williams was mainly pastoral, for he was made Bishop,

first of all China and Japan, then of Japan alone, till the Japanese mission-field was divided into several dioceses. He continued in the active duties of the episcopate till 1889, when he resigned and for another nine years worked on in Japan as an ordinary missionary, greatly beloved and trusted by the Japanese.

Political Unrest.

Such were some of the pioneers whose untiring labours helped to build up the Protestant branches of the Christian Church in Japan. But our brief summary of their work has carried us down in thought almost to the present time, and we must return to a consideration of the early days of modern missions in Japan. The long closed doors of this "hermit nation" had been at the first most unwillingly opened, and though merchants and missionaries were quick to take full advantage of the peaceful signing of the treaties with foreign nations, the fruits of their enterprise were not reaped without some trouble and even bloodshed. The action of the Shōgun in concluding these treaties without the approval of the Emperor was declared by many to be unconstitutional. The turbulent *samurai*, posing as representatives of the new national movement, resented the intrusion of foreigners on the sacred soil

of Japan, and a succession of outrages kept the foreign communities in a state of alarm for some years. In 1863 the powerful *daimyō* of Chōshū, secretly encouraged, so it was said, by the Imperial Court at Kyōto, opened fire on English, French, Dutch and American ships; the result was the bombardment and destruction of the Shimonoseki forts by the combined fleets of these powers. The Shōgun and his advisers were placed in a position of great difficulty by this precipitate action. They were just as desirous as the rest of their fellow-countrymen to rid themselves as far as possible of the presence of the unwelcome foreigners; but this they were endeavouring to effect by the arts of diplomacy when the unfortunate "Shimonoseki affair" occurred. A heavy indemnity was exacted by the victorious allied fleets, and the Shōgun felt called upon to punish the *daimyō* of Chōshū for the humiliation he had brought upon Japan. In attempting to do so he was himself defeated and died. Thereupon the Emperor, instigated by the *daimyō* of Chōshū and Satsuma, refused to recognise his successor. Thus was brought about the Great Revolution, which marks the real beginning of the astonishing story of the progress of modern Japan.

A Nationalist Movement brings about the Abolition of the Shōgunate.

The Shōgunate, which had lasted for seven hundred years, was abolished. Then followed the voluntary surrender by the *daimyō* of their fiefs into the Emperor's hands, they and their retainers receiving from him adequate compensation, so that he thus became the *de facto* ruler of the whole country. The triumph of the extreme nationalists seemed to be at length almost complete. Nothing remained now save to drive out the hated foreigner, and then Japan would once more become wholly Japanese. But at this juncture the *daimyō* of Chōshū and Satsuma and their leading clansmen, by whose aid the absolute authority of the Emperor had been vindicated and established, began to change their opinion with regard to foreign intercourse. Under the influence of these two clans the reactionary tendencies of the Imperial party were checked, foreign trade was encouraged, and rapid progress began to be made in the reorganisation of the government on European lines, with a view to the eventual promulgation of a constitution.

Nationalists begin to favour Foreign Intercourse.

Meanwhile, how had it fared with the cause of Christianity in these days of turmoil and unrest and revolution? As in the days of the first introduction of Christianity, so

now, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries found themselves beginning work in times of stir and movement. But there was this one all-important difference. In the sixteenth century the Japanese were able to listen to the Christian message with more or less unbiassed minds. In the nineteenth century, when Christianity was reintroduced, the very name of Christ was anathema to the average Japanese. The edict stigmatizing the Christian Church as an "evil sect" remained unrepealed. The notice-boards posted in every town and village, prohibiting the Christian religion, were still standing. For five years the French Roman Catholic workers in Nagasaki were unable to come in contact with any of the descendants of the old Christians, much less make any new converts. They built a church, however, and crowds came to see it, including many police spies. On March 17th, 1865, the priest in charge opened the church door to a group of sightseers. He then proceeded to kneel down and pray, when three women kneeling by him said in a low voice, "The hearts of all of us here do not differ from yours." On further inquiry the priest found out the name of

Hostility towards Modern compared with favourable reception of Mediæval Missions.

their village, Urakami near Nagasaki, and received the consoling intelligence that their fellow-villagers were nearly all secret Christians, that they had clear knowledge of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary, that they observed Sunday and kept Christmas and Lent, recited certain prayers at daily family worship, possessed a Christian manual, and had all received lay baptism, with the Latin formula, at the hands of an official baptizer, whose office was apparently in this case hereditary.

Discovery of Secret Christians.

By June 18th of the same year the Roman Catholic missionaries had heard of twenty similar Christian communities, for the most part in districts not far from Nagasaki and in the Goto islands. In all it is estimated that about fifty thousand of these descendants of the ancient Christians were discovered. About one-half of these eventually joined themselves to the freshly organised branch of the Roman Catholic communion in Japan. Of the remainder some were merely nominal believers and found it prudent from a worldly point of view to stand altogether aloof, and others again no doubt, though joining the Church for a time, were subsequently compelled to apostatize by the fresh persecution which broke out in 1867 and lasted till 1873.

One of the first acts of the Imperial Government, after the overthrow of the Shōgunate, was to issue instructions to the authorities in Kyūshū ordering the arrest and deportation of the Christians in the Nagasaki district. Protests were made by the representatives of foreign powers, but without avail. In 1870, three thousand Christians were deported from Urakami and official protests were renewed. But the Japanese Government insisted on their right to independent action outside the treaty-ports, asserting that missionaries had no permission to visit country districts and that the Japanese Christians had been guilty of insulting conduct in their attitude towards Shintō shrines and deities. They promised, however, to treat the prisoners leniently, and explained that their main desire was to remove them out of reach of the French priests. It was affirmed by the latter that the Christians were frequently tortured, and that many died from hardship and exposure. Nor were they alone in making this assertion. Mr Ebara, afterwards a prominent Methodist Christian and a leading member of the Japanese Parliament, relates how some of the Christian exiles were placed under his care by a provincial governor, who also afterwards became a Christian. He

Edicts of the Imperial Government against Christians.

Steadfastness of the Christians.

describes the methods adopted to persuade the Christians to apostatize. In one case a mother and infant were imprisoned, and food withheld from the former, so that she was soon unable to nurse her child, and was nearly distracted by its piteous cries. Yet when food was offered on condition that she recanted, her only reply was this, "I prefer to die and kneel at the feet of my Lord." So moved was the governor by her courage that he eventually allowed food to be given her. The wonderful steadfastness of these poor exiles so influenced Mr Ebara and others that in later days they too became Christians.

These few facts concerning the revival of Roman Catholic missions in Japan are noteworthy, because of the light they throw on the often disputed question whether the Japanese possess the virtue of religious constancy or not, and whether or not when left entirely to themselves they can be counted upon to preserve their Christian faith and discipline.

Abandonment of Anti-Christian Policy.

Not till 1872 did the Japanese Government begin to relent. Then, largely as the result of the return of the Japanese Embassy of 1871, which had found the Christian Governments of Europe and America most un-

GROUP OF DELEGATES AT THE W.S.C.F. SUB-CONFERENCE AT KUMAMOTO

sympathetic towards the question of treaty revisions, the anti-Christian policy hitherto maintained was seen to be highly impolitic, and was consequently abandoned. In 1873 the notice-boards containing among other things the prohibition against Christianity, which had been republished in 1869, were silently removed, and the exiles were allowed to return to their homes.

During this period—1859 to 1872—the Protestant missionaries also had laboured under great disadvantages. Though the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were known, yet those who were most bitterly opposed to Christianity were quick to see that in most essentials the two forms of religion were one faith. In 1868 pamphlets were widely circulated in Kyūshū which declared that "the Jesus or Protestant doctrine" was really just as bad as the Roman Catholic faith, if not worse, and that their respective adherents were "foxes of the same hole." The chief objection to Christianity mentioned in these brochures was that it did not inculcate filial piety and loyalty to lord and master, and was therefore subversive of the root principles of Japanese society.

Difficulties of Pioneer Work.

The Rev. G. Ensor, of the Church Missionary Society, the first English missionary

to Japan, who arrived at Nagasaki in 1869, describes the difficulties of pioneer work. Most inquirers could dare only to come at night and converse with him behind barred doors and shuttered windows. Government spies were everywhere present, sometimes appearing as professed inquirers, and promising developments were often broken up by their interference. In the first twelve years of Protestant mission work only ten converts were gathered into the fold, and these had naturally to be baptized in secret. The first was a missionary's language teacher, who was converted in 1864, and received baptism shortly before his death. Better known among the early converts were two brothers, the elder of whom, Murata Wakasa, was the principal officer of the *daimyō* of Saga. In 1855 he was in charge of a guard-boat ordered to watch the movements of certain French and English vessels that had visited Nagasaki harbour. One day he noticed a book floating upon the water, and ordered his men to pick it up. It proved on examination to be a Dutch New Testament. Some time after, hearing that a Chinese translation of the same book was in existence, Wakasa sent a man to Shanghai to purchase a copy. With his younger brother and two other persons he

Wakasa and his New Testament.

then began a careful study of the book. In 1862 Ayabe, the younger brother, travelled to Nagasaki to see if he could meet with any foreigner to explain difficult passages contained in it. There he met the Rev. G. F. Verbeck, and was able to warn him of a plot for his assassination. Later Wakasa sent from time to time a trusted servant, Motono by name, from Saga to Nagasaki (a journey which then occupied nearly two days) with new lists of questions. Finally, in 1866, on the Day of Pentecost (the same day on which Anjirō had been baptized at Goa) Wakasa and Ayabe were admitted by baptism into the fellowship of Christ's flock. Besides Dr Verbeck and his wife the only other witness was the trusted Motono. But on their return to Saga, the two brothers at once reported their conversion to their feudal lord, who left them unmolested, though subsequently some of Wakasa's books were burned by order of the central Government. Wakasa died in 1874, still firm in the faith. Ayabe and other members of the same family were well-known Christians for many years. It was surely worth all the toil and danger and disappointment of those early years to have brought such men as these into the knowledge of the Gospel.

"The year 1873," writes Dr Otis Cary, "was a turning point in the history of Christianity in Japan." We have already seen how the attitude of the Government had suddenly changed. Many leaders of thought began to speak and write in favour of Christianity, though mainly on the ground that it was part of the now admired civilisation of the West. Large accessions to the missionary ranks arrived about this time, and though there was still much opposition in certain quarters, far greater freedom was experienced in the work, which gradually extended to all the treaty-ports. For many years missionaries were not allowed to travel in the interior without passports, which were issued only for "health" or for "scientific investigation." Residence there was not permitted, except for purposes of teaching in the Government schools. Many of the foreign teachers of English in early days were earnest Christian men and did much to encourage their students in the study of the Bible. Not a few missionaries signed contracts as teachers of English and were thus able out of school hours to teach Christianity without serious let or hindrance in the inland towns where they resided and even to baptize converts.

The Turn of the Tide.

In Kumamoto, an important town in

Kyūshū, under the influence of Captain Janes, a retired U.S.A. army officer who was teaching English in that town, some forty students entered into a solemn covenant "to enlighten the darkness of the Empire by preaching the Gospel, even at the sacrifice of their lives." The pine-tree under which they met and signed the covenant, in Japanese fashion, with their own blood, is still standing. These young men met with great opposition from their parents, but the majority stood firm and went to study at the Christian college known as the Dōshisha, recently opened at Kyōto.

The foundation of such a school in the very midst of the ancient stronghold of Buddhism was due to the zeal of two famous Japanese Christians. One of these was Joseph Hardy Neesima (more properly spelt Niishima) whose remarkable life is well-known to English readers. He had paid a secret visit to America in the days when a voyage to a foreign country was still for a Japanese a criminal offence. There he was befriended and sent to college. Then having become an earnest Christian, and being most anxious to found a Christian college in Japan, he collected funds and returned to his native land. While in America he had acted as interpreter to the Japanese

Neesima and the Dōshisha.

Embassy of 1871, and his cordial relations with the members of this Embassy no doubt smoothed the way for the carrying out of his project. He was assisted by Mr Yamamoto, a blind man, who was a private counsellor to the Kyōto Government, and had become a Christian, partly through Neesima's influence. By the aid of this influential counsellor (whose sister he married) and by his own friendship with the Minister of Education, who had been a member of the Embassy mentioned above, Buddhist opposition was ignored, and the Dōshisha founded in 1875. For many years this college, generously assisted by large grants from the American Board Mission, did a great work in training Christian students. It is a matter of regret that its early fame has since been dimmed by the action of later Japanese trustees, who managed to rid themselves of all control from the American Board, and subsequently allowed the college to come for a time under Unitarian influence. This danger, however, is now passing away.

A Period of Sowing.

Enough has been said to show that the period immediately following the Government's change of policy in 1873 was one of great promise. For ten years the work of ploughing and seed-sowing was carried on with the utmost energy. The Scriptures had

been translated and widely circulated. Mass meetings were held in many places and were so well attended that the Shintōists and Buddhists took increasing alarm and organised anti-Christian lectures. But the number of converts steadily increased, and by 1882 the adult membership of the various Protestant churches totalled over four thousand.

The Great Advance of 1883-1888.

The next five years—1883 to 1888—witnessed far more rapid progress. A spirit of religious revival began to spread among the Christians. The second conference of the Protestant missionaries of Japan, held in 1883 (the first had been held in 1872), was followed by a convention of Japanese churches, which was greatly blessed. The delegates on returning home brought with them a new spirit of life and hope. There were large accessions to the churches, and by 1888 the Protestant membership had risen to twenty-five thousand. Not a few hoped that the whole nation would become Christian before the dawn of the twentieth century.

Since 1873 the Government of Japan had become increasingly progressive. Except for some reactionary movements in Kyūshū between the years 1874 and 1877, culminating in the brief Satsuma rebellion, which was led by a famous Satsuma clansman named Saigo,

there had been no serious check in the pro-foreign policy to which the nation as a whole and the Government were now committed. Every year witnessed striking changes in the political and economic *régime*, and reform followed reform in rapid succession.

The Influence of the Emperor Mutsuhito.

Japan was fortunate in having a wise and enlightened Emperor throughout this transition period. Mutsuhito, the young Emperor who began his reign in 1867, died only last year (1912), and at the time of his death the civilised world was unanimous in assigning to him a very large share of the credit for the wonderful progress Japan made during his tenure of the throne. His reign is known to the Japanese by the name of *Meiji*, or Enlightened Rule, and no title could better describe it. His chief wisdom, perhaps, lay in his willingness to follow the lead of the group of able statesmen and leaders of thought who supported the throne. Many of these had been abroad to study the constitutions and customs of Western countries; some had left their own land secretly before the prohibition against foreign travel was removed, and others were sent at a later date by the authorities with the express object of making a close study of Western civilisation. There is no evidence that the Emperor himself was ever favourably

Meiji.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN
IN JAPANESE COURT DRESS

disposed to Christianity except on the charitable side of its work. Of his advisers, however, not a few had studied Christianity privately, or had been instructed by one or other of the missionaries, who were so numerously employed in early days in teaching in the Government schools. The well-known authority, Dr W. E. Griffis, goes so far as to say, "Behind almost every one of the radical reforms that have made a new Japan stands a man—too often a martyr—who was directly moved by the spirit of Jesus, or who is or was a pupil of the missionaries" (The reference to martyrdom is an allusion to the violent deaths that befel some of the most progressive Japanese leaders, whenever the reactionaries were strong enough to use the weapon of assassination). It is difficult, however, to estimate the real value of the pro-Christian sentiments expressed by many of these men. That they were indirectly influenced by Christian ideals there can be no doubt; but in many instances it must be confessed that the advocacy of Christianity seems to have been prompted more by the wish that Japan should speedily enter the comity of Christian nations than by any direct religious inspiration. Christian ethics were in fact regarded as a necessary concomitant of Western dress and

The Influence of Christianity in the Development of a New Japan.

Western civilisation and a means to the desired end of "treaty revision."

Predominance of the Upper Middle Class among Converts.

Meanwhile, in spite of the repeated protests of the Shintōists and Buddhists, who still represented the bulk of the nation, numbers of the *shizoku* or upper-middle class (as the *samurai* were now called) were being attracted to the Christian religion. This class constituted only 6 per cent. of the total population, but about this time nearly one-third of the members of Protestant churches were drawn from it, including many of professional and official rank. Though still comparatively few in number, the Japanese Christians had begun to exercise an influence out of all proportion to the actual size of their community, and the prospects of Christianity in Japan were bright in the extreme.

REACTION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

But the year 1889 marked the beginning of a period of definite reaction. For some time previously fears had been expressed in certain quarters that the nation had moved too fast. The *Japan Mail* of April 27th, 1889, speaks of the widespread apprehension lest the nation should lose its own individuality, and of the growing conviction "that the way to compete with foreign countries was not to follow in their wake by copying their example, but rather to strengthen and develope the

faculties that belong especially to the genius of the country." It adds that "this conviction has now passed into the cry of the day. Under the name of *Kokusui Hozon* (Preservation of the national characteristics) it is recognised as the guiding principle, the first duty of the present generation. It is talked of, written about, and even embodied in song. It inspires the lectures that are delivered before scientific and political associations, and it manifests its influence in a thousand directions of everyday life. Even Buddhism has taken advantage of it and endeavoured to kindle the embers of a faint faith by connecting the dignity of the throne with the permanence of Shaka's doctrine." The prospectus of a new Buddhist association incorporating these ideas ended with this appeal: "Give us your hand; we shall then all stand together and add to the strength and life of our *Yamato-damashii.*"

Political Causes.

How can we account for this second partial failure of Christianity to capture the Japan-spirit? There were political causes for the failure. The promulgation of the new constitution on February 11th, 1889, and the preparation for the election of the members to the first national diet, greatly excited the minds of the populace and turned their thoughts

away from purely religious subjects. The repeated failures to revise the treaties and to rid the nation of the hated system of extra-territoriality exasperated public opinion; and Christianity, with many other Western fashions and institutions, fell into disfavour. Even prominent Church members were affected by the ultra-nationalistic spirit, and began to revolt against foreign control and foreign influence, and to advocate a Japonicized Christianity.

Theological Difficulties and Disunion.

Another cause of failure was the advance of Unitarianism and the diffusion of various wild theological speculations which disturbed the faith of many Japanese Christians, and turned their energies into the useless channels of theological controversy. About this time also Colonel Olcott, the well-known theosophist, paid a visit to Japan, with the object of putting new life into the Buddhist priesthood. As in the old days of conflict between the Jesuits and the other Orders, so now, though to a still worse degree, the Church of Christ throughout the world was seen to be torn asunder by heterodoxy and schism, and the Christian cause was correspondingly weakened.

It is possible that there was yet another cause for the reaction that set in so strongly in 1889, and from the effects of which Chris-

tianity in Japan has not yet fully recovered. No one who reads the history of modern Christian missions can fail to be struck by the fact that the earlier Protestant missionaries, as also (though to a less extent) those of a somewhat later day, played a very prominent part in the introduction of Western ideas into Japan. As teachers of English and sometimes official advisers on matters connected with science and education (the Rev. G. F. Verbeck organised the school that afterwards became the first Imperial University), or still more generally as the medium through which the Japanese imbibed their knowledge of Western civilisation and Western customs, the Protestant missionaries represented the Occident. Their religious message was delivered under the shelter of Western prestige and Western learning, and in these circumstances Christianity could not but share in the disfavour with which, for a time, everything connected with the West was regarded.

Connection of Christianity with the West.

This being so, it may perhaps be regarded as not an unmitigated evil that during the last two decades the influence of the foreign missionary in Japan has gradually and inevitably been withdrawn from any prominent part in secular education and other spheres of work not primarily and

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

directly connected with evangelization, and his energies concentrated more and more on this latter aspect of his calling. The Dōshisha, designed by Neesima to become a Christian University, is now no longer so definitely Christian as some would wish; and further, it is overshadowed by the Imperial University at Kyōto. There are still, however, about seventy day-schools and kindergarten and sixty boarding schools, with some ten thousand pupils in all, conducted by Protestant missions. But what are these among the five and a half millions of school children and students in Japan? Of the students enrolled in middle schools there are only 3416 pupils in Christian schools, as opposed to 160,000 in the Government schools, and in the higher and collegiate schools only 332 to 30,500. The existing mission kindergarten, schools, and colleges (provided they are run on right lines) are nevertheless of the utmost importance, as models of Christian educational ideals, and as institutions to which the children of Japanese Christians can be sent. But serious competition with the splendid Government system of education seems out of the question, at least as far as foreign missionary help and foreign money grants are concerned. New and better

PRESENT POSITION OF EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS.

equipped theological seminaries and improved institutions for training Christian lay-workers and Bible-women should certainly be contemplated as of immediate importance. An increase in the number of Christian hostels for students is greatly to be desired, since they afford such unique opportunities for the direct exercise of personal influence upon those who will ultimately shape the new Japan. But in general the rôle of the foreign missionary as educational *leader* is no longer possible, or, in the opinion of many, even desirable, in Japan. Any further expansion of Christian education, as suggested for instance by Dr Harada,[1] President of the Dōshisha, or as recommended by the delegates at the Continuation Committee Conferences held at Tōkyō this year (1913), should surely be initiated and controlled by Japanese Christians alone, as soon as the Japanese Christian Church is in a position to take such work in hand.

Medical Work in Japan.

Medical work, again, though successfully carried on by several of the early missionaries, is now, by the extraordinary progress the Japanese have made in medical science, practically taken out of missionary hands.

[1] *International Review of Missions,* January 1912. The statistics given above are taken from Dr Harada's Article.

Leper hospitals, orphanages and other charitable institutions which, till quite recent years, were carried on solely by Christian enterprise, are now being slowly organised and undertaken by Buddhists or by secular associations. Even the private and unofficial teaching of English is no longer a necessity for the missionary, who used to find by this indirect means often the only possible openings for Christian work. To-day he can, with some prospect of success, devote his attention more to evangelism pure and simple or to pastoral work in close conjunction with the Japanese Church.

Emphasis on Evangelistic Missions.

Does it not seem that God has led the foreign missionary in Japan, by the very force of circumstances, to rely less on the extraneous aid of Western learning and prestige, and to content himself rather with so presenting Christ to the nation's *heart*, that the Japan-spirit being profoundly influenced, changed and strengthened by the Christian faith, may itself be the instrument for giving in due course a Christian (but none the less Japanese) tone to the political, intellectual and social life of the nation?

Permanent Progress of Christianity

It must not be supposed, however, that the period from 1889 to the present time has been one of continued failure. It would be more

A STREET PROCESSION AT A SHINTŌ CARNIVAL

correctly described as one of retarded growth; and retarded growth, as we know from botanical experiments, is often the preparation for a period of unwonted vigour. Even in the darkest days of reaction there were gleams of hope. Article XXVIII. of the Constitution published in 1889 granted religious freedom in these words: "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." In the first Parliament, elected in 1890, out of the three hundred members of the House of Representatives, thirteen were Christians; and on more than one occasion in those early years of Parliamentary government the Speaker was a Christian. In 1893, and for many years following, the work of the Church Missionary Society among the aboriginal Ainu in Hokkaidō was full of quite extraordinary promise. The outbreak of the war with China in 1894 gave new opportunities for extensive Christian work amongst the soldiers, especially at Hiroshima, the military headquarters. The sudden popularity of the Japanese Red Cross Society also did not a little to lessen the traditional hatred for the symbol of the Christian faith. The revision of treaties, which was at length accomplished about this

time, did much to remove ill-feeling. Missionaries and other foreigners now became amenable to Japanese law; and when the treaties came into force in 1899, all restrictions with regard to residence and travel in the interior were removed.

An Increasingly Hopeful Outlook.

From 1900 onwards, many circumstances combined to make the outlook for Christianity in Japan appear increasingly hopeful. When the third General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan met in that year, it was ascertained that the number of Christians in connection with Protestant missions had reached almost forty-three thousand. The year 1901 was marked by a united "forward movement" among the Japanese Christians. Mass meetings were organized in many parts of the country, and more than three hundred thousand people are estimated to have attended. The direct results of these and similar meetings, addressed from time to time by well-known evangelists from Europe and America, have always been disappointing; but their indirect results in drawing the Christians of various communities together and promoting evangelistic fervour have been on the whole beneficial. The national Exhibition at Ōsaka in 1903 was made the opportunity for another great evangelistic effort, the total attendance

at the special Exhibition Mission Hall during a period of five months numbering over 246,000. The outbreak of the war with Russia, again, afforded scope for work amongst soldiers —in the garrison towns, while travelling by train or ship from place to place, at the bases of operations in Korea and Manchuria and in the hospitals. There can be no doubt that the work of individual missionaries, of the Bible Societies, and of the Y.M.C.A. in this connection, honoured as the latter was by large subscriptions from the late Emperor and many leading men in Japan, did an immense amount of good in generally removing anti-Christian prejudice and in spreading some knowledge of Christianity in the thousands of village homes from which the soldiers had been largely drawn, and to which in due course many returned, carrying with them Testaments and Christian tracts and remembrance of Christian kindness and sympathy.

Meanwhile the alliance with Great Britain and the moral support given to Japan by so large a portion of the Christian world during the war with Russia, did much to obliterate the disagreeable impressions left by the sequel to the war with China, when three of the great Powers of the West had stepped in to rob

Japan of her hard-earned fruits of victory. Once more, the holding of a Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation in Tōkyō in 1907, made a very favourable impression on public opinion in Japan. It was the first International Conference of any kind to be held in the Far East. The Japanese felt that they had been indeed received at last into the comity of Christian nations, and leading men vied with one another in entertaining the delegates. In the same year the late General Booth visited Japan, and was granted an audience with the Emperor. The Japanese, who are born hero-worshippers, gave him also an enthusiastic welcome; and for a time Christianity and the Salvation Army were the principal topics in the press. Lastly, the Education Department, which for years had been committed to a secular and almost anti-religious policy with regard to national education, and had for a time been openly hostile to mission schools, has changed its attitude to some extent within recent years, and has issued instructions that are no longer necessarily opposed to the introduction into schools of individual religious influence by teachers. The semi-official action of the Vice-Minister for Home Affairs only last year in calling together an informal

conference of Buddhists, Shintōists and Christians in order that they might confer together as to the best means of supplying national life with a religious basis was the public expression of this change of policy. But to this action further reference is made in our next chapter.

The Christian Church in Japan has been quick to take advantage of every favourable turn in the course of events during the last ten or twenty years, but progress has never been rapid, and the Protestant community still numbers not more than seventy-five thousand. The Roman Catholic Church has sixty-seven thousand members, and the Orthodox Greek Church, of which more will be said in Chapter VIII., another thirty-three thousand, making a total of about one hundred and seventy-five thousand Christians out of a population of fifty millions. In spite of all the activities of the past fifty-two years the Christian Church has only touched the fringe of its work in Japan. The forces arrayed against Christianity are still strong. Some of the old difficulties are not yet removed, while new problems are continually arising; and to these our attention must now be directed.

SOME TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

Whether Christianity unites or disintegrates national life in the early stages of its expansion in non-Christian countries.

How much the pioneers of the nineteenth century owed to those of the sixteenth, and how far factors came into play in their efforts which were absent from those of the earlier group.

Whether the connection of Christianity with the West has been more of a help than a hindrance to the work of Christian Missions in Japan.

The work of Neesima.

The value of educational work in Japan at the present time and the methods upon which greatest emphasis should be laid.

How best to secure the evangelization of Japan.

CHAPTER VI

PROBLEMS: POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL

POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

- Hostility of Educated Japanese to Christianity.
  - Assumption that Christianity conflicts with Patriotism.
- The "Japanese Principles" Movement.
- The Imperial Rescript on Education.
- The Conference of "the Three Great Religions."
- Practical Problems facing Japanese Christians.

INTELLECTUAL PROBLEMS.

- Significance of the Literature most popular in Japan.
- Effect of Western Materialistic Literature upon Japanese Thought.
- Effect of Western Rationalism upon Japanese Theology and Life.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

- State Regulation of Vice.
- Divorce.
- Evils of Industrial Life.
  - Efforts to remedy these.
- The Necessity of Reaching the Individual and the Home.

THERE are many complex problems in connection with the work of Christian Missions in Japan which challenge attention and await solution. Some that have to do with the attitude of Christianity towards the two ancient and deeply-rooted religious systems of the Japanese have been dealt with in earlier chapters of this book. Next in importance to these more distinctively religious problems are those connected with the relation of Christianity to the State. Such problems we may call political; but it should be understood that no branch of the Christian Church in Japan to-day—not even the Roman Catholic Church—wishes to interfere in national politics or to control the Government in any way. The modern Christian demand is that the State should recognise the Christian Movement in Japan as a force working for the good of the whole nation, and afford it not official patronage (for that would mean State control), but the advantages of at least a benevolent neutrality.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

It must be confessed, however, that even in quite recent times Christianity has met with much opposition in Japan. This opposition, if not openly exhibited by the Government, has been and is, from time to time, fully expressed by well-known publicists

SWORD AND PIKE FENCING MATCH BETWEEN JAPANESE STUDENTS

of the day. It would not have been a matter of surprise if such opposition had come mainly from ardent Buddhists and Shintōists, or had appeared chiefly in certain parts of the country like Kyūshū, where anti-Christian feeling was unusually persistent because of the strength of the early Christian Church in those parts. But it has frequently been the case that the bitterest opponents of Christianity have been men of education and learning, writing from the capital, and of progressive views in everything except this one subject of religion. For instance Mr Fukuzawa, a famous teacher, reformer, and advocate of Western ideas, who founded the well-known Tōkyō daily newspaper, the *Jiji Shimpo*, published a volume of essays, in which the denationalising tendencies of Christianity were strongly attacked. Similarly in his newspaper anti-Christian editorials were of frequent occurrence, and public opinion in the capital was profoundly influenced by his attitude. "Christianity is baneful to our national power. . . ." "Christianity will destroy patriotism, filial duty, and loyalty to the Mikado, give rise to religious wars, and become the secret means of foreign interference." Such were some of the views freely expressed just before the

Hostility of Educated Japanese to Christianity

short-lived wave of prosperity which carried the Christian Church forward in the five years between 1883 and 1888. So great was the swing of the pendulum in that brief period of success that this same Mr Fukuzawa wrote another essay in 1884, urging the adoption of Christianity by the nation in order that Japan might be received into the comity of Western nations!

The reaction in the years following this period witnessed the renewal of weighty attacks on Christianity. In 1893 Professor Inoue Tetsujirō, of the Imperial University, wrote an article that appeared simultaneously in six Buddhist magazines and a Unitarian one, and attracted great attention. Dr Otis Cary, in describing this article, says—"Professor Inoue adduced several instances where Japanese Christians were alleged to have shown disrespect to the Rescript or to the Emperor's picture. By quotations from Christ's words and by references to European history he endeavoured to show that Christianity is destructive of patriotism. He closed by asserting that as Christ Himself had said, 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation,' therefore the reception of Christianity would involve national destruction."

The Japanese Principles Movement.

In 1897 a movement was set on foot by a number of university professors and other scholars which aimed at a revival of Shintō. They started a magazine called *Nihon Shugi* (Japanese Principles); their movement was also known by the same name. They maintained that the only way to counteract the denationalising effects of intercourse with Western nations and contact with Western religious thought was to revive the worship of the ancient Shintō deities, and more particularly that of the ancestors of the Imperial House. The following questions were suggested for the consideration of Japanese Christians.

1. "Can the worship of His Sacred Majesty the Emperor, which every loyal Japanese performs, be reconciled with the worship of God and Christ by Christians?
2. "Can the existence of authorities that are quite independent of the Japanese State, such as God, Christ, the Bible, the Pope, the Head of the Greek Church (the Czar), be regarded as harmless?
3. "Can a Japanese who is a faithful servant of Christ be regarded as at the same time a faithful servant of the Emperor and a true friend of His Majesty's faithful subjects? Or, to put the question in

another way, is our Emperor to follow in the wake of Western emperors and to pray; 'Son of God, have mercy upon me'"?

"Can the Christian convert answer the above questions in a manner that will satisfy our reason?"

The importance of these questions was minimized in some Christian papers and magazines, and it must be confessed that the "Japanese Principles" movement soon sank into obscurity. But the under-current of anti-Christian sentiment remained, and though it has been from time to time in abeyance, it is still there, ready to manifest itself whenever occasion offers. As recently as 1907, one of the leading monthly periodicals in Japan, after commenting on the Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation, the Salvation Army, and the appointment of a new Bishop to the Greek Church in Japan, wrote as follows: "From all this we can see how earnest the believers are in the spread of Christianity, and how strongly they desire to make Japan a Christian nation in the near future. Their efforts have been heartily welcomed by the people, and it is not unnatural that they think that no such opportunity for evangelization will again present itself. Supposing that these move-

ments should be successful, our Empire will be changed into a Christian country, our unique history extending over a period of twenty-five hundred years will be trampled on, and the Spirit of Japan will be destroyed. Not only is the Christian spirit not sufficient to lead the new generation, but it will make the people weak and hypocritical, and will destroy their character. . . . Pay no attention to the hypocritical words of Christians and listen not to their hymns. Long live the non-Christian spirit; Long live the spirit of the world, of the flesh, of self-confidence, of determination, and of patriotism!"[1]

Baron Katō on the Incompatability of Christianity with Patriotism.

In the same year Baron Katō Hiroyuki, a Privy Councillor and formerly the President of the Tōkyō Imperial University, lectured before the Imperial Academy on the subject of "Christianity and the State." Dr Otis Cary gives the following digest of the lecture: "Baron Katō began by declaring his opposition not only to Christianity, but to all religion, because all supernaturalism fosters superstition, and superstition is an obstacle to intellectual progress. He went on to argue that Christianity and Buddhism are the more dangerous to the State because of their cosmopolitan character. Their teaching of uni-

[1] Translation in *The Japan Evangelist,* June, 1907.

versal brotherhood leads to a decay of the nationalistic spirit, and hence they are more objectionable than such religions as Judaism and Brahminism, which confine their attention to the people among whom they have arisen. A religion that claims to be universal places before the citizen the necessity of serving two masters—the State and the deities that he worships. In case their commands differ, there is danger that he will follow the latter. Christianity is specially to be feared because it cannot take on Japanese forms as Buddhism has done. It demands that all shall recognise and serve the one God whom it proclaims. It places that God above the national rulers; but Japanese should never acknowledge that any being is higher than the Emperor. The Salvation Army has displayed banners with the inscription "Japan for Christ," while the Okayama Orphanage has issued a printed invitation to the celebration of its twentieth anniversary beginning with the words: 'Through the blessing of the Heavenly Father and the favour of Their Imperial Majesties,' thus relegating Their Imperial Majesties to a secondary place, an act of the greatest disrespect such as must be intolerable to a patriot. Christian schools do indeed read the Imperial Rescript on Education, but this

is only because of the pressure from public opinion. The Rescript and Christianity are absolutely irreconcileable. Many doctrines of the Christians, such as the belief in a personal God, are unscientific, and no educated Japanese should look with unconcern upon the spread of a religion whose acceptance would, from an intellectual point of view, be a step backward, and from that of a patriot, would portend danger to the State."

Similar Antipathy to Buddhism.

Such views are typical of the attitude of many scholarly and thoughtful men in Japan, though by no means of all. It will have been noticed that the antipathy they feel towards Christianity is displayed also, though to a less extent, towards Buddhism, and, in fact, towards all that is supernatural in any religion. The only religious observance to which such men show any leaning is reverence for the spirits of the dead and particularly for those of the Imperial house. The Buddhists, on the other hand, claim that their religion has long since solved the problem of how the people of any country can be good Buddhists and good patriots at the same time; and most of their sects assert further that in Japan they reverence all the Shintō deities and object to the forcible separation of Shintō and Buddhism which was brought about by the Revolution

of 1868. They point further to the undoubted revival of their influence with the masses of the people in recent years as a sign of the present popularity of their tenets.

Meanwhile, what has been the official attitude of the Japanese Government with regard to these matters since 1868? It will be remembered that one of the first results of the memorable events of the Revolution was to restore Shintō to its ancient position of supreme authority in the State. This position, however, was soon modified, and in 1889 freedom of religious belief was included in the Constitution which was granted by the Emperor to his people. But the following year, on October 30th, 1890, there was issued "The Imperial Rescript on Education," which many thought was intended as a blow against all other religions and a new charter authorising Shintō to take its place once more as the State religion.

The Imperial Rescript on Education.

This Rescript has been already referred to in some of the quotations given above, and as it is a document which has had and still has a great influence in Japan, it will be well to give here the official translation issued by the Department of Education in 1907.

"Know ye, Our subjects. Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a

basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as hushands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts; thoroughly develope intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the property of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by their Descendants and their subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart

in all reverence in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

Copies of this Rescript were sent to the schools ; and ever since it has been the custom, on certain national holidays, for the headmaster to assemble teachers and pupils and read to them the Emperor's message. The writer has been present, more than once, on such an occasion, in his capacity as occasional teacher of English in a country middle school. Teachers and pupils all stand at attention, and then, at the word of command, bow their heads reverentially, while the headmaster solemnly takes the Rescript out of its yellow silken wrappings, and, unrolling the scroll, declaims its contents in a sonorous monotone. The Emperor's picture, before which this ceremony takes place, is often unveiled at the same time, and the whole school bows towards it.

Resultant Agitation.

When the reading of this Rescript and the custom of bowing before the Emperor's picture were first introduced, the reactionaries were delighted, and commentaries were written in which it was asserted that Christianity and the Rescript did not agree. The Christians, on the other hand, declared that there was nothing in the Rescript that was not in accord with the principles of their religion, and the

great majority of them felt no compunction whatever in bowing at the Emperor's words or towards the Emperor's picture. There was a certain Japanese Christian teacher in one of the Tōkyō higher schools, however, who refused to bow before the picture if worship was intended thereby. His action was declared to be a proof of the disloyalty of the Christians in general; but this accusation was hotly denied by representatives of the Christian Church in the fierce newspaper controversy that ensued One good result of the agitation was that the Department of Education slightly altered the word used of the ceremony, so as to make it clearer that no religious worship was involved.

It is probable that the Government looked to this Rescript to keep alive the old *Yamato-damashii*, while so wording the document as to avoid any charge of having broken the spirit of the Constitution and restricted freedom of religious belief. In 1900 it was made patent that Shintō was not to be officially regarded as a religion. Questions touching the legal rights of Buddhist sects and Christian churches were henceforward to be dealt with by a bureau for religious matters; but the control of Shintō shrines in general and the maintenance of the Imperial shrines in

particular were relegated to a separate office. The Government policy was evidently to treat Shintō ceremonies as matters not distinctively religious, and to maintain an indifferent attitude towards Buddhism and Christianity. It is true that at one time vexatious restrictions were imposed on Christian mission schools, in order to make definite Christian teaching in school hours impossible if the school wished to secure Government recognition. Yet these restrictions were made to apply to all private schools, whether Christian, Buddhist or otherwise; and the principle of neutrality or impartial indifference was accordingly still preserved in name.

Christianity considered Socialistic.

Then in 1910 came the discovery of the socialist plot against the Emperor's life. Although one of the last acts of Kotoku, the leader of the conspirators, was to write a book against Christianity, yet the Christian Church was considered responsible for the presence of socialists and anarchists on the sacred soil of Japan. "You are a socialist in embryo. You are a socialistic egg," said a Japanese schoolmaster to a Christian. "Well," the latter replied, "how do you make that out?" "You are a Christian, and socialism is hatched in Christianity. One

cannot be a Christian and a good loyal subject at the same time." The immediate result of the widespread expression of such views was a marked recrudescence of anti-Christian sentiment. A missionary writing home that year says: "National pride, anti-foreign prejudice, an increasingly strong dislike of being dictated to by outsiders in matters of faith and morals (some Japanese to-day are saying, 'The very *presence* of missionaries in Japan constitutes an insult to our Emperor and the customs and ethical practice of his country')—these and other things are making the Christian enterprise in Japan harder than ever before."

School-children ordered to visit Shintō Shrines.

In 1911 the Department of Education issued orders to the effect that a spirit of "reverence for the gods" should be more strictly inculcated into the minds of young Japan. With this end in view it was directed that all children attending primary schools should be taken at festival times to the local Shintō shrines and taught to make obeisance there before the spirits of the dead. Once more the reactionaries claimed that Shintō was thus recognised as the State religion; while others, including not a few of the teachers, did their best to explain that the obeisance to be made by the children was not really religious

worship, but reverence for the memory of national heroes and benefactors, the great majority of Shintō shrines being dedicated to the memory of "meritorious men who have died for their country."

It remains to be seen whether the Government will go any further in this fresh recognition of Shintō. The Christian Church, which willingly accepted the Imperial Rescript on Education and acquiesced in the custom of bowing towards the Emperor's picture, is not likely to leave unchallenged the orders of the Department of Education with regard to the visits to the shrines. Christian masters in some schools have taken their pupils to the shrines, as directed, but have themselves refrained from making obeisance, thus exposing themselves to the charge of disloyalty. There are instances of refusal on the part of the children even to visit the shrines. Meanwhile the Christian press insists that the new Minister of Education should speedily abolish what it describes as "the shameful reactionary measures" of his predecessor.

The Government's present attitude to Religion.

Early in 1912, while the controversy on this subject was still raging, semi-official action was taken by the Government, which did something to correct the growing impression that the authorities were hostile to all religious

bodies and altogether opposed to the idea of religious aid in working for the national welfare. The steps then taken attracted so much comment in Japan and are likely to have such a permanent effect on the future of the Japanese Christian Church that it will be well to quote at length the following account, given by the Rev. W. R. Gray in the *C.M.S. Japan Quarterly* for April 1912.

"(1) On January the 17th, the Vice-Minister for Home Affairs, who, since his return from residence in England and America, has witnessed openly to his belief in the practical power of Christianity as a social force making for public welfare, delivered himself to the Press representatives of Tōkyō at the Home Office in the following strain (I believe the following very condensed statement will be allowed fairly to represent his general meaning).

"'Religion, whether that means a belief in the Shintō Heaven, or Buddha, or the Christian God, is indispensable for uplifting the morals and ensuring the peace and progress of Japan. Education by itself cannot achieve this. Hence the three great religions working in Japan, viz., Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity, must, as such, be recognised and honoured by the State, and be made to work

hand in hand with education and politics for the moral and social good of the Japanese nation. All three religions must widen out, and especially Christianity must adapt itself more to the policy, sentiments, customs, and *Zeitgeist* of this country.

" 'Since, unfortunately, of late years the people of Japan have come to look down on all religions as such, the three great religious bodies should, to increase their efficiency and improve their status in the nation, combine from henceforth in strenuous and harmonious efforts for the public weal of Japan.'

"He explained later that he had no idea either of amalgamating the three religions or of starting a new religion; also, that he felt convinced that Christianity ought to be given an equal standing with Buddhism and Shintō.

"All this was indeed a 'bolt from the blue,' being the exact opposite of what nearly all leaders of Japanese thought have been saying for the last thirty years. 'Religion of any kind is mere superstition at best, and therefore the foe of enlightenment'; this has been their general position; hence the rigid exclusion of all religious teaching from the educational system of the country.

"This was followed by a practical step.

GINZA, THE CHIEF STREET IN TŌKYŌ

"(2) He proposed a conference of representatives of the three great religions working in Japan, viz., Shintō, Buddhism and Christianity, with the object of effecting cooperation between them and the Japanese Government in the work of promoting the social and moral welfare of Japan. This actually took place on Sunday, February the 25th, at 3 P.M., at the Peers' Club, Tōkyō. There were present, as delegates, fifty Buddhists, fifteen Shintōists and seven Christians; and also the Home Minister, Vice Home Minister, Head of the Bureau of Religion, Heads of the Departments of the Home Office, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Justice, and many other high officials of state. The seven Christians were representatives of the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches, the Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians respectively. The Home Minister introduced the parties to one another and explained the purpose of the meeting. On Monday the 26th a Conversazione was held in continuation of this meeting. Three resolutions were put before the meeting, one by each of the bodies represented. But that prepared by the Christians, expressing warm approval of the Vice Home

Conference of Representatives of "the Three Religions."

Minister's proposition, and willingness to help in the betterment of the people, was adopted with some slight additions.

"The actual resolves of the Conference were worded as follows—'To demonstrate fully our respective Creeds in order to uphold the Imperial dynasty, and to promote the national morals. To desire the Government Authorities to respect religion and endeavour to remove any friction that may exist between politics, education, and religion, in order to contribute to the promotion of the national destiny.'"

The Christian worker in Japan learns by experience not to expect too much from resolutions passed at Conferences of this or any other kind. But in this case one good result has already manifested itself. The Japanese public now understands that Christianity is semi-officially recognised as at least one of the religious forces that can help to maintain the Japan-spirit and enable Japan to fulfil her national ideals. How can the Japanese Christian Church take advantage of this hardly won position? How can it effectually refute and finally dispose of the oft-repeated calumny that Christianity and Japanese patriotism are incompatible? What attitude ought it to adopt with regard to the modern

Practical Problems facing Japanese Christians.

theory that reverence paid to the majority of Shintō shrines is not religious worship? Or again—to mention a difficulty of frequent occurrence, where Christians live in the commercial quarter of a town—what should individual converts do, when asked to decorate their houses or subscribe to feasts, processions and illuminations organized by trade-guilds or ward-committees, in connection with Shintō national festivals? Or, once more, what should Christians do when invited to burn incense or take part in other Buddhist and Shintō rites connected with the funerals of non-Christian friends and relatives, or the public services held in memory of those who have died in war?

On some points the missionary will be able to apply the principle of St Paul's advice with regard to meats offered to idols. Amongst the Japanese Christians themselves we may expect to find something of the same divergence of opinion that has for so long characterised religious life in England. There are many Japanese Puritans, for instance, who prefer to cut themselves loose from all contact with their former non-Christian life. There are others again who see no harm in some of their ancient national customs, and would possibly like to see certain old festivals and cere-

monies stripped indeed of all idolatrous connections, but still observed by the Christian community in Japan. Similarly with regard to the general question of the relation between Church and State in Japan, there are some who would prefer to see religion—and the Christian religion in particular—kept perfectly distinct from national politics. They desire a Church that is "nation-wide" indeed, though without formal connection with the State. Others again look for the day when the ruling classes and the nobility and the Imperial house itself shall have become Christian, and the people as a whole shall find their truest bond of union in an "established" Christian Church, with the Emperor as its temporal head and its direct influence pervading every domain of public life.

The discussion of such problems has its own interest for English Christians; but to the Japanese Church these are questions that will sooner or later become of the most vital importance. Meanwhile, every individual Christian in Japan should show that strong patriotism and loyalty to the Imperial house is not incompatible with Christianity, but is rather in full accord with the teaching of Holy Writ.

INTELLECTUAL PROBLEMS.

We pass on now to another group of problems arising out of the intellectual and social conditions of modern Japan. Intellectually,

Japan is still in a state of rapid flux and change. The Japanese intellect has always shown great activity, though not much originality, of thought. The national literature itself, in olden days, came into existence only through the foreign influence of Buddhism; while for centuries the Chinese Classics formed almost the sole pabulum of the Japanese mind. Long before the Revolution of 1868, as mentioned above, some Japanese intellects had begun to tire of the Chinese classics, and to seek for inspiration once more in their own scantier native literature. Others in secret pored over the few Dutch books of travel and scientific research, smuggled into the country through Nagasaki. And then at last, when the restrictions against foreign influence were one by one removed, the starved mind of Japan seized with avidity on every kind of intellectual food, good or bad, that was introduced into the country.

The Type of Literature Popular in Japan.

Mr Galen M. Fisher, Chief Secretary of the Japanese Y.M.C.A., a few years ago conducted a careful enquiry into the kind of literature which appeals, or recently has appealed, to the reading public in Japan. He writes as follows.[1] " An investigator of this question is likely to be struck by the ever changing

[1] *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1908.

vogues in the reading and thought of the educated Japanese. To be sure, the same thing is characteristic of Western peoples. . . . but such fevers are at the same time more virulent and more short-lived in Japan than in America or England. One reason for this is the dictatorship of Tōkyō over the life of the Empire. There are fewer secondary intellectual centres than in most Western countries. Hence the watch-cry that happens to catch the ear of the magazine writers and lecturers of Tōkyō is soon carried to the four coasts and echoed by every country sage. Another reason for this rapid oscillation from one phase of thought to another is that the Japanese are attempting to taste and digest, in one generation, all the courses of the banquet of thought which the West has concocted in two millenniums. In the West the dishes have come on one by one and been fairly well masticated before a new one appeared, but in Japan—as in their own table usage—several dishes have been served almost at once, and the bewildered banqueter has been tempted to jump from *entrée* to dessert without realizing the incongruity. . . . It is the instability of a hunger to acquire in one lifetime the knowledge and institutions wrought out by ages of struggle in Europe."

Mr Galen Fisher's Conclusions.

Mr Fisher proceeds to furnish a list of the books which have recently found most favour in Japan. The range of reading thus indicated is surprisingly wide.[1]

It is difficult to suggest what will be the probable result of all this intellectual activity. There is no doubt that the Japanese have already made, and will continue to make, extraordinary progress in various branches of practical science; but it is not easy to say what contributions they are likely to bring to the literary wealth or the philosophical progress of the world. Some indeed might be inclined to deny that the Japanese are deep thinkers, or that there are any definite outstanding problems of life destined to be solved by Japanese minds. As far as the present and the immediate future is concerned, the chief intellectual problem that the Japanese have to face is the difficulty of assimilating the very varied assortment of intellectual food placed before them.

Distress of Mind among Students.

Only too often the result of wide reading by young Japan has been to bring about a state of mental indigestion. In recent years one of the most pitiable phenomena in Japan has been the acute distress of mind (Japanese,

[1] See the Review of Religious Literature by Galen M. Fisher in *The Christian Movement in Japan* for 1912.

hammon) experienced by so many students and other young people. On the one hand they have attempted to grapple with the numerous subjects for study brought before them in their school or college course, as well as with the multiplicity of ideas that meet them in their private reading. On the other hand, many of them have to struggle against ill-health and the difficulty of earning their livelihood produced by the increased cost of food and "the rapid and strong influx of European ideas and standards of living." No wonder that in many cases the brain reels, and suicide is the result, or the moral equilibrium is upset, and the unhappy youth seeks refuge from the shadow of coming examinations and the stress of mental perplexity in a dissolute life.

Effect of Western Materialistic Literature.

And what have Christian Europe and America done to help or hinder Japan throughout this intellectual crisis in her career? The best of their literary productions have been introduced into Japan, and also the worst. With much that is wholesome and edifying, the receptive Japanese mind has absorbed the literary poison of two continents. For many of the evils of modern life in Japan—the distress of mind, the unhealthy craving for "naturalism," and also the grossly material-

JAPANESE CARPENTERS AT WORK

istic and rationalistic tendencies of the day—we Christian nations of Europe and America are indirectly responsible. Where the gospel of the grace of God and the duty of Christian service should have been our chief contribution to Japan in the time of her need, only too often she has learnt from us instead "the gospel of success," the doctrine of self-help, and the idea that Christianity should be accepted for the material advantages it seems to offer. Again and again one has listened to eloquent addresses given by Japanese Christians, and the burden of their message has only too often been this—Christianity will increase the material prosperity of the nation; Christian morality is the best policy and will bring our country to the front. Whence did they derive this distorted view of the main object of the Christian Revelation? The English text-books used in Japanese schools are full of stories and illustrations, taken from English and American sources, in which worldly success appears to be the great aim of life. Books that emphasize "self-culture" and "self-reliance," or the idea of "pushing to the front" and the cult of the "strenuous life" have an enormous circulation in Japan, and are regarded as typical literary products of our Christian

civilisation. It should surely be the duty of all Christian workers to set their faces against the exaggerated teaching of self-help and the worship of success.

Effect of Western Rationalism.

A still graver charge against Christian Europe and America is this. There are some propagandists who have done their best to introduce into Japan the wildest theological speculations, and to translate into Japanese the works of the most extreme Continental critics and rationalists. The result has been to make the confusion of religious thought in Japan worse confounded. I do not wish to imply that the Japanese Christians will not benefit from a careful study of the results of sober and reverent criticism and research. But the indiscriminate circulation of all that shelters itself under the much misused phrase "Higher Criticism," has, in the opinion of many, done incalculable harm to the cause of Christianity in Japan. In England one meets those who testify that their faith has been increased and their zeal quickened even by some of the most advanced theories of the Higher Criticism. Such men have a Christian heritage and a Christian ballast which can counteract the more dangerous tendencies of modern thought, and leave faith and zeal unharmed—even helped, it

may be, by the intellectual impetus and mental enlightenment which their studies have brought them. In Japan, on the other hand, the premature and careless introduction of such disturbing elements into Christian thought is more often than not a putting of new wine into bottles that are not fit for its reception. These movements have severely shaken the Japanese Church, and left some sections of the Protestant portion of the Church honeycombed with Unitarianism; while individual Christians have been robbed of their newly found faith, or have lost their zeal, or fallen back into grievous sin, solely through the deadening effects of such teaching on their immature minds and hearts.

The intellectual condition of Japan at the present time calls for the most earnest prayer and consideration on the part of Christian Societies and workers. The Bible Societies, the Japan Book and Tract Society, the Methodist Publishing House at Tōkyō, and many Christian papers and magazines are all busy in supplying the Japanese nation with a sound Christian literature, whether translated or in English, and also in producing the original work of Japanese Christians; but their operations need to be greatly extended,

in order to check the materialistic and rationalistic tendencies of the age.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

So far we have confined our study chiefly to the religious, political, and intellectual problems, which confront the Christian Church in Japan. But a word must be said in conclusion, as to the influence of Christianity in the work of social reform. In the case of an enlightened and civilised country like Japan, where in some respects the State has already allowed itself to be guided by Christian standards, and is manifestly desirous of continuing the work of social reform in accordance with the principles recognised in most Christian countries, more than usual care should be taken in approaching the subject.

I have read comments on some of the darker aspects of social life in Japan in which the writers seemed oblivious to such facts as that the United States of America almost rival Japan in the matter of facility and frequency of divorce, or that London is alleged to have been till recently one of the chief centres in the White Slave traffic of Europe. Sad and humiliating facts like these should not be forgotten when English and American Christians write or speak about the need of social reform in other countries.

It is not, therefore, with any air of national

superiority that I would draw attention to some of the social problems of modern Japan.

State Regulation of Vice.

There is, first, the vexed question of the State regulation of vice,[1] and secondly, the illicit traffic in Japanese women and girls, which has tarnished the fair name of Japan in so many Asiatic ports from Vladivostock to Singapore. The Government has from time to time taken steps to suppress the latter; but the former custom is still defended on various grounds. Nothing will put a stop to this evil, in Japan as elsewhere, but the recognition of the Christian principle that manly chastity is as much to be expected and valued as womanly purity.

Marriage and Divorce

Then there is the subject of divorce, and the position of women generally. Japanese women are no longer their husbands' chattels, nor can they now be divorced on the flimsy pretexts that formerly sufficed when a husband wished to send his wife away.

There is no religious or legal significance in the various picturesque ceremonies with which a Japanese wedding is generally celebrated. In the eyes of the law marriage takes effect only when notification of the fact

[1] Some further reference to this particular social evil and to Christian efforts on behalf of the fallen, will be found in Chapter VII.

has been made before a registrar. This notification is occasionally delayed for some time after the contracting parties have lived together, and in this way "trial marriages" are not infrequent. Divorce can be effected either by mutual arrangement or by judicial act. The former method cannot be adopted by young people under twenty-five, except with the consent of those by whom the marriage was effected. The grounds on which judicial divorce may be granted include "bigamy, adultery on the part of the wife, the husband's receiving a criminal sentence for an offence against morality, cruel treatment or grave insult such as to render living together unbearable, desertion with evil intent, cruel treatment or gross insult of or by lineal ascendants (*sic*)." Recent legislation has further strengthened the rights of Japanese women, so that matters are very different from the olden days when "three brief lines" and his signature were all that a man required to write a "bill of divorcement" against his wife. In spite of this change in the legal position of women, the lack of religious sanction for marriage and the still considerable facility of divorce are such that one out of every three matrimonial unions in Japan is said to end in divorce.

Concubinage is no longer legally sanctioned; but a father can recognise his child by a concubine and give it a status midway between legitimacy and illegitimacy. In this case his wife also is bound to recognise the child as if it were her own. In these and other kindred matters, however, the women of Japan do not always claim to the full the still far from satisfactory position accorded them under the modern Civil Code, but often remain in the old condition of complete subserviency to their husband's wishes.

Evils of Industrial Life.

A further group of social problems are those which are now arising as the result of the rapid industrial development of Japan. The influx of many young people from the country into the towns has brought its attendant evils. The abuses of female labour in such arduous work as the coaling of ships, or the miserable conditions of young women workers in the factories, with their long hours and low wages, their crowded dormitories and lack of moral supervision, recall some of the worst days of the birth of industrialism in England. Large numbers of workers are crowded into miserable slum dwellings, and sweating is a common feature of town life in modern Japan. It is a difficult question whether the social problems in connection with these evils can

be best dealt with by the action of Japanese Christians alone, or by joint efforts stimulated by the personal interest and activity of foreign missionaries. Will it be enough for the latter to suggest methods by which the path of reform may be prepared, and then leave the details to be worked out by the Japanese Church? Or must they for some time yet take the lead in all efforts for social reform?

Efforts to counteract them.

It may be mentioned in this connection that foreign missionary work among the factory girls in Ōsaka has been already attempted with some success. Ōsaka with its forest of factory chimneys has been called the Manchester of Japan. One 'prince of industry' in that city, whose dentifrice is advertised from end to end of Japan, and who invited Christian workers to his factories to check the growth of immorality and insubordination amongst his employees, himself became a convert and is now one of the most generous supporters of Christian work in Japan. By winning more of such men to Christ's cause Christian influence in the work of social reform will be enormously increased.

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that medical work now plays but a very minor part in missions in Japan; and that only a certain number (though still a considerable

WOMEN IN WINTER DRESS IN A TEMPLE COURT

number) of modern charitable institutions in Japan are under Christian management. The largest Christian orphanage in Japan is that situated in the town of Okayama. It is now self-supporting and has started a model farm in Kyūshū. The foundation of leper hospitals has hitherto been solely the work of Christian missions. Two English ladies, Miss Riddell and Miss Nott of Kumamoto, formerly working in connection with the C.M.S., founded one of the best of these leper hospitals. Miss Riddell, who was decorated by the late Emperor for her zeal in the lepers' cause, so aroused public opinion in Japan on this subject, that the Government at last took steps to face the problem of the proper care of lepers. Individual Japanese Christian doctors and nurses have also worthily maintained the high reputation of Christian charity; and the more Christians enter these professions the better for Christianity in Japan.

Yet another way in which Christian influence has been prominent is in the steps taken to shield young men and women from some of the dangers incidental to student life in Tōkyō and elsewhere. The establishment of Christian hostels, and the good work of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in general has

attracted public attention, and in many cases the school authorities have followed suit and made provision for the better supervision of the student populace.

The Importance of Reaching the Individual and the Home.

In these and many similar ways Christian missions, whether the initiative has been taken by the foreign missionary or by the native Christian, have done something to assist the Japanese State in the solution of social problems. But after all, the surest method of improving social conditions in Japan is to improve, or rather to convert and Christianise, the individual, and to create that which is so lacking in Japanese life—the Christian conception of *home*. There is no such word as 'home' in the Japanese language; and it is by an increase in the number of individual converts, leading to a multiplication of Christian homes, that the social conditions of the nation can best be raised. The part that Christian missions can play in the education of young Japan may be smaller than is the case in some other non-Christian countries; but let that part be done well and be an example to the Government; and further, let the lack of religious teaching in the Government schools be to some extent made good by the careful organisation of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., Christian hostels,

and Christian Sunday schools. Above all, by constant preaching and teaching, by personal contact and the use of the Written Word, let the message of the Gospel of the grace of God and the duty of Christian service be brought home to individual hearts; the more individual hearts are changed by that message, and Christian homes thereby established, the better for the cause of social reform in Japan and the eventual Christianisation of the whole nation.

SOME TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

How Japanese patriotism may be made an asset of the Church in Japan.

The problem created for the missionary by the Imperial Rescript on Education.

The progress of materialistic rationalism in Japan, and the reasons for it.

Literature as a method of propaganda.

Whether the root of the social problem is the same in Japan as in Western countries.

The place of the home in winning Japan for Christ.

CHAPTER VII

SOME JAPANESE CHARACTERISTICS

THE DARK SIDE.

Foreign Critics.
Japanese Self-Criticism
Weak Points.
(i) Petty-mindedness:
Exceptions—Loyalty and Patriotism.
(ii) Lack of Sincerity:
Reasons and Explanations.
(iii) Lack of Self-Discipline:
The real National Instinct for Self-control.

SOME FINER TRAITS.

(i) Absence of Caste.
(ii) Position and Character of Women.
(iii) Support of Parents and the Infirm:
(iv) Bravery in the Struggle of Life.

THE PERFECTING OF JAPANESE CHARACTER.

Place of Christianity.

IF the darker side of the Japanese character seems to predominate in this chapter, it should be remembered that the better side has been already emphasized in the earlier half of the text-book. The artistic tempera-

ment of the Japanese, their keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, the many pleasing features in their manners and customs, their quickness in adapting themselves to the ideas of Western civilisation, the courage, resource and self-sacrifice they have shown in times of war, the modesty and restraint of their victorious troops, and the energy with which their Government is endeavouring to cope with the pressing problems of the day have all been duly noticed. Careful attention has also been drawn to the many admirable features in *Bushidō*, the noble conceptions underlying the older *Yamato-damashii*, and the good effect of this Japan-spirit, in both its original and its feudal form, on the national character; while the religious aspirations of the Japanese have been dealt with in the chapters on Shintō and Buddhism.

Pleasing Features.

If now we dwell in some detail on the darker side of the modern Japanese character, it is in the belief that only by realising the darkness in Japan, as in the whole world, shall both we and our Japanese brethren find the Light.

THE DARK SIDE.

As a recent Oxford writer has well said: "The times of the impotence of Christ are passing. He was ever powerless with those who did not need Him. A knowledge of darkness is needed to urge indolent man

upon the quest after the Light. Once there was a bonfire lit in the world, of which the New Testament is the still flaming brand. Once men were darkness, and once they became light in the Lord. Since then the light has been diffused into twilight, and in half-Christianized Europe generations have had no knowledge either of the light or of the darkness. But to-day all changes. The darkness of the far lands where the Gospel has never been, let alone grown old, lies close round Europe. The darkness of things seen and pleasurable lies heavy on luxurious souls. The darkness of the universe in its incomprehensible age and vastness overcasts the vision of post-Darwinian science. The darkness of human hearts emancipated, and void of all allegiance but to themselves, creeps ever on. Therefore to-day the light begins to shine anew, as men begin again to know the need of it." [1]

Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun, is nevertheless a land of shadows. We find there the darkness of wide tracts of country where the Gospel has never been preached and the name of Christ, if known at all, is still regarded with hatred and scorn.

[1] *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought.* By Seven Oxford Men, 1912.

We find there also other districts where the dangerous twilight of "half-Christianized Europe" is more or less closely reproduced, where men turn wearily from materialism and naturalism, from science, so-called civilisation, and false liberty to grope for the true Light.

Foreign Critics.

There have been many critics, in both Europe and America, who deplore the evil influences at work in modern Japan, and assert that what is best in Western civilisation has as yet taken no deep root in the minds of the Japanese people, but is dependent for its very existence on official sanction and support. Such critics maintain that while many of the younger generation run riot in the extremes of undisciplined individualism and blatant self-assertion, the masses of the people in the country districts and those belonging to the older generation, remain inert and indifferent to the call of higher ideals; so that either deterioration or stagnation is likely to be the fate of the once lauded Japanese character.

There are other foreign critics, again, who think that the Japanese have been altogether too highly praised in the past. They declare that pride and immorality have been and still are the national sins of Japan, and that these two failings alone outweigh many of their good qualities. Without denying or mini-

mizing the existence of these faults in the Japanese character, the writer would make the following observations on this subject. The "social evil" is recognised, legalised, and indeed regularised in Japan; but it is a moot point whether it is worse there than in many nominally Christian lands. Similarly, the proverbial pride of the Japanese is probably no more noticeable to a German, for instance, than that British insularity and conceit of which we English people are often so sublimely unconscious. The writer's own experience has been that the terrible strain of the war with Russia has had a steadying and sobering effect on the Japanese character. Certainly it may be said that in recent years, since the war, the Japanese have shown a greater readiness to acknowledge their weak points.

Japanese Self-Criticism.

For the purposes of the present book we shall find it more useful to turn from the opinion of foreign critics to Japanese criticism of themselves. The author of an article that appeared a year or two ago in the Japanese magazine *Taiyō* may perhaps be taken as a representative Japanese critic. He dissents from the blind optimism of most of his contemporaries, and declares that there is truth in the allegation that modern Japanese civilisa-

tion is shallow. "Look at it from what side we may," he says, "our civilisation has no deep foundation whereon to rest." He then proceeds to give the following reasons for this defect.

"1. We are a nation without high aspirations. We are content with very simple things. European nations have far-reaching aims and ambitions. This gives a great seriousness to their lives and makes them very strong compared with us. The Japanese people are an emotional people, and hence are often much moved by very trifling things. It is impossible to regard the Japanese as a nation which has deep-rooted sentiments, feelings, or principles. Their moods quickly change. They usually have no great object in view. Our literature, our art, our religion, and our politics are all characterised in both conception and execution by a marked state of diminutiveness.

"2. We are lacking in sincerity. Whether this is actually one of our national traits may be open to doubt. At present it is true to say that dishonesty and hypocrisy are more in evidence in the big towns than in country places. When foreigners say that they always need to be on their guard when dealing with us, I for one have no reply to make.

"3. Compared with Occidentals we are an undisciplined people. In feudal ages all the four classes of society were subjected to strict discipline, but the liberty of action granted in modern times has been abused and great disorder has resulted. It cannot be said that love of order is one of our national characteristics to-day. When not restrained by strict rules or law our people at once misbehave themselves. The sense of propriety which controls other nations does not exist among us."

This single quotation from one who is criticising his own people, not lightly or carelessly, but in measured and thoughtful language, is surely of more value than pages of foreign criticism. We can never enter into the Spirit of Japan or rightly gauge the defects of that spirit till we are willing to look at things from the Japanese point of view. The Japanese are pre-eminently proud and patriotic, and shrink above all things from ridicule or unfriendly criticism. But they are not altogether blind to their own faults; and so long as true Christian consideration is shown for the extreme sensitiveness and other idiosyncrasies of their naturally reserved and secretive natures, they are willing sometimes to discuss their faults with

foreigners, and even to look for sympathy and help from those whom they trust and respect.

Weak Points. (i) Petty-mindedness.

The Japanese writer of this article in the *Taiyō* lays his finger on what are probably the three weakest points in the Japanese character. The petty-mindedness that he first mentions (to which also he seems to attribute the apparent fickleness of the Japanese character) may be part of the legacy of the Tokugawa *régime*, when, as we have already seen, men's minds were cast almost of necessity in narrow, self-centred grooves. Buddhism did little to widen the horizon of the country populace; its organisation was too parochial and too sectarian. But for the revival of Shintō, the renaissance of Japanese national feeling would have been well-nigh impossible; and even then it was chiefly the pressure of foreign influence from outside that prevented the nation from continuing in the old paths of isolation and insular pride. Then, when Japan awoke to the fact of the existence of the great world beyond her own shores, with the wider outlook came new aspirations and hopes. Yet it would be truer to say that the leaders of Japan awoke and looked and aspired and hoped, while the masses of the people allowed themselves to be led. The subserviency of the masses to

rules and regulations is doubtless a relic of feudal times, and has its useful side. But this, added to a fatalistic turn of mind, largely fostered by Buddhist thought and exemplified in the common Japanese expression, "*Shikata ga nai*" (It can't be helped), is a serious bar to real progress. To this day, in spite of the influence of universal education and of newspapers and magazines and the network of railways, linking up distant portions of the country with the capital and making intercommunication of ideas far easier than in the olden days, three-quarters of the population are content to live the old visionless life in remote villages, with simple tastes and small ambitions.

Standard of Loyalty and Patriotism.

There are only two things that have, as yet, really moved the whole nation. One is devotion to the Emperor; the other is war. In neither the one nor the other does the individual Japanese show any trace of pettymindedness. In loyalty to the Imperial house and in care for the military or naval defence of the country, every Japanese is great. Self-centred aims and interests, local feuds and factions, parochial and provincial prejudices—all are swept away, whenever the Emperor's position and prestige are concerned, or the safety of the country is menaced by external foes. But there is not

enough of that deeper loyalty which would consider the Emperor best served by the moral excellence of his subjects in their daily pursuits and in their relations one with another—a kind of loyalty which the late Emperor himself did his best to inculcate by the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Nor, again, is there enough of that wider patriotism which seeks to save the country from foes within its own borders, such as materialism and the many social evils of the time. Individuals may preach the duty of this higher conception of loyalty and patriotism, but the nation as a whole has not fully responded to the call.

This is specially noticeable in the official and political world. The evils of a bureaucracy find congenial surroundings on Japanese soil, and politics in Japan, whether in the local and provincial assemblies or in the national ones, are marred by intrigue and faction. It is the group of *Genrō*, or Elder Statesmen, acting as an independent Privy Council to the Emperor, that has hitherto really directed the national policy; while the Army and Navy—the most perfectly organized departments of the Government—are in the hands of members of the Chōshū and Satsuma clans respectively, acting in close agreement

Tendency to Faction.

with the *Genrō*. Cabinets hold office by the goodwill of the *Genrō*, and not seldom have to bow to the authority of the Army and Navy leaders. Of party government in its best sense, as we understand it, there is little prospect as yet, and the political parties that exist are constantly rent by "caves" and "cliques." Wire-pulling, office-hunting and sycophancy are common features of public life. Even literature and art are to some extent cramped in these days by dependence on official patronage; and as for the revival of Shintō and Buddhism, as far as popular support is concerned, it is marked only too often by the desire to maintain the prestige of local shrines or special sects rather than by noble ambition to raise the spiritual tone of the whole nation.

General Nogi, whose pathetic suicide on the day of the late Emperor's funeral so moved the heart of his people, was an unsparing critic of the lack of reality in Japanese public life. In the speech made after his last visit to Europe he said, "They tell us that we are now one of the first-class Powers. But where and from whom has Japan obtained a certificate conferring on her the rank of first-class Power? It would be a terrible business if we should thoughtlessly allow ourselves to be so carried away by the

flattering speeches made by Europeans as to lose our power of discerning what is good and what is bad. As for Japan to-day, she has a name, but no reality. Look where you may, you will find the outward form only, and the absence of reality cannot but cause you grief and shame."

Christian observers would naturally add, as a corollary to these sad words, that nothing but Christianity can enlarge the heart and widen the horizon of a nation like Japan and make her great in reality as well as in name. But much depends on the type of Christianity that is introduced and propagated in Japan. An emasculated form of Christianity, or one that encourages either bitter sectarianism or an exaggerated individualism, is likely to perpetuate rather than to cure the petty-mindedness of the average Japanese nature. A lamentable tale could be told of the quarrels and intrigues, the petty feuds and factions, that have not seldom marred local Church life in Japan. Strong leadership and good discipline, a sense of corporate responsibility and Church loyalty, are very necessary ingredients in the type of Christianity that alone can raise and broaden the national ideals.

The second indictment brought by our Japanese critic against his fellow-country-

(ii) Lack of Sincerity.

men is that they are "lacking in sincerity," and that "dishonesty and hypocrisy" are certainly "in evidence," though more in the big towns than in the country places. In saying this, he was thinking more particularly, no doubt, of the low estimate that has been formed by Western nations of the commercial integrity of Japanese merchants and tradespeople. Not that there are no men of repute in this class; for there are some Japanese firms the names of which are known and respected throughout the world; and there are some Japanese magnates whose powers of organisation and knowledge of the principles of sound finance would be a credit to any country. But, speaking generally, the business world of Japan is characterized by a lack of straightforward dealing and sound judgment, and by a fatal tendency to rest content with makeshift methods and the principle of "small profits and quick returns." The shameless imitations of British trademarks by certain merchants, and the frequent tendency to supply goods inferior in quality to the samples previously offered, or to break the terms of a contract in other ways, have caused much trouble with foreign commercial firms.[1]

[1] It should be remarked that great improvement in these matters has been manifest during the last five years.

SERVANT GIRLS AT THE WELL

Mediæval Contempt for Commerce.

For much of this the Tokugawa *régime* was once more to blame. In those days the very handling of money was considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman, and financial transactions were left to underlings. The restrictions in the matter of shipbuilding and foreign trade led to the rapid decay of commercial enterprise and to a lowering of the social status of the merchant class. When Japan was reopened, the small tradesmen and merchant adventurers who flocked to the treaty-ports had no traditional standards of commercial morality, no recognized rules of conduct, no high reputation to maintain, like the old-established Chinese business firms of Macao and Canton. Their previous experience of business had often been limited to dealings with friends and neighbours in their native village or town. In such circumstances, contracts had been always liable to modification by mutual agreement. For example, in building a house, it would be a common occurrence for the carpenter to give an estimate, and then, when the work was half done, to approach the man who had employed him, and explain that owing to unforeseen difficulties, such as bad weather or the scarcity of suitable timber or of labour, he would be unable to keep within the terms

of his contract. The other party would accordingly make inquiries, and, having satisfied himself that the carpenter's representations were more or less correct, would then agree to some at least of the required modifications in the contract.

It might well be argued that such methods of conducting business are really more moral than those generally prevailing in England; but it is evident that it would be a fruitful cause of misunderstanding if they were persisted in by the natives dealing with foreigners, who were not fully conversant with the language and customs of the country. In Japan such methods, amongst others less excusable, have led to the charge that Japanese merchants rarely keep to the terms of a contract and have no real sense of what we mean by commercial morality. And further, the unscrupulous ways and exorbitant demands of some of the shop-keepers, hotel-keepers and *jinrikisha* pullers in those parts of Japan to which the tourist penetrates have made the average foreigner suspicious of all money dealings with Japanese. Japan, however, is not the only country in the world where the foreign tourist is considered to be a mine of wealth and a legitimate object of prey. The missionary, who speaks

the language and travels off the beaten track and knows something of the ethics of Oriental bargaining and the regulation charges for travelling and staying in hotels, can testify to the kindliness and honesty of "all sorts and conditions" of the country people.

The same might be said of the servant class, the worst specimens of which are generally to be found in the ports. Personally I have met with Japanese servants, both Christian and non-Christian, who have served me well and faithfully and in strict accordance with the old-fashioned Japanese ideas of the friendly relations that should exist between servant and master.

Dependence on Tradition.

These same servants would probably have been less satisfactory if my household management had not been conducted more or less on Japanese principles. It is when the Japanese finds himself called upon to act in circumstances for which he has no traditional moral code that he is apt to fail. The traveller in Japan sees this in the unseemly scramble for seats in railway carriages or electric trams, when the customary courtesy of the people seems to be thrown to the winds. He sees it too in the way in which foreign tourists are fleeced or foreign merchants deceived. Old Japan knew nothing of travelling by

rail or of foreign tourists, and but little of conducting business on a large scale and with other nations; consequently there are no prescribed rules of etiquette, no hereditary code of morals, no traditional regulations for the guidance of modern Japan in such matters. This lack has been partly remedied in comparatively recent times when a "Welcome Society" was formed under Japanese patronage with the express object of attracting tourists to the land and supplying them on arrival with reliable guides and full information concerning hotels and the cost of travelling. A few years ago the Yokohama Municipal Council issued an elaborate set of rules to guide Japanese in their dealings with foreigners; while similar instructions were issued to many schools throughout the country as far back as 1899.

Results of Materialism.

These various facts should be taken into consideration, when we hear criticisms directed against the commercial reputation of the Japanese or their treatment of the unsophisticated stranger in their midst. But even when such allowances have been made, the fact remains that a Japanese critic has to confess that his people to-day are "lacking in sincerity," and that in the big towns at any rate the existence of "dishonesty and

hypocrisy" cannot be denied. It should be noted, however, that he doubts whether lack of sincerity is a national trait. He would, perhaps, attribute it rather to the materialistic tendencies of the times and the demoralising effects of town life on those who have but recently migrated from the simpler surroundings of the country districts. The Japanese, indeed, are as a rule loud in their praises of sincerity, while the transparent honesty and straightforward dealings of country folk are not only proverbial, but an object of admiration in all classes of the people.

Conception of Politeness.

The atmosphere of insincerity, which seems to cling to town life and to the upper ranks of society, may also be due to the exaggerated use of polite expressions of speech, especially among women. In olden days politeness required that a Japanese man, and still more a woman, on meeting a friend, should begin the conversation by apologizing for every imaginary rudeness that he or she had committed for some time past, and should proceed to return thanks for every imaginary favour that the friend had recently conferred. The two parties would then vie with one another, each speaking disparagingly of his or her own belongings and affairs and in a laudatory manner of all that con-

cerned the other. Thus a husband would talk of his "foolish wife," and a mother would depreciate her "troublesome children." Japanese men of to-day, both in letter-writing and in conversation, are beginning to dispense with most of these formalities. But women in Japan, ever the most conservative part of a nation, continue to make use of them, though in a somewhat modified form. The consequence is that anyone not fully acquainted with the fine grades and distinctions of thought which the various polite expressions are intended to convey, might jump to the conclusion that Japanese conversation is a tissue of insincerities. As a matter of fact, those who know can gauge exactly how much or how little is meant by each expression.

Reserve and Good Breeding.

Another reason for the apparent lack of sincerity is the reserve which good breeding demands in the presence of strangers or of any but the most intimate of friends. For example, bad news or unpleasant information is announced, and if the hearer is well-bred, instantly there comes over the face a mask of imperturbability. Tidings of the serious illness or death of a near relative will even be received with apparent unconcern; or bereaved parents will speak of the loss of

their child with a smile. It is only in the presence of one whom they absolutely trust that the better class Japanese allow their tears to flow, and heart to speak out to heart.

Another aspect of this characteristic reserve is the attitude that the Japanese adopt in speaking with most foreigners. This reserve may also be a legacy of feudal times. In the olden days a man from one district or province would be a stranger and almost a foreigner to a man from another, and all had to be on their guard lest their loyalty to their own class and lord might be impugned. So to-day the Japanese are always on their guard when speaking with any but their most intimate friends, and this is most noticeable when they speak with a foreigner. They are courteous, friendly and even genial in their outward manner; but when the foreigner, desirous of greater intimacy, strives to penetrate beneath the surface and read the thoughts that are going on behind those keenly observant eyes, he finds he can get no further. The Japanese has probably read him like a book; but he cannot read the Japanese. The latter's reserve seems to keep him at arm's length; he cannot get near to his Japanese friend's heart; he is not admitted into the inner circle of his friend's

personal and family life. Yet the fault cannot be altogether on the side of the Japanese; for there are some foreigners who have won their way to the heart of the Japanese, and are as intimate with them as the bars of language and nationality permit.

Society Lies.

One more reason for the apparent lack of sincerity is the common use in Japan of what are known in England as "society lies." The Japanese maxim is that where an untruth will not injure the person to whom it is addressed, but may be pleasanter or more convenient to hear than the truth, then there is no harm in telling the untruth. For instance, a missionary lady was preparing for her language examination with the help of a trusted and respected Japanese teacher, who was himself a Christian. On one of the last days before the examination, when his presence was most needed, he sent a message to say he was ill in bed and could not come. The missionary, in spite of the inconvenience thus caused and the increased pressure of her studies, found time that same day to call and inquire at his house. He was a little better, so his wife said, as she graciously received the customary condolatory present—but he was unfortunately still confined to his bed. The missionary turned to go, and a

few yards from the door met the said teacher dressed in his best and apparently perfectly well. She passed him with a bow and brief congratulations on his rapid recovery, and waited till some time after to approach him on the subject. The conversation that followed was instructive. "I cannot understand Japanese ethics with regard to telling the truth. For instance, how do you, a Christian and my friend, justify your action the other day?" "Well, I was called away by my father on important business, for which my services were indispensable. It was much better for you to think I was physically unable to attend your studies, than to let you wonder what kind of family obligations could come between me and the duties I owe to you. . . ." "I see your reason, but in England we should still call that a lie. Now I wish to understand the Japanese point of view. How would you, a *samurai* and a gentleman, define a lie." . . . "A lie is treachery; and I have never been guilty of that."

(iii) Lack of Self-Discipline.

The third weak point in the Japanese character to which attention has been drawn is the lack of self-discipline that is such a dangerous symptom especially of town life in modern Japan. Though the majority of the

people acquiesce in the perpetuation of the old paternal form of government, and are subservient to the rules and regulations of officialdom, many members of the younger generation only too often go to the opposite extreme and abuse their new-found liberty. The following extract is taken from a communication to a London newspaper, sent by their correspondent at Tōkyō a few years ago:—"Much has been said abroad in praise of Japanese education, but its failure to give adequate moral stamina and impulse to the youth of the country is admitted by all. In the daily press there is constant reference to the growing deterioration of society, to the alarming increase of crime, especially among the younger generation, and to a prevailing recklessness of life among the people. Bands of young criminals are arrested in the streets of Tōkyō and other cities, most of them mere boys, charged with robbery, violence and even graver offences. . . . Together with all this has been going on a steady increase in the number of suicides[1] and murders. Complaint is loud

Crime and Suicide.

[1] The numerous suicides in Japan at the present time are due chiefly to insanity, financial troubles, disappointments in love and general pessimism. They are generally the result of a lack of moral courage, and are totally different

that the young men of to-day lamentably lack the virtues of the older generation, and the student class is especially singled out as proof of this contention."

It is only fair to point out that the police of London and Paris have their story to tell of the increasing boldness of the hooligan and *apache*, and that the state of affairs in the vast city of Tōkyō does not really represent the social condition of the rest of the nation. There are few countries in the world where the people, generally speaking, are so law-abiding, or where, for example, the security of the foreigner's life and property, even in the remotest mountain districts, is so absolutely assured. Still, in the villages and country towns, as in the large cities, the lack of self-discipline among young people is in many respects painfully evident, and open insubordination in government schools is not infrequent. Even in Christian Churches many a foreign missionary and many a Japanese pastor has had to con-

The National Instinct favours Discipline.

in character from the *hara-kiri* (or *seppuku*) of feudal times, when *samurai* were allowed to die partly by their own hands and partly by the swords of their retainers, with the idea that they could thus wipe off some stain on their honour and pay the penalty of feudal laws, which they had broken. The institution of *hara-kiri* was certainly less degrading than the hideous public executions of mediæval feudalism in Europe.

tend with the overbearing conceit and self-assertive ways of student members of the congregation. Yet these same young men, if wisely handled and gradually indoctrinated with the ideas of Church discipline and order, often develop into some of the most earnest, active and helpful of all Christians. The insubordinate spirit in Japanese students is due largely to the ill-digested absorption of Western ideas of personal liberty, and where Christian teaching has not emphasized the true meaning of Christian freedom and has pandered rather to the intellectual pride of the student class, nemesis has always overtaken that Church. The national instinct is all in the other direction—for youth to suppress itself, and be in subjection to all "pastors and masters." The system of universal military training helps to inculcate obedience to superiors, while the very games and bodily exercises of Japanese young men all tend towards the cultivation of self-control. Behind *jūjutsu*, or the art of self-defence, lies the important principle that the muscles of the body (especially the abdominal muscles) must be so exercised and controlled that the will completely masters the flesh and renders it a perfect instrument of patient strength—an idea of which Christian

teachers in Japan should take advantage. From all which, it may be inferred that lack of self-discipline is really opposed to the national genius.

SOME FINER TRAITS.

(i) Absence of Caste.

But now turn to some aspects of life in Japan which show the Japanese character in a better light. The modern Japanese have no such thing as caste, for instance, to throw its blighting shadow over the land. In feudal times Japanese society was divided into four classes—the *samurai*, the farmers, the artisan classes, the merchants and shopkeepers. Below these again were the despised *eta* or outcastes, who followed certain trades which were considered of a degrading character. Since 1871, however, these have all been on an equal footing in the eyes of the law. Society, as at present constituted, is divided into three classes—*kwazoku* or nobility, *shizoku* or gentry, *heimin* or common people. The old nobility are very exclusive; but, as in other lands, their ranks have been reinforced by the admission of *nouveaux riches*, and the barriers of exclusiveness are slowly being broken down. The distinction between the gentry and the common people, however, is more and more disregarded; and the children of both classes are educated side by side in the Government schools. In

this way, though pride of race is such a prominent feature in Japanese life, pride of class is not so marked as in England.

(ii) Position of Women.

The position of woman in Japan has long been much better than in any other Asiatic land. In theory she was always in complete subordination to the man, without any authority of her own or independence of thought or action. Her entire life was supposed to be spent in obedience—first, to her father, when a child; then to her husband, when a wife; thirdly, to her eldest son, when a widow. In practice she always took a prominent place in literature and art, in religion and (behind the scenes) even in national politics, but, most of all, in the practical management and control of the household.

At the present time her actual power is greater than ever. There is nothing in Japan like the harem or zenana system, no veiling of the face when the Japanese woman goes out of doors, no unnatural seclusion. True, the woman is always supposed to be in the background. When guests visit the house, the husband is the chief entertainer and the wife plays no prominent part and speaks little. When the family is dining together, the wife is supposed to wait on the husband till he has

finished, before she eats herself. When passing through a door, or entering a train or carriage, the husband generally precedes his wife, on whom also is laid the greater share of the burden of rugs and bags and other travelling impedimenta. When walking out of doors together, till quite recent times, a well-bred wife would never walk by the side of her husband, but a little behind. These conventional rules, however, are now frequently relaxed; and I have even seen a Japanese gentleman give up his seat in a railway carriage, so that his ailing wife could lie down, and seating himself on a heap of hand-luggage, spend the whole of an intolerably hot and mosquito-haunted night in fanning her to sleep.

Fine Qualities of the Japanese Woman.

The bonds that hold a Japanese family together are loose owing to the evils of divorce and concubinage, to the much-practised system of adoption, or again to the lack of privacy and home-like atmosphere in Japanese houses. But in spite of all these disadvantages, the Japanese woman's character is justly famed for many admirable qualities, and she carries out her duties as daughter, wife and mother with the utmost cheerfulness, good-will, and affection. Her lot is often one long round of hard labour

in house and field; premature old age soon withers her good looks, dulls her brightness, and brings her not seldom to an early grave. But while youth and strength remain, she sheds a radiance wherever she goes. The gay chatter and genial, kindly presence of the women, in the lower classes, seems to pervade the land; while, in the higher ranks, their reposeful dignity and refined charm of manner and quiet taste in dress form a beautiful background to Japanese life.

Her Faults and her Temptations.

Among the few faults laid to the charge of Japanese women, empty-headedness, petty-mindedness, jealousy and insincerity may be mentioned; but the two latter are due largely to social causes, while the former are gradually being remedied by universal education of girls in primary schools and the great increase also of higher female education. It must be confessed, however, that lack of self-discipline has affected the young women of modern Japan as well as the men. Boys are more welcome than girls in a Japanese family, and from early days, while the boys are made much of and allowed to do more or less as they please, the little girls in poorer homes soon become, out of school hours, household drudges and nursemaids to the

younger children. The only compensation they have is the brightness of the dresses they wear while still young, contrasting with the sombre hue of their brothers' clothing, and also the joy of a festival of their own on March the 3rd, corresponding to that of the boys on May the 5th. The work of Girls' high schools and other forces creating changes in the social outlook, however, have done much to lessen this sense of inferiority and subordination. Unaccustomed freedom is experienced by girl students in these schools, and some of the conventional restrictions with regard to the intercourse of the sexes are removed. This, with the opening of many bank and railway clerkships to young women, and their increased employment in factory work and other industries, has meant that not a few young women of to-day in Japan make moral shipwreck of their lives, and find refuge in suicide or sink to a life of further degradation. This is all the more significant when we remember that in nearly all classes and conditions of life the standard of chastity among Japanese women is high. The *geisha*, of whom we hear so often, are the professional entertainers of Japan, corresponding roughly to the *hetairæ* of ancient Greece. They are often highly accomplished, and are supposed

to compensate, by their vivacious wit and music and dancing, for the absence of other female companionship at public dinners in Japan. Some of them, like chorus-girls in the West, succeed finally in making brilliant matches; but the lesser stars are not seldom placed in positions where the preservation of virtue is not expected, and is, indeed, well-nigh impossible. These *geisha*, like the common courtesans, are frequently poor orphans, driven to this business by lack of other opportunity of making a livelihood; and in both cases these unfortunate girls let themselves out for a term of years to wealthy proprietors, who are responsible for their support and training. Owing largely to the sustained agitation started by a Methodist missionary and warmly taken up by the Salvation Army and other Christian organisations, it is now legally possible for such women to escape from an immoral life, and rescue work has been conducted with some success. The instances that are sometimes reported of women of good birth and respectable parentage selling themselves to a life of open shame are exceptional, and nearly always due to extreme poverty and the necessity of supporting indigent parents or paying debts of honour.

This morbid, though not altogether ignoble, idea that no sacrifice is too great in the due performance of filial duty, has been much lauded in Japan; but the more advanced and thoughtful-minded among the Japanese are beginning to see that parents also have a duty to perform to their grown-up children, and that there are some sacrifices which no son or daughter should ever have to contemplate.

(iii) Support of Parents and the Infirm.

The support of aged and infirm parents and other relations is, however, a very serious problem in many Japanese households. The constant increase of the cost of living, with heavy taxation and higher rents and new conditions of town life, makes this burden increasingly onerous.

In the past it has been bravely borne; so much so that workhouses and government poor relief have been hitherto unknown. The Japanese are not as long-lived as most Europeans, and from quite ancient times—owing probably to Buddhist influence—it has been the custom for the master of a Japanese household to retire at a comparatively early age from active life and leave the conduct of his business and the support of the family to his eldest son. It often happened, in higher circles of life, that such retirement was only a mask

for further activities in other spheres. Retired Emperors and Shōguns, for instance, would place puppet rulers in their respective offices, and pull the wires from behind the scenes. But in humbler life the retirement was more often due to rapid failing of physical powers. The old people often linger on longer than expected, so that a young man will sometimes have to support both parents and grandparents at the same time. I remember no more pathetic sight in Japan than the wistful look on the faces of these old people, pottering about the house, nursing the children, or taking them to the shrines and temples. How they haunt the sacred precincts, kneeling there and clapping their hands in prayer, half-dreading the approaching darkness of death, but thinking, no doubt, that it will relieve the strained resources and growing load of debt in the houses they love!

(iv) Bravery in the Struggle of Life.

Oh! those mean streets, those humble homes of the poorer classes in Japan—with roofs so low that you could touch them with your hand, as you ride past in a *jinrikisha*—what tales they could yet tell of patient and even cheerful heroism! Think of the days and sometimes nights of toil, carried on, it may be, not at the same high

pressure as in Western lands, but with some curtailment of the leisurely methods of old Japan and with an increasing seriousness of purpose, which speaks of hard times and the strain of modern conditions of life. The outlook of these millions of workers may be narrower than that of the same classes in England, their ideals and achievements correspondingly smaller; but there is, after all, something admirable in their industry and patience. The thud of the hand-looms or the whirr of sewing-machines, from early morning till long past midnight—the incessant sound of chisel and hammer and plane or the other implements of humble artisans—the shop attendants nodding over their braziers with never an early-closing day or Sunday's rest, but only occasional national holidays to bring relief—the indigent scholar rising long before dawn and distributing milk or newspapers to help pay his school-fees—the day and night shifts at the factories, where the machinery seldom stops running—the toiling miners and weary, grimy women coal-heavers — the plodding *jinrikisha* man pulling his fare beneath the broiling sun, thirty, forty, even fifty miles over hilly roads, in one day—the small farmer and his wife and family knee-deep in liquid,

noisome mud planting his rice-crop by hand, in the pouring rain—does it not all tell of marvellous endurance on the part of the working classes and a heroic attempt to do their duty, if not in any highly moral sense, at least by paying the national taxes and keeping those little homes together? Not only in the *Genrō* and other real rulers of Japan, not only in the Army and Navy, not only in the descendants and modern representatives of the *samurai*, fighting in battle, do we see the finest of the Japan-spirit. It is to some extent exemplified also in the daily struggle for life carried on so bravely and patiently by the masses of the people. And this helps us to understand better how a small nation like Japan could vanquish China and Russia, and is now bearing the burdens and shouldering the responsibilities left by those wars and striving to carry out, in peace, what she believes to be her divine commission in the world. With all that is lacking in some aspects of *Yamato-damashii*, with all the darker side in the Japanese character to which we have drawn some attention in this chapter, with all there is to sadden and cause anxiety to the friends of Japan—there remains among the masses of the people this record of sterling quality of

character and of splendid national traits, which, when purified, expanded, strengthened and used more directly for the glory of God, will help to advance Christ's Kingdom and spread the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the Far East.

THE PERFECTING OF JAPANESE CHARACTER.

The best products of human thought and will are incomplete without Christianity. Apart from the Christian revelation, the highest religious aspirations are defective in both their aims and their results. It is only under the inspiration and saving power of Christ, and Him crucified, that the Japanese have shown and will show the deepest piety, the most fervent devotion, and the most willing self-sacrifice in their religious life. And further, even if the Japan-spirit and the old religious systems may seem, on the surface, to have sufficed for Japan in simpler times, a consideration of the complex problems arising out of the modern introduction of Western thought and civilization into the country has served to show clearly that the Japan-spirit by itself is unable to cope with the present situation. *Yamato-damashii* must be re-founded on Christ, the Rock of Ages, or else it will not avail to protect the nation against the flood of evil that threatens to engulf every modern State in the world. Not

till Christian England realises the deep need of modern Japan will she be moved to carry out to the full her moral obligations to her Far Eastern Ally. Not till Japan realises her deep need, will she turn to the Lord of Life and Light.

Some Topics for Discussion.

How far the charges brought by Japanese critics against Japanese ideals are vital.

An explanation of Japan's real greatness and actual progress in the light of the weaknesses detailed in the chapter.

The Christian ideal for Japan—moral evolution or moral revolution?

The influence on the formation of Japanese character exerted by the working classes.

The elements in Christianity most needed for the perfecting of the Japanese character.

The special contribution to the development (both in ideal and in practice) of the full-orbed Christian character that may be expected from Japan.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH IN JAPAN AND ITS FOREIGN ALLIES

Difficulties created by divisions within the Christian Church.
The Spirit of Japan and Corporate Responsibility.

MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH IN JAPAN.

The Roman Catholic Church.
The Greek Orthodox Church.
The Presbyterian Church.
The Congregational Church.
The Nippon Sei Kōkwai, or Anglican Church.
The Methodist Church.

THE PROBLEM OF REUNION.

Some Suggestions and Possibilities.
The Attitude of Missionaries.
The Tōkyō Conferences of 1913.
Influence of Political Changes.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Is the Foreign Missionary Needed?
The Immediate Need.
The Opportunity and the Hope.

We draw to a close in our study of the Spirit of Japan. We have considered its achievements in the past and its inherent possibilities. We have noted the complexity and urgency of the problems with which it is faced at the present time, and its inadequacy, by itself, to meet the deep needs of modern Japan. We have seen also that from the earliest days the people of Japan have been religiously disposed. It is true that the positivism and agnosticism of Confucian ethics and the rationalism of modern Western thought have in turn appeared to give an irreligious tinge to the more educated Japanese mind; yet at heart, the nation, as a whole, feels that without the aid of religion *Yamato-damashii* will inevitably lose force and vitality. Even in such unexpected quarters as the official and educational classes in Japan the opinion seems to be gaining ground that religion is an absolute necessity for the welfare of both the individual and the State. The only question with them is which religion?

As we have seen, there are three religions[1]—

[1] It is interesting to note that neither Judaism nor Mohammedanism has ever gained a footing in Japan. The Mohammedan magazine recently published in Tōkyō is the product of Mohammedan students, Chinese or Indian, residing there; I have heard of only one notable Japanese convert to Islam.

Japan's Choice between 'the Three Religions.'

Shintō, Buddhism and Christianity—that lay claim to the allegiance of Japan. To which of these three, asks the thoughtful Japanese, can the Japan-spirit look for renewal of life and strength? Shall it be to Shintō, stripped of its cruder elements of Animism and reduced to a system for maintaining loyalty to the Emperor and reverence for the past? Shall it be to Buddhism, purified of superstition and revivified by the further absorption of Christian methods and Christian doctrine, and even by the admission of Christ Himself to a place of equal authority with the founder of Buddhism? Shall it be to an entirely new and definitely Japanese system of religion, comprising all that is best (from the Japanese point of view) in the three religions? Shall it be to a mutual understanding between the three, by which they shall agree to work side by side and share the allegiance of the Japanese, as Shintō and Buddhism have done in the past?

The objections to each of these suggestions have already been mentioned in this book, or are evident on the surface. State ceremonial and ancestral worship cannot fill the place of religion. Buddhism may attempt to absorb Christianity, as it has absorbed other religions, but for all that it will remain de-

finitely Buddhist and pantheist, not Christian. An amalgam of these three religions is artificial and impracticable, because of the claims that both Buddhism and Christianity make with regard to their cosmopolitanism and the absolute nature of the truths they proclaim. Finally, mutual recognition, if it is meant to lead to any practical result such as comity and co-operation, is also impossible without some unimaginable modification of both the Buddhist and the Christian positions.

All this is becoming increasingly evident to the more thoughtful and practical among the Japanese. Theorists may still talk of the study of "comparative religion," and point to the Japanese faculty for picking out what is best in any system and adapting it to their nation's use. A well-known Japanese magazine such as *Seikō* (Success) may weigh the merits of various religions, and present with the issue of a special religious number a picture in which the traditional features of Christ and Shaka have been blended into one. Another like the *Tōa no Hikari* (Light of Asia), an influential periodical in Tōkyō, may publish articles contributed by famous writers in which the respective characteristics of Christ, Shaka, Confucius, and

Socrates are gravely discussed, with the result that Confucius and Socrates are placed on a lower level as "sages of the world," while Christ and Shaka are classed higher as "holy men who rose beyond the material world." But theoretical discussions, fine philosophical distinctions, or even theological arguments never have more than a passing interest for the sober-minded among the Japanese. The true patriots are coming to see that, for the practical working out of religious principles in the daily life of the nation, Japan's choice must lie between Buddhism and Christianity; and further, that in purity, reality, and vital force Christianity has an overwhelming advantage.

DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY DIVISIONS WITHIN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Thereupon yet another question arises in the Japanese mind. If it is to be Christianity, to which form of Christianity shall the Japan-spirit look for inspiration and strength? If the Christian Church in Japan were absolutely united, no such question would arise. As it is, Japan is presented with the spectacle of a divided Christian Church. Her many divisions are neither more nor less surprising to the Japanese than the many sects of Buddhism, though, till recent times, the bitterness shown between contending Buddhist sects was worse than anything the Japanese can

have noticed between the various Christian bodies. Indeed, the work of the Evangelical Alliance in drawing branches of the Christian Church together in the Week of Prayer, at the beginning of each year, and the united evangelistic efforts, organised by the General Committee of the Federation of Japanese Churches, have done something to remove any impression of internecine strife between Christian denominations. Yet even when allowance has been made for these facts, the divisions of the army of Christ in Japan are manifestly no help but rather a hindrance to the Christian cause. Dr Harada, President of the Dōshisha, in an illuminating article in the *International Review of Missions*, for January 1912, writes most strongly on this subject. "There is hardly any greater hindrance to the spread of Christianity than the present diversity of denominations and antagonism between different communions. . . . The present use of forces and equipment is in the highest degree wasteful of both men and money. . . . If we could exhibit a union in both spirit and organisation no one could calculate how great would be the direct gain in evangelistic efficiency and the indirect gain in the heightened respect of the nation at large for Christianity."

Many Japanese believers in Christianity have solved the problem, as they think, by refusing to join any recognised Christian organisation, or by actually leaving the communions in which they had received baptism. The continual leakage from the Christian Churches has been a significant feature in missionary work in Japan. Between 1888 and 1900 the registered membership of Protestant Churches rose from 25,514 to 42,451. But during that period there had been 50,585 baptisms; so that after making deductions for 4,090 deaths, it would seem that 29,558 were unaccounted for in the space of twelve years. From the statistics[1] on which these figures are based, one gathers that only 7,096 of these untraced Christians had been knowingly excluded from fellowship because of lapse of faith or morals. The rest simply disappeared. Moving, as so many younger Japanese do, from place to place, they failed to attach themselves to any Christian communion in the districts to which they migrated, and remained outside the visible fold.

Leakage from the Church.

It may be argued that the period selected covers the years when the anti-Christian re-action was at its height. This is so;

[1] *C. M. S. Japan Quarterly*, January 1909.

but figures for the period 1899 to 1907, which are taken from the same source, though they have reference to the progress of only one of the Protestant Churches, still show a serious leakage, amounting to nearly 25 per cent. of the total number of those baptized. And this particular Church is among the most careful in admitting converts to baptism.

Secret Believers.

It is scarcely credible that all these unaccounted-for Christians have entirely lost their faith. It is more probable that they have silently joined the ranks of those thousands of secret and unbaptized believers who read their Bibles and pray to God, and in a sense wish to follow Christ and to shape their lives on Christian principles. On November the 13th, 1909, Mr Uchimura Kanzo, whose book, *Why I became a Christian*, may be known to some of my readers, wrote as follows to the English public press[1]: "We must not forget that there are hundreds and thousands of Christians in Japan who have had nothing to do with missionaries. . . . That there *are* Christians in this country who were *not* converted by missionaries or their agents, and who, without belonging to any Church, and knowing nothing about dogmas and sacraments and ecclesias-

[1] *The Japan Evangelist*, December 1909.

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tical orders, are yet devout believers in God and Christ, is a fact very little known, I think. . . . The Western idea, that a religion must show itself in an organised form before it can be recognised as a religion at all, is alien to the Japanese mind. With us religion is more a family affair than national or social, as is shown by the strong hold that Confucianism has had upon us, without showing itself in any organised societies and movements. And I am confident that Christianity is now slowly but steadily taking the place of Confucianism as *the family religion* of the Japanese. . . . This new form of Christianity adopted by my countrymen is neither orthodox nor unitarian. . . . We go to Jesus of Nazareth *directly*, and aim to live and be made like Him."

With all due respect to Mr Uchimura's opinions, we can scarcely accept his statement that religion in Japan is "more a family affair than national or social." It may be correct to say this of Confucianism, if Confucianism can be called a religion at all; but it is not true of Shintō and Buddhism. Certainly, no form of religion that fails to enter into the national and social life of the Japanese can ever hope to be the revivifying force of *Yamato-damashii*. And further, this "Christianity

outside of Churches," of which Mr Uchimura is such an earnest advocate, tends rather to perpetuate than to remedy some of those weak points in the Japanese character to which allusion was made in the previous chapter. Far-reaching aims and a wide outlook in life, or the virtues of altruism and self-discipline, can scarcely be attained when a Christian cuts himself off from all visible connection with the Church Universal.

The Spirit of Japan and Corporate Responsibility.

Those among the Japanese Christians who object to system and organisation in religious matters seem to forget that the Spirit of Japan has always shown to best advantage when permeated with a sense of duty and corporate responsibility. It was so in feudal times, and it is so to-day in all that is best in Japanese life. Most truly might this be said of the army and navy of Japan, which are models of efficiency. Whence can come this efficiency ? From the raw recruits drafted in from town and country, in accordance with the law of universal military service, to the highest officers, the whole army thinks and moves as one man. The same is the case with the navy. Every member of the forces has printed instructions of his general duty as a soldier or sailor in the Emperor's service-instructions which read like a solemn

creed of his profession. Perfect discipline, implicit obedience of the inferior to the orders of the superior, and of all to the Emperor, thoroughness, method, order, strong *esprit de corps*—these are some of the qualities which have made the Japanese military and naval forces such a perfect fighting-machine. And yet they are something more than a machine; for in actual warfare it was often noted by foreign *attachés* that the Japanese rank and file did not fight in a mechanical manner, but showed individuality and great powers of initiative. The *camaraderie* between officers and men was also marked, and neither class nor personal influence was allowed to stand in the way of any man's advance; so much so that men of wealth and position found themselves not seldom fighting in the ranks, whilst their erstwhile employees might be promoted to the position of sergeant or lieutenant or even to some higher post of authority.

Now if the same kind of natural and spontaneous *esprit de corps* could be brought into being in a great united Japanese Christian Church, what a force it might be for spiritual conquest throughout Japan and the Far East. Such a Church could make use of all the distinctive features of *Yamato-*

damashii. Its members would be inspired by the thought of their kinship with God and their divine commission. They would realise that though alienated for a time by sin from their Heavenly Father, they had been made again children by adoption and grace, and were now sent out into the world to be Christ's faithful soldiers and servants to their life's end. Henceforth, by the Holy Spirit's power, they would be able to show themselves as good exponents of moral courage and Christian virtue as their people have always been of prowess in the arts of peace and war. Loyalty to the Emperor and to the memory of his Imperial ancestors would only be intensified by loyalty to Christ and whole-hearted submission to the supreme authority of the "Father of spirits."

If some such application of the Japan-spirit to religious matters is possible, then the system and organisation of the Church is a matter of great moment. The deeper thinkers among the Japanese Christians, indeed, are coming to see that their various forces must be disciplined and co-ordinated before they can, with any prospect of lasting success, advance to the attack upon the foes that impede the onward march of Christianity.

It is not likely, however, that the majority

of Japanese converts give much thought to this subject before they become Christians. It often happens that they have long been interested in Christianity and even become students of the Bible and other Christian books, and then, one day, they are attracted to some preaching-place, or asked by a friend to attend some particular Church. They go, and after a time hear the call which reaches the heart. Thus they are brought to the point of decision, and naturally become attached to the Church where they first found the light. It is not often the outward forms or the system and organisation of a Church that attract the inquirer, but the inward message of the Church and its messengers—the message which tells of the Love of God, the Sacrifice and Resurrection Life of Jesus Christ, and the Power of the Holy Ghost, meeting the awakened sinner's sense of need and bringing to the perplexed and troubled a clue to the enigma of life. Yet no sooner has the decision to become a Christian been made than the new convert begins to notice, with a more personal interest than ever before, that though Christians in Japan worship the same Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, there are "diversities of gifts," "diversities of ministrations," and "diversities of work-

How Converts become attached to the Church.

MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH IN JAPAN.

ings." Sooner or later his attachment to the Church that helped him in the first instance may be weakened by observing that other Churches are possibly more in accordance with his slowly developing ideas of what a Japanese Church should be. He looks round on the various Christian bodies in Japan, and what does he see?

The Roman Catholic Church.

First, the Roman Catholic Church, with sixty-six thousand adherents, about half of whom are probably the descendants of the early Christians. He recalls the traditional view that the Jesuits and other Orders had of old worked for the subjugation of his country to Portugal or Spain. He thinks of the horror and detestation with which this ancient form of Christianity was held by generations of his ancestors. He remembers, perhaps, how the word *Yaso*, the mediæval pronunciation of 'Jesus,' even now sends a shudder through his frame; and he wonders whether this Church can ever again win its way to the Japanese heart. On the other hand, if he can put aside the old idea that the early Christians were traitors and rebels, he may be struck by the heroism of the martyrs, and the evidence they have given of the glorious possibility of infusing the Japan-spirit with the deeper nobility and higher

self-sacrifice of the Spirit of Christ. He notes also that the French priests of the Roman Catholic communion at work in Japan to-day hold entirely aloof from political intrigue, and carry on their propaganda with a quiet disinterested earnestness that contrasts favourably with what he has read of the mediæval missionaries. But though Japanese Roman Catholic priests are fairly numerous, he sees few signs of real autonomy in this Church, and dislikes its absolute dependence on Rome.

The Greek Church.

Secondly, there is the Greek Orthodox Church, known in Japan as the *Nippon Sei Kyōkwai* or the Holy Church of Japan. This, the second largest Christian body in the Japanese Empire, numbers some thirty-two thousand members, and its splendid cathedral at Tōkyō is one of the most prominent buildings in that city. The remarkable feature of the Church is that it has been built up almost entirely by a Japanese ministry working for much of the time under the leadership of a single foreigner—that great and truly apostolic missionary, Archbishop Nicolai, who went to his rest on February the 16th, 1912. Nicolai first reached Japan in June 1861, landing at Hakodate, to which place he had been appointed as consular chaplain. Making use of his spare

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time to obtain a thorough mastery of the Japanese language, he was soon able to get into touch with Japanese inquirers, and in spite of the dangers and alarms of those troublous days, his first three converts were baptized in 1868. In 1871, after a visit to Russia, Nicolai returned to Hakodate with funds and authorisation from the Holy Synod of Russia to begin missionary work in Japan, and in the following year moved to Tōkyō. Persecution and suspicion hampered his early efforts; but by 1883, he had met with considerable success. At no time during his fifty years of work in Japan did Nicolai have the help of more than two or three foreign assistants in the mission; very often he was single-handed. From the first his aim was to work through a native agency, and the eleven native priests in 1883 had increased to thirty-five priests and six deacons by 1912. Below these again there is a large band of carefully-graded evangelists. All the educational energy of this Church is put into the definitely religious work of training evangelists and candidates for the ministry. The higher classes in the fine theological seminary at Tōkyō are taught in the Russian language, and this fact enabled many Japanese priests to offer religious consolation and to

administer the Sacrament to the 73,000 Russian prisoners who were brought to Japan during the war. Archbishop Nicolai and his Church were placed in a difficult position at that time owing to the connection of their Church with Russia; but he courageously stayed at his post in Tōkyō throughout the war, and by tact and care the Japanese members of the Church showed they could be good patriots, praying for the success of their nation's cause, as well as good Christians of the *Nippon Sei Kyōkwai.* As a matter of fact, in spite of its connection with Russia it is an autonomous Church, receiving financial grants from abroad but governed by its own Church Council, conducting its services in Japanese, and, as one of its own members has said, exhibiting "a complete harmony between the imperialistic and the hierarchical principles of government." Indeed, by reason of its native ministry and self-government, if not on the ground of self-support, the *Nippon Sei Kyōkwai* has more reason than any other Church in Japan for calling itself a *Japanese* Christian Church.

The Presbyterian Church.

Next we turn to those other great Christian communities which together number 83,000 baptized members,[1] but are divided

[1] For further statistics see Statistical Table, p. 301.

into no fewer than twenty-one different sections and organizations. The largest of these is the federation of Presbyterian churches, known as the *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkwai*, or Church of Christ in Japan. Presbyterian missionaries from America were amongst the first to enter the country in 1859. They have been foremost in every branch of missionary work, and they have numbered among their converts many of the most talented, zealous and influential of the Japanese Christians. In course of time the presbyteries formed in connection with the various Presbyterian missions were united in one Church, with an expansion of the Apostles' Creed as its basis of belief. Self-support and self-government have been prominent features in its policy, and accordingly it is not surprising to find that agitation for a fuller withdrawal of foreign control has been strong in this Church. There is a considerable number of American Presbyterian missionaries at work in Japan; and for years it has been the wish of the Japanese Presbyterian synod that the extensive evangelistic work carried on by this large foreign force and its foreign-paid native helpers should come under the direct purview of the home mission board of the Japanese Church.

The Japanese Christians, in fact, objected to the principle of the *imperium in imperio*, and felt that the control of mission districts no less than that of the self-supporting presbyteries should be lodged ultimately in the same body. Unfortunately matters were complicated in the case of this Church by a sharp division of opinion among the missionaries themselves as to the wisdom of making concessions to the synod's wishes—the more so as in the earlier stages of the controversy these wishes were pressed with little regard to the feelings of foreigners. The matter was referred to the mission boards in America; and while various compromises have been suggested and experiments tried in the different missions, uniformity of action and a final settlement with regard to this difficult problem have not yet been reached.

The Congregational Church.

The next largest Protestant body is the *Kumiai Kyōkwai*, the Congregational Church. The American Board of Missions, which constituted this Church in Japan, began operations in 1869. It included amongst its famous converts Dr Neesima, who founded the Dōshisha, and received from the American Board most generous and continued help in the carrying out of his great educational scheme. There are not so many foreign missionaries co-

operating with this Church as with others. Consequently, more of the evangelistic work is in the hands of native workers, and there has not been the same friction in transferring to the Japanese Church the control of mission districts manned by Japanese workers or of small local churches partly supported by the American Board. In 1905 all the partly supported churches were handed over to the *Kumiai* body with a "parting gift" to be paid in three annual instalments in order that these struggling churches might have a good start: thus from January 1909 the *Kumiai* became wholly independent of foreign mission funds. Meanwhile, the groups of Christians not organized into churches remain under the care of the foreign missionary society, and are not integral parts of the Japanese Church, but the policy of the American Board is to induce them to stand alone as soon as possible, and at the earliest opportunity to pass them on to the care of the *Kumiai*.

THE APPEAL OF INDEPENDENCE.

Now, viewing the system and organisation of these two branches of the Protestant community that have just been described, the average Japanese Christian is strongly attracted by their spirit of independence and the practical evidence they have given of readiness and ability to stand alone.

Further, if he is inclined, like so many Japanese of the younger generation, to chafe against ecclesiastical authority in matters of creed and worship he will find, at any rate in the *Kumiai*, an elasticity and latitude of belief that should satisfy the aspirations of the most advanced "Modernist."

On the other hand, if he is alarmed at the lack of self-discipline and the intellectual pride and chaos of religious thought which are so characteristic of modern Japan, he may be inclined rather to place confidence in the more rigid system of the Anglican Church, known as the *Nippon ei Kōkwai*, or Holy Catholic Church of Japan. The first non-Roman missionary to begin work in Japan in 1859 was sent by the American Episcopal Church. This American Mission was followed in later years by the C.M.S. and S.P.G. from England. Canada also took her share in sending missionaries. There are now seven dioceses in Japan, four with Anglican bishops, two with American, and one with a Canadian, but none as yet with a Japanese. The various Episcopalian missionary societies have divided their spheres of influence, but are all working harmoniously to build up the *Nippon Sei Kōkwai*.

This truly Japanese—but none the less

The Nippon Sei Kōkwai.

truly Catholic—Church was constituted as far back as 1887, largely through the zeal and foresight of Bishop Bickersteth. Its constitution was formulated on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene and the Apostles' Creeds, the two Sacraments (Baptism and Communion) and the three Orders. General and diocesan synods are held at stated intervals; provision is made for the election of bishops, but this is in abeyance till funds for one or more bishoprics are forthcoming from Japanese sources. The prayer-book used at present is a combination of the American and English Church prayer-books, containing also new prayers and services, and rules for shortening services, avoiding repetition, and giving considerable freedom in the reading of the Psalter. Any group of Christians numbering at least twenty communicants and having a place for holding services and a 'pastor'[1] can take the title of a church and form an integral part of the *Nippon Sei Kōkwai.* Nothing is said in the Constitution about the financial support of the pastor; but the general rule has been for part of the support to come, for a time at least, though in a regularly diminishing proportion, from the foreign missionary society.

[1] 'Pastor' has a technical meaning in the *Sei Kōkwai.*

Whether for this reason or for others, such as the fact that the *Sei Kōkwai* has fewer wealthy and influential Christians in its ranks than the *Kumiai* or the *Kirisuto Kyōkwai*, the annual contributions of the Episcopal Christians are still comparatively small, though they are increasing every year. On paper the Christians of this body enjoy as complete autonomy as any other Japanese Church. In reality, the pastoral care of all the smaller groups of Christians and the extensive evangelistic work carried on in every part of the country are largely paid for by foreign money and subject to the authority of foreign bishops or the conferences of foreign missionary societies. The foreign force in the Anglican campaign is equalled in numbers by no other except the Roman. But there is also a large body of Japanese clergy[1] and lay-workers, both men and women.

Dual Control.

There is a growing feeling among the Japanese Christians of the *Sei Kōkwai*, and also among not a few of the English missionaries, that the dual control of the Church and the missionary society is a serious hindrance to the progress of the cause for which both are working. They think that if the work could only

[1] In the case of the *Sei Kōkwai*, the number of Japanese clergy is about equal to that of the foreign.

be so co-ordinated as to bring every department (except the payment of salaries and personal allowances of foreign missionaries) under the control of the general and diocesan synods and the home mission boards of the Japanese Church far greater advance would be made. The Greek Orthodox Church, with its Japanese name, so strikingly similar to the *Sei Kōkwai*, has granted real autonomy, though its finances still come largely from Russian sources. Why should not rich England, America, and Canada be willing for a time to help finance the weak and struggling *Sei Kōkwai*? This would mean leaving the control of the money to the various synodal boards; but on these both Japanese and foreigners can now be elected irrespective of race; and in order to safe-guard the interests of foreign subscribers, there might be reserved to the contributing foreign societies certain rights of nomination, which would automatically lapse with the gradual reduction of financial grants.

This problem of the full co-ordination of the work of the Japanese Church and that of the foreign missionary society is one of the utmost importance for the future of Christianity. It affects every branch of the Protestant community in Japan; and while it is difficult for those who are not on the spot

CLERICAL AND LAY DELEGATES AT THE KYŪSHŪ SYNOD OF THE NIPPON SEI-KŌKWAI

to grasp the technical details of the various schemes put forward on this side or that, it is imperative for all students of Christian missions in Japan to understand something of the main principles that are involved. Put briefly they amount to this—shall the foreign mission agency in Japan be an irregular force of auxiliaries co-operating with, but in no wise an integral part of, the main Christian army? Or shall the distinction of foreign and native, with all the harmful associations that those harmless words often convey, be done away with for ever, and foreign and native, irrespective of race, henceforth work side by side with equal authority and equal opportunity under the same controlling body?

The Methodist Church.

There is one other of the larger branches of the Protestant community, which seemed a few years ago to have taken a step in this direction. In 1907 the Rev. Yoitsu Honda, one of the earliest Japanese Christians, was elected bishop of a united Methodist Church in Japan. This devoted servant of God, whose serene countenance and calm assurance of Christian victory made such an impression on all the delegates at the "Three Religions' Conference,"[1] was called to his rest on March the 26th, 1912, and the Rev. Hiraiwa Yoshiasu was

[1] See page 205.

elected in his stead. The Methodist Church of Japan has thus the honour of being the first to raise Japanese Christians to the episcopal office. But though this Japanese Methodist bishop and his Church are on the friendliest terms with the various American and Canadian co-operating missions, and though they admit the foreign missionary to membership in their annual Conference, yet, as in the *Sei Kōkwai*, the actual control of the numerous activities of these missions remains in foreign hands. And further, the supervision of the foreign missionaries and of the educational and publishing interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church mission continues to be exercised by an American Methodist bishop; so that once more we have an *imperium in imperio*.

Other Missions at Work.

Of the smaller sections of the Protestant Church, the most important is the American Baptist, with two organisations at work. Other distinctive societies carrying on mission work in Japan are two Lutheran societies from America and Finland respectively, and a German "Evangelical Protestant Mission Society." Several of the American Lutheran missionaries are noted for their sound learning and true evangelical zeal; but they have only been in the field since 1891, and their Church has not made much progress as yet. The

Society of Friends and the Scandinavian Missionary Alliance also have small missions, and there are about ten American sects other than those already named.

THE PROBLEM OF RE-UNION. What form of Church Government is best suited to Japan?

We have now finished our survey of the main divisions of the Japanese Christian Church, and we have imagined a Japanese Christian whose heart has recently been touched by the gospel, and who has made confession of faith, pausing for a moment to consider which of the Christian Churches is not only nearest to the mind of Christ and His apostles, as he understands it, but also in its form of government best suited for a Japanese Roman, Greek, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran. As I explained before, he is not likely to be able to take a detached view of the subject, because he would be favourably inclined to the Church that had first received him into its fold. But supposing for the moment that he could do so, and that we also, in England, could detach ourselves from our own predilections, then we come with our Japanese friend to the same question once more. Which form of ecclesiastical constitution is best suited to the national genius of Japan, best able to strengthen its weak points and develope its strong ones, best adapted for

restoring it on a Christian basis and making it a fit instrument for God's glory? Or if we think that no one of the present forms by itself seems fully satisfactory, what further fusion of forces could be made to bring about the formation of a really national Church that should be also truly apostolic and catholic in character? If the many Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist missions, with their often widely differing units, could yet respectively lay aside the non-essentials which kept them apart, and form three strong united Churches, why should not the same process be forthwith carried a few steps further? Is not the branch of the Anglican Communion in Japan known as the *Nippon Sei Kōkwai*, or the Holy Catholic Church of Japan, wide enough in its conception to unite with both Presbyterians and Methodists as far as their declared articles of faith are concerned?[1] In the matter of Church order, it should be remembered that the great majority of Methodists in Japan have now placed themselves under an episcopal form of government, somewhat

Possibilities of Re-union.

[1] It is also on cordial terms with the leaders of the Greek Church in Japan; and it is interesting to note that Bishop Sergius of this Church was present as "a fraternal delegate" at the Tōkyō Conferences mentioned below. The Roman Church in Japan, as elsewhere, has, however, made no such advance.

similar in its working to that of the Anglican Communion, though not resting upon any theory of historical continuity or apostolic succession as interpreted by the latter. On the other hand, the *Nippon Sei Kōkwai*, by its full recognition of the authority of local church committees and of clergy and laity meeting together in diocesan and general synods, has made what seems to some a definite advance towards the Presbyterian ideal of government. It remains for the Presbyterians to make some concessions in the matter of episcopal authority; and then, with a mutual recognition of the validity of their respective orders, the way would be open for the corporate union of these three important bodies.[1] Their union would be a powerful lever to bring to bear on the confessedly more difficult problem of the position of Congregationalists and Baptists in a great united Church of Japan.

[1] The writer is fully conscious of the great difficulties involved in the question of the recognition of orders. He is also not blind to the fact that such a momentous step towards re-union could scarcely be taken by Japanese Christians apart from consultation with the rest of Christendom. But until Christians in general begin to discuss and plan in the spirit of prayerful sympathy some such definite scheme as that propounded in this chapter, the desire for re-union is unlikely to issue in any practical result. It may be that the Christians of Japan will in time set an example for the Christian world in this great matter.

Attitude of Missionaries.

At present the chief hindrance to the union of Japanese Christians is undoubtedly the narrow, even if conscientiously narrow, outlook of many foreign missionaries. Is it right that the emissaries of the Cross should seek to perpetuate in Japan differences of religious opinion which had their origin, for the most part, in local and temporary conditions of Church life in Europe and America? Should they not strive more, not only for a united presentation of "the faith once delivered to the saints," but also for the joint evolution of a type of Church government best suited for the development of a Christianised *Yamato-damashii*.

The Tōkyō Conferences, 1913.

It is disappointing to find that the delegates at the Conferences held at Tōkyō in April 1913, under the auspices of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, do not seem to have thought the time ripe for any suggestions as to the corporate union of some at least of the larger Christian bodies in Japan. They point out the obvious duty of "Churches of similar faith and order" to unite. They plan to extend the useful work already done by the Federation of Churches in Japan[1] and

[1] Comprising four-fifths of the Protestant Christians in Japan.

the Conference of Federated missions, these two Federations being asked to form a permanent "Continuation Committee of Japan" for the furtherance of the ideals of comity and co-operation, especially in educational and literary work. They "call upon all Christians in Japan to engage in united prayer for the realisation of the unity for which our Lord Himself prayed." But at the same time they unanimously place on record their opinion that "the tendency of Christianity in Japan at present is in the direction of the maintenance of separate Churches, in their organisation patterned after those in the West"; while the Conference of foreign missionaries adds that "there are few signs of a movement in favour of a nation-wide Church."

It would almost seem as if the majority of the Japanese Christians were infected with the same spirit that has characterised the work of many of their foreign teachers in the faith. Their horizon appears at present to be limited to the vision of a group of federated churches, not one of which could hope to take the place of Shintō in the national life or to make use of the traditional genius or spirit of Japan in the cause of Japanese Christianity.

Influence of Political Changes.

Since the death of the late Emperor, there has been a distinct break with the past in Japan. The recent series of cabinet crises was symptomatic of a struggle between old ideas and new. The upholders of party government and of Cabinet responsibility to the people alone, and of the consequent limitation of the functions of the Throne, have gained ground. Whether they will succeed in radically changing the course of history in Japan remains to be seen. The recent trend of political opinion in Japan has its counterpart in some of the various branches of the Church, and the delegates at the Tōkyō Conferences were no doubt well-informed when they intimated that at present there were few signs of any general desire for "a nation-wide Church." The wish for party government is reflected among many Japanese Christians by the desire for "the maintenance of separate Churches, in their organisation patterned after those in the West." Similarly the determination to keep the Emperor above and outside politics is paralleled, in certain sections of the Church, by an apparent disinclination to see the Imperial house and the Government publicly identified with any form of the Christian religion. God grant that a wider and fuller

vision of the future Church of Japan may be given to an increasing number of Japanese Christians and missionaries, and that the difficulty of harmonising various interests or of adjusting the future relations between Church and State may not deter them from laying, even now, the foundations of a truly national Church.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

But I would close this book with something more than the thought of a vast and still unsolved problem. The discussion of missionary problems has its great uses in rousing interest, stimulating thought, and quickening the spirit of intelligent prayer. But there comes to my mind a letter from a missionary in the field, overwhelmed with work, and disheartened by threat of renewed retrenchments. In that letter some such words as these occurred. "Amid all the darkness and uncertainty of the outlook, only two facts seem to stand out clear—the home Church is discussing world problems and the mission estimates will again be cut down!"

What will be the practical result of the study of this text-book? More interest in the Spirit of Japan, more sympathy with our Far Eastern Ally, more understanding prayer for her in her hour of need and day of opportunity—and

especially more prayer for our Japanese fellow-Christians? Shall not the result be seen also in a loosening of the purse-strings, that the "sinews of war," so urgently needed for the British share in helping on the spiritual conquest of Japan, may be forthcoming? Shall there not further be a sending of reinforcements to Japan, a sending of the particular type of English man or woman that will be really welcome to the Japanese Church?

Is the Foreign Missionary needed?

Some who have read the previous pages may have begun to doubt whether the foreign missionary is really wanted any longer by the Japanese. If the presence of two or three Russian priests at the most has been enough to help in the building up of the Greek Orthodox Church in Japan, would it not seem that other missions in Japan are in need of reduction of their foreign staff rather than of increase? We must not forget, however, that Archbishop Nicolai was a man in a thousand, and that what he accomplished single-handed could not have been effected by a number of men of inferior ability. And as a matter of fact, the Japanese Church *is* calling for men and women from England, though it calls for quality rather than quantity. I have often heard the Japanese say "We want *jimbutsu*,"

i.e., men and women with character and personality; or again "We want the best types of English gentlefolk." This is said with no false idea of the supposed advantages of birth and position and education. There are no people quicker than the Japanese to note the presence or absence of the essential qualities of Christian gentleness and chivalry; and where gentle manners and chivalrous instincts are pre-eminent, they appreciate these regardless of the antecedents of the person in whom they appear.

Others of my readers may say—"Have we not heard from some who have lived many years in Japan—a few of them missionaries, and the others, men who have been for a time in Japanese employ—that the Japanese pick your brains and then have no further use for you, that they suck you dry like an orange and then throw you aside?" To all who may have heard such statements as these, I would say, Hear both sides. In the first place, the bitterness of spirit we see displayed by some who have returned to England after years of residence in Japan *may* be due to climatic causes (for the climate of Japan sometimes plays havoc with the nerves). More often it arises from mutual misunderstandings which have not had time

to heal. Englishmen and Japanese alike are apt to get heated over controversy, and more especially in the days when the ultra-nationalistic fever of the Japanese was at its height, regrettable things which sank deep into wounded hearts were said on either side. But generally speaking, differences of opinion will not, in the long run, lessen the respect and possible affection of the Japanese for the foreigner, if only the latter will be gentle and patient and willing to look at things from a Japanese as well as from a foreign point of view; if only he will be brave enough to own his mistakes, and firm enough to hold to his matured convictions. They have a saying, indeed, that "The True Hero" is "in appearance, charming like the spring breeze: in heart, firm as a rock."

Again, with regard to the complaint of some foreigners who have been in Japanese employ, and have subsequently received a polite *congé*, for reasons that seem quite inadequate to one side concerned, it should be remembered that the Japanese are apt pupils and have made astonishing progress in all the branches of science. In many instances they have outstripped their masters, and where this is so, they can scarcely be expected to maintain the expensive luxury of a foreign

teacher, seeing that in these cases there is no longer absolute need of his presence. In short, I do not think the Japanese have shown either less or more gratitude to their foreign teachers and instructors than we as a nation should have done, if placed in similar circumstances.

The Unexpected in Japan.

To some it may seem almost unnecessary to have touched on this point; but the writer's own experience has been that there are not a few, formerly resident in Japan but now returned to England, who would dissuade others from working for or under the Japanese. They seem to regard Japan as the land of disenchantment and disillusionment. Such a description is surely unjust; but Japan may certainly be called the land of surprise, where not seldom the unexpected happens. The character of the people sometimes reflects the physical features of their country. The calm fair landscape of Japan is suddenly devastated by a typhoon or an earthquake. The typhoon passes, the quakings cease, and all is calm and fair as before. The intending missionary to Japan should accordingly be prepared for surprise. Pre-conceived notions about the Japanese and fixed opinions about the problems connected with Christian work in Japan may very likely have to be

modified, for in all such matters experience is the surest guide.

The Immediate Need.

A word or two in conclusion about the need, the opportunity, and the hope of greater efforts for the Christian conquest of Japan. The immediate need is best indicated by the following quotation from the findings of the Continuation Committee Conferences referred to above.

"Approximately 80 per cent. of the total population, or above forty millions, reside in rural districts, of which number, so far as our data indicate, 96 per cent. constitute an entirely unworked field. Of the remaining 20 per cent. of the total population, residing in cities and towns, about one-fifth is still unprovided for; thus giving us the result that above 80 per cent. of the population of Japan are not being directly reached by the evangelistic forces. Even in the cities and towns which are occupied, a comparatively small portion of the people have been in any real sense evangelized. A gigantic and yet most inspiring task, therefore, still lies before us in the Christianisation of Japan which calls first of all for renewed humiliation, deeper consecration, and a larger life."

The Opportunity.

The opportunity is not merely to check certain evil tendencies in the Japan-spirit, or

modern accretions to it, such as pride, gross materialism, or the other faults of character mentioned in the previous chapter. It is still more to build up in Japan a national Church, which shall itself be the corporate expression of a Christianised *Yamato-damashii*, giving the Japanese nation wider and nobler ideas of the meaning of a divine commission and of the nature of true patriotism.

The Hope.

And finally, in view of the many problems to be solved and the great difficulties to be overcome, on what may we set our hope? What part of the Christian message, as delivered by missionaries in Japan, is of most avail in awakening a consciousness of sin, in breaking down the barriers of intellectual pride, in changing hearts and lives and inspiring a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice among the converts?

I am sure the answer of most missionaries would be, "We preach Christ crucified, . . . a stumbling block, and . . . foolishness: but unto them that are called . . . Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."

Three hundred years ago, in Japan, it was the message of "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified" which helped, more than anything else, to bring victory to the Christian cause and to inspire the Martyr Church of those days.

For those who have eyes to see, in these modern times, the same sacred sign is blazoned in those Far Eastern skies and the Voice from Heaven is calling as of old

IN HOC SIGNO VINCES.

Some Topics for Discussion.

How far diversities of operation tend to obscure from the Japanese the fact that the various parts of the Christian Church are of one spirit.

The probable contribution of Japan to the unity of the Church, and the way in which that contribution may be secured.

The duty of the Church at home in face of the appeal for unity and co-operation which comes from the field.

The place of the foreign missionary in Japan at the present time. "We exist to make ourselves unnecessary."

The extent to which Japan is still unevangelized, and the nature of the responsibility thus laid upon the Japanese Church and the 'Home Church' respectively.

Our personal response to the appeal of Japan.

"A DOOR OPENED"

S.P.G. WORK IN JAPAN.

APPENDIX.

Introduction.

One result of reading and studying *The Spirit of Japan*, and particularly what is said as to the "Nippon Sei Kōkwai," should be that the student grasps the oneness of the various missions which have played their part in building up the Holy Catholic Church of Japan. The American, the Canadian, the C.M.S., and the S.P.G. Missions have each made their special contribution to the thought, the practice, and the organization of the local branch of the Church, and to some extent they may have tended to emphasize some aspects of Christian doctrine or to mark out some distinct method of spreading the Gospel. But since the organization of the Sei Kōkwai in 1887, all have been united, using the same Prayer Book, and working under the same Canons and Constitution. Thus this short account of what S.P.G. has done is written merely to give clearer reference and fuller detail to those who specially support the S.P.G., and whose interest is mainly centred in this venerable missionary society of the Church. It also includes a short history of certain special Missions that have, at one time or other, been affiliated to or helped by the Society (such as the Community Missions of St Andrew and St Hilda).

General Sphere of S.P.G. Work.

Of the seven bishops of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai, two are supported by the Society—the Bishops of South Tōkyō and of Osaka. The foreign missionaries sent out

by S.P.G., and the Japanese clergy and other workers supported by the Society, are all in these two dioceses (geographically). Here the C.M.S. and S.P.G. centres lie side by side with no clear dividing line, so that it is difficult to give a clear idea of the geographical position of the S.P.G. Mission Stations. In general, it may be said that in the diocese of South Tōkyō the missions are in Tōkyō and to the south-east and south-west of Tōkyō, whilst in the Osaka diocese they are in Kōbe and to the west of Kōbe, and in the north and south of the Island of Shikoku.

Beginning of the Work.

There is a wonderful instance of direct answer to prayer in the opening of the Society's work in Japan. As early as 1859 a sum of £1000 had been reserved for Missions there, but no start was made. In 1872, in response to an appeal from the Society, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York recommended that a day be set apart for United Intercession for the Missions of the Church of England throughout the world. Almost immediately two anonymous donors supplied the Society with money to open a mission in Japan, and from those who offered their personal service, the Rev. A. C. (afterwards Archdeacon) Shaw and the Rev. W. B. Wright were selected. On arriving in Yokohama on September 25th, 1873, they proceeded straight to Tōkyō, the capital, and began their work. Three years later the Rev. H. J. Foss (now Bishop of Osaka) and the Rev. F. B. Plummer landed in Kōbe, and entered on an enterprise which was destined to spread far in the south-west of the main island, Hondō. For some time the missionaries confined themselves to these large cities, but before long calls came from towns and districts in the neighbourhood, and the work of the Society in the present dioceses of Osaka and South Tōkyō has practically all started from these centres. Mr Plummer was compelled to resign for reasons of health, in 1878, but not before he had estab-

lished a connection with the Bonin Islands, which has borne good fruit (see p. x.). Mr Wright was able to stay for nine years before his resignation, and, in addition to his evangelistic work, helped greatly in the early literary work of the Church, and in the training of candidates for the ministry.

Archdeacon Shaw and Bishop Foss.

These two are not only of note as pioneers of the work in their respective stations, but also as giants and leaders in the Church, to whom she owes a great debt of gratitude. The former, up to the time of his death in 1902, had taken a large share in every branch of the Church's work, evangelistic and literary, and in the training of the future clergy and leaders of the Sei Kōkwai. In addition to this, he had devoted much time and toil to the English community in Tōkyō, and in 1895 had the honour of being thanked by the Japanese Government for his efforts in removing misunderstandings in England. At his death the Emperor sent a present of money to his widow, a very unusual honour to be paid to a foreigner.

Bishop Foss, too, did work among his own fellow-countrymen in Kōbe. In many centres he started evangelistic work among the Japanese, often tramping long distances before railways existed. It is said that in the Island of Awaji his name was so well known that every foreigner was called "Foss San." But his great gift to the Church has come from his wonderful knowledge of the Japanese language, both colloquial and literary, and his translations and other writings, which include several commentaries, and the translations of the *Imitatio* and Bishop Walsham How's book on the Holy Communion. He has had a large share in the production of the official Church Hymn Book (*Hymns New and Old*), and many of the best of the hymns are his work. He is at the present time a member of the Committee for the Revision of the Japanese Bible.

Organization of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai and Work of Bishop Bickersteth.

In the first ten years or so the numbers of the Christians grew steadily, and a few churches were built. There does not seem to have been a great movement towards Christianity such as one witnesses nowadays in Corea, but foundations were being slowly, and carefully, laid. The desires of many of the Church missionaries from America and England were turning towards the amalgamation of the various missions of the Anglican Communion. With the desire and the hour, God gave the man. After the short and busy episcopate of Bishop Poole (1883-5), the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed the Rev. E. Bickersteth[1] Bishop in Japan. In addition to his gifts of scholarship and administration, he brought to Japan experience in mission work gained during his five years in India, as Head of the Cambridge University Mission at Delhi. He quite early realized that the Japanese Church must be truly a Japanese branch of the Catholic Church, and that nothing less would satisfy the intensely national and independent spirit of the Japanese people. His position and gifts naturally gave him the lead in the work of unifying and organizing, though the saintly Bishop Williams was quite at one with him, and he was backed up by the clergy, both Japanese and foreign.

An account of the constitution of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai and Bishop Bickersteth's statesmanlike work in connection with it is given on pages 282, 283.

Community Missions.

From his experience of a Community Mission in India, Bishop Bickersteth saw the advantage of similar bodies in Japan. From him came the initiative for the founding of St Andrew's Community Mission for men and St Hilda's Community Mission for women, both of

[1] S.P.G. and C.M.S. conjointly provided the stipend of the Bishop, but since his time the stipend of the Bishop in South Tōkyō has been provided by S.P.G. alone.

which took their beginning in the year 1887. It is only fair to say, however, that, though the initial steps were taken by the Bishop, who was always ready to give his help and advice, their success is largely due to the heads and members of the missions. They were helped financially by the S.P.G. for some years, and are now affiliated to the Society.

St Andrew's Mission.

The first member of the Mission was the Rev. L. C. Cholmondeley, and soon after came the Rev. A. F. (now Archdeacon) King. Both of these are still members and still devoting themselves to the work of the Church in Japan. It has, unfortunately, never had a large membership (its members now number five), but its manifold activities have done much for the Sei Kōkwai. Among them we may mention, in addition to ordinary parochial undertakings and missions among non-Christians, the training of the ministry (now handed over to the Central Theological College of Tōkyō), the night-school work and the management of its hostel. St Andrew's House has always been a social centre for the men of the English community in Tōkyō and a common meeting-ground for Japanese and English. St Andrew's Church, too, serves the same double purpose on the spiritual side, for under the Rev. P. S. Yamada it has Japanese services, whilst one of the members of St Andrew's is responsible for the English services.

St Hilda's Community Mission.

The chief name associated with this Mission is that of Miss Thornton, who worked in connection with the Mission for a great many years. Previous to St Hilda's foundation, Miss Hoar, who was afterwards joined by her cousin, Miss A. Hoar, had lived in Archdeacon Shaw's house, and undertaken the great responsibility

of training the women workers of the Church. Many of the earlier "Biblewomen" of the Church owe all their training to Miss Hoar, who was sent out in the very early days by the Ladies' Association of S.P.G. When St Hilda's was started this particular work was handed over to its members, but Miss Hoar continued to address meetings and to help in ordinary parochial work. St Hilda's Mission still carries on the School for the Training of Japanese Women Workers (or "Biblewomen"), and also an Embroidery School.

A hostel is maintained for women students, and has rendered valuable service to the Church, and given quite encouraging results. Anyone who knows the condition of student life in Tōkyō will realize that such hostels are important, and should be very helpful to all who come within their walls. One valuable side of their work is to provide a proper home, with spiritual help for girl students who have been baptized in our Mission Schools, and proceeded to their higher education at the Women's University in Tōkyō. The school for Japanese girls carried on for many years by the St Hilda's Committee, rebuilt on a new site in 1912 after a disastrous fire, is now on a Diocesan basis under the charge of two English university graduates. It gives a really first-class education and preparation for married life. Needless to say the school is based on Christian principles.

Nor is the active charitable side of Christian work neglected, though it must be confessed that in this we fall behind many other Missions. In connection with St Hilda's there exist a small orphanage for destitute children and almshouses for a dozen aged and infirm Christian women.

Not the least of the activities of these two Community Missions is that of offering intercession regularly year in and year out at the Holy Eucharist and Church offices for the various operations of the Church, and of holding Quiet Days and Retreats for the spiritual refreshment of their members and other clergy and workers who desire to attend.

Successors of Bishop Bickersteth.

After Bishop Bickersteth's death in 1897, Bishop Awdry, the first Bishop of Osaka (1896-1898), was transferred to Tōkyō. In England he is perhaps best known by many for his attempts to get a saner and better balanced judgment on the Japanese people at the time of the war with Russia. But in Japan his greatest memorial will undoubtedly be the Central Theological College at Ikebukuro in Tōkyō. For this he wrote and planned up to the time of his death in 1909, and now, thanks to a large grant from the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering, the scheme has at last materialized (1913). The American and S.P.G. Divinity Schools have already combined, and it seems probable that the C.M.S. School will co-operate. The Rev. J. T. Imai is the head, and the Rev. H. H. Kelly, of Kelham, is one of the "professors." Others are to follow from England and America.

When Bishop Awdry resigned owing to ill-health, the question arose as to who was to succeed him. It was known that Bishop Cecil Boutflower, of Dorking, had volunteered for service in the Mission Field, and was willing to go to Japan, and at the same time there were those who thought the opportunity had come for appointing a Japanese bishop. The matter was decided at the District Synod of the South Tōkyō diocese, and it was recommended that Bishop Boutflower should be sent out to Japan. Most of the Japanese delegates voted for the foreigner, as they felt the time was not yet come for a Japanese bishop. Bishop Cecil has governed the diocese since 1909. Together with the other bishops he has moved vigorously to further the scheme for the Central Theological College which was so dear to Bishop Awdry's heart.

Other churches and work in Tōkyō.

Mention has already been made of the work of St Andrew's and St Hilda's Missions, but these are by no means the only organizations in connection with

the Society in this great city (pop. 2,186,000). Just behind St Andrew's Church is the pro-Cathedral, with the Rev. J. T. Imai as Dean. On the same compound as the new St Hilda's Girls' School, etc., is the Sankō Church, under the Rev. N. Yoshizawa. At the other end of the city, in the Ushigome Ward, is the Church of St Barnabas, under the charge of Mr Cholmondeley. The church is a handsome little structure of wood, and the congregation wonderfully earnest and united. In the Shinagawa district of Tōkyō is the Church of St Mary Magdalene, interesting from the fact that it is built in the district occupied mainly by the pariah class known as the Eta. The priest in charge is the Rev. F. Terata, the first mission priest sent by the Japanese Church to work in Formosa. After labouring zealously in Formosa he resigned, and returned home owing to his breakdown in health. Indirect and direct evangelistic work is carried on by means of Sei Maria Kwan (St Mary's House), under Miss Weston and her helpers, very largely among better class and better educated Japanese ladies. Part of this house is used as a boarding-house or hostel for Japanese girls attending the highest grade schools, and is under the charge of a Christian Japanese lady principal. Several of the English workers hold posts as teachers of English in Japanese schools.

The Rev. Arthur Lloyd.

It would not, perhaps, be out of place to mention here another notable missionary, the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, who was for some years connected with S.P.G., and who after his resignation, during his long residence in Japan, was always interested in mission work. He is known by his writings on Japan and its people, but more especially by those on Japanese Buddhism. He was acknowledged both by Japanese and foreigners as an authority on the subject, and was always keen to interest others in the same topic.

YOKOHAMA (Pop. 394,000).

Twenty miles to the south of Tōkyō lies the large busy treaty port of Yokohama. The S.P.G. had succeeded to work begun by the American Episcopal Mission, and had served it from Tōkyō for some years, but in 1892 the Rev. F. E. Freese of S.P.G. was put in charge of the mission. Treaty-port work is notoriously difficult, and Yokohama has been no exception to the rule. Mr Freese resigned in 1895, and after his return home the church was poorly supplied with workers, often being dependent upon Tōkyō for help. In 1906 the Rev. H. B. Walton arrived in Japan, and after the usual time of language study, was given charge of this post. Under his vigorous leadership new life has been infused into the work, and the church now ranks second in the diocese in point of numbers. This is the more noteworthy as there are no schools or other institutions connected with it to swell the numbers of the congregation. In another part of the city under Mr Walton's supervision is a Sailors' Mission. The catechist is Mr Uematsu, formerly a petty officer on a Nippon Yusen Kwaisha steamer. Constant communication is kept up with the Japanese Sailors' Club in Woolwich, and there are signs of vigorous life. The work in the seaside resorts near Yokohama has developed recently, and a church has been built at Zushi.

OTHER CENTRES OF WORK.

There is little space to tell of the history and fortune of other churches in the diocese connected with S.P.G. There are churches and congregations with resident priests at Odawara, Shizuoka, and Numazu. At Shizuoka (53,000) a branch house of St Hilda's and a small Kindergarten School have been established. The Rev. R. Shaw, a son of Archdeacon Shaw, is stationed at Numazu. Unfortunately a fire, which destroyed two-thirds of the city in 1913, burnt the church to the ground.

Bonin Islands.

Our interest and sympathy should go out in full measure to the little church of St George in the Bonins, and to the Rev. Joseph Gonzales, who is in charge, for it is one of the most lonely outposts of the Church. The islands lie about 500 miles south of Yokohama, and are important as a Pacific cable station. The people, owing to intermarriage, are a strange mixture of Japanese, Europeans, and Kanakas. They are, in general, pretty ignorant. An early connection was obtained between the islands and the Society through Mr Plummer (see page ii). Owing to his efforts some boys and young men were sent for education to the Mission School in Kōbe. Regular visits were undertaken for a long time by Mr Cholmondeley, and one of the young men, who was formerly a policeman, was ordained, is now in full charge; his work is progressing encouragingly. The little thatched church, dedicated to St George of England, erected largely by the efforts of Mr Cholmondeley, is one of the attractions of the islands.

Work in Osaka Diocese.

Three hundred and seventy-five miles west of Tōkyō lies the second great treaty port of Kōbe (pop. 378,000), the second city in the diocese of Osaka. Mention has already been made of the beginning of the work in this place. After thirty-six years there are now two churches and a Kōgishō or "preaching place." This is now officially called a Junkyokwai, *i.e.* a "sub-church." The central church is dedicated to St Michael. Bishop Foss was its founder and first priest in charge. For the last three years (since 1910) it has been self-supporting, *i.e.* it pays all church expenses and the stipend of its Japanese priest, the Rev. S. Takenouchi. As Kōbe is a treaty port, it is by no means easy to get a strong feeling of unity, for, like the Church of early Rome, it is,

to a large extent, dependent on the "fortuitous filtration" of Christians from all the cities and towns in the west. In the west of Kōbe lies the Church of the Ascension, which is in the charge of the Rev. M. Kakuzen. Mr Kakuzen was a student at the Keio Gijiku in Tōkyō under the greatest of all Japanese educationalists, the late Mr Fukuzawa, and was first led by the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, who was a teacher there. He was ordained in Canada, and after working for some time in South Tōkyō diocese came to Kōbe, where he has built up a wonderfully united congregation. Largely through the energy and self-sacrifice of priest and people, this daughter of St Michael's has grown, and four years ago the Christians left their small and dark mission room for the present church. In connection with the church a small kindergarten has been established, which only needs funds to make it a valuable help to evangelistic work. In East Kōbe is a younger daughter of St Michael's, the Fukiai Mission Room or "preaching place." It is as yet small and weak, but shows signs of growth. The Christians are doing their utmost to secure funds wherewith to buy a site for a church, but the dearness of land makes this a difficult task. An encouraging work among the students of the Kōbe Higher Commercial School has been started in connection with the Mission Rooms.

Educational work in Kōbe.

Two educational institutions begun and partly supported by S.P.G. are established in Kōbe. The older is the Mission School for boys. Originally started for Japanese it undertook, later on, the further task of educating the boys of the very cosmopolitan foreign population of Kōbe. The Japanese part has now been dropped, Mr Walker, the present headmaster, teaching the "foreign" boys only. The originator of the school (and its head from 1878-1902) was Mr Henry Hughes, who retired last year owing to poor health, after doing

a noble work and exerting a very powerful influence for good in Kōbe. In this he was constantly helped by Mrs Hughes, who was full of good works for the members of the Mission and foreign residents.

A little to the west is the Mission School for Japanese girls, now under Miss E. Hughes. The importance of this work lies in the fact that in addition to receiving a good education the students are prepared for home duties. The ordinary "graduate" marries within two or three years of leaving the school; many become Christians during their school time, and help to form what is a most important thing in Japan, Christian homes.

S.P.G. country work in Osaka Diocese.

As the C.M.S. has a strong Mission in Osaka, twenty miles east of Kōbe, the work of the S.P.G. naturally spread westwards, and the Island of Awaji and the district of Banshu claim Bishop Foss as their apostle. The Church-work has undergone many vicissitudes owing to changes in the staff, and to the influx of country people to the large towns. Part of the discouragement of country work is due to this latter cause, for those who become Christians are often the young men and women with most energy and self-reliance, and they are generally the first to leave the country for the town. Both at West Kōbe and Awaji an interesting work is carried on in connection with the large cotton-spinning factories of the Kanegafuchi Company. Some of the chief officials believe in the regenerating power of Christianity and allow Miss Parker and her Japanese assistants to give addresses, which are often illustrated by the magic lantern. At Najio, a few miles north-east of Kōbe, is a loyal little congregation in the charge of the Rev. M. Kakuzen. He is a prophet who has honour—and well-deserved honour—in his own country, for Najio is his birthplace.

At Himeji (pop. 41,000), forty miles west of Kōbe, a forward step was taken in 1911 by appointing the

Rev. C. Foxley and a Japanese catechist to shepherd the few Christians of this town and neighbourhood, and to build up a church.

Fifty miles further to the west lies the important garrison town of Okayama (pop. 93,000) where the Society has worked since 1897. Various superstitious forms of belief like Tenrikyō and Kurozumi claim large numbers of adherents and progress is slow. For some years the Rev. H. T. Steele has worked here and in the surrounding country; he has also under his charge a congregation in the north of the Island of Shikoku. Here great promise is shown, advance has been rapid, and it is hoped that ere long a church will be built.

In the south end of the Island of Shikoku in the town of Kochi (pop. 38,000) a church is being slowly built up under the care of the Rev. J. Y. Makino, who has worked doggedly for seven or eight years, often alone. This place is the most isolated post in the Kōbe district, for it is thirteen or fourteen hours by steamer from Kōbe, and except for a visit once a year from the Bishop and twice a year from a foreign worker it is cut off from any help. He therefore especially needs the help that comes from the intercessions of the Home Church.

Contribution of S.P.G. to general Mission work.

What may one consider to have been the special contribution of S.P.G. to Christian work in Japan? Its workers have made use of all the usual agencies, direct and indirect, evangelistic, literary and educational. It has been affected by all the various movements, national and otherwise, that have helped or hindered all Christian work. To many, the progress may seem too slow and cautious, and in regard to self-support it has been left behind by many of the Protestant bodies, though it is now making up leeway. Yet in many ways one may venture to think that its

influence has been greater than its size seems to warrant.

Whilst not neglecting the individual, the workers have laboured especially to help the Japanese to realize the corporate life of the Church, laying stress on the sacramental as well as on the institutional teaching of Christ, striving to provide and teach the value of orderly, reverent and beautiful worship.

In their work there may have been comparative slowness of progress and apparent paucity of immediate results, but they are endeavouring to lay foundations deep for the future, so that the Church may stand firmly when all foreign assistance is withdrawn, as a true Branch of the One Holy Catholic Church which the Saviour "purchased with His own blood," which, in the ideal of the same Saviour, is "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish."

Figures in connection with S.P.G. work, taken from the 1913 calendar of the Nippon Sei Kōkwai:—

(1)	Dioceses in which S.P.G. works	2
(2)	English priests connected with the Society	16
	Lay missionaries " " " "	1
(3)	Japanese " " " " "	9
(4)	" deacons " " " "	1
(5)	" catechists " " " "	16
(6)	" "Biblewomen" " " "	9
(7)	English women workers " " "	20
(8)	Christians attached to churches started by the Society	2206

N.B.—Owing to furloughs and other causes the numbers under (2) and (7) alter from time to time. The number of English workers includes the members of the affiliated missions.

Special S.P.G. needs.

After this glance at the operations of S.P.G., we might imagine that our Japanese workers are so

advanced that little further help is needed. Yet it is not so, for the best of them would admit that the Church is too weak to stand alone, and would be glad to accept the help of the right kind of men, humble, teachable men, who would be content to be teachers and sympathetic fellow-workers, but not masters. Large districts are only touched, if at all, on the surface. More women are needed to develop the women's side of the Church's work, not only in big towns but in the country. Kindergartens are needed in many places, and have proved valuable in reaching the parents. St. Andrew's Community would be glad of more men who feel God's call to this special life. The only solution of the problem of the education of English and other "foreign" children in the Far East seems to lie in teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods. Unless these are used, the Roman Catholic Missions will continue to put our zeal to shame by providing good schools not only for their own children, but for those of other Christian Bodies. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that they are used for proselytizing purposes, and, if we are to retain our children, strong efforts are needed. Lastly, money is needed in places in order to secure sites and to build churches, until full responsibility for self-support can be assumed by the Japanese Christians.

STATISTICAL TABLE

	Communicants.	Total Membership, including Probationers, etc.	Japanese Workers.		European Missionaries.*	
			Ordained.	Lay and Biblewomen.	Men.	Women.
Roman Catholic (Tenshu Kokiokwai)	—	66,689	33	137	139	232†
Greek Orthodox (Nippon Sei Kyokwai)	—	32,246	39	117	1	—
Presbyterian (Nihon Kirisuto Kokwai)	18,460	21,407	134	294	59	63
Congregationalist (American Board and Kumiai)	17,816	18,603	71	50	22	28
Japan Methodist Church	10,558	13,237	94	190	46	51
Anglican (Nippon Sei Kokwai)	8,623	16,740	79	219	82	108
American Baptist	3,304	3,304	25	57	22	18
Gen. Evan. Prot.	329	382	4	7	2	—
Evangelical Lutheran	280	354	4	6	8	—
Society of Friends	80	715	—	11	3	4
Finnish Lutheran	18	19	—	2	3	3
Scandinavian Japan Alliance	—	453	5	12	3	1
Other Denominations	7,484	8,424	245	103	66	44
Totals	165,887‡	182,573	733	1205	456	552†

* Not including wives of Missionaries.
† Including some Japanese Sisters.
‡ Reckoning figures for total membership in case of Roman Catholic and Greek.

These figures are as given in *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1912. Full statistics may be found there, including those relating to schools, financial support, etc.

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The Librarians at the various Mission Houses will be glad to forward books on loan, on the usual terms, and to supply suggestions for further reading.

N.B.—*Special attention is directed to books and articles of which the titles are in italics.*

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