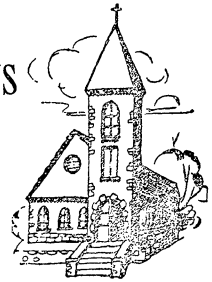# THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

(1859—1918)

By Fujio Ikado

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Protestantism : an Urban Movement

The Protestant Christian movement in Japan is a middle class, urban movement. This is a matter of common knowledge that needs no scientific corroboration, but for those who want more information than is given in this essay there are a number of careful studies by competent scholars, both Japanese and foreign. Dr. Arimichi Ebizawa,[a] for example, in *A Socio-historical Study of Modern Japanese Religions* states that

> Although the church has attempted to penetrate rural districts, a major factor hindering the growth of Protestantism has been that it does not spread beyond the bourgeois class in urban districts.[*]

By " bourgeois " or " middle class " present day scholars mean the white-collar class which stands between the rich ruling

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a. 海老沢有道

* Ebisawa, Arimichi, *Gendai Nihon Shūkyō no Shiteki Kenkyū.* 現代日本宗教の史的研究 (*A Socio-historical Study of Modern Japanese Religions.*) (Tokyo : Natsume Press 夏目書房 1952), p. 110

class and the poor laboring class.*

The urban character of Protestantism is not a new phenome-
non. Dr. Albertus Pieters, a former missionary of the Reformed
Church of America, writing in 1909 regarding the church
membership of his day, stated that

> The Protestant movement in Japan is to some extent a class
> movement. Almost untouched as yet are the artisan, merchant
> and farming classes, comprising nine-tenths of the people.†

That was a half-century ago. Even then a larger percentage
of the church membership was already coming from the rising
white-collar class than from the middle class as a whole, which
generally was considered to include the wealthy farming class
and the so-called rural intellectual class, as well as the white-
collar class in the towns and cities.

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* Professor Ebisawa defines the urban character of Japanese Protestantism
by the expression *Toshi Shoshimin Kaisō*, 都市諸市民階層, which obviously
means " the white-collar class in urban areas." However, it is still very
difficult to define the meaning of both the middle class and the white-
collar class. According to recent research, the members of the so-called
middle class, first, belong to the category of the educated ; in other words,
they are school graduates at least educated at middle school level. Second,
their average income is more than fifty dollars a month (in 1956), roughly
estimated, while the average income of 87 per cent of the total population
is less than fifty dollars. (Sakamoto, " *Income System of Japanese Em-
ployment*," *Chūō Kōron*, No. 11, LXX (November, 1955), p. 103.) This is
an extremely simplified sketch, and the population of the middle class in
postwar Japan is said to be about 10 per cent of the total population.
However, it is a well known fact that some professional people, such as
teachers and office clerks, rank very low in the income scale. Therefore,
some scholars insist that the percentage of the middle class in the total
population must be higher than 10 per cent, judging from the total number
of graduates of institutions of higher education.

† Pieters, Albertus, *Mission Problems in Japan, Theoretical and Practical.*
(New York : The Board of Publications, Reformed Church in America,
1912), p. 120. See also pp. 144—147.

Dr. Pieters' findings regarding the urban character of Christianity in that period are supported by one of his contemporaries, Dr. A. K. Faust, of the German Reformed Mission, who concluded from his studies which covered both Catholic and Protestant churches that, while Japanese Christians were to be found all over the country, there was a very noticeable disproportion in their geographical distribution. According to Dr. Faust, the prefecture that had the most Christians was Nagasaki,[a] which had 33,819 (mostly Catholic) . Tokyo city stood next with 28,119, and Hokkaido[b] followed with 7,105. Then came Ōsaka,[c] with 6,781, followed by Kanagawa[d] with 5,377, and Miyagi[e] stood sixth with 5,143. Fukui,[f] a stronghold of Shin Buddhism, had less than two hundred converts.*

This distribution of Christianity, which appears to have become somewhat fixed about the turn of the century, may be accounted for in part by two very significant developments in the social and economic fields. These were (1) a marked decrease in the expansion of Japan's rural and a corresponding increase in the urban population between the years 1893 and 1925, and (2) a tripling of the national income during the period from 1900 to 1920, the increase being almost entirely due to the development of urban industry, which brought about a rapid increase of the salaried class.† This was the period of the rapid rise of modern industry and city culture, and it was a period of stability for the Christian forces. Church leaders appear to

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a. 長崎   b. 北海道   c. 大阪   d. 神奈川   e. 宮城   f. 福井

* Faust, Allen K. *Christianity as a Social Factor in Modern Japan.* (Lancaster, Pa : Steinman and Foltz, 1909), p. 72.

† *Jiji Nenkan* (Yearbook) 時事年鑑, (Tokyo : Jiji Tsūshin Sha 時事通信社, 1956), p. 924

have been very pleased with the surprising increase of church members which occurred in that period.

The general phenomenon of urbanization was also evident in the occupational distribution of church membership. A survey* by the Church of Christ in Japan (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai),[a] the pre-World War II union of churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition, made a quarter of a century after Dr. Pieters' study indicated that the urban-centric character of the church remained relatively unchanged. For example, in 1933 the ratio of Christians to the farming population was 1 to 55,000, but for clerks, teachers and civil servants it was 1 to 2,000. These and other details may be noted in the following table :

Table I*

RATIO OF CHRISTIANS WORKERS AND THF TOTAL NUMBER OF JAPANESE WORKERS, 1933.

Occupation	Workers	Christians among the workers	Ratio
Agriculture	27,000,000	494	1/55,000
Business	7,470,000	614	1/12,000
Factory laborers	4,550,000	106	1/43,000
Hand-work	3,790,000	85	1/45,000
Fishing	1,500,000	29	1/52,000
Civil servants	970,000	415	1/ 2,000
Teachers	570,000	297	1/ 2,000
Medical establishments	470,000	299	1/ 1,600
Military officers	300,000	45	1/ 6,700
Office clerks	900,000	450	1/ 2,000

a. 日本基督教会

* The Church of Christ in Japan, (ed.) *Tōzan-sō Kōen Shū.* 東山荘講演集 (*The Collected Addresses of the Tōzan-sō Conference*) (Tokyo: YMCA Press, 1933), p. 184.

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In other words, about a decade before the outbreak of the Pacific phase of World War II, the majority of Protestant church members still was composed of civil servants, teachers, doctors, and clerks, that is, the white-collar class.

Moreover, twenty years later in the period following World War II no significant change had taken place. According to an investigation of the membership of 150 Tokyo Protestant churches made in 1952, students studying in institutions above the high school level constituted 40 percent of the total church membership. The artisans, farmers, and the relatively poor, which comprised about 60 percent of the total population, were almost totally untouched either by missionaries or Japanese Christian workers, and thus few were on the church rolls. Even in the rural churches, which were arbitrarily selected for purposes of comparison, the social structure of the membership was almost the same as that of big city churches. A clear majority of the members in these churches was in the educated, intellectual, white-collar classs, or in the student class, that is, candidates for the white-collar class.*

In comparison with some of the powerful sects of Shinto and Buddhism, Christianity has obviously stood out as a religion for a relatively well-off class. The major Shinto sects came into being in order to fulfill the religious thirst of the poor class which had had no contact with the higher education of Western learning. According to a series of studies on the folk religions done by Mr. Hiroo Takagi[a] of Tokyo University, the

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a. 高木宏夫 (Mr. Takagi is currently teaching at Tōyō University. Ed.)

* Kishimoto, Hideo 岸本英夫 (ed.) *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era.* Trans. by John Howes. (Tokyo: Ōbun Sha 欧文社, 1956) p. 313, and pp. 327—30.

two outstanding characteristics of these sects are that their main following has come from among the rural and the urban poor and that they are very similar to primitive folk beliefs. Traditionally they are rather of a rural nature. Moreover, the same can be said about socially active Buddhism. Except in some cases, such as the Zen sects, the majority of Buddhists come from the relatively lower classes of local villages and from the congested areas of cities.*

Protestantism in Japan, however, is said to be less rural than in any other Asiatic country, and, as it has become more and more urban, it has become increasingly difficult for the church to penetrate rural regions. This was due to certain well-known sociological factors. In a geographical study made in 1953 the favorable and unfavorable factors for the development of Christianity were outlined as follows :

> The districts which have been unreceptive to Christianity are : 1) remote places such as the northern part of Hokkaidō and Hida[a] ; 2) places characterized by seasonal labor, which have a higher rate of mobility so that few can stay in church even for a season ; 3) places where the traditional suspicion of Christianity by native religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism is widespread, that is, Wakayama[b] , Nara[c] , Toyama[d] , etc.; and 4) places like southern Kyūshū[e] where the transporation system is not complete.

> The districts favorable to Christianity are : 1) political and commercial centers, although they have been relatively unreceptive to religions, such as southern Hokkaido ; 2) transportation centers, and political and commercial centers such as Sendai[f], Tokyo, Yokohama[g] , Ōsaka, Kōbe[h] , Hiroshima[i] ; and 3) places which have a long Christian tradition like Nagasaki and Yamaguchi[j] .*

a. 飛田 b. 和歌山 c. 奈良 d. 富山 e. 九州 f. 仙台 g. 横浜 h. 神戸 i. 広島 j. 山口

* *UNESCO Social Tension Survey : The Section on Religion*, Report No. 2, "*On Socio-psychological Tension Among Buddhist Groups.*"(Reported in Tokyo Conference for the Study of Social Tension among Japanese Social Groups in 1953). These reports are in the custody of the Science Council of Japan (Gakujutsu Kaigi Jimukyoku) 学術会議事務局.

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Sociologically speaking, urban districts may be characterized as (1) centers of national or local transportation systems through which new fashions easily spread, (2) heterogeneous societies with relatively large, dense settlements of white-collar workers, and (3) districts where there are well-established educational systems and a deeply rooted intellectual class which has been charmed by Western culture.* Such districts provide a favorable environment for Christianity, which is a newly introduced religion; and it would appear that these factors account in large measure for the urban character of Christianity.

However, this data can be interpreted in a different manner. The concentration of the Christian population in urban areas very likely stemmed also from official restrictions placed on the missionaries when they came to this country. Of necessity early evangelistic activities were confined entirely to the cities where the foreign missionary was obliged to live, and it was in this period that the urban, intellectual aspect of Protestantism developed. Its middle class character became accentuated because of the social and educational background of the former samurai, that is, the new middle class, which was most responsive to the Christian message. Protestants were the backbone of the liberal forces arrayed against the nationalistic policy of the government. The early Protestants were always ready with criticism of every mistake the government made. It was the samurai spirit which was the main source of the spirit of criti-

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* Kobayashi, Tsutomu 小林勤, "*Shūkyō Bumpu no Jinmon Chirigakuteki Kenkyū*" 宗教分布の人文地理学的研究 (*A Geographical Study of the Distribution of Religious Forces in Japan*) in *Chiri to Rekishi* 地理と歴史 (*Geography and History*) (Tokyo: Teikoku Press 帝国書院), No. 1, November 1953, pp 35—37.

cism and ascetic ethics that characterized the Protestant leaders of Japan in the early days of the church in this country.

The Spirit of Accommodation and Compromise

Then something seems to have happened. The attitude of Christians began to change. Instead of criticizing they were ready to compromise with the government. Very few observers appear to have noted this, but the easygoing attitude of the Christian students was noticed by the missionaries, one of whom complained that " many graduates take no interest in the church or its work, that they are very worldly in their manner of life, that not a few are a scandal even to unbelievers, and that some seem to be immune to any Christian influence, not only in spite of the fact that they have been educated in Christian institutions, but even on account of it, as if they had once for all had enough of the matter.*

Dr. Hiromichi Kozaki[a] writing in 1893 said :

> Only about ten years ago, each member of the church was responsible for his evangelistic work and did the same job that the minister did ; and so Christian work made great progress. But now the idea of the division of labour has become more popular. Only ministers and professional workers engage in evangelistic work and suffer from the lack of funds and workers†

This was also the time when the church almost entirely ceased to put forth any effort to reach the coolies and the lowest class in the Japanese social system.‡

When the government planned the Conference of Three Re-

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a. 小崎弘道

* Pieters, *op. cit.*, pp 151—52

† Rikugō Zasshi 六合雑誌. Tokyo, 1882—1912. No. 148, April, 1893.

‡ Faust, op. cit., p. 75.

ligions in 1912, Christianity as a minority movement was forced to decide whether it would remain an outsider, that is, a critical minority, or would conform. There were two choices open, persecution and matyrdom, or compromise and accommodation. The Japanese church chose the latter and thus set the pattern for decades to come.*

Some twenty years later (1930), Mr. J. Merle Davis concluded that the state of the church was intimately related to " the psychology of the townspeople and their inherited social and cultural background." Who were the townspeople ? Says Dr. Davis :

> There are three groups from which the Church has principally been built up in the Asiatic fields. First, those who crave econo-mic security (and who are the small minority in the Japanese Protestant church). Second, people such as teachers, doctors, minor civil servants and small officials who are loosely rooted and fre-quently transferred. And third, those in mission employ, or con-nected with institutions. Thus we find a very small proportion of tradesmen, merchants, bankers, landowners and high officials in the Church. The large turnover of church members in Japan is due to the preponderance of the professional and civil servant class in the membership.†

Dr. D. C. Holtom also noticed the changed attitude but from a different angle. He believed that the original critical spirit had been kept alive and appeared in declarations of opposition, such as, for example, the statement of the Federation of Chris-tian Churches in 1917 against the traditional ancestor worship.

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* Holtom, D. C. *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism, A study of present day trends in Japanese religions.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 95.

† Davis, Merle J. *The Economic and Social Environment of the Younger Churches,* The Report of the Department of Social and Economic Research of the International Missionary Council to the Tambaram Meetings. (London: The Edinburgh House, 1939), pp 42—43.

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Dr. Holtom's basic question regarding this phenomenon was this : Why was the pressure for a national unification of religions, against which the samurai Christians of the Meiji[a] era had fought so bitterly, not resisted by the majority of Christians in the Taishō[b] (1912—1925) and Shōwa[c] (1925—   ) periods? That is, why did they decide that they had to compromise with the government? In his opinion the reason did not lie in any external changes. He claimed that whatever changes had taken place had not been in the national religion itself but in the attitude of the Japanese Christians.*

Dr. Holtom's question is our question. We seek the reason for the changed attitude of the Christians, the reason for the difference between the heroic, steadfast qualities of the early converts and the rather resigned and compliant attitude of the Christians of the later period. The reason, we believe, is related to the general change in the nature of church membership to which reference has already been made, that is, the shift, which began at the beginning of the twentieth century, from the old middle class samurai Christians to the white-collar groups, the modern middle class.

Although the missionaries were restricted to the cities for a period, the early Protestant Christians were actually very keen to expand evangelical work into every social class ; but after the Russo-Japanese War the main body of church members seems to have become passive in its interest in the masses. Such leaders as Toyohiko Kagawa[d] and Sakuzō Yoshino,[e] who were acclaimed because of their philanthropic work and social leader-

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a. 明治   b. 大正   c. 昭和   d. 賀川豊彦   e. 吉野作造
* Holtom, *op. cit.*, pp 99—100.

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ship, were exceptions.

This social phenomenon coincided with the expansion of the new middle class. The newly-arisen salaried class, which became the core of the middle class of the Taishō and Shōwa periods, as well of the Christian church in the twentieth century, held an opportunistic philosophy which weakened the political resistance of the church to the developing nationalism. The sober individualism, which had been common among early Protestants and had been sustained by their faith, seems to have been almost forgotten by the new white-collar Christians.

In other words, despite the fact that the total evangelization of the country has long been the ideal of Japanese Protestants, the social narrowness and lack of spiritual zeal on the part of the white-collar class appears to have been the main hinderance to the penetration of the masses. Yet, before we can draw this conclusion, we must trace the history of the movement from the begining in order to know the nature of this white-collar class in some detail, and to discover whether or not there was in fact a real difference between the charactor of this class and that of the earlier Christians.

This study has a three-fold purpose : (1) to discover how Protestantism in the beginning of the Meiji Retoration was able to become intergrated into the rising middle class, the core of which was composed of the lower strata of samurai and merchants who were attempting to get positons of prestige in the new regime ; (2) to make clear the extent to which Protestantism supported this new, rising class in its effort to increase in size and to establish its own ethic ; and (3) to discover to what extent Protestantism has been influenced by the character of

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the Japanese middle class.

The period covered is from the entry of Protestant missionaries (1859) to the end of World War I (1918) .

Chapter II

PROTESTANTISM AND THE SAMURAI CLASS

(1872—1890)

Historical Periods

Traditionally Protestant history in Japan during its first half-century has been divided into five periods ; preparation (1859—1873), the establishment of early churches (1874—1882), rapid expansion (1883—1890), testing (1891—1900), and stability (1901—1912). Postwar Japanese scholars, however, prefer the following divisions :*

1859—1890······Early churches (1859—1879, the beginning of missionary activity).

1891—1902······Development of self-supporting churches.

1903—　　······Formation of national churches.

For the purposes of this study the later arrangement is more satisfactory, because it conforms to developments in politics and economics. The 1859—1890 period is identified with the for-

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* Sumiya, Mikio 隅谷三喜男 *Kindai Nihon no Keisei to Kirisuto-kyō*, 近代日本の形成とキリスト教 (*The Formation of Modern Japan and Christianity*) (Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波, 1954). Ōuchi, Saburō 大内三郎, " *Meiji Kirisuto-kyō Shinsō Shi ni okeru Jiki Kubun no Mondai*" 明治基督教真相史における時期区分の問題 (" *On Historical Division of the History of Christian Thought in the Meiji Era* ", (Yamanashi University Hōkoku, 1955). Professor Ōuchi's work is the most prominent in the field of methodology.

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mation of a modern government, the 1891—1902 period with the first industrial revolution, and the 1903— period with the " Great Japanese Empire." Naturally there is no clear line of demarkation. These periods overlap considerably and merely indicate major trends.

Period of Social Upheaval and Reorganization

The period begining about 1872, when the first church was established in Yokohama, was one of political upheaval and social disorganization. The Restoration of 1868 shifted political power from the hands of the Tokugawa shogun to a govern‐ ment centering in the young Emperor Meiji, and resulted in the collapse of the Tokugawa-fostered class system and a decline in the traditional anti-foreign movement. In this situation the energetic leaders of the new government rushed to lay the foundation for their modernization program along Western lines ; but the general shift in political emphasis was not as quick nor as complete as was the upsetting of the class system and the changes in the social status of the people. This was because, as was indicated in the government slogan " Rich Country, Strong Army " (*Fukoku Kyōhei*[a]), the political reforms at that time were limited to nationalistic lines, and the concentration of political power was applied primarily to the problem of economic expansion and the development of military power. " Each modernization effort was clearly related to the pressing problem of increasing the wealth and power of the nation, and almost every major move was initiated and pushed by the

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a. 富国強兵

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national state in order to serve clearly defined national aims. "*

Political leaders recognized that the best way to learn as much as possible from the advanced countries of the world regarding modernization of the state was to utilize the emperor system in driving the nation to a supreme effort at self-education. Thus, the major concern of the political leaders was, on the one hand, to establish as quickly as possible a new political and economic system that would make it possible to maintain a military-oriented industry for the defense of the young nation against the threat of the Occident and, on the other hand, to suppress the not inconsiderable opposition among those people who inevitably suffered most from the changes involved.

Efforts to Create Unity

The major hindrances to the success of the reforms were the weakening of the government's financial structure by civil war, and the people's concern for Western democracy and parliamentarianism. To break down these obstacles and to strengthen the emperor system, the government developed some unique policies. It promised in Emperor Meiji's Charter Oath,† for

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* Brown, Delmer M. *Nationalism in Japan, An introductory historical analysis*. (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1955), pp 91—92.

† E. W. Clement, *A Short History of Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1915) , p. 112 quotes Ienaga's summary of the Charter Oath in his *Constitutional Development of Japan* as follows:

1. A deliberative assembly should be formed, and all measures be decided by public opinion.

2. The principles of social and political economics should be diligently studied by both the superior and (the) inferior classes of our people.

3. Everyone in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for good purposes.

4. All the old absurd usages of former times should be disregarded, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.

5. Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundation of the Empire.

example, to rule in accordance with public opinion, but used this as a pretext to get political and economic support for the monarchy from the clans and rich merchants. Then later in the 1890's, it also used it, in the first place, to demostrate the Emperor's benevolence in establishing a parliament and, in the second place, to prevent criticism of the true nature of the new parliamentary system which was so greatly limited by the imperial power.*

Family-Nation Concept and Christianity

In spite of the Charter Oath, which seemed to presage a progressive policy, the government did its best to revive the ancient ethics based on the tradional family-nation concept which required every subject to be obedient to the Emperor.† This was an effective strategy for suppressing criticism. The government clearly saw that rapid reforms would be followed by social disorganization, by effort at counter-reform, and by the political resistance of minority groups. Therefore, it emphasized the ethics of family unity. Everything good done by the government was a manifestation of the Emperor's benevolence. It was everyone's duty to forget all egoistic trends and, in accordance with the Emperor's will, defend the nation from all outside threats. Attempts at counter-reform and resistance were regarded

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* Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—102. Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 314—323 This seems to be a well-established theory about the Meiji government's policy. Professor Maruyama, Mr. Toyama and Mr. Inoue are the most prominent scholars in this field.

† Psychologically this family ethics encouraged a certain insularity which has made the Japanese jealous of the wealth of Western countries, and caused them to suffer from an inferiority complex with regard to the military power of the advanced countries.

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as threats to parents and as treason against both the family and the nation. In the beginning of the Meiji era a Shinto propaganda program was set in motion which proclaimed the " Japan-as-a-family " ideology, a concept built upon a feudal caste systèm that denied the equality of all men. This was later strengthened by the establishment of State Shinto, which became the symbol of ideological unity, and the first and the greatest hindrance to the expansion of Christianity.

To what extent did Japanese Christians oppose this national-istic family-nation concept, the ethical source of authoritarian Japanese nationalism, which was diametrically opposed to Chris-tianity, the backbone of Western democracy and individualism ?*

Under the family system, to be a Christian meant isolation from the indigenous society. For example, one well-known scholar of the period criticized Christianity by saying that " people who profess Christianity would rather desert their lords or fathers than be untrue to their religion.† Therefore, avoidance of the new faith because of the fear of government spies was not infrequent.‡ Opposition in the rural areas was especially intense. Yet, in spite of this the situation was not without a

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* Holtom, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

† Sumiya, Mikio op. cit., Chap II.

‡ Sanami, Wataru 佐波亘 (ed), *Uemura Masahisa to sono Jidai* 植村正久と
その時代, (*Uemura Masaharu and His Age*) 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kyō Bun Kwan 教文館), 1937, p. 15

" As Townsend Harris said, the people did not have strong emotional reactions against other religions. Only fear and the eyes of the government spies relentlessly passing among them kept them from Christianity. A Christian merchant (an aristocrat), for example, placed imported goods on sale in his Ginza store. Later, a rumor arose that the police had taken down all the names of persons whom the novelty of these goods had attracted."

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note of optimism. After making a very discouraging report in 1871, a missionary wrote the following year that "the great changes which are taking place in the government, the constitution of society, and the ideas of the people of Japan, indicate that ere long the field will be ready for the sower of gospel seed."* When the ban against Christianity was removed in 1873, this kind of optimism became somewhat general.†

However, the missionaries seem to have been deceived. Actually the government, because of its fear of the complaints of the Western powers, had only switched to a more indirect oppression through less spectacular methods, that is, through education and laws. This was simpler because in general the people had become tired of the government's concern in private matters of belief and tended to completely ignore religion, except on the occasion of marriages and funerals.

Who Became Christians ?

In such a situation, who could accept Christianity, an entirely alien way of thinking and living ? Only a person of true courage who was seeking freedom of thought and faith despite the government's interference. Only a man of learning who was well-grounded in the understanding of Christian thought. And the only people who could qualify were the residents of urban areas who had a chance to meet the missionaries and were fortunate enough to be able to hear addresses on Christianity.

This was the " Rich Country, Strong Army " period in which

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* The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Annual Report* 1871, p. 75

† *Ibid,* 1872, p. 70

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students who mastered Western learning could more easily secure higher positions in the government. Necessarily, then, the first Christians were students of the language schools where missionaries were teachers, and almost all such students were from among the jobless samurai who at that time numbered about two hundred thousand.*

At the time, while the government was energetically pushing its modernization policy, it was suffering bitter financial difficulties because of civil wars and the resulting inflation. Economic dislocation violently shook the foundation of the whole political system, but all the government could do was to strengthen the monopoly system and exact more taxes from the people. Naturally, those who suffered most were, first, the peasants in the rural districts and, second, the urban poor ; and it was just these people along with the unemployed lower class samurai who had lost their old privileges and were desperately trying to find new work.

The first concern of this latter group was to either recover their old privileges or to get better positions in the new regime. This was not strange. A prominent liberal Christian, Isoo Abe, correctly expressed the reason for the samurai's attitude when he wrote that, although his status in the clan had been about the lowest, compared with his low condition at the time, he had formerly lived like a modern bourgeois.† Naturally such men were very bitter in their criticism of the government. Never-

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* Agatsuma, Tōsaku 我妻東策 *Meiji Shakai Seisaku-shi* 明治社会政策史, (A History of Public Welfare Programs in Meiji Japan.) (Tokyo : Sansei Dō 三省堂 1938). Chaps. I and II.

† Abe, Isoo 安部磯雄, *Shakai-shugisha e no Michi* 社会主義者への道 (A Way to Socialism : an Autobiography). (Tokyo Sansei Do 1949), p. 1.

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theless, they believed everything the government told them about the future of modernized Japan : Japan as the Emperor's family, and the establishment of a sort of democracy in this country. Kanzo Uchimura, one of the most prominent of the samurai Christians was among those caught by the government's honeyed word. In his autobiography he wrote :

> I early learnt to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even by death itself to vow my allegiance to any other gods than my country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. All my noble ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were to be demolished·····*

The Samurai Go to School

Before the 1890's schools—private language schools, including mission schools, and small-sized government schools—were the only means for the jobless samurai to climb the social ladder. So the young samurai went to school. As an example of what happened, take Keio Gijuku (present day Keio University), which was established at the end of the Tokugawa era and was one of the largest schools of Western style at that time. From 1863 to 1871, out of 1,329 students entering the school, 1,289 were from the samurai class. Only 12 percent of the entering students in 1872 and 18 percent in 1873 belonged to other classes, such as merchants, farmers, etc.†

This was also the case with mission schools. In the beginning

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* Uchimura, Kanzō 内村鑑三, *How I Became a Christian.* English Edition. (Tokyo : Keisei Sha 警醒社, 1895), p. 11.

† Watanabe, Ikujirō 渡辺幾次郎, *Meiji Shi Kenkyū.* 明治史研究 (*A History of Meiji*) Tokyo : 1938 ; pp. 323—24.

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a majority of the student body of Doshisha was comprised of those who had transferred from a Kumamoto language school established for young samurai of the Kumamoto clan. Moreover, almost all the Christian leaders who studied in the mission schools in Yokohama were the children of samurai. These were typical. Somehow or other the younger generation of samurai gathered in the big cities to be educated,* and the schools flourished so much that at Doshisha, for example, even though a new building had been opened in the autumn of 1878, it was at once fully occupied.†

Character of Early Christians

Who among the students became Christians? Of course, not all, although there were some exceptional cases, such as at the government's Sapporo Agricultural School where almost all the students in the first classes confessed their faith. A majority of students at that time, including mission school students, however, approached Western scholars for language instruction rather than for Christianity. As one of them who was converted frankly stated, " we were very pleased by the kind and exhaustive teaching methods of the missionaries in the school, but we just hated Christianity and made up our minds to break with those who became interested in Christianity."‡

It is almost impossible for a person to entirely free himself

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* Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 177, pp. 204—11 and Sumiya, *op. cit.*, chap. I.

† The American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions. *Annual Report* 1878, p. 90.

‡ Washiyama, Teisaburō 鷲山弟三郎, *Meiji Gakuin Gojū-nen Shi* 明治学院 五十年史 (Fifty Years of Meiji Gakuin.) (Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin 明治学院 1927), pp 104—05.

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from the traditional customs that surround him. His social status is a sort of trade mark, which indicates his educational and family background. It is especially hard for a person to accept a religion, which has been prevented by harsh government regulations and social prejudice from penetrating society without having it affect his social status. In that period, more than mere rational, intellectual conviction was needed for a person to confess Christianity and to free himself from the conventional morality of the family system. The young men who became the early Christians had real courage.

Even though almost all of them at first gathered around the missionaries in order to receive English instruction, their enthusiasm for everything new was a sign of their intelligence. It also demonstrated their suppressed, critical, and irritated feelings. In other words, in their courageous opposition to government regulations and in their confession of Christianity, they were sustained by their wounded pride. For except in their intelligence, the samurai were no longer the superior of the common man. In many cases conversion came to those who were disappointed in both the past and the present. They were looking for a new ideal which would never betray them.

It is significant that the early Christian leaders with very few exceptions appeared among the samurai of those clans that had opposed the Imperial forces.* Most of them were called "Meiji Puritans." and it is easy to understand why they got the name.

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* To prove this point, there have been a number of scholarly studies. The latest among them are the following: Katakozawa, Chiyomatsu片子沢千代松, *Meiji Shoki Purotesutanto no Shinto Kōzō* (*Construction of Protestants in the Meiji Era*), *Journal of History of Christianity*, No. 7, October 1956. pp. 52—59.

Professor Saburo Ienaga has pointed out that the samurai Christian's ethical demand was so rigid and extreme that it raised a wall between the masses and Christianity.*   They were too critical to recognize the other's strong points ; and oftentimes their very opposition made it impossible for the government to achieve some desirable reforms.

Mr. J. Merle Davis in attempting to interpret this type of psychology quotes J. C. Heinrich's " The Psychology of Suppressed People " to the effect that

> "the three chief manifestations of the psychology of the depressed class individual are a direct reaction of resentment, a concealment reaction and an indirect reaction which finds its most unusual expression in the desire to humiliate others and to assert his own superiority. Many were the struggles for adjustment and supremacy between the mental process and outlook of missionaries trained in the concepts of New England puritanism and the highspirited, feudal-minded leaders of the infant church in Japan.†

Mr. Davis thus emphasized a weak point of Christian personality in Japan, and questioned whether the Church had fully considered some of the deepest Japanese motivations in presenting the claims of Christ to the individual. Conversion, be it noted, is often a means of sublimating repressed resentments.

Mr. Davis' position is entirely correct. The conversion of many samurai undoubtedly resulted in part from their resentment against social change. Their consciousness of being "the Chosen" was to some extent an expression of a desire to assert their superiority as intellectuals over the common people. Thus, in

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* Kudō, Eiichi 工藤英一, *Shoki Nihon Purotesutanto no Shakai Sō* 初期日本
  プロテスタントの社会層 (*On the Social Structure of the Meiji Protestant*),
  Meiji Gakuin Ronsō 明治学院論叢 (Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin 1954), No. 30.
† Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—51.

their early history, a kind of ascetic ethics combined with a sense of superiority drove them as Christians into a state of isolation from the rest of society. As Dr. Hiromichi Kozaki pointed out, many samurai had joined Christian churches as a means of demonstrating their resentment against the new society.* And, it was their resentment that caused them to move from a simple and sincere confession of sin to a defense of a pure Christian faith free from idolatry, and to oppose the government's abuse of religion in its policy of modernization.

It was their keenness and sincerity, combined with a flexibility, that enabled them to change their religious faith. Another side of their conversion is seen in their seeking a better chance to climb the social ladder. Both of these aspects affected the samurai Christians and enabled them to build up a wall between themselves and the masses. The common people retained conventional family morality and usually confused mere Western utilitarianism with Christianity and intellectual loyalty to individualism. Missionary policy in the middle of the Meiji era, with its emphasis on the expansion of mission schools rather than on preaching, aggravated this separation from the masses.†

Expansion of Government Schools

In the 1870's the government inaugurated a universal educational system in order to create a stronger ideological unity, introduce Western scientific knowledge, and develop higher educational institutions to train national leaders. A large number

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* Kozaki, Hiromichi 小崎弘道, *Kozaki Hiromichi Zenshū* 小崎弘道全集 (*The Collected Works*). 6 vols, (Tokyo: Keisei Sha 警醒社 1939), pp. 334—35.

† Perry, R. B. *The Gist of Japan.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, p. 250

of trained personnel was needed for education, for the expanding bureaucracy, for industrial programs, and for the modern army. Therefore, a Department of Education was set up in 1871, and the next year the Code of Education was promulgated and a normal school was established. Later Tokyo University and the normal school system were enlarged and the government sent instructions to local officials to encourage capable students to go to the big cities to study. In the 1880s the government's effort to develop an educational system along Western lines reached a peak.* When a progressive Minister of Education even went so far as to propose that English might be substituted for Japanese, which at the time seemed unsuitable for the expression of modern scientific concepts, leading members of the cabinet generally accepted his proposal as sound.†

Interest in Foreign Language Aids Mission Schools

As the government elementary and middle school education system became more popular, the number of students who wanted to enter higher institutions increased.‡ However, although a knowledge of a foreign language, particularly English, was required in order to enter a higher school, such as Tokyo

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* Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

† Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 241—42
  Wach, Joachim, *Sociology of Religion.* (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1954).

‡ Stafford Ransome. *Japan of Transition* · · · · · · a comparative study of the progress, policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China. New York : Harper & Bros., 1899. p. 65—66.
  The rate of increase of students (1873—1895):

1873 · · · · · 1,180,000	1879 · · · · · 2,210,000	1885 · · · · 3,180,000
1891 · · · · · 3,630,000	1892 · · · · 3,698,536	1893 · · · · 3,897,491
1894 · · · · · 4,091,110	1895 · · · · 4,290,487	

University where the majority of prominent professors were still foreigners, because the preparatory school system was incomplete and there were few qualified language government school teachers, it was difficult for government school students to learn enough English before entering a higher school. In fact, except for mission schools, there were very few institutions where a student might devote himself to learning a foreign language under the direction of distinguished teachers. Thus, many students " were concentrating in mission schools which were flourishing because of the incomplete preparatory school system."*

However, these flourishing mission schools had a fatal weak-ness : they were mere " stepping stones " to government insti-tutions.† The encouragement of Western learning could aid the government in creating ideological unity and in promoting modernization only under a plan strictly designed and controlled by the government. Naturally, missionaries were pleased by and emphasized " the fact that the Japanese through all grades of society [were] pursuing the study of English with the passion-ate enthusiasm‡," but they gradually became disillusioned as they understood that the government was merely using the mission schools as a temporary substitute for government preparatory schools, and that this would soon change.

Missionaries Challenge Japanese Society

At the time, however, the position of the mission schools was powerful enough for the missionaries to challenge Japanese

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* Aizawa *op. cit.*, p. 108
† *Ibid.* p. 108
‡ The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Annual Report.* 1887, pp. 53—54.

society. Therefore, they often criticized the opportunism shown both by the government and the students desperately seeking careers by the English language route.* Young Christian leaders, mostly former samurai, took the initiative in forming public opinion, and their only competitor was a group of professors of Tokyo University who incidentally rather favored Christianity.

Generally speaking the situation seemed very favorable. The number ot Christians in 1890 was more than twenty times that of 1878. Whenever Christian leaders held public debates and preaching, " all meetings were full of students, including Tokyo University students or those who looked liked they had just graduated."† In the period of Westernization (1873—1887), when the government fostered a pro-West attitude as a political gesture which had as its purpose treaty reform, mission schools reached the first high peak in their history. According to one report,

> ·····never in the history of this school has there been a more successful year than the one drawing to a close. Ferris Seminary, together with almost every other mission girls' school in Japan, is full to overflowing····Scarcely has a week passed since September that we have not had to refuse applications for admission into the school for want of accommodations. Even now I fear we are trespassing upon the laws of hygiene by crowding too much.‡

Samurai Unemployment Solved

As a result of industrialization and the development of educa-

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* *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 147

† Kishimoto, op. cit., p. 237 ; Increase in church membership :
  1878··1,617 members, 1882··4,367 members, 1885··11,000 members, 1890 ··34,000 members.

‡ The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Annual Report.* 1887, p. 74.

tion, the unemployment problem of the two hundred thousand samurai was about to be solved.* The government was doing its best to build high schools in local districts, which meant that soon the samurai and the intellectuals would no longer have to go to the big cities and cultural centers in order to enroll in schools and to get positions. Yet, for some time a majority of the schools and industries continued to be concentrated in big cities such as Tokyo and Osaka.

Characteristics of the Period from 1872—1890

Let us now consider briefly some characteristics of the early period from 1872 to 1890 and at the same time summarize some points that have been mentioned.

1. In the period from 1872—1890 the emphasis of Protestant missions was mainly on mission schools. It was only later that the emphasis shifted to the students of the increasing government schools.

2. In the very early period almost all the students of both mission and government schools were boarding students who gathered in the big cities away from their homes. In a later period a majority of the students were day scholars.† It was at about the time of the Russo-Japanese War that day scholars constituted a majority in mission schools and, as the government school system continued to develop, mission schools rapidly lost their unique position as boarding schools.‡ Thus, it became

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* Agatsuma, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV and V

† Washiyama *op. cit.*, pp. 144—47, 235—71

‡ Yamamoto, Hideki 山本秀煌, *Fuerisu Waei Jogakkō Rokujū-nen Shi* フェリス和英女学校六十年史, (*Sixty Years of Ferris Seminary.*) (Yokohama: Ferris Seminary, 1931), p. 148.

almost impossible for missionaries to maintain the intensive religious training which they had planned for the boarding schools, and from which they had expected to produce many men of faith.

3. The age for receiving baptism gradually became lower and lower. Whereas before 1888 the average age of baptism was relatively high (33.1), and there were very few cases of infant baptism, in the 1890s the average age became slightly lower (30—31), and the number of infant baptisms rapidly increased.*

Therefore, in spite of their weak points, samurai Christians were generally men of somewhat mature faith. They were men of independent personality and, once they accepted the faith, they stood firmly in its defence. Moreover, they were generally very active in evengelistic work, and recognized their responsibility to spread the Gospel among their brethern.

4. In the beginning men were more numerous among the converts. This resulted from the fact that " in almost all Christian public meetings around this period the majority of the audience was composed of male students, including Tokyo University students and young men coming up to Tokyo loooking for jobs who admired Western learning ;" but it was also due to the fact that, in spite of the development of girls education, women were still bound by conventional family ethics. In the formative years, in spite of the fact that Christianity then had

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* The average age at the present time (1952) is much lower (24.2). Even before 1888 almost all of the ministers and leaders were baptized while they where in schools, the average age at baptism being relatively young (22.9). Since the end of the Meiji period (1912), the average has become still lower (19.9).

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more educational institutions for women than for men, the ratio of women to men in Protestant churches was three to four.*

5. The samurai who became the backbone of the Christian movement sought an opportunity to revive their status as intellectuals. Christians, the samurai Christians, were people from the old intellectual class disrupted by the Meiji government's policies, while, as we shall see later, the Christians in the later Meiji period were mainly from the middle class newly created by the "Rich Country, Strong Army" policy.

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* Kozaki, Hiromichi 小崎弘道, *Kozaki Hiromichi Zenshū.* 小崎弘道全集 (*The Collected Works*). VI vols. (Tokyo: Keisei Sha 警醒社, 1939), pp. 332—33.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL STATUS
OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY
IN JAPAN
(1859—1918)

By Fujio Ikado

(Continued from the March Issue)

Chapter III

THE EMERGENCE OF THE WHITE-COLLAR CLASS
(1891—1905)

The Rise of Nationalism

Dr. Otis Cary, the well-known missionary-historian, wrote in regard to the period now under review that

> Japan is a country of sudden changes. The bright prospects that gave rise to the hope that the country would be speedily evangelized were soon clouded over. Missionaries are usually optimists, and it seemed to most of them that the storm would quickly pass and the sun would then shine out as brightly as before······yet a full decade must pass ere there would be any very marked improvements········· The reasons for retardation in the advance of Christianity were numerous. Among them much prominence must be given to a great reaction against the acceptance of Western civilization.*

Thus, it can be seen that the missionaries recognized that the nationalistic spirit had begun to affect many Japanese, including even some Christians. Moreover, they had diagnosed this cor-

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* Cary, Otis. *A History of Christianity in Japan*, 2 vols. (New York : Fleming H. Revell, 1909) Vol. II, p. 212.

rectly as due to the rejection of Western civilization : a change in attitude which came about mainly because of a succesion of unsuccessful attempts to obtain a satisfactory revision of the unequal treaties.

This change of attitude was not unexpected. Throughout the Meiji era two aspects of Japanese nationalism had stood over against each other, and their conflicts and compromises decided the political course of each period. On the one hand, nationalism was the result of pride in the old culture and a growing urge to show the West the strength of " New Japan." On the other hand, it was deeply rooted both in a feeling of admiration for and an inferiority complex in respect to the West. The failure to secure a revision of the treaties annoyed the common people, who had overestimated the significance of the stand the government, in its effort to stimulate national pride, had taken toward the West in order to maintain the majesty of the Emperor.

Government officials themselves were fully aware of the impossibility of a quick revision of the treaties ; but the " Rich Country, Strong Army " policy had been so successful in developing nationalistic activity that the resulting national pride was deeply wounded by this political failure. A wounded pride transformed a nation-wide inferiority complex into a hatred of most things foreign. Violence and riots against the West in younger nations usually stem from such an inferiority complex disguised as national pride in the indigenous culture. In the latter half of the Meiji era, because of the failure in foreign affairs, the national pride of this young nation changed into disappointment in its national power and prestige.

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Dr. Holtom considered this change as a young nation's effort to save its pride by a quick adjustment to the new environment. Describing this tension from the vantage point of the post-World War II years, he wrote :

> On the one side have been arrayed the forces of insularity, fear, conservatism, antiforeignism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism ; on the other those of cordiality toward foreign culture, liberalism, incipient democracy aud universalism. At one time, one set of forces has been in the ascendant ; at another time, the other ; but more often history has been made by a mingling of the two in which liberalism has appeared in one direction and simultaneously, conservatism and reaction in another.*

Japanese nationalism consisted of a dream of unifying its national life through modernization and disappointment in the face of stark reality. It was this latter that resulted in an inferiority complex in respect to the West and at the same time caused the country to push modernization even more desperately.

Naturally, the government was wise enough to make use of this national feeling to improve its own situation. Here was an opportunity to overcome much internal divisiveness by using the feeling against the West as a tool to unify the national ideology and build a solid foundation for the emperor system. Thus, in promulgating the paternalistic constitution in 1889 the natural rights of man were repudiated. It was said that the Emperor graciously bestowed the franchise on the nobility and commoners but that it was not at all their right as individuals. Under this constitution freedom of thought and belief was granted on the condition that it was " not prejudical

* Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as sub-
jects."* In other words, the Constitution was implemented to
re-establish the family ethics which had been weakened in the
period of Westernization.

Government Education System Strengthened

This intent to strengthen ideological unity was nowhere
clearer than in the promulgation of the Rescript on Education
(1890) by which the government reminded the people that
Japan was the only family-nation, and that the only means of
elevating the nation's international position was for people to
work for the Emperor in perfect unity. This basic principle
of family ethics was clearly operative in all public educational
and training institutions, but to complete the modernization
program and attain spiritual unity the government recognized
that it was necessary not only to strengthen the public educa·
tion system but also to outstrip the number of private schools,
including Christian institutions, where Western liberalism, which
the government did not want spread further, was still powerful.

The attempt by the state to strengthen the government system
of education was not new. It was started in the 1880's, when
large grants were made for the establishment of higher schools,
and the motive was much the same. For example, before his
tragic death in 1889 Viscount Ainori Mori, the Minister of
Education, was widely known as a progressive and pro-Western
leader; but even he issued instructions to the students of normal
schools which called for very conservative and even reactionary
virtues. Here is one example. " The first and most important

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* The Meiji Constitution (1889) Article 28.

thing for students of normal schools is perfect obedience to authority, the second is perfect friendship, and the third is developing your personality······ "* The ultimate purpose of the " Rich Country, Strong Army " policy was not the development of democracy but a modern family-nation. Therefore, obedience was the most important of all virtues.

To accomplish its ultimate purpose, the first thing the govern-ment did was to enlarge the Imperial University of Tokyo where students learned " such arts and sciences as are required for the purposes of the State,"† to and grant to its graduates a pri-vileged status in securing government positions. At the same time, it decided that the president should be selected from among the professors of the Law Department who were ac-customed to dealing with official orders and policy. Thus, it made the university merely a training school for the higher civil service and for public schools.

Furthermore, it set up a state examination system for civil service and made it a rule to choose the examination commit-tees from among professors of the Imperial University and goverment officials. Under this system, in order to attain a high position in the new society, a person had either to be a graduate of the Imperial University or to be able to pass a government examination.

Apparently it was recognized that the time had come to give up the simple optimistic nationalism of the early period, when it was thought that a quick but superficial imitation of Western culture might enable Japan to secure a revision of the unequal

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* Aizawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 159—60.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 174—75. Ransome, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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treaties, and instead to devise realistic plans to induce the West to recognize the existence of a modernized Japan and number it among the powers of the world. The law-scholar-rules-Japan-policy symbolized the government's recognition of the fact that the unification of ideology and modernization could be completed only through the establishment of a huge bureaucracy by which the government could easily control public opinion.

The second thing the government did was to attempt to bridge the gulf between the university and elementary education by establishing a number of institutions such as high schools,

Table II

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PUBLIC
MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND THEIR ENROLLMENT*

	Boys' Schools		Girls' Schools	
Year	Number	Enrollment	Number	Enrollment
1894	81	22,331	14	2,341
1895	95	30,672	15	2,897
1896	120	40,576	19	4,152
1897	155	52,442	26	6,799
1898	168	61,382	34	8,590
1899	188	68,885	37	8,857
1900	217	77,994	52	11,984
1901	241	88,051	70	17,540
1902	257	94,696	80	21,523
1903	268	97,661	91	25,719
1904	266	100,852	95	28,523
1905	269	104,556	100	31,917
1906	279	108,057	111	35,876
1907	285	110,776	132	41,273
1908	294	114,395	158	46,329
1909	303	127,434	177	51,440
1910	309	121,652	192	55,882
1911	312	124,584	199	59,619

* Aizawa, op. cit, pp. 219—21.

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technological schools, and middle schools. This plan had two aspects, aggressive and defensive. On the one hand, these schools would supply new technicians for industry and white-collar workers for the new bureaucracy. On the other hand, they would be able to reduce the position of mission and other private schools to insignificance whenever the latter were not fully obedient to the basic policies of the government.

The success of the government in attaining this objective is evident in the fact that between 1894 and 1911 the number of middle schools (for boys) increased from 81 to 312 and schools for girls from 14 to 199. Middle school enrollment increased from 22,331 to 124,584 and girl school enrollment from 2,341 to 59,619.

Christian and State Education Conflict

Nationalism and bureaucracy, which were sustained by the family-nation ethics, ran completely counter to Christian ethics, which emphasized individual freedom of thought and firm faith. As time passed the conflict between these two opposing concepts became more intense and coexistence became more and more difficult. The clash was particularly evident in regard to their respective principles of education, for which each sought support through reliance on its own system. This rivalry created a very serious situation for the church. This was the period of the " Conflict of Religion and Education " and " Religious Education and State Education."* In the early period (1872— 1890) mission schools were the major source of future church

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* Inoue, Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, *Shūkyō to Kyōiku no Shōtotsu* 宗教と教育の 衝突 (*The Conflict of Religion and Education*), Tokyo: Keigyo Sha, 1893.

members. Some seven- to eight-tenths of the converts at the time had been under their influence.

Apparently the government decided to isolate mission schools, drive them out of society, and cut off the chief source of church membership.* It was in this period that the government took Germany as its model in completing its educational system. In its final form this consisted of six years of elementary school, five of middle school, two or three of high school (a sort of preparatory school for the university), and a three-year university course with three- or four-year professional schools at the high school level, that is, normal schools and technical schools for those who did not go on to university.

Mission schools, such as Meiji Gakuin and Aoyama Gakuin, for example, had their own distinctive system. This consisted of a two-year preparatory course and a four-year common education course (*futsū gakubu*[a]) at the middle school level. (The preparatory course was established in the period before the government elementary school system was completed, and the intellectual level of the entering students differed extremely according to their social background.)

From the beginning of the 1890's mission schools became worried because, judging from the intellectual level of the students, the common education course could be classified neither as a middle school nor as a high school. They were also troubled because there was no direct relationship with the government schools. Thus, in spite of their good reputation, mission schools were classified as "Miscellaneons Schools" (*Kakushu Gakkō*[b])

* Faust, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—36.

a. 普通学部   *b.* 各種学校

the students of which had none of the privileges of govern-
ment school students, such as postponement and reduction of
military conscription service, admission of promising students
into high government schools without examination, and priority
in getting a position in the civil service.* Consequently, in
order to enter the university, students were obliged to quit
mission schools and re-enter government schools at a lower
level.

Dr. Albertus Pieters described the situation as follow :

> During the decade 1890 to 1900, the mission schools suffered
> first a marked decline, and then a considerable recovery. The
> decline was due to the great anti-foreign and anti-Christian reac-
> tion to the growing improvement of the government schools, and
> to the difference in policy that developed between them and the
> mission schools. The managers of mission schools were aiming
> to produce thinkers and students, and with tbat object in view,
> were laying great emphasis on the study of English language, so
> that a graduate from their courses might be able to read the
> literature of the world with interest and understanding. The
> government schools, on the contrary, having a practical aim, judged
> it better to teach the students a little of almost every branch ······
> It gradually became clear that the students in government schools
> had overwhelmingly the advantage from a practical standpoint.
> They were exempt from military conscription, which took away
> many mission scbool students in the midst of their studies. They
> were more readily employed in the civil service ······ Naturally,
> when even the graduates of government schools were not all able
> to find accommodations, there was no chance for others······†

Under these circumstances the number of mission school
students, both girls and boys, decreased rapidly. Taking Meiji
Gakuin and Ferris Seminary as two examples, according to the
annual reports of Meiji Gakuin in the early 1880's, the common

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* Washiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 273—274.

† Pieters, *op. cit.*, pp. 139—40.

school course averaged from one hundred sixty to two hundred students, but in the autumn of 1864,—although the students were very proud of the enlarged buildings, which were far better than those of the government middle schools, and a fifth grade had been added to conform to the government school pattern—only 116 students enrolled and even these did not all remain. In fact, 82 students withdrew, mainly in order to transfer to government schools, so that only 28 students finished the academic year.* In Ferris Seminary, during the same period the decrease was so serious that the school was compelled to close some of its advance courses. Although there were 185 students enrolled in 1888, there were only 105 in 1893, 67 in 1895, and 38 in 1896.†

Table III

MEIJI GAKUIN ENROLLMENT‡

Grade	September 1894	April 1895	June 1895
1	13	7	9
2	15	13	5
3	27	10	5
4	23	8	5
5	38	4	4
Total	116	42	28

Thus, the educational work of the church was very seriously affected by the aggressive expansion of the government school system. In 1896 there were twenty mission schools for boys at the common school course level with 1,520 enrolled, and

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* The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America. *Annual Reports*. 1886, p. 70 ; 1887, p. 70 ; 1888, p. 76.

† Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

‡ Washiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 278—80.

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forty-seven schools for girls with 2,527 enrolled,* while in the same year 120 government middle schools had 40,576 students and 19 girls' schools had 4,152 girls. It can easily be seen from this how much mission schools suffered financially from the loss of students.

Other Causes for Decrease

Missionaries generally tended to attribute the decrease of students and church members to the nationalistic reaction and the rapid expansion of the government educational system ; but some causes of the decline in Christian work are to be found in the church itself. These stemmed from the missionaries' anachronistic thinking that Japan was still a young nation to be taken care of by the " chosen people " of advanced countries and that Japan was still a feudalistic country of the samurai and sword. At this time, however, Japan was really well into the first period of its industrial revolution and had almost com-pleted its universal educational system. Therefore, the govern-ment no longer had to depend upon the limited samurai and old intellectual class to supply the intellectual leaders for her new enterprises ; and students no longer had to go to the big cities for a middle school level education.

Unfortunately, a majority of the leading mission schools did not recognize this new situation. They still retained the boarding school system which in the 1880's had been the best means of attracting promising students, particulary the samurai from the country districts. Moreover, the missionaries simply did not

* H. Ritter, *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan.* trans. by Albrecht G. E., (Tokyo: The Methodist Publishing House, 1898), p. 358.

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recognize that Japan had already made surprising progress, which could not be accounted for by current estimates of Japanese ability and which soon would make Japan one of the great powers of the world. This is not to say that the missionaries and Japanese Christian leaders were too passive or too inept to adapt to the new conditions. Rather they appear to have been bewildered by their underestimation of Japanese ability.

The Industrial Revolution

Japan was changing, both politically and economically, the most important change being the concentration of the population into urban districts and the rapid expansion of industry. The number of commercial organizations was increasing sharply (Table IV), as was the amount of invested capital (Table V). To meet this situation the government was forced to set up a network of day schools at the high school level. Only thus could it supply leadership for the huge developing industry and create a new backbone for this society which, unlike the samurai class, had no direct relation with Old Japan.

Table IV

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COMPANIES, 1884—1903*

	1884	1889	1893	1894	1899	1903
Agricultural	61	430	171	118	176	249
Industrial	379	2,259	2,919	778	2,253	2,441
Transportation	204	299	195	210	583	702
Commercial	654	1,079	848	2,096	2,676	3,580
Banks	1,097	1,049	703	865	1,943	3,275

* Eitarō Noro 野呂栄太郎 *Nihon Shihon-shugi Hattatsu Shi* 日本資本主義発達史 (*A History of Japanese Capitalism*), Tokyo: Iwanami, 1954), pp. 87—88.

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Table V

INCREASE IN CAPITAL
OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED COMPANIES
(THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE FROM
1884 TO 1893, AND 1894 to 1903)*

	1884	1889	1893	1894	1899	1903
Agricultural	100	657	205	100	194	268
Industrial	100	1,390	1,550	100	231	382
Transportation	100	1,013	1,310	100	240	316
Commercial	100	394	430	100	170	299
Banks	100	241	265	100	267	347

Before the government was required to take the initiative, the missionaries should have established a new system to attract this newly developing class. They at least could have united their schools into a few institutions of greater size and thus have avoided financial and political difficulties, or they could have built up a system which, although it might have been quite different from the government system, nevertheless would have been of such quality that the government could not have ignored it. Furthermore, in order that their system might be accepted by the new Japanese society and be firmly established therein, the subjects of lectures should have been somewhat directly related to the history of this society. Instead, according to *Rikugō Zasshi* (*"Talk of the Nation Magazine"*) of 1890, fourteen of the twenty-nine mission schools at middle school and high school level had no courses in Japanese history ! The general policy of emphasizing foreign languages, mainly English,

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* *Ibid*, pp. 88—89. In 1894 the commercial code was revised, so we cannot compare the statistics of the period 1884—1889 with that of the period, 1894—1903.

resulted after 1890 in a sort of isolation from society.*

Retarded Growth—a Period of Testing

As for the church, this was a period of disappointment. Dr. J. H. DeForest, writing in the *New York Independent* (March 8, 1894) said,†

> It has been a hard, discouraging year (1893). There are those who would not say so ; but they can not alter the fact that the churches are poorly attended, many a pastor or evangelist having hardly fifty for an audience. There are baptisms every month, perhaps a hundred and fifty on the average among all the Protestant churches……"

But the churches generally were not growing steadily stronger. Partly through fear of the nationalistic policy of the government, and partly because of their being young men seeking jobs and who could not stay long in one place, many members, particularly those baptised after 1890, were leaving the church.

It may not be appropriate to call this a period of general decrease in church membership, but it was certainly a period of extremely slow increase. This is clearly illustrated by the experience of the Church of Christ in Japan (a union of churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition), which consistently maintained a membership of more than ten thousand during the period of testing, but made no gain. Moreover, the same thing was generally true of most Christian denominations during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

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* Hiratsuka Masunori 平塚益徳, *Nippon Kirisutokyō-shugi Kyōiku Bunka Shi*, 日本キリスト教主義教育文化史 (*A History of Christian Schools in Japan.*), (Tokyo: Nichidoku Shoin 日独書院, 1941), pp 128—29.
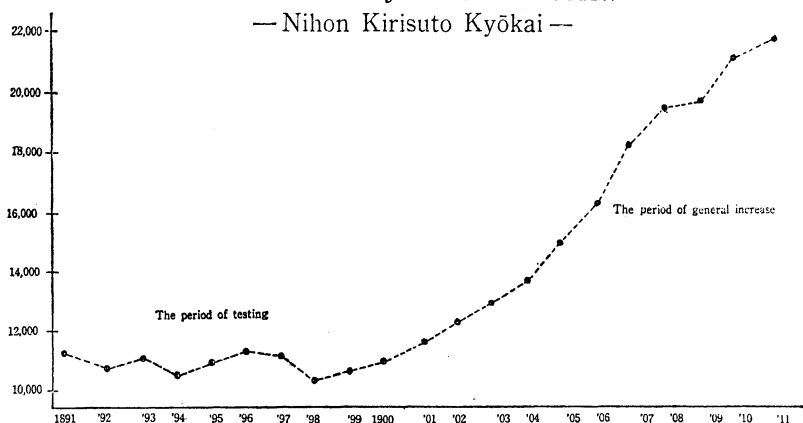
† Quoted by Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

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In some cases, however, there was actually a slight decrease. According to a study made by Henry Loomis, the total number of Christian communicants and baptised children of all Protestant denomination was 38,710 in 1895 and 38,361 in 1896.[*]

Table VI

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH
OF CHRIST IN JAPAN 1891—1911.[†]
— Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai —

However, in order to make clear the position of the Protestant churches in this period of testing, let us compare the rapid rate of increase in memberships during the 1870's, and 1880's, and the situation during the 1890's. Between 1872, when the first Protestant convert was baptized, and 1879, church memberships grew to 2,701 or an average of 390 a year. In the following decade it increased to 28,997, not including child baptisms, and in some years as many as five thousand adults joined the church. (See p. 67)

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[*] Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[†] Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 230—32.

Then came the period of retarded growth, but the reason for this was not merely a decrease in the number of adult baptisms. There was also a sharp increase in the number of those dropped from the membership rolls because of non-attendance or improper conduct. This can be accounted for in part by the nationalistic reaction, in part by the shift in emphasis of the missions from the individual mission school student to a development of various student movements integrated into general student life, and in part to a change in the social charac-

Table VII

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORK FOR 1890 AND 1896

Item	1890	1896	Increase	Decrease
Missionaries	577	680	103	
Organized churches	297	378	81	
Baptized adult converts	4.431	2,513		1,918
Baptized children	468	1,068	600	
Non-attendance	153	1,394	1,241	
Improper behavior	33	1,208	1,175	
Total membership	32,380	38,361	5,981	
Boy's schools (boarding)	18	20	2	
Students in above	2,676	1,520		1,156
Girl's schools (boarding)	43	47	4	
Students in above	3,083	2,527		556
Day schools	56	105	49	
Students in above	3,426	6,856	3,430	
Sunday schools	514	837	323	
Students in above	24,115	30,624	6,509	
Theological schools	21	17		4
Students in above	350	223		127
Japanese ministers	129	281	152	
Contribution of members	¥69,324	¥60,504		¥8,820

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ter of Japanese Protestants.

Among these three factors, the nationalistic reaction may be said to have been the most important cause for the retardation in growth, but throughout the entire Meiji period, and not particularly in the 1890's, both the government's dislike of Christianity and the opposition of the native religions to Christianity was very clear. In some places, even Buddhist and Shinto religious leaders allied themselves with the enemies of the Christians. Therefore, it was not governmental and religious hostility alone, but other causes also that fostered the negative aspect of Christian character in Meiji Japan.

Sunday Schools Remain Popular

In reviewing the situation during the 1890's some surprising elements may be noted. For example, although the church itself experienced retarded growth, the Sunday schools and day schools (mainly elementary schools, kindergartens, and other lower level schools) experienced a remarkable increase. Moreover, the rapid increase in infant baptisms was in marked contrast to the decrease in adult baptisms. Before the 1880's attendance at Christian Sunday schools meant the isolation of children from their playmates and the breaking of Japanese social customs. Therefore, because the parents were afraid to cause any trouble for their children, infant baptism was not popular, even in Christian groups.

Why, then, did infant baptisms and Sunday school attendance increase? One of the main reasons was that parents began to recognize that these schools provided moral training which the national religions had forgotten or given up since

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the social ideals of Old Japan had changed at the beginning of the Restoration. Another was that, because the government did not yet recognize the importance of child education, these institutions offered a convenient form of child training for the newly developing white collar class. And it was only in this class and in the new spontaneous student movement that the church succeeded in taking the initiative.

Table VIII

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER AND ENROLLMENT OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS*

Year	Number	Enrollment
1881	25	838
1888	272	12,559
1890	514	24,115
1896	837	30,624
1908	1,006	84,160

The new intellectual class, which had been imbued with an admiration for Western culture and had been brought up in the Western style of education, had already come to a firm belief that, in an age in which hereditary status no longer meant much, education provided the only chance for children to climb the social ladder. This was no longer the period of the Restoration. After 1900 the pace of social change became faster, and the demand for Sunday schools, kindergartens and other lower level schools exceeded the supply of these institutions. *The Christian Movement in Japan* for 1908, for example,

* Ikado, Fujio 井門富二夫, " *Waga Kuni Purotesutanto ni okeru Shin-to Kozō no Hensen* " 我が国プロテスタントにおける信徒構造の変遷 (*Change in the Social Structure of Japanese Protestantism*), Journal of Religious Studies (Tokyo University), No. 139 (July, 1954), p. 20.

reported that the churches and missionaries could not possibly take in all the children who applied for entrance, *and that they had to keep a waiting list.**

In the comparatively early period of the development of these schools, a missionary in a local district reported that

> the ratio of the children of Christian families to other children in the Sunday school of my church is quite small, that is, only one to ten or twelve. In the Sunday schools attached to other out-stations and native Christian groups, the children with a Christian background were as rare as a blue diamond. Every school has been crowded, and therefore we do not need to advertise schools. Sometimes students voluntarily bring friends to school, but in most cases, their parents force them to join……. In the beginning we opened these schools at nine, but as children used to come earlier and to wait before school, we recently decided to change the time from nine to eight forty-five.†

Shift in Type of Membership

Before the 1890's the majority of Protestant members were young adults who had been converted in mission schools while they were learning foreign languages. Their intellectual desire brought them under the influence of missionary pioneers who, fortunately for the Japanese, were mainly men of talent, patience, and self-control, rather than persons of emotional enthusiasm. Under the splendid leadership of these missionaries, young men, particularly the samurai, were trained to take a lively interest in the discussion of moral and intellectual matters. Such persons were keen to attend these discussions, since they had an instinctive urge to seek a new ideal for the new social order,

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* Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

† Kurihara, Motoshi. 栗原　基 *Buzeru Sensei Den,* ブゼル先生伝 (*A Biography of Miss A. S. Buzzell*), (Sendai: 仙台, n.d.) pp. 263—65.

and they were able to recognize both the meaning of their needs and the nature of what they were seeking.

However, during and after the 1890's the church began to seek new members from among the youth who were being educated under the newly established educational system, the primary characteristic of which was mass production. On account of its stress on family ethics, this system was an effective governmental tool for the destruction of that individuality and initiative which should have been the essential backbone of the Christian movement at the time. Christian kindergartens and Sunday schools provided the only antidote to this nonreligious and anti-individualist government education, because the Christian schools were thought to be the only ones that could carry out Froebel's ideas.* But alone they could accomplish little.

Thus, the membership of the church shifted to the newly developing white-collar class which had no reason to complain of the government's bureaucratic control over individuals, as did the samurai at the beginning of the era. This new class, which was destined to be the bureaucratic core of Imperial Japan, having been nurtured with school texts censored by the government, consisted of people of a type far different from the independent samurai Christians of the earlier period.

In the 1890's and 1900's the future members of the church were in government schools where an extremely science-centered Western learning was being taught; and while they were receiving this education, the samurai class, the old supporters of the church, was being absorbed into the upper or lower strata

* Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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of the new society. Consequently, in this intermediate period the church did not have any definite source for new member- ship such as the samurai class in the beginning or the urban white-collar class after 1910.

In spite of the government's anti-Christian sentiment at this period, however the parents whose children had attained school age and the young students in government higher schools could not help having some respect for this foreign religion, which had been regarded as the essence of Western culture. Their superficial Japanism and national pride were only masks to hide their genuine admiration for the West. Therefore, under the cloak of Western learning, they still sought a chance to ap- proach foreigners, and this was the reason why the Christian day schools, in contrast to the old boarding schools, suddenly began to flourish again and why various student movements, such as the YMCA, Christian Student Association, and Chris- tian summer schools, became popular.

But, while this was for the church very definitely a period of retarded growth, the *Rikugō Zasshi*, a Christian magazine, could proclaim in the summer of 1889 :

> Come to our churches and look at our sincere audiences. The absolute majority of our present members are, to your surprise, young men and young ladies. Almost all people recently baptized are young people······ The total membership of the first summer school opened on the Dōshisha campus counted more than five hundred, two hundred of whom gathered from remote local dis- tricts. All major schools sent their representatives to the con- ference. These students represented such famous schools as the Imperial university, the state higher schools, the higher com- mercial schools, and other state schools, and private schools in- cluding mission schools. These young men are becoming the major power among the church members. and the future of Japan and the church depends on these young men.*

* Sanami, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99,

Moreover, this tendency continued throughout the entire period of testing, when the church and mission schools were suffering bitterly from the anti-Christian sentiment that spread over Japan.

Judging from such reports dealing with the change in the social character of Christian adherents, we can easily infer from the above that, at a time when society was beginning to be reorganized along modern capitalistic lines, the most urgent mission problem was how to devise new methods to attract and hold future church members educated in a mass production system. Basically this was the problem of developing leadership.

A New Situation

Optimistic missionaries, who were waiting for the government to change its educational and religious policies again, simply did not understand what lay behind the government's apparently highly emotional effort to suppress private schools and to construct a public school system despite a sadly unbalanced budget. Certain it was that mission schools were then in a critical state, because modern subjects were taught in the government schools where Christianity had no place, and the missionaries found it very difficult to get students who would become the core of the church's future membership. Consequently, in spite of their spending considerable amounts of money on the schools in the hope of developing future native leaders, many mission schools were in fact either nearly empty, or " Christianity had been so wrapped up in other subjects as

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to convert them into secular schools to all intents and purposes."*

The missionaries did not particularly want to follow the government schools but, as the industrial revolution developed, they began to understand that there was something wrong in their education policy so some attempts were made to adjust to this new situation. The first step was to appoint Japanese principals The second was to bring the schools into conformity with the government system, because unless this was done it would be impossible to attract students who wanted to climb the social ladder.† Protestants in general and missionaries in particular were really a little tired of struggling with the government, and they decided to pretend to surrender. Although " recognized schools " (*shitei gakkō*ᵃ) had to conform strictly to all the government requirements as to discipline, all mission schools petitioned the government to grant their licenses as middle schools and by the end of the 1890's they had received this recognition.

The government, however, recognized education as a most important missionary method and sought to obstruct it. It knew what the churches really wanted and was watching to see how they would adjust to the new conditions. It did not have to wait long. The test came in 1899 when the Ministry of Education issued the famous Order No. 12,‡ which pro-

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a.　指定学校

* Ransome, *op. cit.*, pp. 105—106.

† Tucker, H. G., *The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. 146—47.

‡ Holtom, D. C., *The National Faith of Japan* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938) p. 47 footnote: " Order Number Twelve of the Department of Education, Aug. 3, 1899 (Meiji 8. 3. 32), translated from *Genkō Tokyo Fu Gakurei Ruisan, Ippan Hō no Bu* 現行 東京府学会類纂一般法の部 (" *Collected Contemporary School Regulations of Tokyo Urban Prefecture, Section on General Matters*"), p. 33." →

hibited all religious practices and instruction in the " recognized schools." This was a very serious blow. The schools were confronted with a dilemma. If they did not teach religion, the reason for their existence was gone. If they taught religion, they would lose their students because of the lack of special privileges. Some mission schools tried to compromise for the sake of retaining their license, Others bitterly resisted the order and finally gave up their licenses. A few closed down. How this struggle developed need not further detain us. The important thing is that this order exposed the depth of the government's antagonism towards Christian education. But this was the last of a series of anti-Christian actions which the Meiji clan government undertook in order to suppress the samurai's resistance and to keep the young men away from Christian influence.

Chapter IV

THE EMERGENCE OF THE " NOMINAL CHRISTIAN "
(1906—1918)

Missionary Leadership Changes

The opening of the twentieth century was marked by a number of noticeable changes. Before the 1890's members of

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"The separation of general education from religion is very necessary to educational administration. Accordingly, in all schools established by the government and in all public schools (privately) founded and, also, in all schools wherein the curriculum is fixed by law, religious instruction and the holding of religious services are prohibited even outside the regular curriculum."

the middle class usually engaged in teaching, civil service, religious work, or business. They were self-employed entrepreneurs or salaried professionals, men and women of individual character who had a personal interest in their work or profession. As a result of the industrial revolution, however, the new middle class, the white-collar class, grew steadily larger. This was composed of educated urban residents, wage earners, and office workers, newly graduated from the expanding government schools, who were inclined to admire everything Western. And it was they who became potential candidates for church membership to replace the samurai class which began to disappear in the 1880's. If the government did not act against the church again, as it had done in issuing Order Number 12, it appeared that the church might once again grow, but it would continue to have a definitely middle class constituency.*

This period was marked by a change in missionary leadership. The pioneer missionary leaders had almost all died or retired, and with their replacement the emphasis changed. The newly arrived missionary recognized that the age of private education in which any unique teaching method could be employed by each and every missionary had passed, and that the period of mass education under Japanese leadership had arrived.

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* Sen Katayama, 版山潜, *Jijoden* 自敍伝 (*An Autobiography*), (Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波書店, 1954), p. 218: "Christianity had already become the tool of the rich. Even some of its leaders like Masahisa Uemura said to me, 'we are just as happy if laboring people do not come to our church.' But many clerks and low-income salarymen attended Uemura's church. These people themselves were (white collar) laborers of a sort, but this is how they felt about other laborers."

Government Policy Changes

Moreover, in the early years of the new century the government began to change its religious policy. The general reasons for this were apparent. The treaties had been revised in 1899, and having gained both self-esteem and foreign recognition as an advanced modern state, the government felt that henceforth it could relax its pressure. Furthermore, the rapid development of the public school system, and the military victories produced a feeling of self-confidence. Just as Japanese nationalism had gained strength because of an inferiority complex towards Western culture, so Japan, having regained her self-confidence, could afford to be more tolerant.

As a result of the changed atmosphere in the first decade of the twentieth century the vitality of the church began to recover and both the missionaries and Japanese leaders became optimistic. They had good reason to be. In one decade, for example, the membership of the Church of Christ in Japan almost doubled. Moreover, in line with the changed attitude, the government eased the enforcement of Order No. 12 and restored the special privileges to all Christian schools. The order had worked great hardships not only on Christian schools but on Buddhist schools also ; and in the end, while continuing on the statute books, it became to all intents and purposes a dead letter.

What were the specific reasons for the government's giving up so easily on an order that was issued originally to halt the expansion of Christianity ?

After the Russo-Japanese War the religious policy changed

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from suppression to toleration, and thereafter the government sometimes even attempted to make use of religious forces to combat the rising socialist movement. Apparently it was convinced that the political foundation of the empire was so firm that there was no need to fear interference by foreign countries. It was also certain that Christianity could no longer be a major influence over the intellectual class, as it had been in the Meiji era. The government system had overcome the Christian system in education, and Christianity was considered only as an accessory for students showing sentimental admiration towards Western culture. In the period of the white-collar-class church which now began, the most important problem that the church faced was that of the " nominal Christian."

The missionaries, however, believed that mission schools had survived the storm because their schools surpassed the government schools both in language instruction and in moral education. What they failed to recognize, and what the government saw, was that almost all students of this period were merely making use of the mission schools as steppingstones to higher education in government schools. Actually the Christian students were lost in the crowd. There was very little evidence of spiritual life in the schools. The students were not interested in the religious program so much as in the language instruction which gave them some advantage in passing the entrance examination for government schools. After Western education had become popular, few probably really wanted to be in mission schools, handicapped as they were by financial difficulty and religious education. They enrolled because they recognized the advantage of missionary-taught English language

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instruction.

Mission Schools Conform

In order to survive, mission schools as a minority group felt that they had to conform to the government school system. Consequently, they had completely lost their unique color. They only served a society which demanded language instruction.

One discerning writer in considering this situation wrote :

> Since abont 1903, the Christian atmosphere of Meiji Gakuin has rapidly been weakened. In the past the school was a sacred place for young Christians, but now it is regarded only as a preparatory school for the state schools and the Christian discipline of the school has lost its meaning. I feel very sorry that many students so easily forget their *alma moter* as soon as they graduate.*

Another writer said :

> I was a student of Ferris Seminary when Japan was changing from an old, feudalistic country to a modern, industrial empire (i.e., 1903—1906). In the period before our time, the students were educated through rigid religious discipline and also entirely enjoyed the quiet scholarly life, while in the Taisho era after us the school was widely known as the leading girl's middle school and the students enjoyed their secular privileges as students in a well-equipped school. The days when I was spending my youth in the school should be called a transition period. Christian faith which had been the backbone of religious education and which was also the vital source of Christian action against social evils, lost its power and transformed itself merely into a habitual rite. And during my school days YWCA activity also lost its religious function and became a kind of social club.†

Thus, having integrated their educational system with that of the government, the religious education of the mission school

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* Washiyama, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

† Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 120—22.

lost its original purpose of producing thinking converts, who would be devoted to evangelism and able to withstand the pressures of nationalism and scepticism. Christian leaders hence failed to find a new means of attaining a place of unique influence in the educational world.

Japanese leaders, therefore, quite naturally changed their emphasis from evangelization through mission schools to evangelism through young people's movements and through various Christian student conferences and activities which attracted the students of government schools. And because these movements were so deeply connected with the students' everyday life, even those students who lacked church-going habits were able to take part.

Actually church attendance was small in proportion to its membership. This was partly due to the fact that the membership was geographically scattered and partly to the lack of a church-going tradition, but it was also due in part to the fact that a majority of the membership consisted of government school students whose religious life was strictly limited by school regulations.

This change in basic evangelistic policy resulted mainly from the leaders' realistic judgement that mission schools could no longer be a major source of future membership. According to *The History of the YMCA of Keiō Gijiku (University)*, this change of mission policy became very clear by the end of the first decade of the new century.

> At that time the leaders of various student movements were all shouting for " the state-school-first policy." Their strategy was not necessarily bad. Their judgement was like this: first, the

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> government forced private schools to reorganize their system in conformity with the state system as to curriculum and discipline, and they descended to a minority status in a hostile society, losing their uniqueness ; secondly, they thought that the strict hierarchy of the state educational system was to some extent a weak point of the system, because, if the students of its lower schools were all converted, the university would soon be full of Christian students.……We do not necessarily blame the leaders for their attitude but we can not understand at all why they entirely ignore private schools, and can not be satisfied with their policy.*

Thus, Christianity was expanding among the students of state schools, and the churches located near such schools became crowded with students. Among the government school students many famous leaders of the Taishō and Shōwa period, such as Takeshi Fujii[a], Sakuzō Yoshino[b], Shōgo Yamaya,[c] were enlisted, and judging from their intellectual leadership, sincerity and faith, they were more influential among young church members than the mission school graduates of the same period. However, government school students on the whole tended to consider Christianity merely as a part of Western culture and as a means of enjoying their student life. Some knowledge of Protestantism was becoming somewhat popular among the people and, as the white-collar class expanded, church membership increased, but very few of the graduates settled down in one church as permanent members.[†]

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a. 藤井武 *b.* 吉野作造 *c.* 山谷省吾

* *Keiō-Gijuku Kirisutokyō Seinen Kai Sanjū Nen Shi* 慶応義塾キリスト教青年会三十年史, (*History of The Young Men's Christian Association of Keiō-Gijuku University*), (Tokyo : Keiō YMCA, 1932.), pp. 57—58.

† *Hongō Kyōkai Sōritsu Gojū Nen,* 本郷教会創立五十年, (*The Report of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Hongō Church*) (Tokyo : Hongō Church, 本郷教会 n.d.), p. 92.

Secular Student Interest

Students and young members tended to gather in certain churches whose ministers were famous as thinkers and church leaders. They were not necessarily going to accept the faith. They went to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. In criticism of this opportunism Dr. Faust wrote : " One more temporary hindrance is found in the peculiar trait of Japanese to follow leaders rather than principles." In their thinking these young men could not distinguish between religion and hero worship, which was encouraged by the state education. This was not faith, but rather intellectual sentimentalism stemming from that inferiority complex towards Western culture which had distinguished the past period.

This tendency was not confined to government schools. It also affected the students of leading mission schools. In connection with the Protestant semi-centennial in 1909 one speaker declared that most students used the educational and religious facilities to fulfill their secular interest, and that many of them never became permanent members of the church. Indeed, some were said to try to forget Christianity after their graduation, since it might hinder their worldly success.

Actually many Christian students clearly failed to distinguish between Christianity and Western learning. To quote one speaker :

> Do students generally become Christians ? Unfortunately we can not say that they all do. Graduates of Christian schools usually are indifferent toward the churches. Even those who become Christians as students do not identify themselves with it after they have graduated. This has led to the development of

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> the phrase " Student Christian ".······ Because they have tired of
> Christianity in school, we can not approach them later ······*

Therefore, Christian leaders could not be very optimistic simply
because the political climate was apparently favorable to the
mission schools and churches.

During the period between the Russo-Japanese War (1904—
1905) and World War I (1914—1919), the improved utiliza-
tion of agriculture and other natural resources, and the exten-
sive development of financial, commercial, and manufacturing
enterprises resulted in a very substantial increase in the national
wealth and income of Japan. Therefore, the white-collar class
in urban districts expanded, and this new middle class could
afford to send their children to higher schools. Higher
education became one of the qualifications for membership in
the middle class. Consequently, enrollment in edcational in-
stitutions greatly increased, and there was a rapid expansion
of both the mission schools and the churches.

Unfortunately for the churches, however, the quantitative in-
crease in membership resulted in a qualitative lowering of its
faith. One reason for this appears to have been the change
in the character of mission schools from boarding schools to
day schools. This situation can be illustrated by the change
at Ferris Seminary as described by one of its graduates.

> Before my graduation (about 1910), 80 per cent of the total
> number of the students were boarding scholars. But after that
> time the number of day scholars began to increase, and at last

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* *Kaikoku Gojū-shūnen Kinen Kōen Shū* 開国五十周年記念講演集 (*The Col-
lected Addresses of the Conference for the Fiftieth Anniversary of
Christian Missions in Japan*), (Tokyo : Japan Evangelical Union, *Kaikoku
Kinen Taikai*, 開国記念大会, 1910), p. 65.

day students assumed the leadership of all school activities, when they outnumbered boarding students. In comparison with boarding students who closed themselves into the school campus and put themselves under the strict regulations of the boarding house, day students were more sociable and ffexible in adjusting to the changing environment······When day students came to hold the majority, the school's color changed and the school became more and more secular.*

Thus, by about the end of World War I, boarding students —the factor which had long made mission schools different from secular schools—almost disappeared from mission schools, and Christian moral education and the group life in the dormitory were almost forgotten.

Moreover, as the feudalistic family ethics was naturally weakening in a modern industrial society, the government attempted to secure its survival by the development of nationalism. Thus, a government-created public opinion along the line of common national ethics took the place of the older family ethics.

This was the situation in which Christianity found itself in the beginning of the twentieth century and it was evident that ultimately it could not escape political coercion by an anti-Christian society. The social status of salaried people, which is what Christians mainly were, depended on their chance in the labor market, on their educational background, and on their obedience to their employers and to the political authority of the community. Consequently, the parents of Christian students and the majority of church members had to think of their insecure position in the community before they criticized social

* Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 118—19, 148

evils. And this is why—just at the time day students began to predominate over boarding students—Christian resistance to the nationalistic policy of the government was considerably weakened.

The Nominal Christian

Observing this change in the social structure of Protestantism and trying to understand what was going on in the church, Dr. Albertus Pieters concluded that, while Christianity had helped modern education create the people called the white-collar class, in the process Christian activities had been narrowed to the limits of the social character of the salaried people who formed the core of the modern Christian community. On the one hand, his study of the professions of about three thousand mission school graduates, showed that thirty-five percent were still studying in higher courses. On the other hand, we observe that the schools produced very few candidates for the ministry and Christian service. No doubt this was partly because of the small financial remuneration for Christian work, but it was mainly because of a lack of faith and proper Christian discipline in the Christian community.

Dr. Pieters summed up the situation as follows : " ⋯⋯ the results of Christian education are disappointing in the following particulars : in the fewness of graduates, considering the number and equipment of the schools and the length of the time they have been at work ; in the failure to influence to a deep religious conviction such a large portion of the students ; in the un-satisfactory character of so many who profess conversion, and in the fewness of candidates for the ministry."*

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* Pieters, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

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Table   IX

THE PERCENTAGE OF MISSION SCHOOL GRADUATES ENGAGED IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS*

In the ministry or some other Christian work	3
Teachers	12
Civil Service	5
Businessmen, farmers, etc	28
Military service	1
Miscellaneous callings	2
Still at school in higher courses	35
Deceased	7
Unknown	7

The students of mission schools, considered as the elite in the Christian community had thus lost their qualification for being Christian leaders. Moreover, the situation among church members in general was very similar to that of the students, and it is this white-collar character of modern Christians that has created a problem for the church since the end of the Meiji era.

One of the characteristics of the white-collar class is its compromising attitude towards authority. The spirit of samurai heroism joined with Christian ethical insight and a passion for righteousness had long since disappeared from the church.

This compromising attitude of Christian leaders stemmed in part from the social position of Christians as an absolute minority fearful for its very existence. But it must be considered also in connection with a tendency to conform to the authorities. In identifying the church's policy with the religious policy of the government, the church to some extent succeeded in bor-

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* *Ibid.* pp. 145—46.

rowing prestige from the community authority and thus secured
a feeling of stability. This was the reason why the church
willingly joined the government sponsored Conference of Three
Religions in 1912, which regarded religion as a tool to stabilize
the social order. It was this attitude which caused Kanzō
Uchimura to blame church leaders for their betrayal of the
socialist friends of Christianity. At the time of the Conference,
Christianity had about eighty thousand members. It had al-
ready grown to be a powerful political force, which neither
government nor other religions could ignore. Why then did
the church need to cooperate with the government in its pro-
motion of nationalistic control over religious and secular liberal
movements, rather than follow its earlier course of heroic re-
sistance?

One answer is certainly that the white-collar members out-
numbered the older members was came from the early Meiji
generation. This white-collar intellectual majority tended toward
obedience to authority. By compromising they attempted to
defend their common interest from political coercion. Thus,
this attribute of the class-group proved stronger than any force
arising within the Christian community which might have led
to a separate and independent course of action apart from the
class as a whole. The white-collar Christians and the samurai
were poles apart in their essential character.

The passive policy of the church in the pre-World War II
period grew out of the very nature of the church membership
and was not primarily due to the political repression of the
government. The tragic situation of the church in that period
really resulted from the fact that the samurai consciousness of

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being " chosen " and the early Christian zeal for the evangel·
ization of Japan had been transformed into an " elite consci·
ousness " of middle-class-educated bureaucrats and professionals.
Such prestige had to be safeguarded. Because of their timid
attitude toward the state, the church lost its intellectual and
moral leadership in society and drifted with the main current
of national life.

Thus, it is only by taking account of the social character
of modern Protestants as a special group within the white·
collar class as a whole, that the historical relationship between
the Japanese government and Protestants can be adequately
explained. The most important and difficult problem today for
the church to solve is how to re-educate these nominal Chris·
tians along lines of true Christian discipleship.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

No. 1

THE INCREASE OF STUDENTS IN
MEIJI GAKUIN AND FERRIS SEMINARY*

Year	Meiji Gakuin	Ferris Seminary
1900	......	69
1901	......	96
1902	......	105
1903	160	139
1904	137	165
1905	102	195
1906	252	237
1907	328	204
1908	342	230
1909	......	232
1910	......	232
1911	......	223
1912	......	206

No. 2

THE INCREASE OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS, 1872—1889

	Number of Churches	Native Christians	Including Children
1872 (March)	1	16	16
1876	16	1,004	......
1878 (May)	44	1,617	......
1879	64	2,701	2,965
1881	83	3,811	4,412
1882	93	4,367	4,987
1883	...	5,591	6,598
1884	120	7,791	8,508
1885	168	10,775	11,678
1886	193	13,269	14,815
1887	221	18,019	19,829
1888	249	23,564	26,403
1889	274	28,997	31,875

* Washiyama, *Fifty Years of Meiji Gakuin*, pp. 298—99; Yamamoto, *Sixty Years of Ferris Seminary*, pp. 110—11.

No. 3

THE PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN MEMBERS
IN YOKOSUKA NIHON CHURCH,
1885—1902*

Year	Men	Women
1885	300	100
1886	114	100
1887	97	100
1888	131	100
1889	133	100
1890	140	100
1891	128	100
1892	130	100
1893	126	100
1894	120	100
1895	123	100
1896	124	100
1897	113	100
1898	96	100
1899	122	100
1900	121	100
1901	110	100
1902	126	100
Average	131	100

* C. Katakozawa, " The Construction of Protestants in the Meiji Era," in
Journal of History of Christianity, No. 7 (October, 1956), pp. 49—50.

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