

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Bachelor of Divinity

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

3-1-1970

Factors of Influence in the Development of Mukyokai

Rodger Grulke

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_grulker@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv>

Digital Part of the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)
Commons

Network

Recommended Citation

Grulke, Rodger, "Factors of Influence in the Development of Mukyokai" (1970). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 772.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/772>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

FACTORS OF INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUKYOKAI

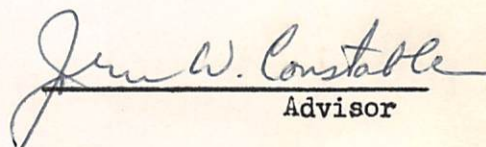
A Research Paper Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for elective
H-199

by

Rodger D. Grulke

March 1970

78986


Advisor

6-70
research paper

**CONCORDIA SEMINARY LIBRARY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BASIC FEATURES OF MUKYOKAI	4
III. BASIC CONCEPTS IN NEAR EASTERN THOUGHT	6
IV. HISTORICAL CLIMATE OF MEIJI RESTORATION IN 1868.	9
V. BACKGROUND OF SAMURAI CLASS DURING RESTORATION	12
VI. UCHIMURA KANZO AND HIS INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIANITY	15
VII. STORM AND STRESS PERIOD: 1885 - 1895	19
VIII. APPROPRIATENESS OF MUKYOKAI FOR JAPANESE CHRISTIANITY	24
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	27
NOTES	32
BIBLIOGRAPHY	37

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It may be beneficial for an understanding of this paper to acquaint the reader with the motivation and circumstances which directed the author's search for an understanding of Mukyokai or the Non-Church movement of Christianity in Japan. An introduction to Uchimura Kanzo, the founder of Mukyokai, came through a seminary course on Japanese religions supervised by William S. Danker. The recognition of an expression of Christianity in a foreign country which rejected the institutional church stimulated a strong interest to investigate and learn more. Criticisms directed towards outdated and dehumanizing institutions are prevalent in American culture. Although the topic of revolt and anti-institutionalism is common in our society, it is often difficult to determine the precise motives and reasons for such revolt. The purpose of the author's initial and brief acquaintance with Mukyokai was an attempt to discover the reason and motive for the rejection of the institutional church in the Mukyokai movement.

Available material and resources on this topic were scarce. However, several journal articles indicated that the movement reflected a strong influence from Quaker theology and New England Puritanism. The assumption appeared to be based on the founder's stay with a Quaker family in Pennsylvania in 1884 and his work in an institution for feeble-minded children. Dr. Isaac N. Kerlin, a distinguished and well known Quaker, supervised the state institution.¹ The structure of Mukyokai and its attitude towards the institutional church could reflect such an influence. However, an article by Richard Drummond cautioned against this view. Drummond contended

that Uchimura's view of the church was formulated before he reached America and that any resemblance to New England Puritanism should be regarded as a likeness of spirit and not as a direct influence upon the movement.²

This new awareness and different point of view necessitated further inquiry. The evidence then began to support Drummond's conclusion. Brief materials by Kanzo and quotations from other writers indicated that they were the marks of a scientist and scholar. His writings demonstrated the gifts of a creative and profound thinker, which the author believed to be incompatible with basic Pietistic thinking. This data coupled with the historical fact that Uchimura established the Sapporo Independent Church in 1881 gave credence to the Drummond theory. The founding of the Independent Church occurred three years before his journey to America and any direct contact with New England Puritanism.³

It is the intention of this paper to point out those factors of influence in the cultural and historical climate which helped to forge and shape Mukyokai, but also to reveal the importance of a great man who is responsible for its development and continuation. This does not intend to eradicate the importance of individuals and the church in the life of Uchimura Kanzo. However, a movement which maintains fifty thousand members including many prominent individuals in government, education, and theology is the living testimony of a man who deserves recognition as a great theologian and scholar.⁴

The first part of this study will present the basic features of Mukyokai to serve as a guide line and point of reference throughout the process of examining and evaluating the given data. The second step in the method of procedure is to point out basic themes or key concepts in

Near Eastern thinking which the author believes are essential for clarification and understanding of Mukyokai form and theology. A brief description of the Meiji restoration is significant for two reasons. (1) Japan widely accepted and adapted Western technology in the 1870's and 1880's, and yet she maintained the superiority of Eastern religion and ethics. (2) The remarkable shift from western enthusiasm to acceptance and respect for the uniqueness of her own culture. These conditions in both stages of the patriotic movement had subsequent effects on the development of Mukyokai. An introduction to the background of the samurai class serves to demonstrate their reactions to the Meiji government and their attraction to the Western concept of freedom and Christian ethics. The parallel of Confucian virtues to Christian ethics also depict features of Confucianism and Oriental influences in the structure of Mukyokai. In the light of this background, the study then approaches the life of Uchimura Kanzo. The author concludes on the basis of his study that Mukyokai is an indigenous and appropriate expression of Christianity within Japan. It was not possible within the scope and time of this project to present various criticisms of this movement.

CHAPTER II

BASIC FEATURES OF MUKYOKAI

Mukyokai has approximately fifty thousand members. This represents one-fifth to one-third of Protestant Christianity in Japan. The numerical estimation is based on subscription lists to Mukyokai publications. Studies show that twenty-five per cent of Mukyokai followers were formal members of a denominational church. A large core of these members represent a segment of Japanese society inclined to indigenize Western culture. Consequently, Mukyokai is a scholarly movement which has scarcely penetrated the common people of Japan.¹

The theology and form of Mukyokai takes root in two basic principles. The first is the non-church principle which refuses to build or maintain specific houses of worship. It is an attempt to avoid rigid structures, systems, and forms. Uchimura Kanzo coined the term Mukyokai to mean non-existing. He stated that the term did not intend to express negation or denial. He referred to it as the church for people who have no church. He felt that Mukyokai expressed the feelings of a spiritual orphan.² The second principle is sola scriptura. The only source and norm for authority and teaching is the Bible. These two principles determine the content and form of Mukyokai's expression. In a sense they are not a part of Mukyokai theology, but are Mukyokai theology.³

Although Mukyokai upholds a non-church principle in theory, it must by necessity employ form and structure. The prime structure of Mukyokai is the Bible class. A small group gathers in a home, office or any suitable building under the direction of a teacher. The sensei-deshi (teacher-

disciple) relationship used in Confucian educational structures is the method or pattern employed. When a disciple is qualified to become a teacher, he leaves to begin a new group. When worship services occur, they parallel traditional pietistic services. A few hymns, prayers, and a long sermon characterize the service.⁴

It is applicable to the scope of this study to give a general description of Mukyokai's theological teachings and emphases. Mukyokai stresses a strong autonomous faith with emphasis on the individual's relationship to Christ. A second aspect of Mukyokai is shudan (brotherhood) which indicates a fellowship of believers. A two-dimensional view is often used to differentiate spirit and character from form. An example of this would be to uphold the Word of God as opposed to the word of men or priesthood of all believers to organized, visible church. Other theological characteristics of Mukyokai are eschatological, prophetic, and pacifistic in nature. Mukyokai refuses to train or use professional clergymen and the sacraments are regarded as non-essentials for salvation. A distinctive feature of Mukyokai is the annual commemoration of Uchimura Kanzo's death.⁵

CHAPTER III

BASIC CONCEPTS IN NEAR EASTERN THOUGHT

There are three basic concepts in Japanese thinking. The first is the acceptance of phenomenism as the real world.¹ Man does not view his world as a spectator of the universe, but he is a participant in nature. The concept of the transcendental or "wholly" other is foreign to the Japanese mind. A principle of harmony and unity characterizes the relationship of man and nature in antithesis to Western philosophy. One plausible explanation for this world view is Japan's topography.² The natural phenomena of volcanic country are difficult to resist. As a result, the Japanese people learned to bend and lean with nature.

The second key concept in Japanese thought and life is a limited social nexus.³ Japan, as an island country, experienced long periods of isolation. This severance from outside forces, ideas, and people failed to produce an extended pattern of behavior for Japanese society. The Confucian system of ethics lacks a code of behavior among strangers. Likewise, Japan's general confusion for proper behavior in foreign countries supports this thesis.⁴ The agrarian or paddy system reinforced the limited social nexus. The system resulted in the particularity of familial relationships and authority. On and shinchi are two concepts originating in the close feudal system. On is the sense of obligation to family authority and shinchi is the sense of security attained by being one of the small group.⁵

The third characteristic of Japanese thinking is its nonrationalistic tendencies.⁶ The previous concepts are integrally related to the latter.

The lack of a universal law or strict system of logic tends to reflect intuitive and emotional thinking. The emphasis on a limited social nexus and particular relationships finds expression through feelings and emotions.

These concepts can be detected in Mukyokai form and theology. The writings of Uchimura reflect a concern for unity and harmony in nature. At the time of Uchimura's education in America, the tension between science and religion was a dominant intellectual issue in Western thought. He did not consider this as a crisis in his thinking. He believed that the Darwinian theory of evolution and geological principles could be made com-

7

patible with biblical interpretation. Uchimura continued this pursuit under the guidance of Julius Seelye, professor of moral philosophy at Amherst, and professor B.K. Emerson, a geologist, in order to obtain this goal. Mukyokai adherents apply historical critical methods to their study and interpretation of the Scriptures. Their scientific and scholarly concern for harmony between the Lord of creation and the phenomenon of creation has its source in the scholasticism of their founder.

8

9

The importance of a limited social nexus affects the structure of Mukyokai. Actually the founding of the Sapporo Independent Church was an attempt to fulfill this need. Uchimura thought that Christians should be closer than anyone and could not wait until the small Sapporo band established their own church. The closeness and unity of the Sapporo band was of great importance to him. Later in his life, he emphasized the technical equality of the disciples who should strive to become teachers. The new teacher should then begin a new group. Uchimura's desire and insistence that each Bible group remain small is definitely Japanese. The Bible group gatherings have consisted of larger numbers at special occasions, but the

10

general practice is small group meetings.

The third concept is not directly related to the Mukyokai structure, but it did exert influence in Mukyokai theology. Although Uchimura read extensively in science, humanities, and theology, philosophical abstractions and theological speculations confused and disturbed him. Uchimura often refers in his writing to the foolishness of religious philosophy and the anathema of small minded theologians. The following is a quotation from one of his personal letters:

But I do not know whether God has intended me for such a work. I like more to be a consoler of a widow than to be a champion with a philosopher. I would rather stand before the Sanhedran, and tell them about the conviction of my heart, than to meddle with those speculations which profit nothing, and which after all are foolishness.

11

Uchimura favored those theologians who stressed the subjective, existential aspects of faith. Men like Luther, Augustine, and Kierkegaard who described the intensity of their religious struggle and placed a great deal of emphasis on faith gained his appreciation and approval. ¹² Systematic thinkers and systematic theology held little appeal for Uchimura. The thrust of Kanzo's theology emphasized the personal, emotional, and practical dimensions of the religious life.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL CLIMATE OF MEIJI RESTORATION IN 1868

The Tokugawan regime of the mid 19th century faced a double tension. Commodore Perry's naval fleet challenged her closed door policy. The American pressure received impetus from Russian, British, and Dutch attempts at intervention.¹ The government could not ignore this external force. Likewise, stirrings from within called for the removal of the seclusion policy. Early in the 19th century Japanese scholars warned the government that it should adapt and control Western achievement.² The external and internal conflicts led to an intense struggle in the decades of the 1850's and 1860's. A loose Tokugawan regime allied with isolationists resisted the efforts of the modernists who supported national reforms and Western adaptation. The modernists gained the victory with an overthrow of the Shogunate on January 3, 1868.³

The entire historical situation of the Meiji restoration entails a great deal of complexity. However, several results of the new government had considerable effect upon Japan's attitude towards the West and Christianity. She consciously acknowledged the need to acquire the basic skills and scientific advancements of Western culture, but firmly proclaimed the superiority of Eastern religions and ethics. The attitude of Sakuma Shozan to maintain Eastern ethics and adapt Western science became the slogan of the Meiji restoration.⁴ The original hostility towards Christianity did not disappear under the new government. Likewise, the decades of the 1850's and 1860's were the scenes of unequal treaties, assassinations and military threats from foreign powers.⁵ This created a strong foreign resentment and

enabled the new government to achieve a strong national consciousness. The desire of many Japanese to expel the foreigners in 1860 merely took on a new form. The subtle shift became love for the country.⁶ This change remained in disguise during the 1870's and 1880's under the pro-western program. The true nature of her hostility towards intervention and Western religion sprang to the surface in 1890. The second stage of modernization experienced greater national consciousness and loyalty to State Shinto with less appreciation for Western culture.⁷

This is a brief glimpse at the historical picture in the age of Uchimura Kanzo. He was introduced to Christianity in 1877.⁸ Patriotism and national growth penetrated all areas of Japanese life. There is little question of Uchimura's loyalty to Japan and his love for his country-men. Likewise, he indicated the superiority of Eastern ethics to Western ethics. Uchimura believed that the spirit of Christianity grafted onto the stock of the Samurai was an excellent combination. Throughout his writings Uchimura refers to Christianizing the true Yamato Spirit or sanctified Confucian teachers.⁹ Perhaps the following quotation will best illustrate both his national loyalty and his esteem for Eastern ethics:

I have two J's for me to love. One is Jesus, while the other is Japan. Until today, my life has been encouraged to serve these two. Bushido is the best product of Japan. But there is no intrinsic power within Bushido enough to save Japan. Christianity grafted to the stock of Bushido is the best product in the world that has the power to save not only Japan but the whole world. 10

The reversal of Japan's attitude towards the West in 1890 also had considerable effect on Mukyokai. Uchimura's attempt to remain a loyal Japanese in spite of his Christian faith suffered a serious blow in January, 1891. At this time Uchimura refused to bow and pay homage to the Imperial Rescript on Education.¹¹

He could only regard this act as idolatrous with the new emphasis on the divinity of the emperor. A severe public criticism labeled him as a traitor to his country and he lost his teaching position.¹² The formulation of the specific term Mukyokai encompassed his relationship to country as well as the church. In March, 1910, Uchimura proposed the Japanese prefix nai (non-existing) as an alternative for nu. Non-church expressed spiritual orphanage.¹³ Uchimura coined the term Mukyokai to describe a situation and experience in life. The term is not properly understood as mere negation or denial of institutional churches.

CHAPTER V

BACKGROUND OF SAMURAI CLASS DURING RESTORATION

Christianity owes much of its progress in the 19th century to the samurai class.¹ The samurai class lost a great deal of prestige and income after the restoration. They supported a feudal system which guaranteed these advantages. Nevertheless, the samurai did not totally support the Bakufu (tent) government at this crucial time. The Tokugawan regime struggled with political and financial upheaval. It was caught between two extremes. The modernists desired a strong central government and removal of the seclusion policy.² The isolationists desired a strong feudal system and expulsion of the foreigners. The Tokugawan government attempted a compromise. It opened up a limited amount of trade while maintaining a loose feudal structure. This created enough confusion over the nature of the reform to unify the extremists as anti-Tokugawans. Different reasons for reforms and divided loyalties combined against a common enemy and overthrew the government.³

The downfall of the Tokugawan government likewise marked the defeat of the samurai class. It has been pointed out that the parties involved in the reform had polarized views. The modernists now initiated a strong central government. The first order of business on their agenda solved a threefold conflict. Previously, loyalties to the emperor, Shogun, and the feudal lord divided the country.⁴ The new government decided on the Imperial household as the common basis for national unity. Thus the close and secure structure of loyalty to the feudal lord in the life of the samurai diminished. Secondly, the new government's attempt to solve the financial

straits of the country did not seriously assist the samurai. The stipends based on the feudal structure remained at a minimum under a central government. Therefore, one of the reasons for the samurai involvement in the civil war remained unsolved for them. They entered other occupations such as farming and commerce, but many without adequate funds could not succeed. The Meiji government also absolved class distinctions into more functional headings. The hierarchy of class distinctions which held the samurai at the top of the list now disappeared. In addition to all of this, the government's decision to consolidate the military added to the samurai's dilemma. A new system demanded that all men over twenty years of age should serve the government for three years. This deprived the samurai of their right to bear arms and their unique status as warriors.⁵

One more significant factor in the relationship of the samurai class to the Meiji government needs examination. An initial thrust in the Meiji reform was the establishment of a strong educational system. The curriculums were developed along Western lines in order to adapt Western progress,⁶ but Confucian ethics remained the norm for political and moral reasons. In the earlier times of peace, many samurai had turned to learning and scholarly ways. Now the door to education offered a rare opportunity for the samurai to advance and achieve in Japanese society. The emphasis on education and Confucian patterns of behavior served as a source of identification from their past background. However, an important distinction was made in the acceptance and attitude towards Confucianism. The Meiji government planted the seed of the divinity of the emperor and this eventually led to the formation of State Shinto as the religion of Japan. Therefore, a strong attack on Confucianism as a state religion took place

in the late 19th century.⁷ Although the Confucian ethic remained a norm for behavior, it was a far cry from the prestige it received during the feudal regime.

This band of uprooted individuals in Japanese society found Christianity appealing and profitable for them. They recognized in the concepts of the omnipotent God, the dignity of human worth, and especially Christian ethics, a foundation for new thought and life. These men appreciated and comprehended⁸ some of the dynamic concepts in the Gospel. A very significant concept in the development of Japanese Christianity was the principle of freedom. Individuals who experienced release from the claims of government, tradition and for some, release from foreign institutional denomination-⁹alism; these were the samurai Christians. The following quotation from the correspondence of Uchimura to Neesima demonstrates the importance of independence and freedom to these Japanese Christians:

It will serve to support myself, without the aid of government or private societies. I consider, "independent support" as one of the essentials for a Christian worker especially in Japan . . . Somehow, I am dreaming of co-working with you. I have given up any idea of uniting with government again, neither have I any wish to belong to any foreign sect or established church. I wish to live as a simple Christian, Japanese, and die as a common Japanese citizen. Christ and Japan are my watch words, but alas these are few. 10

CHAPTER VI

UCHIMURA KANZO AND HIS INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIANITY

Uchimura Kanzo was born on March 23, 1861. One of the Kanzo ancestors received a promotion from peasant to samurai for distinguished service in the Roman Catholic revolt of 1637. Uchimura's father studied the Chinese classics and also served as a prefectural official in the Meiji restoration. Strict teaching in the Confucian principles played a major role in Uchimura's life. At the request of his father to enter political govern-¹ment, Uchimura enrolled at the Tokyo English School in 1874.

At the time of Uchimura's enrollment in the Tokyo school, new schools were opening across the countryside as a result of the Meiji reform. One of the new schools which became a significant influence in his life was the Sapporo Agricultural School. The Japanese government extended an invitation to Colonel Willian S. Clark, president of the Massachusetts Agricultural School at Amherst, to organize an agricultural school in Japan. Dr. Clark accepted this invitation and established the Sapporo school in² 1876.

The history of the Sapporo school sets the stage for Uchimura's conversion to Christianity. Governor Kuroda requested Dr. Clark to teach a course on ethics. Dr. Clark replied that his ethics were based on the Bible. Because of the hostility towards Western religion and ethics, a debate followed between these two men. Finally, Governor Kuroda reluctantly granted permission to teach Christian ethics if they were taught³ privately and as an extracurricular activity. Although little is known of Dr. Clark as a missionary, he had amazing success with his Japanese students.

He taught the Scriptures and held Bible classes in his home. In March 1877, Dr. Clark drew up a "Covenant of Believers in Jesus" which every member of the student body signed.⁴ The script of the covenant presents Dr. Clark's teaching:

The undersigned members of the Sapporo Agricultural College, desiring to confess Christ according to His commandments, and to perform with true fidelity every Christian duty, in order to show our love and gratitude to that blessed Savior who has made atonement for our sins by His death on the cross, and earnestly wishing to advance His kingdom among men for the promotion of His glory and the salvation of those for whom He died, do solemnly covenant with God, and with each other, from this time forth to be His faithful disciples, and to live in strict compliance with the letter and spirit of His teachings; and whenever a suitable opportunity offers, we promise to present ourselves for examination, baptism, and admission to some evangelical church. 5

Dr. Clark's success with these young men is credited to his dynamic personality. As a soldier, scientist, and educator, he appeared as an excellent samurai to these young men.⁶ Dr. Clark exhorted these young men to be ambitious for Christ and their country. He departed for America in 1877.⁷

Uchimura enrolled at Sapporo shortly after Dr. Clark's return to America. Uchimura reluctantly gave in to the pressure of the sophomore class and signed the "Covenant of Believers in Jesus". The Reverend M. C. Harris, a Methodist missionary, baptized him in 1878 and for a short time Uchimura became a member of the church. However, Uchimura decided in 1881⁸ that the small Sapporo band should build their own independent church.

It is possible to examine several conditions which contributed to the decision for an independent church. The Sapporo band's introduction to Christianity came through a non supervised means. A careful survey of the covenant reveals little theological or denominational prejudice. Dr. Clark's teaching paralleled the samurai code of behavior. Likewise, the Japanese

regarded the secular and religious life as synonymous.⁹ In this way, Dr. Clark supported the Japanese view of a religious man. The practice of professional clericalism did not appeal to Uchimura. The Sapporo church was a joint project with all members sharing the religious duties. Uchimura¹⁰ also desired to maintain the closeness and unity of the small group. The young men were accustomed to informal and private gatherings so characteristic of the Japanese social structure. The mission churches did not provide the intimacy and security (shinchi) which the Sapporo group enjoyed.

Uchimura's decision for an independent church was by no means original. A strong current of thought preferring independent Japanese Christianity already existed at this time. In 1869, a policy adopted by Kumiai Kyokai and the American Board for Foreign Missions emphasized the development of independent congregations. The ideal of self-supporting churches was well established by 1875. A report by Jerome D. Davis indicated that many of the Japanese Christians desired freedom from foreign assistance.¹¹ This strong insistence on independence receives clarification in the understanding of the concept, on. On(obligation) demands repayment. The Japanese consider the repayment of debt as virtuous and not gratitude. The worst debt of all is obligation to foreigners or strangers.¹² For this reason, numerous local congregations and their leaders made unusual sacrifices and held other forms of employment to avoid the need for foreign funds. Uchimura described his decision for an independent church as: "Independence is the conscious realization of one's own capabilities."¹³

The founding of the Independent Church did lead to a clash with the institutional church. The Methodist missionary loaned four hundred dollars to Uchimura in order to build his church. However, individuals of the

Sapporo group were baptized members of the Church of England as well as the Methodist church. A dispute arose over the organization of the church and the Methodist missionary requested a refund. This caused a great burden for the Sapporo group and Uchimura vowed never to depend on the church again.¹⁴ The theme of financial and autonomous independence remained a consistent theme throughout the writing and practice of Uchimura Kanzo.

After the establishment of the independent church, Uchimura served as a commissioner in the Agricultural and Commercial Ministry. In 1884, he married a girl of Annaka who attended Doshisha Girl's School. Joseph¹⁵ Neesima established the school and later baptized Uchimura's wife. The marriage lasted a short time. When his young wife left him, Uchimura described the effect upon him as the vacuum in his soul.¹⁶ The young lady did attempt to return, but Uchimura refused to receive her. This brought further criticism from Christian circles. They claimed that he refused to accept her repentance.¹⁷ Uchimura became despondent and distressed over his spiritual condition. Finally, a dejected young man decided to leave for America and seek his cure.

CHAPTER VII

STORM AND STRESS PERIOD: 1885 - 1895

Uchimura arrived at Elwyn, Pennsylvania, in November of 1884.

A Quaker family by the name of Morris took him into their home and gave him financial support. After a short period of indecision, Uchimura went to work in a state hospital for feeble minded children. Like the Morris family, Dr. Kerlin, the supervisor of the state institution, was also a Quaker.¹ Uchimura described his feelings at this time with the following words: "I entered the hospital service, there to put my flesh in subjection and so to discipline myself to reach the state of inward purity, and thus inherit the Kingdom of Heaven."²

The period between November, 1884 and August, 1885 marks an intense struggle with his faith and choice of vocation. Uchimura could not decide whether to enter the University of Pennsylvania or Amherst College. His interest in science and medicine equaled any longing for theological study.³ Uchimura's struggle came to the attention of Joseph Neesima who also returned to America at this time. Mr. Neesima paid Uchimura a visit and encouraged him to place himself under the saintly care of Julius Seely at Amherst.⁴

Neesima baptized Uchimura's wife and probably understood his gloom and despair better than anyone else. The correspondence which took place between these two men provides reliable information on the thought and experience of Uchimura Kanzo during this year. Neesima recognized the creativity and ability of Uchimura and continually persuaded him to pursue Christian education.

The details of the correspondence reveal several important facts about the educational background of Uchimura. In a letter to President Seeyle, Neesima indicates Uchimura's qualifications as a student. He has adequate training in the field of science, a good background in mathematics, and even rudimentary Latin.⁵ There is little doubt of Uchimura's qualifications in the field of science. He demonstrated his skill in marine biology before he ever left Japan. He was well acquainted with the writings of Spencer, Darwin, Hodge and Swedenborg.⁶ Likewise, Uchimura referred to Dante and Goethe in the area of humanities, and to Augustine, Luther, and Bunyan in theology. During this year of indecision and struggle, Uchimura⁷ read extensively and critically in his search for knowledge and truth.

Uchimura's knowledge and scholarly pursuit in science, theology, and the humanities cautions against a strong influence from Quaker theology. In a letter to Neesima, Uchimura referred to "lethargic Quaker theology and conservative Presbyterianism" as "lacking the the life and energy needed to lift the world."⁸ His struggles with the meaning of the Scriptures resulted in many of his own creative insights.

Uchimura's correspondence with Neesima indicated several basic convictions which appeared to be established in his thought: (1) He believed that science and religion could be reconciled. (2) His pursuit for a secular vocation could serve a better purpose in the promotion of the Gospel. (3) The denominational religions and professional theologians could not help Japanese Christianity. (4) His indecision and anxiety centered in religious doubt.⁹

The struggle with faith and vocation ended on August 24, 1885. Uchimura finally decided to enter Amherst. The following quotation in a

letter to Neesima describes his conversion:

He took me to this quiet place, and silently and powerfully taught me His ways. I raise up my head, and drinking from His sweet cups, I quench my thirst, and resting in His bosom, I rest my weary soul before the balmy breeze of the Atlantic. Your epistle came. I took it to the sea coast where the surges dash against the stone. I loudly read it, wept over it, and prayed for its writer — my friend in tribulation, my honored brother in Christ, and my country man in blood. The voice from above seemed to have touched my spirit, and God's mercies were upon me, and His promises were declared —, broad as the ocean which was roaring before me, and firm as the rock upon which I was standing. God's will be done. Am I the only child of His who can carry on His mighty plan? He who made the universe out of nothing, and can change pebbles to the sons of Abraham can He not raise hosts of His workers if He wants to? Be quiet, then, my soul. Wait for His call. Only watch and pray, lest thou be tempted. Thus indulging in rhapsodies Having cast all my cares upon God, I have nothing to say about my own future. I intend to go to Amherst, availing your kind concern, and to fulfill my long intention to be a minister of the Gospel. 10

Uchimura's entrance at Amherst College relieved the inner tension and turmoil of the previous year. President Julius Seelye helped to restore a balance in his emotional and spiritual thinking. President Seelye directed him to the insight of the objective justification of the cross. This drew Uchimura out of his state of deep depression and introspection. Uchimura referred to this incident as the greatest day in his life. ¹¹ The development of his thought was furthered at Amherst. Under the direction of his professors, he worked out a reconciliation of science and religion to his own satisfaction. He mastered the original languages of Greek and Hebrew and began his critical interpretations of the Scriptures. Later in his life, Uchimura played a major role in acquainting the Japanese public with Milton, Bunyan, Carlyle and Walt Whitman. ¹² After two years of liberal education, Uchimura received his B.S. degree in June of 1877. The young man was now prepared to specialize in theological study.

In August of the same year, Uchimura enrolled at Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut. His description of his short stay at Hartford reflects little appreciation for the curriculum of theological training. Philosophical speculations and foolish abstractions did not compare to the real experiential faith based on the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. Neither did Uchimura's attitude towards professional clergymen and priests change at this time. His observations of theological students only convinced him that when a man's stomach is in bondage so is his mind. Disturbed by the method of study and the values of theological students, he left the school at the end of the first semester.

In May of 1888, Uchimura returned to his home land. He occupied a teaching position in the mission school at Nagata, but broke activities with the mission after a short time. This was his last direct connection with the organized church. In the last decade of the century the strong foreign resentment came to the surface. Everything connected with Western culture and religion received strong criticism. Uchimura did not escape this criticism in spite of his disassociation with the organized churches. On January 9, 1891, he could not in good conscience sign the Imperial Rescript on Education. His refusal led to public ridicule and accusation. The general public labeled him a traitor and Uchimura was forced to resign as the instructor of history at the First Higher School of the government. The remainder of the decade brought unemployment and misfortunes. Uchimura became ill and his second wife died of pneumonia. In 1893, Uchimura remarried and then settled down to a remarkable and prolific writing career. Between 1893 and 1900, he published seventeen books including some of his major works. The Comfort of a Christian, The Quest of

Peace of Mind, How I Became a Christian, The Outspoken Essays, and The Greatest Gift to the Next Generation were published along with the editing of numerous journals.¹⁴

In the 20th century, Uchimura spent his life conducting Bible classes, writing and publishing enormous quantities of materials, and occupying teaching positions whenever possible. His formulation of the non-church principle actually developed after 1900. A source of inspiration for the principle was Søren Kierkegaard. Uchimura once referred to Kierkegaard's claim that he had never met a genuine Christian in the world. Uchimura believed that he would attempt to be the first Christian in Japan and do it without the church. Likewise, when Uchimura heard of Tolstoy's death, he said, "Bless his heart, he too died by refusing the comfort of the pastor and the church, just as Søren Kierkegaard did."¹⁵ A clue to Uchimura's respect and admiration for Kierkegaard may go deeper than a theological influence. Uchimura once mentioned his appreciation for Savonarola because he experienced the same misfortune as he.¹⁶ Uchimura made reference here to the tragic experience of his first marriage. Surely Kierkegaard paralleled many of Uchimura's experiences in life including their attitudes and theology of the Christian faith, their relationship to the church, and their similar experience in early life. Whatever the reasons, Kierkegaard became an influential theologian for Uchimura and consequently for many of Japan's leading theologians. Uchimura never joined an established church and remained active in the Christian faith until the time of his death in 1930.

CHAPTER VIII

APPROPRIATENESS OF MUKYOKAI FOR JAPANESE CHRISTIANITY

An essential contribution of Mukyokai to Japanese Christianity is compatibility with Japanese thought and life. The primacy of the creative work of the Holy Spirit in Mukyokai theology parallels and relates to the ancient folk belief in the potency of the spirit.¹ The philosophy of life which maintains the unity of man and nature views the activity of the spirit with little skepticism. The religious history and cultural heritage of Japan is characterized by the activity of kami (spirit) in nature and life. The importance of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Mukyokai theology finds a natural counterpart in the total spectrum of Japan's religious thought. Naturally, Mukyokai followers prefer to proclaim the activity of the Holy Spirit and to avoid a doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, the founder's conversion was attributed to the work of the Holy Spirit. Uchimura testified to his true conversion approximately five years after his baptism. The activity and priority of the Holy Spirit is a consistent theme in Uchimura's writing. The life in the Spirit takes form and becomes manifest. However, the Spirit continually creates new forms while the old perish. The church then is constantly constructed by the Spirit while at the same time being destroyed.²

The non-church principle is also conducive to the patterns exhibited in Japan's religious traditions. These traditions lack organization, systems, and doctrines. Without rigid forms and fixed ideas, the content of thought and belief can find new expression in the future. The Japanese people are sensitive to progress and change and new expressions for the

sake of freshness and vitality in religious forms are no exception.³ The principle of Mukyokai permits a great deal of freedom in form and structure. The insistence on the superiority of the spirit over the form is an ingredient of the entire cultural heritage. In this respect, the rejection of form in Mukyokai theology is a positive thrust. If one simply attributes Mukyokai's refusal to build churches and establish professional clergy, and their nonessential view of sacraments to Puritan influence, he fails to do justice to the inherent expressions and themes in Japanese culture.

Mukyokai also employs various oriental features. The application of this practice enables the expression to be Japanese. The sensei-deshi relationship of Confucianism parallels the teacher-disciple relationship of the apostolic structure. A second feature is the insistence on the small group. In this way, the principle of shinchi (security) remains. Any extended growth of the group results in a new Bible group. One of the disciples becomes a teacher. The absence of professional clerics and a nonessential view of the sacraments allows technical equality in the religious life. In this way, religion can be realized within the secular life. There is no distinction between life vocation and religious practice. Likewise, other emphases in Mukyokai such as nonresistance or fellowship have parallels in confucian thought.⁴

Mukyokai does not exclude the religious heritage of Japan. Perhaps this was more significant at the time of its development, but it still maintains a touch of this original appeal. The history of Japan was one of a divine nation. Uchimura also recognized this mission in Japanese Christianity. He considered the religious thinkers of Japan as a part of God's total revelation. Uchimura had a dream in which he saw a heavy dew

falling upon Mount Fuji. The dew flowed to the east and the west until the whole earth was covered with divine purity. He interpreted this as the prophecy of Japan's role in all Christendom. His own words describe the mission of Japanese Christianity: "To reconcile the East with the West, to be the advocate of the East and the harbinger of the West; this we believe to be the mission which Japan is called upon to fulfill."⁵ Uchimura reflects the strong religious consciousness of a country with a divine destiny. A religion in Japan without a Japanese founder and Japanese ideas could hardly voice such a claim. This aspect of Mukyokai never fully evolved, but it was the firm intention of their founder to achieve this goal.

Furthermore, Japanese religions necessitate a strong dominant personality.⁶ The success of Mukyokai depended on Uchimura Kanzo. In the light of the circumstances, Uchimura achieved enormous results regardless of his advantage as a Japanese citizen. Mukyokai originated in a period of history unfavorable to any form of Christianity. Likewise, the future of Mukyokai continues to depend on strong leadership. At the present time, the disciples of Uchimura have been highly qualified and gifted individuals. This movement of Christianity which renounces rigid forms and practice must rely on exceptional leadership.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This brief sketch on Uchimura Kanzo and Mukyokai is far from complete. Some of the author's conclusions may be premature and subject to further study and criticism. On the basis of this study and research, I will attempt to summarize the basic factors of influence which I think led to the formation of Mukyokai and alienation with the institutional church.

A primary factor in the development of Mukyokai is the principle of independence and self-support. The principle has origin in both the dynamic concept of freedom which was transmitted during the Meiji restoration and the Japanese concept of on which detests foreign obligation. The intensity of Uchimura's desire for independence is a consistent theme throughout his writing. Frequently, Uchimura expressed his fear over financial dependency. Unfortunately, the independent principle received a negative interpretation from many of the organized churches. It became a threat to denominational structure and authority. The need for shinchi and proper on on the part of Japanese Christians clashed with the need for submission to the authority and practice of the church.

Another factor in the alienation of Mukyokai and the church was the historical setting. The earlier entrance of Christianity under Francis Xavier ended with a severe persecution. Japanese people still remembered when the Christian faith carried the death penalty. In addition to the original hostility, a strong current of patriotism prevailed. The superiority of Eastern religion and ethics reduced the feeling of inferiority in adapting Western technology. Therefore, worship in European churches and

the practice of western customs received a great deal of scorn and criticism. The paper has already eluded to the manner in which Mukyokai attempted to retain respect for Eastern ethics and avoid institutional forms. In short, an age which referred to Western people as "butter stinking" did not provide a suitable climate for association and alliance with European institutions and customs.

The introduction of Christianity through Colonel Clark at Sapporo was paramount to the formation of Mukyokai. The teaching of Dr. Clark reinforced the samurai code of behavior. Likewise, Sapporo offered the opportunity for these young men to be converted as a group. In this way, the young band escaped some of the basic criticisms of Japanese society. Sapporo also provided an informal and intimate environment. Their small Bible class and private worship in the home were familiar patterns in their life style. Finally, Colonel Clark made the Sapporo conversion possible. A soldier, scientist, and an educator, Dr. Clark fulfilled two basic requirements: (1) His religious teaching and vocational life were analogous. (2) He had a strong, dominant personality. Although Uchimura arrived at Sapporo after Clark's departure for America, his visits to Colonel Clark at his home revealed a great admiration and respect for the man. Uchimura referred to Dr. Clark and governor Kuroda as the two great heroes. After Clark's death, Uchimura and others erected the Clark Memorial Church in Sapporo.¹ It is difficult to conceive the formation of Mukyokai without Dr. Clark and his stay at Sapporo.

Another factor in the development of Mukyokai was the tension and conflict between missionaries and Uchimura Kanzo. In an attempt to avoid redundancy, the reasons for these conflicts have been indicated. However,

the most important incident in this series of clashes was the founding of the Sapporo Church. When the Methodist missionary demanded a refund of his loan, a barrier arose which proved to be impossible to break down. This intrusion on the part of the institutional church violated the principle of self-support. It resulted in an obligation to foreigners which the Japanese mind detested. In retrospect, the initial conflict over the Sapporo Church played a large part in Uchimura's alienation from the organized church and foreign missionary activity.

A partial explanation for the continuation of these conflicts was the personality of Uchimura Kanzo. Although it is somewhat difficult to document, there is some evidence to indicate that Uchimura's personality was hardly conducive to compatibility with the missionaries. One of Uchimura's classmates, Myobe, described him as tinged with samurai spirit. He evaluated Uchimura as honest, devout, methodical, friendly, and ready to listen to advice. For example, he chose the English name, Jonathan, for the meaning of friendship. But at the same time, Uchimura had a violent temper and often came into serious conflicts with others.² Uchimura believed the crude manners and the lack of scientific and theological knowledge on the part of missionaries made it difficult to gain their respect and confidence.

A decisive factor in Uchimura's attitude to the church evolves from his entire educational background. This does not mean that men like Clark, Seelye, and Neesima did not play an influential role in his life, but he was a gifted and creative thinker in his own right. He acquired the basic skills in both science and the liberal arts and later mastered the original

languages of Scripture. This made it possible for him to read extensively in many areas, critically interpret the Scriptures, and become acquainted with basic theological trends and movements. His struggle with faith centered in an emotional turmoil with the inner self. During this time, he found support and understanding in theological writings which related to his own experience. That his conversion appeared to him as a direct work of the Holy Spirit is a clue to his theological formulations. The conversion experience came almost five years after his baptism. His belief that a true Christian comes to faith only through the words and deeds of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit is a result of personal experience. This is the root of the importance of the Holy Spirit and the nonessential view of sacraments in Mukyokai theology. In my opinion, a comparison of Mukyokai to Puritanism overlooks the historical background of Uchimura Kanzo. Likewise, it confuses Puritanism as a religion with a state of mind. Finally, his strong identification with existential theologians like Kierkegaard, had considerable effect on his attitude towards the institutional church.

The author concludes that he did not find it possible within the limitations of time and materials available to produce a complete exposition on the development of Mukyokai. However, in my humble opinion, any attempt to simply neglect this Japanese expression of Christianity would be highly irresponsible. Uchimura Kanzo was a sincere and honest Christian who, in spite of his experiences, believed that what he received as an end result was pure Gospel. The manner in which he presents the spirit of the Gospel reveals a great deal of insight and understanding in the dynamics of the Gospel. Here is an opportunity to evaluate and observe a conscious attempt

to present the spirit of the Gospel through the medium and genius of a given culture. If the future leads to further discussion and mutual exchange between the East and the West, I believe Mukyokai could play a prominent role in our understanding of properly presenting the Christian Gospel to other nations.

NOTES

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

1. Takogi Yasaka, "Prophet, Patriot, and Christian," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, p. 445.
2. Richard Drummond, "Non-Church Movement in Japan," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, II, 3 (1965), p. 448.
3. Uchimura Kanzo, How I Became a Christian; Out of My Diary (Tokyo, Japan, c.1930), Chapter 4, October 16, 1881.
4. W. H. H. Norman, "Non-Church Christianity in Japan," International Review of Missions, XLVI, 184 (1957), p. 380.

CHAPTER II - BASIC FEATURES OF MUKYOKAI

1. W. H. H. Norman, "Non-Church Christianity in Japan," International Review of Missions, XLVI, 184 (1957), pp. 380 ff.
2. Carl Michalson, Japanese Contribution to Christian Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), p. 19.
3. W. H.H. Norman, pp. 380 ff.
4. Ibid., pp. 380 ff.
5. Ibid., pp. 380 ff.

CHAPTER III - BASIC CONCEPTS IN NEAR EASTERN THOUGHT

1. Hajime Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India- China- Tibet- Japan (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, c.1964), p. 361.
2. Aikawa Tokaoki and Lynn Leavenworth, The Mind of Japan (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, c.1967), p.24.
3. Ibid., p. 380.
4. Ibid., p. 28.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
6. H. Nakamura, p. 531.
7. O. Cary, "Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, pp. 456-457.

8. Ibid., p. 434.
9. Paul Peachy, "Mukyokai - Shugi," Mennonite Quarterly Review (January, 1961), pp. 70 ff.
10. Uchimura Kanzo, How I Became a Christian; Out of My Diary (Tokyo, Japan, c. 1930), Chapter III, June 15, 1879.
11. O. Cary, pp. 456-457.
12. Ibid., p. 447.

CHAPTER IV
HISTORICAL CLIMATE OF MEIJI RESTORATION IN 1868

1. W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., c.1963), p. 46.
2. Ibid., p. 48.
3. Ibid., p. 77.
4. Ibid., p. 48.
5. Ibid., p. 56.
6. Ibid., p. 56.
7. Ibid., p. 194.
8. Takogi Yasaka, "Prophet, Patriot, and Christian," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, p. 431.
9. Ibid., p. 447.
10. Norimichi Ebizawa, ed., Japanese Witness For Christ (New York: Association Press, c.1957), p. 61.
11. Ibid., p. 57.
12. Ibid., p. 58.
13. Carl Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), p. 19.

CHAPTER V
BACKGROUND OF SAMURAI CLASS DURING RESTORATION

1. Aikawa Tokaoki and Lynn Leavenworth, The Mind of Japan (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, c.1967), p. 67.
2. O. Cary, "Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, p. 88.
3. Ibid., p. 97.
4. A. Tokaoki, p. 43.
5. W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., c.1963), pp. 110-112.
6. Ibid., p. 194.
7. Arthur F. Wright, ed., The Confucian Persuasion (Standford, Calif.: Standford University Press, c.1960), p. 302.
8. Winburn T. Thomas, Protestant Beginnings in Japan (Tokyo, Japan and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, c.1959), p. 173.
9. O. Cary, "Uchimura . . .", p. 443.
10. Ibid., pp. 449-450.

CHAPTER VI
UCHIMURA KANZO AND HIS INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIANITY

1. Norimichi Ebizawa, Japanese Witness for Christ (New York: Association Press, c.1957) pp. 51-52.
2. Poultney Bigelow, Japan and Her Colonies (London: Edward Arnold and Co., c.1923), p. 180.
3. G. M. Rowland, "Clark Memorial Church in Sapporo," Japan Evangelism (1922-1923), p. 22.
4. Herbert Welch, Men of the Outposts (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1937), p. 119.
5. Ibid., p. 119.
6. Ibid., p. 117.
7. G. M. Rowland, p. 24.
8. N. Ebizawa, p. 53.

9. Hajime Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India-China-Tibet-Japan (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, c.1964), p. 507.
10. N. Ebizawa, p. 54.
11. Winburn T. Thomas, Protestant Beginnings in Japan (Tokyo, Japan and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, c.1959), p. 171.
12. Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, c.1946), p. 114 f.
13. Uchimura Kanzo, The Diary of A Japanese Convert (New York: Missionary Research Library, c.1895), Chapter 4, Dec. 28, 1882.
14. N. Ebizawa, pp.54-55
15. Ibid., p. 55.
16. Kanzo, p. 87.
17. N. Ebizawa, p. 55.

CHAPTER VII

STORM AND STRESS PERIOD: 1885 - 1895

1. O. Cary, "Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, p. 432.
2. Uchimura Kanzo, How I Became A Christian; Out of My Diary (Tokyo, Japan, c.1930), p. 111.
3. O. Cary, p. 451.
4. Ibid., p. 446.
5. Ibid., p. 445.
6. Ibid., pp. 456-457.
7. Ibid., p. 447.
8. Ibid., p. 447.
9. Ibid., p. 452.
10. Ibid., p. 456.
11. Norimichi Edizawa, ed., Japanese Witness For Christ (New York: Ass. Press, c.1957), p. 56.

12. O. Cary, p. 434.
13. N. Ebizawa, p. 57.
14. Ibid., pp. 56-60.
15. Carl Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), pp. 19-20.
16. O. Cary, p. 447.

CHAPTER VIII
APPROPRIATENESS OF MUKYOKAI FOR JAPANESE CHRISTIANITY

1. Arthur F. Wright, ed., The Confucian Persuasion (Standford, Calif.: Standford University Press, c.1960); p. 252.
2. Richard Drummond, "Non-Church Movement in Japan," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, II, 3 (1965), p. 448 f.
3. Winburn T. Thomas, Protestant Beginnings in Japan (Tokyo, Japan and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, c.1959), p. 26.
4. Carl Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), p. 27.
5. Uchimura Kanzo, How I Became a Christian; Out of My Diary (Tokyo, Japan, c.1930), p. 24.
6. Thomas, p. 73.

CHAPTER IX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. G. M. Rowland, "Clark Memorial Church in Sapporo," Japan Evangelism (1922-1923), p. 22.
2. O. Cary, "Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst," Japan Quarterly, III, 4, p. 431.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akio, Dohi. "The Historical Development of the Non-Church Movement in Japan," Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Vol. 2, n.3, 1965.
- Bacon, L. W. History of American Christianity. Vol. XIII of The American Church History Series. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1897.
- Beasley, W. G. The Modern History of Japan. New York and London: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., c. 1963.
- Benedict, Ruth. The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, c. 1946.
- Bigelow, Poultney. Japan and Her Colonies. London: Edward Arnold and Company, c. 1923.
- Coldarola, Carlo. "Indigenizing Features of Christianity in Japan." (paper presented at the 64th annual meeting of The American Sociological Association, San Francisco, Calif. September 1-4, 1969.)
- Carrothers, Julia. The Sunrise Kingdom. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, c. 1879.
- Cary, O. "Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst," Recently Discovered Correspondence, Japan Quarterly. Vol. III, no. 4.
- Dorchester, Daniel D. D. Christianity in the United States. New York: Hunt and Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston and Howe, c. 1888.
- Ebizawa, Norimichi, editor. Japanese Witnesses For Christ. New York: Association Press, c. 1957.
- Hammer, Raymond. Japan's Religious Ferment. New York: Oxford University Press, c. 1961.
- Jennings, Raymond P. Jesus, Japan, and Uchimura Kanzo. Tokyo: Kyo Bun-Kwan, 1958.
- Kanzo, Uchimura. The Diary of A Japanese Convert. New York: Missionary Research Library, 1895.
- Kanzo, Uchimura. How I Became a Christian; Out of My Diary. Tokyo: Japan, 1930.
- Michalson, Carl. Japanese Contributions To Christian Theology. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.

Nakamura, Hajime. Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India-China-Tibet-Japan. Edited by Philip P. Wiener. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, c. 1964.

Norman, William. "Non-Church Christianity in Japan," International Review of Missions. XLVI, n.184, 1957.

Peachy, Paul. "Mukyokai-Shugi," Mennonite Quarterly Review. January, 1961.

Reischauer, Edwin O. Japan Past and Present. Third Edition, Revised. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., c. 1964.

Rowland, G. M. "Clark Memorial Church in Sapporo," Japan Evangelism, 1922-1923.

Silberman, Bernard S., editor. Japanese Character and Culture. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, c. 1962.

Thomas, Winburn T. Protestant Beginnings in Japan. Tokyo: Japan, and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, c. 1959.

Tokaoki, Aikawa, and Lynn Leavenworth. The Mind of Japan. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, c. 1967.

Welch, Herbert. Men of the Outposts. New York: Adingdon Press, c. 1937.

Wright, Arthur R., editor. The Confucian Persuasion. Standford, Calif.: Standford University Press, c. 1960.