

THE WRITINGS OF UCHIMURA KANZŌ (1861-1930)
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS
CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

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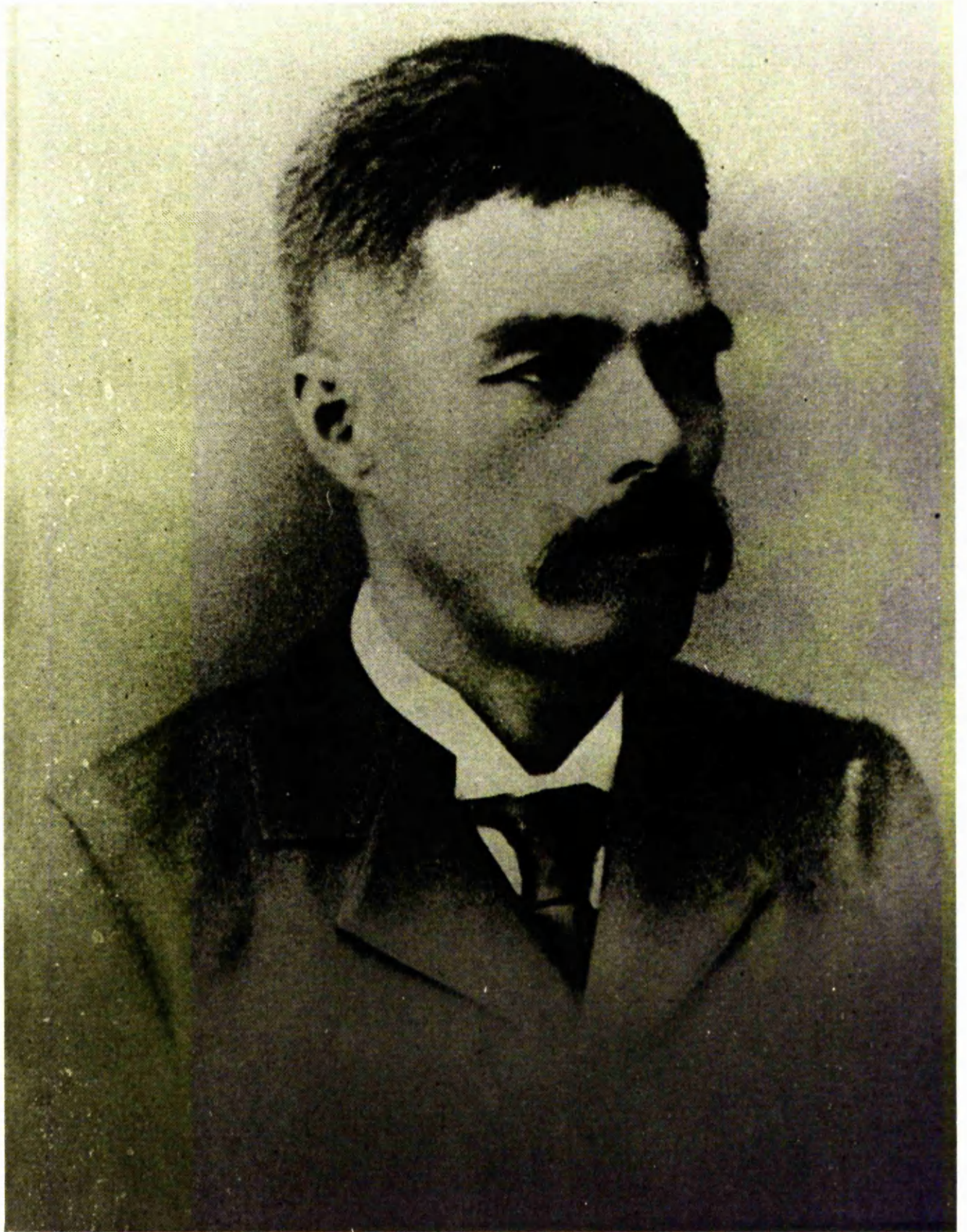
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ABSTRACT

Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), a Japanese Christian writer, trained in Eastern traditions and Western culture, worked as a social critic and Christian evangelist and produced more than twenty volumes of books and articles. (Chapter I - Biography). His love for Christ, based on a deep personal faith in God and the soul, did not waver despite the atheism and materialism of a nation rich in tradition coming into contact with modern technology and new learning, (Chapter II - Christ - The Samurai's Lord) and was clearly distinguished from identification with the West, so that his devotion to Christ developed alongside his love for Japan. (Chapter III - Indigenisation). Uchimura's love for Japan, rooted in tradition and fostered by education, was a sensitive patriotism manifest in pride and grief (Chapter IV - Patriotism) but restrained by Christianity, so that it neither overwhelmed his love for God nor his concern for men of other nations (Chapter V - Religious Cosmopolitanism). These five chapters indicate the physical and mental stage upon which, in the next four chapters, the drama of Uchimura's two-fold love is enacted. Love for Jesus and love for Japan

were theoretically compatible but in practice there was conflict. (Chapter VI - Psychological and Social Conflict). His way of harmonizing one with the other was to show love for his nation in attempting to make her great in herself by freeing her people from the trammels of Confucian conformity through the preaching of Christ-taught individualism (Chapter VI - I for Japan), and to make her great in the comity of nations by advocating faithful fulfilment of her God-given mission in the world (Chapter VIII - Japan for the World). To limit the faith and love that he preached to accepted ecclesiastical organizations of the West he held to be against the best interests of the rest of the world and to confine them to a specifically Japanese organization he considered to be untrue to Christ, so he taught No-Church (Chapter IX - The World for Christ). The synthesis of Christian faith and patriotic ideals which he endeavoured to achieve gives a relevance to his life and writings that extends wider than the country about which he wrote and the age in which he lived. (Chapter X - All for God).



PREFACE

Uchimura Kanzō has been called the most significant modern Japanese.¹ His writings, covering a period of forty years (1890-1930), are of interest to the student of political, cultural and religious movements in Japan during the crucial years of her emergence as a modern nation.² Scholars call attention to the two great loves of Uchimura's life, love for Jesus and love for Japan, which, like intertwining threads, run through all his books and articles. This study attempts for the first time to trace more fully the conflict, reconciliation and working together of patriotism and Christianity as revealed in Uchimura's writings.

Paul Fujishima, one-time Mayor of Maruoka and later chairman of the Fukui Educational Committee, introduced the writer of this study to Uchimura's works during discussions of Japanese literature and history when the question of Japan's reaction to the propagation of foreign religions was considered.

1. See S. Ienaga in M.B. Jansen, Changing Japanese Attitudes Towards Modernization, (1965), p.416. It is difficult to imagine a widespread acceptance of Ienaga's opinion by non-Christian Japanese.

2. Yanaibara speaks of renewed interest as the 'Uchimura Kanzō boom'. T. Yanaibara, Together with Uchimura Kanzō, (1964), ii.

Experienced missionaries are convinced that in Japan Christianity as an organized religion has failed. There are scarcely more than half a million converts in a population of close to one hundred million. The small membership of Christian churches, the slow rate of conversion and the high proportion of those who give up the practice of the faith, become more significant when compared with the considerable efforts of men and money that have been expended by the churches in propagating Christianity during the last hundred years.

At the same time Christian teachers believe that despite the failure of the churches, in a certain sense Christianity can and has been able to succeed.¹ The Japanese, who as a people are intelligent, highly literate and religious, are anxious to discover ideals that can inspire and guide them in their personal and social life, and so are willing and interested to hear Christian teaching when this is presented sympathetically and freed from those accidentals that needlessly irritate. Moreover Japanese moral standards in both private and public life differ but little from those accepted as

1. The writer, after thirteen years of teaching Christianity to the Japanese, is able to concur in this belief.

normal amongst Christians,¹ being based upon a recognition of the Christian-taught dignity and rights of the individual. Finally the majority of Japanese who have neither the time nor the occasion to make a fuller study of their religious beliefs do in fact accept doctrines very similar to basic Christian teaching when these are presented as modified concepts of old established religions or as novel ideas of the new religions.

The patent failure of organized Christianity but hidden success of Christian ideals and spirit, summed up in a reply often given in answer to questions on the state of Christianity in Japan, 'the numbers are small but the influence is great,' become intelligible through the life and writings of the Christian and patriot Uchimura. Uchimura's Christian life and the success of his writings are proof that Christianity could be and had been accepted by intelligent and sincere Japanese. At the same time Uchimura's writings give satisfying reasons for the stunted growth of Christian churches so evident in Japan. The Japanese, he showed, were perhaps willing to accept Christianity but they objected to the importation of the unadapted Christian institutions of the West.

1. Reischauer says: 'What ethics the Japanese have is a composite of what has survived piecemeal from the past and elements of the Christian based ethics of the Occident with the latter somewhat in the preponderance'. The United States and Japan, (1965), p.310.

The interaction of his two great loves and the part failure, part success of Christianity are both clearly portrayed in Uchimura's writings. Yet this conflict of loyalties and portrayal of the Japanese Christian scene by no means exhaust the significance of his works, which lies also in the insight they contain about the meeting of two civilizations, pagan-Eastern and Christian-Western. This study of Uchimura's writings, made to highlight one noteworthy facet of the political, cultural and religious complex present in the intermingling of East and West, throws light on the phenomenon of the coming together of two civilizations, of which Uchimura's loves were an individual reflection and the problem of Christianity in the East a product.

In the first chapter I have outlined how Uchimura became a Christian and remained faithful to his beliefs during fifty years of teaching, writing and lecturing. The next four chapters are an analysis of his Christianity and patriotism in which it is shown that in the years of strong and often confused thinking by contemporary intellectuals his Christianity did not destroy his patriotism nor did his love for his country go counter to his religious principles. The sixth chapter

discusses the conflict of loyalties resulting not from any inability to harmonize theoretically one with the other but from the inevitable clash of the psychological complexes and social media through which these loyalties were expressed. The last four chapters, including the conclusion, present a critical exposition of the four ideals expressed in Uchimura's epitaph, which, written by himself at the beginning of his Christian life, indicated the manner he wished to show his two-fold love, for Christ and for Japan.

In a changing modern world patriotism in its various forms has not lost its power to inspire nor has the missionary zeal of Christianity lost its keenness. It is difficult to find any modern writer who from his own deep personal experience can help towards a better understanding of the problem involved in the harmonizing of Christianity and patriotism than Uchimura Kanzō. And since this problem points to the wider one of harmonizing differing cultures and loyalties, for religion is love and patriotism, in a certain sense, can be a religion, the significance of Uchimura is by no means limited to the question of Christian missions and patriotic converts. It reaches out into the whole field of the exchange of those ideas that are capable of and meant to excite loyalties.

A certain development and variety, often consequent upon the men and works that influenced him, can be detected in the manner in which Uchimura applies his patriotic and Christian principles to differing circumstances. It is possible, nonetheless, to detect in this development and variety an unchanging image of a steadfast Christian and stubborn patriot. In this study attention has been paid to the variety in his thought but the final image that emerges may appear somewhat static.

This static nature of the outline represents the constancy with which he endeavoured to uphold in practice the ideals he accepted as a youth and to express in writing his loyalty to them. He decried any suggestion of development or change in Christianity or patriotism. Both were for him love, something above reason, and free from fickleness that comes from changing ideas. It is difficult to find great development, much less decline in the essentials of his Christianity and patriotism. To place undue importance on the variety of methods by which he gave expression to his Christianity and patriotism would be tantamount to denying the strength and clarity of his ideals, and the wholehearted unhesitating commitment he gave to them.

The sources for the study have been in the main Uchimura's own published writings especially those contained in the two latest collections of his works, Uchimura Kanzō Chosakushū, 21 volumes, and Uchimura Kanzō Shinkō Chosaku Zenshū, 24 volumes. The files of The Japan Weekly Mail, The Japan Chronicle and the Japan Times provided contemporary background material and fuller accounts of incidents or problems about which Uchimura wrote e.g. The Ashio Mine Disaster, The Text-book Scandal the Dōshisha University controversy. The archives of Mission Societies, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society, filled in the background picture from the foreign missionary's point of view.

I make no apology for frequent quotation of Uchimura's own words. During his life he was often misunderstood, by both fellow countrymen and foreigners. Now that later events allow perspective and less direct involvement permits emotional freedom, there seems no surer way to present Uchimura as he was, than by displaying a self portrait.

A certain amount of Uchimura's writings is in English (one and a half volumes of the 1933, 20 volume, edition of his works and half of one volume of the 1953, 21 volume edition). Wherever possible I have given

Uchimura's own words, especially when there is an English version or precis of what he has written in Japanese. When Uchimura's own English is quoted the footnote references give only the English title of the pertinent book or article, e.g. How I Became a Christian, p.60. All other quotations, except where expressly stated otherwise, are my translations and the footnote references give the titles in Japanese (Romanized), with the English title in brackets e.g. Kōsei e no Saidai Ibutsu (Greatest Legacy to Posterity), p.20.

The relevance of two quotations, one from an Eastern and the other from a Western source, which are given at the beginning of each of the ten chapters, having been selected from those made by Uchimura in his various works, if not self-evident will become clear when seen in the context in which he uses them. For example, when he recalls Bashō's haiku 'Ceaselessly crumbling cloud pinnacles, O Moon Mountain' (Chapter IX), he likens endless missionary efforts to crumbling insubstantial clouds ceaselessly rolling over the 'Moon Mountain' solidity of essential Christian faith.

I wish to thank Professors F.J. Daniels and W.G. Beasley of the School of Oriental and African Studies for encouragement and guidance they gave during the preparation of this study. I wish also to express my gratitude to friends in Japan, Australia and England, who over the years helped generously towards providing an understanding and interpretation of the problems involved.

ABBREVIATIONS

UC	Uchimura Kanzō Chosakushū
US	Uchimura Kanzō Shinkoshū
UZ	Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū
JWM	Japan Weekly Mail
JWC	Japan Weekly Chronicle

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Thirteen summers have passed. The dead
 have rippled away forever but Heaven and
 Earth are without beginning or end. Men
 are born and die. Why follow the ancients,
 when it's mine to create an enduring new?

Rai Sanyō (1780-1832), quoted in
 'Kōsei e no Saidai Ibutsu' (1898)
UC, XVI, 327.

Dust as we are the immortal spirit grows
 Like harmony in music; there is a dark
 Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
 Discordant elements, makes them cling
 together
 In one society. How strange that all
 The terrors, pains, and early miseries,
 Regrets, vexations, lassitudes interfused
 Within my mind, should e'er have borne
 a part,
 And that a needful part, in making up
 The calm existence that is mine when I
 Am worthy of myself.

Wordsworth
 'Setsuri no Koto' (1900),
US, XIV, 128.

CHAPTER IBIOGRAPHY

Uchimura Kanzō, born in Edo (Tokyo) on the 23rd March, 1861, was the eldest son of Uchimura Yoshiyuki, a retainer of Okochi, feudal lord of Takasaki. From his father, a warrior-scholar who could repeat from memory almost every passage in the Confucian classics, Kanzō first learnt the moral principles of loyalty and filial piety.¹ Instruction from his father combined with the example of his hard working mother and of his military minded grandfather made him an inheritor of feudal traditions that had already begun to fade before Uchimura was born.

His inclination to leave aside the books he used at the school for Chinese studies which he began to attend after the family moved to Takasaki in 1866, and wander off to spend the day absorbed in catching fish in mountain streams was perhaps not particularly unusual for a boy of eleven.² Chinese and Japanese boys of that age had probably experienced the same inclination during the thousands of years in which Chinese classics had formed

1. How I Became a Christian (1895), 5. (Herein after abbreviated to How)

2. 'Kako no Natsu' (Bygone Summers) (1899), US, II, 177.

the basis of education in the East. Giving way to that inclination, as Uchimura in reminiscences made twenty years later confesses he did to the grief of his teacher and father, was, however, symbolic of the intellectual ferment that was taking place in Japan in the sixties and seventies. Throughout the country ambitious youths were putting aside the books of tradition and going out intellectually and even physically into the wide world beyond Japan and her traditions to see and hear for themselves the new things of the West. He writes:

Ah happy days! My teacher and father chided me as lazy. Little did they realize the great wisdom I was then absorbing ... The admonition of the Chinese Emperor Chen Tsung who encouraged learning by saying "the affluence of a family comes not from the purchase of rich fields; a wealth of every grain is to be found in books," does not go beyond a repetition of Chinese thought and fails to recognize that much learning in the modern world is not in books! 1

English was the most important medium for opening to the Japanese the modern world of the West after the arrival of the Americans under Commodore Perry in 1853. Uchimura's study of English began at the Takasaki clan school, but this was a lifeless repetition of vocabulary and grammatical rules until, when the family moved back to Tokyo (the name Edo had been changed to Tokyo with the Restoration of power to the Emperor in 1868), he came under the guidance of an

1. Ibid., 180. Chen Tsung (Chao Heng), a Sung Emperor, A.D. 968-1022, promoted education and agriculture. See Giles, 153.

American, M.M. Scott, whom the Japanese Government had employed to teach in the School of Foreign Languages.¹ Scott encouraged him to read widely and write frequently and then to study the rules. Uchimura's thorough grounding in English was of immense importance in the formation and expression of his thought. 'I learnt all that was noble, useful and uplifting,' he wrote of his early years, 'through the vehicle of the English language.'² His use of English in reading and writing continued throughout his life. In 1899 he said: 'For every page I read in Japanese or Chinese I read fifty pages in English.'³ Two of his major works, How I Became a Christian and Representative Men of Japan, were written in English as was forty per cent (in bulk) of his one thousand four hundred extant letters, a number addressed to fellow Japanese. English to Uchimura was of special importance because it was the door through which he came to an understanding of what he regarded as the heart of Western learning, Christianity.⁴

The year his family came back to Tokyo, 1873, marked a turning point in the fortunes of Christianity in Japan.

1. 'Sukotto Mesoddo no Fukkatsu' (Revival of Scott's Method) (1927), US, XX, 78-83.

2. How, 91.

3. 'Yo no Kotoshi no Dokusho' (My Reading for This Year) (1899), UC, XVII, 52.

4. See Chapter III.

For fifteen years missionaries had been making attempts to propagate Christian doctrines, but as their movements were restricted and prohibition notices still posed throughout the land, their contacts were few and often ended disastrously for the Japanese convert. On the return of the Iwakura Mission in 1873, prohibition notices were taken down and missionaries gained tacit consent to 'itinerate'¹ in the interior. The members of the government mission to Europe and America had seen for themselves the prosperity of Christian countries. They were also under pressure from foreign governments aroused by the harsh treatment, even death, meted out to the Kyushu Christians. From being a teaching to be avoided at all costs Christianity came in fact to be tolerated, and even encouraged, as enthusiasm for westernization grew. Uchimura was to be only one of a number especially from the samurai class who, influenced by the conditions of psychological and economic displacement, became Christians when the atmosphere was politically and culturally favourable to the acceptance of the foreign faith.

1. See R. Maclay, 'Missionary Itinerating in Japan,' Proceedings of Osaka Conference 1883, p.143.

His first recorded contact with Christians took place in Tokyo when with a curious schoolboy friend he visited a church in the foreigners' quarter where he was amused to see a big man with a long beard 'howl and shout' in English and to hear pretty women sing.¹ An English lady befriended him, gave him a copy of an English New Testament and encouraged him to come to the church every Sunday. Although Uchimura in relating the story in his spiritual autobiography tends to dismiss his visits to the foreigners' church as 'sight-seeing' and 'excursions' for entertainment that was 'entirely free,' he probably, even as a young boy before he came into direct contact with Christians, had a serious interest in knowing more about Jeesasu Kuraisuto and was led to the church in the first place partly to seek this knowledge. In 1908 he wrote:

Finally I became a captive of Christ. From early childhood I was devout and so already wanted to worship Jeesasu Kuraisuto (at that time I did not know the Japanese pronunciation of the Lord's name) when an English lady teacher (she was not a missionary) first gave me a New Testament story book at Aoyama in Tokyo. With present day propagation of Christianity there is no doubt that at some time I would have come to believe in Christ.²

1. How, 10.

2. 'Kaiko to Zenshin' (Retrospect and Progress) (1908), UC, I, 371.

In 1874 his father sent him to the Tokyo Foreign Language School (afterwards renamed the Tokyo Eigo Gakko and Tokyo Daigaku Yobimon) where some of his fellow pupils with whom he was associated in later life were Tokutomi Sōhō, future editor of the influential paper Kokumin no Tomo, Nitobe Inazō, author of Bushidō and in 1930 Japanese delegate at the League of Nations, and Miyabe Kingo, eminent scientist and professor at Sapporo University. Kanzō's father hoped to make his son into a politician or government official.¹ However in 1877 when a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce visited the school to invite students to enroll at an Agricultural College recently established in Sapporo for the express purpose of training men for the development of Hokkaido, Uchimura accepted and left Tokyo in September. In that same month, Saigo Takamori, whom Uchimura later chose as one of the Representative Men of Japan, committed suicide in Kagoshima as government troops finally suppressed his rebellion and 'so passed away the greatest, and we are afraid,' Uchimura wrote, 'the last of the samurai.'²

1. Yo no Jūji shitsutsu Aru Shakai Kairyōjigyō (My efforts to reform Society) (1901), UC, I, 358.

2. Representative Men of Japan (1908), 32.

His decision to go to the Agricultural College was probably influenced more by a patriotic desire to safeguard and enrich his country by developing the large northern island - this was the theme of the representative's address to the students - and by his love for the outdoor life (especially fishing) which he first experienced in Takasaki, than by any strong revulsion against the kind of life his father planned for him. Probably his later disgust with politicians such as Okuma and Ito made him rationalize this decision as a conscious rejection of politics.¹

The first President of the Sapporo Agricultural College was an American, ex-soldier, science graduate and zealous Puritan, William S. Clark. Clark undertook his appointment determined to do what he could to spread Christianity. Before going to Hokkaido he bought fifty copies of an English Bible in Tokyo. Then on the ship when asked by K. Kuroda a government official to teach the students of the College ethics but not the Bible, Clark, as the story is told by Uchimura, replied:

1. 'Yo no ... Kairyō Jigyō' (1901) UC, I 359.

If you tell me not to teach Christianity then tell me not to teach ethics because for me there is no other basis for morality other than the teachings of Christianity. 1

Uchimura and his companions soon became aware of the Christian influence which Clark had exerted upon the College. The very night of their arrival they heard coming from a secluded room the hymns and prayers of the senior class all of whom had been converted to Christianity and on the previous evening had received baptism.² Within two months under the rather forceful persuasions of the seniors Uchimura and half of his class added their names

1. 'W.S. Kuraku' (W.S. Clark), (1926) UC, XVII, 120-126. See also article on Count K. Kuroda (1900) UC, XVII, 121. Walter Dening, a missionary stationed in Hakodate who visited the College after Clark left, gives a contemporary English version of this conversation in unpublished letter to CMS October 1877. (CMS archives, Letters from Japan 1870-1880).

2. Clark did not administer baptism. He asked the students to choose their own time to go to a church to receive it. In fact he had left the College in July two months earlier. In an obituary notice Uchimura wrote of Clark: 'Though he was invited as a college president by the Japanese Government and religion was no business of his, he was too much a man of conviction to conceal his faith within himself, when he was confident that the heart of Western civilization was not in science and industry, but in the life and teachings of the Man of Nazareth'. (1912) UC, XIX, 338. Despite his esteem, in his last years Uchimura refused to go to the unveiling of a bust of Clark because he thought that more honour should be shown to the gospel than to the man who preached it. See T. Yanaibara, Uchimura Kanzō to tomo ni (Together with Uchimura Kanzō) 1964, p.245.

to the Covenant of Believers in Jesus¹ which Clark had composed. Although Uchimura had some knowledge of and interest in Christianity he was not yet ready to accept it willingly from complete internal conviction and so described his signing of the Covenant as similar to an incorrigible drunkard being compelled by zealots to sign a temperance pledge.² 'My first step towards Christianity,' he wrote, 'was a forced one, against my will, and, I must confess, somewhat against my conscience too.'³

'Boys, be ambitious,' Clark's farewell admonition to his students, often repeated at the College, was a source of lasting inspiration for Uchimura.⁴ In 1928 in an address to two thousand students of Sapporo University (formerly his alma mater, the Agricultural College) he spoke on this admonition of the first President and, quoting Emerson's words 'Hitch your wagon to a star,' told the boys that the two stars to which he had hitched his wagon were, ichthyology and the ambition 'to make Christianity truly Japanese, to save Japan and

1. How, 10. The Covenant begins: 'The undersigned members of S.A. College, desiring to confess Christ and to perform with true fidelity every Christian duty in order to show our love and gratitude to that blessed Saviour do solemnly covenant with God and with each other from this time forth to be his faithful disciples ...'

2. How, 11.

3. Ibid.

4. 'Boisu Bi Anbishiyasu' (Boys Be Ambitious) (1928) US xx, 132-138 (From notes taken by H. Umeki).

through Christianity to enable her to fulfil her mission in the world.'¹

After signing the Covenant Christianity became the absorbing interest in his life. The seven Christian 'brothers' of his class met regularly for prayer, preaching and practice debates in which they trained themselves to answer objections against Christianity. They read widely in the Christian literature they had sent to them by missionary bodies, and occasionally clergymen living in Hakodate helped them in their discussion on various doctrinal problems.² Uchimura was never able to experience in the real churches he visited in the world the atmosphere of friendship and sincerity that, as a young student, he enjoyed in the college 'church' with its flour barrel pulpit, red blankets and miscellany of theology and devotional works which had opened new worlds to his enquiring mind, and this partly explains the disillusionment that resulted in his no-church doctrine.³ While still at College he was influential in establishing the

1. Ibid., 134. Emerson's words are given in the text, as 'Hitch your wheels to the star.'

2. Walter Denning was one of those who visited the college. In his Journal (unpublished) for 1880 he tells of talks he gave and of the students' interest in the relation of Science to Religion. CMS archives, Letters from Japan 1870-1880.

3. This is treated more fully in Chapter IX.

Sapporo Independent church to solve the problem of 'brothers' belonging to the different denominations in which they had received baptism. He also succeeded in converting his father by persuading him to read a commentary on St. Mark's Gospel written in difficult Chinese.¹

His intense interest in Christianity in no way impeded him, while at College, from working to achieve his other ambition to become a great scientist of Japan.² In 1881 he graduated at the top of his class. He noted with satisfaction that the seven Christians who, to observe the day of rest had always refrained from studying on Sunday, the day before Monday exams, took the seven highest places at graduation. This was 'a proof' he said 'of the "practical advantage" of Sabbath keeping,' to say nothing of its 'intrinsic worth as part of God's eternal laws.'³ After graduation he worked with the Hokkaido Development Commission as a fishery expert and later moved to Tokyo. He produced a pioneer work on abalone (awabi) and helped compile a catalogue of fish in Japanese waters. He had little liking for fellow employees of the Government who, he said, spent the day dozing and the evenings drinking.⁴ As for himself, every spare moment he used for reading.

1. How, 57. At this time there were few good Christian books in Japanese. The educated could read Chinese.

2. 'Yo no ... Shakai Kairyō Jigyō'. (My efforts for Society) 1901, UC, I, 360.

3. How, 54.

4. 'Yo no ... Shakai Kairyō Jigyō' 1901, UC, I, 360.

While working for the Hokkaido Commission he lived at the Independent Church he had helped to establish, worked to spread Christian ideas amongst the fishermen he visited in the course of his work, helped to sell Bibles and religious publications and represented the Sapporo Christians at the Tokyo meeting of 1882. He told Bell, his American friend, that he could have become the first ichthyologist of the Japan Sea if 'the fishing of men for Christ' had not occupied so much of his attention.¹

Opinions about problems facing Christians which, judging from his writings of 1894, he presumably held at this time show that confident grasp of essentials which he displays in his later writings. A corpse could not be buried without the signature of a Buddhist priest and it was often necessary for Christians to bribe presiding priests to get the necessary permission. 'I for one' said Uchimura of the 1883 meeting, 'maintained that the dead could be buried by the dead without detriment to the soul that once dwelt in it ...'² When in Tokyo, he made a point of visiting ^{to} Churches, hearing sermons and meeting the brethren, to compare notes. 'On some points,' he wrote about these visits, 'we thought we had a profounder

1. Letter, (1888) UZ, XX, 197.

2. How, 79.

and healthier view than our friends, who were nurtured under the care of professional theologians!¹ His ironic description of the hot-house atmosphere enjoyed by Christians of the metropolis, who were so dependent on foreign missionaries, reveals his samurai desire to be independent of the enervating help of foreign support, and his regard for Japanese traditions. The Christians, he thought, were beginning to think more about tea-parties than of the grave responsibilities of conquering the domain of darkness. They were lulled by hymns sung by maidens, and sermons that offended nobody. Missionaries took care of arrears of church expenses and the Kingdom of God was looked upon as one of perfect repose and content where love-making could be indulged in with the sanction of religion.²

Against the wishes of his mother, who thought the girl too learned, Uchimura courted Asano Take, a country girl from Annaka, who had been educated at the Doshisha Jogakkō, and married her in 1884.³ Nitobe, at Uchimura's

1. How, 57.

2. Ibid., 82.

3. See T. Yamamoto, Uchimura Kanzō, Beru ni okutta Jijoden teki Shokan, Tokyo, 1960, 23. His mother finally consented to the marriage. Kanzō's bitter experience of a 'love marriage' no doubt prompted his ironical remarks on Christians treating traditional reserve lightly because of exaggerated ideas of Christian fellowship.

request, helped instruct her in Christianity.¹ Within seven months however the marriage broke up because of her alleged unfaithfulness. Despite the condemnation of Uchimura's harshness by the Christian community and Take's own desire for reconciliation, Uchimura refused to live with her again.⁴ To forget his disappointment in marriage and also to realize his desire to see a Christian country, Uchimura left for America in November of the same year, where he was welcomed by M.C. Harris, a Methodist missionary from whom he had received baptism.²

It was not surprising, especially in view of his deep personal sorrow, that he should have entered the United States filled with the highest hopes of finding there a spiritual paradise. He was so filled with emotion when the ship drew near to port that he went below to pray and prepare his soul for entering upon a place of pilgrimage, 'a Holy Land.'³

1. Nikki (1884) UC, XVIII, 100. Uchimura thought divorce best 'according to his conscience and the Bible.' Ibid. 104.

2. He retained a great affection for Harris 'our beloved Missionary.' 'We joined his church' he said, 'without scrutinizing pro and con of his or any other denomination. We only knew he was a good man, and thought that his church must be good too.' (How, 28). In 1928 Uchimura, although he no longer believed in the necessity for baptism, gathered at Harris' grave in Aoyama together with Nitobe, Hiroi, Ito and Oshima to commemorate the baptism they had all received 50 years earlier. See Nikki, UC, XXI, 373.

3. How, 91.

Although he had heard 'upon good testim^on^y' that in America 'yellow skin and almond-shaped eyes pass for objects of derision and dogbarking'¹ and that money was worshipped as 'the Almighty Dollar,' he looked upon the United States as the land of Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, Dorothea Dix², Stephen Girard³, and hoped to find there a realization of the Christian ideals about which he had studied so much in the previous seven years.⁴ The reality - he was despised as a Chinese, he was cheated, he was robbed, homesick and short of money he found the majority of Americans were far from the perfect Christians he had envisaged - was all the more disappointing because of his high expectations.

For the first six months of 1885 he worked under Dr. I.N. Kerlin, to whom he was introduced by C.M. Harris, in a State home for mentally handicapped children at Elwyn, Pennsylvania. His motives for undertaking this corporal work of mercy were a mixture of Puritan asceticism, samurai discipline and John Howard-inspired Christian humanitarianism.⁵

1. Ibid.

2. Dorothea Dix (1802-1887), American, writer of devotional books, philanthropist and responsible for the erection of two asylums for the insane in Japan.

3. Stephen Girard (1750-1831) American philanthropist, Uchimura gave a lecture about him in 1910 - 'the first American millionaire, called an atheist, but friend of orphans, patriot, man of high virtue ...' 'Stephen Girard' (1910) US, XXIII, 103-116.

4. Ruzanroku (Exile's Record) (1904), US, II, 193.

5. John Howard (1726-1790) English prison reformer, Uchimura was deeply impressed by his life story which he read just before leaving for America. How, 83.

To Nitobe, who apparently reproved Uchimura, an official of the Imperial Government, for undertaking such work out of pride, Uchimura replied that he was to be found daily with a slop rag in his hands cleaning up the stools of the imbecile children, but his reason for doing such work was not to obey Doctor Kerlin, much less boast of it later, but because he regarded the humiliating tasks as good for his moral discipline.¹

During the months he spent at the home, Uchimura's faith was deepened by reading the Old Testament prophets and made more realistic by his free association with those who were born to the Christian religion. He was given an example of evangelical charity in the devotedness shown to the imbecile children by Dr. Kerlin and his Unitarian wife. Of Kerlin he said, 'Indeed it was he who humanized me. My Christianity would have been a cold and rigid and unpractical thing had I only books and colleges and seminaries to teach me in it.' His experience of men and the world was widened, enabling him to write shrewd and amusing observations.² From this period however Uchimura decided that works of corporal mercy were not to be his vocation.

1. Nikki (1884) UC, XVIII, 146.

2. Uchimura enjoyed the reply that an Irish co-worker made to his praise of Queen Victoria, 'I would rather be ruled by the king of Abyssinia than be a subject of that d-able woman.' His hospital experiences are told in Ruzanroku US, II, 193-210.

Teaching Christianity, a work of spiritual mercy, he considered to be of a higher order and of greater value to Japan and the world.¹

Kerlin introduced Uchimura to D.C. Bell, a Washington banker and devout Christian, on a short visit to the capital in 1885. This first and only meeting of about fifteen minutes in the lobby of the Willard Hotel was the beginning of a lifelong friendship between Bell and Uchimura.²

Uchimura reveals his true self in his hundred and fifty letters to Bell written during forty years, more than in all his other publications.³ The letters give an insight into an extraordinary friendship between two men living, as Uchimura used to say, on opposite banks of the Pacific river.⁴ Of Bell's influence Uchimura said:

1. This question is treated more at length in Chapter VII, 'I for Japan'.

2. Letter, (1883), UZ, XX (25th November).

3. Of the letters Uchimura said: 'They are now valuable documents which the future historians of Christianity in Japan will use to great advantage. Written without any intention of being made public they are true witnesses to what really happened.' UZ, XX, 1224. They have been published in Vol. XX of Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū. Japanese translations are interspersed in the 'Nikki' in vols. XVIII - XXI of Uchimura Kanzō Chosaku Shū. T. Yamamoto published a translation of them in a separate volume, Beru ni Okutta Jijodenteki Shokan in 1950.

4. Letter UZ, XX, 760.

Bell to Uchimura imparteth faith. It was not once or twice but several times during about 30 years of our friendly communications, that you called me back to the old primitive faith. ¹

Uchimura felt that Bell's friendship was a 'necessary part' of their existence. Bell exercised a restraining influence upon Uchimura's theology. But for that influence, as Uchimura himself admits, he would probably have become a Unitarian or rationalist. When Japanese anti-American feelings ran high, Bell was 'the one Christian friend' that bound Uchimura to what was once a nation of friends. In writing his English articles Uchimura often had Bell in mind. 'The first short article in English in my monthly magazine,' he wrote to Bell, 'is intended to be a kind of note to my friends who do not read Japanese; and I often have you in mind when I write down these few lines.'²

In 1885 Niijima, the founder of Dōshisha, the first Japanese Christian university, persuaded Uchimura to study at Amherst College. Four years later Niijima wanted him to teach at his University, but he refused.³ Niijima's appraisal of Uchimura, who was subject to alternating periods of intense religious fervour, gloom and exultation,

1. Letter UZ, XX, 818.

2. Ibid. 734

3. About Niijima Uchimura said: '... one can say that he was a practical man and a patriot but not that he was a man of religion. He did not have the character of a Nichiren or Shinran.' 'Niijima Sensei, no seikaku' (1907) US, XXIII, 3.

is one of the best descriptions of the steadfast character and faith that Uchimura displayed throughout his life.

They might waver with shock or doubt, but always returned to their true position, Niijima wrote: 'He is very bright but needs someone's guidance ... He has ... been shifting like the declination of the magnetic needle, but in all these attempts ... he has been aiming at the true north, or he is constantly drawn towards [God].'¹

At Amherst, where he completed a normal science course, (1885-1887), Uchimura came under the influence of Dr. J.H. Seelye, the saintly President to whom he attributed his deep understanding of Christianity.²

Uchimura had already read some of Seelye's writings when he was still in Japan.³ His anxiety about meeting the great man was immediately dispelled by the warm welcome Seelye gave to the timid foreigner dressed in a 'nasty old suit' with 'five volumes of Gibbons Rome' in his valise.⁴ Under the pietist Seelye, the inner

1. Letter to Seelye (1885) published in D. Cary, 'Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst - Recently Discovered Correspondence,' Japan Quarterly, (1956), p.455.

2. 'Kaiko to Zenshin' (Retrospect and Progress) (1908), UC, I, 373.

3. J.H. Seelye wrote an enlightened work on Christian Missions (1875). Other books he published were Miracles (1870), Lectures to Educated Hindus (1873), Duty (1891). Uchimura wrote: 'For forty years ... I preached the faith taught me by that venerable teacher (Seelye)'

UC, VII, 334.

4. How, 134.

conversion begun when the devout and curious schoolboy heard English sermons in a Tokyo church, was perfected.¹

Seelye took him to one of the great missionary meetings held to arouse interest amongst the general public in the conversion of pagans to Christianity. He was impressed by the sincerity and generosity of many who appeared at these meetings.² He was, however, disgusted with convert pagans who allowed themselves to be made into a spectacle at the meetings and with the organizers who imagined that the cause of the Mission could be upheld only by 'picturing the darkness of heathens in contrast with the light of Christians.' In commenting on the event he castigates the converts from paganism who allow themselves to be used like 'rhinoceros'^(sic) by circus mission men merely so that they can get good things for their rhinoceros-flesh. This was a common jibe of those who despised Christians as greedy dupes of foreigners. Uchimura's repetition of such criticisms, despite the fact that he sometimes appeared at such shows and received money for it, is evidence of his somewhat unrealistic puritanism.

A similar attitude is discernible in his censures of

1. Uchimura likens Seelye's faith to the pietism of Count von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) founder of the Moravian Brethren, Pietism is perhaps a good general term to describe Uchimura's own Christian principles. See 'Kaiko to Zenshin', UC, I, 376.

2. How, 137.

priests and theological students. This attitude is due partly to his failure to regard religion as the divine realized in fickle and feeble men and partly to his inability to face up to the unfavourable opinion of the world.

After he left Amherst, in the autumn of 1887, he entered the theological seminary in Hartford. He was somewhat reluctant to become a Christian minister because of the low standing of priests in Japan and also because of the dependence, often financial, of Japanese Christian ministers on foreigners. He thought it undignified for a member of a soldier's family to become a priest whom the world regarded as the most impractical of men, a dispenser of pedantries and sentimentalities.¹ To become a Christian priest would be, he thought, the 'end of his doom,' because Christian ministers, he believed, were supported either directly or indirectly by foreigners and had to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of foreign bishops. He resolved, nevertheless, 'to become a good pastor' and wholeheartedly undertook the study of Greek and Hebrew.² During his term at the American seminary he was shocked 'to see students laughing and jesting while discussing serious subjects'³ and when he heard future ministers

1. Ibid. 157

2. Nikki, UC, XVIII, 204. (1888)

3. Ibid.

discussing such things as 'a twenty dollar sermon on Chicago anarchy'¹ he was disgusted and thought that in Japan religion could never be treated in so mercenary a manner.

He had a nervous breakdown after two months at the Seminary and left for home via New York, Panama, Alcapulco and Vancouver in April, 1888. Pre-Lenten revelries of the Christian Mexicans at Alcapulco were his last disillusioning sight of the Christendom he had come to see, filled with high hopes of beholding a 'holy land.'² 'My four years stay in America,' he wrote in 1919, 'left upon me the memory of struggles which shall never be erased from my mind.'³

Uchimura taught at five different schools after returning to Japan but his independent spirit made it difficult for him to continue for long at any one of them. 'Missionaries nicknamed me a 'school-breaker ...' he wrote of himself, and 'my fortunes in Government schools were worse.'⁴

He first taught at Niigata in the Hokuetsu Gakkan, a Christian school organized by lay Japanese when national enthusiasm for westernization was strong. American missionaries taught in the school without receiving a stipend and in return were permitted to teach Christianity. Uchimura

1. Ibid.

2. Nikki (1888), UC, XVIII, 217.

3. Letter, (1919), UZ, XX, 921.

4. 'Who and What we Are' (1926), UC, VII, 334.

was asked to become head of the school following a recommendation of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which in its report for 1888 spoke of Uchimura as 'one of the ablest and most devoted Japanese that has ever graduated from an American College.'¹ Uchimura undertook his new task as president of the school ready 'to concentrate all he had learnt at Elwyn, Amherst and Hartford.'² In lectures (he did not want to call them sermons) which he gave to the two hundred boys five times a week, he explained the book of Jeremiah. 'They hear with wrapt attention,' he wrote, 'finding in the Weeping Prophet a most exalted type of patriot of whom our own country is not lacking.'³ By his indirect method and by avoiding obvious propaganda Uchimura felt that he was 'catching those fish which escape from the nets of common Mission schools.'⁴ He failed however to reach any agreement with the American Missionaries connected with the Hokuetsu school. He objected to their too obvious insistence on Bible instruction, their inability to understand the Japanese mentality and the arrangement they had made to teach English free in exchange for the opportunity to preach Christianity. Within four months Uchimura had to leave the school and was branded by the

1. American Board's Japan Report, April 1888, quoted by R.P. Jennings in Jesus, Japan and Uchimura Kanzō, p.31.

2. Letter (1889), UZ, XX, 194.

3. Ibid. See Missionary methods described by T.S. Tyng in Proceedings of Osaka Conference 1883, p.179.

missionaries as a pagan or Unitarian. The trials of Niigata embittered him against foreign missionaries. 'One good effect of my Niigata experience,' he wrote to an American friend, 'was that it made me anti-missionary.'¹

He next taught in the important First Tokyo Higher Middle School where he endeavoured by his example to exercise a quietly Christian influence upon his students, especially the six hundred dormitory boys of whom he was mentor, for he was convinced 'that if Christ shines through me they may see Him in me.'² His stay at the school, however, was unexpectedly short because within three months the uproar caused by his refusal to bow to the Imperial Signature in January 1891 forced him to resign.³ He became seriously ill with pneumonia and had hardly recovered when his second wife,⁴ who had devotedly nursed him through his illness, died.

Poverty, consequent upon his failure to retain a steady teaching position, added to his physical and spiritual trials to bedevil his life during the next several years when his income depended on his writings. They were, however, years during which he produced his most significant

1. Letter (1899), UC, XVIII, 247.

2. Letter (1890), UZ, XX, 190.

3. This incident (Fukeijiken) is treated more fully in fully in Chapter VI.

4. Yokohama Kasuko, a Takasaki girl, whom he married in Spetmber, 1889.

works, articles and books on social, political, literary and religious subjects, much of the matter being first given in the form of lectures. Suffering intensified his belief in the sinfulness of man who, he thought, could be redeemed only through Christ's cross, and strengthened his desire to spread Christian teaching amongst his countrymen.¹ He was distressed that at times the need to make a livelihood should distract him from this chosen task.² Some of the books he wrote during these years were: Kiristo Shinto no Nagusame (Consolation of Christians), 133 pp; Koromubusu no Kōseki (Achievement of Columbus), 113 pp; How I Became a Christian, 199 pp. This last is Uchimura's spiritual autobiography up till his return from America and is his most important work because it outlines his formation as a Christian and indicates the ideals he later strove to follow. It was published in English and translated into several European languages.³ Another important work of these years was Representative Men of Japan, 233 pp. The representative men Uchimura chose were: Saigō Takamori - A founder of new Japan; Uesugi Yōzan - A feudal Lord; Ninomiya Sontoku - A Peasant Saint; Nakae Tōju - A Village

1. Letter, UZ, XX, 2. See article 'Shūkyō to Bungaku' (Religion and Literature) (1899), US, V, 25-68.

2. Ibid.

3. The only copy of How I Became a Christian available in England is in the library of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster. A reprint is being planned.

Teacher; Saint Nichiren - A Buddhist Priest. In his choice and treatment of these men Uchimura reveals his own ideals of patriotic duty.¹ Other works were: Dendō no Seishin (Spirit of Evangelism), 122 pp; Chiri Gaku-Ko (Thoughts on Geography) 229 pp; Shūkyō Zadan (Discussions on Religion) 184 pp; Kōkoku Shidan (Rise of Nations) 237 pp; Aigin (Favourite Poems). Aigin consisted of translations into simple Japanese of the foreign poems Uchimura loved best. Uchimura contributed greatly to the introduction of Western poetry to Japanese and this work together with his later study on W. Whitman was part of that contribution.²

His articles were published in Rikugō Zasshi, Fukuin Shimpō, and Kokumin no Tomo. In 1897 he became English editor of the important daily Yorozu Chōhō and in the following year he began his own paper, Tokyo Dokuritsu Shimbun, which, Uchimura thought, was honoured by being

1. Ienaga, somewhat unfairly, says the choice reveals Uchimura's narrowness. S. Ienaga, Kindai no Seishin to Sono Genkai (The Modern Spirit and Its Limitations), p.167. Uchimura selected his 'representative men' to show the stock onto which he, a Christian, had developed. See Preface to German edition of Daikyōteki Nihonjin, (1907), UC, XVI, 3. His selection was therefore deliberately limited to those men whose lives would appeal to Christians.

2. K. Kimura writes: 'The man who passed on the true spirit of Whitman was Uchimura Kanzō. Not only did he create lovers and enthusiasts for Whitman among intellectual circles, among literary men and men in the field of thought and religion, but also among general readers as well ... when the present author was a student, he and his fellow classmates who were not particularly moved when reading Arishima Takeo and Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928) were influenced by Uchimura.' K. Kimura, Customs and Manners in Meiji Japan (trs. by P. Yampolsky) 109.

read mainly by the lower classes.¹ His most controversial article and one that reveals clearly his criticisms of and hopes for Japan was published as a special addition to the Kokumin no Tomo in August 1896, entitled 'Jisei no Kansatsu' (Observations upon the Times) and caused such a sensation that fifteen thousand copies were sold on the first day and soon after three times the regular price was being paid for a copy.² Inspiration for the article came from Carlyle whom he was reading at the time and it was chiefly because of this article that Uchimura came to be called the 'Japanese Carlyle.'³ An Englishman, who had long conversations with him some years later, wrote that 'Friends called him the Japanese Carlyle and regarded him as "impractical, outspoken to rashness, but thoroughly sincere and experienced".'⁴

The forty years that followed his dramatic stand for Christ before the Emperor's Signature in 1891 until his

1. 'Dokurikū Zasshi to Joryu shakai' (The Independent Magazine and High Society), (1899), US, XX, 185.
2. 'Jisei no Kansatsu' (1896), US, XXIV, 60-89. Eight headings of the article are 1. Kotoku to Shitoku no Bunri (The separation of Public and Private Morality); 2. A Utilitarian people; 3. A self approving People; 4. The ugliness of people and their buildings; 5. Reason for uncertain Policy; 6. The immature nation of the East; 7. Worldly officials; 8. Tiny Japan. For success of article see Letter (1896), UZ, XX, 332. (Nikki, US, XVIII, 382).
3. Letter, (1896), UZ, 315.
4. R.W. Robertson Scott, The Foundations of Japan, (1922), London, 97.

death in 1930 saw many momentous events in Japan and the world - Japan's attempt to establish parliamentary government, her war with China, the rise of capitalists and the rise of socialism, the English war in South Africa and the American war with Spain, Japan's victory over Russia, Kōtoku's execution, the slaughter of millions as Christians waged World War, America's laws offending Japan, and the last flickering hopes for representative government dying in Japan - all these problems and events are there, reflected in Uchimura's writings but with that peculiar shape and proportion that all things take when seen sub specie aeternitatis. After his return from America in 1888 Uchimura was primarily concerned with the spiritual, and any apparent direct involvement in political and social questions was merely incidental, entered into reluctantly merely to obtain money necessary for his livelihood,¹ until he was able to live from Gospel preaching.

The 'withdrawal' he speaks about in the dedication of a collection of articles first published in Yorozu Chōhō which he addressed to the chief editor, Kuroiwa Ruiko, with whom he had disagreed over the question of war with Russia was a reaffirmation of his primary concern for the spiritual.

1. Nikki, (1896), UC, XXVIII, 389.

Our basic difference is not in the matter of unimportant national problems. It is in our callings which were decided from the beginning of the world. Heaven made you a newspaper man while it made me a priest.¹ Following the injunction that priests should not meddle in public affairs I must end my professional connection with you as I withdraw from the literary world ... I want to bid farewell to current affairs. Henceforth my pen must write of the future world. I must speak of heaven not of Japan.

The 'withdrawal' was not a shift in Uchimura's ideals or policy, but a re-statement of the resolution he had taken in America nearly twenty years earlier, to eschew politics in order that he might devote himself entirely to the spread of Christianity. That the 'withdrawal' he spoke about was not a change is borne out by the fact that three years earlier he began a purely Christian work that had been the dream of his youth and which in fact proved to be his greatest work. This was the publication of his Bible studies (Seisho no Kenkyū) which he produced during the next thirty years, almost single handed. In the first edition of Seisho no Kenkyū Uchimura wrote:

1. The word he uses is bozu, often used in a derogatory manner of Buddhist priests. On a number of occasions Uchimura applies this name to himself.

2. 'Ruikokei ni okurishi Oboegaki' (Note sent to Ruiko), (1904), US, XXI, 44-5. This note is quoted by two writers on Uchimura to indicate what they regard as a change or development in his thought. See R. Jennings op.cit. p.35 where he makes a citation from Howes' Thesis p.75, and also a similar passage is quoted by T. Arima in 'Uchimura Kanzō - A study of post Meiji Intelligensia,' Harvard Papers 1961, p.135.

Seisho no Kenkyū is successor to Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi. The earlier paper was to kill. The latter is to give life. The former wielded the sword to wound, this gives medicine to heal. Scolding was the main task of the earlier, consoling is the mission of the later. Justice kills. Love gives life. 1

For the next thirty years (1900-1930) he produced Bible Studies for a small circle of 4,000 to 5,000 contributors, (400 copies went to America where there were several Uchimura Kanzo Societies), published several more books and lectured throughout Japan. Writing to Bell in 1914 he said: 'I thank God that I am ending another year of uninterrupted joyful service. This is the 20th year of my journalistic life, 15 years of which I have been permitted to devote wholly to evangelical journalism.'² He told Bell that he wanted to carry on 'the happy work' till he breathed his last and used to say to friends that if he had a hundred lives he would spend them all in the same work.³

A quarter of his working hours was devoted to letter writing, yet the volume of his publications grew steadily over the years and made him one of the most prolific of Japanese writers.⁴ Once he wrote to Bell: 'How horrible is writing. After writing more than 3-feet thickness, I

1. 'Sengen' (Proclamation of spirit behind founding of Seisho no Kenkyū) (1900), US, XX, 192.

2. Letter, (1914), UZ, XX, 748.

3. Ibid.

4. Letter, (1913), UZ, XX, (15th November)

loathe writing more than anything else. Yet I must write. Without writing and the universal post-system, I would have been a totally useless man in this world.'¹ The first 'complete' edition of Uchimura's works (25 volumes with about 300 pages in each volume) was printed in 1919.

Characteristics of his writing become evident to one carefully reading his voluminous works. Generally his Japanese is simple, the expression of his thought is clear. His treatment of various topics however is fragmentary. He rarely made a systematic treatment of any subject. This is due in part to his unphilosophic bent of mind, a characteristic he recognized himself when he said: 'My deductive oriental mind was wholly incompatible with rigorous inductive processes of perception ...'² He thought that intellectually-trained missionaries made a great mistake in thinking that Orientals are intellectual people and hence needed to be intellectually converted to Christianity. 'We are poets and not scientists,' he said, 'and the labyrinth of syllogism is not the path by which we arrive at the truth.'³ He thought Asiatics came to the knowledge of the true God by a 'succession of revelations.'⁴

1. Letter, (1919) UZ, XX, 600, 789 and 913.

2. How, 133. See Nikki 28th October (1929) where Uchimura writes that the Japanese are a people of sentiment [jō no tami] lacking in reason. UC, XXI, 534.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Perhaps 'a succession of revelations' is an apt description of Uchimura's own writings. They are patchy and often inconclusive, yet they catch something of the fire burning in the great books that inspired him.

Much of his writings consists of adaptations of foreign works. On a number of occasions he makes acknowledgments such as: 'The substance of my summer lectures, which I delivered to my young men, was derived from that book' (Gordon's Ecce Venit).¹ He himself mentions criticism made by contemporaries who dismissed his writings as mere translations of foreign works.² At times the criticism was no doubt justified. For more than thirty years Uchimura was a hard working newspaperman who had to meet monthly and at times daily deadlines.³ When he had nothing in himself to 'squeeze upon paper,' as he said to Bell, he perhaps resorted to the 'scissors and paste' technique for which he criticized M. Niwa, author of a Christian periodical.⁴ Uchimura admits his dependence on foreign works. He noted however that even Christ used material that was already in

1. Letter (1919), UZ, XX, 913.

2. 'Dokusho to Kūtsū' (Reading and Suffering), (1909) UC, V, 283.

3. For interesting account of tension in the Uchimura household as the manuscript deadlines approached see Howes, op.cit. p.107.

4. Kōsei e no Saidai Ibutsu (Our Greatest Gift to Posterity) UC, XVI, 356. See also Letter (1913), UZ, 456.

existence and to do so was not proof of lack of originality. At a time when almost all Christian literature in Japan consisted of translation Uchimura claimed to have been the first to produce genuine Japanese Christian literature.¹

Even when he does adapt foreign works, the width of Uchimura's reading, combined with his own spiritual experience, allowed for originality in the choice of material he published.²

His achievement lies not merely in the vast number of pages he published but in the alchemy of his own 'dashing thoughts'³ with which he succeeded in transforming some of the wealth of Christian teaching into terms acceptable to the Japanese.⁴

Although he frequently condemned the 'heresy of numbers,' a belief that the success of the church depended on numbers and that emphasis should be placed on enrolling

1. Kirisuto Shinto no Nagusame (Consolations of a Christian), (1893), Iwanami, p.7.

2. Uchimura believed that 'experience' in the world of nature as in the world of the spirit gave true knowledge. See Nikki, UC, XVII, 5. Frequent Diary references to works he appreciated show the extensiveness of Uchimura's reading, e.g. UC, XVIII, 224. He was fond of biographies and always first read how the person died. US, XXIII, 296. See also UC, XVIII, 124.

3. How, 69.

4. Of his style Uchimura wrote, 'I like to write for the commonalty, the commonalty of Japan; so I must use their illustrations and the style and the spirit and the language that can be understood by them' in Letter (1893), UZ, XX, 255.

as many believers as possible,¹ he himself, on numerous occasions, especially in his letters to Bell, speaks almost boastfully of the size and quality of his audiences.² They were indeed impressive because when the average attendance at the hundred or so churches in Tokyo reached no more than twenty he was able to count on a regular congregation of six hundred or more, even though often he charged his listeners for the privilege of hearing his sermons.

Physically Uchimura was an imposing figure, tall, with heavy drooping eyebrows and a booming voice.³ He lived simply and marvelled at people who were over anxious about such unimportant things as the quality of food. His untiring energy, no doubt inherited from his mother who he says had a 'mania for work,' made him put off any return to the States even though often invited and satisfy his need for a holiday with 'a change of work.'⁴

The secret of the appeal exercised by this lone Christian evangelist who had been shunned by fellow countrymen as a national traitor and by missionaries as an extreme nationalist, lay in the sincerity and strength of his convictions. 'Books to interest me,' he once said, 'must be deep in experience and wide in knowledge. I

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1. 'Quantitative Christianity,' (1916), UC, VIII, 26.
 2. Letter, UZ, XX.
 3. T. Yamamoto, 'Kaisetsu', US, XXIV, 361.
 4. Nikki (1925), UC, XXI, 121.

cannot stand "modern books" written by D.D's and Ph.D's of Chicago University, Union Seminary, Yale, Harvard, etc.¹ Perhaps the straightforwardness of the message he preached in his lectures and books answered the needs of those who, disillusioned with the once rosy hopes offered by nineteenth century progress, sought in his words answers to the deep questions of human life. He was a spiritual leader, strong, because fiercely indifferent to the question of being followed, always looking up and not down. His admiration for Dante, Luther, Milton, Cromwell, Gladstone, Schweitzer, Gandhi and above all Christ, is witness to the unusual receptivity of his soul and indicates the ideals of religious independence and devotion to which he aspired.² Hero-worship, of which Carlyle says 'no nobler or more blessed feeling dwells in man's heart'³ was, in Uchimura, an emanation of the samurai spirit seeking the lord worthy of loyalty and, at the same time, of the Christian soul reaching towards human approximations to divinity.

1. Letter, UZ, 906.

2. See 'Guraddosuton no Shijō to Sōshiki' (Gladstone's death and burial), (1898), US, XXIII, 87, and Nikki (1930), UC, XXI, 565.

3. T. Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship, London (1940) 17-18. Uchimura thought that 'Hero' was not properly translated into Japanese by 'Eiyū', a term that did not necessarily imply the idea of 'one worthy of honour', and that 'worship' reihai, should be reserved for God. 'Those who did not believe in God, he said, ended up worshipping man'. 'Jimbutsu Suhai no Gai' (Danger of worshipping men) (1899), US, XXIII, 19.

Uchimura continued working for the evangelization of Japan, lecturing and writing, until a few months before his death. His last years were contented ones. His soul had mellowed and a hard crust of puritanism seemed to break. In his neighbourhood he was a respected elder citizen who enjoyed friendly discussion on sumo wrestling with his cronies. His many pupils revered him, and throughout the nation his books sold steadily. True to his no-church principles, he did not wish his work to be continued by any organization after his death and was indignant that any disciple should attempt to imitate him except to be independent in his own way.¹ Early in 1930 his heart, which had caused concern before, became weaker; and on the morning of 28th March, five days after his seventieth birthday, he died. On his tomb was engraved the epitaph he had written fifty years previously on the flyleaf of his English Bible:

I for Japan
 Japan for the World
 The World for Christ
 All for God.²

1. Nikki, (1929), UC, XXI, 484.

2. See Frontispiece, UC, VII.

Other than faith in the Promise no virtue is needed. Since no virtue surpasses the Nembutsu (faith) evil need not be feared. There is no evil capable of impeding Mida's Promise.

Buddhist Priest Shinran (1173-1263)
'Yo no Shinkō no yū' (1915), UC, XVII, 79.

For by grace are ye saved through faith;
And that not of yourselves; it is the
gift of God.

Paul to Ephesians R.V. 11, 8.
'Shinkō wa tashika ni hito o sukuu ka'
(1903), US, XVI, 33.

CHAPTER IICHRIST - THE SAMURAI'S LORD

Uchimura's positive definition of Christianity can be reduced to three concepts, self, God and Christ.¹ A Christian way of life for him revolved around the realities represented by these concepts. 'Christianity,' he wrote, 'is God's grace to be appropriated by man's faith.'² Again, 'Christianity is a person, a living person, Lord Jesus Christ.'³ The three elements of the definition are included in his description of a Christian. 'When I say I am a Christian, I mean that I am a sinner forgiven by the grace of God for Christ's sake.'⁴ Uchimura gives negative definitions of Christianity also. For him Christianity meant neither sacraments

1. The purpose of this chapter is to sketch Uchimura's religion against a background of Buddhism, materialism, atheism and Shinto and not to classify him with any Christian sects or schools of thought. Definition of his religion includes in association 'a mode of behaviour a system of intellectual beliefs and a system of feeling.' (See R.H. Thouless, Psychology of Religion, (1950), 3) with emphasis on the last two.

2. 'What is Christianity' (1915), UC, VII, 18.

3. Ibid. 12.

4. Ibid. 172.

nor ceremonial.¹ It was not knowledge nor morality.² In fact he said of Christianity that 'we know more of what it is not than what it is.'³

His negative definitions are attempts to strip Christianity of foreign and ecclesiastical elements unacceptable to the Japanese and are considered in later chapters.⁴ Here are considered only those basic Christian truths which Uchimura regarded as a guide for his own life and as doctrine to be preached to his fellow countrymen. The discussion does not touch on the question as to what basic truths constitute the essence of Christianity but only on what Uchimura believed to be its essential truths.⁵ There are two chief reasons for limiting the discussion in this way. Firstly Uchimura disclaimed any affiliation to churches or schools of thought that might present a systematic body of doctrine. 'I am not a member of any church,' he said, 'I am not a Catholic; neither am I a Protestant. I have not set my name to any set of dogmas

1. 'Kirisutokyō to wa nanizo ya' (What is Christianity) (1905), US, XV, 16.

2. Ibid. 17.

3. How, (1895), p.176.

4. Chapters III and IX.

5. Systematic expositions of his belief are given by Uchimura in Shukyō Zadan (Discussion on Religion) (1900) US, III, pp.5-80, and Kirisutokyō Mondō (Christian Catechism) (1905), US, III, 80-224.

formulated by theologians.¹ For him Christianity was only what he personally chose to believe.² Secondly, the tenets which Uchimura professed as his religious beliefs and termed Christianity made some missionaries doubt whether he was a Christian at all. They thought he was closer in his beliefs to Buddhism or Unitarianism.³

Thus there were, according to him, two great premises to Christianity,⁴ elemental in Christian thought, and key questions in the confrontation of the Buddhist-Confucian tradition of the East and the newly-introduced materialist philosophy from the West. Because of them there was Christianity. Without them there would be no Christianity and upon their certainty rested the certainty of Christianity. The future life of the soul was one premise. The other was the existence of God.

The soul for him was 'self'. In English, he points out, the word 'soul' is easily understood. In Japanese however there was no apt equivalent for this word, an absence that illustrates what he says is the great difficulty

1. 'Am I a Christian' (1914), UC, VII, 6.

2. Shukyo Zadan (1900), US, III, 5.

3. Letter (1917), UZ, XX, 859 and ibid. (1916), 758.

For resentment towards theological heterodoxy of Japanese leaders shown by missionary writers see C. Powles in Papers on Japan (1963), 125.

4. 'Kirisutokyō no Ni Dai zentei' (Two Great Premises of Christianity), (1909), US, XV, 109-114. It is in the acceptance or rejection of these premises that the real difference between Japanese philosophico-religious thought and Christianity lie and not in the logically secondary question of Christ.

experienced by one teaching Christianity to the Japanese of not being able to find suitable words to convey Christian truths.¹ The soul for him was not the ghost or spectre of folklore. Neither was it spirit (seishin 精神) nor mind (kokoro 心) nor life nor thought nor feeling. It was above all of these. It was principle of body, of feelings, of all thought. It was the individual, the ego. 'When people say "I" or "you" they indicate,' he wrote, 'my soul or your soul.' For want of a better word 'let us call it self.'²

The significance of his belief that the soul of man lives on after death and his assertion that recognition of a future life is one of the great premises of Christianity can be better realized when this belief is compared with ideas of Buddhists who recognize only a relative, psychological or empirical ego. 'Whenever I see a crucified figure of Christ,' one Buddhist scholar writes, 'I cannot help thinking of the gap that lies deep between Christianity

1. Compare Catholic search for suitable word for God. In 1960 it was changed from Tenshu to Kami which the Protestants used from the beginning. R. Hammer (unpublished Ph.D. thesis London 1961) discusses the 'Idea of God in Japan's New Religions' and rightly notes that 'one born in a non-Christian civilization receives Christianity through the medium of his non-Christian thought.' p.20.

2. Shukyō Zadan (1900) US, III, 41. See also 'Yo no Kirisutokyo' (My Christianity), US, XV, 120 for Uchimura's certainty re the 'self'.

and Buddhism ... In the East there is no ego ... there is no ego to be crucified.'¹ Uchimura, however, believed in a soul, an 'ego' that transcended the relative, the psychological and empirical ego of this life.²

This concept of self as a spiritual and everlasting individual soul was pivotal in his Christian thinking and the well-spring of his individualism. An egocentrism is to be found in Uchimura similar to that evident in the writings of Luther to whom he was so indebted for his Christian faith.³ It may be argued that Uchimura's metaphysical egocentrism vis-a-vis God and Christ may not stand up to theological investigation or criticism, but when this egocentrism meant the assertion of the dignity and freedom of the individual vis-a-vis social and political power it was of tremendous significance.

Of all things in the universe he believed the human soul to be the most precious.⁴ The soul was to him of more value than life, food, clothing, wealth. Therefore

1. D.T. Suzuki, *Mysticism, Christian and Buddhist* (1953) p.129.

2. Zentei (1909) US, XV, 110. The emptiness ('vanity' of Ecclesiastes) of which Uchimura speaks is not the same as the 'Ku' of Buddhism. See Saigusa Hiroto, Nihon Tetsugaku Shisō Shu, Vol. 8, 215. The 'negation' is to assert more positively that man's only good is to obey God. ibid., 189.

3. Ruteru (Luther), (1921) US, VI, 191. For Luther's egocentrism see J. Maritain, Three Reformers, p.36. 'He is part of myself,' Uchimura wrote in a letter, 'for no other man did as much for my soul as he did'. UZ, XX, 856.

4. Shukyō Zadan (1900), US, III, 45.

he said, 'The ones to be feared, hated, avoided are today's patriots and politicians who care for our body, but destroy our souls.'¹ Ethics which did not take into account the soul were an aimless science.² Ethics had to be based on knowledge of what the soul was just as hygiene was based on knowledge of what the body was.³

His belief in the existence of a spiritual and eternal soul and his conviction that considerations of the soul should come into the determination of the material and temporal aspects of man's life are also significant when compared with the materialistic and pragmatic outlook common amongst Japanese intellectuals influenced by Western thought.⁴ Nishi Amane, called the father of modern Japanese philosophy, taught a cosmological materialism (yuibutsuronshugi 唯物論主義) that prepared the way in Japan for the materialistic communism of Marx.⁵ Fukuzawa Yukichi advocated utilitarianism that was in effect an ethical materialism.⁶ The busy builders of a modern Japan repeated the old objection that 'Christians are animated by a contempt for the present existence and by

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.46.

3. Ibid.

4. See G. Maeda in Uchimura Kanzō and the Present (Uchimura Kanzō to Gendai) ('Nostalgia for Heaven') (1962) 50-66.

5. See Hiroshi Nagata, The History of Japanese Materialism (Nihon Yuibutsuronshugi), Tokyo, (1936), and also Nihon Rekishi Daijiten Vol.XIV, 197.

6. See article on Religion in Japan Weekly Chronicle 18th May, 1916. See also TASJ (1913) p.173.

confidence in immortality.'¹

A writer in the Yorozuchōhō describes the efforts of Europeans to diffuse their education amongst Oriental peoples and at the same time propagate Christianity as self-contradictory. 'Western education may be likened to a brush,' he says, 'which wipes away the chalk marks of Christianity as soon as it is written on the oriental black board'.² Uchimura, who was keenly aware of this difficulty, wrote that the enemies of Christianity were not Buddhism and Confucianism but 'American Hedonism, English Commercialism, French Indifferentism ...' and that 'the East has nothing to be compared with the unbeliefs of the West.'³

The action of Buddhists of the Honganji in sponsoring a translation of Draper's 'Conflict between religion and science', in the hope of hindering the progress of Christianity, bore this out. Uchimura pointed out the foolishness of what they were doing in not realizing that such a book would at the same time be an obstacle to the progress of Buddhism, especially the Shinshū type.⁴

1. Gibbon, quoted by Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p.21.
2. JWC, 24th September 1908, p.471.
3. 'Enemies of Christianity' (1917), UC, VII, 34. See Okuma, Fifty years of New Japan, 'The Introduction of Western Philosophy' by Y. Miyake p.226-241.
4. Skukyo to Kagaku (Religion and Science), UC, II, 131.

The Buddhists knew that Christianity was the chief object of attacks in the anti-religious philosophical, scientific and polemical works from the West. They knew too that these works had for the Japanese a certain authority by the very fact that they were Western works. Therefore they exercised a far more detrimental effect on the progress of Christianity than they did on the progress of native religions.

Uchimura's practical¹ belief in the first premise of Christian teaching - the existence of the immortal human soul, and the consequent need to determine the present by considering the future of that soul - despite materialism and utilitarianism from the West, gave to his Christianity a solidity which was lacking in that of some of his Christian contemporaries.² He recognized that:

There are many reasons why people become Christian. The most common is because of personal sorrow or worry. And this is in no way a bad thing ... Others come for a solution to the problem of human life ... for the perfection of their education ... others adopt Christianity for the sake of promoting the good of their family, or society or the nation ... the one and only true way is through a realization of sin ... 3

1. The death of his daughter Ruth in 1912, although a great personal sorrow, strengthened his realization of the immortality of the soul. Nikki (1912) UC, XIX, 302.

2. For example To~~ku~~tomi, Arishima, Yokoi, Kunikida, Osanai. See Musamune, Uchimura Kanzō Gendai Bungaku, Vol.14, p.386.

3. 'Yo no Kirisutokyō' (My Christianity), UC, IX, 115-118.

Anyone who became a Christian for reasons other than that of saving his soul, such as to have better relations with foreigners, to reform society or to save the nation, always ended by apostasizing.¹ To his individualism therefore his belief in the soul gave a nobility and force that is not to be found in the individualism advocated by such writers as Takayama Chogyū, Natsume Sōseki and Mori Ogai.²

The second premise of Christianity, a concept of God, is outlined in a study he wrote in 1910 on the distinction between atheism, theism, deism, pantheism and monotheism.³ 'Monotheism,' he writes, 'is the summation of truths in pantheism and deism (avoiding the mistakes of both).'⁴

1. Shukyō Zadan (1900) US, III, 46. See Masamune on Uchimura's reaction to Osanai Kaoru's Apostates in Masamune, op.cit. 380. Uchimura speaks of such men as 'graduating' (Sotsugyō shita) from Christianity. See Kōsei e no (Greatest Legacy) UC, XVI, 325.

2. For the individualism of Takayama, Sōseki, Mori, see Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, pp. 308, 450, 463.

3. Kami ni Kansuru Shisō (Thoughts about God) (1910), US, IX, 11. See also 'Shinkō' (Strong and Weak Faith) UC, IX, 125. For an analysis of the Japanese ideas on God [Kami] see C.B. Offner and H. van Staelen, Modern Japanese Religions Leiden, (1963) 135-156.

4. Ibid. p.13. Compare with concept of God expressed by K. Nishida tr. by V. Viglielmo in A Study of Good, (1960) 167-178. As Thouless notes the most obvious contrast between Christianity and Buddhism is in the place of God in both religions. See R.H. Thouless, Conventionalization and Assimilation in Religious Movements (1950) p.30. The Buddhist Congress of 1925 rejected the Christian idea of Creator as antagonistic to Buddhism. See H. Kraemer, The Christian Message in the Non-Christian World (1938) 402.

God for him was the Creator of the universe, upholding it and developing it continually. The universe reveals God, he points out, but only partly, being itself finite.¹ God is above the universe, and not of it. He is friend and father to men, to be loved, to be worshipped. 'To look on Him as friend and father,' says Uchimura, 'is to understand Him perfectly.'² The elements of the concept of God expressed in this study are also evident in many passages in his spiritual autobiography of 1894. During his early contact with Christianity when he was told that there was only one God and not the many his Shinto devotion had driven him to worship, his 'reason and conscience responded "yea".'³ The autobiography is permeated with an awareness of God. Even in mundane studies, such as measuring the angles of the topaz in crystallography, his thoughts were not far from God. 'Crystallography,' he said, 'was to me a sermon by itself, and the measurement of the angles of a topaz or an amethyst was to me a real pastime.'⁴

His theological ideas reflected the pietism of his mentor Seelye. He thought of God's blessings as being so

1. 'Kami no ^{s z}zenjai no Kakusho' (Proof of God's Existence) (1903) US, IX, 39. See his criticism of the pantheism expressed by Kinotsurayuki and Shinto, 'Kokinshu dampyo' (1898) US, XXII, 326.

2. 'Chichi naru Kami' (God as a Father) (1923) US, IX, 56.

3. How, p.15.

4. Ibid. p.133.

emanent throughout the Universe that man needed but to open his heart for His fullness 'to rush in'; and that man's real mistakes lay in his very efforts to be pure when none but God Himself could make him pure.¹ Uchimura's understanding of man's position before God however shows a maturity of thought about 'the Almighty Power Itself' who alone can subjugate the 'little god of this world.'² 'God's will will surely be carried out,' he said, 'even though I be destroyed. The consecrated soul rejoices only in the glorification of God, and not in its own success.'³ Prayer for him was not to ask God to fulfil his desires by special intervention but a communion with the Eternal Spirit so that he might pray for what God already had in His mind. 'The Christian's prayer is then,' he said, 'a prophecy.'⁴

This maturity of thought is also evident in his ability to distinguish between what he believed to be the realities of the spiritual world and the objects philosophers had in mind when they attacked Christianity. In his treatment of atheism he points out that many men who admit the existence of God are branded as atheists by religionists,

1. Ibid. p.134.

2. Ibid. p.153.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p.152. In his article on Providence, - 'Setsuri no Koto' (1900), US, XIV, 121 - he points out that God is free, but only free to carry out the justice of God.

not because of their refusal to acknowledge a supreme Being, but because of their unwillingness to admit as the supreme Being the caricatures of that Being taught by religionists. 'If I was born in England,' he said, 'I too would be called an atheist.'¹

The divine attributes that feature largely in Uchimura's writings and that thus indirectly indicate the problems with which he was concerned, are the absolute supremacy of God, His providence over men and nations, and His omnipotence. God, and God alone, was the supreme Ruler to whom all men were directly responsible.² God, not the Emperor nor the nation nor society, and certainly not politicians, had the right to rule men absolutely.³ The Providence of God meant for Uchimura his personal election.⁴ In the broader sense it meant God's governance of the Universe, of men's lives and of the destinies of nations according to His will. He saw the Hand of God in the small happenings of his own life such as his going to school in Sapporo where he came into contact with Christianity,⁵ and in the great events of the nation such

1. Kami ni Kansuru Shisō (Thoughts about God), (1929), UC, IX, 209.

2. The unique aspect of Christianity was the emphasis it placed on God not man. Shinkō (Faith), (1929), UC, IX, 122.

3. 'Chichi naru Kami' (God our Father). (1923), US, IX, 56.

4. How, p.141.

5. 'Kuroda Kyōryū Haku Yuku' (Count Kuroda's Death), (1900), UC, XVII, 126.

as Perry's arrival in Japan which opened the way for the preaching of the gospel.¹ History was for Uchimura the unfolding of God's plan. 'So does the world Spirit,' he wrote, 'weave his garment of destiny underneath the vision of purblind mortals, yet wonderful to the eye of the thoughtful historian.'² Finally his belief in the omnipotence of God made the miracles of Christ, the resurrection of the body and a solution to the problem of evil, seem not only feasible but also quite reasonable.³ Uchimura's clear concept of God, spelled out with theological precision in his writings, formed a solid basis for faith and enabled him to withstand the rationalism of traditional Confucian thinking and the atheism of modern 19th century scientism that were part of the intellectual currents of modern Japan.

The ideas of Hayashi Razan, Kumazawa Banzan and Arai Hakuseki, influential Confucian writers of the Tokugawa era, who placed Ri (~~Reason~~ 理) as the supreme principle of the Universe against the Christian concept of God, contributed to the rationalism of Iwakura Tomomi, Katō Hiroyuki, and Inoue Tetsujirō, the leading Meiji advocates of Confucianism, and chief opponents of the

1. 'Umibe no Kitō' (Prayer on the Beach), (1902), UC, XVII, 150.

2. Representative Men of Japan, p.5.

3. 'Kami no Zenchi Zenno ni tsuite' (On the Omniscience and Omnipotence of God), (1911), US, IX, 52.

Christian ideals that Uchimura defended.¹ Men like Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Itō Hirobumi and the industrialist Furukawa Ichibei who fulfilled their youthful ambitions could be regarded as paragons of success of man-made lives whereas Uchimura looked upon his life as one to be made and guided by God.²

The Confucian teaching for which Uchimura showed greatest sympathy because of its similarity to Christianity was that of the Wang Yang Ming school which was advocated by Nakae Tōju, and was regarded by Uchimura as preparing in the people a liberal and progressive frame of mind that eventually opened the way for the Restoration.³

Atheism and agnosticism, encouraged by the new scientific theories introduced from the West were, because of their novelty and association with the advanced West, a far greater obstacle to belief in the Christian God than was the rationalism of the modern advocates of Confucianism. Uchimura thought that the Japanese were

1. For Japanese Confucian arguments against the Christian God see M. Anesaki, 'Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century.' TASJ, December 1930, pp.2-7. S. Gulick traces Japanese religious indifferentism to Confucian training of the intellectuals. See article on 'Religion in Japan', JWC 18th May, 1916.

2. 'Kami ni michibikaruru Shōgai' (A life guided by God), (1926), US, XIX, 13.

3. Representative Men of Japan p.8. For a summary of Nakae Tōju's teaching see Tōju Sensei Zenshū vol.V (bessatsu). c.f. op.cit.p.11. See also Notehelfer on Ebina, in Japan Papers (1963), p.36.

a religious people and atheists were mostly to be found among 'University Professors, students who come under their instruction, politicians who studied politics in Europe or America, or who imitate the political methods of Westerners.'¹ He attributed the spread of Western atheism in Japan to Kōtoku Shūsui and Nakae Chōmin.² His fearless contempt for those who, like certain politicians and teachers, denied the existence of God in practice, and his knowledge of science, which was equal to the knowledge of those who, like Nakae, denied God in theory, helped him to safeguard that first basis of his Christianity, recognition of a Supreme Deity.

The theory of evolution, introduced into Japan by Edward Morse³ and disseminated by such men as Tōyama Shōichi and Yatabe Ryōkichi, was a key argument in the

1. 'Can Americans Teach Japanese Religion' (1926) UC, VII, 192-4.

2. 'Kami ni tsuite' (About God), (1929), UC, IX, 209. See H. Nagata History of Japanese Materialism (1936) p.3. Joseph Cook (See Uchimura Diary (1882), UC, XVIII, 45) in reply to the question: 'What books opposed to evangelical Christianity and a theistic philosophy are the most read by the educated Japanese?' received the following answer: 'Buckle's History of Civilization (translated); John S. Mill's works (his essays on Religion and Utilitarianism), (translated); Huxley on 'Protoplasm' (translated); Draper's 'Conflict between Science and Religion' and the Intellectual Development in Europe; Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason' (translated); Ingersoll's Lectures on Gods (translated); Herbert Spencer's Works; Bain's Works, c.f. Cary, vol.II, 162-3.

3. See E. Morse, Japan Day by Day, New York, (1917) vol.1, p.339-40 for account of his first lecture on evolution.

attack on Christianity made from a 19th century scientific point of view. Uchimura early in his life as a Christian faced the challenge of evolution. In November of the year he graduated from the Agricultural College, he gave a talk at the opening of the Sapporo YMCA on 'The relation of the scallop shell to Christianity'. The purpose of the talk was to reconcile geology with Genesis. He chose the scallop shell because it was the most common mollusc on the coast and its shells were plentiful as fossils. 'Such words and phrases,' he says, 'as "Evolution"; "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" were being heard in our circles and a blow was found necessary upon the atheistic evolutionists who were beginning to make some figures in our country about that time.'¹

Uchimura accepted evolution, but not 'Godless evolution', even though by doing this he grieved some of his Christian friends.² In discussions about Evolution as in discussion of all scientific theories Uchimura wished to be 'strictly independent', not caring what men, even his best friends might say of him, but 'holding up the truth fearlessly in the sight of God.'³ The apparent conflict between science and religion was, he thought, the result of science trying

1. How, p.64. See D.C. Greene's paper in Proceedings of the Osaka Conference (1885), p.120.

2. Letter, (1921), UZ, XX, 1062. See also ibid, p.1052 and 1073. Uchimura considers Evolution in several articles. See UC, VII, 86, 206, 294 and 'Shinkaron to Kirisutokyō' (Evolution and Christianity), UC, X, 421.

3. Ibid.

to apply its spirit to religion and religion forcing its methods on to science.¹ The two should help and complement each other, science giving method to religion and religion giving its spirit to science for without religion science cannot be a genuine seeking after truth.

Uchimura, who calls himself 'intellectually' an evolutionist and spiritually an evangelical Christian,² attempts his own harmonizing of religion and science, when in a letter to Niijima he applies the principle of evolution to God's creation of the world and man's spiritual development. He displays a firm grasp of the scientific facts which he unhesitatingly accepted when many Christians were trying to deny them, and far from fearing them as a threat to his faith he saw mirrored in these new discoveries his own clear and broad concept of an Almighty and Provident God. Indeed from study of the visible evolution of the world and man, he explains in a passage that reminds one of the broad vision of the modern scientist-theologian T. de Chardin,³

1. 'Shukyō to Kagaku' (Religion and Science) UC, II, 128. In June 1882 Uchimura wrote to Miyabe: 'My main study now is the relation between Religion and Science,' UC, vol.18, 45. For Uchimura's scientific competence, see list of his articles published in Japan Fishery Journal, UC, vol.21, p.604. In 1922 he wrote to Bell: 'I take an interest in birds, fishes, Polar expeditions, physical geography of Palestine etc...!' US, vol.20, p.1086. About the same time he began to revise biology and physiology to keep abreast of his son who was a medical student, ibid.

2. Letter (1885) O. Cary, 'Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst - Recently Discovered Correspondence' Japan Quarterly (1956)p.456.

3. See T. de Chardin, The Phenomenon of Man (Collins) (1965) esp. p.63.

that he would discover God's plan for the history of nations and the spiritual development of man. 'I think the progress of the world can be traced out,' he writes 'and the future of our society can be peeped into a little, by reading the natural history of the Universe and the spiritual history of man.' His later writings do in fact show that he always attempted a harmonizing of mans' knowledge of nature and of God, of philosophy and theology, that he envisaged when he said to Nijima: 'In other words, I wish to reconcile Spencer, Darwin, Hodge and Swedenborg in one perfect harmony ...'¹

It was this very ability to visualize the spiritual in the material, a poetic sensitivity, that gave to Uchimura's Christian concepts of immortality and God a life he found lacking in dull 'speculations' of theologians. Masamune thinks Uchimura would not have preserved his longing for God but for the flame of poetry that burned within him.² Poetry for Uchimura was the 'morning dream of great minds,'³ the antithesis not to prose but to science.⁴ Concepts of an everlasting soul and Absolute Creator which his mind grasped with the speculative powers of reason and faith took concrete

1. Letter, Cary, op.cit. 457.

2. H. Masamune, Uchimura Kanzo, (Gendai Bungaku Vol.14) p.371.

3. Lamartine, (translated by Uchimura) in Poems (1897) US, V, 138.

4. Coleridge, ibid.

shape as he woke from the night of human fear and darkness to realize that we men 'end not in being our own corpse-coffins at last'¹ and that 'a safe stronghold our God is still.'² Dread of the enemy without and the more relentless enemy within, weariness from an endless succession of personal Waterloos and Sekigaharas,³ and his bewilderment with this fleeting world aroused Uchimura to the poetic creation of emotional and imaginative religion that answered to man's needs. The same forces that stirred Tōson and Ryūkin - the new-style poets - to the production of literature expressing joys and sorrows of youth in a new age,⁴ led him to seek the meaning of these in religion.

Trueblood in Philosophy of Religion says: 'It is easy enough to believe in 'a god' providing we do not much care what kind.' He thinks that if we make the object of our search sufficiently broad and vague, existence is practically assured, but the value of the consequent faith is correspondingly lessened.⁵ Because almost all men believe in God in some sense, the question

1. Tennyson, 'In Memoriam' ibid. 145.

2. Luther, ibid. 147.

3. Masamune, op.cit. 371. Battle of Sekigahara (1600) established Iyeyasu, founder of Tokugawa Bakufu.

4. See Y. Okasaki (trs. Viglielmo) Japanese Literature in the Meiji Era pp.243, 342, et passim.

5. D.L. Trueblood, Philosophy of Religion, London (1957), 260.

of divine character takes logical precedence over the question of divine existence. Uchimura's characterization of God therefore, his poetic vision of the Ultimate in religion, as the orphans' father, the poor man's coat, the sick man's medicine for which nobles and rich could substitute power and gold,¹ was important for a people with a long history of finding solace from physical suffering in religion. The reality of his religion however was no less valid for having been taken out of the category of cold philosophical speculation and social conventions and given life in experiences that could be understood in the realm of the emotions and senses.²

Although he was strongly emotional, Uchimura's religion, his poetic creations, his somewhat anthropomorphic visions of an eternal life and an almighty God differed from the vague yearnings and sighings of contemporary writers in that they were built around the double framework of logical reasoning and scriptural teaching. It was very rare for literary men to be good Christians, he thought, because they were unwilling to be tied down in either thought or action. 'There is nothing so unreliable' says Uchimura 'as the faith of

1. 'Bimbōjin to Shūkyō' (The Poor Man and Religion) (1901), US, XIV, 44-5.

2. 'Shūkyō to wa nanizo ya' (What is Religion) (1920) US, XIV, 13 and vol. XIV passim.

Christian men of letters.'¹ In their philosophical definition and poetry-nurtured emotional life lay the power and attraction of Uchimura's concepts of an eternal soul and loving God.

Kamei Katsuichiro has said that a realization of sin was a dominant idea in Uchimura's writing.² In a certain sense this is true.³ Uchimura's realization of sin however was dependent upon assent to what he called the two great premises of Christianity, the everlasting soul of man and the existence of a Supreme and Provident Father, God. Moreover the realization of sin became significant when it led to a recognition of Christ as the Saviour sent by God to save man from sin.⁴ The dominance of the realization of sin in Uchimura's writing was in reality the obverse side of his need for and gratitude to Christ,

1. 'Bungakusha no Shinkō' (The Faith of Literary Men) (1919) US, XXII, 308. An interesting study could be made of the relation between literature and Christianity as seen in Uchimura, who avoided the theatre, disliked Jōrūri, hated novels and yet loved Goethe's poetry and Japanese monogatari. See esp. Masamune, op.cit. 371-373 and US, XXII, 305-360.

2. K. Kamei, Uchimura Kanzō (1963) p.31. It is interesting to speculate in what sense Kamei, a Buddhist (see ibid. p.31) understands 'sin' for as Thouless (see R.H. Thouless, Conventionalization and Assimilation in Religious Movements

(1940) p.21) points out, the Buddhist concept is not the same as the Christian concept of sin. 'The concept of sin is weaker in Buddhism' says Uchimura, 'than in Christianity' (Kirisutokyō wa nani zo ya, (1914), US, XV, 50).

3. 'Shinkō ni hairu no dōki' (Motives for accepting Faith) (1929) UC, IX, 118.

4. 'Shokuzai no Benshō' (Atonement), (1910), US, XII, 47.

come from God to redeem man and assure man of eternal life. Therefore he was able to write: 'When I say I am a Christian, I mean that I am a sinner forgiven by the grace of God for Christ's sake.'¹ In comparing Christianity and Buddhism he wrote:

God's teaching, that is Christianity, is not understood by reasoning, it is understood by believing ... when I humble myself before God, then for the first time I understand what Christianity is. Christianity is not something that can be arrogantly appropriated as my own. It is possible to attain to the mysteries of Christianity when like a small child I prostrate myself before God. 2

For Uchimura, the very essence of Christianity was Christ. The sinful soul seeking eternal life and the provident Father God were, as it were, merely premises making Christ meaningful. 'Christianity,' he said '... is Christ.'³

Christ to him was God-become-Man.⁴ Eighteen pages of his Christian catechism are devoted to proving the divinity of Christ by appeal to Scripture, world opinion and intuition. From the time he signed the Covenant of Believers in Jesus in 1877, he acknowledged Christ as the saviour who atoned for his sins. Christ was for him an

1. 'Am I a Christian' (1914), UC, VII, 6.
2. 'Kirisutokyō no Ryōkai ni tsuite' (On Understanding Christianity) (1927), UC, IX, 121.
3. 'Kirisutokyō to wa nanizo ya' (What is Christianity), (1914), US, XV, 52.
4. Kirisutokyō Mondō (Christian Catechism) (1905), US, III, 99.

intermediary between man's soul and God.¹ In 1919 he wrote: 'The Lord Jesus Christ is my wisdom from God and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.'² Whereas reason enabled him to form his concepts of self and God, the Bible was of particular importance in the formation of Uchimura's concept of Christ. The Bible was for Uchimura a book written by man under the inspiration of God to tell men of God and especially of His work to save men.³ 'In a word', he says 'the Bible is the story of Christ.'⁴ The Old Testament he points out tells of preparation for Christ's coming, while the New Testament describes his actual living and teaching in this world.

The Crucifixion and Second Coming, two doctrines that feature largely in Uchimura's writings about Christ, point to the peculiar character of his Christianity.

1. Ibid. ch.2. Kirisuto no Shinsei (Divinity of Christ) pp.99-119.

2. 'My Religion' (1919), UC, VII, 48. See also 'Kirisutokyō no Shinkō' (The Faith of Christianity), (1912), US, XV, 61.

3. Masamune gives the impression that Uchimura elevated Scripture by lecturing on it as literature and grouping it with Nō and Jōrūri. (H. Masamune, Uchimura Kanzō Gendai Bungaku 14, p.360). To Uchimura however the Bible was the nervous system in the body of Western literature (ibid.) and literature became great, as men became great, by association with Scripture. c.f. US, XI, 11-12.

4. Zadan (Discussion of Religion) (1900), US, III, 21.

The importance for him of the doctrine of the crucifixion resulted from his Samurai-puritan training that made him see in the cross a model of self sacrifice and abnegation, and reflected the disappointments, poverty and suffering of his own life which were dignified by being associated with Christ on the cross. 'Christianity,' he said, 'is essentially the religion of the Cross. It is not simply the religion of Christ but the religion of Christ crucified ...'¹

It is true that only after the World War did he devote himself to a vigorous campaign to preach the Second Coming of Christ, but he was aware of this teaching, typical of Christian enthusiasts through the ages, from the beginning of the century. In 1916 he told Bell that an article on the Second Coming 'awoke in me my belief that remained dormant for 15 years, and sent me to study of the N.T. with zeal and understanding which I have not experienced for many years.'² Belief in the Second Coming was for him 'the ground principle that made the New Testament', and without it the world

1. 'Crucifixianity' (1921), UC, VII, 64. Yanaibara contrasting Uchimura's religion with Schweitzer's religion of practical love says his faith was in the atonement of sin through the Cross. T. Yanaibara Together with Uchimura Kanzō, p.419.

2. Letter (1916) UZ, XX, 813.

would have had no New Testament. The unsettled state of the post-war world and Uchimura's advancing age contributed to his intense interest in this doctrine, an interest which, as Knox says,¹ is common to Christian enthusiasts in history, but taken out of its context of personal faith undisciplined by authority can seem quite foolish.² The tendency of writers to ignore, ~~or apologize for or regard as an escape from concern for pressing social questions,~~ Uchimura's eschatological hopes³ indicates, I think, a failure to appreciate the sincerity and logical completeness of his faith. J. Danielou's words on the 'Notions of Eschatology' - 'This is the doctrine which reminds us that the days of our life, long or short, are the last days; we are always spiritually on the threshold of the next world' - best suggest the realism with which Uchimura thought of the other world and contemplated the ephemeral nature of this world, a realism that contributed to and at the same time resulted from his eschatology.⁴

The most singular characteristic of Uchimura's Christian faith that made theology seem irrelevant and institutionalized Christianity meaningless, was his intense

1. R. Knox, Enthusiasm, p.3.

2. See H. Masamune, Uchimura Kanzō (Gendai Bungaku vol.14) 377.

3. See Arima, Harvard Papers (1961) p.156.

4. See J. Danielou, The Lord of History (tr. N. Abercrombie) (1958), p.278.

personal loyalty to Christ. 'I love two J's,' said Uchimura and one of those J's was Jesus.¹ Indeed, as has been stated, Christianity for him was Christ. 'Christianity is not an institution, a church or churches; neither is it creed, nor dogma, nor theology ... Christianity,' he said, 'is a person, a living person, Lord Jesus Christ.'² Uchimura wanted to devote himself to Christ directly and not through the mediation of churches or ministers. 'Religion,' he wrote 'is personal, not general. It is not "we" but "I" not plural but singular, - first person singular.'³ He himself became personally and completely devoted to Christ. 'Christ requires from us,' he wrote, 'complete consecration of our things first of all, our hopes, our hearts, our lives, our all. He does not want half-hearted consecration.'⁴ In turn Uchimura was confident that Christ would be loyal to him:

I may be ostracized by my society, expatriated by my country and excommunicated by churches,⁵ yet Jesus remains my friend all the same ...

This loyalty to Christ which should be found in every Christian, was intensified in a special way for Uchimura by becoming an outlet for the sentiment of loyalty

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1. 'Two J's' (1926), UC, VII, 170.
 2. 'What is Christianity' (1914), UC, VII, 12.
 3. 'Religion Personal' (1922), UC, VII, 80.
 4. Letter, (1893), UZ, XX, 246.
 5. 'What I think of Christ' (1927) UC, VII, 226.

cultivated by his training in samurai traditions.¹ Uchimura liked to think of himself as a Christian samurai serving the Lord Christ, and took Paul, whose loyalty he rated higher than that of the government paragon of loyalty, Kusunoki Masashige, as his model.²

Government emphasis on Shintō that led people to question the patriotism of Christians who gave their primary allegiance to Christ makes Uchimura's unwavering and oft-professed loyalty to Christ all the more remarkable. A greater test of Uchimura's loyalty to Christ came, however, from agnosticism and scepticism introduced into Japan from the West. 'The agnostic,' writes Uchimura, 'in the name of Darwin, Huxley and Spencer, admonishes me to give up the futile question (the divinity of Christ) and to rest in the visible and tangible.'⁴ And in his diary for November 1887 he has: 'Am reading Life David Hume. My religious enthusiasm is cooled down by coming into contact with the cool mind of this acute philosopher.'⁵ And later

1. See Uchimura's account of feudal loyalty in Representative Men of Japan 54-55.

2. 'Paul a Samurai' (1920) UC, VII, 60. Kusunoki Masashige, appears in chronicles of Japan as a paragon of loyalty to the throne because of his valour on behalf of Emperor Go Daigo. See G. Sanson, A History of Japan vol.1, p.50-53. Kusunoki was given posthumous rank by the Meiji Government in 1872.

3. See O. Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan vol.II, p.227-8. See also Chapter V.

4. How, p.121.

5. Ibid. 163.

writing to Bell he said: 'I remember what a shock David Hume's philosophy gave to me in my College days, but I recovered from it and was made stronger by the shock.'¹

The advent of 'Higher Criticism' amongst Biblical scholars undermined faith in Christ of many Christians.² Uchimura however is conspicuous for his fidelity to what he calls 'the old evangelical faith' and for his firm belief in the divinity of Christ. Paul Tsurin Kanamori, one of the leading Christians of the Kumamoto Band, showed the effects of Western agnosticism on his faith in his book The Present and Future of Christianity in Japan.³ In his review of the book Uchimura wrote: 'The knife of Higher Criticism has cut away from under his feet all supports on which he rested when he accepted the Bible as the word of God.'⁴ Another victim of this knife was Walter Dening, descendant of Archbishop Cranmer and one of the missionaries who gave Christian instruction to interested students of the Sapporo College when Uchimura was attending.⁵ Dening, who turned agnostic, attacked what he called the superstition

1. Letter, UZ, XX.

2. Bemmō written by Yasui Chūkei (tr. by J.H. Gubbins) gives an example of how 'Higher Criticism' was used by opponents of Christianity.

3. See Cary, op.cit. 237.

4. JWM, November 1891, p.561.

5. See Dening's 'Journal' (1880) unpublished CMS Archives (Japan Letters 1870-1880).

and puerilities of the Bible. In 1892 he said: 'Not only in the Imperial University, but in all great Educational Institutions the feeling against Christianity is very strong, which from every point of view I deem to be a healthy sign.'¹ Uchimura was able to say of his own faith: 'After reading all the sceptic literature that came to my hand I came to the conclusion that Jesus of Nazareth remains untouched after all the furious attacks made upon him by those who are called by his name.'²

Thus clear intellectual perception of premises that made Christianity meaningful together with poetic and emotional appreciation of these truths, when channelled into personal loyalty to the perfect, ever present Lord Christ served to give vitality to his faith. It enabled him to give to his belief what Newman calls real assent.³ Uchimura himself distinguishes between those whose assent to faith is merely perfunctory, made because they were brought up in a Christian atmosphere or belong to a church, and those in whom faith is a vital reality permeating their whole life.⁴ Faith for him was such a reality.

1. Letter to JWM. August 1892, p.524.

2. How, p.176.

3. J.H. Newman, Grammar of Assent, p.20. Newman distinguishes between notional assent and real assent.

4. In 'The Man Christ' (1926) UC, IX, 267 Uchimura says of so called Christian countries that they 'want to understand (Christ) notionally (shisōteki ni) but do not try to know him practically (jikkōteki ni).'

'Christ within me,' he wrote, 'is a present reality, and makes the Christian religion to me, not merely a thing of past or of future, but a working power, now and here.'¹ He gave thanks to God that he was not born in a Christian country but was destined to profess his faith in the midst of paganism. 'What to "born Christians" sounded as time-worn commonplaces,' he said, 'were to me new revelations and called forth from me all the praises sung perhaps by our first parents.'²

Although his faith was 'real' and therefore to a certain extent expressed in the emotions, he is careful to distinguish true Christian faith from sentimental Christianity of the revival and tea-party type.³ The latter to him was merely an emotional experience that may border on hysteria.⁴ The former was real conviction of mind and heart.

Of his own faith he wrote, 'I believe in God, not as a speculative formula but as an actual experience.'⁵ About Christ he said, 'My Christianity is not opinions I have embraced nor principles I uphold, it is the Lord Jesus Christ.'⁶ For him the religion that taught about 'the

1. How, p.180.

2. Ibid. 175.

3. Ibid. 80.

4. Ibid. 81.

5. Ibid.

6. 'Yo no Kirisutokyō' (My Christianity), (1907)
US, XV, 119.

responsible soul before the Almighty God was not a tradition but the verity of verities.'¹ Uchimura's Christianity was, to use his own words, 'objectivized, and made tangible.'² It was Truth which for him could only be known by being lived. Christianity was not something dead but alive, not words but spirit, not something to be embraced but something that embraced him.³

His own life is the most cogent proof that his assent to Christianity was more real than notional. He did not have the props of an institutional church, a Christian society, finance, things that cynics would perhaps call 'vested interests,' to support his convictions yet he produced more than twenty volumes of writings permeated with Christian truths. Kawakami Tetsutaro has called Uchimura 'the Outsider of Japan.'⁴ He was also the 'outsider of Christianity' if by that is meant one of whom it cannot be said that 'the range of everyday activity in modern civilization builds a wall around the ordinary state of consciousness and make it almost impossible to see beyond it.'⁵

1. How, p.139.

2. Ibid. p.163.

3. 'My Christianity' US, XV, 100.

4. T. Kawakami, The Outsider of Japan, Tokyo, (1960) p.171. The essence of Kawakami's definition of the 'outsider' is 'a man with vision.' ibid. Kawakami's idea of the 'outsider' was taken from C. Wilson, The Outsider (1956).

5. C. Wilson Religion and the Rebel, (1957) p.10-11.

Uchimura saw beneath the mundane to a spiritual soul and beyond the temporal to God and Christ. He spent fifty years of his life studying and preaching Christ. Carlyle's words, which Uchimura used in his appraisal of Nichiren, can be used in regard to the sincerity and depth of his own Christian convictions, 'A false man found a religion? Why, a false man cannot build a brick house?'¹

The intensity of his real assent to the concepts of Christianity may be partly explained by factors that can be observed as psychological and historical phenomena but do not include that mystical and divine guidance which he believed to be also part of his 'election' by God. Qualities of Uchimura himself, his vigorous and thorough mind, and strong emotional nature, were perhaps the most decisive of these factors. God for Uchimura was not a speculative notion but a reality mirrored in the stars and crystals and living things which he kept clear before his eyes through his life-long study of astronomy, geology and biology.² His interest in history enabled him to see a provident Father in action caring for his children.³ The philosophy he read gave depth and coherence to his Christian concepts.⁴ The Bible he loved was made vivid through a

1. Representative Men of Japan, p.227.

2. Letter (1920) UZ, XX, 941.

3. 'God in History' (1927), UC, VII, 238.

4. Nikki (1925), UC, XXI, 81, 127 where he speaks of Kant, et passim.

study of the flowers and animals mentioned in it, through his interest in the archaeology of Biblical lands and through a knowledge (fragmentary though it was) of its languages.¹ Moreover the intellectual and imaginative appreciation of God, and especially of God-become-man, that all this made possible, found a deep response in Uchimura's insatiable instinct for hero-worship. This was also strengthened by his sense of friendship which is so evident in his letters and which, as he himself admits, prompted him to choose the name Jonathan.

The special circumstances in which he acquired his Christian concepts gave to them a greater freshness and to him a fuller freedom in reacting to them than was possible to others who even 'in the midst of paganism' were more closely associated with Christian traditions. The isolation of Sapporo where he obtained most of his first Christian knowledge, and the variety of Christian influences (mainly written) from which he was able to choose, led to an independence in his Christian thinking that was taken by him as direct dependence on the divine.² 'God speaketh, God calleth' he wrote of belief.³ This independence of the self-taught made for dogmatism in

1. Letter (1922) UZ, XX, 1088, and Letter (1895) UZ, XX, 305.

2. How, p.25.

3. 'Belief' (1918) UC, VII, 44.

his teaching but intensity in his convictions. Uchimura likened belief to the psychological act of falling in love. 'Belief is apprehension of truth with one's whole being ... it is akin to a man's falling in love with a woman.'¹ Since independence and wide choice enabled Uchimura to fashion Christian truth somewhat according to his own liking this love for it was so much the more intense.

The Christianity which Uchimura described as his own belief was a vision of a loving God who exercised a special providence over man's soul and executed that providence through Jesus Christ. His Christianity was not only a vision to which he held despite the scepticism of his age but was to him a reality. The reality was Christ. Christ was God and to Christ he offered his soul. As a way of life his Christianity was a samurai allegiance to the Lord Christ to whom he gave his word and his love.

1 *Ibid.*

Years have I spent in the study of all the sutras and heard all that the different sects have to say about them ... And to us so far removed from the direct teaching of Buddha, there is but one way provided for our attainment of Buddhahood and that is contained in the five characters of Myō-Hō-Ren-Ge-Kyō.

Nichiren (1222-1282)
Representative Men (1907) pp.209-210.

At the time of the Emperor Constantine the Christian church became bound to the world and has remained so ever since.

Luther (1483-1546)
Talks on Luther, (1910) US, VI, 199.

CHAPTER IIIINDIGENISATION

Uchimura distinguished between Christianity pure and simple and Christianity 'garnished and dogmatized.'¹ With A. Kuenen, the Dutch theologian, he realized that Christianity could not exist purely and simply as a religion but had to enter into combination with the national life of those who professed it.² As Toynbee later expressed this same idea, religion had to be incarnated into the culture and language of the people who believed in it.³ Traditions and customs of a people,

1. How, p.175.

2. 'Japanese Christianity' (1926), UC, VII, 154. Kuenen writes 'Christianity was calculated by virtue of its Jewish origin, and found itself compelled by its resultant nature, to enter into ever fresh combinations with the national life of its confessors. It could not help nationalizing itself, nor does it cease throughout the centuries actually to do so.' A Kuenen, National Religions and Universal Religions (Hibbert Lecture) quoted by Uchimura, ibid. For study of 'Christianity and other religions' see A.C. Bouquet, The Christian Faith and Non-Christian Religions, (1958) p.449, and H.R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, for a study of the relation of Christianity to Culture.

3. A. Toynbee. An Historian's Approach to Religion (1956), pp.261, 283.

Uchimura understood, gave form and their language gave clothing to a religion.¹ If Christianity then was to be accepted by the Japanese it must first be believed, be abstracted from its Western apparel and embodiment in order that it might take form and clothing in accordance with Japanese culture and traditions, and that it might be incarnated into the 'life and polity of the land that gave him birth.'²

'In China and Japan,' Uchimura wrote, 'Christian teaching is called Western teaching because it is the religion of the West, and Western culture is called Christian culture ...'³ A history of Christianity in Japan published by the Council of State (Dajokan) in 1878, the year Uchimura became a Christian, bears out

1. See Carlyle in 'Outline of My Religious Life' (1902), UC, XVII, 182. Sartor Resartus (Bk.III, ch.II) 'Church-clothes are, in our vocabulary, the Forms, the Vestures, under which men have at various periods embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principle; that is to say invested the Divine Idea of the World with a sensitive and practically active Body, so that it might well dwell among them as a living and life-giving Word.'

2. Nikki (Letter to Miyabe), (1891) UC, XVIII, 265. Uchimura's appreciation of Christianity's essential independence of particular cultures and consequent capacity to be expressed in all (c.f. Kirisutokyō to Tōyō Bummei (1927) UC, IX, 5) is based on ideas similar to those expressed by W.E. Hocking who says: 'Alone among the great religions, Christianity is accustomed to a free social application.' W.E. Hocking, Living Religions and World Faith (1940), p.240.

3. 'Kirisutokyo to Seiyō Bummei' (Christianity and Western Civilization) (1927) US, XV, 274.

this statement for the history is called simply Saikyōshi (History of Western teaching).¹

The attitude of the people generally - of those hostile, favourable or indifferent to Christianity - showed that in the minds of most Japanese, Christianity was intimately associated with the concept of Western civilization.² Efforts made by enemies of Christianity who wanted the culture but not the religion of the West, to dissociate Western culture from Christianity, testify to the identification of those two in the minds of the people. The need for the slogan 'Western techniques, Eastern ethics,' which came into prominence when the question of opening the country to Western intercourse was being discussed, arose out of a fear that Western techniques would inevitably bring Christian religion and morality to Japan. Likewise the dislike some had for foreign civilization expressed itself in dislike for Christianity. What P. Cohen said

1. See British Museum catalogue of Japanese books 16011C26.

2. This mental association, first formed with the arrival of Xavier in the 16th century, had a basis in fact because 'for more than a thousand years Western culture had been based on the Christian idea that man is created in the image of God. This central Biblical idea included both the eternal spiritual destiny of every individual and the destiny of mankind to form a free communion.' E. Brunner, Christianity and Civilization (1947), 2. Some do not accept this as fact. Yet it can be suavisely argued as the basis of the tradition (of identification) which Uchimura found belied by the unchristian attitudes of Western nations.

about 19th century China was true in Japan of Uchimura's day, namely that 'for many ... Christianity was simply the most conspicuous and irritating expression of a civilization which, in all its dimensions they heartily detested ...'¹ Often the term anti-Christian could be used interchangeably with the term 'anti-foreign.'

Japanese enthusiasts for Western civilization advocated the adoption of Christianity because they felt that Christianity was at the very root of the civilization they sought.² Nakamura Keiu suggested that the Emperor set an example for the thorough westernization of the nation by himself becoming a Christian.³ Iwakura and Ito after their return from a tour of Christian countries urged propagation of Christianity in the hope of the Western blessings it would bring.⁴ Even

1. P.A. Cohen, China and Christianity (1963) p.60.

2. See Letter (1890) UZ, XX, 195.

3. See A. Hiyane, Complete History of Japanese Religion vol.V, p.217.

4. See E. Bickersteth, Life and Letters (1900), p.170. He is one of the many foreigners who remarked on the Japanese eagerness for Christianity for the cultural advantages it would bring. See also T. Yanaibara in Religion and Democracy in Modern Japan (Institute of Pacific Relations) (1948) p.3. When Ito returned from his second trip in 1884 Uchimura wrote to Fujita: 'I hear that Prime Minister Ito, who has just returned from Germany is already a Christian ... and hopes for the speedy evangelization of the country.' Nikki (Letter to Fujita) (1884), UC, XVIII, 87.

those indifferent or mildly hostile to Christianity were willing to allow the religion for the sake of the cultural advantages they thought it would bring. Fukuzawa Yūkichi and Katō Hiroyuki did not themselves believe in Christianity but thought it would be of use to the nation in the sphere of culture and politics. On the other hand bitter enemies of Christianity, who for religious or political reasons saw the need to oppose Christianity, were willing, as happened in the Tokugawa era, to sacrifice, because of their hatred of the Western religion, many advantages that might accrue from Japan's intercourse with the West. In short the close connection between the varied Japanese reactions to Christianity and their reactions to the prospects of the introduction of Western civilization reflected how in the minds of his contemporaries Christianity and Christendom were regarded as inseparable.¹

^{Uchimura} He pointed out that Westerners encouraged this idea. 'Western people themselves,' he wrote, 'believe almost the same thing. They say that their country is a Christian country and that all their cultural institutions are the result of Christian teaching. To them Western civilization and Christianity are one and the same thing.'² Western

1. 'Kirisutokyō to Seiyō Bunmei' (Christianity and Western Culture), (1927), US, XV, 274.

2. Ibid. The 'European' Christian writer, J.H. Belloc, who began publishing at the same time as Uchimura, wrote: 'the Faith is Europe and Europe is the Faith' and 'the Church is Europe and Europe is the Church.' Europe and The Faith, London (1920) pp.6 and 8.

missionaries who were well aware of the Japanese eagerness to master Western culture even though the Japanese might be indifferent to Western religion, encouraged the belief that only through Christianity could a true appreciation of their culture be obtained. When he wished to persuade his fellow countrymen to accept Christianity, Uchimura, together with many other Japanese converts, preached along the same lines. For example he pointed out that it was next to impossible for any Japanese to understand Dante without understanding the philosophy that inspired him.¹ Western literature, art and music could be properly cultivated, he taught, only by one ready to accept Christianity. 'I have heard it said that there has not been anyone amongst the Japanese who could properly sing "Ave Maria" and I think,' Uchimura added, 'that perhaps this is true. One cannot properly sing "Ave Maria" without knowing Jesus, son of Maria.'²

Everywhere in Japan Uchimura could see tangible evidence proving to his countrymen the close connection or even

1. 'Seiyō Bummei no Shinsui' (The Essence of Western Civilization) (1896), US, XXIII, 265-277, esp. p.270. In 1927 however he said, 'Western Civilization is as far from Christianity as East is from West.' 'Shinshū no Kitai' (Expectations for a New Autumn) (1927), US, XXIII, 278. Uchimura attributed Anglo-Saxon morality (when he approved of it) to Christianity. See 'Nichiei Mondō' (Discussion between an Englishman and a Japanese), (1915), US, XV, 225. English version of this discussion is given in 'A troubler of Israel', the chapter on Uchimura in J.W. Robertson Scott, The Foundations of Japan, London (1922), pp.90-97.

2. 'Nihon to Kirisutokyo' (Japan and Christianity) (1925) UC, IX, 26.

identity of Christianity and Western culture. The manner in which foreigners preached and conducted their missions, in particular the language they used, all seemed to suggest that Christianity was almost exclusively incarnated in Western culture.

As Yokoi, Uchimura's Christian friend, said 'our churches are virtually so many foreign colonies.'¹ The people who taught Christianity were in the main Westerners, or Japanese who had been educated in the West or those who were under the guidance and control of Westerners. The imagery of their sermons and the architecture of their churches were of their own Western lands. The books they published were more often than not merely translations of Western books.² The money that sent them on their missionary errand and that fed and clothed them while they preached was from the Christian civilization of which they were a part. The finance that paid their help, built their churches and supported their catechetical workers was also mostly the fruit of their Western civilization. In an article on 'Japanese and Christianity' Uchimura wrote:

1. JWM (1890), 59-60, quoting from an article in Rikugo Zasshi. 'I know some missionaries' said Uchimura, 'who preach to us as if we were their own countrymen.' How, 193.

2. See W.T. Thomas, Protestant Beginnings in Japan (1859-1889), 117-127 for a survey of early Japanese Protestant literature. See J. Laures, The Catholic Church in Japan 235-237 for survey of 19th and 20th century Catholic literature. As B.H. Chamberlain said: 'The Japanese language, intricate and impersonal, is singularly ill-fitted to reproduce the rugged simplicity of Hebrew thought.' B.H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese (1939) 355, footnote, quoted by Thomas.

The Christianity of Japan is still the Christianity of the West. It is not yet a Japanese religion. Foreign teachers of medicine, engineering, literature, politics, economics, law have already left and only for Christianity have more than a thousand missionaries remained in Japan to try to convert our fellow countrymen. There is no surer proof than this that Christianity has failed to become a Japanese religion and its power to effectively guide the Japanese is most doubtful. 1

The connection between Christianity and the West was annoyingly evident to the Japanese, especially in the matter of language. Uchimura, who knew of English and American missionaries unable to speak respectable Japanese after twenty, thirty or forty years in Japan regarded the freedom and shamelessness with which they used 'their King's or Yankee English' in speaking with Japanese nationals as indicative of the inability or unwillingness of foreign missionaries from the West to identify themselves with those they had come to convert. 'As to the reading capacity of missionaries,' he wrote, 'it is next to nothing. One among a hundred may not [sic. See footnote] be able to read vernacular newspapers and we know of no one who can read ordinary Japanese literature in the original.' ²

1. 'Nihonjin no Kirisutokyō' (Christianity of the Japanese) (1909), US, XXIV, 192.

2. 'Missionaries and Language'. (1916), UC, VII, 26. Occasionally Uchimura has high praise e.g. for Bettelheim (who went to Loochoos in 1846). For the high ideal of linguistic proficiency aimed at by early missionaries see 'Report of the Committee on a course of Study in Japanese' Proceedings (1883), 279-291. Among other things, Aston's grammar, daily newspapers, examples of epistolary style, Genji, Taiheiki, were recommended for a three year course. Uchimura mistranslates his ... yomieru mono wa hyakunin chū hitori to wa arumai as 'one in a hundred may not be able to read ...' ibid.

Finally the close connection in the minds of the Japanese between Western culture and Christianity was evident in the fact that the graph of prosperity enjoyed by Christian missions in Japan coincided with the graph of the intensity of public enthusiasm for westernization of the nation, the number of converts increasing as the interest in Western ways grew and decreasing as periods of dewesternization set in.¹

Uchimura's most powerful motive for trying to disengage Christianity from the concept of Western civilization was his realization that the Christian ideals he admired were not commonly upheld in the so called Christian nations of that civilization.² In 1885 he wrote to Nitobe:

I think that there is a lot of truth in the words that 'today's Christianity is civilized paganism' ... a great number of so-called dogmas, practices and even beliefs of the general run of faithful are none other than a developed form of pagan concepts.³

Like Swedenborg and even Marx, he attacked the hypocrisy of Christianity, that is of official Christianity which, in its own interests, aligned itself with those who upheld unchristian principles. And in 1925 he noted in his diary:

1. See W. Thomas Protestant Beginnings in Japan (1959) p.208.
2. A seeming inconsistency in Uchimura's thinking disappears when it is realized that his praise of the West is based on tradition of the early centuries (c.f. US, XV, 225) and his condemnation on the disintegration of the last three c.f. (UC, VII, 138). See E. Brunner, Christianity and Civilization, p.2.
3. Letter, (1885) UC, XVIII, 135.

America is no longer Christian. Just as Japan is considered throughout the world as a Buddhist nation but Buddhism hardly ever appears in politics or economy so too in America the number of earnest believers in Christianity is very small, the majority being non-Christian or worse. 1

Secondly, Uchimura's love for Christ made him want to reject the soiled garments of Western civilization in which he saw Christ clothed.² To preserve the validity of his own concept of Christianity he had to dissociate it from the unchristian civilization he witnessed in America. He went to America expecting to find a paradise on earth but found thieving, drunkenness, gambling, murder. He wrote to his father from America, 'Really before you know where you are countries that call themselves Christian are using the Bible and truth as a mast and are at each other with cannon and warship. Ah! I often sigh wondering just what a civilized country is.'³ His greatest shock came from his experience of the racial discrimination practised by Christian Americans who preached that all men were brothers under a common Father, God, but were unwilling in practice to treat men of other races as equals. 'In no other respect, however, did Christendom appear to me more like heathendom' he wrote, 'than in a strong race prejudice still existing

1. Nikki (1924), UC, XXI, 28.

2. 'Churchless Christianity' (1929), UC, VII, 298.

3. Nikki (Diary) (1885), UC, XVIII, 141.

among them.¹

Indeed, Uchimura found that Western culture and Western civilization, far from being the embodiment of Christianity, were inimical to it. The more a person became involved in that culture the more difficult he thought it was to accept Christianity.

To regard Western civilization and Christianity as one and the same is an extremely shallow way of looking at things. If we examine them closely it will be seen that they are entirely different. A clear proof of this is that the deeper one studies Western civilization the more difficult it is to believe Christianity. Terrible doubts arise after one masters Western knowledge. Hence so many students are anti-Christian. You cannot adopt Western learning and Christian faith at the same time ... A person who wants to fully put Western learning into practice cannot sincerely believe Christianity. One or the other has to be abandoned. In most cases Christianity is rejected and people become immersed in Western civilization. If it is hoped some how or other to preserve both at the same time, then it comes down to professing Church Christianity while maintaining a frightened vacillating position. 2

For Japanese to go to the West to study Christianity was according to Uchimura the extreme of foolishness. They came back with less faith than when they went. When Uchimura heard that five thousand Japanese were in 'that worldly city' of Paris he wrote in his diary:

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1. Letter (1914) UZ, XX, 718. After seeing a pre Lentern fiesta in Alcapulco Uchimura wrote: 'The ignorance and superstition of these Christians was somewhat greater than that of Buddhists'. Nikki (Letter), (1888), UC, XVIII, 217.
 2. 'Kirisutokyō to Seiyō Bummei' (Christianity and Western Civilization), (1927), US, XV, 275.

We have no further need to import Western civilization ... In particular there is no need to go to Europe and America to study Christianity. The West is now waiting for new light to come from the East. To seek Christianity in the West in these days is equivalent to seeking light in darkness. Behold the proof, the deplorable fact that so many who go overseas for Christian studies return without faith. 1

To present an unsullied image of Christianity to his countrymen was a further reason for Uchimura's efforts to distinguish between Christianity and Western civilization. Associated with the western civilization were many things which Japanese found objectionable, the so-called unequal treaties made by Western Powers with Japan, the exploitation of China, the licentious behaviour in Eastern ports of certain foreigners who, as Uchimura remarked, seemed to jettison their Christianity at Suez² ... Politicians, educators and ordinary people who were opposed to Christianity pointed to such objectionable features of Western civilization in order to damn together with that civilization the religion that was commonly regarded as its essence. Even though Uchimura recognized that such criticisms were often made by men who, like Nero, blamed Christians for a fire that was their own doing,³ he hastened to separate and distinguish what he also condemned from the Christianity that he approved. For

1. Nikki (Diary), (1926), UC, XXI, 180.

2. 'Hōjū Naru gaikokujin' (Licentious Foreigners), (1897) UC, III, 9.

3. 'Kōkaijō' (Open Letter), (1893), UC, II, 22.

this reason Uchimura could on the one hand agree with Inoue Tetsujirō in saying that Christian Europe and America were degenerate and on the other sacrifice his reputation and position for what he regarded as the truth of Christianity.¹

He admits that formerly he had been influenced by the argument that the superiority of Christianity over other religions was evident in the civilizations it had created in Europe and America, but once he had seen for himself those countries of Christendom that missionaries had praised so unreservedly he thought that a religion to support an immortal soul must have a surer and deeper foundation than mere 'show' evidence to rest upon. Indeed such evidence could have a contrary effect and repel people from accepting Christianity. 'I shall never defend Christianity,' he wrote, 'upon its being the religion of Europe and America. An "external evidence" of this nature is not only weak, but actually vicious in its general effects.'²

Another reason for Uchimura's efforts to detach Christianity from its associations with western civilization was his desire to rid Christianity of features that made it unacceptable to patriotic Japanese sensitive

1. Kōkaijō (Open Letter), (1893), UC, II, 22.

2. How, 104-5.

as to the honour and independence of their nation. Although Uchimura wanted Japan to be Christianized he saw that a justified national pride was an obstacle to the complete acceptance by his countrymen of westernized Christianity. 'It is not easy for Japanese to believe Christianity,' he said, 'because all Japanese are patriots ...'¹ The patriots resented the tacit and at times explicit assumption made by the missionaries and the Christians of the West who sent them that the Japanese were morally inferior.²

1. Nihon to Kirisutokyo (Japan and Christianity), (1904) US, XXIV, 192. Uemura Masahisa, an outstanding preacher and theologian, agreed with Uchimura in insisting on the ineffectiveness of foreign Christianity. Uemura went as far as to set up his own Japanese Theological College. See Inglehart, A Century of Protestant Christianity, p.124.

2. See C.W. Inglehart, A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan, p.94. Even the Japanese Christian was treated as inferior. S. Neill has said: 'Say what we will Christian missionary work is frequently understood by the peoples of Africa and Asia not as the sharing of an inestimable treasure but as the unwanted imposition from without ...' S. Neill, A History of Christian Missions, (1965) p.250. This is clear from Uchimura's reaction to radical non-church doctrine also expressed by one of his disciples. Uchimura said: 'My principle of non-church was not principle for principle. It was principle for faith. Sometimes I attacked the church very severely because there was something in the church's faith contrary to the truth of the Gospel. I have hated the rude and proud manner of some foreign missionaries, but never the church itself, consciously. I declare to make my standpoint clear: I am not a non-churchist in vogue today.' Norimichi Ebizawa, (ed) Japanese Witnesses for Christ (1957) chapter on Uchimura by Y. Yuasa, 59-60. See also Nikki (1925), UC, XXI, 103-4.

Patriots also found irritating the dependence of many Japanese communities on foreign money. Uchimura, by distinguishing Christianity from Christian civilization, by freeing the original Christian truth from accretions that were objectionable to the Japanese, by making Western missionaries who preached in Japan yield in certain matters to the legitimate demands of the Japanese, hoped to make easier the progress of Christianity. 'We may become Christians,' he said, 'but need not become Westerners. We may engage in propagation of the Gospel but need not do it in the manner of foreign missionaries and bishops.'¹ In 1911 he wrote:

Missionaries come here with their views already made, firmly making up their mind they will conquer us. Now in ordinary warfare, no victory is possible without defeat in some quarters. There is no such thing as complete victory ... Christian missionaries as we have had them among us thus far, did not win our hearts, because, in general they had little or nothing to yield to us, while they demanded of us to yield our all to them - which no self respecting man or woman ever does. 2

1. JWC 5th August, 1915. Uchimura thought that 'no foreign missionary' could fathom the depth of misery of the civilized pagan. (Letter 1911) UZ, XX, 598) and that even if every missionary left Japan the Gospel of Christ would 'march on without them.' Letter (1920), 957.

2. JWC 21st September, 1911. p.519. See W.H. Smith, 'Foreign Missions as They Are - A Criticism, (1893) (reprints from Japan Gazette) for foreigners judgment on missionary methods. An interesting comparison can be drawn between Uchimura's opposition to foreign missionary intolerance and the opposition shown by African natives to the missionaries working in Yorubaland during the same period. See J.B. Webster, 'The African Churches of Yorubaland Ph.D. Thesis 1963, London. 81-129.

In 1924 when the American Exclusion Bill aroused all the disappointment and anger felt by the disillusioned and humiliated Japanese against Western civilization as typified by America, Uchimura was able to write:

I always made clear distinction between Christianity and Americanism ... My countrymen now acknowledge that "Uchimura's Christianity is different," that it can be depended on as germane to the soil. I believe God has held me up for all these years "to save Christianity for Japan." ¹

It was not enough for Uchimura to distinguish Christianity from Western civilization, to abstract, as it were, the spirit of Christianity from the body of Western culture in which it was incarnated. He wanted Japanese Christianity. He wanted Christianity to be reincarnated in the culture and civilization of Japan. He wanted the seed of Christian faith to be planted in the soil of Japanese traditions so that a genuine Japanese plant might be produced. 'Christianity Japan must have,' he said, 'but only that Christianity which has grown upon her own soil ...' ² The full grown plant of Christianity nurtured in Western civilization was doomed, he thought, to wither and die if transplanted into Japan. ³ 'The

1. Letter, (1924), UZ, XX, 1141.

2. Letter, (1888), UZ, XX, 195.

3. Uchimura never regarded Christian missionary work as the epiphenomenon of Western political and economic expansion as many nationalist anti-Christians of his day and of the present do. See opinions of Indian, K.M. Panikkar, (Asia and Western Dominance 1953) in S.C. Neill, Christian Missions (1965), 560. For him Christianity was a vital plant in its own right, capable of surviving independently of changing political and economic circumstances.

transplanted religion,' he wrote, 'nurtured and fostered by exotic influences can never be expected to do much good for any nation.'¹ Only Japanese Christianity, he believed, would be able to save Japan:

No man was ever saved by other men's faith, and no nation will ever be saved by another nation's religion. Neither American Christianity nor Anglican faith be it the best of its kind will ever save Japan. Only Japanese Christianity will save Japan and the Japanese. 2

Disappointingly Uchimura's 'Japanese Christianity' hardly goes beyond the accidentals connected with the technicalities of transplanting. Yet he wanted, and was in a better position than most foreign missionaries to give, that reappraisal of Christianity in the light of Eastern values. Bouquet speaks of the external theological re-evaluation of Christianity in the light of insights from non-Christian religions, and internal re-evaluation upon the basis of more scientific knowledge of Scripture, deeper knowledge of its Hebraeo-Christian cradle and recasting of views about the physical universe, including man.³ The essence of a Japanese Christianity must be

1. Diary (on Clark) (1913), UC, XIX, 337.

2. 'Japanese Christianity' (1920), UC, VII, 66.

3. A.C. Bouquet, The Christian Faith and Non-Christian Religions, (1958), p.338.

Christianity re-evaluated in the light of Japanese religious traditions and upon the ground of Japanese scientific studies and culture.¹ Uchimura's efforts were directed more towards the latter rather than to the former.

Uchimura openly declared his desire for and right to have Japanese Christianity. 'My principle,' he said, 'is Christo-national and any institution in my country which is not Christian and at the same time national has but very little of my sympathy.'² With unassailable logic Uchimura answers those who criticise him for upholding Japanese Christianity. Missionary critics maintained that Christianity was a universal religion and for Uchimura to uphold Japanese Christianity was to make a universal religion a national religion. 'Very true,' he concedes, 'but do not these very missionaries uphold sectional or denominational forms of Christianity which are not very different from national Christianity?'³ If any foreigner had a right to found his own Christianity, he could see no reason why a Japanese should not be able to do the same. Could each of the myriad kinds of Christianity be a universal religion?⁴

1. For original Japanese theological thinking see C. Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology, Philadelphia (1960), quoted by Neill op.cit. 330, 589.

2. Letter (1889), UZ, XX, 191.

3. 'Japanese Christianity' (1926) UC, VII, 152.

4. Ibid. 154

He pointed out the national element in a number of the Christian sects, and asked why he should not likewise be able to call Christianity professed by Japanese by the name Japanese Christianity. Episcopalianism was essentially an English Christianity, Presbyterianism a Scottish and Lutheranism a German.¹ He thought there should be no reason for not having a Japanese Christianity.

'When a Japanese truly and independently believes in Christ,' he wrote, 'he is a Japanese Christian, and his Christianity is Japanese Christianity. It is all very simple.'² The question however was not a simple one nor was there a complete parallel between the origin and nature of the 'national' Christianites to which Uchimura refers and the Japanese Christianity he and Yokoi, Ebina and Kōzaki and other nationalistically minded Christians tried to promote.³ The former came from an overflow of faith or from a casting off of long established politico-religious authority. The latter came from an infusion of nationalism and refusal to accept foreign financial and cultural domination. What is termed Japanese Christianity was not

1. Ibid. 152.

2. 'Japanese Christianity' (1926), UC, VII, 152.

3. Advocates of an entire separation of the native churches from foreign control and influence started a magazine Japanese Standard Christian Church. Writers who agreed to contribute were D. Ebina, S. Iwamoto, T. Yokoi and M. Oshikawa. See JWM 6th November, 1897, p.488,

the spontaneous development of an intense faith taking place within national boundaries but, a foreign religion into which attempts were made to inject national elements.

Uchimura's Japanese Christianity far from being a spontaneous religious movement was rather the product of a deliberate choice.¹ He was able to select out of the many features present in the variegated forms of Western Christianity with which he was familiar those that appealed to him and reject those he did not like. Also he was in a position to add those elements of his own Japanese religious and cultural traditions that he thought should be incorporated into the foreign religion.

What then was the Japanese Christianity Uchimura hoped for and worked to establish in Japan?

First he wished to see Christianity presented in language and concepts intelligible to his countrymen. It had, therefore to be preached in Japanese and not in the 'King's or Yankee' English.² The ideas of Christianity

1. R. Thouless' introductory remarks in Conventionalization and Assimilation in Religious Movements as problems in Social Psychology make this distinction clearer.

2. Through language the East may give to the West the light Uchimura speaks of in 'Japan, Its Mission,' 1892, US, XXIV, 26. P. Devanandan in 'The Resurgence of Non-Christian Religions' says: 'In the providence of God it is quite possible that by making it necessary for us as Christians to witness to His works, as we understand them, in the words of the religion of others to whom we seek to communicate the Gospel, there may be a purpose we have yet to fathom.' In G. Anderson (ed.) The Theology of the Christian Mission, (1961) p.155.

should, he thought, be presented as far as possible in terms of Japan's literature and religion. He advises young missionaries 'to find in the native literature and religion, cases of very close approach to the Gospel truth.' He thought that 'there were many things in Bushidō and Buddhism that came very close to Christianity 'and by judicious use of these preaching of Christianity in this country is made very much easier.'¹

This was good pedagogical advice to explain the unknown in terms of the known, but Uchimura's reason for giving it was not pedagogical. Uchimura in his own teaching of Christianity did not follow this advice. It is hard to find any instances in his writings where he makes telling use of Japanese literature, history and religion to explain Christianity. From Francis Xavier, who tried to use the term 'Dainichi' for 'God' to the more recent missionaries who considered the problem it was generally considered likely to lead to confusion if Japanese religious concepts were used to convey the truth of Christianity.² Uchimura's commentary upon the Bible, his lectures on Christian doctrine his moral exhortations with their frequent references to Christian saints and heroes of Western Christianity, are based exclusively upon foreign sources, the writings of

1. 'Advice to young Missionaries' (1926) UC, VII, 148.

2. See Proceedings of Osaka Conference 1883.

Luther, Calvin, Barnes, Godet, Havergal. They bear out Troeltsch's contention that Christianity and Christian culture are so inextricably intertwined that a Christian can say little about his faith to members of other civilizations, and the latter in turn cannot encounter Christ save as a member of the Western world.¹ In fact, Uchimura shows little sympathy for those who try to interpret Christian truth in terms of Buddhist doctrine. For example Buddhist Pure Land, 淨土 belief in Tariki 他力 (other effort) is one of the closest approximations in Japanese religion to some Christians' belief in salvation through Christ's merits,² yet Uchimura rejects as stupid the question of one who tries to understand Christianity by formulating a question in terms of the Buddhist concept of Tariki (other help) and Jiriki 自力 (self help).

1. E. Troeltsch's Christian Thought (1923) pp.21-35 summarized in H. Niebuhr Christ and Culture (1952) p.44.

2. Not in a technical sense (e.g. as defined by Daiei Kaneko 'The Meaning of Salvation in the Doctrine of Pure Land Buddhism', The Eastern Buddhist, September 1965, pp. 48-63) but in the common belief of ordinary people (e.g. as suggested by Uchimura when he wrote: 'It is rash to believe that because one man believes in Christianity and another in Buddhism that their religious creeds are dissimilar - for the latter may worship Amida in the same spirit in which the former worship God.') c.f. Japan Weekly Chronicle, 22nd August 1912, p.332, in article on 'Ethics Religion and Patriotism.' Concerning the inconsistency of this quotation with following quotation see Chapter VII on the difference in Uchimura's writings that were intended for Japanese and those for foreigners.

In early Buddhism there was no god and no soul and hence to save oneself there was no other way apart from self effort, as has been shown to us by Monier Williams, Rhys Davis and other Buddhist scholars. Hence it is strange that within Buddhism there appeared the so-called other help sects such as Jodo and Shinshū. Japanese deeply influenced by Buddhism, on hearing about some religion, ask whether it is self effort or other effort, hoping thus to find out what kind of religion it is. Since in Buddhism, Zenshū is self effort and Shinshū is other effort they ask what Christianity might be, self effort or other effort. When we come to think about it this is really a stupid question. Christianity is not a Buddhist sect, therefore one should not ask to which of the different groups of sects that arose within Buddhism it might belong. 1

Uchimura's advice to find 'in the native literature and religion cases of very close approach to the gospel truth' was rather a criticism of the attitude of missionaries who did not even consider the possibility of there being such approximations.² Uchimura in his condemnation of the lack of interest some missionaries showed towards the Japanese language criticizes the absence in the missionaries of a love sufficiently strong to make them work for the indigenization of Christianity in the religions

1. 'Tariki to Jiriki' (Self Help and Other Help) (1925), UC, IX, 136-7. Uemura thought that the Christian could discover in the faith of Buddhist Saints like Hōnen, valuable material for explaining Christian mysteries. 'Kurodani no Shōnin' (The Priest of Kurodani), (1908), NEBZ, vol.52, p.217.
 2. Ienaga thinks that Uchimura himself had neither sufficient understanding of nor sympathy with Japanese history and literature. S. Ienaga, The Modern Spirit and its Limitations (1956) p.167.

and culture of the people to whom they preached.¹ 'The fact that these missionaries despise our language,' he wrote, 'is a sure evidence that they have no true love for our souls.'² Moreover Uchimura objected to the Japanese being converted not only to Christianity but also to Western ways of thinking and acting so that they virtually became denationalized,³ and then adopted Americanism or Anglicanism to cover up their lost nationality.⁴ There could be no true Japanese Christian unless the person was a true Japanese⁵ and he believed that hope for Japan lay in Christian youth who did not worship missionaries.⁶

That Uchimura's promotion of 'Japanese Christianity' was more a de-Westernization of Christianity than a positive adaptation to Japanese culture is seen also in his warning to those Japanese who lose their Christianity in attempting to make it too Japanese:

In most cases Japanese try to Japanize Christianity not christianize Japan. Accepting such Japanized Christianity they call themselves Christians. It soon appears that they are not true Christians. Before long Japanized Christianity becomes worldly Christianity and such Christians end up in the world as ordinary Japanese. There are many Japanese Christians who have passed through this metamorphosis. 7

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1. See M. Warren 'The Meaning of Identification' in The Theology of the Christian Mission (ed. G. Anderson) (1961) 229., for missionary's duty 'to identify with' those to whom he preaches.
 2. 'Missionaries and Language' (1916), UC, VII, 26.
 3. Letter, (1920), UZ, XX,
 4. 'Japanese Christianity' (1926), UC, VII, 154.
 5. 'Seisho no Kenkyū' (Bible Study) (1926), UC, XI, 337.
 6. Nikki (1898), UC, XVIII, 397.
 7. 'Nihon to Kirisutokyō' (Japanese and Christianity) (1904), UC, VI, 22.

He spoke out against the proselytizing procedures followed by foreigners as being unsuited to the Christianity he considered proper for Japan. In his advice to young missionaries he deplores the emphasis placed upon the externals of Christian civilization instead of upon the essential truths of the faith. Missionaries spent their energy teaching English, running Y.M.C.A.'s, organizing sport instead of preaching the Gospel. The result was that many were 'converted' to Christianity, who really knew little about Christianity itself.¹

The drive and business-like manner of Christian missionaries Uchimura thought to be out of harmony with Japanese character. 'No true Oriental,' he wrote, 'can accommodate himself to the Occidental practice of "the drive".'² In a letter to Bell he said:

I think it is this "business-principle" which is at the root of all evils in the modern American Christianity. I see it distinctly in the missionaries sent here by American churches. They may know "how" to make converts of heathens; but "what" Christianity is, I am afraid they know little or nothing. 3

1. 'Advice to Young Missionaries' (1926) UC, VII, 141. See also 'Yo no Kirisutokyō' (My Christianity) (1929) UC, IX, 107-8. He calls the Americans the Jews of the present day, seeking, as they are, for visible signs of success in their Christianity. ibid.

2. 'Duty of Inaction' (1926) UC, VII, 166.

3. Letter (1919) UZ, XX, 808. See also 'Genkon waga kuni ni oite Kirisutokyō no furuwazaru ichi daigenin,' (1898) US, XVII, 66.

The negative character of Uchimura's efforts to form a Japanese Christianity is evident in his criticism of methods used by foreign missionaries, while at the same time he used similar methods, and failed to offer alternative means of establishing Christianity in Japan. His criticisms were rather expressions of irritation that Japanese had to depend upon foreigners. 'We begin to feel ashamed,' he said, 'that we must borrow all things from our neighbours.' He wanted to see Japan governed by laws made by her own politicians and converted to Christianity with God's help only.

Christianity Japan must and will have; but only that Christianity which has grown upon her own soil, sown it maybe by some foreign hands, but watered by her own streams, nurtured in her own bosoms and garbed (if garments she must have) in her own oriental attire. So says the patriotic Christian of the extreme left. 1

The third feature of Uchimura's call for Japanese Christianity was insistence on financial independence for native Churches. In no other way was the dependence of Japanese Christians on Western churches more painfully evident and more objectionable to the sensitive Japanese than in the question of money.² In this matter Uchimura

1. Letter (1888), UZ, XX, 195-6.

2. Ibid. See addresses on self support for native churches given at Osaka Conference by P. Sawayama and P. Kanamori. Proceedings of Osaka Conference 1883, 291-309. Uchimura thought that a man should not be praised if he built a church by collecting foreign money. See Greatest Legacy (1897), UC, XVI, 367.

repeatedly insisted on his determination not to receive a penny of foreign money nor to 'eat the bread of missionaries.'¹ 'I often think,' he said, 'that I would rather stop preaching the Gospel than go to missionaries and ask for their help.'² During the Great War he was disgusted when he heard of large donations given for the propagation of the Gospel in Japan by manufacturers made rich through armaments that on the fields of Europe were producing orphans and widows.³ After the War when told of American missionary plans to spend great sums of money in Japan he wrote caustically:

It is said that America is going to spend more money on foreign missions than it spent on the World War. Very generous for America; but as far as Japan is concerned we wish to be spared from the said charity. America has money but little or no true Gospel; and American Gospel preached with American money does veritable, yea infinite harm to the world ... woe to the world if it is to be flooded with American Gospel with the push of American money. May God save us from both. 3

However despite his protestations never to receive money from foreigners he asked for and used overseas money

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1. 'Iwasaki Kōshin to Watakushi' (Iwasaki Kōshin and Myself) (1927), UC, I, 404. Of Iwasaki, a classmate, Uchimura wrote: 'Despite the fact that Christians are mostly those devoid of Japanese soul (Nihonkon), ... I have tried carefully to keep it. Because of this I am generally disliked by foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians. The reason for their dislike is the very reason for my being able to enjoy the warm friendship of Iwasaki Kōshin. I rejoice at being treated as a heretic by a thousand foreign missionaries that I might enjoy the friendship of one like Iwasaki.' ibid.
 2. Letter (1920), UZ, XX, 957.
 3. Toki no Shirushi' (Sign of the Times), (1916), UC, IV, 387.
 4. 'American Money' (1919), UC, VII, 52.

for his own evangelical work.¹ It was the dependence on American and European Christians that reception of their money implied and not to the money itself to which he objected.² 'Our church independence,' he wrote, '... was a humble attempt to reach the one great aim we had in view; namely to come to the full consciousness of our own powers and capabilities (God-given), and to remove obstacles in the ways of others seeking God's Truth for the salvation of their souls.'³

In short Uchimura's 'Japanese Christianity,' his call for expression of Christianity in terms of Japanese culture and religion, his objection to Western methods and his plea for the financial independence of Japanese Christians was a manifestation of his rebellion against foreign ecclesiastical domination. This rebellion is seen most clearly in his direct challenge to the authority of foreigners. At Sapporo, Niigata, Osaka and Tokyo he refused to submit to the dictates of foreign missionaries in the matter of both school and

1. See Letters, UZ, XX, 233 and 744, etc.

2. Tucker has pointed out that for foreign money to be given generously to Japanese churches it was generally essential for a foreigner to be in charge of the receiving church. H.G. Tucker, History of the Episcopal Church in Japan, New York (1938) 209-210.

3. How, p.73. See the powerful words Uemura Masahisa, Uchimura's friend, spoke on this subject in his sermon 'Shūkyō no Ishō' (Religious Clothing), (1903), Gendai Nihon Bungaku Zenshū vol.52, 185-6.

church discipline. He was ready to be converted to Christianity, but in doing so was determined to retain the culture and the loyalties that made him a Japanese. 'I do not call that conversion,' he says, 'which repudiates the religion to which a man was born, for instance Buddhism, and enters another religion strange to him, for instance Christianity of the Church of England.... Conversion is a soul-change, its re-and new creation, caused and accomplished by the creative spirit of God.'¹ Indeed he believed that Christianity would make him a better Japanese. 'I did not cease to be a samurai,' he said, 'by having become a servant of Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed I became a better samurai by coming under the service of the great Galilean.'² Conversion to Christianity certainly did not, according to Uchimura, mean any submission to foreign 'wills.'³

In conclusion it can be said that 'Japanese Christianity' for Uchimura, despite all he wrote about preserving Japanese religious traditions, respecting Japanese methods and maintaining financial independence, meant hardly more than an

1. 'What I think of Christ' (1927), UC, VII, 232.

2. Letter (1920) UZ, XX, 957. See also 'Japanese Christianity' (1926), UC, VII, 154. 'A Japanese,' he says, '... becomes more Japanese by becoming a Christian.'

3. 'Wills East and West' (1923), UC, VII, 98-100.

assertion of the right of Japanese Christians to be entirely free from every form of foreign Christian authority. This was a key factor in the formation of his no-church doctrine. Uchimura himself made few positive contributions to making the 'incarnation' of Christianity in the Japanese professing it any more Japanese than it was Western. He was more familiar with Western religious thought than with the underlying religious thinking of Japanese Shinto and Buddhist traditions, a thorough mastery of which would have been imperative for a meaningful interpretation of Christianity in terms of that thinking. Also his main concern was not to abstract Christianity from its embodiment in the noble traditions of Western saints, scholars and artists, but rather to take it away from the flesh and blood representatives of that Western tradition who by their very presence in Japan and often by their manner were an offence to sensitive Japanese national pride.

Dreams the world knows not are always mine.
Mount Fuji itself is myself.

From Kokinshū (writer unknown)
'Kokinshū Dampyō' (1898)
US, XXII, 329.

Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
Which seek through the world is not met with
elsewhere.

J.H. Payne (1791-1852)
'Gaikokugō no Kenkyū' (1899)
US, V, 194.

CHAPTER IVPATRIOTISM

An analysis of patriotism, the other love of Uchimura's life, its genesis, its object and its expression makes intelligible the conflict he experienced and the harmony he achieved which are described in later chapters.

Several Japanese words recurrent in Uchimura's writings can be rendered into English by patriotism. Aikoku (love for one's country), which first appears in Japanese literature in the Nihonshoki (8th century), is the most common.¹ Yūkoku (anxious concern for one's country) aptly describes the dominant characteristic of Uchimura's love for his nation.² Shishi (resolute, public spirited man) is at times used instead of aikokusha (person who loves his country) where the English word 'patriot' could be employed.³ It is used for one who strives to overthrow a usurper to restore authority to the rightful ruler and is commonly applied to the heroes of the Restoration. Chūkun-aikoku (loyalty to

1. See for example 'Byōteki Aikokushin' (Diseased Patriotism) UC, III, 168. For early use of the compound aikoku c.f. Kotoba no Jiten, Tokyo (1955), vol. I, 4.

2. c.f. 'Yūkokusha no Shinnen' (A Patriots New Year) (1900), UC, III, 383.

3. 'Letter' (1903) US, XXI, 44.

lord, love for one's country) best describes the peculiar nature of Japanese patriotism in which love for the nation was channelled into personal loyalty to its supreme lord the Emperor.¹ Kokkashugi (nationalism) is, if understood in the contexts in which Uchimura sometimes uses the word, equivalent to the modern concept of ultranationalism, or right-wing nationalism.² Nationalism however, in the moderate sense of being devotion to one's country and concern for her normal national aspirations, is the counterpart of Uchimura's patriotism.³ In reality his patriotism and nationalism can be regarded as two aspects of one and the same thing, the one being the expression of the other. Huizinga says that the dividing line between patriotism and nationalism, however one might understand the latter, is in theory absolutely clear, 'the one is a subjective feeling, the other an objective perceptible attitude.'⁴ In practice, however, 'the line dividing them is often very difficult to trace.'⁵

In Japan of the Meiji, Taisho and early Showa years when Uchimura was writing, patriotism was the most powerful

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1. 'Chūkunaikoku' (Loyalty and Patriotism) UC, III, 29.
 2. 'Geretsu naru Kokkashugi' (Base Nationalism), (1899) UC, III, 344. See also 'Sekai no Nihon' (Japan of the World (1896), UC, II, 113 for the Nationalism Uchimura approves.
 3. See R. Okubo, 'Uchimura Kanzō and Nationalism' in T. Suzuki, Kanzō Uchimura in Retrospect (1965), p.93.
 4. J. Huizinga, Men And Ideas (trs. by J. Holmes and Hans van Marle) London (1959), p.88.
 5. Ibid.

psychological force and nationalism the most significant sociological movement.

Tokutomi Sohō said, 'our country is our idol, and patriotism our first doctrine. From the Emperor downwards the vast majority have no other doctrine.'¹ R. Stevenson wrote: 'In Japan patriotism and religion are one thing, so that religion is the summed up expression of the patriotism, not to be divided from it but by death, the death of both.'² The Japanese were acutely conscious of the importance of patriotism in their national thinking. They were conscious too of their world reputation for being as a people the most zealous of patriots. This consciousness exercised tremendous psychological pressure on the individual to make him act and even think as he had learned a patriot should.

Three main factors contributed to the intensity and national awareness of Japanese patriotism; tradition, education and contact with foreign nations. Traditional

1. Quoted by H. Stead, 'Japanese Patriotism'. Japan Society of London (1904-7), p.183. See also L.L. Snyder, The Dynamics of Nationalism. Princeton (1964) ch.15. 'The religion of the Japanese is not Buddhism nor Shinto' Uchimura wrote, 'it is patriotism' (1897). 'Loyalty and patriotism' UC, III, 29. This was a development not merely Japanese. According to A. Toynbee 'Patriotism has largely superceded Christianity as the religion of the Western world.' A Study of History (abr.ed.) p.299.

2. R. Stevenson, The Christian Vindication of Patriotism London (1921) p.62. See also 'Memorial presented to Emperor Oct. 1874 by the samurai of Kōchi Ken.' McLaren, op.cit. 449., and 'Observations on the Times' (1891) UC, II, 84 for Japanese awareness of their patriotism.

Confucian morality of loyalty to feudal lord formed the basis of modern Japanese patriotism. It would, to use Uchimura's words, 'be a superficial observation'¹ to say that there was no patriotism in earlier periods of Japanese history merely because the modern word to designate it does not appear.² In Meiji years however more emphasis than formerly was placed on the traditionally cultivated virtue.³

Education was the second important factor. Universal compulsory education carried out from the early years of the Meiji period, and in the broader sense, education of

1. 'Jesu no Aikokushin' (Jesus' Patriotism) UC, IX, 314. Huizinga warns against thinking a movement or emotion exists only when a name has been found to designate it. c.f. op.cit. p.99. R. Storry in The Double Patriots (1957) p.1., thinks with J. Embree that patriotism is only a recent concept in Japan. E.H. Kantorowicz writing of European feudalism in The King's Two Bodies (1963) p.232-3 says that 'Patria', in classical antiquity so often the aggregate of all the political religious, ethical and moral values for which a man might care to live and die was an obsolete political entity in the Earlier Middle Ages. It was supplanted by loyalty to a person. In modern Japan loyalty did not supplant but added to the classical ideal of 'Patria'.

2. c.f. 'Byōteki Aikokushin' (Diseased Patriotism), (1898) UC, III, 168.

3. Ibid. In 'Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Uchimura lists publications that preached patriotism at the beginning of the century. Kugami Noru's Nihon Shimbun, Shiga Naoya's Nihonjin, Takayama Chogyū's Taiyō, Okuma Shigenobu's Daiteikoku, and adds 'there was hardly a publication that did not foster patriotism.' c.f. UC, XVII, 221. For development of Nationalism see D. Brown, Nationalism in Japan (1960) pp.2-4 and R. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan, (1965) 297.

the people, which became easier with newly-introduced modern media for mass communication, were deliberately promoted by the rulers as a means for instilling religious reverence for the Emperor and devotion to the divine nation he headed. Education was a most potent tool for arousing a sense of national unity, creating a feeling of identity and in positively stimulating the emotion of patriotism. The Imperial Rescript on Education which, as interpreted by the official commentaries, summed up the policies that had been followed up till its promulgation and clearly set out the pattern to be observed in the future, made patriotism the virtue around which all morality was to revolve.¹

The third factor in arousing modern Japanese patriotism was the suddenness and feared consequences of foreign contact that was forced upon the nation.

1. See Scalapino, op.cit. p.296, also E.H. Norman, 'Japan's emergence as a modern State' (1940) p.186. The Tokyo University was training place for bureaucrats. 'In administration of the schools ...' said Mori, 'what is done is not for the sake of pupils but for the sake of the country.' c.f. G. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (1950), p.485-7. A. Mori, the Minister for Education (1889) said 'Patriotism is that quality which more than any other determines a man's fitness to be a unit of the nation. It should therefore be cultivated as much as possible in any school.' c.f. J.M. January 1889, p.32.

This contact united the people in a vigorous effort to safeguard their national identity in the face of the threat of foreign domination, military, cultural or commercial, and to improve their image before the more highly civilized nations of the world. Itō Hirobumi, comparing the intensity of patriotism in the Japanese with the want of patriotism in the Chinese said, 'why I tell you that before Japan's contact with the outer world made the hearts of her people beat in unison she could not claim to show any larger measure of genuine national spirit than the Chinese now exhibit.'¹ Uchimura speaking of the inspiration and dynamism that foreign intercourse arouses in a nation said, 'from henceforth Japan will become great.'²

Uchimura's feelings for his nation and the manner in which he expressed them, his patriotism and nationalism, were for the most part the product of these factors. He was a child of his time, inheritor of his country's tradition, formed by the spirit of its Restoration education, influenced by the emotional atmosphere of the

1. Quoted in The Kobe Chronicle 15th August, 1900, p.41. Okuma marvelled that patriotism should have been fostered in Japan despite her 'absolute isolation' because as he says 'in the state of isolation, patriotism, as a rule loses its meaning' S. Okuma, Fifty Years of New Japan, vol.II, p.182. Primary school children (4th year) were told of Kublai's invasion in the instruction of Patriotism c.f. Kairoku Kikuchi Japanese Education (1909) p.158.

2. Daihyōteki Nihonjin (Representative Men) (1908), US, VI, 61.

nation newly awakened to the world. The concern, even obsession, with patriotism evident in his writings, when viewed from the vantage point of later years and against the background of his Christian principles, seems staged and artificial. Not that Uchimura was insincere.¹ It was part of the artificiality and posturing of a whole nation whose exaggerated patriotism Uchimura unconsciously shared yet condemned. In practice, albeit unintentionally, Uchimura was an orthodox right-wing nationalist.² In theory, which will be considered more fully in the following chapter, Uchimura was somewhat of a heretic for the sake of his Christian principles.

What then to Uchimura was patriotism? How did he display his nationalism?

Unlike Tolstoy who said: 'It is taken for granted that the feeling of patriotism is in the first place a feeling innate in everyone; and in the second place that ... it ought to be awakened ... But neither of these propositions is true ... and nothing proves so

1. See Tokutomi's praise of Uchimura's sincerity quoted in T. Suzuki, Uchimura Kanzō in Retrospect (1965), p.4.

2. M. Maruyama thinks that the term right wing nationalist can be applied to everybody - if an extremely small number of heretics are overlooked - living in Japan from the beginning of the Meiji Period to the end of the Second World War. c.f. I. Morris, Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan, Introduction by M. Maruyama, London (1960) p.XVIII.

clearly the absence of patriotism in the masses as the intense efforts expanded by the Government ... to arouse it artificially and the trifling results obtained ... ,¹ Uchimura considered true patriotism as something far nobler than a feeling artificially aroused by the ruling classes. To him patriotism was a natural sentiment necessarily to be found in every normal man. 'The true man cannot but have a burning love for his country,' he wrote, 'patriotism is for him a natural passion, something he can no more cast off than he can cast off the colour of his skin.'² It was part of his love for himself that a man should love his country.³ God gave to each man his own country so that it might be loved, and that with his nation a man should grow to perfection.⁴ 'Patriotism is necessary,' he wrote, 'not only for one's country, it is necessary for oneself. Louis XIV's words "I am the nation" have a holy and noble meaning ...'⁵

The tangible object of his patriotic love, attractive in its own right and also because of its association with intangible spiritual realities of racial affinity and

1. See L.N. Tolstoy, Christianity and Patriotism (1894) tr. (1922) by C. Garnett, London, p.38-51.

2. 'Byōteki Aikokushin' (Diseased Patriotism), (1898) UC, III, 169.

3. 'Jesu no Aikokushin' (Jesus' Patriotism), (1910) UC, IX, 317, and Chapter I supra.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

cultural heritage, was the land of his birth. 'Mountains and rivers, valleys and plains, autumn tinted reaches of the winding Tone, peerless Fuji mantled in snow,'¹ these things were, he said, the country he loved, his homeland, and in no other place did he wish to have been born.²

Japan he loved with the 'love of a bridegroom for a beloved bride.'³ Separation only made her seem the more beautiful for then he saw her in true perspective and loved her the more. 'That strange something,' he wrote, 'which when at home is no more to us than a mere grouping of rills and valleys, mountains and hills, is now transformed into that living Somebody.'⁴

The people of Japan were, however, the special object of Uchimura's patriotic love, and his strong racial loyalty, a marked characteristic of his nation, is evident to a high degree in his writings. 'The Lord has given me a yellow face and black hair,' he wrote to his parents from America, 'for that very reason I must exert myself to the utmost for

1. 'Yo no jūji shitsutsu Shakai Kairyō jigyo' (Social reforms I have undertaken) (1901) UC, I, 355.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. How, 89. Ibid. 107. See 'Japan's Mission' (1892) US, XXIV, 20 C.F. also Ch.VIII.

the sake of Japan.'¹ When his friends showed surprise at how little he had changed during his stay in the United States, he wrote, 'They imagined that I had lost much of my passionate love for my country by living in America. But I thank God that I went out of my country as a Japanese and returned as a Japanese. I have never regretted that I was born a Japanese.'² After visiting Rev. Murai, recently returned from the United States he wrote: 'He liveth in a semi-American style, in quite a contrast to my way of living, which is every inch Japanese, for you know I am a rabid patriot, and despise foreignism of all sorts.'³ The racial discrimination he witnessed in America and the disdain with which almond eyed, yellow skinned orientals⁴ were treated heightened his sense of racial identity, deepened his love, and fostered his antagonism.

Uchimura's love for his race was focussed upon the spirit of the Japanese people, the yamatodamashii. Yamatodamashii (soul of Yamato), was the epitome of all that was noble in Japan, the platonic 'idea' that was embodied in her heroes. It was the ideal for the realization

1. Nikki (Letter) (1885), UC, XVIII, 177. See also 'Kuni no tame ni Inoru' (Praying for The Nation), UC, IV, 71. Uchimura does not wish to be saved without his country, as did Paul and Nichiren c.f. UC, IX, 314.

2. Nikki (Letter) (1888) UC, XVIII, 221.

3. Letter (1890) UZ, XX, 258.

4. How, p.89.

of which each one in his own life strove. This spirit was strong, beautiful, humble, in a word, the summation of all virtue, a spirit likened by Japan's patriotic poets, as Uchimura notes, to the 'blossoms of the wild cherry blooming unseen in remote mountains.'¹ From America he proudly wrote to his father saying that 'your son was the first one since the opening of Japan to stand up in the centre of the capital, Washington, to explain the meaning of Yamatodamashii.' To Niijima he said, 'can we not christianize our old yamatodamashii.'³

To him this spirit was the very essence of the people, the soul of the nation. 'A nation is not a land, nor government,' Uchimura said, 'but the spirit of her people.'⁴ According to him the land might be lost, foreigners might rule, but as long as the spirit of her people lived a nation could never be lost. For Uchimura the spirit of Japan was the secret of her past glory and the hope for her future. 'Two thousand years of history' he wrote, 'are clear proof that the Japanese are an outstanding people ... a history due to the free and progressive

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1. 'Yamazakura Kana' (Mountain Cherry) (1902), UC, IV, 112.
 2. Nikki (Letter) (1885) UC, XVIII, 153.
 3. Nikki (Letter) (1885) Ibid, 150.
 4. 'Sude ni Bōkoku no tami tari' (People of a Fallen Nation), (1901), UC, IV, 63,

spirit of her people.'¹ Conservative politicians might try to suppress the new ideas of freedom introduced from the West, he thought, but they could never succeed because 'freedom and progressiveness are the special attributes of Japanese.'² 'For a time Japanese may seem to accept tyranny patiently,' he wrote, 'but it will not be for long.'³

To think about the great men of Japan's past gave Uchimura hope for her future. 'Indeed some of them are grand,' he wrote, 'grander than many called Christians.'⁴ 'The Japanese people from whom have emerged Shōtoku Taishi ... Toyotomi Hideyoshi ... Watanabe Kazan are indeed a mighty race, endowed with qualities for doing great things in the world ... they will make their own everything good and beautiful in the world.'⁵

In contrast to his love for the land and people Uchimura openly displayed his antagonism towards the architects and rulers of modern Japan who in considering their great achievement of elevating Japan as a world power had every right to speak as did Louis XIV and identify the nation with themselves.

Uchimura had no love for the Meiji regime and could be and was accused of being devoid of patriotism that meant

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1. 'Shitsubō to Kibō' (Despair and Hope) UC, II, 204.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Letter UZ, XX, 272.
 5. 'Shitsubō to Kibō' (Despair and Hope) UC, II, 202.

loyalty to ruling politicians. He wonders what in fact the political entity of the nation might be. 'It is difficult to decide whether it is something or nothing, this thing that men call the nation.'¹ The nation was not mountains or rivers, rocks or earth, not even the people of Japan. It was something with authority but no mercy, it demanded all but gave nothing. It aroused fear but no love. It was like a lord without benevolence, a father without pity. Obedience it exacted but benefaction it promised not. It was a formless oppressor, an elusive demon. 'We wonder,' he concluded, 'whether it has any real existence outside the imagination of scholars of politics.'² The regime had made him smart under the name 'traitor'. He tolerated but would not love the government nor its ideology. One could be a patriot, he believed, without being under the authority of Itō's cabinet.³

Under the guidance of Itō the political oligarchy of the Sat-Chō group had, by the constitution of 1889 and the Education Rescript of the following year, successfully won the political patriotism of the majority of the people by identifying themselves with the Throne, not the people.

1. ' "Kokka" - Sōzō' (The Nation - an illusion), (1899) UC, III, 288.

2. Ibid. 289.

3. 'Maisō no Ji' (Burial Address), (1900), UC, IV, 27. See also 'Yo no ... Shakai Kairyō' (My efforts for Social Reform) (1901) UC, I, 345. 'My connection with the society of today's Japan ruled by the Meiji government is extremely tenuous' he wrote, 'I differ in principle, policy, aim, morality and faith.'

rulers and entrust them with the government of two hundred years.'¹ The glorious history of Japan was due, Uchimura said, 'not, as Japanese historians maintain, to the preservation of the Imperial line but to the free and progressive spirit of her people.'² As a Jōshū³ man who disliked the Chōshū and Satsuma clans responsible for restoring power to the Emperor he wrote:

Let us re-examine the history of the Restoration. If Katsu Kaishu had been resistant to the demand of the combined military force of Satsuma and Choshu on the eve of the Restoration, the people of these two clans would not have been so despotic as they are now ... The time for a revolution is being accelerated by the Sat-Cho oligarchs. Stand up, men of Sabaku (i.e. bakufu retainers), to cleanse the epithet "insurgent" stamped on you. 4

Stereotyped historians called the founder of the Ashikaga (~~Tachibana~~) Shogunate the most wicked character in the whole history of Japan. Uchimura praised him as a great hero, faithful in friendship, generous, persevering under adversity. Obviously directing his remarks against the modern courtiers who as politicians hovered around the Throne and from its protective side attacked the people,

1. 'Shitsubō to Kibō' (Despair and Hope) UC, II, 204.

2. Ibid.

3. Old Japanese province of Kōzuke, at present Gumma Prefecture.

4. The Author of Peace UZ, II, 421, quoted by Arima, op.cit. p.171. Katsu yielded Edo to Imperial troops to prevent the city being destroyed by fire. See Uchimura's account in Representative Men of Japan pp.20-21.

Uchimura noted that it was because Japanese history had been mostly written by courtiers that they unjustly attached the epithet of 'national enemy' and 'traitor' to those who stood for the rights of the people. The people, according to Uchimura, were still under this delusion.¹

The succession of eulogies and lamentations with which Uchimura expresses his patriotic love for Japan, especially for her people, is typical of the emotional reaction to the superiority of the West displayed by Japanese during the last hundred years and evident even today.² It is the product of a Japanese attitude which often bewilders foreigners and gives rise to the paradox of a self-effacing people seeming so proud. At times Uchimura praises his nation exaggeratedly and at others he bewails her weakness, her lack of morality and her deficiency of true religious spirit. The apparent contradiction really results from two aspects of a feeling of deficiency or genuine sense of inferiority, an appreciation of which

1. See summary of 'All Sorts of Short Essays' in JWC, (1908) p.89. 'Japan is not the Imperial Family ...' Uchimura wrote in 1901. c.f. UC, V, 13. Uchimura's praise for the Hojo bakufu is significant because in 1871 the Restoration government had posthumously raised Kusunoki, who fought against the Hojo, to high rank and built a temple in his honour on the spot where he died for the Emperor. See Chapter IV infra.

2. M. Jansen says: 'The transition from unjustified enthusiasm about the West to scepticism, from self abasement to self assertion in regard to things Japanese, was typical.' M. Jansen, Changing Attitudes in Modern Japan Princeton (1965), p.65.

is important for an understanding of Uchimura's admiration of and desire for Christianity.

He himself was aware of his double-faced attitude. 'In foreign countries I praise Japanese' he said, 'but when I return to Japan my main task is to point out her defects.'¹ In his association with foreigners, in reading of their heroes, in contemplating their art, he was ready to find equal, compensating or even superior perfections in his own people. He smarted under insinuations of foreigners that Japanese were in any way inferior. However, when thinking of his own people or when addressing them, he lamented their failings, exaggerated their deficiencies and concentrated on the unfavourable comparisons with foreigners. Uchimura's patriotism, like the Christianity he sought, was something that served to make 'our bad appear worse and our good appear better.'²

To make known to the world the good of the Japanese people was the patriotic motive that prompted him to write Representative Men of Japan. 'With all the cooling of my youthful love for my country,' he wrote in the Preface, 'I cannot yet be blind to the many fine qualities of her people ... That I may still help to make the good qualities

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1. Nikki (1889) UC, XVIII, 415.
 2. How, p.196.

of my countrymen known to the outside world - qualities other than blind loyalty and bloody patriotism usually attributed to us - is the aim of this, I presume, my last attempt in a foreign language.¹ It was in this work, influenced by Emerson's Representative Men, that he gave his short biographies of worthy Japanese not generally known to foreigners, assembled in one place to introduce to foreigners 'various facets of our yamatodamashii.'²

The same motive of seeing that his people be honourably represented in the West and his sensitivity as to what foreigners might think of the Japanese made him write that only the best specimens³ should be sent overseas, to represent the nation. He himself was conscious of a duty to be a worthy moral ambassador of his country in foreign lands. 'Every sojourner in a strange land' he wrote, 'is a minister plenipotentiary of his country.'⁴ Knowing that the world would condemn or applaud his nation according to the manner in which he behaved, Uchimura, during his stay in America, endeavoured to put aside 'flippancies, flirtings and levities.'⁵

His desire to see Japan present a good face to the world made him regard those who belittled their own people

1. Representative Men of Japan (1908) Preface. Uchimura thought it a shame that he had to use a foreign language and not Japanese in order to reach a world audience. c.f. UC XVI. See also p.377.

2. Daihyōteki Nihonjin (Representative Men of Japan), (1908) Japanese Preface, US, VI, 22. See also Chapter I.

3. How, p.109. See also letter (1885) Japan Quarterly (1956).

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

before foreigners as traitors to their nation. He felt that the condescending attitude shown by foreigners to Japanese and the resulting shame of ^{extra} territoriality were inevitable consequences of foreigners being made acquainted with only the trivial aspects of Japanese life such as lacquer ware, china ware and certain customs of Japanese womanhood.¹ He scorned Inoue for eulogizing Japan in Tokyo but speaking deprecatingly about her people when in Berlin and London.² Christian Japanese as well as missionaries he thought should be reluctant to denigrate pagan peoples in the hope of winning Christian support for missions. 'The best of missionaries,' he said 'are always upholders of the cause and dignity of the people to whom they are sent and they are as sensitive as the patriotic natives themselves about expressing idolatries and other degradations before the so-called Christian public.'³

1. Tamura Naomi's 'The Japanese Bride', to which Uchimura refers (c.f. Daihyōkki Nihonjin, US, VI, 22) was the most famous example of Japanese belittling Japanese women. c.f. Kishimoto, Religion in Meiji Japan p.265.

2. Daihyōkki Nihonjin (Representative Men of Japan), (1908) US, VI, 22. Katayama Sen maintained that Japan herself had made smooth the way for anti-Japanese agitation in America. Her diplomats were lions at home and mice abroad. c.f. JWC 17th April 1924, 534. c.f. also 'Observations on the Times' (1896) US, XXIV, 68.

3. How, p.137. To Bell he wrote: 'I know from my own experience in America that a heathen convert must speak with quite humiliating manner about his own heathendom ... to call up "pity" from Christians. That I have never done however.' 'Letter', (1893) UZ, XX, 261.

His appreciation of the high spiritual and moral ideals taught by Christianity and practised, he believed, by the early Christians, the English of Cromwell's time and the first generation of Pilgrim Fathers, made him conscious of what he considered to be the deficiencies, 'the idolatries and degradations' of his nation. He refuses, however, to be forced to admit any superiority to Japan that he found in Western people or culture. Just as his love for Christ and his desire to see Christianity spread amongst his countrymen made him distinguish Christianity from Western civilization, in like manner his love for Japan and wish to see her good name upheld and spread amongst Western nations made him try to improve the reputation of his people by attributing to them Christian-esteemed virtues, and at the same time to belittle the exaggerated opinion in which the West held itself because of its Christianity. His realization of the meaning of faith, he said, was not due to the preaching of Christian missionaries but to the Japanese Buddhist saints, Hōnen, Nichiren and Shinran.¹ Also Christianity was not a Western religion but Eastern, and Japan had more right to glory in the religious heritage of the East than did the West. He objected to Westerners using such words as 'pagan', 'heathen' and 'native' because of the suggestion of the superiority of

1. See 'Waga Shinkō no Sōsen' (The Progenitors of My Faith) (1919) UC, XVII, 70-80, and 'Waga Shinkō no Yū' (The Friends of My Faith), (1915), UC, XVII, 80-84.

the users to those about whom the words were used.¹ His continued antipathy towards missionaries was basically an unwillingness to encourage the idea that Japan was pagan and uncivilized, because, as a writer in the Chōya pointed out, nothing could be more despicable and servile than for Japanese to admit their moral and cultural poverty by welcoming missionaries.² The same reason made him angry with those who begged for funds in America. 'Because of such things,' he said, 'it is no wonder that gradually Americans come to despise us.'³ 'Japan must be saved,' he said, 'not through the pity of foreign missionaries but through the sanctified and noble patriotism of the Japanese themselves.'⁴

In the field of politics no less than in that of religion and morality he was sensitive as to the honour and dignity of his nation in respect to other countries. He resented the slight to the Japanese implicit in the treaties which gave extraterritorial rights to foreigners and in the restriction placed by foreign countries on Japanese immigration. He calls on the heroes of Japan

1. For sensitivity of Japanese to words 'heathen' see W.E. Griffis Dux Christus, p.42. For Uchimura's dislike of the word see letter of G.E. Albrecht, JWM, (1891) p.590, and Letter to Bell (1894) UZ, XX, 272.

2. Quoted in JM, 5th February, 1889.

3. 'Beikokujin yori Kinsen o ukuru Gai' (The harm in Receiving Money from America), (1924) UC, IV, 373.

4. 'Nihonkuni no Kyūsai' (The Salvation of Japan), (1910) UC, V, 329.

to rise from their graves to teach the Japanese to be courageous and virile and to show the nations that they must be 'more circumspect in their treatment of one of the great countries of the world.'¹ To Bell he wrote: 'Today, there will be a great prayer meeting in Yokohama, to pray over the amicable settlement of treaty revision with Great Britain and other Powers. I don't believe much in this way of using Religion in matters of political complication. I believe to meet Justice with Justice, and sword, if need be, with sword.' He was prepared to pray in private for a solution to these problems but was unwilling to 'buy off' the 'leniency' of the British by 'praying in market places.' He thought it singular that the same nation that sent missionaries to Japan also sent gun-boats. Foreigners preached justice to heathens, he thought, but were unjust themselves. Yet they pitied heathens because they bow before stone and wood. 'Great God' he wrote, 'the Christian England is no more Thine than Heathen Japan is.'² He asked God to forgive the poor heathen if he did not come to God speedily, because those who confess the name of God blasphemed Him by acts of avarice and injustice intolerable even to the eyes of the pagan worshipper of wood and stone.

1. Daihyōteki Nihonjin (Representative Men of Japan) US, VI, 22.

2. Letter, (1890) UZ, XX, 203.

'Serious problem, Mr. B.,' he wrote, 'You can easily see how my blood boils. Pro Christo et Patria!'¹

In 1924, after the Exclusion Act had been passed by Congress, all the latent animosity he had against Americans, and especially missionaries, seemed to boil over. He became friends once again with Tokutomi Soho and wrote some of his most bitter articles against the so-called Christian countries of the West.² His resentment extended also to those Japanese who were converted by American missionaries. 'I am a Japanese as well as a Christian and I cannot be indifferent when my country is insulted,' he wrote to Bell, '... I think American missionaries do not understand what Japanese Patriotism is.'³

Even in the matter of technology he is reluctant to admit superiority of foreigners. The Japanese had the spirit and inherent ability, he thinks, not to be in the least surprised at the advanced techniques displayed by the West, but immediately began to absorb and digest them. He naively adds that 'Within a few years they were driving by themselves machines which the Westerners had taken several hundred years to invent.'⁴

The twofold manner in which he displays love for his country offers an excellent example of the distinction made

1. Ibid.

2. See Nikki (1924) UC, XXI, 19-24 and UC, VII, 112.

3. 'Letter' (1924) UZ, II, 1140.

4. 'Shitsubō to Kikō' (Despair and Hope) UC, II, 204.

by Huizinga who, following the idea suggested by the Greeks who divided all things into either affection or controversy, placed patriotism in the category of affection and nationalism in that of controversy.¹ His nationalism, the controversy by which he endeavoured to uphold the honour of his nation abroad, made him try to uplift its dignity at home. He emphasized at home Japanese deficiencies relative to ideals of the West held by Japanese, just as he exaggerated abroad their excellencies relative to the low opinions of Japan entertained by the West.

It is significant that in Christianity the first echoes of his patriotic sentiments which he heard were in the lamentations of Jeremiah. 'Patriotism that was quenched somewhat by accepting a faith that was exotic in origin,' he wrote after his first reading of the prophecies of Jeremiah, 'now returned to me with a hundred fold more vigour and impression.'² In the preface to 'Various Short Essays' which are the best of his lamentations for Japan, he wrote: 'Oh Japan, thou who has been exalted to Heaven shall be cast down to hell. The Yamato race who have succeeded in expanding Manchuria and Saghalin are denied entrance all over the world. Even in England some critics call us animals in

1. J. Huizinga, Men and Ideas, 152-3.

2. How, pp.127-128.

splendid cloth, as cunning as Jesuits ...'¹

Even if one admits that his patriotic grief for his country was undoubtedly the expression of genuine love for his people, so many of his lamentations end up as accusations of the Sat-Cho oligarchy that it would be wrong to deny that they are also expressions of hate for the rulers. Concern for the deficiencies of his country makes him the devoted patriot ready to serve. It also makes him an enemy of its politicians, the kind of patriot whom Dryden defines as 'one who would by law supplant his prince.'² In 1924 he wrote:

Today Japan's future is in jeopardy. It is inevitable that evil seeds sown should come to fruition. Blame for bringing Japan to this state must be laid on leading politicians of the Restoration. Ito, Yamagata, Inoue, Matsukata, Okuma, etc., will be arraigned before the court of history. The day for the pronouncement of heavy sentence is not far. At that time true patriots, like the prophet Jeremiah, will say: "my head has become water, my eyes are a spring of tears, day and night I lament for the sake of my people."³

Patriotism, a natural sentiment, part of the primitive instinct of self preservation that had been sharpened through

1. See Review of Uchimura's essays in JWC, July 1908, p.89.

2. In 'Achitophel' quoted by R. Stevenson in Christian Vindication of Patriotism p.28.

3. Diary (1924) UC, XXI, 2.

education to a keen awareness of the geographical, racial and cultural heritage to be preserved - an instinct that awakened by contact with other nations drives to emulation - had a powerful formative force in Uchimura's thinking. This was because of his keen sensitivity on the one hand and his wide contact, especially through books, with various nations on the other. Religion, however, as will be seen in the following chapter, by expanding his outlook up to God and out to all men, saved Uchimura from being either blinded by the instinct of patriotism or deceived by those who would use it.

In the new government we shall place the Emperor where he should be; that is, make him personally see to the affairs of the state, and so fulfill his heaven-appointed mission.

Saigō Takamori (1826-1877)
Representative Men of Japan, 44-5.

'Chant me the poem', it said, 'that comes
 from the soul of America,
 Chant me the carol of victory,
 And strike up the marches of Libertad,
 marches more powerful yet,
 And sing me before you go the song of
 the throes of Democracy.'

Walt Whitman (1819-1892)
 'Shijin Waruto Hoitoman' (1909)
US, V, 96.

CHAPTER VRELIGIOUS COSMOPOLITANISM

The reality of Uchimura's Christian faith as a vital force in his daily thinking made it necessary for him to interpret his patriotism and act upon its dictates only in accordance with the demands of that faith. Belief in God and his conviction of the brotherhood of all men in Christ, enabled him to look higher than merely to an earthly emperor and beyond the narrow interests of his own nation. His faith also gave to his patriotism a vitality that was not dependent solely upon esteem for an emperor system nor upon a sense of national pride and achievement. His attempts to sublimate his patriotism in his love for God and to interpret it as part of his love for the whole human family sets it apart from the 'blind loyalty and bloody patriotism'¹ which, he notes, are usually attributed to the Japanese, and these attempts led to the formation in his thinking

1. Introduction to Representative Men of Japan (1907), p.i. This patriotism often passed as the true Japan but it was in reality no more than a 'useless appendage' 'Risō no Nihon' (Ideal Japan), UC, III, 13.

of what can be termed his religious cosmopolitanism.¹

Uchimura, without dulling the keenness of his patriotism, maintained a cosmopolitanism that was not a vague sentiment which Spengler describes as 'a mere waking-conscious association of intelligentsias'² in which 'there is hatred of Destiny' and above all 'history as the expression of Destiny' but was rather a clear view of the cosmos as the creation of an intelligent Deity and a determination that he and his nation should, as integral parts of that cosmos actively participate in achieving the perfect fulfilment of a divine plan.³

Filled as he was with a sense of history and a belief in the destiny of his nation Uchimura wrote:

1. I have translated *sekaishugi* (世界主義) 'The World's Japan', (1896) UC, II, 112, as cosmopolitanism. Uchimura freely uses *sekaijin*, *sekai no hito*, *uchiujin*, (宇宙人) *Uchū no hito* (man of the cosmos) to render Humboldt's idea of 'ein Bürger der Welt' (世界の市民) of Weltmann. (世界人) See Nagusame, (1896) where Uchimura quotes Humboldt's words UC, I, 296. Uchimura's cosmopolitanism was religious because it was founded on his faith according to which he believed that in the moral and even physical sense the universe was 'Christo-centric' See 'Jesus and the Universe' (1929), UC, VII, 298, and in this sense it can be distinguished from cosmopolitanism based on humanism. For signification of the word 'cosmos' see A. Humboldt Cosmos (tr. E. Otte) (1848), vol. 1, 51-2. E.M. Burns in Ideas in Conflict (1963) 496 says 'Cosmopolitanism or Universalism is based on the premise that the world is a unit and that its essential components are people not governments or states.'

2. O. Spengler, The Decline of the West (tr. C. Atkinson) (1954), vol.1, 184.

3. See Chijinron (Earth and Man) (1896), US, IV, 14.

I do not say that I necessarily adopt what people call cosmopolitanism. Whether it be cosmopolitanism or nationalism, if they are taken in a balanced, scholarly and philosophical manner to their ultimate conclusion they come to the same thing. 1

His cosmopolitanism was not something that destroyed but rather strengthened his nationalism. For to Uchimura a cosmopolitan outlook and patriotism would help to achieve the same end, the glory of God in the health of the whole world body.

His wide vision of the cosmos as the stage upon which men and nations were to co-operate consciously in executing a divine plan taught him to harmonize, at least in theory, what Lecky has termed the two principle moral influences to which man is subject, religion and patriotism.² Need for this harmony was vital for Uchimura. When the distinction between religion and patriotism does not exist, as in ancient Rome and Israel, there is no conflict nor need for reconciliation of the demands of religion with those of patriotism. When there is a distinction, when religious specialists appear who are not identified with the State or civil authority, there is no conflict for those individuals in whom religion has ceased to be a vital moral force, or for whom patriotism

1. 'Sekai no Nihon' (The World's Japan) (1896) UC, II, 113.

2. W. Lecky, History of England, vol.II, chapter 5 quoted by N. Bentwick in Religious Foundations of Internationalism, (1959) New York, p.37.

means little.¹ The need to harmonize the demands of religion and patriotism arises only when religion and patriotism are not identical and when they both continue to exert strong moral influence upon the individual. In Meiji Japan attempts were made by the government to identify the civil duty of patriotism with the claims of Shinto faith. For those who accepted this identification, patriotism was perfected in devotion to national deities, as it was with the Romans. For the Shinto devotee there was no difficulty in being religious and patriotic since politics and religion were one. For those who gave little attention to particular religious beliefs such as the ~~ated~~ Minister of Education Mori Arinori, again few difficulties of conscience arose in practicing patriotism while ignoring its official religious basis. For Uchimura, however, as for many Japanese Christians, whose Christianity, a religion distinct from the patriotism of many of his countrymen, was a vital moral influence in his life, it was necessary to harmonize the demands of patriotism with those of his Christian faith. His criticisms of the patriotism of his fellow countrymen was in reality a projection of his attempts to conform to the principles of his Christianity the patriotism to which by natural sentiment and traditional training he found himself subject.

1. For a study of the relation of the individual to religion and society see J.M. Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, (1957) 233.

His criticisms were directed against the absolute nature of Japanese patriotism, against the hypocrisy that this engendered and against the narrowness of the outlook it produced. The subjection of patriotism to loyalty due to a greater reality than nation or ruler and rejection of selfishness that masqueraded as love for one's country were for Uchimura conditions necessary for the cultivation of a genuine religious cosmopolitanism.

In cultivating his world outlook, firstly he rejected patriotism as a religion, as the ultimate determining factor in the life of the individual, the one and only great virtue to which all other virtues had to be subservient. His rejection of patriotism as a religion was his assertion of the absolute supremacy of God and indirectly of the importance of the individual over the state. A man's primary duty was, he thought, to save his soul, not his nation. As a Christian firmly committed to belief in an Absolute God and in the immortality of the individual human soul, Uchimura would not allow his countrymen to be content with the religion of patriotism.

A noble religion patriotism was, he admitted, capable of inspiring splendid acts of heroism as the example of the Romans proved. In his article on 'Loyalty and Patriotism' written at the height of national enthusiasm for patriotism in 1897 he said:

The religion of the Japanese is neither Buddhism nor is it Shintō. Their religion is nothing other than patriotism. I admit that the religion of patriotism is more noble and of greater value than the various forms of idolatry, materialism and that worst of all religions, the religion of atheism. Some of the most splendid deeds performed on this earth have been done under its good influence. Perhaps it was the religion of Cato, Cicero, Caesar, Germanicus and other great men. Despite its misuse by evil men its surpassing value as one of the most holy of men's sentiments should not be belittled. 1

Patriotism, he thought, was even necessary for a man's salvation. 'Man is not saved alone,' Uchimura wrote, 'he is saved together with the family, the nation and the human race to which he belongs.'²

There were, however, other virtues besides patriotism, which had to take its place as merely one of the many virtues that contribute to making the perfect man. Indeed a man who was pure and just, one who was a 'genuine' man was by that very fact, he believed, already a true patriot. Whereas one who was called a patriot and in the name of patriotism sacrificed the other virtues was not only untrue but even his patriotism was suspect. Self-centred patriotism could never hold a nation together.³ Moreover the nation that insisted on the supremacy of patriotism would surely fall.

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1. 'Chūkun Aikoku' (Loyalty and Patriotism) (1897), UC, III, 29.
 2. 'Kirisutokyō to Aikokushin' (Christianity and Patriotism) (1924), US, XXIV, 250.
 3. 'Shikatsu no Gi' (Crossroads of Life and Death) (1898), US, XXIV, 98.

Is loyalty and patriotism man's one and only virtue? Is a man able, on account of loyalty and patriotism, to become an upright politician, parliamentary representative or to achieve some other high position by wagering, buying and selling soul and conscience ... Patriotism is only a virtue. It is not the virtue. The nation that makes patriotism its cardinal principle will fall, nor will it be able to rise again. 1

As an example of extreme patriots who sacrifice justice to what they regarded as love for their country, Uchimura cites the action of the Japanese Christian directors of Doshisha who endeavoured to rid the College of interference from foreign benefactors: 'I can point to the trouble over Doshisha, as one instance ... of excessive and biased patriotism' he said, '... Japanese are gravely mistaken when they neglect their duty to foreign friends and benefactors because of excessive concern for duty to their country.'² It was the absolute nature of the Japanese patriotism that he condemned:

Patriotism that drives out of every other love and feeling or supplants them all is a curse. The reason why Japanese patriotism is not able to be a reasonable belief and principle and becomes a blind obsession and superstition is because of its insistence on appropriating to itself absolute authority. For the sake of their country people forget even the most ordinary rule of honesty. 3

1. 'Byōteki Aikokushin' (Diseased Patriotism) (1898), UC, III, 170.

2. 'Chūkun Aikoku' (Loyalty and Patriotism) (1897), UC, III, 30. See his praise for France that put justice before the nation in the Dreyfus Case. (1898) UC, III, 239.

3. Ibid.

Many of the Dōshisha Christians of whom Ebina was one of the most famous, came from the nationalistically minded Kumamoto Band. Most members of this Band embraced even their Christian faith for the sake of the nation.¹

Uchimura justified concern for his nation on the grounds that it led to his own salvation, even if it did not succeed in saving Japan. For him faith justified patriotism just as for members of the Kumamoto Band patriotism justified even faith.

I wanted to save Japan. But this was not possible. However my desire to save my nation threw me upon God and finally became the motive for saving my soul. Patriotism is never a bad thing because if it is not able to save the nation it will save oneself. Hence every man should cultivate a sincere patriotism. 2

What is so striking in all of Uchimura's writings on patriotism is the constant effort he makes, despite the exaggerated and anti-foreign nature of the patriotic propaganda of his day, to see this virtue in its proper perspective. Belief in the eternal and omnipotent Creator, God, and awareness of the spiritual reality of the individual

1. See F. Notehelfer, 'A Christian Samurai of the Meiji period' in Papers on Japan 1963, East Asia Research Department, Harvard, p.42. The Christian nationalist D. Ebina said 'It is only when we realize that the Imperial Ancestors were in close communion with God ... that we can understand how sacred is the country in which we live.' B. Chamberlain, The Invention of a New Religion (1912) p.16.

2. 'Aikokushin to Kyūrei' (Patriotism and Salvation), (1904) US, VII, 225.

man prevented him from placing the eye of his moral conscience so close to the duty of loving his own land that vision of other obligations became impossible. Likewise wide knowledge of and interest in people other than those of his own race and concern for other nations saved him from being a frog-in-the-well patriot who, if unconcern for other nations were the basis of patriotism, would be the greatest of patriots.¹

God, and the desire to attain salvation by coming to God, has to be the ultimate aim and motive of patriotism. 'Only in one who fixes his gaze above the nation' said Uchimura, 'is there a lasting and incorruptible patriotism.'² He wanted love for the nation to be part of a greater love. For him that greater love was love for the Christian God. He blamed what he regarded as the withering of Japanese patriotism upon the failure of teachers to base love for the nation upon the eternal and inexhaustible spring of virtue, God. In 1901 he wrote:

We do not believe in God for the sake of our country, we love our country for the sake of God. We do not preach the future life for the sake of the present, we warn the present for the sake of the future. We do not talk of the soul for the sake of the body, but purify the flesh for the sake of the soul ... if we discuss politics or society it is for the sake of making God's will to be done on earth as it is in heaven. ³

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1. Chijinron (Earth and Man) (1896), US, IV, 14.
 2. 'Shotō Dokugō' (Early Winter Soliloquy) (1898) US, XXIV, 241.
 3. 'Keisei no Riyū (Reason for Warning this Age) (1901) UC, V, 13.

In 1929 when he imagined that patriotism for which the Japanese were renowned had withered from the land so that it would not be found even in those hotbeds of patriotism, the universities and the First Higher School of Tokyo, he reflected that thirty years earlier Japan had been the 'land of loyalty and patriotism.' Even foreigners used to say that 'Patriotism is the religion of the Japanese.' At that time there had been a revival of Japanese literature; Genji Monogatari, Makura no Sōshi and other works were studied up and down the country. 'Only Christians and students of Western literature,' he adds, 'were not wanted. Their studies were thought to be of no use to Japan.'¹ Such patriotism however had now almost disappeared from the land because educators had not delved deep to the source of loyalty. 'Loyalty and love,' he writes, 'are not merely natural endowments of man. They have a deep source and unless one goes to that source it is not possible to draw from the pure, just, eternally flowing and inexhaustible spring of loyalty and love.'² Uchimura declared that for the Christian this spring 'is called God' but any name, 'The Foundation of virtue,' 'Father of the soul,' 'Source of Life,' would suffice.³

1. 'Kaiko Sanjūnen' (Memories of Thirty Years) (1929) UC, XVII, 221-2.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

The Japanese Government and its educators, in promoting Emperor worship and Shinto, did in fact provide a 'spring of loyalty and love.' Kokutai no Hongi, the nationalistic document published seven years after Uchimura died indicates the fusion of patriotism and religion that took place in Japan especially after the promulgation of the 1890 Rescript on Education. 'To serve the emperor and to receive the emperor's great august Will as one's own is the rationale of making our historical life live in the present' proclaims this work of the Ministry of Education, '... our relationship between sovereign and subject is by no means a shallow, horizontal relationship ... but is a relationship springing from a basis transcending this correlation (of subject and ruler) and is that of "dying to self and returning to [the] One," in which the basis of this is not lost.'¹ More than forty years before the publication of Kokutai no Hongi when the principles it clearly enunciated were being systematically inculcated in schools throughout the nation, Uchimura accused the Meiji educators of adopting the educational systems of Herbart and Pestalozzi and for fear that 'God' would be incompatible with 'kokutai,' they substituted 'Emperor' in

1. Fundamentals of Our National Polity (Kokutai no Hongi) (1937), published by the Ministry of Education. See de Bary, Sources of the Japanese Tradition (1960) 785.

those places where Herbart and Pestalozzi wrote 'God'.¹ Uchimura in his criticisms of official patriotism endeavoured to make love for the God of Jews and Christians the ultimate basis for patriotism instead of ancestral deities of the Emperor. In other words he wanted to revert to the original educational principles of the men whose teachings were twisted, he thought, by those who feared belief in the 'foreign' God to be a threat to their own power.

As a Christian Uchimura felt both intellectually and morally bound to reject the efforts of a system that attempted to make the Emperor's 'august Will' the rationale of the historical 'life' of the people. 'True patriotism,' said Uchimura 'consists in showing forth the glory of God by purifying Japan and making it like to the Kingdom of God.'² It should not be made the tool of rulers. 'Since patriotism is something given by God,' he wrote, 'we should not separate it from God to be offered to governments and politicians.'³ It was natural that the theocracy of the

1. 'Nihon koku no Dai Konnan' (Japan's Great Difficulties) (1903), UC, II, 225.

2. 'Kami no Nihon' (God's Japan), (1907), UC, V, 226.

3. 'Seisho no Kenkyū' (The Pentateuch), UC, XI, 6. Holtom concludes that Christianity because it was a weak - sometimes impotent - minority had eventually to compromise with powerful Shinto Nationalism. The first seven verses of Romans 13 (submission to authority) were read at school when military were present. c.f. op.cit. 95-122.

Jews should appeal to him. The Jews he regarded as the exemplars of patriotism. 'In the history of the human race,' he wrote, 'the purest and noblest of patriots have been the Israelites.'¹ He thought that the Old Testament should be used to cultivate patriotism in the Japanese, a patriotism that would be far superior to that 'national selfishness' condemned by Spencer and the 'resort of a scoundrel' ridiculed by Johnson.² Of his own patriotism Uchimura wrote:

My patriotism is a patriotism cultivated by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekial, Jesus, Paul, Dante, Milton and others. It is not the patriotism that abounds in Japan today, but I think it is a far nobler and far stronger patriotism. When I say that I do not love Japan for the sake of Japan but that I love her for the sake of justice, many Japanese become angry and others laugh. But I believe that only patriotism of this kind will finally benefit Japan and the world. ³

The hypocrisy of many so-called patriots amongst his countrymen called forth from Uchimura criticisms which were as strong as those he directed against patriotism that was made the determining religious principle in the lives of the people. The national adulation for patriots and the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. See also Nikki (1927) UC, XXI, 291 and (1928) UC, XXI, 335 where Uchimura speaks of patriots Nehemiah and Isaiah. Nitobe, Uchimura's classmate, speaks of patriotism as 'The cheap resort of the blusterer.'

I. Nitobe, The Japanese Nation (1912), 199.

3. 'Watakushi no Aikokushin ni tsuite' (About my Patriotism) (1926), US, XXIV, 246.

high esteem in which the virtue of patriotism was held enticed the shrewd and selfish to parade love for their country as a means to attain their ends and compelled the timorous, fearful of social stigma, to feign what they lacked. He calls them 'patriotic puppets', men devoid of private moral principles, who in their efforts to conform to public morality were like actors on the Kabuki stage, aspiring Danjūrōs and Kikugorōs.¹

Hypocritical patriots were to be found throughout the whole range of society, from discontented samuraé who, to use Dryden's words, adopting 'a patriot's all-atoning name' endeavoured to overthrow those in power, to sharp businessmen who by virtue of their supposed patriotism sought to win remunerative government contacts.² 'They speak of loyalty and patriotism with their mouth,' Uchimura wrote, 'but how much does it amount to and how much can we depend on their words.'³ In his letter to Inoue, 'that government flunkey', he declared that 'only time-serving worldlings

1. 'Jisei no Kansatsu' (Observations on the Times), (1896) US, XXIV, 63. Danjūrō and Kikugorō were famous Kabuki actors.

2. See N. Kinoshita's novel, Hi no Hashira (1909) where Yamamoto speaks of putting up the fashionable facade (ryūkō no kaman) of patriotism. GNBZ vol.53, 84.

3. Various Short Pieces (1908) quoted in JWC 10th July, 1908.

who think they have a monopoly over patriotism condemn our actions under the pretence of patriotism.¹ Such men were not genuine lovers of Japan. In times of prosperity they were the great patriots. In times of national difficulty they crept back into the safety of their university studies where they wrote books against harmless missionaries or they entered book publishing firms to peddle patriotism.²

In Meiji Japan, when, as Uchimura remarked, enthusiasm for patriotism blinded people to 'the ordinary rules of honesty,' not all of those entrepreneurs who established banks and businesses ostensibly as a patriotic gesture towards helping to make Japan economically independent and strong were genuine selfless patriots.³ With such men in mind Uchimura remarks caustically that 'patriotism is the art of making money for an individual and advertising it as a national gain.'⁴

1. 'Kōkaijō' (Open Letter) (1893) UC, II, 13. More than thirty years later Inoue himself was called a national traitor because of derogatory remarks he made about the three Sacred Treasures. See Nikki (1926) UC, XXI, 225.

2. 'Yukiyo no Dokusō' (Thoughts on a Snowy night) (1898), UC, III, 155.

3. See J. Hirmschmeier, The Origins of Entrepreneurship in Meiji Japan, Harvard, (1964), for study of financiers, many of whom established business as a patriotic gesture. The patriotic claims of the jitsugyōka were 'intended for public consumption.' 175.

4. Various Short Pieces (1908) quoted in JWC, 16th July 1908.

The Japanese made such a display of patriotism, he thought, especially of the kind that gave out Japan to be the most perfect nation in the world that often genuine patriots were those who, revolting against this exaggeration, appeared to be unpatriotic. 'Japan is a most special nation, the perfect nation of gentlemen, with its own particular national polity, its special virtue, its unique art ... So many Japanese, firmly convinced that all these things are true,' said Uchimura, 'they proclaim them, newspaper reporters recite them, politicians agree to them, primary school children chant them that one comes to feel a person is not regarded as a Japanese unless he concurs in such exaggerations.'¹ It was difficult for the sincere patriot to speak his mind for fear of being regarded as a traitor. 'When patriotism burns within me I want to speak out about national affairs,' he wrote, 'but when I speak out I run the risk of being regarded as a traitor, therefore I strive to suppress my patriotism.'² Genuine patriots, he believed, were not to be judged only by the way they spoke or wrote.³ Lessing, who declared that he wanted to be freed from the trammels of patriotism, which to him seemed nothing more than the bluster of the weak, was an example of the real patriot because by his literary works he became the father

1. 'Aikokuteki Mōsō' (Patriotic Blindness) (1897) UC, III, 61.

2. 'Aikokushin no Yokuatsu' (Suppression of Patriotism) (1899) UC, III, 293.

3. Nor were hypocritical patriots. See 'Gukanroku' (Thoughts and Reflections) (1897) UC, III, 63.

of German literature, and despite his belittling of patriotism showed in deeds a true love for his country. 'This,' said Uchimura, 'teaches us that a man's patriotism is not to be judged by the manner he professes it.'¹

True patriots were those who silently and sincerely carried out their God given tasks,² not those who, like Tartuffe (in Moliere's play) merely made a show of patriotism just as Tartuffe[↓] made a show of his religion. There was more than enough of theatrical patriotism in Japan. In his article on 'Diseased Patriotism' Uchimura wrote:

Our educational system is corrupt because its final appeal is to patriotism. Instead of producing even a single true patriot it floods the country with the clamour of patriotism ... The farmer silently ploughing his field, the student diligently applying himself to his books, are far greater patriots than those whose business it is to preach patriotism ... a handful out of several million silently working farmers speak more eloquently on behalf of love for Japan than all the professional preachers of patriotic love. Indeed the patriotism of the Japanese people is something far deeper than anything such noisy patriots could approach. It is silent and unconscious. The patriotism mouthed by those of the Tartuffe ilk can only be the cry of the sick man appealing for health and strength. 3

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1. 'Hiaikokuteki Aikokushin' (Unpatriotic Patriotism) (1898) UC, III, 213. W. Clarke writing in the Progressive Review in February of the previous year (1897) says: 'The eve of the French Revolution found every wise man in Europe - Lessing, Kant, Goethe ... more of a citizen of the world than of any particular country. Goethe confessed that he did not know what patriotism was and was glad to be without it.' Quoted by J.A. Hobson in Imperialism, London (1930) 7.
 2. 'Hokō no Dō' (Way of Serving) (1921) US, XXIV, 246.
 3. 'Byōteki Aikokushin' (Diseased Patriotism) (1898) UC, III, 170.

The final factor contributing to Uchimura's religious cosmopolitanism was his firm belief that the health of Japan could be attained only by working for the health of the whole world. 'The cosmic truth we teach is,' he said 'that the part, working for the good of the whole, flourishes.'¹ Uchimura's patriotism, just as it reached up to God and deep to the inner soul of man also spread out to embrace all nations. It was part of, and received its life from, cosmopolitanism that was based on religion.²

Hirschmann says of Judaism, 'there is a spirit of exclusiveness and casting out, but there is also a spirit of universality and drawing in.'³ Uchimura who regarded the Jews as the greatest of patriots and wanted them to be models for the Japanese, shows in his patriotic writing both the exclusiveness and the universality of Judeo-Christian religion. In his commentary on Psalm 137 Uchimura writes 'God is universal, but we are national, our body our flesh our soul does not exist if taken from our nation.'⁴ He reproaches those Christians who, carried away by the cosmopolitanism of the Gospel teaching are deficient in patriotism. To him both cosmopolitanism and patriotism were possible and necessary.

1. 'Sekai no Nihon' (The World's Japan), (1896), UC, II, 111.

2. See Kirisutokyō Mondō (Christian Catechism) (1905) US, III, 203 and Aikokuteki.

3. E.E. Hirschmann, On Human Unity, London (1961), 145.

4. Seisho no Kenkyū (Bible Studies) (1901) UC, XII, 137.

Therefore Christians were mistaken, he thought, who thought patriotism to be narrow, who looked on a special love for one's nation as contrary to the will of God on the plea that love for all humanity was the only basis of Christian teaching.¹ Likewise he regarded as warped the patriotism practised by his contemporaries who, he said, failed to cultivate a world outlook.²

Uchimura's ideas on tempering patriotism with cosmopolitanism and nationalism with internationalism are clearly stated in an article he contributed to The World's Japan (Sekai no Nihon) a magazine published in 1896 by Takekoshi Yosaburō for the promotion of cosmopolitanism.³

Japan was only one part of the world, Uchimura pointed out, and could not exist upon the face of the earth independently of other lands and nations. Not to know the world yet to try to know Japan was like trying to know the eye or the nose without knowing the body. He recognized the importance of preserving the national characteristics (kokusui

1. 'Kirisutokyo to Aikokushin' (Christianity and Patriotism) (1924), US, XXIV, 249.

2. See 'Nani yue ni Daibungaku wa Idezaru ka?' (Why we have no Great Literature) (1919), US, V, 7. Also Uchimura thought patriotism alone to be insufficient for a spirit needed to rule other nations. See 'Aikokuteki dōtoku no Ketten' (Defect of Patriotic Virtue) (1908), UC, III, 262.

3. See A Cultural History of Japan in the Meiji Period (1953) compiled by Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyō Kai, vol.V, 'Thought' 460. Uchimura's article is also entitled, 'The World's Japan' (1896), UC, II, 111-116.

Hozon) but he considered foolish the man who in his excessive praise for the eye failed to consider the function of the nose. Both eye and nose had their good points, 'but saying that because we are the nose the whole body must be treated as the nose, is' Uchimura writes 'the warped reasoning of those the world calls patriots.'¹ Also since the perfection and beauty of the nose depended upon the health of the whole body the person who paid attention only to the nose, massaging it, anointing it in the hope of making it the best in the world will end up the laughing stock of society. The ignorance and foolishness of the old belief that the earth was the centre of the universe was being ridiculed by primary school children 'and must not that also be the fate of the patriot's reasoning.' [that his nation is the centre of the world].² The patriot holds that Japan is the pivot of the world, the world having been made to offer tribute to Japan. Japan, the patriot thinks, has the military might to absorb the world. With his gaze fixed upon his own land he is endless in his praise of a fertile and luxuriant country with its valiant and victorious heroes, its abundance of food, clothing and riches, 'but,' Uchimura says 'truth is greater than patriotism.'³ No matter how much the patriotic Japanese might boast, just as it is difficult to hinder the flow of the Black Current, so too even the patriotism of forty

1. 'Sekai no Nihon' (The World's Japan), ibid. 112.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

million is powerless against this world trend. Uchimura regarded it as something not man-made, engineered by the English or produced by the Russians or French, but as 'the law of progress laid down by Heaven and according to whether a nation follows or disobeys this great trend it will prosper or fall.'¹

In Uchimura's grand view of Christian patriotism being fulfilled by conforming to God's plan of progress for the whole human race there was however a fallacy, the flaw which Hirschmann saw in the advocacy of a patriotism that would serve humanity, a patriotism such as advocated by Fichte or Massini.² Could all nations agree, could even all the members of one nation agree on how the destiny of any particular nation might be clearly determined? For the poet and philosopher, for the critic and detached mystic, such determinations were possible, even if mutually contradictory. Uchimura wrote about Walt Whitman:

His nation was America. He was not a philosopher and his country was not some ideal nation he envisaged in his imagination. He did not dream of a Utopia in the middle of the ocean as did Thomas More. Nor like Dr. Stein did he first define what a nation was and afterwards discuss its development. Whitman who loved nature and sang about nature immediately loved his country and showed that love in his poems.

1. Ibid. See C. Dawson, The Dynamics of World History (1957) London. See also Chapter VIII infra, for elaboration of the Christian idea of progress governed by God, for which Uchimura was so indebted to von Bunsen.

2. E.E. Hirschmann On Human Unity (1961) 236.

For him the ideal country was not something to be had in the future but was present here and now. The United States of America, heir to six thousand years of human history, had risen to shoulder the burden of the world. It was sacred and had to be respected not because it was his nation, but because it would fulfil the hopes of mankind. Cosmopolitan that he was, Whitman did not love his nation because of himself. Neither did he love his nation because of his nation. For the sake of the world and mankind, the development of all things and the progress of the Universe, he loved his United States of America. 1

Uchimura's position was similar to that of Whitman whose patriotism he praises. Internationalism, based on a belief in the universality of reason which Whitman had borrowed from the Philosophers of the eighteenth century via the Constitution of the United States, did not lead to practical cosmopolitanism, because like all his contemporaries he had a sense of the reality of nationalities in general and of American nationality in particular.² Asselineau has pointed to the contradiction in Whitman's thinking: 'He preached the brotherhood of races and of peoples, but at the same time he felt profoundly American. He himself was perfectly aware of this contradiction.'³ The same observations mutatis mutandis can be passed about the contradiction inherent in Uchimura's thinking regarding a patriotism that was directed towards fulfilling

1. 'Shijin Waruto Hoittoman' (The Poet Walt Whitman) (1914) US, V, 95.

2. See 'By Blue Ontario's Shore' Complete Works of Whitman (ed. E. Holloway, 310) which Uchimura calls a patriotic song. 'Whitman', US, V, 96.

3. R. Asselineau, The Evolution of Walt Whitman (1962) 133.

the exalted destiny which he believed Japan had in the world. There were contradictions in Whitman, because as Uchimura quotes him he was able to say 'I am large.'¹ Uchimura too, though limited by his nationalism, wanted to be 'large' even if this meant being contradictory. He despised modern Christians who were 'perfect, round, smooth, harmonious' and without contradictions and regarded them as 'unfitted to drive deep into human souls, and conquer nations for the Lord's possessions.'² Whitman likened America to a ship bearing the burden of the world.³ Frenchmen had earlier likened France to this same ship of destiny.⁴ Uchimura, with his world-view patriotism would, in effect, have Japan also bear the burden of mankind. In other words Uchimura believed that the hope of internationalism lay in Japanese nationalism. It is ironical that the idealists in the two nations confronting each other called for the realization of their cosmopolitan dreams through means mutually incompatible - the dominant position of their own nations - which would inevitably shatter those dreams.

In his view of men and nations what was the basis of Uchimura's cosmopolitanism? M. Boehm points out that the

1. 'Self Contradictions' (1924) UC, VII, 112.

2. Ibid. 114

3. Ibid. 298

4. See J. Michelet, French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century, p.311.

cosmopolitanism of any region or age cannot be comprehended without reference to a standard similar to the general intellectual horizon envisaged by the cultured Greeks at the time when the concept of cosmopolitanism first came into vogue. Once this standard has been determined it is possible to discover to what extent, if at all, the varying conceptions of cosmopolitanism have been subject to the psychological law that every hypothesis of a solidarity transcending local or national boundaries conceals a certain consciousness of superiority which individuals attach to their local group, nationality, religious faith, race or culture.¹ The two standards to which Uchimura's cosmopolitanism must be referred are first the solidarity he felt with Christians or those willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Christian God and second the solidarity he felt with his fellow countrymen, inheritors of great traditions and burdened as he believed and wished others also to believe, with the duties of giving moral leadership to the world. This twofold standard explains the ambivalence evident in Uchimura's attitude to peace and war which is considered in Chapter eight. At times, as during the 1914-1918 war when he was saddened at the spectacle of world conflict resulting from

1. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1935), 'Cosmopolitanism' vol. IV, 457.

many nations seeking world domination he called for humility and self effacement of those who would call themselves followers of Christ.¹ At other times when disgusted with the worldliness of the so-called Christian nations he proclaims and expects others to acknowledge that God will save the world through Japan. In both cases God is pivotal as a point of reference. In the former the object of his attention is the individual man especially the Christian. In the latter case he considers his nation as a unit in God's plan for the cosmos.

Uchimura's rejection by his people, which was in reality the natural result of his refusal to concur in the intense narrow patriotism they favoured, helped to make him a 'citizen of the world'. 'This experience,' he says, 'was for me a commentary on world literature.'² As a result of his trials in combatting ultra-nationalism he felt he could understand without explanatory notes, the lamentations of Jeremiah, the Divina Comedia of Dante and above all the story of Christ who was rejected by his countrymen. 'From being cast out by fellow Japanese,' he wrote 'I become a cosmopolite, (Weltmann).'³ Likewise his refusal to identify himself with any Christian institution and consequently his rejection by Christian groups strengthened his feeling

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1. 'Sekai no Shū' (Lord of the World), (1916) US, XXIV, 231.
 2. Nagusame (1896) UC, II, 296.
 3. Ibid.

of being a cosmopolitan. Rejection by his nation widened the cosmopolitanism he shared with Whitman, which was limited by nationalism, and rejection by Christians saved him from the narrowness of cosmopolitanism which was confined to the requirements of a particular creed of Christianity.

It might be argued that Uchimura in Christianizing his patriotism merely substituted for the Shinto deities which served as the basis for Japanese nationalism the Christian God whose divine plans he believed entrusted to Japan a dominant role in the destiny of the cosmos. To a certain extent this is true. It is evident, however, in Uchimura's criticisms of the exaggerated and anti-foreign patriotism vaunted by his countrymen, and officially tied to national deities, that his own love for his country was greatly tempered by a genuine cosmopolitanism founded upon recognition of a supreme Being and of the rights of all men and nations under that Being. 'We have become disciples of Christ,' he said, 'We must not reject patriotism, we purify it.'²

Cosmopolitanism derived from his Christian religion helped Uchimura to purify the patriotism that was such a powerful intellectual and emotional force in his life. The solidarity and consequent sense of superiority relative to

1. 'Jesu no Aikokushin' (Jesus Patriotism) (1910)
 UC, IX, 314.
 2. Ibid. 317.

his non-Christian countrymen that he felt with Christians acted as restraints upon the solidarity and feeling of national excellence that he shared with his people. Religious cosmopolitanism gave depth and breath and perspective to his patriotism.

The breeze of a new Spring melts
water frozen on my gathered sleeve.

Ki no Tsurayuki
Nikki (1930) UC, XXI, 571.

If a single man plant himself
indomitably on his instincts and
there abide, the huge world will come
round to him.

Emerson (1803-1882)
Consolation (1894) UC, I, 338.

CHAPTER VIPSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

'I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan,' wrote Uchimura, 'I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake as yaso, and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow.'¹ No other sentence written by Uchimura portrays more succinctly the conflict that he experienced between Christianity and patriotism than this does. The conflict was a psychological struggle experienced in the depths of his soul between the demands of his two loves, love for Jesus and love for Japan. The conflict was also an external confrontation of opposing social forces of which he was the victim, the forces being maintained by the cultural and political traditions of the East and those of the West. In practice the inner psychological struggle and the external social confrontation were not always clearly distinct. The psychological pressures contributing to the inner conflict that he experienced were partly

1. 'Two J's' (1926), UC, VII, 170 yaso, Japanese pronunciation of Chinese characters for 'Jesu', was generally used contemptuously. See 'Yaso no Ryūkō' (Yaso fashionable) (1912), US, XXIV, 198.

produced by the traditional thinking of the people and by the social conventions to which they unconsciously adhered. Tokutomi Sohō, writing in 1890, said, 'the chief elements that control modern Japanese Society are those of Ancient Japan. If you doubt it, appeal, I pray you, each one, to your own innermost soul.'¹ Fear and suspicion of foreign religion were powerful amongst those elements. Uchimura was able in theory to reconcile the demands of his two loves and establish harmony between his concepts of Christianity and patriotism, but he was not able effectively to control those social forces at work in reaction to Christianity and patriotism and to which he was subject.

Uchimura's 'conversion' to Christianity bears out Thouless' contention that it is difficult to find any clear case of a purely intellectual conversion in real life.² The moral and social factors therefore that had contributed to and those that had impeded his final profession of Christian faith could not be completely dismissed upon his intellectual acceptance of the validity

1. JWM, 22nd March, 1890, 297. For Uchimura's relations with Tokutomi see J. Howes, Thesis, 55. Tokutomi, who placed service to the government before his Christianity offers an interesting contrast to Uchimura. See Kosaka, Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, 201-210.

2. The Psychology of Religion (1950) Cambridge, 201. Uchimura in his article on 'Conversion', in which he makes one of his few enlightening uses of Buddhist terminology when he likens it to hosshin (発心) speaks of it as a discovery of Christ's cross because of the trials that are part of the life of a Christian. 'Konborushyon' (Conversion) (1930), UC, IX, 146-151.

of Christ's teaching but continued to exercise an influence on him until his death.

In theory his reconciliation of the demands of Christianity and patriotism was simple.¹ Christian faith he believed would make him a more noble and courageous patriot. 'A Japanese by becoming a Christian,' he said, 'does not cease to be a Japanese. On the contrary he becomes more Japanese by becoming a Christian.'² In its turn Christian faith would be encouraged by patriotism. Writing on Faith and patriotism he said:-

It is not for us to rebel against our country in order to believe our religion, nor should we reject our religion to be loyal to our country. Our faith is encouraged by our patriotism and our patriotism is purified by our faith. We equally reject a religion that depends on foreigners and patriotism that is not based on humanity. 3

In practice however not even the inner psychological struggle over which he might be expected to have had control was easily or instantly quieted. In a letter to Niijima he said:

I often think that had I not been a Christian I would have had more decision. Somebody stronger than my own will is always with me; and hence the struggle. I really pity my own self. I become blinded by duties and not knowing which is God's voice, I rush at once into a way which seems providential and always a fatal result follows. I weep to read about St. Peter. I often cry with him, "Lord, when I am converted, I will strengthen my brethren [sic]." 4

1. See Chapter V supra.

2. 'Japanese Christianity' (1926) UC, VII, 154.

3. 'Shinkō to Aikokushin' (Faith and Patriotism) (1899) UC, III, 349.

4. Letter (1885) O. Cary (ed.) Japan Quarterly (1956) 453.

Upon his conversion to Christianity the blind patriot did not die nor was the perfect Christian patriot born.¹ The two lived uneasily together during the whole of his life so that in his last years he asks wearily, 'What is faith, what is patriotism?'² He longed for a simple solution to the conflicting demands, but there was none because it was not so much a matter of harmonizing one theory with another as of finding a modus vivendi for the two incompatible cultures in which Christianity and Japanese patriotism were 'incarnated'. What Niebuhr has said of the struggle between Christ and culture as experienced by Christians applies in a special way to Uchimura, who was faced with the problem of accommodating Christ as presented to him in the body of Western culture with the Eastern culture in which he himself had been formed.

Niebuhr wrote:

Struggle and appeasements, victory and reconciliation, appear not only in the open when parties calling themselves Christian and anti-Christian meet; more frequently the debate about Christ and culture is carried on among Christians and in the hidden depth of the individual conscience, not as the struggle and accommodation of belief with unbelief, but as the wrestling and accommodation of faith with faith. ³

1. See T. Yamamoto's 'Kaisetsu' US, XXIV, 361.

2. Nikki (1926) UC, XXI, 240.

3. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (1952), 25. The Japanese philosopher Nishida Kitarō says: 'Even doctrines of a purely theoretical character are not independent of their historical backgrounds ...' T. de Bary, Sources of the Japanese Tradition, 860.

For Uchimura it was primarily a tortuous and painful process to give up one religious faith for another. From early youth he had become accustomed to honouring and praying to many of the Shinto Gods. 'I believed,' he said 'and that sincerely that there dwelt in each of the innumerable temples its god, jealous over its jurisdiction, ready with punishment to any transgressor.'¹ He had often prayed to the God of Learning and in his honour faithfully observed the twenty fifth of each month 'with due sanctity and sacrifice.'² His prayers had been as sincere as any offered by Christians. Each morning as soon as he washed he had offered a prayer to the gods located in the four points of the compass, 'paying special attention to the Eastern group, as the Rising Sun was the greatest of all gods.'³ On becoming a Christian, Uchimura attempted to break completely with those beliefs and cease to follow such religious practices. The sympathy he later showed towards Buddhism and his efforts to see in it a providential preparation for the Christian gospel was doubtless a reassertion of some of his earlier attachment to the traditional religions of his country. Also he continued to follow the Shinto practice of paying respect to the

1. How, 8.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

family Shrine. Only the Christian convert himself could fully grasp the inner trials his conversion involved.

'Superstitious practices of the heathen,' Uchimura said, 'might appear to the missionaries and Western Christians as "rhinoceros life" but such people cannot comprehend through what tortuous and painful processes they were made to give up their rhinoceros' life.'¹

The process of giving up the old life with all its religious and sentimental associations never ended, because when faced with recurring doubts about his Christian salvation and bewildered by the pressing claims of the various sects, he remembered the 'peace and satisfaction' that his 'good pagan grandma' found in her pagan faith and was tempted to feel regrets.² He felt on such occasions as if 'I had been launched upon an unfathomable abyss, tossed with fear and sin and doubt.' 'I am undone,' he cried, 'I was deceived. I gave up what was really Peace for that which is no Peace.'³

In the next place what Uchimura calls the 'rhinoceros life' of the heathen was closely linked with the fulfilment of patriotic duty. The gods he worshipped were the protectors of the land and the divine progenitors of the

1. Ibid. p.136

2. Ibid. p.105

3. Ibid.

people. Buddhism also, because of its long association with the people, had a special claim upon the loyalty of the patriot.¹ He feared that by giving up the national gods for the God of Christianity he would be unpatriotic: 'I early learned to honour my nation above all other,' he said, 'and to worship my nation's gods and no others.'² He thought that not even death itself could force him to vow his allegiance to any other gods than his country's. To accept a faith that was exotic in its origin would, he felt, make him a traitor to his country and an apostate from his national faith. 'All my noble ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were,' he wrote, 'to be demolished by such an overture.'³ When senior students at the Sapporo College attempted to make him sign the 'Covenant of Believers in Jesus' he went to the local shrine where he burst into a prayer 'as sincere and genuine' as any he later offered to his Christian God, and asked the guardian deity speedily to extinguish the new enthusiasm of the college and to help him in 'the patriotic cause' he was upholding of trying to safeguard his own and his colleagues' allegiance to the national deities.⁴

1. Fukuzawa said: 'though Buddhism came from another land, yet it has far more than a thousand years held sway over the Japanese mind and is in fact a Japanese Religion.' O.Cary, The History of Christianity vol.II, 157.

2. How, 11.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, 12.

He was especially aware of his responsibility to safeguard the nation from the encroachments of the foreign faith because his family had been raised to samurai rank on account of bravery in suppressing the Amakusa Christian rebellion. He told Buddhist seminarians to whom he gave an address that the greatest trial he experienced upon becoming a Christian was this inner conflict between Christianity and patriotism.¹

Since as a Christian he had no difficulty in understanding the absolute supremacy of God and consequently the value of patriotism only as a fulfilment of the will of God - the conflict between patriotism and Christianity which he experienced was due not to the conflicting demands of God and country as he conceived those demands but to a failure of the society in which he lived to understand or accept his accommodation of the one with the other. This was in effect a projection into his own life of the practical conflict which he declared should not in theory exist. This practical conflict which took place in the spheres of religion, politics and of society in general, could not but have an influence upon one like Uchimura who was so sensitive to the reactions of the two communities Christian

1. 'Yo no Shukyōteki Shōgai' (An Outline of my Religious Life) (1902) UC, XVII, 181.

and national to which in spirit he belonged. His morose and repeated references to being rejected by both Christians and countrymen were due in part to the inferiority complex in his psychological make up,¹ but they are none the less valid as indications of the stresses to which all Japanese Christians to a greater or less extent were and are subject.²

The opposition to Christianity waged by leaders of the native religions, who in a special way were guardians of Japanese religious and cultural traditions, was powerful in fostering the social persecution to which Uchimura was subject. To say that Uchimura accepted Christianity and rejected Buddhism is simple but misleading.³ He never rejected Buddhism entirely. He tried to build upon it, to harmonize the teachings of Buddhism with the doctrines of Christianity. He regarded the spread of Buddhism in Japan as God's providential preparation of the people for Christianity. Buddha was the moon giving a pale but

1. See for example 'Kaiko no Namida', (1921) UC, XVII, 244 and 'Watakushi wa Shinshujin (Kosuke) de aru' (1925) UC, XVII, 255.

2. 'Yo no Shūkyōteki Shōgai' (An Outline of my Religious Life) (1902), UC, XVII, 183.

3. Uchimura's interest in Buddhism could be a worthwhile subject for further study. Some of his articles on Buddhism are 'Waga Shinkō no Sōsen' (The Ancestors of my Faith) US, XIV, 85-86; 'Buddha and Christ' UC, VII, 312; 'Christianity and Buddhism' UC, VII, 174. I have not been able to find any similar instances of his efforts to reconcile or harmonize Christianity and Shinto.

beautiful light that would yield to the sun, Christ. The faith of Buddhist believers, he thought, could often be purer and more meritorious before God than that of Christians. He admired Buddhist saints. In preparing his Christian lectures he sometimes used Buddhist sermons. He was able therefore in his own mind to harmonize and dovetail one religion and the other, so that Buddhism which was part of his national heritage and an element in the life of his countrymen no longer clashed with the teaching of Christ. In practice however there was no harmony. Buddhists resented Christians. Christians scorned Buddhists. The Buddhists calling on the patriotism of the people formed Societies like the Sonnō Jōhō Butsu Dai Dōdan (lit. Revere Emperor, Preserve Buddha, Great Same Continuation) and Yaso Taiji (Christianity expelling Society).¹ When the students of the Sapporo College became Christians, Uchimura relates, the Nichiren Buddhist priests planned a series of sermons for the eradication of Christianity.² Uchimura's friendship with a number of Buddhist priests and his wish

1. Japan Mail, March 1889, 145. Ichikawa in a pamphlet written in 1903 said: 'This opinion (that Christianity is opposed to loyalty) is confined to a very limited section of bigoted conservatives and to Shinto and Buddhist priests, who, in order to strengthen their position against Christianity have most cowardly taken shelter under the aegis of loyalty ...' JWM 13th January, 1904, 59.

2. 'Waga Shūkyōteki Shōgai' (An Outline of my Religious Life) (1902) UC, XVII, 179.

to live in harmony with them, made their attacks upon his Christian faith all the more distressing.¹ He himself felt constrained to reprove Christians for their lack of sympathy and understanding of Buddhism. In his essay on the Buddhist priest Nichiren he wrote:

And when Christianity made its appearance in the land, it too took its part in the matter, and many more stones were thrown at him from that quarter as well. I know one of its famed ministers once turning his whole attention in that direction. Indeed for a Christian man in Japan to write anything laudatory of this man sounds as impious as to speak good words for Judas Iscariot. 2

Political pressure against Christians was exerted chiefly through Shinto, engine of government, even after 1873 when open persecution ceased and after 1900 when official recognition was given to Christianity as a religion.³ This pressure was exercised through the schools and universities where reverence for the Emperor was inculcated. Christians were taunted as disloyal because they worshipped God as the supreme Lord of all.

1. A Buddhist magazine devoted one whole issue to attacking Uchimura and Yamamuro of the Salvation Army. Uchimura wrote, 'Though I was never hard against Buddhists - indeed, I have some very good friends amongst Buddhist priests - yet they as a body hate me ...' Letter (1919) UZ, XX, 859.

2. Representative Men of Japan, 226.

3. See Cabot Coville, 'Shintō, engine of Government' TASJ, December 1948, 1-23. See also Chapter V supra.

The Christian, therefore, even though conscious in his mind of no lack of loyalty and patriotism, was often suspect to the authorities, if he did not readily conform to established formalities for manifesting loyalty to the nation. Pressure was also at least implicitly exerted on the converts to fit into certain ways of acting which to the missionaries seemed necessary to establish them as Christians. He was therefore at times suspect to the very Christians to whose religion he had given his allegiance. Christian missionaries cast doubts on the sincerity or thoroughness of a Christian like Uchimura who was conscious of his duty to love and respect the culture, tradition and authority of his nation.¹ 'Sometimes looking at myself,' said Uchimura, 'I think there can be no more lonely man in the world ... it seems I have been rejected by my own people and cursed by God.'²

There was another area of conflict, not so tangible as that in which religious organizations contested for prestige and adherents nor so obvious as that in which political powers jealously demanded respect for their respective authorities, but none the less real and one

1. 'Ryokuin Dokugō' (Soliloquy in the Shade) (1912)
UC, XVII, 239.

2. 'Kyōgū to Shinkō' (Environment and Faith) (1925)
UC, XVII, 256.

in which Uchimura suffered. This was society in general, the conflict being chiefly the result of ignorance on both sides. The almost unconscious contempt and vague fear traditionally entertained by the bulk of ordinary people for the foreign Faith were kept alive by the conflict which was carried on in the spheres of religion and politics. It was this sense of being ostracized by both sides that made Uchimura say: 'Socially I often wish I had never become a Christian.'¹

In an address to Buddhist seminarians Uchimura outlines the pressures to which he became subject because of his love for Christ and Japan:

Firstly there was the persecution that all Christians receive from us Japanese. Most Japanese think all the sects of Yasokyo to be the same. They use Yasokyo as a general term for foreign teaching and think that Christians follow the dictates of foreigners in all they do ... when ignorant people think in this way it cannot be helped, but there are those who if even the smallest thing goes wrong, without making any effort to examine the matter more closely, hasten to abuse us as foreign lackeys. It is most infuriating when such people without imagining the great exertions and studies we made to arrive at the truth take us to task for being motivated in our faith by a base desire to receive favour and money from foreigners ... 2

1. Letter, (1919) UZ, XX, 924.

2. 'Yo no Shukyōteki Shōgai' (An Outline of my Religious Life) (1902) UC, XVII, 183.

Again:

Secondly we are attacked by Christians themselves. The Christians say: "He believes Christianity but in order to ingratiate himself with the Japanese and nationalists (Kokusuihozonka) he talks of patriotism" ... The ones who try most to impede my work are the Christians. They prevent my preaching saying that the nationalism (Kokusuishugi) and independence taught by Uchimura will overthrow our religion and destroy our churches ... 1

In short, although convinced in his own mind that he could be a loyal Japanese and devout Christian, he was, at the same time, tormented by the fear of not being able to satisfy the arbiters of patriotism without offending the watchdogs of faith.

What has been said of the inner psychological conflict and the external religious, political and social clash between Christianity and patriotism was dramatically illustrated in an incident that took place in January 1891 when Uchimura was employed by the government as an English teacher at the Tokyo First Higher Middle School.² The incident, known as the Fukeijiken (Disrespect Affair), was like an explosion of the pressures that had been building up both in Uchimura's soul since his conversion and in Japanese society since the coming of foreign

1. Ibid. 187.

2. A thorough documentation of this incident has been made by Ozawa Saburo, Uchimura Kanzo, The Disrespect Incident, Tokyo (1961) 266. The following resume is based on Ozawa's study.

missionaries to Japan. The incident made a lasting impression upon his thinking and it produced in the sharpest definition, the simmering antipathy felt by non-Christians ~~against~~ Christians once the latter began to appear in their midst.¹

The Imperial Rescript on Education which was to play such an important part in the formation of Emperorism was promulgated in October 1890. Later that year the Emperor put his personal signature (Mutsuhito) on seven copies of the Rescript which were to be taken to the seven Higher Middle Schools in Tokyo, Sendai, Kyoto, Kanazawa, Kumamoto, Yamaguchi and Kagoshima.² On Christmas morning 1890 boarding pupils of the Tokyo High-Middle School carrying the national flag went in procession to the Department of Education to receive their school's copy of the Rescript. The importance attached to the Rescript at the time is quite evident in the accounts, reported in Educational magazines, of the solemn reception of the Rescript at the other schools. At the First Tokyo High-Middle School arrangements were made to perform the solemn reading of the Rescript and veneration of the Imperial signature on Friday the

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1. Letter (1891) UZ, XX, 202.
 2. Ozawa, op.cit. p.46.

ninth of January 1891. Uchimura had been at the school for three months. The presiding teacher gave an address to the assembled professors and students, the Rescript was read and then all were asked to approach the platform one by one to bow to the Imperial Signature affixed to the document. Uchimura who was the third to go up instead of bowing remained bolt upright because he was in doubt whether he, as a Christian, should bow to such a thing. The effect of his action was immediate. In a letter to Bell after describing the incident he said:

The anti-Christian sentiment which was and still is strong in the school, and which was a very delicate affair to soothe down by meekness and kindness on our part, found a just cause (as they suppose) for bringing forth against me accusations of insult against the nation and its Head, and through me against the Christians in general. 1

An incident that aggravated the anti-Christian sentiment in the school to which Uchimura refers, had taken place in May of the previous year. A missionary, Rev. William Imbrie (1845-1928), when he went to the school to see a baseball match, not being able to find the gate, climbed over the fence. He was roughly beaten by the angry students who did not wait to ask their visitor the reason for his unusual manner of entry.²

1. Letter (1891) UZ, XX, 202.
2. Ozawa op.cit. 46.

After the ceremony Uchimura was visited by several students and professors and asked them if they had found anything in him which was contrary to the Imperial Rescript in his daily conduct at the school, in his conversations or in his past history as a loyal subject of the Emperor. 'I told them also that the good Emperor must have given the precepts to his subjects not to be bowed unto,' he said, 'but to be obeyed in our daily walks in life.'¹

The President of the School,² Uchimura's good friend, who was absent on the day of the incident and later explained that bowing did not mean worship persuaded Uchimura for the sake of the school to consent to bow, which Uchimura did by a proxy.³ Uchimura's initial refusal to bow was reported widely in newspapers and magazines. More than a hundred and forty articles and editorials dealing with it appeared in fifty six publications during the three months after its occurrence.⁴ He was called a national traitor, a rude fellow. He had to resign from the government school, and was 'almost deprived of his right to live.'⁵

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1. Letter (1891) UZ, XX, 206.
 2. Kinoshita Hiroji, (1951-1910) Letter UZ, XX, 206.
 3. Kimura Shunkichi, (1866-1938) See Ozawa on Kimura's suffering op.cit. 106-124.
 4. Ozawa, op.cit. 132.
 5. Letter, ibid.

A brief analysis of this crucial incident in Uchimura's life illustrates the mental and social pressures to which he was subject because of his two-fold love.

The incident was for him an inner psychological trial. True, he had no doubt that it was not sinful for him as a Christian to bow to the signature even though, fourteen years earlier when he signed the covenant of Believers in Jesus, he had promised to obey the commandment 'Thou shalt not worship any graven image or likeness of any created being or thing.'

At the time of this event most Japanese Christians had come to realize that reverence to the Emperor and shrines meant respect and not worship. For example, in the previous year a Catholic synod meeting at Nagasaki decided to permit Christians to participate in patriotic rites at the Shinto shrines, emblems of intensified patriotism.¹ Uchimura himself admitted 'that the bow does not mean worship, I myself have granted for many years.'² The difficulty facing him was not so much a problem of breaking or not breaking his covenant pledge to worship God and God only, as an uncertainty similar to that experienced by the Corinthians who wrote to Paul about the question of eating meat sacrificed to idols.

1. Fides News 4th July, 1930, quoted in Latourette, History of Christian Missions, vol. 6, p.

2. Letter (1891) UZ, XX, 206.

Just as the Corinthians were concerned lest their actions be misinterpreted by, or scandalize, others who did not think as they did, Uchimura was troubled by the fear that what was morally correct for him might be construed by observers as an infringement of his obligations as a Christian. The conflict between Christianity and politics, and the misunderstandings prevalent in society about Christianity, echoed in his soul. He wanted to be loyal to Christ and at the same time to adhere to the 'life and national polity of the land that gave him birth.'¹

He must have known prior to the actual incident that the attitude he took towards the ceremony of reverencing the Rescript would be crucial, even though he says 'I was not at all prepared to meet such a strange ceremony.'² First it was impossible for him not to have been aware of the intense respect for the Emperor that was being cultivated in the school where he was closely engaged in teaching and guiding the boys. Two months before he had arrived the school received a photograph

1. Nikki, UC, XVIII, 265. T. Watsuji writing of the incident says: 'Uchimura and a small number of Christians were not necessarily opposed to the Educational Rescript but only to the way it was handled. Especially did they object to the ceremony of reverencing the Emperor.' History of Japanese Ethical Thought (1954), 776, quoted in Ozawa, 65.

2. Letter (1891) UZ, XX, 207.

of the Emperor and Empress.¹ A month after he had arrived, during a solemn ceremony in the school to celebrate Tencho-setsu (the Emperor's birthday) 3rd November, the Rescript, which had been promulgated in October, was read and eulogized. The day for the ceremonial reception of the Rescript, autographed by the Emperor in the following year, was known in advance and the implications of attending the ceremony must have been as evident to Uchimura as to the other two Christian professors who saw fit to absent themselves.²

When the day itself arrived, if we are to believe him, it was not a clear stand for Christian principles but indecision regarding conflicting obligations that led to his hesitation to bow. Firstly there were reasons why it was expedient for him to bow to the Signature once he had decided to attend the ceremony. He did in fact respect the Emperor. He had a duty to his school to help to uphold its reputation for loyalty. As a teacher he was bound to give public approval to the Rescript which was to be the basis of education and morality in Japan. To Christians also, always liable to being suspected of

1. Ozawa, op.cit. 39. In his letter to Inoue, Uchimura notes that it was not a question of bowing to the photograph of the Emperor. Confusion sometimes arises over this point. Photographs of the Emperor were first sent out to the cities and prefectures on 28th February 1873, and were an accepted object of reverence when the autographed copies of the Rescript were sent to special schools in 1890. See Ozawa, ibid.

2. Kimura Shunkichi (1866-1938), Nakashima Rikizō (1858-1918). Uchimura mentions their 'having absented' themselves in his letter to Bell.

lacking in loyalty because of their religion, he had a duty not to embarrass them unnecessarily by publicly refusing to perform an act of respect towards the ruler, especially since such an act was commonly regarded as not contrary to the requirements of Christian practice.¹ In particular, because of the resentment against Christians felt in the school on account of the recent Imbrie affair, he was obliged to be especially circumspect.

However there were reasons why he felt inwardly constrained to refrain from bowing. The ceremony, in the circumstances, that is, with the atmosphere of doubt about the loyalty and patriotism of Christians and with the other two Christians absenting themselves, was in effect a test of faith, a trial of loyalty to Christ. Uchimura himself had no doubt that his bow was not worship, the question remained whether the professors and boys would regard him as more loyal to the Emperor than to Christ. The word used by T. Kuhara, the acting head, was also unfortunate for he told the assembled teachers and students to bow worshipfully (reihaiteki teitō seyo).² A sense of duty to give to the

1. See Uchimura's rebuke to Christians who were remiss to their practice of patriotism and thus brought Christianity into bad odour, Chapter IV.

2. Mori Arimasa says: 'His action was not the result of a prior decision. It was because of the determination of his instinctive conscience never to worship anything other than God.' Mori A., Uchimura Kanzō (1954) 20. Quoted by Ozawa, 65.

boys under his guidance a practical example of how a Christian should act was always present to Uchimura. Therefore this public opportunity to give proof of his Faith was of particular importance to him. In later years he speaks explicitly of his concern for 'his boys.' 'I thought of bowing,' he said, 'but already there were several boys who relied upon me, and they were watching me carefully. When I remembered that, I just couldn't bow.'¹

Since there were reasons for bowing and equally strong reasons for not bowing, Uchimura, 'hesitating in doubt,' took 'the safer course' for his Christian conscience and refused to bow.² As he said, it was 'not refusal but hesitation and conscientious scruples' that caused him to deny the bow in the school assembly hall. A few days later when, seriously sick with pneumonia, he became convinced that his bowing would not be taken as worship, for the sake of the school, the headmaster and his students he consented to bow.³

1. T. Yamamoto, (tr. and ed.) Beru ni okutta Jijodenteki Shokan (Autobiographical Letters to Bell) (1950), 61.

2. Sumiya says that Christians felt the danger of Emperor worship lurking behind the respect offered to the Rescript and this they could not tolerate in silence. M. Sumiya Nihon Shakai to Kirisutokyō (Japanese Society and Christianity) (1954) 33. Quoted by Ozawa, 66.

3. See Ozawa op.cit. 151. One newspaper (Mimpō) reported that Uchimura never consented to the bow.

The second great premise of Christianity, self, as well as the first, God, was also a factor in Uchimura's hesitation to bow for he was concerned about respect for himself as well as worship for God. How much personal animosity Uchimura felt for the science teacher who, acting as deputy in the absence of the Headmaster, conducted 'the strange ceremony,' is not certain, but Uchimura definitely was in no mood for allowing others to dictate how he should express his allegiance to the Emperor and readiness to carry out the Emperor's wishes. His mind at the time was filled with thoughts about Cromwell whose life by Carlyle was together with the Bible one of the great formative influences in his life.¹ Twenty years after the event he wrote:

Words are unable to describe the influence exerted on me by Carlyle's Life of Cromwell, a five volume work I bought in a second hand bookshop in Azabu ... It was 1890 and I was teaching at the Tokyo First High Middle School. I forgot everything once I started reading that book. Through it I was well taught how much independence and freedom are to be loved and valued. When I was half way through reading it, I was ordered by a certain Doctor of Science who was acting headmaster to worship (reihaiteki teito) the Imperial Rescript on Education that had been promulgated about that time. But carried away as I was with thoughts of Carlyle and Cromwell it was impossible for my conscience to permit me to obey the order ... 2

1. 'Yo no manabishi ni dai Seijisho' (Two great political books from which I have learnt) (1900) UC, XVII, 160.

2. 'Waga Dokusho' (My Reading) (1909). Bible Studies No. 113, 143-4, quoted by Ozawa, 61.

His deep sense of religion and consciousness of personal independence made him at least hesitate to perform an act that might be construed as contrary to his religious obligations and seemed to him an infringement of individual freedom. His sense of personal responsibility to God and himself was therefore an exception to what Sansom speaking of Christianity in the Meiji years has said of the Japanese: 'A characteristic of Japanese life then and perhaps at all times ... [is] a strong feeling for social duty but a lack of deep religious sentiment, as it is understood by the Western people.'¹ Uchimura's hesitation was a testimony to the reality and strength of his two loves.

As well as illustrating the psychological conflict Uchimura experienced in his own soul, the Disrespect Incident brought into focus upon him the religious, political and social struggle between Christianity and patriotism that had been developing over the years prior to the event and that were to continue after it had ceased to be an item of public interest. Buddhists who at that time were worried at the prospect of Christians being allowed full freedom to evangelize the interior were ready to seize upon any opportunity to discredit the foreign religion. The incident was widely publicized in Buddhist papers.

1. G. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (1950) 503.

As Uchimura noted in his letter to Inoue, anti-Christian Buddhist and Shinto publications reported the affair in a manner unfavourable to himself and Christianity.¹ 'Movements started by my hesitating to bow,' he wrote, 'are still going on, Buddhists and Confucianists, Shintoists and Infidels are uniting against Christians.'²

Political pressures were evident in the respect that the schools were obliged to pay to the Emperor's Rescript and, more/so, in a reaction to Uchimura's refusal that came two years later from the leading government theoretician, Inoue Tetsujiro. In January 1893 Inoue published in *Kyoiku Jiron* (Educational Topics) the first of his three long articles on the Conflict between Religion and Education (Shūkyō to Kyōiku no Shōtetsu) in which he quoted approvingly from newspapers and magazines that had condemned Uchimura's action and pointed to him as an example of the incompatibility of Christianity and patriotism.³ Uchimura replied in a powerful⁴ 'Open Letter' (*Kōkaijō*) in which he repeated what he had told the students - the Rescript was to be obeyed not worshipped -

1. 'Kōkaijō' (Open Letter) (1893) UC, II.

2. Letter, (1893) UZ, XX, 214.

3. Ozawa, 99 and 103. See also Cary, op.cit. 242-3 for summary of Inoue's argument.

4. 'I believe I have never used more forceful language' he wrote of his reply. See Letter (1893) UZ, XX, 242.

and virtually accused Inoue of intellectual dishonesty.¹

It was especially after this incident that Uchimura felt socially ostracized. He had already fallen out with missionaries. Now he was rejected by his countrymen, even his own mother seemed ashamed of him. To Bell he said, 'I am now in this my own country a greater stranger than I was formerly in America.'

The Fukeijiken, a dramatic incident in Uchimura's personal life and frequently referred to in his writings is a key to understanding the dilemma of his thinking. It was one, doubtless the greatest, of the many struggles that were waged in the arena of his soul before Christians who approved his love for Christ but perhaps did not sympathize with his love for Japan and before blind patriots who could not see that love for Jesus could be compatible with a sincere love for Japan.

In that continuing atmosphere of public suspicion and uncertainty Uchimura, in accord with his firm convictions as to how he should show his love for Christ and Japan, worked for his people, their nation and Christ's true church.

1. 'Open Letter' (1893) UC, II, 18. In 1915 Inoue himself was publicly accused of disrespect to the Emperor because of certain references in his Our National Polity and the People's Morality. Uchimura wonders at the change of fortune and how the man who would bury him is now himself 'buried by society' because of his disrespect. Nikki (1926) UC, XXI, 238.



It is a world where blossoms scatter and
the moon is hid. Would that I might
think deeply!

Saigyō (1118-1180)
'Saigyōbōshi ga haru no uta'
(1914) US, XXII, 337.

The heart, that is my kingdom.

Charles Kingsley (1819-1875)
'Sensō to Heiwa' (1909)
US, XXI, 155.

CHAPTER VIII FOR JAPAN

Uchimura wished to effect the reform of his nation by the moral renewal of each individual. 'My aim is the basic reform of Japan,' he said, '... I appeal directly to the individual conscience, cleansing it, uplifting it, giving it new ideals.'¹ He endeavoured to serve the Japan he loved by effecting its reform through the Christianity in which he believed.² His basic doctrine for reforming Japan was Christian individualism. 'I for Japan,' intended primarily as a guide for his own life, was by extension to be a guide also for those to whom he preached.³

Moral reform, he believed, was more important for the betterment of Japan than military might or great wealth.⁴ 'Making a man', a spiritual being capable of self-mastery, was to him a nobler task than making a

1. 'Yohai no Mokuteki' (My Aim), (1899) UC, III, 361.

2. 'Yo no ... Shakai Kairyō' (The Works of Social Reform I have Undertaken). (1901) US, XXI, 265-277.

3. The three principle directions of inner articulation in the affirmation of the self as described by Mounier - inwards, outwards and forward - can be seen here. See E. Mounier, The Character of Man (tr. and abr. C. Rowland) (1956), 192-233.

4. (About my patriotism) (1926) US, XXIV, 246. He rejoiced that his book Story of Denmark (UC, XVI, 310) which caused millions of trees to be planted in Formosa, would bring wealth to Japan. Nikki, UC, XXI, 107.

constitution.¹ His patriotic ambition was to make Japan the leading country in the world in righteousness.² His emphasis on the superiority of spiritual perfection was in accordance with the sentiments of Sakuma and Yokoi who, realizing the wealth and power of the West thrusting itself upon Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century, endeavoured to compensate for their nation's lack of material power by promoting excellence of spirit.³ It was also in harmony with the Christian admonition to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice and all other things would be added.⁴ Uchimura

1. 'Hito o Tsukure' (Make Men) (1899) US, XX, 70. Uchimura frequently compares his work (as a preacher) with that of politicians such as Ito, who drafted the 1889 Constitution.
2. 'Watakushi no Aikokushin ni Tsuite' (About my Patriotism) (1926) US, XXIV, 247.
3. C. Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment, 21. Excellence of spirit was also the theme of Samuel Smiles' Self Help which was widely read in the early Meiji years. See chapters 1 and 2. ibid.
4. 'Kuni to Hito o Sukuu mono' (Those who save nation and men) (1900) US, XXIV, 248. Uchimura's concern with 'the self' was primarily Christian, or at least religious. Some consider Japanese introspective tendencies evident in Nikki, (diaries), Shishōsetsu (Personal novels) and Shinkyōshōsetsu (mental life novels) to have been influenced by a peculiar Japanese characteristic. (See Y. Okazaki, V. Viglielmo, Japanese Literature in the Meiji Era (1955) 11). This awareness of the individual however, is common to every spiritual or religious man and is as noticeable in the West, from Augustine to Kierkegaard, as in the East. It could be argued that the seemingly special capacity for introspection attributed to the Japanese is the result of compensatory propaganda in which Uchimura himself played a small part.

agreed with Kant when the latter said that a man's greatest good was an upright heart, which was preferable to riches, knowledge, ability.¹

There was need for basic moral reform in Japan, Uchimura thought, because the spiritual fibre of her people was warped and weakened by a Chinese morality of filial piety and loyalty.

The accepted code of morality in Meiji Japan, established over the years by traditional influences and strengthened by the government educational policy, was based on the concept of a divine Emperor and the Confucian principles of filial piety and loyalty.² The philosophy of life therefore of the majority of those who consciously governed their lives according to moral principles was that the individual should endeavour to fit himself into an established hierarchical order of which the Emperor was the head. This was an historical ideal which, for the people holding it, had a definite ethical

1. Nikki (1925) UC, 21, 99.

2. See W. Smith, Confucianism in Modern Japan, Tokyo (1959) ch.1 'The Background and Legacy Before 1868' and ch.2, 'From Meiji Period to 1918'. See also J.H. de Forest, 'Ethics of Confucianism as seen in Japan', Japan Mail, (1893), 352. For effect on Christianity of revival of Confucianism see O. Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan, vol. II, 226. M. Tōsaku, A History of Ethics in Japan, Tokyo (1939), and D.M. Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan (1964) show development and practice of Confucian morality.

value.¹ The Constitution of 1889 was fashioned in accordance with this ideal and the Rescript on Education of the following year was both produced by and aimed at maintaining it. Uchimura was aware of the widespread acceptance by the Japanese of this special philosophy of human life.² Therefore in working to reform Japan by 'appealing directly to the conscience of the individual,' he had to make his appeal either according to the norms of this accepted philosophy or he had to have another philosophy. If he had another, according to the principles of his own philosophy he could judge, reform or reject the nationally accepted philosophy (jinseikan) and its alternatives. Then he could practise in his own life and preach to others conclusions drawn from that philosophy.

The significance of Uchimura as a social writer of modern Japan lies in his ability to think according to a coherent philosophy of life that transcends the limitations of traditional Japanese thought as well as the equally

1. See Scalapino, Democracy and the Party Movement in Japan, 13, and also Smith op.cit. 86. Scalapino likens the psychological power exercised by Confucianism to that exercised by Communism, op.cit. 125.

2. Kyōiku no Mokuteki (The Aim of Education) (1899) US, XX, 68. In this dialogue Uchimura tells of the impossibility of finding common ground on which to discuss the meaning of humanity with those who were products of Japanese education.

restrictive philosophy of the enlightened progressives.¹

His philosophy of life was his Christianity, in particular the two great premises of Christianity, the existence of God and of the spiritual and eternal soul of man.² For him, man was 'lord of creation', a creature made by God, with freedom and innate rights given by God. During life on this earth man, the spiritual being capable of mastering self, had to live in such a manner as to prepare himself for eternal life. To God alone was man ultimately responsible, not only for external actions but also for the secret actions of the heart. No man had the right to take away or curtail another's basic freedom.³

Considered from the standpoint of his Christian philosophy of human life he thought that Confucian principles of filial piety and loyalty, which the

1. Ienaga considers Uchimura to be almost unique amongst modern Japanese thinkers in his attempts to break from the trammels of the modern spirit. See S. Ienaga, The Modern Spirit and its Limitations (1956), 136. Even the liberal Fukuzawa seems to approve of the 'hereditary spirit of obedience'. See Y. Fukuzawa, 'The Nature of the Japanese' in R.O. Bellon, Shintō, the Unconquered Enemy, (1945), 174-6.

2. See Chapter 2 supra.

3. 'Shūkyō to Sono Hitsuyō' (Religion and Its Necessity) UC, VIII, 116. See also 'Shinsei no Chukō' (True Loyalty and Filial Piety) (1901) UC, VI, 2-3. For the supremacy of God over parents and the natural law over patriotism see 'Gukanroku' (Thoughts and Reflections) UC, III, 64.

government fostered as the basis for a morality to uphold in practice the belief that the Emperor was divine, to be in fact detrimental to the rights of the individual and to the true progress of the nation. He realized that such principles were limited and unbalanced, that they engendered hypocrisy and served as an instrument for government despotism.

The inherent limitations of Confucian principles, he believed, rendered them insufficient to act as a basis for a firm and lasting morality. Indeed the advocates of these principles stressed the very features that according to him rendered them adequate.¹ The principles were, as suggested by the remark attributed to Confucius, 'We don't know yet how to serve men, how can we know about serving the spirits?',² limited to the formation and preservation of a social and political order in this world.³ In the distinction between 'this worldly' (kono yo) and (other worldly' (raisei) made in the comparison he draws between Itagaki and Cromwell, he said, 'The concepts of

1. See article of Tasake Takejirō in Taiyō (1917) (quoted in JWC, 6th December, 1917, 913) on 'Moral Education and Confucianism.' He recommends Confucianism because it is not a religion ('I do not yet know all that life is,' he quotes Confucius, 'so how can I know what death is.')

'The aim of Confucianism,' said Uchimura, 'is political pacification of this world. Christianity is mainly concerned with the kingdom to come.' (1911) US, VIII, 264.

2. T. de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, (1963) 31.

3. 'Jisei no Yōkyū to Kirisutokyō' (The Demands of the Present and Christianity) (1902) UC, IV, 149.

the future life are hardly ever entertained by ordinary Easterners, the great men of the East are wholly occupied with benevolence in this life and justice in this world.' Inoue Tetsujirō said: 'The central term jin (benevolence) in Confucianism expresses the same idea as the word 'humanity', which is today the goal of mankind. Herein Confucianism transcends all religions.'¹ God, a 'divinity' was however the only proper goal of man for Uchimura.² To him, religion was necessary, even to create a proper temporal order, a true humanism.

No one could doubt that morality was needed for politics and society. Politicians who tried to build a nation out of a people devoid of morality would, he said, be as foolish as a builder trying to erect a permanent structure out of sand,³ and as unreasonable as a sculptor trying to make defective marble into a beautiful statue.⁴ Morality however was not enough. Morality without God, without 'that other being' to whom man must give an account would, he wrote, be 'like a river in the desert

1. T. Inoue, 'Confucianism' 46, in S. Okuma, Fifty Years of New Japan, (1919), vol.II.

2. 'Japan, Its Mission', (1892) JWM 6th February, 1892.

'Man's chief aim is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever.'

3. 'Seiji, Dōtoku, Shūkyō' (Politics, Morality and Religion) (1898) UC, III, 179.

4. Ibid.

without a replenishing spring.'¹ He also believed that the future life of the individual had to be taken into consideration for the proper determination of the present. 'We don't know yet about life, how can we know about death?' was the attitude of the Confucians. Uchimura, consequent upon his concern for the spiritual which his Christianity had deepened, thought that only by knowing about death and the future life could the present be seen in its proper perspective. A man's whole way of life, he believed, depended on the answers one gave to the questions about life after death. 'The concept of the future life is necessary,' he said, 'for an understanding of the present.'² The present was a training place for the future. Just as in schools instruction is determined by the requirements of the society into which the pupil later enters, so, in morality, temporal life should be determined by considerations of the eternal.³

Morality for the sake of righteousness was not, to his way of thinking, enough. Men like Confucius, he was

1. Ibid.

2. See 'Raisei Kannen no Gensei ni okeru Jigyō ni oyobosu Seiryoku' (Study of the Question of a Future Life) US, XIII, (236-254) p.231.

3. Ibid. 228.

ready to admit, did perform noble deeds and contributed much to the happiness of mankind without seemingly having any belief in a future life.¹ Also there were many excellent men who carried out works of benevolence and helped in the development of freedom and knowledge without believing in God. God however for him was not a dispensable postulate of the moral conscience.² He was a fact. Christians recognized the existence of a Supreme Being on both 'logical and ethical grounds' he said, and recognition of this truth was 'absolutely necessary for the growth of a noble and enduring morality.'³

He did not object to Confucianism for what it was. It was the discipline in which he had been trained and to which he adhered throughout his life. To Americans he said, 'Do but make the Chinese and the Japanese keep the commandments of their own Confucius and you make fairer Christendoms out of these two nations than any you have in Europe or America.'⁴ He believed that

1. 'Raisei Kannen' (Influence of the Concept of the Future Life on Works of the Present) (1913) US, XII, 228.

2. 'Without religion' said Uchimura, 'there can be no freedom and no true independence.' UC, VIII, 116.

3. 'Kirisutokyō no Dōtoku' (Christian Morality) (1912) US, XXII, 19.

4. How, 178.

Confucianism should be studied and stated that he himself would prefer to be the disciple of a true confucianist rather than the disciple of a missionary.¹ In 1924 when the government tried to revitalize Confucian studies, Uchimura was pleased: 'I am happy at the news that the government plans to restore Chinese studies in the schools ... we need to crush 'modern man' (kindaijin) and 'modern ideas' (kindai shisō) and to attain this end the restoration of Chinese studies is of use.'² What Uchimura objected to in Confucianism was the limitation of its ideal. This is best shown in his attitude towards Bushido.

Bushido, the Japanese warrior code, which was considered to be the crystallization of the noblest elements in Chinese morality of loyalty as practised in Japan, gave to the patriots of the second half of the Meiji era a tradition they could appeal to and an ideal they could strive to realize.³ Uchimura ~~was a strong supporter of Bushido~~

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1. (Indeed Confucianists should be imitated) (1915) UC, XVII, 84. See also his praise of the Confucian Scholar, Itō Jinsai. 'Daiju Itō Jinsai' (1927) US, XXIII, 80.
 2. Nikki (1924) UC, XXI, 21.
 3. See I. Nitobe, Bushidō, The Soul of Japan, Tokyo (1939). Chamberlain says: 'As for Bushido, so modern a thing is it that ... the very word appears in no dictionary, native or foreign, before the year 1900 ... Bushido as an institution or code of rules has never existed ... the accounts given of it have been fabricated out of whole cloth, chiefly for foreign consumption.' B.H. Chamberlain, The Invention of a New Religion, London (1912), 13-14. Uchimura, however, is witness to a certain home consumption also. The term was convenient for an ideal through which the past was glorified.

~~Uchimura~~ made much of Bushido. He called it the finest product of Japan, the stock onto which Christianity should be grafted,² the inheritance of the people and as such something that no true disciple of Jesus should reject or despise.³ On the other hand, however, Uchimura regarded Bushido as no more than a mere stock, a virtuous way, made by man, and therefore imperfect.⁴ It was like Mt. Fuji, a volcano without fire, and like cherry blossoms that soon scatter.⁵

'Honesty, nobleness, magnanimity, fidelity ... all these virtues Bushido can teach,' Uchimura wrote, 'but about the justice of God and the future judgment it can teach nothing.'⁶

Uchimura also thought that Confucian morality was unbalanced. 'The most obvious defect of Japanese morality,' he said, 'is that far too much is taught about the obligations of inferiors to superiors.'⁶ 'The two great

~~1. ~~Uchimura~~ JWM (1901) 11 where article of T. Inoue in Kyoiku Koho 248 is cited. Inoue published Bushidō Sōsho, 3 vols in 1904.~~

2. See Daihyōteki Nihonjin, UC, XVI, 4 and 'Bushido and Christianity' (1916), UC, VII, 20. 'Bushidō to Bukkyō' (Bushido and Buddhism) (1914) UC, V, 443 and passim. Uchimura wanted Yamatodamashi and Bushido to be christianized. c.f. Letter (1885) UC, 18, 50.

3. Ibid. UC, XVI, 5. See JWM, August 1901, 143 for Abbe Ligneul's ideas on Bushido and Christianity. Bushidō was to be stock for the graft of Christianity.

4. 'Bushidō to Kirisutokyō' (Bushido and Christianity) (1918), US, XXIII, 191.

5. 'Daihyōteki Nihonjin' UC, XVI, 5.

6. 'Bushidō to Kirisutokyō' (Bushido and Christianity) (1918) US, XXIII, 191.

7. 'Nihon Dōtoku no Kekkan' (Shortcomings of Japanese Morality) (1897) UC, III, 26. 'Katei no Kensetsu' (Building a Family) (1903) US, XX, 25.

laws of filial piety and loyalty' which allowed unlimited and unconditional power to parents and lords in respect to children and subjects, in effect, as he remarked, 'gave freedom in regard to the inferior and required restraint in regard to the superior.'¹ The debauched husband demanded chastity from his wife and the neglectful father filial piety from his son.² Such lack of balance made the Japanese home to be, he said, 'a place of endurance, not of happiness.'³ Also in the larger family of the nation it was impossible for the people to enjoy truly representative government because cabinet ministers, bound by principles of loyalty, were, 'responsible to the Throne above and not the people beneath.'⁴ For modern Japan adopting democratic ideas from the West, 'the great problem is,' he said, 'how to adapt the inner morality of the people to the outer garment of constitutional government.'⁵ In other words the question that troubled him was: Can the unbalanced ethics of Chinese tradition harmonize with the ideals of constitutional government based on recognition of equal rights for all?

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1. See Blacker, op.cit. 'The New Family' 67-71 for question of 'the preponderance of power.'
 2. 'Nihon Dōtoku no Kekkan' UC, III, 26.
 3. 'Kātei Mondai' (Family Questions) (1906) US, XX, 33.
 4. 'Nihon Dōtoku no Kekkan' (1897) UC, III, 27.
 5. Ibid.

A further reason for his dislike of the Chinese morality observed by the Japanese was that it made the people insincere and hypocritical. It made them insincere because, just as the canons of Chinese literature demanded conformity to certain elegant forms, regardless of the substance of what was written, Chinese morality was satisfied with the proper observance of norms for external behaviour without giving attention to the intentions of the heart.¹ Chinese principles, he said, followed what was useful, not what was true.² It caused hypocrisy when psychological pressure, exercised by a society committed by Chinese morality to the rigid maintenance of an established order, forced an individual to conform to that order despite contrary convictions of the heart.³

An example of insincerity and even hypocrisy resulting from shallow observance of established custom, and commonly to be found practised by the Japanese was, according to him, the carrying out of giri.⁴ He defined giri as adherence to trivial social conventions. It was not the same as Gimu,

1. 'Shina Shugi' (Chinesism) (1900) UC, III, 428.

'Introduction to Yorozu Tangen' US, XXII, 128.

2. 'Shina Shugi' (Chinesism) (1899) UC, III, 346.

3. c.f. 'Katei Mondai' (Family Questions) (1906) US, XX, 33. See Scalapino, op.cit. 125. See also 'Seinen Fuhai no Genin oyobi Sono Kyūji Saku' (The Cause and Cure of the Corruption of Youth) (1901) US, XX, 96. Uchimura feared what Carlyle called 'The bankruptcy of Imposture' C.F. Letter (1885) UC, XVIII, 375.

4. 'Giri' (1900) UC, IV, 21. See also 'Nihon no Katei Soshiki' (The Family System in Japan) (1898) US, XX, 38. R. Benedict describes giri and gimu in Chrysanthemum and the Sword (1946) 1140119.

which, being a striving to fulfil the law of the universe, was something extremely noble. People observed giri not out of sincere love or even because of selfish greed but 'for love of worldly approval.'¹ The Japanese, he said, would do anything 'to be eulogized as loyal, filial, patriotic, just ...'² Giri, he thought, was a rope binding the spirit of the Japanese. It was a spiritual sickness weakening the Japanese soul, hindering development of thought, and corrupting politics.³ Unless the desire for conventional respectability (giri) gave place to a sense of duty (gimu) Japan would, he felt certain, remain a very insignificant nation.

The 'good men' Montesquieu spoke about when he said, 'In well-regulated monarchies, they are almost all good subjects, and very few good men; for to be a good man, a good intention is necessary ...'⁴ were the ones Uchimura wanted in Japan, in politics and in society in general, men who consciously and freely carried out what they knew to be right and good for their country. For true morality freedom was necessary and to force the same ideal in all circumstances and in the same manner would, according to him, not only fail to be morality but would bring about the destruction of society.⁵

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws Great Books (ed. Adler) vol. II, 38. Uchimura said he could quote Montesquieu to overthrow Chukun aikoku morality, see UC, II, 23.

5. c.f. 'Seishin teki Kyōiku to wa Nanizo' (What is the Spirit of Education) (1895) US, XX, 72.

Chinese morality, he feared, would destroy the nation. It was more dangerous to the life of the nation than socialism or republicanism.¹ There were numerous instances of nations failing because of Chinese morality but none of a nation collapsing because of socialism or republicanism. Chinese principles were like opium which dulled, weakened and eventually killed.² The disintegration of China, he pointed out, was a warning to Japan, the disciple of China. The pupil would surely fail as did the master.³ The soul of Japan was Chinese, although her exterior was Western, because the makers of modern Japan gave her an English style navy, a German style army, French style dress, Italian style art but morality from China. The body was Western, the soul Eastern.⁴

Finally Uchimura objected to the emphasis placed upon Chinese morality because it was the tool of the government

1. 'Shina shugi' (Chinesism) (1900) UC, III, 427. For example of apathy produced by 'instinct of subordination' see Tanaka Seizō's remarks on peasants who were victims of the Ashio mine disaster: 'Look at the peasants of the locality. Having been accustomed to the benevolent authority of the Tokugawa for over two hundred years, they have come to call virtuous, negative humility, meaningless formality, hypocritical loyalty ...' K. Kuyama, Modern Japan and Christianity (1956) 260 quoted by Arima, 'Uchimura', Harvard Papers (1961), 165. For Uchimura's article on Tanaka c.f. US, XXII, 129.

2. Ibid. 427.

3. 'Shina shugi' (1899) UC, III, 337.

4. 'Shina shugi' (1900) UC, III, 426.

and with it people were kept in subjection, other philosophies were kept out and the ethics of loyalty and patriotism were upheld.¹ In other words Chinese morality was a shield which those in authority held against new ideas.² It was also a sword with which they attacked.³ According to him the government kept the people submissive in the name of patriotism.⁴ Educators who sycophantically repeated government cant of patriotism and reverence for the Emperor were incapable of having a broad view of the universe, and of encouraging individual thought. Nobles with their one-track mind on patriotism condemned Christianity, socialism and republicanism.⁵

1. 'Komatta Kuni' (A troubled Country) (1902) US, XXIV, 158. For the dilemma of rightists who came up against the choice of seeming to be disloyal or of abandoning their reform efforts see Maruyama Masao in Introduction to I. Morris Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan (1960) XX.

2. See 'Kokato Hakase to Kirisutokyō' (Dr. Kato and Christianity). UC, XVII, 139. 'Using Kokutai as a Shield,' Kato attacked Christianity.

3. Confucian ideals of loyalty were the basis of attacks against Christianity. In the context of Meiji Emperorism, Miyake Setsurei, the writer, rightly said in 1912 that 'at its very roots religion has anarchistic or at least anti-State elements.' See Report on Religions Conference and the folly of the State trying to use an anti-State religion, in JWC, March 1912, 438.

4. 'Kokka tai Kojin' (Nation against Individual) (1899) UC, III, 288.

5. 'Kirisutokyō to Shakai shugi' (Christianity and Socialism) (1903) US, XXI, 312. Romein writes: 'Shintoism became ... a philosophy whose basic concept is that the Japanese as an individual is nothing ...' J. Romein, (trs. R. Clark) The Asian Century (1956) 33.

In brief, Uchimura, from the standpoint of his own Christian philosophy of life, condemned the current Chinese morality as inimical to the life of Japan because it was limited, unbalanced and engendered ignoble submissiveness in the people, while at the same time it opened the way for oppressive imperialism in the rulers. In his criticism of the leading government 'flunkey' in educational circles, Inoue Tetsujiro, Uchimura quoted Spencer: 'It (the instinct of subordination) has been the parent of countless crimes ... it had been the repressor of knowledge, of free thought, of true progress ... the sentiment has ever been strongest where human nature has been vilest.'¹

The instinct of subordination, fostered in the Japanese through a Chinese morality of filial piety and loyalty, was, however, merely the raw material to be given shape and life by Shinto imperialism or Buddhism, Socialism or intellectual pragmatism. Morality, as Uchimura said, was like a river in the desert. It needed a spring to replenish it. As has been seen, he rejected the stagnant river of Confucian conformity from which the people imbibed their moral principles. He also rejected the various religious and philosophical springs with which Meiji leaders and thinkers endeavoured to replenish or replace that river.

1. 'Kōkaijō' (Open letter to Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō) (1893) UC, II, 21. English original.

The most obvious of these was imperialism, understood here in the sense of Emperorism,¹ which the Meiji leaders used to replenish the river of traditional Chinese ethical virtues; or as Uchimura suggested, the Chinese virtues were imported to support chūkun-aikoku morality (loyalty to lord and love for country).² With imperialism, Emperor and nation were made to give meaning and at the same time direction to the widely accepted ideals of loyalty and nationalism.³ Imperialism, built on love for the nation and reverence for the Emperor, Uchimura could accept. But he prayed God to destroy exaggerated and exclusive imperialism taught by theoreticians of the Meiji Government, Kato and Inoue, who put the Emperor in the place of God and made the nation more important than the individual and every other nation. Katō said, 'Sovereignty in

1. See Hastings, Dictionary 'Imperialism'.

2. 'Shina no Kaimetsu to Nihon no Mirai' (The Collapse of China and the Future of Japan) (1899) UC, III, 337. Of Ito, the architect of Japan's constitution, Uchimura said: 'Ito pretends to love constitutional freedom. He is a specialist in imperialism.' 'Marquis Itō' (1898) UC, III, 129. See D. Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan, (1964) Seattle, 224 and passim.

3. See Smith op.cit. 86-7. The drafters of the Imperial Rescript on Education were aware that they had to 'create a document which would bring with it a sense of national Unity and purpose' and not simply be a set of ethical rules. Maruyama says: 'What determined the everyday morality of Japanese rulers was neither abstract consciousness or legality nor an internal sense of right and wrong nor again any sense of serving the public ... it was a feeling of being close to the concrete entity known as the Emperor.' M. Maruyama, Thought Behaviour in Modern Japan, 13.

Japan is invested in a single Race father, a form of government without peer among all the nations of the world ... in the Imperial Rescript on Education there is not a single word about Heavenly Father who is the object of love and reverence in Christianity ... it is ... not to be tolerated that a sovereign should be accepted who receives reverence above and beyond the Emperor and the Imperial Ancestors.¹ Inoue said, 'all Emperors are regarded as divine. Japanese ethics are the teachings left by the Emperors.'² Uchimura said, 'Imperialism is fine. Only let it be fair, let it be deep in compassion and let it respect the rights of all people. If it is not let God destroy it.'³ In short he would accept only an Emperorism that allowed for the free exercise of the human rights of the individual and acknowledged the supremacy of God.

Although he had great respect for Buddhism he did not look on this as being a suitable basis for personal ethics or for social order. Buddhism was to him merely a philosophy or a religion of consolation.⁴

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1. D.C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism (1947) 81, quoted from Katō, Waga Kokutai to Kirisutokyō, Tokyo (1907) 63.
 2. O. Cary, History of Christianity in Japan (1909) vol.II, 243.
 3. 'Kirisutokyō to Shakai shugi' (Christianity and Socialism) (1904) US, XXI, 316.
 4. Shukyō Zadan (Discussion on Religion) (1899) US, XIV, 20.

Socialism, advocated as the well spring of morality by radical opponents of imperialism was also unacceptable to Uchimura. For them socio-economic ideals were to determine how and why people should act. Uchimura agreed with Kotoku Shusui, the leader of the radical socialists, in his opposition to exaggerated imperialism but he would not co-operate in promoting socialism.¹ Socialism was unacceptable because it failed to recognize the dignity of man as a spiritual being and his right as an individual to private ownership.² Kōtoku, disciple of the materialist Nakae Chōmin, said, 'I sincerely feel that the usual elective parliamentary procedures cannot achieve a real social revolution. There is no way other than that of direct

1. See 'Imperialism', (Introduction to Kotoku's work) (1901), US, XXI, 311 and also 'Christianity and Socialism' (1904), US, XXI, 317. In 1897 however Uchimura was willing to co-operate with the moderate socialism of Katayama Sen. Uchimura quotes the Introductory Editorial of the Katayama Sen's Rodo Sekai (for translation see H. Kublin Asian Revolutionary The Life of Katayama Sen (1964) Princeton) and adds: 'Our heartfelt sympathy is with a paper engaged in the same task as ours.' UC, III, 104-5.

2. 'Kirisutokyo to Shakaishugi' (Christianity and Socialism) (1903) US, XXI, 315. Uchimura in a letter to Bell said 'let us have communism with separate pockets.' See also Letter (1896) UZ, XX, 337. Some aspects of socialism appealed to him. For a Study of Christians and the Social movement in Japan see 'Abe Isoo' by C. Powles, Harvard Papers (1961) 89-129. See also T. Murota, 'Meiji Jidai ni Okeru Uchimura Kanzō to Shakaishugisha' Gifu Daigaku Gakugeibu Kenkyū Hōkoku, (1962) 42-50.

action by the united workers.'¹ Uchimura said, 'Socialism is very good. But let it be reverent. Let it not be unjust to the rich in its enthusiasm for the poor. Let it not be rude or violent ...'² In other words the socialism he approved was not that of Kotoku nor that taught by 'the German Karl Marx who is looked up to as the leader of this theory and who was an extreme materialist.'³ His brand of 'socialism' was one that gave to all freedom and justice based on recognition of the worth and responsibility of each individual before God.⁴

Nor would he accept the intellectualism of men like Fukuzawa who believed in the essential goodness of human nature and its perfectability through knowledge.⁵ Uchimura believed man to be innately corrupt.⁶ Man's corruption was evidenced, he said, by his own nature. It was proved by history and was taught authoritatively by the Bible. Advances in knowledge were not accompanied by progress in

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1. M. Kosaka Japanese Thought in The Meiji Era, (1958) 344.
 2. 'Kirisutokyo to Shakai shugi' (Christianity and Socialism) US, XXI, 316.
 3. Ibid. 313.
 4. Yanaibara says the question of choosing either Christianity or Socialism never occurred to Uchimura. T. Yanaibara, (1964) Together with Uchimura Kanzo 'Uchimura's attitude towards Socialism', 3. See C.H. Powles, 'Abe Isoo and the Role of Christians in the founding of the Japanese Socialist Movement: 1895-1905.' Papers on Japan (1961) 95.
 5. See Blacker op.cit. 64.
 6. 'Daraku no Kyōgi' (Doctrine of the Fall) (1925) US, XII, 14.

virtue. According to him the opposite was true. The history of the relationship of morals to civilization was clear confirmation of this.¹ When arts flourished moral sense inevitably declined. The golden age of Greek and Roman literature, the years of the European Renaissance, the Meiji years when Japan introduced a new civilization were, he pointed out, all periods of outstanding moral turpitude. Man, he thought, in order to acquire knowledge of the perfect morality, had to look above man to God and beyond the present to eternity. And to achieve that perfection he had to rely on a power other than his own.²

Uchimura also rejected the pragmatism of Katō, Toyama, Yoshinō, Itō and other intellectual and political leaders who regardless of their own ideology were ready to use religion to attain their ends.³ These men were prepared to encourage Buddhism, Christianity, Shinto or a combination

1. 'Tsumi to Sono Konzetsu' (The Eradication of Sin) (1929) US, XII, 22.

2. 'Kyōiku no Kiso toshite no Shinkō' (Faith as the basis of Education), (1910) US, XX, 74.

3. See Katō Hiroyuki's 100 essays published in Taiyō and summary of 29th and 30th essay in JWM 12th June 1897. 'Religion is only for people of low intellect,' says Kato, 'and general education will make it superfluous.' Ibid 411. For his use of religion see Blacker, op.cit. 60. See Denning, TASJ (1913) 173 for Fukuzawa's advice to regard religion as the same as 'shaking hands'. For Japanese utilitarianism regarding Religion see C.H. Anderson, The Theology of Christian Missions, 178.

of the 'best elements in all religions.'¹ Religion was not for them a comprehensive theory of why and how men should be moral, because to their way of thinking it did not constitute an acceptable philosophy of life but merely a practical method by which the bulk of the people too ignorant or too unwilling to accept the working of the philosophy of life of those in authority or of the learned could be made in fact to conform to that philosophy. The advocates of this pragmatism were supercilious enough to despise religious worship but shrewd enough to see what a powerful tool religious sentiment could become if properly used.² Uchimura repeatedly castigated such a belittling of religion. To him it was an abuse of truth; morality, he said, should conform to truth. Truth should not be made to subserve morality.³

1. When the theory of evolution was first introduced into Japan some wished the law of 'survival of the fittest' to be applied to religions, all of which should be permitted.

2. See 'Jisei no Kansatsu (Observations Upon the Times) (1896) US, XXIV, 64-5. Uchimura thought that Shōtoku Taishi (573-621) introduced Buddhism into Japan as a political measure. Nikki, (1920) UC, XX, 148.

3. Uchimura wanted Religion, i.e. Christianity, to be 'the whole' and supreme. Social reform etc., had to be part of and subject to the over-all aim of religion. See UC, V, 52, and UC, II, 169. 'Many look on Christianity as a means to civilize a nation to consolidate the government, to increase the material wealth of the country etc.' he wrote to Niijima 'and thus commit grand errors in after generations.' Letter (1885). Japan Quarterly (1965) 450. Ebina Danjō accepted faith because of his nation. c.f. F. Notehelfer, 'Ebina Danjo' Harvard Papers 1963, 52. See also Uchimura 'Reply to Dr. Takayama Rinjirō' (1898) US, XXII, 158, where he says 'you consider using truth for the sake of the nation to be the same as making the nation obedient to truth.'

He despised the Sat-Cho leaders who used Christianity (and that other religion, patriotism) in order to obtain their own objectives, namely a docile and upright people. He wanted the word 'use' to be thrown out, and with it those politicians who mouthed it.¹ Disgust at seeing the way the government made use of religion caused Uchimura to refuse to have anything to do with religious Conferences sponsored by the authorities in order to win the co-operation of religions for the achievement of their national aims especially in the sphere of moral reform.²

Kamei Katsuichirō likens Uchimura to the eye in the intellectual typhoon resulting from the convergence in modern Japan of three basically differing systems of thought - Christianity, Communism and Japanese tradition.³ If by this is meant that his thinking was a product equally of the three different systems I cannot agree. Christianity was for him the immovable vantage point from which he took bearings of traditional Japanese Confucianism and new Western socialism. Christianity was also the solid philosophical structure in which he took shelter from the winds of changing opinion.

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1. "'Riyō" no go' (The word Use) (1897) UC, III, 37.
 2. For criticisms of the use made of religion by the government see articles in JWC (1912) 519, and (1924) 318. 'These conferences' says editor of JWC, 'are called by men who don't believe in religion, but think religion is good if loyalty to authority can be tacked on to it.' JWC 6th March 1924, 318.
 3. K. Kamei, Uchimura Kanzo (1963) Intro. 13.

We have seen how, in accordance with his Christian principles, Uchimura rejected traditional Confucian morality and condemned the theory and practice of Meiji leaders and their socialist opponents who gave their attention to the question of ethics; it now remains to relate how in practice Uchimura positively applied his own Christian outlook on life to the problem of achieving the moral renewal he wished for.

The epitome of morality preached and practised by Uchimura was Christian individualism.

'Individualism,' he said, 'is respect for the individual.'¹ It is not the same as egoism because while it is respect for self it is also respect for others. The individuality of each single person is sacred. Just as one's own individualism is maintained so must that of others be recognized. The individual must be respected as an independent spiritual being with innate rights and freedom. The individual should, however, according to him, be looked on as dependent on God. The individual has his freedom from God and to God he is responsible. God and His will are more sacred than the individual. 'The individual,'

1. 'Kojin Shugi to Jikoshugi' (Individualism and Egoism) (1924) US, XXII, 178. For Uchimura's comments on Nietzsche whom he regarded as the supreme egoist, see 'Nichie den o Yomite' (On Reading Nietzsche's Biography) (1927) US, XXIII, 69. Uchimura admired John Locke who taught that the individual was of greater value and importance than the state. c.f. Kōsei e no Saidai Ibutsu (The greatest Legacy for Future Generations) (1898) UC, XVI, 349-50.

says Uchimura, 'is for God. God is not for the individual.'¹

Thus Uchimura's individualism was based on recognition of the two great premises of Christian belief - that God exists and that man has a spiritual and immortal soul. Acceptance of these truths enabled him to look above Empire and Emperor to a greater reality and a higher Lord and to look deeper than man's mere socio-economic perfection to the preparation of a spiritual soul for eternity. Intellectualism he rejected because it denied the sinfulness of man and pragmatism he regarded as a debasement of truth. For him only Christianity could internalize morality and uplift it. Imperialism or Socialism or any other principle for society he was ready to accept as long as its practice did not infringe upon the rights of man or deny God. He said:

Christianity works from within outwards. Socialism and all other principles of this world work from without inwards and are completely different in their mode of operating. Since according to Christianity the evils of society come from Man's rejection of God and not from the imperfection of social systems the way to cure them is to lead men back to God their Father. 2

He gave proof of his own individualism by his uncompromising profession of Christianity. Within Christian circles he was even criticized for an excessive individualism that prevented him from working harmoniously with others in Christian organizations.³ In society at large while the

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1. Kojinshugi (Individualism) (1923) UC, VI, 326.
 2. 'Christianity and Socialism' (1903) US, XXI, 316.
 3. See M. Kosaka, Japanese Thought in Meiji Era, 178.

majority were occupied making a militarily strong and economically rich nation or in fostering the traditional values that made the group of greater importance than the individual, Uchimura worked to uplift society by preaching the Christ-taught eternal values of the person.¹ When he penned 'I for Japan' on his Bible, he had already decided to devote himself to the direct evangelization of Japan as the best means for showing his love for his nation by making her morally great.²

He believed that only religion could reform politics and society.³ 'Japan wants very much to have the best form of constitution,' he wrote just after the promulgation of the constitution in 1889, 'but who is worrying about having the best men to make up the nation?'⁴ Faith and sincerity,

1. Inoue criticized individualism, especially Christian individualism, as subversive of the traditional ethical standard of the country. Smith, *op.cit.* 93.

2. Nikki (Letter) (1885) UC, XVIII, 173. 'In as far as I can now judge' he wrote to Fujita 'I have determined to devote the rest of my life to the work of direct evangelization.' It is essential for understanding Uchimura's thought to realize (1) that his chief aim in life was direct evangelization and (2) that he believed Japan could be saved only through the Gospel.

3. 'Shūkyō no Hitsuyō'. See (The Need for Religion) (1895) US, XIV, 22 and (1903) Ibid, 26. Writing to his father in 1885 he said: 'Indeed I can say in all truthfulness that I saw good men only in Christendom ...' UC, XVII and through Christ he wished to reform politics and society in Japan. c.f. 'Ware no Kaikakuō' (My Method of Reform) (1903) UC, V, 52.

4. Letter (1889) UC, XVIII, 248. In this letter to E. Struthers Uchimura tells of the assassination of the Minister for Education Mori Arinori on the very day the people were rejoicing at receiving the Constitution from the Emperor. See also US, XX, 70 'there is nothing so useless as a constitution.'

love and independence of spirit in both rulers and populace were more important in his eyes than the formalities of constitutional government. 'I think constitutional government is government of mutual trust,' he said, 'but how can people who do not have faith or trust in God have any trust in each other?'¹ Forty years after the promulgation of the constitution when, in 1928 universal manhood suffrage was introduced for the first time, he ignored the bustle as he quietly continued his lectures on Christianity.² 'It's not that I am unpatriotic,' he wrote in his diary, 'my patriotism is directed differently.'³ His own patriotism was, as he said, of Christ's, directed towards giving his people 'Spiritual freedom in God.'⁴ 'There are two ways to save the people,' said Uchimura, 'one is to take away the oppression weighing upon them. The other is to establish a new kingdom in their hearts ... I choose the latter way.'⁵

1. Ibid. Of the 1928 elections when universal manhood suffrage was introduced for the first time Uchimura said: 'the elections are pointless because they are elections of a people without knowledge of God, freedom and eternal life.' Nikki (Diary) (1929) UC, XXI, 335.

2. Nikki (Diary) (1928) 3rd February. UC, XXI, 335.

3. Ibid.

4. 'The Patriotism of Jesus' (1910) UC, IX, 315.

5. 'Tami o Sukuu no Nito' (1899) UC, III, 315. 'Freedom' he said, 'consists in not being bound by the trammels of men but in giving oneself to the freedom of God.' UC, V, 415. And 'only with Christianity can there be true freedom.' UC, II, 222.

What was the result of efforts made by Uchimura to curb the confining influence of Confucian morality by preaching Christian individualism and by trying to give the people 'spiritual freedom in God?' In his own lifetime Shintō-backed imperialism prevailed and after his death grew even stronger so that under Tojo Hideki a hundred million people were merged into one iron solidarity to go forward into the second World War. Intellectualism proved powerless.¹ Socialism was crushed. Organized Christianity compromised.² The results of preaching however, as Uchimura remarked in his essay on Religion and Politics, generally come many years after the preacher has departed and left his work of reform to the action of truth.³ Christian teachings about the dignity and freedom of the individual which Uchimura quietly and persistently expounded may in the long run prove what Takagi has said: 'His grasp

1. The intellectuals, as long as they held their positions, thought with and for the government. See 'Kōkaijō' (Open Letter) UC, II, 18. Yanaibara says: 'the wise and learned who declared that 'Christianity is not adaptable to the national character of Japan' must be included in the category of war criminals.' T. Yanaibara, Religion and Democracy in Modern Japan, (1948) 8. See mention of Uchimura's non-churchists' pacifism in Pacific War. Ibid, 14.

2. See D.C. Holton, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism ch. IV, 95-122. The 1936 Vatican reversal of a judgment made by the Bishop of Nagasaki in 1918 re Shrines is an example. Even ceremonial submission saddened Uchimura. Nikki (Diary) (1925) UC, XXI, 123.

3. 'Shūkyō to Seiji' (Religion and Politics) (1898) UC, II, 121.

of the concept of human personality through faith in God has tremendous significance in the intellectual history of the Japanese people.'¹

Uchimura in his patriotic efforts to bring about the reform of his nation was, in common with Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kato Hiroyuki, Nakae Chōmin and other great men of the Japanese Enlightenment, a link between the old and the new, between the East and the West.² Like them he strove to break the bonds of feudal thinking, to educate the people, to emancipate women, and at the same time he endeavoured to preserve what was noble in the Japanese morality of Bushido. He introduced to the Japanese the works of Western writers such as Carlyle, Dante, Whitman and Milton. He also told the West about the noble heroes of Japan. Uchimura in fulfilling his function as a link went further than his contemporaries. As Yanaibara has said he also 'linked God and man.'³ The self that he wished to devote in accordance with the first wish of his epitaph 'I for Japan', to the country he loved was a self enobled by a Christian consciousness of its own dignity and responsibility

1. Takagi Yasaka, 'Uchimura Kanzō' Japan Quarterly (1956) 434. Uchimura's mission to Japan can be summed up as an attempt to establish democracy through Christianity. See 'Yo no ... Shakai Kairyo' (The works I have done for the Reform of Society) (1901) US, XXI, 265.

2. T. Yanaibara, Together with Uchimura Kanzō' (1964) 483-5.

3. Ibid. 486.

before its God. His significance in the intellectual history of Japan is that, as he himself prophesied, when others are forgotten he perhaps will be remembered for his having fought against materialism and atheism in an effort to preserve a faith in deeper and higher realities than those of material welfare and temporal prosperity.

A few years before his death he noted in his diary:

Sixty years ago ... I was born. Thinking about it makes me marvel. I have made many enemies and friends during those years. Living in the same land and age as men like Iwakura Tomomi, Itō Hirobumi and Okuma Shigenobu, men who would have nothing to do with Christ and a future life, I have fought against their atheism and materialism and kept my faith. An interesting and bitter life it has been. Thanks to God's grace, I believe it has been a life of victory. Maybe after they have been forgotten I will be remembered, not because I have been greater but because God deigned to use me to carry out his eternal plans. 1

Now that in Japan the debris of the shattered structure built by those against whose atheism and materialism he fought has been cleared and, in the atmosphere of democracy, the way left open for the emergence of a possible new moral edifice, the ideal of Christian individualism that Uchimura upheld will serve, not to bring about the

1. Nikki (1921) UC, XX.

perfect social order - he was too Christianly realistic to expect a millenium here on earth¹ - but to encourage those who, whatever soul-killing pressures a new national morality might produce will seek to benefit their country through the perfection of a personalism based on eternal values.

1. 'Daraku no Kyōgi' (Doctrine of the Fall) (1965)
US, XII, 15.

He loves his life who his life forsakes,
For the greatest and only Rule.

Nakae Tōju (1608-1648)
Representative Men

The question of right is not solved
through war, even if it ends in victory.

Kant (1724-1804)
'Ijin no Sensō Kan' (1917)
US, XXI, 149.

CHAPTER VIIIJAPAN FOR THE WORLD

Uchimura believed that geographically and historically Japan had a divinely appointed mission in the world. This was a vision inspired by his love for Japan and his faith in a divine Providence. According to his hope expressed in the second wish of his epitaph 'Japan for the World,' he believed that his nation would achieve true greatness if her people, by consciously fulfilling Japan's manifest destiny in the world, contributed to the inevitable progress of humanity. His conception of Japan's providential mission, and the two ways in which he expected that mission to be fulfilled, first by war, and later by peace, illustrate further the interaction of his Christianity and patriotism.

Uchimura held that geography and history could manifest to one desiring to serve his country the special mission his country had to perform in helping to bring about the ultimate perfection of mankind.¹ 'Except for

1. 'Nihonkoku no Tenshoku' (Japan's Mission) (1892), US, XXIV, 17-26. See also 'Nihon no Tenshoku' (Japan's Mission) (1924), US, XXIV, 46. The Chinese compound that Uchimura uses for 'mission' i.e. tenshoku is found in Confucian and Taoist literature. A passage in Hountze (c.f. Concord. 62/XVII as translated in H.H. Dubs, The Works of Hountze (1928), 173) expresses an idea close to that held by Uchimura: 'Heaven has a constant regularity of action ... respond to it in governing a country and success will result. Follow it in misgovernment and calamity will follow.' See also Toynbee 'The Breakdown of Civilizations' in Study of History. Abridgment of vol. I-IV, 244-349.

extreme pessimists,' he said, 'all scholars recognize that mankind ... is steadily advancing to perfection.'¹ 'History,' he quotes Schelling as saying, 'is the development of the Absolute Will, God's gradual self-revelation.'² Geography, he thought, was the study of the stage upon which the drama of history was enacted by men.³ His ideas on the relation of geography and history to the destiny of individuals and nations are given at length in two of his books, The Earth and Man (Chijinron)⁴ published in 1894 and the related volume Historical Study of the Birth of Nations (Kōkokushidan)⁵

1. Chijinron (Earth and Man) US, IV, 32. One scholar by whom Uchimura was greatly influenced was J.L.Motley. See Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment 92-3 for Japanese acceptance of Western theory of human progress.

2. Ibid. 32.

3. Ibid. US, IV, 15.

4. Chijinron (The Earth and Man) US, IV, 5-105. This book was well received when first published. Uehara the Ambassador to America who, in 1924 made the famous 'Grave Consequences' statement concerning the Exclusion Law, admitted that as a youth he pored over this book. c.f. Yamamoto US, IV, 243. Works Uchimura used in preparing Chijinron were Hegel, Philosophy of History, A. Guyot, The Earth and Man, C. Ritter, Geographical Studies.

5. Kōkokushidan (Historical Study of the Rise of Nations) US, IV, 107-240. After two introductory chapters on the 'Rise and Fall of Nations', and 'Elements in the Rise of a Nation' Uchimura treats of Egypt, Babylon, Judea, Iran, Aryan Races, Medea and Persia. Works he used in preparing Kokokushidan were: G. Rawlinson, The Seven Ancient Monarchies of the Ancient World, A. Sayce, A Primer of Assyriology, C.J. Bunsen: God in History - the latter exercised a great influence on Uchimura, c.f. Nikki, UC, XX. Bunsen adds to the law of history a second law, 'by which the first is limited and supplemented; namely that all history, so likewise does all tradition and mythology takes its rise from certain great Individuals.' (c.f. God in History London (1868) Vol.I,50). Appreciation of this law characterizes Uchimura's writings about Luther, Columbus, Cromwell, Nichiren, Saigō, etc. and above all about Christ.

published in 1900, both pioneer Japanese works on geopolitics.¹ He believed that a nation would rise only if great men realized and worked to fulfil her mission.

Likewise a nation would fall when the mission ceased or was no longer being fulfilled. He writes:

There must be a special mission for Japan just as there is for other nations yet not only is the mission not known by the people but there are few who even know what 'divine mission' means. There is no instance of any people becoming a great nation where the people have not been conscious of a great heaven-sent mission. The case of Japan today is extremely dangerous. 2

Geography, showing both the situation of Japan on the globe and the configuration of her land, could indicate what her destiny was. 'We know her position and have investigated her formation,' Uchimura said, 'can we not then follow in the footsteps of Ritter and Guyot and by careful and calm historical interpretation of geographical facts come to a knowledge of Japan's mission in the universe;'³

His geographical interpretation of Japan's mission was as follows.⁴ First Japan is an island. The function of an island is to help intercourse between continents. Therefore just as England in the Atlantic helped intercourse

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1. c.f. Yamamoto Taijirō, 'Kaisetsu' US, IV, 4, 243.
 2. Kōkokushidan (The Rise of Nations) US, IV, 114.
 3. Chijinron (Earth and Man) Ibid. 90.
 4. Ibid. 91-92.

between Europe and America, Japan in the Pacific was destined to help intercourse between the continents of America and Asia. Secondly since many of Japan's harbours opened towards America in the East and towards the Asian mainland in the West, her position as arbiter, as nakehōdo (marriage go-between) between America and Asia, was assured. Thirdly the main mountain range running from the South to the North did not make too difficult the establishment of an Asian type of unity, and at the same time the scattering of ranges cutting across from East to West made possible the cultivation of a European spirit of self-government and independence. Japan, in other words, was ideal for the application and transmission of a synthesis of Asian and European political principles.

History, more specifically the two empirical laws of the advance of human progress and the Western march of civilization, laws discerned in the facts of history, also indicated to him what Japan's mission in the world was to be.¹ In the introduction to Historical Study of the Rise

1. For a study of 'laws' in history see e.g. A. Toynbee A Study of History, Reconsideration of practical topics (1961) 235-242 and Chr. Dawson Dynamics of world history, 19. Uchimura's understanding of historical 'laws' is to take hypotheses (laws) as indications of what will be (c.f. Kokokushidan, US, IV, 109-114) and therefore in as far as man can understand, these laws are also indications of what is the will, or law, of God for men. For Uchimura's discussion of free will and Providence see 'Setsuri no Koto' (On Providence), (1900) US, XIV, 118-129.

of Nations he writes:

History is the record of human progress. Mankind, like nature ... is evolutionary. Man's final end is not destruction but perfect development. Part of mankind may become degenerate but the whole steadily advances, month by month and year by year to its ultimate perfection ... Individuals exist for the sake of the nation and nations exist for men of the whole world ... Nations may rise and fall but their rise and fall is not that of humanity as a whole. ¹

He quotes Tennyson, 'Individuals wither, but the world grows more and more.'² A nation continues to exist only as long as it creates or receives or perfects or preserves or contributes to the over-all civilization of man. The contribution to be made by each nation is determined by Providence. 'Men at all times and especially great men, believed in Providence setting one work to one set of people and another to another.'³ The nation, which as a unit grows to compose the whole family, must have a divinely appointed work 'peculiar to itself and contributory to the welfare and progress of the whole.'⁴

Consideration of the second historical law of the Westward march of civilization would help, he believed,

1. Kōkokushidan, US, IV, 110.

2. Ibid.

3. 'Japan, Its Mission' JWM, February 1892, 193. The presence of great men who realize the 'possibility' of their race and country was the fifth requirement given by Uchimura for the rise of a nation. See Kōkokushidan, US, IV, 118.

4. Ibid.

in determining what peculiar work a given nation might have to perform. Of this law he wrote: 'That civilization marches westward in the direction opposite to the diurnal motion is a proposition constantly advanced by philosophers and statesmen.'¹ John Adams, Galliani, Adam Smith and Darwin all had this idea, he points out, and it was also believed in by many young Americans.²

Applying the historical laws of human progress and of the Westward march of civilization to his investigation of Japan's destiny, Uchimura asks what special task Providence might have set for Japan to perform so that Japan could contribute to the progress and welfare of the whole human family. Egypt and Babylon started civilization. Phoenicia dispersed it, Judea purified it, Greece polished it, Italy preserved it, Germany reformed it, England tempered it, America executed it, 'was there then nothing left for Japan;' he asks, 'can she do some great thing for the world?'³

1. Ibid.

2. 'Nihon Koku no Tenshoku' (Japan's Mission) (1892) US, XXIV, 23. Galliani (1728-1787) prophesied American victory in war of independence c.f. ibid.

3. Ibid. See also Kōkokushidan, for Uchimura's ideas on the 'March of civilization', US, IV, 120-234 and 'Nihon no Tenshoku' (1924) US, XXIV, 46. In material civilization Japan may not be able to contribute anything new because of her lack of creative genius but, as Motoori Norinaga, Hirata Atsutane and other Japanese (superior, according to Uchimura, to many religious patriots of the West), have declared, 'Japan will lead the world in morality.' Ibid. 50.

Yes, according to him, Japan could. For him the law of the Western march of civilization indicated Japan's mission. Japan was to carry further west and unite with Eastern culture the civilization America had brought to her.¹ Americans who had believed in America's mission to carry civilization west 'opened San Francisco in 1847,' and as he says, 'in five years more, the Pacific was crossed and the sun dawned on Japan.'² America received civilization from Europe and delivered it to Japan. 'Now it is Japan's turn,' he wrote, 'to add another proof to the grand possibility of the human race, for the law of the westward march was not to be reversed when civilization reached Japan.'³

Japan, having received civilization from America, was to transmit it to China. But that was not all. There were two streams of civilization, Uchimura said. One flowed westward to America, the other flowed from Iran to the East, to India, Tibet, and China, culminating in the Manchu court of Peking.⁴ Japan's mission was to unite these two streams. From the synthesis of two cultures within her womb would be born a new civilization.⁵ He wrote:

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1. Chijinron (Earth and Man) US, IV, 93.
 2. 'Japan, Its Mission' (1892) JWM, 193.
 3. Ibid.
 4. See Chijinron for similar ideas - US, IV, 92-3.
 5. Ibid.

The modern world is a magnet with two poles on the opposite banks of the Pacific, democratic, aggressive, inductive America and the Imperial, conservative and deductive China ... a Grand task awaits the young Japan who has the best of Europe and the best of Asia at her command. With her touch the circuit is completed and the healthy fluid shall overflow the earth. 1

More specifically he interpreted the mission of Japan, as meaning four things. (1) Japan had to absorb and adapt Western civilization and transmit it to Asia. In the intellectual sphere no less than in the commercial, she was a stepping stone in the ocean dividing the continents. She was a link in the chain of human culture. During the thirty years since Japan had been open to the West, the Japanese had swallowed up everything that Europe had to give and was in the process of digesting it so that 'The system that takes in the East and West will weave out a tissue that will partake of the nature of both.'² Japan was to be a marriage go-between (*nakahōdo*). She was to adopt laws, religion and politics as they came from Europe and America and 'nursing them in our familiar oriental atmosphere we shall give them in marriage to our less flexible brethren.'³ (2) Japan had the duty of defending civilization in Asia.

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

Here we will warily keep watch over the rights and interests of Asia and should another Xerxes of gross materialism or rude irreverence threaten the life and growth of the sacred East we too shall fight our Marathon and Thermopylae to put an end to his depredatory march. 1

(3) To safeguard the East against the West. 'We shall,' wrote Uchimura, 'if must be, lead humble Asia to curb the march of proud Europe,' and 'shall place upon the funeral pyre the ext^territorial Law and similar humiliations so that our sister nations may be free from such shame.'²

(4) Finally Japan should requite the West for the benefits it had given the East. 'If at present we receive all things from the West,' said Uchimura, 'we hope to requite them by the reflex influence which a new form of civilization will have upon the old.' The West shone forth towards the East, but 'shine back towards the West,' cried out Uchimura, 'thou country of the rising sun and thus fulfil thy heavenly appointed mission.'³

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. Tabatake Shinobu considers the whole of Uchimura's thought as an attempt to discover what Japan's mission might be. See 'Political Thought of Uchimura Kanzo Regarding War and Peace' in Studies on Christianity in Japan with reference to Social Problems ex. Sumiya Etsuji (1963) 109. For Uchimura, Japan's mission was the great question that should occupy the minds of patriotic and noble Japanese. See 'Tsune ni nōchū ni ichi dai mondai o takuwan beshi' (The Great Question ...) (1898) UC, III, 200.

Uchimura's attitude towards two major wars waged by Japan illustrate how in practice he applied his interpretation of Japan's mission to specific issues, and reveals the interaction of his two loves in a special manner, for in no other way are Christian values so put to the test as they are by war, nor does patriotism reach such frenzy and produce such heroism as when men are called to give proof of it by killing or dying.

The first was the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5. On the 1st August, 1894, the Emperor in an Imperial Rescript said:

We hereby declare war against China and we command each and all of our competent authorities ... in view of the attainment of the national aim to carry on hostilities ... against China ... consistently with the law of nations ... our constant aim has been to further the peaceful progress of the country and civilization ... Korea is an independent State. She was first introduced into the family of nations by the advice and under the guidance of Japan ... Japan advised Korea to reform ... but China has secretly and insiduously undertaken to thwart Japan's purpose ... Such conduct on the part of China is not only a direct injury to the rights and interests of this Empire, but also a menace to the permanent peace and tranquility of the Orient. 1

China therefore appeared to the Japanese as the 'rude and irreverent Xerxes' of the East about which Uchimura had written two years earlier. For the sake of civilization Japan had to carry out what she regarded as her providential mission of 'putting an end to his depredatory march.'

1. Translation given in JWM, 4th August 1894, 133.

On 7th August, a week after the Emperor's declaration and echoing many of its phrases, Uchimura wrote a long article, 'Justifications of the Korean War' which was published in the English Language Japan Weekly Mail,¹ with the express purpose of trying to dispel from the minds of foreigners prejudicial judgments about Japan to which they imputed sinister motives 'in our present occupation of Korea and in the final conflict we have entered upon with our haughty and impudent neighbour.'² He endeavoured to answer criticism of Japan by proving that Japan in her struggle with China was engaged in a righteous war, 'righteous we say not only in a legal sense for legalities can be manufactured as sophistries of all kinds can but righteous in a moral sense as well.'³ The moral sense in which the war with China seemed righteous to him was simply that 'by iron and blood alone'⁴ could Japan follow the historical law of

1. Published in JWM, 11th August, 1894, 172-3. A Japanese version 'Nisshin Sensō no Gi' (The justice of the Sino Japanese War) appeared in Kokumin no Tomo September 1894. c.f. US, XXI, 121-128. Quotations are in Uchimura's English.

2. 'Justification of the Korean War' JWM, 1894, 172.

3. Ibid.

4. 'China which produced Confucius for the world no longer knows the way of the sage. There is but one way left for a civilized nation to take against this harmful and untrustworthy nation ... it is the way of iron and blood ... by iron and blood alone can we make them know justice.' Quoted by Tabata Shinobu in 'Uchimura Kanzo ni okeru Heiwashugi shisō to tenkai' in Shisō No. 353, 27 (November 1953) tr. of T. Arima. Papers on Japan (1961) 159.

the westward march of civilization and exorable upward progress of the human race and thus fulfil her mission.

What he regarded as the providential nature of the laws of the march of civilization and of man's progress made the war with China seem to be noble and even holy. As the Emperor in his call to arms stated, Japan's constant national aim had been to further the peaceful progress of the country and civilization. This aim, expressed in a definite positive policy, meant at that time, establishing and maintaining civilization in Korea.¹ But China, as the Emperor said, had 'undertaken to thwart Japan.' 'While we laboured to open it to the world,' Uchimura wrote in his 'Justification', 'China laboured to close it and by imposing upon it its own Mongolian regime it endeavoured to keep it a part of its own system, a hermit nation like its own bulky self alien to civilization and the world's progress.'² He was not the only writer who supported Japan's right to resort to arms that she might continue her intervention in Korea.³ The significance of the support he, as a Christian, gave lies in the fact that he attempted to justify Japan's military action by considering it as fulfilment of God's providential aims for the nations.

1. c.f. 'Nishin no Gi' US, 21, 127. 'Just as America first brought us to the light of civilization in the same way we are now leading Korea.' Ibid.

2. 'Justification of the Korean War' JWM, (1894) 173. c.f. H. Conroy, The Japanese Seizure of Korea: 1868-1910, Philadelphia (1960).

3. Fukuzawa was one writer who also gave a considerable sum of money towards the war.

To Uchimura, trained as he was in Christian theology, 'justification' had the special meaning of 'making right with God.' His attempts therefore to justify the Korean war were aimed at showing the Christian world that the war was right before God. As he wrote later about salvation, gi to seraruru koto (to be justified) meant Kami to tadashiku 義々 kankei ni hairu koto (to enter into right relations with God).¹

Fukuzawa thought that, for her own sake, Japan should take it upon herself to try to strengthen the other Asiatic countries, to make them build in stone so that Japan might be safe from fire. For if a neighbour's house is wood even a man living in a stone house is not safe.² Uchimura, however, in order to justify Japan's actions in going to war with China, looked beyond Japan's own interests to the higher goal of consciously furthering civilization and uplifting man, and in this way co-operating with Providence. He saw God's providence in the march of history and in the progress of men. In 1887 he wrote that he was 'much impressed by the thought that God's providence is in my nation.'³ In 1927 he wrote: 'Not only history of Europe but history of Japan is

1. Seisho Kenkyu (1912) UC, XV,

2. See C. Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment (1964) Cambridge, 135. The Japanese of the Enlightenment tried to see history anew in the pattern of the laws and theories Western knowledge had brought to Japan.

3. How, 147.

God-informed. I often take infinite pleasure in reading Japanese history as I do the Jewish in the Old Testament. One is just as inspiring as the other.'¹ He therefore regarded the historical necessity of Japan's war with China as a manifestation of God's will for his nation. 'Is not a decisive conflict between Japan and China unavoidable?' he asks:

We might almost say is it not an historical necessity? A smaller nation representing a newer civilization lying near a larger nation representing an older civilization? Was there ever a situation in past history without the two coming into life and death struggle with each other ... And in the upward progress of the human race Providence has always willed that the newer be represented by the smaller and the older by the larger. 2

The palm of victory would go to Japan, he believed, because she was like 'the spirit that quickeneth' fighting against the flesh 'that profiteth nothing.' 'The Korean war,' he said, 'is to decide whether progress is to be the law in the East as it has long been in the West or whether retrogression ... shall possess the Orient forever.'³ Since, according to him, Japan's victory over China would mean free government, free education, free religion and free commerce, he expected every section of humanity 'to wish Godspeed to Japan and her cause.' He believed that Japan's war against China was just because it was holy, Japanese

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1. 'God in History' (1927) UC, VII, 244.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

being fired with the noble aim of dying if need be in order to fulfil their nation's providential mission of protecting civilization and uplifting man.

Uchimura's apocalyptic vision of Japan as the saviour of the East, a vision in which he constantly believed despite his change of opinion as to how the vision might be realized, rendered his 'Christian' patriotism little different in practice from the patriotism of those who accepted the Shinto teaching of the divine origin of the Japanese.

Two of the more immediate aims of Japan's war against China, punishment of the Chinese for their insolence and succour for oppressed Koreans, aims which were no doubt more effective in arousing popular support for the war than was the idealistic hope of furthering the cause of Civilization, were also interpreted by him as part of Japan's co-operation in plans of Providence for crushing the proud and helping the suffering. He accepted the ideas, earlier strongly advocated by Saigo Takamori and easily spread amongst a proud people, that China had acted against the Japanese in an unneighbourly and insolent manner and should be chastized. 'The great Saigo,' he wrote, 'had seen this long before and his sanguine wish for the immediate

chastisement of China cost him his life ...'¹ Uchimura suggests that even though Christendom may have lost its enthusiasm, there was still with the Japanese a 'sort of chivalric spirit ... a spirit akin to Spartan courage and Roman valour to crush the proud.'² Four months before the war broke out Kim Ok-kiun, a pro-Japanese Korean and protege of Fukuzawa, was murdered in Shanghai. Kim's body and his Korean assassin were sent back to Korea in a Chinese gunboat. The body was handed over to Kim's enemies to be mutilated for exposure through the land and the assassin was given every honour. 'What man with human heart' (Uchimura asks) 'could bear the treatment given to the body of poor Kim, an acknowledged guest of the Japanese nation?'³ If Japan did not have the duty under the 'heaven-sent law of society'⁴ to interfere and punish an open violater of social laws, a foe of humanity, and a defender of savagery, then, according to him, there would have been no reason for such men as Christ, Buddha, Livingstone and John Howard.

1. Ibid. See Conroy, The Japanese Seizure of Korea (1960) 48. Uchimura tells of Saigo's offer to go as envoy (to be probably killed) and thus give cause for war. 'He would not go to war without sufficient cause for it ... But when an opportunity presented itself ... it is very natural that he took it as a heaven-sent one for the country to enter upon a career assigned her from the beginning of the world.' Representative Men, 24.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. See Conroy op.cit. 223.

4. Ibid.

Desire for justice of the zealous crusader was as much a motive for him to support the war as was indignation of the proud patriot.

The second occasion on which Uchimura applied to a national issue what he believed to be the guiding principles of Japan's destiny was at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, when his Christian ideals and patriotic hopes made him advocate peace, not war.

In 1903 Russia's failure to withdraw her forces from Manchuria made war with Japan imminent.¹ Japan's success in the war with China had made her confident in her military might which indeed since that war had been greatly increased. An alliance with Britain, putting Japan on an even footing with the greatest of powers, enabled her to treat Russia on more equal terms. Christians joined with the overwhelming majority of Japanese in favouring war with Russia. A number of Christian missionaries, who in any case could hardly have opposed the war, supported it, like the missionary lady who urged the Japanese to give alcohol and nicotine money to the Emperor to help in the war against Russia.²

1. See Beasley. The Modern History of Japan (1963) London 171. Uchimura after reading Baron Kōmura's account of the Manchuria affair said 'who is not conscious of Russia's discourteous manner in treating with Japan, she treated Japan as a proud British viceroy sometimes treats a negro boy, pitifully but despitefully.' c.f. 'Thoughts on the War' Japan Weekly Chronicle, 18th February 1904, 203.

2. See JWC, 2nd September 1903, 224. The editor comments 'there has not been a single appeal from missionaries in favour of referring the Far Eastern question to arbitration.'

Uchimura was one of the very few amongst nationalistic idealists, who called for peace with Russia, and in October 1903 he even went so far as to resign from the important national newspaper Yorozuchōhō of which he had been the English editor because he felt that he could not in conscience continue to write for a paper whose support of war he could not endorse. To the editor, his friend, Kuroiwa Ruiko, he wrote:

I am convinced that to agree to war against Russia is the same as to agree to the destruction of Japan. However, now that the people have determined on war, it is no longer possible for me to persist in my opposition. Yet I feel I am betraying my duty as a patriot if I do not speak what I firmly believe in as a scholar. Especially now that the Yorozuchōhō has come out in support of war (I understand its position), I find it intolerable to continue to write articles in this paper whose views are in opposition to mine ... 1

In his call for peace he also stood out from the majority of Japanese and foreign Christians and this lone stand led to an amusing mistake. When Uchimura wrote two English articles in support of peace which were published in the Kobe Chronicle, a missionary, Theodosius Tyng, who did not realize that Uchimura was a Christian, wrote: 'It is hard to see why

1. 'Chōhō sha taisha ... Oboegaki' (Memorandum sent to Kuroiwa Ruikō on my Resignation from the Yorozuchōhō) US, XXI, 44. In any accompanying note Uchimura tells Kuroiwa their differences were not only on unimportant national questions but that they had different destinities. 'The heavens made you a newspaperman and me they made a bozu (priest) and in accordance with the rule that priests should not stick their beaks into secular affairs ... I withdraw from the literary world.' Ibid. 45.

persons who class themselves as non-Christian should set themselves up to teach the meaning of a faith which they deny. The Japanese people with almost entire unanimity believe it to be a war in defence of the peace and safety of their own country.'¹ The editor of the Chronicle replied that the article was written by Mr. Kanzo Uchimura - a well known Japanese Christian whose earnestness and sincerity are above question, and who not only gave up his position on a newspaper rather than advocate war, but has shown in other ways that he really believes in the doctrines he professes. That he is in a very small minority is evident from the attitude of Christian bodies in Japan and the very slight assistance which those in favour of peace have had from orthodox Christianity.'² At the time of the Russo-Japanese confrontation, the earnest pleas for peace coming from this ardent patriot were even more conspicuous than the call for war made ten years earlier by the same fervent Christian.

In advocating peace Uchimura's motives were both Christian and patriotic as can be seen in the four causes to which he attributed the origin of his pacifism. First there was the Bible, especially the New Testament. The spirit that permeated the whole of the New Testament which

1. JWC, 28th April, 1904, 506.

2. Ibid.

he came to understand better as his studies continued made him stand against 'every kind of conflict.'¹ Then his own experience taught him the advantage of not resisting. By not resisting those who opposed him he found that he gained inner peace, his work progressed and he made new friends. 'I think,' he said, 'that any man who has himself experienced the benefits of non-resistance would undoubtedly recommend his country to put into practice the same principle.'² Thirdly, the history of the previous ten years brought home to him the futility of war. The independence of Korea, he found, was in greater jeopardy than ever, even though Japan had fought for it. Also victory had corrupted Japanese morality and opened the way for unscrupulous capitalists like Furukawa Ichibei.³

1. 'Yo ga hisenronja to narishi yūrai' (How I became a Pacifist) US, XXI, 90.

2. Ibid. Uchimura refers to a certain occasion 'three or four years ago' when he practiced non-resistance. Kosaka (see Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era trs. D. Abosch (1958) 348) understands this as the 'Disrespect Affair', 'when he was attacked by many people as anti-patriotic.' Such an interpretation is unwarranted. (1) Uchimura does not specify the 'Disrespect Incident'. (2) The disrespect incident occurred thirteen years earlier. (3) Uchimura had no special work of his own till he began his own newspaper in 1898 and 1900. (4) References to St. Paul Romans 20 would suggest persecution from other Christians.

3. Furukawa Ichibei owned the Ashio Copper Mines. In 1901 poison from the mills ruined extensive paddy fields causing hardship to farmers. Uchimura wrote of his visit to the disaster area. His indignation made him say that if he was Premier he would send battleships up the Torase river to blast the mills. Furukawa was to Uchimura the epitome of all the evil in the oppressive capitalist. He makes frequent references to Furukawa in his writings. See 'Record of Journey to Mine Disaster Area.' UC, IV, 55-62.

'Such things,' said Uchimura, 'are the fruits of war in Japan, the land of my birth.'¹ In the world at large he saw that the consequences of war were no less unpleasant. The American Spanish war made America, the land of liberty into a land of oppression.² No longer satisfied with twenty thousand militia she wanted to become the mightiest military nation in the world. The South African war likewise brought distress on both victors and vanquished. The final cause of his pacifism was an American pacifist newspaper, The Springfield Republican of which Uchimura had been an avid reader for twenty years. This paper was not absolutely opposed to war, Uchimura said, but through its columns 'the enlightened views of the world's most renowned pacifists ultimately completely destroyed the stronghold of my jingoistic arguments.'³ It was this paper, Uchimura admits, that formed his opinion on the American war against the Spanish and the British war against the Boers.

It might well be argued that love for Japan was the powerful underlying motive for his pacifism which the four causes made him realize would be of greatest benefit to his nation. The Bible, his own experience, history and the views of enlightened men taught him that Japan could best fulfil her mission by peace rather than by war which he had earlier

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1. 'Yo ga hisenronja ...' (How I became a Pacifist)
US, XXI, 90.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

advocated. He rejected war and advocated peace, not as an end but as a means. He wanted to prevent the destruction of Japan. As he said to Kuroiwa, 'I firmly believe that to agree to war against Russia is the same as to agree to the destruction of Japan.' He wanted also to promote her true good. In the field of pure morality, he said, everyone agrees that 'peace reigns supreme,'¹ war being defended only on utilitarian grounds. Uchimura however tried to show that in the field of 'practical utility also'² peace was the best policy. In short, Uchimura believed that Japan in her relations with Russia at the beginning of the century could best fulfil her true mission by peace.

In his pleas for peace he cited those very factors that for others constituted reasons for justifying war. Of these factors, the Manchurian question was the most pressing. He endeavoured to view the problem of who should dominate Manchuria from the vantage point of cosmopolitanism. He tried not to be the patriotic 'frog in the well', unconcerned

1. Ibid.

2. 'War in Nature' JWC, 28th April 1904, 506. Examples from nature prove that the law of evolution is not 'survival of the strongest but of the fittest.' (ibid.) Uchimura's Denumaku no Hanashi (Story of Denmark) UC, XIV, 320 illustrated this. In 'War in History' JWC 5th May 1904, 540, Uchimura writes: 'In the eyes of the far-seeing philosopher, blood-shedding is an utter foolishness; and he in the name of Practical Utility, as the saint in the name of Pure Morality cries to his fellow men and says "put up your swords into their places".'

ignorant of, the outside world. According to him the first matter that should be decided was 'what is for the greatest advantage of the Manchurian people?' Three questions he thought should be asked. Would it be best for Manchuria to return to the condition it was in before banditry took over? Or would it be best for the country to be taken out of the hands of the Russians and given over to the care of the Japanese? Or would it be for its greatest advantage to be cared for by the Russians instead of by the Japanese?¹

Therefore, when self-styled patriots of Japan declare that in the present day struggle for national survival the good of other nations should not be considered but that first the advantage of one's own country must be determined and after that all other policies decided, what these people say seems like the talk of patriots, but in truth it is the talk of blindmen. History clearly shows that war and strategy will never take a country. Only he who loves a country will become its master. 2

Again, he states that each nation has its own destiny (ummei) or mission (tenshoku) and to solve the Manchurian problem the Japanese must find out by a study of geography and history what Japan's mission is and to the best of their ability carry it out. He declared that if given the chance to become Foreign Minister he himself would handle the Manchurian trouble with Russia by the peaceful methods

1. 'Manshū mondai Kaiketsu no Seishin' (The spirit for the solution of the Manchurian question) Yorozuchōhō (1903)

US, XXI, 42.

2. Ibid.

of negotiation and appeal to world public opinion.¹

Another factor which was partly instrumental in bringing Japan into her second major war was her self-confidence. The successful war with China that had made men like Fukuzawa weep for joy and caused rabid patriots to boast exaggeratedly brought to Uchimura disappointment which was all the more bitter for his once having tried to justify that war.² 'The trouble with China is over,' he wrote to Bell, 'or rather it is said to be over. ~~he wrote to Bell, 'or rather it is said to be over.~~ A "righteous war" has changed into a piratic war somewhat, and a prophet who wrote its "justification" is now in shame.'³ Angered by the sight of victorious soldiers boasting Uchimura composed a poem,

The Moon is clear, the stars white, the frost is deep,
the night cold, but for the widow, poor and friendless,
the years pass and no husband returns! ... 4

To Bell he said: 'You have no idea of the miseries of war.' Speaking about the two hundred million yen and ten thousand lives squandered on the Sino-Japanese war he asked: 'What good did Japan get out of the war?' 'The net result,' he replied, 'was that Count so-and-so became a Marquis and took more concubines.'⁵

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1. 'Heiwa no Fukuin' (Gospel of Peace) (1903), US, XXI, 30.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Letter (1897), UZ, XX, 420.
 4. 'Yamome no Jōyo' (The Widow's long Night) (1896) US, XXI, 26.
 5. 'Sensō Haishiron' (Argument for the Abolition of War) (1903) US, XXI, 27.

The third factor giving reason for war was the increased military might which made the jingoists bold but caused Uchimura to grieve. According to him the build-up of military power impoverished the people and tempted the rulers to take the country into war. Of militarism he wrote:

Those who cause the military to strike at foreign foes are themselves eventually struck by the same military. Japanese who drove the military into striking at China have been badgered by the military during the past ten years and almost all their wealth has gone into training and equipping military forces. How much will be further demanded from us if that same military is made to strike at Russia? What little freedom remains to us and our very constitution will disappear in smoke. Japan will become one vast camp. The people will swallow gunsmoke not rice and instead of wheat they will harvest sabres. 1

Of the danger inherent in the possession of arms he said that twenty thousand-ton battleships and many divisions were the 'seeds of disaster.' 'The very possession of them,' he said, 'excites a desire for war.' Uchimura thought that war would not even be mentioned amongst Japanese if they did not have military power. 'Politicians threaten to resort to arms because they have arms,' he wrote, 'Constant readiness with arms is dangerous in the extreme.'²

Those very factors, therefore, that helped to foster chauvinism in the Japanese jingoists who called for war with

1. 'Konji Zakkan' (Various Thoughts) US, XXI, 36.

2. Ibid. 36.

Russia, namely Russian obstinacy in Manchuria, memories of victory over China, and increased military power, called forth in Uchimura, who was anxious for his country's true good, all the patient reluctance of the Christian and wariness of the patriotic pacifist who contemplates the disastrous possibility of war.¹

In considering the most suitable way in which Japan might fulfil her mission in regard to the practical problems of Japan's confrontation with Russia over Korea, Uchimura's disagreement with the overall policy and methods of those who favoured war with Russia was doubtless another important factor in prompting him to take the opposite course and advocate peace. While Uchimura's pacifism was motivated by the high Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man and by the practical commonsense of patriotic caution, it was at the same time influenced by his personal antipathy towards both Japan's political and military rulers and Japan's Christian leaders, most of whom happened to favour war with Russia.

First there were the political and military leaders from the Sat-Cho group. According to Uchimura, Japan's leaders had fostered amongst the people an anti-foreign

1. In 1911 he wrote: 'I can think of no time when oppression was exercised more forcibly than to-day nor when daily living was more difficult. Indeed as I foretold these great trials came upon Japan from the Russo-Japanese war.' Nikki, (1911) UC, XIX, 275.

patriotism.¹ Therefore,

There is nothing easier than to recommend war to present day Japanese who have been taught that loyalty and patriotism necessarily mean fighting against foreign countries. Since such recommendation is certain to win the favour of the populace everyone wants to compete in preaching war. Hence in such times advocates of war are not necessarily patriots. I think that Carlyle's remark "truth is mostly the direct opposite of public opinion" is especially applicable to the present day Japan. 2

Peace, according to Uchimura, was what the people would want if they had not been indoctrinated to believe that 'patriotism meant anti-foreignism.' War, for him was, to use Kōtoku's words 'the private concern of the aristocracy and militarists.'³ He said,

If it comes to a clash between Japan and Russia ... it will in effect be a clash between those in Japan who take up the sword with those in Russia who also gird themselves with the sword. It will

1. The Anglo Japanese Alliance (1902) was one issue on which Uchimura disagreed with the policy of the Sat-Cho government. Japan as a whole looked on the alliance as a triumph (c.f. Beasley op.cit. 170) Uchimura looked on it as a cause for grief. (c.f. 'Thoughts on the Anglo-Japanese alliance' UC II, 173-180). The first of seven reasons he gives for his objection to it is that Japan will be drawn into the intrigues of the great powers. The Japanese would, in effect, be compelled to make Chamberlain's enemies to be their own enemies. c.f. 177.

2. 'Konji Zakkan' (Various Thoughts) (1903) US, XXI, 36. See also 'Principles of the Anti-war argument' (1908). Modern armaments are so expensive, said Uchimura, that even without going to war a nation will starve itself because of excessive demands for military budgets. US, XXI, 100.

3. c.f. Letter in Yorozuchōhō quoted in Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era. M. Kosaka (tr. D. Abosch) (1958).

be a clash between those in Japan who advocate loyalty, patriotism and world annexation and those in Russia who advocate the same principles. The name will be Russo-Japanese war but in reality it will be a conflict between the imperialists of both nations. The ones to suffer most from such a clash will be the good people of both countries whose only wish is for peace. 1

Again, he could not agree with those Christians who so readily co-operated with their governments that embarked on war.² The majority of Japanese Christians supported the government in the war against Russia. In 1904 a meeting of religious leaders in Tokyo was called to make widely known the reasons why Japan was at war and to disabuse the world of the suspicion that any racial or religious antipathies were connected with it as far as the Japanese were concerned.³ One of the speakers at the meeting was Imbrie, a missionary, who likened Japan to Greece in her contests with Persia. Uchimura had expressed the same sentiments at the time of the China war. Now he cited them as showing how little Christian moralists were removed from the ideals of barbarism.⁴ The editor of the Japan Weekly Chronicle wrote: 'In Japan as elsewhere the melancholy

1. 'Konji Zakkan' (Various Thoughts) US, XXI, 36.

2. See L. Tolstoy, Christianity and Patriotism (1894) for criticism of Christians who support war. Uchimura was pleased when a foreign newspaper likened his pacifist ideas to those of Tolstoy. c.f. 'Naigai Kenchi no Sai' (The difference in outlook at home and abroad), US, XXI, 58.

3. See Cary, op.cit. 318.

4. 'Sensō haishiron' (Arguments for the abolition of war) (1903) US, XXI, 28.

fact is evident that religious teachers follow rather than lead, and surrender to popular passions with the object of retaining their influence rather than stand firmly for principle.¹ He attributed wars to greed of nations.²

That this Russo-Japanese war will not come to an end without Christendom being taught through Russia that the Almighty has one and the same law for all mankind, that honour is due to every man as man, and that it is most dangerous to disregard this law ... We despise a man who interestedly watches two cocks fight. And what must our sense of contempt be for those Christian jingoes who, that they might have open market for their produce, wilfully incite nations to the clash of arms. ³

It was difficult for Christians in the circumstances not to support the war for two main reasons.⁴ In the first place the loyalty of Christians was always suspect, due to early Meiji opposition to Christianity and secondly, the Buddhists tried to turn antagonism against Christian Russia into anti-Christian sentiment at home, making it thus more

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1. JWC, 26th May 1904, 628.
 2. 'Kirisuto no dai Ni Kyōkun' (Christ's two great Commands) (1904), US, XXI, 22.
 3. 'Thoughts on War' (1904) JWC, February 1904, 203.
 4. For Uchimura's attitude during the war, see 'The Position of a Pacifist in War Time' US, XXI, 48. Inoue Tetsujirō accused him of being an opportunist for ceasing to oppose war once hostilities began. c.f. US, XXI, 55. However there were no papers willing to publish pacifist articles except the Chronicle and in this Uchimura had three articles published during the war. 'War in Nature'; 'War in History'; 'Thoughts on the War'.

imperative than ever for nations to give proof of their loyalty to the nation. Uchimura in contrast thought that Christians should speak out against their Government and public opinion when their conscience required them to. What he read about the actions of Christian nations in other parts of the world, for example of Britain in South Africa or of the United States of America in the Philippines, where it seemed to him military might was being used to suppress freedom, appeared to be patently contrary to Christian principles.¹ 'These Europeans and Americans,' he said, 'send missionaries to other countries bent on proselytizing them and at the same time entice nations to war against nations.'² The ugly spectacle of believers in the Prince of Peace both in his own Japan and in so-called Christian nations approving of and even taking part in war made him as a Christian want to advocate peace.

It was chiefly his patriotism therefore that led

1. See 'Yo no jōtai to Warera no kibō' (The State of the World and our Hope) (1902) UC, IV, 130.

2. 'Senji ni okeru hisenshugisha no taido' (The attitude of a pacifist in war time) (1904) US, XXI, 52.

Uchimura to point out the practical advantages of peace.¹ A policy of peace, he argued, would give the nation the strength of self-victory.² It would curb ambitions for foreign expansion until a strong, healthy and self-sufficient country had been created at home.³ Then, in the words of Christ, 'to him who already has shall be given.'⁴ The very vitality of a Japan disciplined by peace would enable it to expand. Military funds saved from wasteful dissipation in war could be used to attain Japan's highest ambition.⁵ Four hundred million yen if used in a war against Russia

1. See 'The practical advantages of peace' (1903) US, XXI, 171. Ienaga distinguishes five types of pacifists. He places Uchimura in the fifth class with those who base their pacifism purely on Christian humanism. See Ienaga S. 'The Modern Spirit and its Limitations', (1958) 118. This classification fails to do justice to Uchimura's intense patriotism. Musamune Hakucho thinks it strange that Uchimura opposed war but did not oppose Eastern ethics and Japanese thought inculcated by the Education Rescript. (See H. Masamune, Uchimura Kanzō, Gendai Nihon Bungaku, vol.14, 384). Musamune fails to understand that Uchimura's pacifism was basically a means not an end, a means for fulfilling those very ideas of the Rescript which in as far as they upheld the ideal of Japan's great mission in the world Uchimura himself accepted. Kawakami Tetsutaro attributes Uchimura's pacifism and his patriotism to his eschatology (see T. Kawakami, The Outsider of Japan (1965) 196). However, in Uchimura's eschatological thinking the temporal as represented in the social and political facts of patriotism and pacifism loses its significance in the eternal and personal which then become dominant.

2. 'Konji Zakkan' (Various Thoughts) (1903) US, XXI, 39.

3. 'Sensō to Heiwa' (War and Peace) (1909) US, XXI, 154.

4. Mathew's Gospel 13, 12.

5. 'Sensō to Heiwa' (War and Peace) US, XXI, 154.

would result in a little glory and great expense for the people, with some shrapnel being scattered in the plains of Manchuria and at home a few blood-stained uniforms being hung in war shrines. Whereas if the money were used to build railways, to establish Japanese communities in Korea, and to encourage a great Japanese exodus to Texas, Mexico and South America, then Russian encroachment would be stopped, and, he contended, the dream of a 'great Japanese tide sweeping across the Pacific' would be realized.¹

It must be stressed that Uchimura was able and continually tried to justify his patriotic pacifism by appeal to his Christianity. He used Christian teaching to bolster his pacifism in 1903 just as he had used it to justify war in 1894.² To the Idealist Band,³ an informal

1. Ibid.

2. Uchimura's Christian arguments for peace are given in 'Teaching of the principle of Non-Resistance' (1904) US, XXI, 13 and 'Christ's two great commandments'. Ibid. 20. Uchimura analyses New Testament texts used by war advocates in 'Christ's words quoted by jingoists' (1903) US, XXI, 101-110. For a discussion of pro-war and pro-peace biblical texts see Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis. Grotius works were highly esteemed in Japan (see Blacker op.cit. 126). Uchimura calls him the first pacifist c.f. (Various Thoughts) US, XXI, 37. The New Testament has so little to say specifically on the subject of war and peace that only general principles can be derived from its teaching to be interpreted in the light of changing circumstances. See R.H. Bainton, Christian Attitudes toward war and peace, (1960) London, 13. 'Theism' Bainton says, 'undergirds alike pacifism and the crusade.' Ibid., 238.

3. For definition of its aims see M. Kosaka, Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era. 339. For fuller text see 'Risōdan wa nan de aru ka' (What is the Risōdan) (1901) US, XXI, 288.

group of reporters of the left-wing paper Yorozuchōhō organised by Uchimura and including Kōtoku Shusui, Uchimura, speaking as a Christian, explained the pacifist position he had taken:

I am a Christian. Indeed I am a preacher. Therefore I teach the Christian commandments; 'Thou shalt not kill', and 'Thou shalt love thy enemies'. Since, if I preached war while at the same time believing such doctrines I would be false to myself and be deceiving the world, I could only expect you gentlemen to expel me immediately from the Idealist Band. 1

Of those Christians who did support war, Uchimura said:

Seeing that the great majority of Christians glorified war I realized more deeply that my sphere of action was not to be within the Christian world. Christians who profess to worship as their Saviour the Prince of Peace are not true lovers of peace. Within the church there are few champions of peace, most are outside the church, for example the philosopher Spencer ... and all ardent pacifists, whereas those called archbishops and bishops who have a firm hold on the Christian church are for the most part rabid jingoists. 2

Thus Uchimura was not only able to use his Christianity to justify his pacifism but also made use of his pacifism to vindicate the position he had taken as an independent Christian.

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1. 'Konji Zakkan' (Various Thoughts) US, XXI, 39.
 2. 'Nisshin Sensō yori yo ga ukeshi rieki' (Benefits I gained from the Russo-Japanese War) (1905) US, XXI, 72.

His pacifism was, as we have seen, by no means absolute nor was it based solely on Biblical teaching without consideration of the actual problems of his nation.¹ It was Christian teaching applied empirically to specific national issues. It was a harmony of his Christian and his patriotic principles.

At the time of the Russo-Japanese confrontation Uchimura came to believe that Japan's God-given mission in the divine plan for mankind could best be fulfilled by peace, just as earlier at the time of the Sino-Japanese conflict he had believed that his hope 'Japan for the World' could best be fulfilled through war.

Uchimura's concept of Japan's mission was exalted. His methods for realizing that mission were extreme. The significance of his concept however lies in his synthesis of the high role his patriotism ascribed to his nation with the other-worldly ideals which his

1. In 1926 he wrote: 'Looked at militarily Japan is an awesome nation, and that is not necessarily a bad thing.' UC, VII, 343. Religion influenced Uchimura's pacifism but was not its only cause. Of the Russo-Japanese war he wrote: 'I opposed this war on religious, ethical and moral grounds; secondly, because there was no advantage to be derived for either country; thirdly I opposed the war on the basis of Japanese national policy.' c.f. Kosaka, Japanese Thought, 349. I cannot agree with the conclusion reached by T. Arima ('Uchimura Kanzo' Harvard Papers, vol.I, (1961) 160) that ... his pacifism ... is almost entirely religious and moral ...

Christianity used to justify his methods for achieving it. Uchimura's interpretation of history was made in the light of the truth about the Kingdom of God. History for him ran towards the realization of the Kingdom of God through and above history.¹ In his thinking there was no dichotomy between worldly (finite) and other-worldly (infinite) expectations.² His pacifism can no more be divorced from his patriotism than can his pro-war sentiments be separated from his Christian hopes. His wish 'Japan for the World' can be understood only in the context of the last wish of his self-written epitaph, 'All for God'.

1. See 'Japan, its Mission' (1892), JWM, February 1892, and G.H. Anderson, The Theology of Christian Missions (1961) 281.

2. Arima writes: 'In Uchimura's theology the Christian dichotomy between worldly (finite) and other-worldly (infinite) expectations exists in its purest form.' op.cit. 131.

Ceaselessly crumbling cloud pinnacles,
O Moon Mountain!

Matsuō Bashō (1666-1694)
Nikki, UC, XX.

Ah, more than any priest, O soul,
we too believe in God;
But with the mystery of God we
date not dally.

Walt Whitman (1819-1892)
'Shingaku ya Nōgaku ya' (1906)
UC, IX, 163.

CHAPTER IXTHE WORLD FOR CHRIST

The mukyōkai (no-church) movement for which Uchimura is known in Japan and overseas is due almost entirely to his teachings and can be properly understood only in terms of the patriotism and personal faith in Christ that prompted him to advocate the no-church doctrine. The writings of present day Japanese no-church leaders, Tsukamoto Toraji, Kurosaki Kōkichi, Nambara Shigeru and others, some of whom are direct disciples of Uchimura, interpret their teacher's ideas and apply them to problems facing Christianity in post-war Japan.¹ It is not the purpose of this chapter however to discuss the origin and significance of the no-church movement, but to consider the ideas that gave rise to the movement only in as far as they are the product of the twofold love, love for Japan and love for Jesus, that has been the chief object of this study of Uchimura.

These ideas, in their ultimate analysis, are a seeking

1. See J.F. Howes, 'The Non-Church Christian Movement in Japan' for an account of the post war no-church movement. TASJ, December 1957, 119-137. See also R.P. Jennings, Jesus, Japan and Kanzo Uchimura, A Study of the non-church movement and its appropriateness to Japan (1958) 39-92.

after means to fulfil the third wish of his self written epitaph. He wanted to see the propagation of a Christianity not dominated by foreign churches nor restricted to a Japanese one so that in truth the world might be 'for Christ'.

No-church was for Uchimura basically an escape from the dilemma posed by the demands of his two loves. As a patriot he was unwilling to see the dignity of his country lowered by the submission of Japanese Christians to the teaching and authority of foreign founded or nationally orientated sects. Established foreign churches were then unacceptable to him as vehicles necessary for conveying Christianity to the Japanese. As a Christian he was reluctant formally to found his own Japanese national church for fear of adding to the scandal of the world's divided Christian community by creating yet another denomination. The doctrine of no-church ~~therefore that~~ ~~he preached~~ was for him the logical conclusion of his patriotic principles and Christian beliefs.¹ He called

1. I cannot agree with J. Howes (Thesis, 87) nor with R. Jennings, (op.cit. 57 and 72) who maintain that 'Mukyōkai is, in spite of any and all possible outside influences, basically Japanese.' To say that is to miss the whole meaning of mukyōkai. Mukyōkai is basically 'over enthusiasm' for both Christ and Japan. Uchimura's efforts 'to prevent Mukyōkai from becoming another sect' (Howes, op.cit. 136) was proof that his love for Christ which made him reluctant to add to the confusion amongst Christ's followers was equally important to him as love for Japan that made him wish for a church special to his people.

it his 'no-church church'.¹ This was essentially not the assertion of a self-contradiction but Uchimura's refusal to make a definite commitment to the organized, and to him unspiritual Christianity of the West.

He gave no systematic treatise on what he conceived to be no-church doctrine. His ideas on this subject are to be found scattered throughout his writings which cover a period of more than forty years,² and since they are naturally intimately related to his ideas on what constitutes a church they should be interpreted in the light of those ideas.³ Also his own very wish and efforts to preach Christianity to others and the methods he adopted in guiding others in the observance of the doctrines he taught help for an understanding of his concept of the group which he called his mukyōkai. No-church doctrine as expressed by Uchimura was for the most part negative, being a rejection of certain features of the established churches with which he was familiar.⁴ As a positive ideal to be achieved his no-church doctrine, evident in his practice more than in his specific discussions on no-church, was hardly more than a reaffirmation of basic Christian teaching commonly held by the majority of churches.⁵

1. 'Non-Church' (1901) US, XVIII, 86.

2. A note in his diary for 30th April 1881 saying 'The independence of the church is spoken of for the first time' mentions the beginning of his separation from organised Christianity of the West. How, 49.

3. See especially US, XVIII, 1-83.

4. T. Yanaibara, Uchimura Kanzō and I (1964) 317.

5. Ibid.

Uchimura rejected churches yet at the same time he conceived of a group that was virtually another church.

Writing in 1895 he says that after his conversion he and his fellow-Christians came to think little of church authority and placed small value upon ecclesiastical ritual. The Sapporo group were eager to foster the ideals and type of life they believed to have been common amongst the fervent members of the early church, ideals and practice that to them seemed to be lacking in the modern churches. 'Peter, a fisherman and Paul, a tent-maker, were their examples.' Close association with the simplicity of the New Testament and unfamiliarity with a hierarchy and ecclesiastical organisation made it difficult for them to conceive such things as integral parts of Christianity. 'We take it essentially as people's religion,' he wrote, 'and our being "men of the world" is of no obstacle whatever for our being preachers and missionaries.'¹ As early as 1901, in Mūkyōkai, a magazine he published for a short period in that year, he gives a description of what he means by 'no-church'.

The title "mūkyōkai" may suggest a magazine advocating anarchism, nihilism or some other destructive principle. This is far from being the case. No-church is the church for those who have no church. It is the dormitory for those who have no home, the orphanage or founding house for the spirit. 2

1. How, 29.

2. 'Mūkyōkairon' (No-church theory) (1901), US, XVIII, 86.

'The negative character of the word mūkyokai should read,' he said, 'nai' (without) rather than 'mu ni suru' (to destroy) or 'mushi suru' (to despise). Are not those without money, without parents, without homes, to be pitied? Because we believe that there are in the world many without a church, sheep without shepherds, we have published this magazine.'¹ From this description it is clear that Uchimura regarded his no-church as a 'church'. The metaphors he uses to illustrate his meaning, 'home', 'orphanage', 'sheepfold' indicate unequivocally that he envisaged some type of association or fellowship or grouping. In a diary entry for 1926 he makes this quite clear:

I will preach the necessity for a group. I do not preach the need for a church. When we say a group it is not something that gathers much power and comes into conflict with other groups. It strives to realize brotherly peace. It is a group of love, a spiritual family. 2

This spiritual group was according to him formed and preserved through the centuries by the direct action of the Spirit of God without the mediation of churches or men, and such a group was necessary for one desiring to maintain faith in Christ for:

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1. 'Mūkyōkai' (No-church) (1901), US, XVIII, 96.
 2. Nikki (Diary) (1926), UC, XXI, 227.

Faith is not something that one can continue to keep by himself. The reason being that faith does not belong to one person alone. Faith is to believe in God. But God is the Father of all men. Therefore it is not possible to believe in Him and follow Him without loving all men. 1

The seeming inconsistency of Uchimura's theoretical rejection of churches and practical efforts to form a group that was virtually a church is also evident in his apparent rejection of certain accidental factors generally associated with churches, and at the same time, for the sake of the spiritual welfare of his own 'group of love', he occupied himself with these very factors. They were the external evidences of a church's existence such as assembly-buildings, defence of doctrine against the attacks of other christians who would condemn it, functions such as weddings and baptisms generally assigned to a minister and pastor, and finally the work of evangelization both at home and overseas.

A poetic description of the mukyōkai church edifice as the sky above and the flower-strewn meadows beneath is typical of the vague, attractive but patently impractical nature of the whole of the no-church doctrine preached but not practised by Uchimura:

1. 'Shinkō no Kyōdōteki Iji' (Mutual support of Faith) (1917) US, XVIII, 21. A number of diary entries for Sundays when he did not have his own 'assembly' reveals Uchimura's loneliness away from the spiritual companionship of the church he was unwilling to attend.

This is our church in this world. Its roof is the azure sky. Stars besprinkle its rafters. The green fields are its floor. Flowers weave its tatami mats. Its musical instruments are the tip ends of pine branches. Its musicians are the small birds of the forest. Its pulpit is the peaks of the mountains. The preacher is God Himself. This is the church of the Mukyōkai believers. The churches like those in Rome and London, no matter how magnificent, cannot over-shadow our great church. Mukyōkai is Yūkyōkai (Non-church is the church). Only those who have no church have the best church. 1

However his repeated concern over places where he might hold Christian lecture meetings, from the time he helped to build and maintain the Sapporo Independent Church to the last years of his life when he constantly fussed over the ventilation in the Bible lecture hall he had built next to his home, belied his bold assertion that the world was the church of the mukyokai. In order to pay the rent of the buildings he hired and to raise money to build his own, he successfully introduced the novel idea of charging a fee for his lectures on Christianity.² Again since he travelled throughout Japan and preached in the many churches or assembly places the local Christians found for him he and his no-church group were able to exist as parasites of the established churches. Although Uchimura and his groups were at times subject to expulsion and refusal, this manner of operating enabled him to a certain

1. Mukyōkai (No-church) UZ, IX, 212-3.
 2. Letter, (1920) UZ, XX, 938 and (1896), XX, 311.

extent to dispense with the worry connected with the material aspects of Christian preaching and thus devote himself more to the spiritual. He was able to say 'The world is my church; unwieldy stone or wooden church is decidedly a hindrance to my work' because he tacitly consented to the labours of disciples who relieved him of the vexations of building or providing assembly halls.¹

In theory at least Uchimura's 'mūkyōkai' should have been free from the polemics associated with the established churches that were obliged for the sake of their survival to defend their special doctrines. Indeed, polemics, according to Uchimura, pertained to the very essence of the churches from the West. He agreed with Carlyle who in a letter to Emerson gave the definition 'Orthodoxy is My Doxy and Heterodoxy is Thy Doxy'.²

In an article on 'Ecclesia', he wrote:

Lord deliver me from the hands of theologians. Truly there is nothing more terrible than these products of the churches. Calvin attacks Luther, Luther attacks Calvin. And both unite to bring about the destruction of Roman Catholics on the one side and the Anabaptists on the other. This comes from forgetting the ideals of Christ and trying to establish churches. 3

1. Letter UZ, XX, 924. He was often asked to build a church, see 'Kyōkai Kensetsu Mondai' (1920) US, XVIII, 99, and in accepting the Imaikan Bible Hall next to his home was, in effect, the administrator of a church.

2. Sectarianism (1924) UC, VII, 116.

3. 'Ekurejiya' (Ecclesia) (1910) US, XVIII, 19.

In practice however he was little different from those he criticized. First there was his teaching on 'mukyōkai' which could only be defined 'in terms of difference from faith' of those who believed in a church. Again the doctrine of 'The Second Coming' which occupied so much of Uchimura's time after 1918, a truth that gave him 'intellectual satisfaction and spiritual peace,' being a doctrine which he thought would solve 'the knotty problem of the union of the churches.' In preaching this belief however, he gave the lie to his assertion that his 'spiritual group' of Mukyōkai would not come into conflict with other groups. In the tradition of intense theological debate of the Protestant reformers, Luther and Calvin, Uchimura, within the tiny circle of Japanese converts, carried on a vigorous controversy with his adversaries, Kozaki of the Congregational Church and Hiraiwa of the Methodist Church, regarding his 'Second Coming' Preaching. Several city papers came out with strong articles defending Uchimura's cause. 'It is a very interesting fight,' he told Bell, '... I am confident I will come out as a victor.'¹ About the same time Uchimura's disciple wanted to publish a no-church magazine

1. Letter (1919) UZ, XX, 917.

but Uchimura prevented him, not because he would then be falling into the same category as the ordinary churches which established themselves, according to Carlyle's formula of Mydoxy and Thydoxy, but simply because if a magazine were to be started he would be forced to come out of his lair to fight and fighting was bad for his blood pressure.¹

Uchimura placed great importance on the question of 'being licensed' as a minister. He himself was not licensed. He absolutely refused to consider becoming licensed and always boasted that he was a layman.² It is clear from this refusal that Uchimura did not believe the 'licence' to have any validity in giving a person the right to preach and the power to minister to believers, or he would have received it that he might have been able to perform the work he chose as his vocation, the presentation of Christianity to his countrymen. His rejection of the licence however was due not merely to disbelief in its efficacy but the fear of the social stigma he imagined to be attached to the professional clergyman 'who,' as

1. Tsukamoto, T. 'Uchimura Kanzō Sensei to Watakushi' (1962) 111.

2. How, 157.

he said, 'spoke only for his belly.'¹ No licensed preachers, no ministers, no missionaries. Rejection of these, according to him, were essential in the formula for his mūkyōkai.

'Experience of twenty years,' he wrote, 'has convinced me firmly that souls can be saved without churches or creeds or ceremonies or missionaries.'² He believed that the Bible and the Holy Spirit do all, and that the highest dignity belonged to the layman. 'How honourably sound plain Mr. Bell or Mr. Uchimura,' he said, 'what useless, yea for Christians what obnoxious adjuncts are "Revs" and "D.Ds" and all such.'³

Nevertheless if, in his mind the licence meant nothing more intrinsic than enabling one to be classified as belonging to a certain social class or caused one to be stigmatized as having submitted to a foreign licencing authority, then in practice Uchimura was himself to all intents and purposes a preacher, a minister, a pastor and a missionary. For although he was not licenced by any generally recognized authority or ordained by any established ceremony, which according to him was not necessary in any case, he regarded himself as a spiritual teacher, minister of rites, pastor of souls and even missionary, all by virtue of popular acclaim and God-given privilege.

1. Letter (1911) UZ, XX, 599. In the same year he said: 'Since I fear receiving the privilege of Church membership more than not becoming a Christian I do not seek to put my name on any church register.' US, XV, 72.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

He considered himself to have been charismatically endowed to preach to his countrymen as no foreign missionary ever did.¹ 'I have been placed in a unique position' he wrote, 'which it is very difficult for strangers to understand.'² The apparent success of his work, evident in the numbers of 'the audience, the best any teacher can get in Japan,'³ that attended his lectures, made him feel that God was blessing his work. 'God is justifying me with the fruit of my work,' he wrote, 'many are seeking the Truth of the Christian Gospel through my humble instrumentality and many have entered into peace and joy through the same.'⁴

The considerable following he achieved in preaching the Second Coming convinced Uchimura that God had specially chosen him to be the leader of the 'Second Coming' movement. When the movement reached its peak just after the First World War he wrote to Bell:

1. In other words Uchimura made no distinction between lay and cleric. In a letter he wrote: 'New and advanced Japan dislikes priests more than anything else. Professional religious men they place but little faith upon ... we do want lay missionaries - no more reverends.' (1894) UZ, XX, 283.

2. Letter (1912) UZ, XX, 742.

3. Letter (1919) UZ, XX, 911. Uchimura frequently boasted of the numbers and quality of people who attended his lectures.

4. Letter (1912) UZ, XX, 742.

My Bible-class is growing week after week. Some 800-900 men and women of faith and intelligence attend the class; no doubt the largest that has ever been seen in this country ... And that God hath appointed me to be a leader of such a movement must be quite gratifying to you who had me in your prayers for the last more than 30 years. 1

Uchimura, like any other Christian minister, performed marriage and naming ceremonies for his disciples. With the passing of the years, his 'no-church' ideas gave way in practice at least to the belief of those who admitted the need for a church with preachers, ministers and rites. In 1899 he wrote, 'Today I pay almost no attention to formal religion. Often I am regarded by missionary people as being without religion. Fifteen years ago I was a fervent 'Amen'-type of Christian and looked for the solution to human problems in external ceremonies.'² Seventeen years later his attitude changed and he became much more concerned for the institutional aspects of Christianity. He told Bell that 'my cares for my church are increasing day-by-day, and I have but little time left for reading and study.'³ His relationship with his Christian students and readers involved him in what even he calls his 'pastoral work'. He thought of himself as the 'shepherd of several hundred

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1. Letter (1919) UZ, XX, 920.
 2. Nikki (1899) UC, XVIII, 82.
 3. Letter (1918) UZ, XX, 825.

(maybe a thousand) souls.' He bestowed names such as Taihei (Grand Peace), Oken (Miss Humility), Omaki (Miss Seed-sowing) and Kōsaku (Tiller) and officiated at marriage ceremonies which he termed Uchimura shiki (Uchimura style). However much he wrote against the Christian ministers, in practice he felt that, as one who taught the Bible, he could not 'escape the responsibilities laid upon professional clergymen.'¹

One of the most interesting features of Uchimura's later attitudes, particularly in view of his earlier strong criticism of foreign missionaries, was his active participation in sending Japanese missionaries to China and in his being concerned about the evangelization of territories under Japanese control. 'We started what we call "World-Evangelization Society",' he wrote, 'and sent some little contributions to Chinese, Manchurian, Formosan and South Sea Island Missions. Intense interest is being awakened in foreign missions among the readers of the magazine.'²

1. Letter (1918) UZ, XX, 828. In Letter (1924) he tells of a baptism he administered, UZ, XX, 1123, but seems to have thought baptism not to be of great importance for salvation. When a tax inspector asked what the business (Shokugyō) of the Uchimura house was he was told that it was Christian evangelization (Kirisutokyo no Dendō). See 'Yasō no ryūkō' (1912) US, XXIV, 198.

2. Nikki (1924) UC, XXI, 15.

He enjoyed having a definite spot in China which he could consider as the special sphere of his own evangelical efforts. 'This is the first time in my life,' he wrote, 'when I enjoy the luxury of foreign missions ...'¹ Plans were made to send a Japanese missionary, but at first his group was satisfied with sending funds to pay for a Chinese to preach Christianity.² His firm grasp of the inner meaning of the Christian Gospel was shown thirty years earlier when speaking of the raison d'être of Christianity he wrote³ that 'once it ceases to propagate, it ceases to live' and now he was able to boast of his efforts to 'diminish the darkness'⁴ of China, that '... this is, I think, the first attempt made by Japanese Christians in the line of foreign missions. One hundred years from today it will be a big work.'⁵

In short Uchimura preached a theory of no-church but in practice he gave clear proof of his intuitive need for an organized religious grouping. He set up a 'mukyōkai church' that used buildings, in which he was the self-appointed preacher, defending his own doctrine, ministering

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1. Ibid.
 2. Letter (1924) UZ, XX, 1129.
 3. How, 191-2.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Letter (1924) UZ, XX, 1129.

rites, shepherding souls and dispatching missionaries. His no-church church was a self contradiction, a doctrine belied by his actions.

It is, of course, possible to solve the paradox of the 'no-church church', and to absolve Uchimura from an apparent hypocrisy by pointing out that Uchimura had his own image of what was required to constitute a church. His ideas are by no means necessarily identical with those who believe in the need for institutionalized Christianity.¹ For example in his 1917 article on the Church he writes:

The "Church" consists in Bishops, elders, believers, covenants, articles of faith. It resembles a government or political party. It plans how to increase its effectiveness, how to save people by making its tenets widely accepted in society. But this is not the church which Christ established. He said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I also." This is Christ's true Church. "The Church" as we know it was developed by the Romans who valued only public institutions, and was transmitted by Europeans and Americans. There is no need for us to learn from Westerners about this ... we should return directly to Christ and welcome Him into our midst. 2

This of course was almost a caricature of what was really believed by those many traditional Christians who considered the church to be essentially a spiritual union

1. Letter (1922) UZ, XX, 1095.

2. 'Shinko no Kyōkai' (True Church) (1917) US, XVIII, 21.

of the faithful, the mystical Body of Christ.¹ Therefore better understanding by Uchimura's No-Church followers of what 'church' means, and clarification of their ideals by the churches themselves may make the 'protest' that Mukyokai essentially is, meaningless.²

Also he imagined that certain external methods of procedure which he had witnessed in Protestant churches of 19th century evangelical traditions pertained to the very essence of a church and that the Japanese spiritual teacher-pupil relationship hallowed by the custom of centuries and the temperament of the people would not yield to the changing conditions of a westernized nation. "Church", as the common acceptance of the term is used by

1. For example see traditional Catholic teaching on Church in The Constitution of the Church of Vatican Council. ed. G. Baum, (1965) 71. See also 'The concept of the Church' in K. Barth, Theology and the Church (1928) 275. See T. Yanaibara, Uchimura Kanzō and I (1964), where he discusses 'the points of difference between No-Church and the Church' ibid., 350-356.

2. Churchmen too, like Uchimura, can strip away the unessentials. The words which K. Rahner, theologian of Vatican Council 11, uses in his vision of the future church seem almost identical with Uchimura's definitions of no-church. Rahner writes: 'And so they will feel themselves to be brothers because, in the edifice of the Church, each of them will reverently receive obedience from one another as a free and loving gift. It will be clearly seen that all dignity and all office in the Church is uncovenanted service, carrying with it no honour in the world's eyes, having no significance in secular society. Unburdened with any such liability perhaps (who knows?) it will be longer constitute a profession at all in the social and secular sense.' Catholic Herald, 7th January 1966, 5.

Occidental Christians', he said, 'is wholly unknown amongst my countrymen.'¹ He thought it doubtful whether such an institution, valuable though it doubtless was in other countries, could be planted with any hope of stability amongst the Japanese.² The method of moral and religious teachings to which the Japanese were accustomed was not, according to him, 'that of sermonizing upon texts and delivering from pulpits.'³

Uchimura's somewhat peculiar views of what constituted a church and his consequent rejection of what he thought the concept represented are illuminated by Stephen Neill's observation that ease of communication between missionaries in the field and home authorities contributed to a lack of true 'Church' sense in the 19th century preachers.

1. How, 166.

2. Ibid. It is interesting to compare this idea of Uchimura with the astounding success of 'church' methods adopted by the old 'new religions' of Shinshū and Nichirenshū, and by the 'new religions' of the present day such as Omotokyō, Tenrikyō and Seichō no Iye.

3. Ibid. Anti-clericalism, in its widest sense, of Hume, Ingersoll, Buckle and the more specific attacks of mystical writers like Swedenborg and Kierkegaard were powerful influences in making Uchimura anti-church. He himself attributes the spread of the no-church principle to Kierkegaard. See "Denmaruku no hanashi" (Story of Denmark) (1911) UC, XVI, 312. W. Gundert, who later wrote on Uchimura, influenced him towards Kierkegaard. See See 'Mukyōkai Shugi no Zenshin' (1907), US, XVIII, 103.

'The invention of the electric telegraph,' he says 'spoilt all.'¹ The man on the spot was unable to form an integrated spiritual community, because he lost power to a distant body of men, the majority of whom had never visited the lands concerning the destinies of which they made decisions. A telegraphic message demanding the return of 400 dollars from Uchimura's struggling Christian group because of their plans to form with other Christians of Sapporo an independent Church symbolized for Uchimura the irritating tentacle of a foreign body reaching into his land. He rebelled against it.²

He also sensed the almost divided loyalty of the missionary trying to serve God and at the same time the organization that provided his finance. The aim motivating the missionaries was not always quite clear, whether to preach the gospel or establish the church, although in practice, most took as their aim what the Catholic mission-ogist P. Charles meant when he said 'en plantant l'Eglise, nous sauvons les âmes.'³ But to have continuity of personnel and funds some organizational relationship and dependence on the foreign home church was essential. Thus the 'foreignness' of the churches blinded Uchimura as to their true nature.⁴

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1. S. Neill, Christian Missions, (1965) 511.
 2. How, 66.
 3. See Quantitative Christianity (1916) UC, VII, 26.
 4. P. Charles Etudes Missiologiques, (1956) 36.

But in the last analysis it is not necessary to resolve the apparent self-contradiction or to explain away a seeming hypocrisy in the mukyōkai theory for Uchimura himself recognized his no-church church as an ideal impossible to realize, a theory that facts would destroy. Mukyōkai was the round square with which he responded to the dilemma of finding a satisfying Christianity free from the sharp edges of foreign culture and from forms resembling those of worldly institutions. The ideal of mukyōkai, he knew, could never be realized here on this earth.

The no-church theory cannot be put into practice here on earth. If it could then immediately there would be a church. The beauty of the no church ideal lies in the very impossibility of its realizations. It is the same with Christ's teaching. No one believes that the Sermon on the Mount can be obeyed literally here on earth. The excellence of Christ's teaching lies in the very efforts one makes to practice what is impossible. The No-church waits for Christ's Second Coming in order to witness its realization. Until then we are satisfied with the partial realization of the ideal. It is generally said that one who wishes to enter a perfect church here on earth should immediately enter the Roman Catholic Church. Mukyōkai Shugi is an ideal, therefore ordinary people who seek for success in this world should not adopt it. 1

1. 'Mukyōkai Shugi no Zenshin' (The progress of No-church) (1907) US, XVIII, 102. Uchimura had a certain admiration for the Catholic Church (see footnotes infra) and at times cooperated with its missionaries. His knowledge of Catholicism however, (see e.g. mistaken idea of Immaculate Conception given as Shojo Kaitai [Virgin ^{conception} birth] instead of mugenzai - UC, I, 134) and his attitude toward the Church (see e.g. his satisfaction at failure of Smith to become U.S. president - 'every true patriot has to oppose spirit of Roman Church' - UC, IV, 448) reveals the Protestant bias of his sources.

Uchimura realized that those who embraced the no-church ideal would immediately crystallize it into an institution¹ and thus destroy it. It therefore had to be a constant protest against established churches and a perpetual dissolving of its own incipient organization. In 1907 he wrote:

(The no-church) is the spiritual group of those who have no-church. Such a group, I fully realize can easily become a church. In such cases it must immediately be destroyed. The church is like the body of a living being, always being destroyed and always needing to be built up. With the church as with a living being the thing to be feared is crystallization. Mukyōkai Shugi destroys the church that has become crystallized on the one hand and on the other builds up the living church
 ... 2

As a practical ideal to be realized mukyōkai has no meaning.³ It is essentially a negation and a protest. Mukyōkai was his rejection of a Westernized form of Christianity, a form that was most evident in the embodiment of doctrine in the many Christian churches that took their origin in the West. It was also a protest against the secularization of Christianity so obvious, he thought, in the factionalism and business-like methods

1. Institution is used here in a broad sense that includes even a Bible study group (c.f. 'Characteristics of No-church and Bible Study' in T. Suzuki Uchimura Kanzō and the Present (1962) 133) and not only in the narrow sense of an organization that American admirers of wartime Non-Church pacifists wished to see developed. c.f. T. Yanaibara, Together with Uchimura Kanzō, (1964) 147.

2. 'Mukyōkai Shugi no Zenshin' (Progress of No-church) (1907) US, XVIII, 102.

3. See G. Maeda in T. Suzuki, Reminiscences about Uchimura (1965) 329.

of Western churchmen.

In practice it is not always possible to determine which reasons predominated in prompting Uchimura's rejection of established churches, but in theory a clear distinction can be made between his dislike of Western-founded Christian organizations and his disgust with the tepidity and institutionalization of the churches. He objected to the churches as national or group institutions serving worldly ends. 'The no-church,' he says, 'is the anti-thesis to the church only in the sense that I negate the church as it has existed which served for man's desire and not for God.'¹

In chapter III Uchimura's rejection of the Western incarnation of Christianity, because of his patriotism, was considered. A multitude of Christian sects, legacy of the chequered history of Christianity in the West, was one of the obvious and disagreeable features of Christianity as existing in the West.² As a Christian too, he objected to accepting into Japan this mutilated body as the true fellowship in Christ. Christian Sectarianism has always baffled thoughtful pagans and been a cause of distress to Christian missionaries. 'Christianity is not wrong,' he

1. 'The Real Significance of an Independent Church' (1902) UZ, XX, 216, quoted by Arima, op.cit. 153.

2. See H. Kishimoto (tr. Howes) Japanese Religion in Meiji Japan, 178. Recently an African bishop said: 'We do not feel this division (Orthodox and Catholic) affects us directly any more than we are involved in the divisions which concern the Reformation churches ...' M.J. de Guillou, Concilium (1965) 9.

wrote, 'The Christianity in Japan of today is wrong. Reject the churches but do not at the same time reject Christ.'¹ He wished for independence from churches, not merely the independence of another sect, but to be able to rise above all groups by each one being personally united to Christ.²

The scandal of a divided Christendom was and still is the greatest stumbling block to the non-Christian, or Christian not committed to any particular church or tradition but who seeks perfection in Christianity, which in fact he tends to consider as a single religion. When Christianity was first brought to Japan in the time of Francis Xavier, Catholicism was the only religion taught by missionaries and the problem of sectarianism hardly existed. When a number of Protestant sects came after the opening of the country in 1853, the missionaries foresaw the scandal that their differences would entail and futile attempts were made to prevent a division, which had its roots in western history, from being perpetuated amongst the Japanese.³ As Uchimura pointed

1. Nikki (1892) UC, XVII, 311. For Uchimura's anti-clerical ideas, namely that the clergy are hypocrites who only feign to believe in what they preach ..., see JWC 5th August, 1915.

2. 'Dokuritsu to Kirisuto' (Independence and Christ) (1903) UC, V, 81. See also UC, XIV, 39 and T. Yanaibara on the 'meaning of no-church' in Uchimura to tomo ni, 326.

3. Kishimoto, op.cit. 178. See also H. Tucker, History of Episcopal Church in Japan (1938) 210.

out, the very existence of many sects was repugnant to thoughtful Japanese Christians.¹ He himself tried to understand why there should be so many different churches. 'Man is too finite a creature' he wrote, 'to be able to rest upon and occupy the whole of the Infinite Foundation of Wisdom ... This explains the existence of different sects and the success of every one of them.'² However the polemics of the sects and the bickerings of their members were too much for him and he ended by rejecting all the churches. Speaking of the various Christian bodies that tried to win his allegiance especially when in the States he wrote that 'the poor heathen convert is at a loss which to make his own; so I made up my mind to accept none of them.'³

Another reason for Uchimura's rejection of the churches apart from the scandal of their disunity was his belief that their organization and methods were out of harmony with the true nature of the Christian message. It has already been pointed out that because of his knowledge of and love for the traditions of his own country he objected to the Western

1. 'Shinsei no Kirisutokyō' (True Christianity) (1902) US, XV, 22.

2. How, 123. Uchimura attributed his formulation of this explanation to Phillips Brooks, Influence of Jesus. ibid.

3. Ibid. 120.

ways of the Christian churches as being incompatible with those traditions. But an even more basic objection was that they were, in his opinion, contrary to the true purpose and spirit of Christ's teaching.¹

To Uchimura nothing seemed more alien to Christ's mission to save souls than the unspiritual, if business-like method and haste of church missionaries to get more and more names on their church registers. This was another reflection of his rejection of 'numbers' heresy. Speaking of Mukyōkai he said: 'Our main interest is to threaten those who pay attention only to exterior things in order to help them to see interior things.'² The Christian religion was, he thought, 'altogether too deep for being 'trumpeted, advertized and put value upon.' He wanted to see the missionaries sow the Gospel-seed broadcast, 'With far and distant objects in view' and not to be preoccupied with obtaining immediate and direct results measurable in church membership.³

He himself expressed readiness to wait many years for the results of his own evangelical work, a period of waiting

1. Letter (1896) UZ, XX, 327. See T. Yanaibara, Uchimura Kanzō and I (1964) 326. Yanaibara regards No-Church as a religious reformation.

2. Quoted in C. Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology (1960) 19, see Neill, op.cit. 330.

3. Letter (1893) UZ, XX, 251.

that the organizational demands of churches could not, he believed, endure. Buddhism took seven hundred years to become established so why should anyone expect to see Christianity established in seventy years. 'And so we sow in hope,' he said, 'not trying to convert the nation in a day, as many American missionaries seem to be doing.'¹

In a short paragraph he wrote in 1927,² Uchimura gives perhaps the best clue to an understanding of the underlying sentiment of his no-church thinking. No-church doctrine was his 'nay' that his 'yea' might be more forceful. It was his protest against the churches, those products of Western civilization, so that Christianity, freed from too close association with them, might be planted afresh in forms more suitable for its survival amongst his people. It was his criticism of the external and material aspects of organized Christianity so that the inner and moral values might be freed from limitations of the temporal and rightly appreciated in the light of the eternal.³ It was his total 'burning of the barn' to destroy worldlings lurking therein.⁴ 'In the name of God' he says, 'I must say nay that my yea may be more effective.'

1. Letter (1916) UZ, XX, 808.

2. 'Yea and Nay' (1927) UC, VII, 260.

3. 'Seido to Seimei' (Organization and Life) (1916) US, XVII, 89. Worldly churches, he thought, should not try to monopolize Christ. US, XVIII, 94.

4. 'Mūkyōkaishugi o Sutezu' (No rejection of the no-church principle) (1911) US, XVIII, 105.

Uchimura's 'nay', his protest against foreign and sectarian churches, and his criticism of the worldliness of their methods seemed to him perfectly logical and in harmony with his Christian faith. The Protestant writers and teachers from whom he had learnt Christianity had freely exercised their right to protest and rebel. Why should he not do the same? 'Chide us not,' he says, 'for throwing stones at missionaries who in the name of Christ teach us their own views, - theologies they call them - and also their own manners and customs, such as 'free marriages', 'woman's rights' and others, all more or less objectionable to us.'¹ His protest against the foreign aspects of the churches was necessary, he thought, for national 'self preservation', and he could not understand why the Protestant Churches whose very existence was due to a 'protest' objected to him protesting against them.² The Protestants claimed not to need Rome. Uchimura said he did not need the Protestants.³ He was

1. How, 193.

2. Nagusame (Iwanami) (1897) 45.

3. Uchimura said: 'I hate Protestant Churches because they are not Protestant enough.' c.f. 'Yo wa Katorikku ni narazu' (I do not become a Catholic), (1928) US, XVII, 45. Uchimura noted that if he did enter a Church it would be the Catholic Church which 'was the oldest, the most reliable, the most universal and the most well established.' c.f. 'Mottomo tōtomubeki Kyōkai' (The most Respected Church), (1928) XVIII, 43.

Mukyōkaishugi just as others were Baptist or Methodist and until there was a sectless Christianity he saw nothing strange in the attitude he had taken.¹ 'Sympathize with us,' he said, 'in our protest against Americanism, Anglicanism, and other foreignisms.'²

The Protestant churches were self-contradictions, Uchimura argued, and his 'no-church' was in reality a fulfilment of the ideal originally intended in the Protestant movement. 'Protestantism is an assertion of the spirit in man,' he said, 'and as such it ought to have no visible organized churches to express itself ...'³ The no-church movement of Japan, 'a new experiment in the spiritual history of mankind' would bring about the modern renewal of the Christian world. It would continue and perfect the Reformation of the sixteenth century which had ended as an arrested movement. 'Protestantism institutionalized,' he said, was a return back to the discarded Roman Catholicism.'⁴ He felt that in Japan Protestantism could be brought to its logical consequence and that in the providence of God Christianity would begin anew in the 'Land of the Rising Sun.'

1. (Memories) UC, VI, 413.

2. 'Can Americans teach us in Christianity' (1926) UC, VII, 193.

3. 'Protestant Churches' (1922); UC, VII, 84.

4. 'Need for Re-Reformation' (1928) UC, VII, 286.

Uchimura's no-church teaching is not new in the history of Christianity. It is older than Kierkegaard, whom Uchimura praises, and both in appearance and content conforms to a pattern discernible in church history, of 'enthusiasts' coming into prominence periodically by revolting against institutions which seem to them to stifle the free and fervent faith the individual should have in Christ. Montanus with his anti-intellectualism, the Anabaptists with their independence, Luther with his supremacy of personal faith were all rebels against ecclesiasticism in its various forms. Uchimura was another, though in terms of Christian history quite insignificant rebel of this class. The description of the genesis of the typical rebellion against established churches and doctrine is described by R. Knox and aptly outlines the process by which Uchimura came to advocate mukyōkai.

There is, I would say, a recurrent situation in Church history - using the word 'church' in the widest sense - where an excess of charity threatens unity. You have a clique, an elite ... who are trying to live a less worldly life than their neighbours; to be more attentive to the guidance (directly felt, they would tell you) of the Holy Spirit ... The pattern is always repeating itself, not in outline merely but in detail. Almost always the enthusiastic movement is denounced as an innovation, yet claims to be preserving, or to be restoring, the primitive discipline of the Church. 1

His no-church ideas give an insight into his life and writings and are of interest in the history of Christianity in the modern world, because they are the product of a twofold love, a double enthusiasm. To the enthusiasm of the Christian has been added the fervour of the patriot. To the pattern in Christian history of recurrent and rebellious enthusiasm is added another element, that of the special reaction of an articulate Christian, inheritor of the traditions of a powerful non-Christian civilization, to the incarnation of Christianity in Western culture.

1. Enthusiasm (1949) 1. Knox has said: 'there is no Christianity with a hundred years of history that does not become, to a more or less degree, institutional.' op.cit. 590. It will be interesting to see the development of the No-Church Movement Howes has described in his article in the TASJ, December 1957.

The no-church movement considered as the effort of a particular group of Japanese Christians has no value in the context of Uchimura's Christian thought for it is merely another example of the sectarianism against which he fought. The patriotism and faith however, evident in his writings that gave rise to the movement, are a powerful call for Christ to be preached only with due consideration being paid to the patriotic sentiments of those to whom He is being preached and a warning that the best of organized churches are useless without Christ.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God
 with all thy heart, and with all
 thy soul, and with all thy mind ...
 and thou shalt love they neighbour
 as thyself.

Matthew's Gospel R.V. 22.37.
 Sankakkei toshite mitaru Fukuin
 (1912), US, XII, 192.

The above shall I strictly observe,
 and if negligent, may divine punish-
 ment (Shimbatsu) come upon me.

Uesugi Yozan (1750-1822)
 Daihyōteki Nihonjin (1908)
US, VI, 51.

CHAPTER XALL FOR GOD

Uchimura has been called 'the conscience of Japan'¹ and it is in the fulfilment of this function that his life and writings have meaning both for his countrymen who are looking for a spiritual substructure and for foreigners who, by considering Japan in terms of responsible moral decisions made by its own people endeavour to judge it objectively. Conscience, the faculty for deciding the goodness or badness of human actions, and by extension of those of one's country, requires a standard, a point of reference, according to the agreement or disagreement with which the moral nature of the act might be determined.² Christian teachings about the individual and God and Christ provided Uchimura with a standard with which he was able to judge the various forms of national self-seeking manifested under the guise of Japanese patriotism.

To the Japanese of his own generation, during the years 1890-1930, when the whole nation was being insidiously

1. Y. Yanagida in S. Suzuki, Kaiso no Uchimura Kanzo (1965) 47.
2. Uchimura defines conscience as 'a man's awareness of God.'
See 'Ryōshin no naki Kokumin' (A people without conscience)
(1916) US, XXIV, 172.

incited to the expression of an undemocratic and anti-foreign patriotism, Uchimura, inspired by his own sincere love for his country and guided by his Christian principles spoke out against this exaggeration and called for due consideration to be given to the inherent rights of the individual and to the just claims of other nations. It would be misleading to suggest that he was a welcome and widely accepted prophet with an effective voice in forming public opinion, or that there were not a number of others who castigated the same national egoism, often because of moral principles at variance with those he held, or that his conclusions would necessarily be accepted by others upholding the same religious principles. It is nonetheless certain, that no other Japanese writer of the period and even less so of the decade after his death, when Minobe Tatsukichi was censured for his theory that the emperor was no more than an organ of the State, who condemned so constantly, gave reasons so clearly and spoke so sincerely in his judgments on Japanese patriotism, as did Uchimura.

Nor are his judgments now without relevance, for no one, familiar with Japanese thinking, can doubt that patriotism and nationalism are, fundamentally, as alive today as they were in the years during which Uchimura endeavoured to place them in their proper perspective. Japanese who lack a keen sense of pride in the traditions and history of their nation, a feeling of racial loyalty

and a deep sensitivity about Japan's reputation amongst the people of the world are extremely few. Although worship of the Emperor, glorification of arms and dreams of a spreading empire - dominant features of pre-war patriotism - may today be of small account, the dynamic aspect of patriotism is evident in other ways - in the enthusiasm with which present day Japanese, as Japanese, compete in the world of industry, commerce, arts and sports, in the satisfaction they feel with their achievements and in the pride they take in their nation's attempts to implement democratic principles and cultivate an international spirit. It is evident also, if one looks deeply enough, in the self-forgetting solidarity of a religious movement like the Sōkagakkai and in noisy and violent demonstrations which resulted in the cancellation of Eisenhower's proposed visit to Japan.

While it may be justifiably argued that the peculiar forms of Japanese patriotic thinking have been and are often encouraged as part of a definite policy to strengthen the power of the central government or particular groups, Uchimura's life and writings are one indication that these manifestations are not merely the result of propaganda. His strong faith and firm resolve to make 'All for God'

excluded the deceit and selfishness that went under the name of patriotism, yet he retained an intense love for his land, race and heritage. This love which he believed to be so natural is the 'inevitable element' that made it possible for pre-war Japanese nationalism to become such an unquestioned success.

Earl, in concluding his book Emperor and Nation in Japan, which is essentially an account of the genesis of the peculiar form in which pre-war Japanese patriotism was manifested, wonders whether Japan is now willing to open itself to 'thought currents prevalent in other parts of the world.' 'Is Japan ready,' he asks, 'to become a psychologically participating member of the modern world for the first time?'¹

As for 'thought currents prevalent in other parts of the world,' apart from innumerable trickles that begin and often die in scholarly and literary circles - and surely Japan, the most literate nation in the world with an insatiable appetite for the writings of every country is wide open to these - it is possible to relate prevalent currents of thought to the two great formative forces of which Lecky spoke, patriotism and religion.

1. Earl, op.cit. 231.

Japan can become a psychologically participating member of the modern world only by knowing and acting in accord with principles held in common with other nations. Religion, taken in the broad sense to include all those ideals that look beyond the material and temporal, best provides such principles. That is why Uchimura's Christianity, at least in its simplest wish that 'all might be for God,' is relevant for Japan today. It establishes a bridge, a common point of reference, that counters the isolating tendencies of patriotism and makes psychological participation meaningful.

This common point of reference to which, through his Christian thinking, Uchimura linked Japan also puts into perspective for foreigners actions and incidents that may become distorted when their attention is focussed solely upon Japanese patriotism. He presents Japan's mission, her hopes and fears in terms of right and justice and mercy, principles which, based in their ultimate analysis upon Christian teaching about God and man, form the criterion that Western nations have used in judging Japan. Thus the writings of this Christian patriot of Japan, who consistently stigmatized racial discrimination of foreign countries and their preoccupation with material wealth as betrayals of their Christian heritage, and more immediately of those

moral principles which even non Christian Westerners profess to be the proper standards for their lives, help to give balance to criticisms of Japan made by the Christian patriots of other nations. The long and silent, but none the less bitter, heart-ache of the despised Asiatic is seen, through Uchimura's writings, in reference to the same God and Christ-taught brotherhood of man, as are Christian-condemned cruelties of the Burma trail.

Uchimura is also the conscience of the Christian fellowship of which he was a part. Love for his country, for his people and their traditions, is here the point of reference, the standard that makes valid his judgments on the attitudes and actions of Christians especially in their relation to Japan. His writings show up the failure of the missionary effort as an unwillingness or inability to adapt, not the message, but its presentation, so that it will correspond to the felt needs of a people living in a particular land, belonging to a special race and possessing their own peculiar culture. A religion that seems so right and satisfying to those who share it as a natural heritage from many generations is now seen through the eyes of one to whom it is entirely new and who will accept it only if it does not do violence to that culture and tradition,

that essential patriotism, that is so much part of himself. Uchimura's Japanese patriotism gives balance to Christianity, so often distorted by the unconscious patriotism of non-Japanese Christians, and thus enables it to be presented to his countrymen in a more realistic and acceptable manner.

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