

**VERBECK OF JAPAN: GUIDO F. VERBECK AS PIONEER MISSIONARY, *OYATOI*  
*GAIKOKUJIN*, AND “FOREIGN HERO”**

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Guido F. Verbeck has been viewed as a pioneer missionary, a key *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“foreign employee”) and a ‘foreign hero’ for modern Japan. This case-study focuses on one of the most prominent foreign figures in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, Guido F. Verbeck. Arriving in Nagasaki in 1859 when the ports opened, he was the only Protestant missionary in western Japan throughout the 1860s, where he taught or interacted with some of the future leaders of Meiji Japan. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, he served as the superintendent of the *Daigaku Nankō*, the government school of Western studies in Tokyo and as a translator and special advisor to the highest organs of the government. For the last two decades of his life, he returned to full-time missionary work, supporting Japanese Christians through translation, teaching and evangelism. Verbeck was decorated by the Meiji Emperor in 1877, granted special Japanese passports in 1891, and buried in Japan in 1898 with great honors. Arguably more respected than any other missionary or foreigner in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, he was a revered teacher and trusted advisor, as well as one of the most gifted foreign speakers of Japanese.

In this dissertation, I analyze the literature and scholarship on Verbeck and examine how he has been perceived in various time periods. Though there are few biographies on Verbeck, the literature pertaining to Verbeck is much larger. The method I propose for considering why certain figures like Verbeck are attractive, is to view their lives as “enacted narratives”—that is,

as figures that embody certain larger narratives for their societies. In the literature on Verbeck, for both Western and Japanese observers, he has enacted the narratives of the modern missionary movement, global modernization, and Japanese nationalism. I also argue that studying Verbeck could revive the lack of interest in Japan in recent literature on the history of missions, enrich the scholarship on intercultural exchanges and their role in modernization, and broaden the discussion of nationalism in Japan and elsewhere to include categories like “foreign heroes.”

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## **PREFACE**

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**1.0 PART ONE: VERBECK AS A MISSIONARY PIONEER IN THE NINETEENTH  
CENTURY PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT**

## 1.1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION—“ENACTED NARRATIVES, GUIDO F. VERBECK, AND MODERN JAPAN

*Completely to describe an event is to locate it in all the right stories.*

—A. Danto in *Narration and Knowledge*<sup>1</sup>

As Danto suggests, in order to more completely understand a historical event, one must find how people have told the story of that event. Similarly, for historical figures, it is important to locate them in all the perspectives in which their stories have been told. Locating these narratives can be complicated, but doing so may help to explain why some figures are seen as significant in some periods and not in others. One of the most important factors in such changes is the appeal and usefulness of certain figures in larger narratives which their lives enact or embody in a significant way. This “enacted narrative” concept is one in which the perceived meaning and significance of an individual’s life is based upon their role in the development of a larger narrative or story. Some individuals, particularly prominent public figures, can often be utilized as significant symbols of many narratives. For instance, political figures like Abraham Lincoln, have signified many different things for people at various times and places—the “Great Emancipator” in the history of slavery abolition, a great statesman in the consolidation of the nation-state in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the symbol of Northern aggression against the South, or a key figure in the success of a capitalism over an outdated “feudal” system.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 142. Some writers refer to such larger narratives as “metanarratives,” but I will simply use the broader term narrative.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Lincoln is voluminous. For a more global perspective, see Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, ed. *The Global Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). This book is based on a

In recent history national narratives, or “methodological nationalism” as Kenneth Pomeranz has called it, have dominated the way that we study about the past.<sup>3</sup> But for some figures, particularly individuals who transcend national boundaries—such as missionaries and foreigners who become significant figures in other nations—the significance of their lives cannot be completely understood solely in nationalist narratives. How have these transnational figures been perceived and in what narratives have they played significant roles? More specifically, what do the various narratives that such figures enact reveal about the historical development of modern societies like Japan and their interactions with other societies, particularly European and American societies?

### 1.1.1 Introduction to “Enacted Narratives”

Though some scholars have employed the concept of “alternate narratives” in looking at Japanese history, the focus on “enacted narratives” is somewhat different. One example of the former approach is M. William Steele’s *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History*, in which Steele introduces “alternate narratives” from the Bakumatsu-Meiji period. Steele provides glimpses of “other actors, other places, and other dimensions of social and political

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conference in 2009 in England commemorating the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lincoln’s birth. I presented a paper at a conference in Charleston, South Carolina on March 3-5, 2011 entitled, “Civil War--Global Context,” and was struck by the many ways that Lincoln has been used to support specific prominent narratives in American and world history.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Pomeranz, “Presidential Address: Histories for a Less National Age,” *American Historical Review* 119, no. 1 (February 2014): pp. 1-2. Though Pomeranz’s speech did not mention missionaries or foreign employees, he referred to research on “transnational professional and intellectual networks” (p. 2), which would apply to both of these groups.

activity” to try to “construct a broader and more complex historical account of modern Japanese history” and to show that “the reality of history is more messy.” Steele asserts that “Just as one can narrate Japanese history from above, one can look from below...and the telling of stories from below is necessarily open-ended....we can ask new questions, adopt new perspectives, and expect to have new horizons appear before us.”<sup>4</sup> Like Steele, I would like to stimulate new questions and open “new horizons,” but my focus is not on retrieving and retelling forgotten perspectives in this period and complicating the story, but on revealing how and why certain individuals in the Bakumatsu-Meiji period were and still are iconic figures in various narratives relating to modern Japan. Depending on how an individual’s life is interpreted, he or she can be viewed as “enacting” larger narratives that give meaning and significance to the life of that individual for a wide range of people—scholars and colleagues, students and leaders, Americans and Japanese, Christians and non-Christians. Similar to Steele’s approach, the concept of “enacted narratives” is open-ended because other narratives might be discovered from the sources and these individuals could also be useful as significant figures in contemporary or future narratives.

Though perhaps not the most significant example of public figures, missionaries, in particularly pioneer missionaries, have been public figures whose significance has been subject to various interpretations and revisions by both the sending and the receiving societies. The views of these missionaries in the sending societies—historically, the West—until quite recently, has been generally high. “For the better part of two centuries,” write Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker, “in many quarters of American Christianity, no hero ranked higher than the foreign

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<sup>4</sup> M. William Steele. *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 1, 175.

missionary.”<sup>5</sup> Even those scholars who have been critical of missionaries often admired characteristics observed in their lives. In his critical assessment of missionaries in *The Missionary Mind and American East Asian Policy, 1911-1915*, James Reed concluded that missionaries, as a group, “were among the more remarkable men and women of their generation. They believed in something, they had their integrity, they had boundless energy for practically everything they regarded as right...Persons of this type must always be taken seriously. Where are their heirs in our own day?”<sup>6</sup>

Thus, in much of the historical literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, missionaries—of all the globetrotting foreigners—often represented heroic figures in the narrative of the worldwide spread of Christianity. But, these missionaries and their work have been interpreted in many ways throughout the world and they have been viewed as key figures in various narratives. Some of these may seem to “mesh” or converge in the perceptions and portrayals of the missionaries. For instance, in the missionary literature, the work of missionaries like David Livingstone in sub-Saharan Africa may seem to converge with the story of the development of modern capitalism represented by entrepreneurs like Cecil Rhodes. Thus, the growth of Christianity and the modernization of Africa can be viewed as complementary narratives in many accounts. In his analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missionaries in Nigeria, J. D. Y Peel writes that the policy of “Christianity, Civilization, and Commerce” was employed such that “the spiritual regeneration of Africa should be linked to, and supported by, secular processes of development.” Missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century tried to get the Yoruba to “rescript

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<sup>5</sup> Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker, *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2002), p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> James Reed, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asian Policy, 1911-1915*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 198.

their country's history in terms of a unidirectional narrative of social progress—basically a form of what we now call modernization theory—which meshed nicely with the Christian narrative of the soul that the missions were urging on the Yoruba individuals.”<sup>7</sup>

But, ultimately, the expansion of Christianity and the growth of capitalism are not the same story, and eventually they are distinguishable as two different narratives that prioritize different goals. Though they may have converged in the perspectives of the early missionaries and their sending societies, sometimes they diverged in the stories that the receiving societies told of the missionaries' lives and work. In her analysis of Livingstone's encounter with the Kololo people in Africa, Walima T. Kalusa asserts that,

Livingstone never reckoned with the possibility that the people he encountered in Africa could comprehend his mission in ways that would be at odds with his expectations...[or] that the 'civilizing mission' through which the missionary wanted to reform the Kokolo society was locally comprehended in ways that were fundamentally at variance with Livingstone's own dreams.<sup>8</sup>

Missionaries like Livingstone are thus public figures whose image not only differs with geography and time period, but also depends greatly on how the missionary fits into the larger

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<sup>7</sup> J. D. Y. Peel. “For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things: Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37/3 (July 1995): p. 602. Peel also writes that, “The issue of the relations between narrative-as-told and narrative-as-lived, between art and life, remains problematic,” and that historical anthropology should focus on “narratives-as-lived,” and how they are shaped by “narratives as told,” and that these narratives are “subsumed in collective histories” the complexity of which is evident “in the interplay or even partial merging of the Christian narrative brought by the missionaries, and the ongoing histories of the Yoruba communities.” Where my study differs is that I do not primarily focus on the stories that the pioneer missionaries told, but the narratives into which their lives have been perceived as significant.

<sup>8</sup> Walima T. Kalusa, “Elders, Young Men, and David Livingstone's 'Civilizing Mission': Revisiting the Disintegration of the Kololo Kingdom, 1851-1864” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42/1 (2009) pp. 55-80. p. Kalusa writes that the history of the Kololo and the destruction wreaked upon them by Christianized Lozi, for whom Livingstone “continues to occupy a high rank in Lozi historical consciousness” and the defeated Kololo, the descendants of whom still remember Livingstone with bitterness as someone who “pretended to bring the Word of God to the Kololo.” pp. 78, 80.

story the narrator wants to tell. In this way, the framework of “enacted narratives” can be applied to figures like Livingstone, whose life has been viewed as significant in such stories as: the exploration of Africa, the triumph of Western medicine, the abolition of the African slave trade, the preeminence of British imperialism, or the Protestant missionary movement and the growth of African Christianity. Recently, missions historian Dana L. Robert has written of Livingstone as “a unique bridge figure between Africa and the United Kingdom” and relates how, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the figure of Livingstone (and a prominent sculpture of him) was attacked by some factions in Zimbabwe as an colonialist symbol. In reaction to this, the chief of a tribe in Zambia related a very different view of Livingstone: “The Zambians have a great deal of affection for Livingstone’s memory, unlike the Zimbabweans...We have changed a great many of our colonial place names since independence, but we have kept the name of Livingstone out of a deep respect.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, within many African societies today, Livingstone’s life has been reinterpreted and re-historicized as a symbol of various narratives.

One of the most significant places in Asia where this convergence of narratives for foreign missionaries can be seen is in South Korea, which today is roughly 25% Christian (compared to roughly 1% for Japan). Though Protestant missionaries did not enter Korea until 1884, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Korean Christianity experienced unprecedented growth. Many scholars

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<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Dana L. Robert, *Brief History of Missions* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 84, 87. Similar to Verbeck in his early decades in Japan, Livingstone was sometimes accused of not being a “real” missionary and becoming too political, but he always saw himself as doing God’s work and he consistently appealed for more missionaries. He was also a nationalist figure in the U.K., where he was buried in Westminster Abbey, though, per his request, his heart and entrails were first removed and buried in Zambia. p. 84. Unlike Verbeck, however, there are many biographies of Livingstone, in addition to his own popular autobiographical travel narratives such as *Missionary Researches and Travels in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857). For a recent biography, see Andrew Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London: Hambleton and London, 2002). There are also a growing number of online sources on Livingstone, including The David Livingstone Spectral Imaging Project published by Livingstone Online and the UCLA Digital Library Program, <http://livingstone.library.ucla.edu/>.



have pondered the reasons for this success, but one reason is that the foreign missionaries and the Christianity they brought meshed with larger narratives of their history and culture that were attractive to Koreans and to outsiders. In *Missionary Photography in Korea: Encountering the West through Christianity*, Donald N. Clark writes of the various explanations for “the unique receptivity of Koreans to the Christian gospel” that the missionaries brought:

One explanation is that Koreans were experiencing a national spiritual crisis because of the collapse of their political system and the imposition of Japanese colonial control...Another...is that Koreans were hungry for independence and saw being Christian as a way to cover being anti-Japanese. A third theory concerns the Korean appetite for advancement and modern things, such as education and modern science, accounting for their enthusiastic embrace of education in mission schools. One theory...is that Christianity was associated with the United States, Korea’s dominant patron and a symbol in Korean minds of wealth and power, represented by the military intervention to stop Communism during the Korean War. And a final theory, applicable throughout the century, is that Koreans became Christians out of genuine religious and spiritual experience, through acceptance of the Christian gospel message. In some cases this was due to their existing cultural patterns of religious understanding, which fit especially well with the spiritualism of Korean Protestant teaching.<sup>10</sup>

The first two theories he cites fit with the larger story of Korean political nationalism, particularly in opposition to the domination and colonization of Japan. The next two theories mesh with the narratives of modernization and Westernization, with a particularly American manifestation. The final theory not only converges with a certain Korean cultural narrative about the roots of Korean spirituality but also with the Protestant narrative of the diffusion of a gospel-centered Christianity. This narrative was first propagated by the foreign missionaries but has been adopted by Korean churches today, who

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<sup>10</sup> Donald N. Clark, Ed. *Missionary Photography in Korea: Encountering the West through Christianity* (Seoul: The Korea Society, 2009) p. 9. Clark also sites Don Baker’s assertion that “...the Christian message in Korea represented advancement—through education, social mobility, and affinity with like-minded people—as well as through the general promotion of human rights and spiritual comfort. Combinations of these desirable things constituted a powerful attraction to people who were poor and oppressed under Japanese rule and after centuries of rigid class discrimination.” p. 10.

send the second-largest contingent of foreign missionaries throughout the world (after the U.S.)

Even in a country where Christianity is not the religion of the majority or a large percentage of the population, as it is in sub-Saharan Africa and South Korea, missionaries have been rehistoricized as symbolic figures. One example is the pioneer Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan), the founder of the Republic of China, reportedly said that, “The Republican movement began on the day when Robert Morrison set foot on the soil of China.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, Sun viewed Morrison as a significant figure in telling the story of China’s political development. In a recent biography on the pioneer Scottish missionary to China, James Legge, Norman J. Girardot presents a case study of Legge’s significance to a larger narrative. Girardot portrays Legge’s significance not so much in his contributions as a missionary in China, but in his subsequent work in teaching and informing the West about China after returning to Britain.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Legge’s life is interpreted by Girardot primarily as a key factor in the narrative of the development of “Oriental Studies” and “Comparative Religions” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century—a narrative which largely overlaps the period of the Protestant missionary movement, but tells a very different story concerning the significance of missionaries figures like Legge. However, what I am proposing to do goes further than Girardot’s framework because it

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<sup>11</sup> Xiantao Zhang, *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The influence of the Protestant press in late Qing China* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007) p 35. Zhang writes that the article in which this comment was reported did not specify when Sun said this, but as an avowed Christian educated in a medical school begun by missionaries, it seems plausible. At the very least, it reveals that Morrison was viewed as a significant figure for modern China.

<sup>12</sup> Norman J. Girardot. *The Translation of China: James Legge’s Oriental Pilgrimage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). After the overview of his decades of missionary service in a prologue, Girardot has chapters on Legge as “Pilgrim,” “Professor,” “Heretic,” “Decipherer,” “Comparativist,” “Translator,” “Ancestor,” “Teacher.” These are presented, somewhat unrealistically, as chronological, though I think Girardot would admit that many of these roles were simultaneous and overlapping.

involves examining such figures not simply as a key figure in one narrative, but as those whose lives and work have been, and continue to be, interpreted as enacting several larger narratives for various observers.

Therefore, missionaries—and particularly pioneer missionaries, such as David Livingstone in Africa and Robert Morrison in China—have been interpreted and utilized in various narratives during their lives, throughout the modern missionary movement, and to this day. In *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography*, Terrence L. Craig claims that this recurring interest in the lives of pioneer missionaries,

...exceeds that of the historical, political and social value and consequences of the missionaries' efforts. By their very nature first contact missionaries placed themselves in incongruous positions. Incongruity alone, and complementing their own views of themselves *vis a vis* the target peoples' views of them and their originating cultures, provides a great deal of interest....Probably the most interesting aspect of their lives for the modern reader is the often trivial anecdotes of life on the edge of imperial expansion, on the edge of Christianity, on the edge of law and 'civilized' control.<sup>13</sup>

Though Craig does not deal with Japan in his work, this sensational aspect of pioneer missions is true even for more “civilized” fields like Japan, where the most popular accounts of missionaries involve Japanese natives putting their fingers to their throats at the mention of Christianity, the secret baptism of a high-ranking samurai, and heroism in the face of the physical violence of xenophobic elements.<sup>14</sup> Japan, in the early years of missions, then, fits this overall story of missions as civilizing, with the courageous pioneer missionaries willing to live “on the edge” in a dark heathen lands.

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<sup>13</sup> Terrence L. Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> All of these anecdotes are from early missionary accounts of Verbeck's experiences in Japan.

But, early missionaries are not alone in being depicted as being “on the edge” of empire, Christianity and civilization in societies like Japan. Other contemporary pioneering foreign figures like the merchant Thomas B. Glover and the consul Townsend Harris are likewise viewed in similar terms.<sup>15</sup> Such pioneer figures are malleable figures whose significance can be interpreted and reinterpreted through viewing their lives as embodying various “enacted narratives” that both the sending and the receiving societies prioritize. In Homi Bhabha’s terms, these figures are interpreted as *signs* in an intercultural “third space,” where “the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, re-historicized and read anew.”<sup>16</sup> This means that for such figures there is always the possibility of revising their life narrative. According to Paul Ricoeur, this may seem to work against “the closure necessary if one is to be able to recount a life” but, he argues that the “reopening” of a life narrative “is always possible because one can tell the story in another way.”<sup>17</sup> By focusing on their lives as “enacted narratives,” such figures can inform us, not only about the fascinating lives of these individuals, but also of the significance of the larger narratives they symbolically embody at various times.

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<sup>15</sup> For Glover see Michael Gardiner, *At the Edge of Empire: The Life of Thomas Blake Glover* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Birlinn, 2008) and for Harris see, *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan*, ed. Mario Emilio Cosenza (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co, 1930).

<sup>16</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 55. Michael Marten has examined “mission stations”, particularly in fields in Africa, as “third spaces” in “Re-imagining ‘Metropole’ and ‘Periphery’ in Mission History” in *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Eds. Hilde Neilssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karin Hestad Skeie (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), p. 314-315. As far as I know, no one has applied Bhabha’s idea of cultural “third spaces” to missionary figures.

<sup>17</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), p. 310. Ricoeur writes that we interpret texts, events, institutions and personages. Regarding the latter, Ricoeur writes, “there are personages; and here I use the word ‘personages’ rather than ‘persons’ so as to leave a place for what I shall say below about fictional personages or characters as well as about real personages and social roles.” pp. 305-306.

### 1.1.2 “Enacted Narratives” and Guido F. Verbeck

In order to provide a model for understanding the significance of such figures, this case study will examine the life of a prominent foreigner in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan: Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck. Journeying to Japan as a pioneer Protestant missionary, his assorted contributions during some four decades in Japan have made him an important figure in several larger narratives both during and after his lifetime. The varying perspectives on Verbeck’s significance depend largely upon interpretations and perceptions of his life as an “enacted narrative” for larger narratives relating to the global missionary movement, the modernization of Japan, and the growth of Japanese nationalism.

Why focus on the figure of Verbeck in this approach? Despite countless observations and comments about Verbeck’s significance since his arrival in Japan, there are relatively few works specifically on Verbeck, and he has been the subject of only one biography in English (written over a century ago) and two in Japanese.<sup>18</sup> The general facts of Verbeck’s life are

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<sup>18</sup> The earliest and most significant of these was published two years after Verbeck’s death by William Elliot Griffis entitled *Verbeck of Japan: A Citizen of No Country; A Life Story of Foundation Work Inaugurated by Guido Fridolin Verbeck* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900). This work was translated into Japanese with detailed annotations, corrections and appendices by Murase Hisayo and Rei Matsuura as *Shinyaku kōshō nihon no Furubekki: Mukokuseki no senkyōshi Furubekki no shōgai*. [New Investigations of *Verbeck of Japan: The Life of Verbeck, the Missionary Without a Country*] (Saga, Japan: Yōgakudo shoten, 2003). Almost all later works on Verbeck employ Griffis’ biography to some extent. Though there were some shorter biographical sketches written on Verbeck in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the next full-length biography was written by Ōhashi Akio and Hirano Hideo entitled *Meiji Ishin to aru oyatoi gaikokujin : Furubekki no shōgai* [Foreign Employees in the Meiji Restoration: The Life of Verbeck] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1988). The next full-length biography was written by Itoh Noriko in 2010 entitled *Furubekki, kokorozashi no shōgai: kyōshi soshite senkyōshi toshite* (Itoh translated and published this in English in 2012 under the title *Guido F. Verbeck—A Life of Determined Acceptance*). Both Murase’s and Itoh’s works contain impressive research on aspects of

remarkable, even in outline. Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeek (later changed to Verbeck), was born in Zeist, a town outside Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1830, the second child of Karl Heinrich Willem and Anna Maria Jacomina Verbeek. Raised in a Moravian community, he received a multilingual Moravian education and often heard stories about foreign missionaries. He received more education in Utrecht and worked as a foundry engineer in Zeist before immigrating to the United States in 1852. After various attempts at working at a foundry in a Moravian community in Wisconsin and as a civil engineer briefly in Arkansas, he decided to attend seminary, and in 1856, followed his brother-in-law to Auburn Seminary in western New York. In the spring of 1859, he graduated from seminary, was ordained as a minister, married Maria Manion, and was commissioned one of three pioneer Dutch Reformed Church missionaries to Japan when the ports opened by commercial treaties that year.

Thus, Guido and Maria Verbeck set sail for Japan, and, after consulting with the missionaries in China, landed in the port of Nagasaki in the fall of 1859. They resided there in the tumultuous decade of the 1860s, during which Verbeck worked mainly as a teacher in government-sponsored Western language schools and studied the Japanese language. Verbeck and his growing family (eventually including seven children) moved to the new capital of Tokyo in 1869 when the new Meiji leaders, some of whom had been his students in Nagasaki, asked him to assist and advise them in building a Westernized educational institution (which eventually became the University of Tokyo). He spent the next decade as an employee of the Meiji government, teaching, translating and advising them on various matters, and was one of the first foreigners to be awarded by the Order of the Rising Sun, 3<sup>rd</sup> Class, by the Meiji Emperor. After

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Verbeck's life, particularly his background in the Netherlands and the U.S. and in his connections with various Japanese figures. However, there is relatively little critical analysis of the historiography or the context in which the sources on Verbeck were written.

a year-long furlough in America in 1878, Verbeck decided to return to Japan as a full-time missionary, spending the majority of his time translating and editing the Japanese Bible, teaching in Christian institutions, giving lectures, and going on evangelistic tours. In 1891, he and his family were granted special Japanese passports by the government because Verbeck lacked formal citizenship in any country. His health began to decline, particularly in the last year of his life, and in March 1898 he died and was buried in Aoyama Cemetery in Tokyo, the cost of his funeral defrayed by the emperor.<sup>19</sup>

Though one could argue that Verbeck is worthy of further study as one of the most prominent early Protestant missionaries in Japan, actually most of the early missionaries would be worthy subjects—such as Verbeck’s colleague Samuel Robbins Brown, the Presbyterian James Curtis Hepburn, or the Episcopal Channing Moore Williams.<sup>20</sup> These figures were recognized and honored by the Japanese government and though perhaps not universally known in Japan, they are much better known than in the West, and scholars in Japan have continued to write about these figures.<sup>21</sup> In many ways, Verbeck was similar to the other Protestant

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<sup>19</sup> Most of this general biographical material is taken from Griffis’ biography, *Verbeck of Japan*. Although it contains errors, Griffis had access to family members and sources no longer available so the background to Verbeck’s family is indebted to his work. The name Guido is Italian, and Griffis writes that his mother’s family had originally been from Italy, but as Italian Protestants, they were driven away during the conflicts following the Reformation. Though Griffis writes that Verbeck attended the “Polytechnic Institute of Utrecht, coming especially under the care of Professor Grotte” for further education, recent scholars, such as Noriko Itoh, have researched in the Netherlands and tried in vain to find such an institution in Utrecht at that time. *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 32-34, 47.

<sup>20</sup> The memory of James C. Hepburn has been fostered by institutions like Meiji Gakuin of which he was the first president. Channing M. Williams, who lived most of his life in Japan, never married, and is highly revered today as a church founder by the *Seikōkai* (the Episcopal Church) and as the founder of Rikkyō University in Tokyo. Though Samuel R. Brown did not live in Japan for as long as the other pioneers, his teaching and work in building the “Yokohama Band,” in particular in founding the Union Theological Seminary, is well-known.

<sup>21</sup> Some of these scholars work at institutions such as Meiji Gakuin, Rikkyo University, and Momoyama Gakuin which were started by such missionaries. Many scholars are not Christians, but simply argue for

missionaries of the time. To a large extent he shared many of their general beliefs and assumptions, including: a general equating of Western culture with Christianity, a tendency to view traditional religions simplistically or scornfully, a strong anti-Roman Catholicism, and a general acceptance of imperialism or militarism by “civilized” countries. However, some characteristics of Verbeck make him significantly different. Of all the pioneer missionaries to Japan, Verbeck was the most diverse in his personal background with his Dutch upbringing and Moravian connections, his engineering and foundry training, in addition to his American seminary education. In addition, his personal contributions to Japan’s development, with his fifteen years’ service in the government and his connections to the Japanese leadership in the Meiji period, is unrivaled. Verbeck’s language capabilities are unparalleled as well, with his ability to teach multiple Western languages, his working knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and his uncommon skill in speaking colloquial Japanese. Lastly, he is the only one of these pioneer missionaries that was given special Japanese passports and was buried in Japan.

When I first started researching about Verbeck I frequently asked the question, “How did Verbeck view his life’s work?” After much reading, it seems to me that he saw himself supremely as a missionary, even when he was not officially a missionary. Since his journals

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the importance of missionaries like Verbeck, sharing a fascination for such key figures in Japanese history. Murase Hisayo, who teaches at Momoyama Gakuin, has published a translation of Griffis’ biography in 2003 with many critical notes and insightful comments on some of his errors. She is presently researching much of the early relationships between Verbeck and other domains in southern Japan, such as Saga, Satsuma, and Tosa. Noriko Itoh has researched his background in the Netherlands as well as a detailed account of his life in America before attending seminary. Furuta Eisaki of Otemae University has published a series of in-house articles that contain many long quotations from Japanese sources that deal with Verbeck. Junko Nakai Hirai Murayama’s excellent doctoral dissertation on Verbeck’s translation work of the Psalms is very insightful. One former Meiji Gakuin scholar, Takaya Michio, translated Verbeck’s letters into Japanese, and Akira Sasaki has written a series of articles chronologically narrating Verbeck’s life mainly using these letters. See bibliography for these authors.



have been lost, this conclusion is largely based on his letters (virtually all written to the heads of foreign mission boards), and also on his decision to return to full-time missionary work in 1879.<sup>22</sup> However, Verbeck's identity is more complicated than many missionary figures for a variety of reasons. Though he considered himself a missionary, his initial geographical isolation from other missionaries and his "secular" work for the government made him feel like an outsider in the missionary circles at times. In Verbeck's words, "those twenty years of solitary action have unfortunately made a kind of Leatherstocking or Crusoe of me, and I sometimes feel like a kind of rough pioneer among regular settlers. With the Japanese, I am happy to say, there is not a shadow of this feeling...."<sup>23</sup>

Not only was Verbeck's vocational identity mixed at times, his national identity was also unfixed, and his identification and association with various groups of factions is open to much interpretation. Unlike many of the other missionaries, Verbeck did not generally live in the foreign concessions in the treaty ports or associate much with the consular officials. He was also hesitant to take a strong stand in controversial matters and thus his role in these is sometimes vague. Did he think missionaries should be involved in secular or distinctly Christian educational institutions? Was he an advocate or a foe of modern scientific theories and higher critical studies of the Bible? Did he support the "peoples' rights" movement or was he more

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<sup>22</sup> According to Guido F. Verbeck III, the some 26-volumes of Verbeck's journal were kept in the family until around 1960, when they were supposedly given to Columbia University or Union Seminary in New York. However, they have subsequently been lost and I could not find any of the volumes. Verbeck's letters are on microfilm, and the originals from 1859-1880 are at Gardner Sage Library at New Brunswick Theological Seminary. According to Fred Notehelfer in 2007, Marius Jansen, "made considerable efforts to find the Verbeck diaries, which have still to reappear." F. G. Notehelfer, "Looking for the Lost: Westerners in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Japan," in *Japan and Its Worlds: Marius B. Jansen and the Internationalization of Japanese Studies*, Eds, Martin Collcutt, Katō Mikio and Ronald P. Toby (Tokyo: I-House Press, 2007) pp. 175-186, p. 176.

<sup>23</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 308.

politically conservative? Was he a supporter of Japanese church autonomy or did he favor keeping the standards of the parent churches? Did he support the Japanese “emperor system” and Japan’s expansion in Asia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century? On some of these issues the sources are silent, on others Verbeck can be used to support various sides of the issues. It could be true that his views changed over time, but it is also likely that people wanted to use his reputation to support their views.

It is possible that Verbeck’s sense of identity and calling changed during his lifetime. Though they have often been viewed as static figures, many missionaries’ sense of identity and purpose did radically change as a result of their experiences in the field. Some of the recent literature on missionaries challenges the idea of missionaries as static figures. One example is Lian Xi’s *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China*, which focuses on three China missionaries whose perspectives on their own missionary identities radically changed as a result of their missionary experiences.<sup>24</sup> With Verbeck, however, there is little evidence of a radical change in identity or sense of calling during his lifetime. What changed was less Verbeck’s sense of identity and calling, than the way in which his life and contributions were perceived and used, particularly posthumously. As I researched more about Verbeck, I began to ask questions like “How has his life been perceived by various people?” or “How is Verbeck being presented by this author and why?” Thus, questions of personal identity and purpose have largely been eclipsed by questions of representation and the uses made of Verbeck’s life.

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<sup>24</sup> Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries. The Conversion of Missionaries. Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932* (State College, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997). This time period is later than Verbeck’s, during a period in which the modern missionary movement was beginning to be questioned in many circles.

Unlike missionary pioneers in many fields, with Verbeck, scholars are not limited in the written sources to Western sources or missionary correspondence, but can access many Japanese sources, both contemporaries of Verbeck and subsequent writers. Thus, there are various interpretations and perspectives of Verbeck over an extended time period. This provides an opportunity for Japanese perspectives and voices to be compared with various Western views of Verbeck. In studies of the missionary movement, it is not always possible to have written sources by the “native” people in the mission field from the beginning of missionary encounters until today. The specific people in Japan writing about Verbeck may change—prominent samurai students in Nagasaki in the 1860s, government officials and students who worked with him in Tokyo in the 1870s, theological students or pastors that he interacted with from the 1880s, or simply acquaintances or later individuals who either admire him or want to highlight his life and work.

Although the Western missionary literature on Verbeck, particularly William Elliot Griffis’ biography, has certainly influenced Japanese scholarship (with the unfortunate propagation of some errors as well), some Japanese scholars have been critical of this literature and have used other sources. Japanese writing on Verbeck has had less of an impact on Western scholarship, but in the postwar decades the scholarship on the *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“foreign employees”) had an impact on the Western literature during those decades.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, subsequent Japanese literature on Verbeck has had little impact on Western perspectives for a variety of possible reasons including language barriers and limited diffusion of the literature.

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<sup>25</sup> In particular, the work of Umetani Noboru and the *Oyatoi gaikokujin* series (See Chapter 4-5). Authors such as Hazel Jones, Ardath Burks and many others interacted with Japanese scholarship on key foreign workers such as Verbeck.

However, another key factor may be that Verbeck's life has less appeal for many of the recent narratives outside of Japan than he had for earlier narratives.

Verbeck is arguably the founding missionary figure in Japan whose life has been viewed as significant to a variety of perspectives both inside and outside Japan. One of the most striking aspects of reading about Verbeck is the sheer number of sources that use Verbeck as an example or include a remark about his significance. In a recent work that focuses on missionary biographical materials, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography*, Verbeck is highlighted in a very brief passage listing great missionaries throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The author only mentions William Carey, Adoniram Judson, David Livingstone, John Paton (in the South Pacific), Albert Schweitzer, and Guido Verbeck. For every missionary he gives a brief description and for Verbeck he writes of his "exceptional work in Japan."<sup>26</sup> Craig does not mention any specifics of Verbeck's work, but his emphasis on Verbeck's "exceptional work" reflects the assessment of the earlier missionary literature which featured Verbeck in the narrative of the global missionary movement. The Japanese leaders at the time highly praised Verbeck, and the Western missionary literature portrayed him as a "missionary of missionaries."<sup>27</sup> In one missionary publication, *Famous Missionaries of the Reformed Church*, Verbeck is described as one who "laid the foundations" of modern Japan, and is hailed as "the greatest missionary to the continent of Asia" and "one of the two greatest missionaries of the nineteenth century [along with Livingstone] in their political influence as

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<sup>26</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 6. He also mentions John Paton's "remarkable endurance," Livingstone's "crusade against slavery," and Schweitzer's "medical successes." Outside of this brief, yet glowing, reference to Verbeck, Craig does not mention Japan at all in his work.

<sup>27</sup> Ernest Wilson Clement, *Christianity in Modern Japan* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1905), p. 95. After this brief encomium to Verbeck he cites Griffis biography, (published a few years earlier) and in the footnote he simply writes, "Read this inspiring book."

well as religious.”<sup>28</sup> Such lofty praise for a figure is surprising in that, in comparison to David Livingstone, relatively few people in the world know the name Verbeck. How is such a prominent figure in the earlier missionary narrative so neglected in the recent historiography of missions? Furthermore, how does this reflect a larger omission of Japan in the more recent scholarship on the history of missions? Studying the vicissitudes of the literature regarding the significance of foreigners like Verbeck in the historical development of modern Japan, can provide a glimpse into the various views of modern Japan’s historical development. Looking at Verbeck through the framework of “enacted narratives” can help in understanding why Verbeck has been an appealing figure, both inside and outside Japan, but also why, conversely, he has been an overlooked figure at certain points.

Verbeck’s life has significance for various historical narratives that apply to 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan, though arguably, not for all. He has clearly been viewed as a significant figure in at least three larger narratives. First, Verbeck’s life has significance for the story of the growth of global Protestant missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Second, his life has been viewed as important in the narrative of the development of modern Japan, that is, in the westernization and modernization of the Meiji period. Third, the life of Verbeck has significance in the narrative of modern Japanese nationalism. I will analyze the first by looking at how he has been portrayed as a pioneer missionary whose life exemplified the ideal of the missionary as a “living epistle.” The second I

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<sup>28</sup> James I. Good, *Famous Missionaries of the Reformed Church*. (The Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1903), p. 261. Good concludes with the following: “The first [Livingstone] was laid away in Westminster Abbey amid all the honors of England, the last [Verbeck] buried at Tokio amid all the honors of Japan.” One recent glaring example of the lack of knowledge of Verbeck is in an article on the pioneer missionary to Korea, Horace Underwood in which the author (who has a Ph.D.) lists a couple of missionary figures in Japan, he begins with “Guido *Burbeck*” (though he also lists James Ballagh, and spells his name correctly). Such a gross misspelling of a famous missionary, would have been unthinkable in an earlier period. James Jin-Hong Kim, “Bible versus Guns: Horace G. Underwood’s Evangelization of Korea, *Asia Pacific: Perspectives, an electronic journal* 5, no. 1 (December 2004): 35.

will analyze through the views of Verbeck as a key *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“foreign employee”) in Japan’s modernization in the Bakumatsu-Meiji period. I will examine the third by considering perspectives of Verbeck as a figure of nationalistic appeal, one of Japan’s few “foreign heroes” and a “founding father” of modern Japan.<sup>29</sup>

Some of the sources that deal with Verbeck describe him in ways that apply to more than one narrative, but it is usually possible to discern the overarching narrative of a given source. For example, in Griffis’ biography of Verbeck, he describes Verbeck as “...the greatest, under God, of the makers of the new Christian nation that is coming and even now is...,” and as “...one of the ‘nursing fathers’ of a nation, even of Christian Japan.” Though Griffis’ title, *Verbeck of Japan*, and the references to the nation of Japan may allude to Verbeck’s role in the the narrative of Japanese nationalism as a “foreign hero,” it is almost always preceded by the adjective Christian. Similarly, the final quote that Griffis ends his work with is “Without him, Japan will not seem like itself. Because of him Japan will grow less like itself, and more like the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>30</sup> Despite the language of devotion and admiration for Japan, it is obvious to the reader that Griffis sees Verbeck as enacting the larger narrative of the missionary movement in building the kingdom of God in Japan.

But missionaries can also be seen as more significant in nationalist terms. In Japan, as in Africa and other places around the world, there has been a divergence the representations of foreign missionaries and the development of indigenous Japanese Christianity. Aasulv Lande,

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<sup>29</sup> The “foreign hero” designation comes from an American Board missionary, Sidney Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese: A study of their characteristics in Relation to the Principles of Social and Psychic Development* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1905), p. 91. The “founding father” appellation is by Ogata Hiroyasu in *Kindai nihon no kensetsu no chichi furubekki hakushi* [Dr. Verbeck, Founding Father of Modern Japan] *Waseda daigaku shakai kagaku kenkyūjo*, 1961. (Same content found in *Shakai kagaku tokyu* (*Social Sciences Review* 7, no 1 (1961): 1-40.

<sup>30</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 11, 365. This last quote is cited from an obituary for Verbeck.

one of the few Western writers to focus on the historiography of Meiji Protestantism writes:

Seen from a Japanese Protestant point of view, the reintroduction of Christianity climaxed in missionary initiatives, largely from the USA, responding to Japanese requests. The last point is of importance: The modern history of Japanese Christianity answered Japanese desires and requests....Western initiatives interacted with Japanese concerns for nation building and, years passing, the burning, reforming faith of Christian converts. The process of Christianization thus never became an exclusive Western mission to Japan.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, Lande argues, for the Japanese, the story of the growth of missions has been largely subsumed under the narrative of the development of indigenous Japanese Protestantism, whereas for many Westerners in the Meiji period and even later, the story of the growth of Christianity in Japan was subsumed under the overall narrative of the modern missionary movement.

For pioneer Protestant missionaries like Verbeck, as with figures like David Livingstone, the formation and coexistence of more than one narrative is not uncommon. Aasulv Lande presents the development of missions and Meiji Protestantism as a process in which “three forces worked together in mission to Japan within the framework of modernization...*missionaries as agents of Western initiatives, Japanese authorities planning for modernization and Japanese Christian converts.* In several instances the cooperative process worked successfully.”<sup>32</sup> Lande’s analysis is insightful, yet he misses the opportunity to address a deeper element in explaining why these forces sometimes worked “cooperatively” (and, by implication, sometime

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<sup>31</sup> Aasulv Lande, “Western Images of Japan and Christian Mission,” in Ustorf, Werner and Toshiko Murayama, eds. *Identity and Marginality: Rethinking Christianity in North East Asia*. Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, Vol. 121. (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 210. Also see Aasulv Lande, *Meiji Protestantism in history and historiography: A comparative study of Japanese and Western interpretation of early Protestantism in Japan* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989). Though most missionaries eschewed work for the government, some, like Verbeck, were called into service for the new government. Almost all missionaries supported exchange students and wrote letters of reference for them to various institutions in the U.S.

<sup>32</sup> Lande, “Western Images,” p. 210. [emphasis added]

not). These three forces do not merely represent three agents. A figure like Verbeck can be seen as a significant factor for all three “forces.” These “forces” can also represent three larger narratives which can be presented as working cooperatively through a figure like Verbeck. However, the “forces” are not necessarily complementary in the narratives they prioritize. The first force, “missionaries as agents of Western initiatives,” represents the larger story of the growth of “Western” Protestant missions with Japan as one piece of a global movement. The second force, “Japanese authorities planning for modernization,” signifies the Japanese government’s desire to modernize and emulate the West, in which the hiring of foreign advisers like Verbeck played a significant, if temporary, role. The third force, “Japanese Christian converts” alludes not only to the story of the indigenization of Christianity in Japan, but also to the growth of Japanese nationalism and autonomy which provided some powerful motives for these early converts.

During much of the early Meiji period—and I would argue, in many representations of Verbeck—these narratives are often depicted as successfully cooperating in Japan, particularly by the leaders of the new Japan. However, not all perspectives showed such convergence, not all missionaries in Meiji Japan were viewed with such universal respect, and the narratives began increasingly to diverge by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. When reading the increasing criticism of the contemporary Christian missionaries in Japan by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, both by some Christians leaders as well as non-Christians, it is striking how different their views were when it came to the role of the pioneer missionaries like Verbeck.<sup>33</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, an early convert to

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<sup>33</sup> Verbeck’s student and friend, Takahashi Korekiyo greatly respected Verbeck, but stated later that Verbeck “failed as a missionary when he returned to Japan [in 1879] because his fellow missionaries distrusted him. In their view, he spoke Japanese too well and had too many Japanese friends the other missionaries were jealous of his Japanese connections.” Richard J. Smethurst, *From Foot Soldier to*



Christianity and founder of the *Mukyōkai* (“non-church”) movement, was generally critical of missionaries. However, he praised the pioneer missionaries who gave their lives for God in Japan, and of Verbeck he opined: “Forty years of continued, unostentatious work, not to get money, or praise, but with an aim known only to himself and his Maker! Apart from the doctrines he came here to preach, there was a sustained energy in the man such that we might well envy and seek to possess.”<sup>34</sup> Though Uchimura emphasized Verbeck’s role as a missionary, others saw him differently. The powerful Meiji oligarch from Choshū, Kido Kōin reportedly criticized missionaries in the 1860s, defining the missionary as “a man who is sent to Japan to teach the Japanese to break the Laws of their Country.”<sup>35</sup> However, Kido was also instrumental in procuring Verbeck to come to Tokyo in 1869 to help with the new regime’s educational reforms. In a letter to Kido in 1868 from the Meiji leader Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma, their mutual high opinion of Verbeck is apparent:

As you know, Verbeck, an American residing in Nagasaki, is a knowledgeable and virtuous man and is well acquainted with our Imperial Land...New schools are about to be founded. One like the shogunate’s old Kaiseisho [School of Western Studies] ought, I think, to be opened immediately. When that happens you are apt to find him of great use indeed.<sup>36</sup>

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*Finance Minister: Takahashi Korekiyo, Japan’s Keynes.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 316. But, none of the missionaries criticized him openly.

<sup>34</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, “Thoughts and Reflections.” *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980-84): 320.

<sup>35</sup> This is from a report on July 15, 1868 by H.B.M. Consul at Nagasaki in M. Paske-Smith, ed. *Japanese Traditions of Christianity: Being Some Old Translations from the Japanese, with British Consular Reports of the Persecutions of 1868-1872* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner). Reprint: Washington D.C.: University Publications of America, 1979, p. 119. Kido’s comment is mainly in light of dealing with the Urakami Catholics who had come out of hiding in Kyushu at that time. The report also says that Kido admitted that “Christianity for what he knew might be a very good doctrine, and if it was the general faith of the country it would not be objectionable....but he considered it incompatible with the interest of the country to allow Christianity to spread.” p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Motoyama Yukihiro, *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Education in the Meiji Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 95.

It is unlikely that Kido's general views on missionaries radically changed after interacting with Verbeck, particularly when the Meiji government continued to be hostile to Christianity in its early years. It is more likely that Japanese leaders like Kido and Ōkubo viewed Verbeck as a significant contributor to a different narrative than that of Christianity's spread, namely, the development of a modern Westernizing Japan.

Similarly, Yamaji Aizan, a Meiji historian who had been influenced by Christian missionaries and who penned one of the first historical works on Japanese Protestantism by a Japanese scholar, saw the missionaries in contrast to the native Japanese Christianity. Yamaji wrote that by the 1890s, the "ignorance of the foreign missionaries" was one factor in the decline of the church, and that some "foreign missionaries...secretly grumbled at the insincerity of the Japanese..." who were educated in mission schools but did not "carry out missionary work as they had promised."<sup>37</sup> Were the missionaries after 1890 truly *that much* worse, and were the pioneer missionaries really so much superior? It seems more likely that the later critics, such as Uchimura and Yamaji, differed from the missionaries on the priority of narratives—with the narrative of Japanese nationalism trumping the worldwide (and Western-initiated) missionary movement, which they saw embodied in contemporary missionaries. In contrast, the pioneer missionaries (many of whom were gone by the time these Japanese writers penned their critiques) often fit more easily into a nationalist narrative of modern Japan.

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<sup>37</sup> Yamaji Aizan, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christianity in Meiji Japan*, Translated by Graham Squires (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1999) p. 174. This work was first published in 1906. Yamaji himself was a scion of a family that served as official astronomers for the Tokugawa shogunate. In 1885, he was converted and baptized in a Methodist church. He is one of the first scholars to point out the Protestantism appealed to the "losing" former *bakufu* samurai in the Meiji Restoration. In this work he mentions no missionaries by name, instead choosing to focus on Japanese figures.

The recurring attraction of a figure like Verbeck is that he is someone whose life and legacy is diverse and malleable enough to be presented as enacting each one of the above narratives, depending on the observer and time period. The narratives that Verbeck's life enacts show both convergence and divergence between the Western and Japanese perspectives on Verbeck. The first—Verbeck as a effective pioneer missionary to Japan—was the most significant one in Western sources in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and less prominent in Japanese sources, though some Japanese Christian writers portrayed Verbeck as such. The second—Verbeck as a prominent *oyatoi*—reveals the greatest convergence between Western and Japanese sources as both Japanese and Western sources eagerly acknowledged him to be a significant figure in the story of Japan's modernization. The third enacted narrative reveals both a convergence and a divergence. In general, Verbeck as a “foreign hero” in the history of Japanese nationalism has been more significant for Japanese interpreters than for those outside Japan. But for the Meiji period and beyond it, there was much support and admiration in the West for Japan as a modern successful nation, and many observers praised those who they saw as sacrificially helping the Japanese nation achieve such a feat.

Many of the accounts of Verbeck's life mention similar roles and activities, but the emphasis or specific motives of the observers may be different. For instance, his role as an advisor to the Meiji government is frequently mentioned. If it is mentioned as an end in itself, Verbeck is primarily presented as a key foreigner who helped Japan modernize. But, if this service is primarily seen as a means of influencing the government towards Christianity or of gaining respect for missionaries, then it is often subsumed under the story of Protestant missions in Japan. Or, if Verbeck's advising is viewed as vital work on behalf of a people and a nation he has come to love, he might be useful in the story of Japanese nation-building. Likewise,

portraying him as a teacher (*sensei*) is common in the literature on Verbeck. But the sources emphasizing the missionary narrative often focus more on how his teaching led to or aided in the Christianization of Japan—his use of the English Bible in language study, holding Bible studies in his home, teaching at Christian institutions, and the Christian content of his lectures. The sources focusing on the modernization narrative emphasize the effective knowledge of Western languages and subjects that he imparted, his role as head teacher in the *Daigaku Nankō*, and his guidance to the government in the development of a modern educational system. The sources highlighting the nationalist narrative focus on the life-long devotion of his prominent students, and portray his selfless life of service to Japan—recognized and honored by the emperor—in order to teach and guide them during these critical decades. Similarly, his role as a translator can be used in all three narratives, with his work as the translator of the Psalms and editor of the Japanese Bible, his government work translating various political works such as the *Napoleonic Code*, and his ability and efforts devoted to learning to speak Japanese like a native speaker. Sometimes the various perspectives will be selective in which facts of Verbeck’s life they tell, but often the facts can be similar. Thus, Verbeck’s significance as a historical figure can be viewed differently depending on the “enacted narrative” in which the writer places Verbeck’s life.

An important question to ask, then, is in which relevant narratives is Verbeck not a significant figure? In the perspective of Christianity as an “evil” religion and its missionaries as harmful to the country—a relic of the Tokugawa era proscriptions—Verbeck is not a good example, though there were some who tried to present him in this light. For example, an anti-Christian pamphlet most likely written in 1867 by a Buddhist priest who had been one of Verbeck’s students, anonymously denounced Verbeck, though the only specific evidence against

him was the spurious charge that “the wife of the Protestant priest Verbeck, leaving the infant at her breast, has gone to Shanghai and Hong Kong to return with several priests to Japan.”<sup>38</sup>

Many Protestant missionaries, including Verbeck, agreed that the earlier Roman Catholic missions were ill-founded and sought to distinguish their teachings from Catholicism or “Romanism” as they referred to it. Some Protestants even erroneously propagated the Tokugawa line that the Roman Catholic missionaries had supported rebellion in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Edward Warren Clark, a Christian teacher and Rutgers alumnus who taught in Japan in the 1870s, wrote,

So successful were they [the Roman Catholic missionaries] that a little later they entered into a conspiracy with some of the disaffected daimios, and attempted to overthrow the government of the Tycoon, and make Christianity the state religion....The Japanese of later days looked back upon that bloody chapter in his country’s history, and learned to associated the “Yesu followers” with ideas of intrigue, rebellion and things worthy of contempt.<sup>39</sup>

This hostile narrative of Christianity was powerful in rural Japan in the early Meiji period as well, where there were uprisings against the Meiji regime’s modernizing reforms, particularly in 1872-1873. In Fukui, one popular village leader named Fudemori Magotarō claimed that “short hair and Western clothes are a custom of Jesus, the [new]calendar is a calendar of Jesus, and the [new] landholding system is the law of Jesus!”<sup>40</sup> Though this interpretation of Christianity as a “evil” religion propagated by missionaries is relevant to Verbeck’s life, he was generally not a very useful figure for those who continued, even after the Meiji period, to tell the story of a pernicious Christianity from the West.

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<sup>38</sup> Translated and quoted in M. Paske-Smith, p. 112.

<sup>39</sup> E. Warren Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (New York: American Tract Society), 1878: pp. 215-216.

<sup>40</sup> Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004) p. 187-188.

In other narratives, Verbeck is similarly absent as a significant figure. In the accounts of the missionary movement as “cultural imperialism” or a “clash” of cultural values, Verbeck is almost never cited as an example. Verbeck does not seem to be a useful example in the cultural imperialist critique of missionaries because he does not fit with their interpretation of missionaries as meddlesome and insensitive, with a superior attitude towards the “heathen” they are sent to convert to a Western faith. Likewise, in the story of the recent expansion of world and indigenous Christianity, Verbeck is also not seen as a significant figure, perhaps because the indigenous Christian movement in Japan has not grown in comparison to other regions. Lastly, in the wartime (and lingering, in the views of some of its neighbors) perspectives of modern Japan as an aggressive, imperialist, Emperor-worshipping nation, Verbeck is perhaps not as useful or as controversial of a figure. He died in 1898 and thus did not witness Japan’s expanded imperialism and aggression in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Even in accounts where Verbeck might seem a significant figure, he is sometimes conspicuously absent. One example of this is one of the most frequently cited analyses of the early missionaries in Meiji Japan; that is, John F. Howes’ essay “Japanese Christians and American Missionaries,” in Marius Jansen’s 1965 edited work *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*. In this essay, Howes examined the challenge which individual missionaries (or Christian teachers) placed on the psyche of their Japanese Christian converts as part of a Westernizing force that initially caused feelings of inferiority, but eventually acted as “direct agents of their spiritual rebirth.” Howes focused on ten individuals—five Christian missionaries or teachers and five Japanese converts, to show how “this general phenomenon

worked out within the nexus of individual lives.”<sup>41</sup> Though Howes asserted that “through these ten men...we may obtain a picture of the whole movement,” he focused on missionary examples that fit his model in explaining the narrative of Japan’s modernization.<sup>42</sup> He wanted to stress the clash between missionaries and the early Japanese Christians, so he highlighted the role of Reformed missionary James H. Ballagh and the American Board’s Jerome Davis—the two who were primarily ministers and evangelists—and stated that “the impression that Ballagh and Davis gave to the Japanese did not indicate that their life abroad had changed their basic orientation....[that they] took small-town New England attitudes with them and seem to have retained these while in Japan.” In addition, he stated that Ballagh, though fondly remembered for his “piety and love,” was also known for “intolerance and emotional excesses,” whereas Davis, he concluded, “did not understand the temperament of Japanese Christians.”<sup>43</sup>

By not choosing Verbeck (or two other key missionary pioneers and contemporaries of Verbeck—Samuel R. Brown, and Channing M. Williams), Howes proved to be highly selective in emphasizing those who fit his theory and interpretation of Japan’s modernization. Verbeck, in particular, is not an easy case for those who want to fit missionaries into a general critique.

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<sup>41</sup> John F. Howes, “Japanese Christians and American Missionaries” in Marius Jansen, ed. *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 338. The missionaries include James C. Hepburn, James H. Ballagh, Jerome Davis, and the Christian teachers include Leroy L. Janes and William S. Clark. Howes writes that of the five, the two teachers (technically *not* missionaries) “come most to life in Japanese records.” However, Clark only lived in Japan for 8 months, and Janes, though beloved by his students, never learned Japanese well and had strained relations with missionaries in Japan. Howes, p. 342. For Janes, see Fred Notehelfer, *American Samurai: Captain L. L. Janes and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>42</sup> Howes, p. 339-340. After a few cursory biographical facts about each missionary, Howes lumps the missionaries together as men coming from “religiously conservative groups who felt themselves losing status in their home lands” and claims that they all felt “Japan would have to become Christian...to achieve a position of international equality.”

<sup>43</sup> Howes, pp. 342, 344. The short essay focuses more on the Japanese converts’ dynamic response to the missionaries’ message, and the missionaries come across as more static two-dimensional figures in this process.

He is not confrontational like Jerome Davis, not as assertive as William S. Clark, not controversial like Leroy Janes, and not emotionally-charged like James Ballagh.<sup>44</sup> The only one of the initial pioneer missionaries that Howes chose was James C. Hepburn, but he presented him almost as an exception to the others. Hepburn, he wrote, “had the highest opinion of Japanese abilities,” earning their respect “by his recognition of their achievements.” He concluded by claiming that Hepburn was an exception to the spirit of superiority he attributed to these missionaries: “A true Christian gentleman, he could implement the Christian ethic of service without requiring servility in return.”<sup>45</sup> It seems that even Howes could not fit missionaries like Hepburn or Verbeck into a model that confirmed his interpretation of Japan’s modernization as a result of inner turmoil from personal confrontation between missionaries and their converts.

What, then, influences whether one chooses to include a prominent figure like Verbeck or how one tells the story of the significance of Verbeck’s life? Certainly there are individual preferences and interests, but ultimately the larger narrative that the observer or narrator wants to tell has an impact on which figures are included. In other words, there are reasons beyond personal preferences that explain why someone uses or ignores a figure like Verbeck in telling a particular story. The various narratives which his life enacts are not necessarily contradictory, but each perspective or source usually emphasizes a particular narrative which they see Verbeck as embodying or supporting through his life and work. The concept of “enacted narratives” thus provides a framework to help explain how and why figures like Verbeck are seen as

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<sup>44</sup> Howes also refers to Hepburn as the most “cosmopolitan” of the group and states that he is exceptional in his “intellectual breadth” from his travels, and “seems to have been more influenced by what went on around him than were the others.” p. 343-344.

<sup>45</sup> Howes, pp. 343-344.



significant in various overarching narratives. Understanding the stories people tell of the world, its societies and their historical development, may provide a greater understanding of trends in collective memory and in scholarship, and can reveal underlying reasons why certain figures are included or excluded in specific narratives. It also is a reminder that history is selective, and that the process of selection may reveal more about the specific stories that people prefer to tell at certain times, as well as something about the interactions between various societies in the modern world.

## **1.2 CHAPTER TWO: THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT AND MODERN JAPAN**

*The most brilliant and conspicuous man selected for Japan by this church was Guido F. Verbeck....His unusual gifts called him to places of responsibility in planning and counseling with national leaders; a status not ordinarily given to foreign missionaries in Japan....He had the stature of a giant.*

–Charles Iglehart, *A Century of Protestant Missions in Japan*<sup>46</sup>

The January 1905 issue of *Missionary Herald*, a popular missionary periodical, focused on the role of Japan in Christian missions to Asia, with a cartoon labeled “The Key to the Orient.” The cartoon has a locked door emblazoned with “China, Tibet, Siam and Korea,” and a key entitled “Japan.”<sup>47</sup> A work published over a century later, *Mission History of Asian Churches*, includes chapters on China, India, Indochina, Indonesia, Korea, Singapore, and the Philippines, but no content on Japan, the erstwhile “key” to Asia.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, a 2013 publication entitled *Methodists and their Missionary Societies 1760-1900* contains detailed chapters on China and India, Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Islands, but not one word about Japan.<sup>49</sup> In contrast, volume three (*Widening Horizons 1845-1895*) of the six-volume 1957 publication, *History of Methodist Missions*, included a whole section on “Expanding Program of Foreign Missions—Japan and Korea” beginning with over 75 pages on missions to Japan from 1874-1895 (and only fifteen pages on Korea).<sup>50</sup> These examples reveal a stark contrast between the former views of Japan in the missionary literature during the Meiji period (1868-1912) and

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Iglehart, in *A Century of Protestant Missions in Japan* (Rutland Vermont, Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), p. 32.

<sup>47</sup> “Midwinter Foreign Mission Study Campaign,” *Missionary Herald* (January, 1905) p. 22. Referred to in Yamamoto Masaya. “Image-makers of Japan: A Case Study in the Impact of the American Protestant Foreign Missionary Movement, 1859-1905. Ohio State University Ph.D., 1967, p. 314.

<sup>48</sup> Timothy K. Park, ed. *Mission History of Asian Churches* (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 2011).

<sup>49</sup> John Pritchard, *Methodists and their Missionary Societies 1760-1900* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>50</sup> Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions: The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845-1939, Vol. III Widening Horizons 1845-1895* (New York: The Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, 1957).

even into to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and the virtual omission of Japan in the recent historiography on the modern missionary movement.

What are some probable reasons for such a shift concerning Japan's place in the history of missions? It is not that there were no important foreign missionaries or Christian developments in Meiji Japan, as many historical works on that period reveal. Judging from Japan's position in the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary literature and the quantity of missionaries and expenditures for Japan, it cannot be said that Japan was an insignificant mission field.<sup>51</sup> Is it because Japan, despite its economic and political development, has been seen as a "failed" missionary field because of the relative lack of growth of Christianity in the past century and a half? Perhaps, but other similarly "failed" mission fields such as those in the Muslim countries have received much more attention than Japan. In *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia*, Heather J. Sharkey, after listing several recent trends in the study of the history of missions, writes, "A final trend in recent studies of missionary encounters entails the examination of failures—including failures to establish lasting institutions, hold members, prevent schisms, or persuade others."<sup>52</sup> Sharkey also delineates four "shared conclusions" from the study of the history of such missionary encounters:

First, the history of Christian missions represents a form of world history that goes well beyond the range of professing Christians. Second, Christian missions have exerted far-reaching influences (cultural, political, and economic) that have affected even those who consciously rejected missionary appeals. Third, missionary encounters changed

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<sup>51</sup> Yamamoto Masaya has calculated that in 1890, 10% of major denomination mission expenditures (American Board, Northern and Southern Baptist, Northern and Southern Baptist) worldwide in 1890 were spent on Japan. pp. 97-98.

<sup>52</sup> Heather J. Sharkey, ed. *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), pp. 2, 9.

missionaries themselves, and these changes reverberated into the churches and societies that sponsored the missionaries. And fourth, missionaries, their ostensible converts, and local communities were often uncertain about what “conversion” meant (or should mean) in practice, and how it affected (or should affect) earlier loyalties and traditions.<sup>53</sup>

All of these conclusions regarding such “failed” missions could apply to Japan, but it is ignored in much of the recent scholarship, despite Japan’s relevance to this perspective.

Perhaps the reason for the dearth of scholarly focus on Protestant missions to Japan is that the missionaries sent there during the Bakumatsu-Meiji period are not viewed as significant figures in many of the recent approaches or narratives, such as the development of flourishing indigenized Christian movements. This is in contrast to the narratives of the earlier missionary movement, where missions to Japan—and particularly pioneer missionaries such as Verbeck—were significant figures.

One of the prominent “enacted narratives” for the life of Guido Verbeck was the story of the expansion of the Protestant missionary movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although the history of Christianity is filled with missionary movements from the early apostolic church to the Jesuit missions in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the impact of the Protestant-led 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary movement is more immediate and more global.<sup>54</sup> Thus, the worldwide

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<sup>53</sup> Sharkey, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> The impact of the earlier Roman Catholic missions and the continued importance of Catholic missions in Japan is an important related topic. In some ways, the earlier missionary activity of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (sometimes called Japan’s “Christian Century”) with the arrival of the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier, arguably had a great impact on Japan both in terms of the number of converts and the political repercussions. For an introduction to this see C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951). The arrival of French Catholic missionaries in Japan from the late 1850s is also a significant story outside of the scope of this work. See Jean-Pierre Lehmann, “French Catholic Missionaries in Japan in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Period,” *Modern Asian Studies* 13, no. 3 (1979): 377-400. For the continued impact of the Roman Catholic Church, see the recent work edited by Kevin Doak, ed. *Xavier’s Legacy: Catholicism in Modern Japanese Culture* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

growth of Christianity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and today cannot be understood apart from its roots in the modern missionary movement. In *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920*, Jay Riley Case asserts that “while the most expansive movements of world Christianity flourished in the late twentieth century, their original cultural and religious patterns often took root in nineteenth-century interactions with missionaries.”<sup>55</sup> This is true, not only of burgeoning areas of world Christianity today, but of virtually every place on the globe where missionaries ventured, including Japan.

### **1.2.1 Japan and the Modern Protestant Missionary Movement**

The missionary movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century movement was the first one for Protestantism and the first to be led by Anglo-American missionaries. Though missions by Continental Europeans such as the Moravians preceded them in foreign missions, in England the inception of this missionary movement is usually credited to the Baptist William Carey.<sup>56</sup> In

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<sup>55</sup> Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> Carey spent 41 years as a missionary in India and translated parts of the Bible into dozens of languages and dialects. The biographical literature on Carey is voluminous with many of the early titles referring to his first profession as a cobbler in England. For a recent work see, Allen Yeh and Chris Chun, eds. *Expect Great Things, Attempt Great Things: William Carey and Adoniram Judson, Missionary Pioneers* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2013). A good overview of Moravian missions and the impact of the Moravians on England is, J. C. S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760-1800* (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 2001). The formation of the Moravian community in Verbeck’s hometown of Zeist dates from 1745. The oft-overlooked Dutch promotion of missions from the 17<sup>th</sup> century within the Netherlands Reformed Church and the Dutch empire, particularly with the pioneer missions scholar, Rev. Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676) and his students at the University of Utrecht is another prior Protestant missions movement which was critical of the Moravians theological as lacking clarity regarding the creedal standards of the Reformation. See, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Utrecht University: 375 Years Mission Studies, Mission Activities, and Overseas Ministries* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 8-40.

1792, Carey published *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of Heathens* and inaugurated the first Baptist Missionary Society, departing to become a missionary in India the following year. The earliest Protestant missionary to East Asia was Robert Morrison, a missionary for the London Missionary Society (LMS), formed in 1795. Morrison arrived in Canton (Guangzhou) in 1807 via an American vessel, because the British East India Company banned missionaries on their vessels until 1813.<sup>57</sup> British missions continued to grow throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century to Africa, India, China, and other areas such as Polynesia. Though many American denominations viewed their dispersion throughout the continent as “missions” even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the first American foreign missions society was the American Board Committee for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) formed in 1810. The first American missionary to Asia from the ABCFM (though he later converted to become Baptist) was Adoniram Judson, who journeyed to Burma in 1812 and spent 37 years there as a missionary.<sup>58</sup> By 1890, the number of American foreign missionaries was 934; by 1900 it

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<sup>57</sup> For a recent biography on Morrison, see Christopher Hancock, *Robert Morrison and the Birth of Chinese Protestantism* (London: T & T Clark, 2008). On March 14-17, 2007, there was a conference and symposium at the University of Maryland and Library of Congress entitled “A Bridge Between Cultures: Commemorating the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Robert Morrison’s Arrival in China to remember the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Protestant missions in China.” This BEIC’s initial opposition to missionaries did not imply any hostility to Christianity, which the company fully supported. See Daniel O’Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company* (London and New York: Continuum, 2012). The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was also officially opposed to sending missionaries to Japan in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, even though some prominent proponents of missions, such as Voetius and the Utrecht Provincial Synod opposed the VOC’s policy as too high of a price to pay for maintaining the trade with Japan. Joongeneel, *Utrecht University*, pp. 21.

<sup>58</sup> Adoniram Judson has been one of the most well-known missionary pioneers and the subject of many biographies, both in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and even today. The classic biography on Judson, which Verbeck would likely have read, is Francis Wayland, *Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson*, 2 Vols. (Boston, 1853). For a recent work, see Yeh and Chun.

increased to 5000, and by 1920 it was around 12,000.<sup>59</sup> The nearly 5000 American foreign missionaries in 1900 comprised about a quarter of the total number of Protestant missionaries, and by 1925, the number of Americans had tripled and comprised almost half of all Protestant missionaries.<sup>60</sup>

Though there were Catholic (mainly French) and Orthodox (mainly Russian) missions during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan and other places, the Protestant missionary movement grew much more quickly in terms of the number of missionaries and the impact on various societies. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Protestant missionaries had grown, though many nations, including Japan and Korea, were still closed to missionaries, and inaugurating missions to these previously “closed” countries was a much-anticipated event in the West. The treaty-port system, developed to facilitate trade and diplomacy with large powerful empires such as the Qing and the Ottomans, became the means through which missionaries entered many parts of Asia. Although not directly complicit in this example of the imperialism of Western nations, missionaries nonetheless benefitted from and explicitly or implicitly supported the opening of treaty ports throughout Asia.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Dae Young Ryu, “Understanding Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910): Capitalist Middle-Class Values and the Weber Thesis,” *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 46th Année, No. 113 (Jan-Mar., 2001): 93.

<sup>60</sup> Bays and Wacker, p. 92. In addition, the number of American Roman Catholic missionaries, though not very numerous in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rose significantly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly after the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll) was formed in 1911.

<sup>61</sup> One could say that treaty ports in Asia go all the way back to the Portuguese in Macau, but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these ports were not only much more numerous, the treaties they were created by were signed by virtually all the major powers. There were some missionaries, particularly in China, who worked for American legations. There are many works on imperialism and modern missions, particularly regarding Britain. See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and the British Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Nottingham: Apollos, 1990) and Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*. (Manchester: Manchester University

Though most major Western powers signed treaties with Japan and had relations with Japan, the United States features prominently in modern Japanese political history, from Commodore Matthew C. Perry's "opening" of Japan in 1854<sup>62</sup> to the defeat of Japan in World War II. Scholars have also recognized the centrality of Japan in America's views of Asia in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. David Scott writes that "The presence of Japan in the American psyche—political, military, diplomatic, cultural, religious, or otherwise—saw an American encounter of greater intensity than seen in Europe vis-à-vis Japan....Whereas for Britain 'Asia' was foremost India, for America 'Asia' was after 1860 to be increasingly Japan."<sup>63</sup> Given the predominance of Americans from the beginning of the Protestant missions to the country after the treaty ports opened, it is no surprise that American missionaries, particularly the pioneers, were significant figures in the story of early Protestantism in Japan.

Though Protestant missions were virtually eliminated in Japan's wartime years, this legacy of American missionaries continued to be fostered after World War II with General Douglas MacArthur's support for Christianity and his call for one thousand Christian

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Press, 2004); Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>62</sup> Japan was not entirely closed to the West, as the Dutch were allowed limited trading rights throughout the Tokugawa period, but any other foreign residence in Japan was officially proscribed, as was travel overseas for the Japanese people. For specifics on the Dutch trade, see Martha Chaiklin, *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan* (Leiden: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, 2003). For a first-hand account of the impact of Dutch learning (*rangaku*) on Japanese scholars and on medicine in the Tokugawa period, see Sugita Genpaku and Tomio Ogata, *The Dawn of Western Science in Japan: Rangaku Kotohajime*. (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1969).

<sup>63</sup> David Scott, "Diplomats and Poets: 'Power and Perceptions' in American Encounters with Japan, 1860." *Journal of World History* 17/3 (Sept. 2006): 335. Scott does acknowledge the importance of China as well. For a recent work, see Joseph M. Henning, *Outposts of Civilization: Race, Religion, and the Formative Years of American-Japanese Relations* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2000).



missionaries to Japan.<sup>64</sup> Various Japan scholars have also mentioned the significance of American missionaries in the historical interactions between the two countries. Edwin O. Reischauer in *The United States and Japan*, claimed that, “It was probably through Christianity and the Christian missionaries that the United States exerted its chief influence on Japan.”<sup>65</sup> Likewise, Robert Schwantes wrote that “Anyone concerned with the intellectual relationship between Japanese and Americans must in the end grapple with the meaning and the results of the Christian missionary movement.”<sup>66</sup> Other scholars are more qualified about the overall effect of the missionaries. Though Sandra Caruthers Thomson calls Japan our “cultural protégé” in that America’s initiative in various ventures “added to her stature as Japan’s best friend and prime tutor in modernization,” she also asserts that, in contrast to the American missionaries in China, the missionaries in Japan “were more obscure figures in their homeland; they were less numerous and relatively less successful, and their role as a pressure group in the making of foreign policy is not as well known.”<sup>67</sup> If scholars are to do justice to the impact of these

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<sup>64</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Penguin, 1986) Originally published in 1964, p. 424. The preponderance of American missionaries is true for Korea as well. Stephen Neill observes that by 1963 there were more than 4000 Christian workers in Japan, the vast majority of them Americans. p. 426.

<sup>65</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, *The United States and Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 13. As the son of Presbyterian missionaries to Japan, one might say he was biased, but as one of the preeminent scholars of Japan studies at Harvard and an ambassador to Japan, Reischauer’s views and works have been very influential.

<sup>66</sup> In Ernest R. May and James C. Thomson, Jr. *American-East Asian Relations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972) pp. 123-124. Though the number of Christian missionaries throughout the world may be even larger and more varied today than in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the overall social, cultural and political impact of the present missionaries (dominated by Americans) pales in comparison to that of the earlier movement.

<sup>67</sup> Sandra Caruthers Thomson, “Meiji Japan through Missionary Eyes: the American Protestant Experience,” *Journal of Religious History* 7, no. 3 (June 1973): 249-250.

missionaries to Japan, they must look at the various historiographical perspectives of their lives and legacies.<sup>68</sup>

Many missionaries played a prominent role in telling the story of the missionary movement in their various fields. The major sources for the early decades of Protestant missions in Japan are the monthly correspondence and annual reports to the heads of mission boards, articles in various denominational periodicals such as the *The Missionary Herald* (American Board), the *Christian Intelligencer* (Dutch Reformed) or the *Spirit of Missions* (Episcopal), as well as later memoirs or biographical literature written by and about missionaries.<sup>69</sup> But, as in other fields, the missionaries began to write the histories that are still prominent today. It started with Verbeck, whose lengthy sketch of the “History of Protestant Missions in Japan” for the Osaka Missionary Conference in 1883, provided the inaugural historiographical literature on Protestant missions to Japan. In this work, he sets the early periodization for missions to Japan that has become the standard even today: 1859-1872 as the period of “preparation and promise” and 1873-1883 as “a season of progressive realization and performance” with a “marked difference between the earlier and the later.” Verbeck’s work, largely a chronological list of the various missionary societies and their work, has been almost universally utilized by all subsequent historians for the early period of Protestant missions to Japan.<sup>70</sup> Winburn T. Thomas

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<sup>68</sup> The legacy of American influence in missions continued after World War II, with Douglas MacArthur’s call for 1000 missionaries to be sent to Japan. IN 1963, there were some 4000 Christian workers in Japan, the vast majority from the U.S. See Neill, pp. 424, 426.

<sup>69</sup> For Japan, some of these include: Margaret Tate Kinnear Ballagh. *Glimpses of Old Japan 1861-1866*. (Tokyo: Methodist Publishing House, 1908); M. L. Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895); Merle J. Davis, *Davis, Soldier, Missionary* (Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1916); Evarts Boutell Greene. *A New-Englander in Japan: Daniel Crosby Greene*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

<sup>70</sup> G. F. Verbeck, “History of Protestant Missions in Japan” in *Proceedings of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan in Osaka, Japan*. (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn & Co., 1883), pp. 2-3.

asserted that, “It is probably the most authoritative single document dealing with Protestantism in Japan prior to 1883.”<sup>71</sup>

The next prominent historiographical work on Protestant missions to Japan was written by the Karl Heinrich Ritter in 1890 and was entitled *Dreissig Jahre Protestantischer Mission in Japan* [A History of Protestant Missions in Japan]. Almost all subsequent histories, by both Western and Japanese authors, claim to be histories of Christianity in Japan, starting with the two-volume comprehensive work, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, written by the American Board missionary, Otis Cary, in 1909.<sup>72</sup> Though there were some Japanese historical accounts of Christianity in the Meiji period, they were relatively sparse, perhaps because many of the early Christian leaders were too busy building the church, and many pastors were impoverished and died fairly young.<sup>73</sup> One early work in English was Masanobu Ishizaka’s 1895 dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, entitled, *Christianity in Japan, 1859-1883*.<sup>74</sup> The first significant

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Not only was this report copied verbatim in the proceedings of the Tokyo Missionary Conference in 1900, but virtually all subsequent histories—in English and Japanese—follow the periodization and never question the veracity of Verbeck’s sketch and figures. Examples of the continuation of missionary-written historiography on missions and Japanese Protestantism in the postwar period include: Charles Iglehart (1959); Frank Cary (1959); Winburn T. Thomas (1961); Ernest Best, (1966); Richard H. Drummond (1971); Aasulv Lande (1988) and Gordon Laman (2012).

<sup>71</sup> Winburn T. Thomas, *Protestant Beginnings in Japan, the First Three Decades, 1859-1889*. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1959), p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Ritter’s work was translated by George E. Albrecht into English and published as *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan*. (Tokyo: The Methodist Publishing House, 1898). Cary’s work covered Roman Catholic and Orthodox missions in Volume I and Protestant missions (with an emphasis on the American Board missionaries) in Volume II. In 1976, Charles E. Tuttle republished the work in a one-volume edition and it has gone through several reprintings. One could also include the historical works of William Elliot Griffis, such as his biographies of Verbeck (1900), Brown (1902), and Hepburn (1912), as well as *Dux Christus: An Outline Study of Japan* (1904).

<sup>73</sup> Niiijima Jō was 47 when he died in 1890, and Paul Sawayama was 36 years old when he died in 1887.

<sup>74</sup> Masanobu Ishizaka, *Christianity in Japan 1859-1883*, Ph. D. Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1895. Ishizaka’s dissertation is only 35 pages long and has been overlooked by scholars. His time period is similar to Verbeck’s in that he stops in 1883, the year Verbeck wrote his history of Protestant missions.

account of Protestantism in Japanese in the Meiji Period was Yamaji Aizan's *Gendai Nihon kyōkaishiron* [Essays on the Modern Japanese Church] in 1906, which, though it offers an indigenous perspective of the Christianity of this formative period, almost entirely ignores the foreign missionaries. Though Verbeck and other missionaries in their correspondence and historiography mention the key role of the samurai class in their mission work, Yamaji was the first to write that many of the significant early converts of the missionaries were disaffected former *bakufu* samurai who had lost against the Meiji forces and were thus open to new ideas and searching for a new role in post-Tokugawa Japan.<sup>75</sup> Though many Japanese and Western historians of Japanese Protestantism have reiterated Yamaji's interpretation, historian Kevin Doak has pointed out that the emphasis on former *bakufu* samurai overlooks other significant leaders, such as Kozaki Hiromichi and Ebina Danjō from Kumamoto, who were not former retainers of the *bakufu*.<sup>76</sup> In general, this focus on the attraction of Christianity to samurai in

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Though he uses some Japanese sources, he relies on Verbeck's work and other contemporary English sources in much of the dissertation. Ishizaka studied English in Tokyo and Yokohama and graduated in 1889 from Albion College in Michigan. He studied primarily history in Johns Hopkins, though he also studied political economy and jurisprudence.

<sup>75</sup> The perseverance of the connection between Protestantism (and the early Orthodox converts as well) and samurai remains a standard motif. In an article in 2009, a Japanese pastor celebrating the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Protestantism in Japan, claims that: "It is particularly notable that most of the first generation of Japanese ministers were from the samurai class. This demographic of Protestant churches in Japan consisting of a high percentage of educated people has continued until today." He goes on to contrast Japan to their neighbor Korea and states that Korea "embraced Protestantism as the religion of the rural and lower classes. Yamaji's thesis of the prominence of disaffected samurai converts has influenced Western scholars as well, such as Irwin Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970).

<sup>76</sup> Kevin M. Doak, *A History of Nationalism In Japan: Placing the People* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) pp. 168-169. Later, Doak writes, the Japanese historian Igarashi Akio expanded on this interpretation further and identified three groups of people in early Meiji Japan who were supportive of "individual nationalism" and civil society—"journalists, Christians, and "technicians" (bureaucrats, artists, etc....). He writes that what these groups had in common was that most of them were former *bakufu* retainers and thus "they carried into the new society a different 'spirit,' one forged in the experience of defeat and alienation from the victorious government." Kevin Doak asserts that Igarashi's theory is partly derived from Yamaji Aizan's writings, but also that Yamaji's theory owes much to Fukuzawa's low opinion of Christianity.

Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan provides a striking contrast to the concept of “rice Christians” in China and other places, but also led to some unique difficulties, particularly in trying to gain converts to Protestantism in rural Japan.<sup>77</sup>

In many ways, the history of Protestant missions in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan is only one part of the worldwide story of the expanding Protestant missionary movement. Though Japan did have limited trade with the Dutch throughout the Tokugawa period, for decades in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries and merchants both wanted to “open” Japan. In 1837, the *Morrison* arrived at Japan’s coast with missionaries China missionaries Samuel Wells Williams and Karl Gutzlaff aboard, and tried unsuccessfully to enter the country. Similarly, the diplomatic mission under Commodore Biddle in 1846 was rebuffed. The immediate context for the “opening” of Japan, from the Japanese perspective, was the encroachment of European powers, particularly the Russians and the British, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The British treatment of China in the aftermath of the Opium War (1839-1842) was particularly glaring to the Japanese, who were proud of the fact that their island nation had never been conquered by outsiders. However, it was not the Europeans, but the Americans under Commodore Matthew C. Perry and later the consul Townsend Harris, who first coerced Japan into signing treaties in the 1850s, but the rest quickly followed. Each treaty with the shogunate through the 1860s granted more rights and privileges to foreigners, and, with the ubiquitous “most-favored-nation” clause, these belonged to all the Western treaty powers. In contrast to China, however, the interior of Japan remained closed to

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<sup>77</sup> Roughly 30% of the converts in early Meiji Japan were from samurai background. Sandra Caruthers Thomson, pp. 253-254. It is also ironic that Protestant missionaries, in seeking to convert the higher classes (samurai were some 5-6% of the population), resembled some of the strategies of Roman Catholics in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, who endeavored to convert daimyo in Japan and Confucian scholars in China. For a look at Christianity in rural Japan see Morioka Kiyomi, “Christianity in the Japanese Rural Community: Acceptance and Rejection.” In *Religion in Changing Japanese Society*, ed. Kiyomi Morioka (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1970).

foreigners (unless they obtained special “passports”). These “unequal treaties” were to be reviewed periodically, giving Japan the hope that they could be abolished at such a time. The unequal treaties, and particularly the clauses of extraterritoriality and lack control over tariffs, were considered a symbol of national weakness, and a point of contention between Japan and the West. Thus, many scholars attribute the period of decline of the growth of Christianity from around 1890 to the Japanese disillusionment concerning the intransigence of the “Christian” nations of the West to renegotiate these treaties.<sup>78</sup>

When Japan’s ports—initially Nagasaki, Kanagawa (later, Yokohama), and Hakodate—were opened to foreign residence in 1859, the missionaries arrived in this long-awaited mission field. In fact, missionaries from the ever-expanding China field, went to Japan in 1858 and wrote to their respective mission boards—Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Dutch Reformed—requesting missionaries for Japan. After the necessary funds were raised, these three mission boards sent the first Protestant missionaries to Japan. Most of the missionaries who arrived in 1859—Dutch Reformed Samuel R. Brown, the Presbyterian James C. Hepburn, and the two single missionaries of the Episcopal Church, John Liggins and Channing M. Williams—had prior missionary experience in China. Only the medical doctor Duane Simmons and Guido F. Verbeck, both sent by the Dutch Reformed Church, had no prior missionary experience. A decade later, this group would have had the choice of taking the Suez Canal or, better yet, the Western route via the Transcontinental Railroad. But these missionary pioneers to Japan sailed around Africa, taking nearly six months before reaching their destinations. They did not know which ports they would individually settle in, but, after stopping in China to confer with the

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<sup>78</sup> For a good overview of these early decades, see Winburn T. Thomas. *Protestant Beginnings in Japan, the First Three Decades, 1859-1889* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959).

missionaries there, the Episcopal missionaries decided to go to Nagasaki, the Presbyterians to Kanagawa/Yokohama, and the Dutch Reformed divided their forces, sending Verbeck to Nagasaki and the other two missionaries to Kanagawa/Yokohama.

The early years of these missionaries, as described in their letters, were far from dull. Verbeck's stories from this period are arguably some of the most frequently quoted in missionary periodicals and later histories, particularly his accounts of official hostility to Christianity, but also hopeful examples of inquirers. Accounts in the missionary literature—often with excerpts from their letters—spoke enthusiastically of the inauguration of missions in this previously closed country. The missionaries taught classes, did medical work, and filled in as chaplains in the treaty ports, even as they learned the language, distributed literature in Chinese, and interacted with the Japanese to try to break down the centuries of hostility to the Christian faith. Missions did not advance much in the 1860s, partly because civil war in both the home front and the mission field led to isolation and a lack of funds. The missionaries focused their efforts on reaching the more accessible and educated samurai class, some five to six percent of the population, whom they depicted as a class that was more open to Christianity and able to read the Chinese Bible (completed by 1853) and religious tracts.<sup>79</sup> The first baptism took place in 1864, and though this was only a start, they compared this to China, where the first convert was baptized after a decade of mission work. The next baptism, which was administered by Verbeck in 1866, was the remarkable conversion story of Murata Wakasa-no-kami, the highest retainer (*karō*) of the Saga daimyo. Murata's inquiries into Christianity began when he found a copy of

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<sup>79</sup> The revised Delegates Version of the New Testament was completed in July 1850, and the Old Testament in 1853. John T. P. Lai. *Negotiating Religious Gaps: The Enterprise of Translating Christian Tracts by Protestant Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century China* (Sankt Augustin: Germany: Collectanea Serica, 2012), p. 20.

the Christian scriptures floating in the waters of Nagasaki harbor in the late 1850s, and before his baptism he corresponded with Verbeck mainly through his brother and retainers.<sup>80</sup> Also, though the translation of the Bible was set back after a destructive fire in Yokohama, in 1867 the Presbyterian missionary James Hepburn printed the first Japanese religious tract as well as a useful Japanese-English dictionary.

After the Meiji regime—whose leaders were mostly from southern Japan, where Verbeck was the only Protestant missionary during the entire 1860s—overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868, they renewed the proscriptions against Christianity. Thomas Burkman has listed four factors behind the Meiji government’s renewal of these proscriptions. The first was the fears of the conservative, xenophobic elements who thought of Christianity as a tool of the western powers (and led to the assassination of scholars like Yokoi Shonan who were suspected of being Christians). Second, the Christianity of the missionaries was viewed as opposed to the “Shinto-oriented” policies of the Meiji leaders. Third, was the observation that many of the Japanese who embraced the faith, tended to be those who “stood over against the new political order and were least secure in it.” Lastly, the impact of the renewed “anti-Christian apologetic writing”

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<sup>80</sup> Murata’s brother Ayabe was also baptized at the time. These baptisms were one of the most highlighted event in Verbeck’s early missionary career, and the story was included (with a detailed drawing of Murata with a sword) in some of the early missionary literature on Japan and even found in more modern sources. For a few examples, see: Margaret E Sangster., ed. *A Manual of the Missions of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America* (New York: Woman’s Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, 1877); H. Loomis, “Conversion of a Nobleman.” *The Sailor’s Magazine and Seaman’s Friend* 56 (1884): 144-148. Marianna and Norman Prichard. *Ten Against the Storm* (New York: Friendship Press, 1950); Donald J. Bruggink and Kim N. Baker, *By Grace Alone: Stories of the Reformed Church in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).



during that time (such as the “Tales of Nagasaki”, an anti-Christian pamphlet which mentioned Verbeck briefly).<sup>81</sup>

Though Verbeck may not have been the only missionary to support the Meiji regime from the outset, he was certainly one of the most well-known foreigners to the Meiji leadership, some of whom had been his students in Nagasaki. As a result, he was called to assist the new government in Tokyo in early 1869. The first years of the Meiji regime were difficult years, with renewed Christian persecution, government instability, and disunity. Though more missionaries arrived, such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, they were relatively few. Then, in 1872, through Verbeck’s colleague in Yokohama, James H. Ballagh, nine men were converted and asked to be baptized. Later that year, despite the proscriptions on Christianity, they formed the first Japanese “union” church and became the core of what became known as the “Yokohama Band.” The following year, in early 1873, the government, partly from pressure by the foreign nations visited by the official Iwakura Embassy, removed the placards proscribing Christianity.<sup>82</sup> In 1873, the largest number of missionaries arrived of any year in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and a period of more fruitful labor began. In addition, Japanese initiative, as exemplified in Niiijima Jō and many other leaders, reinforced foreign missionary efforts, and the Japanese church slowly grew. The growth of several Protestant bands

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<sup>81</sup> For Yokoi Shōnan see R. T. Chang, “Yokoi Shōnan’s Views of Christianity,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 21, no. 3-4 (1966): 266-272. Thomas Burkman, “The Urakami Incidents and the Struggle for Religious Toleration in Early Meiji Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 1/2-3 (June-September, 1974), pp. 179-180. For a work connecting anti-Christian rhetoric from the early Tokugawa and the Meiji Period, see Kiri Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>82</sup> There is a vast literature on the Iwakura Mission. See the beautifully compiled and translated, *The Iwakura embassy, 1871-73 : a true account of the ambassador extraordinary & plenipotentiary’s journey of observation through the United States of America and Europe 5 Vols.* Compiled by Kume Kunitake (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Also see: Ōkubo Toshiaki. *Iwakura shisetsu no kenkyū*. (Tokyo: Shukyō shokyōku, 1976), or more recently, Ian Nish, ed. *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe: A New Assessment*. (Richmond, United Kingdom: Japan Library, 1998).

formed originally around Western missionaries or teachers—particularly the Yokohama, Kumamoto, and Sapporo bands—was one of the prominent patterns in the 1870s and has continued to be the most common organizing motif in Japanese Protestant historiography.<sup>83</sup>

Then, in the early 1880s, when Verbeck's historical sketch was written, Japanese Protestantism experienced its fastest period of growth. By 1882, the number of missionaries in Japan had more than doubled.<sup>84</sup> In 1879, there were only 1617 Protestants in Japan, but by 1889, there were about 29,000.<sup>85</sup> Also, in 1883 the first large-scale missions conference occurred in Osaka, as well as a Japanese pastors' conference in Tokyo. Another example was the "evangelistic tours" throughout Japan in the 1880s. On one such tour in 1884, Verbeck accompanied a few church leaders to Kochi prefecture in Shikoku at the invitation of the Meiji political leader, Itagaki Taisuke. In a letter, Verbeck hailed this preaching tour as, "by far the most lively and interesting trip I have made since I came to Japan."<sup>86</sup> As a result, the church in Kochi began in 1885 with 22 members and grew to 625 members by 1890.<sup>87</sup> Many have

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<sup>83</sup> Descriptions of the various "bands" are found in virtually every historical work on Protestantism in the early Meiji Period. For a work specifically on the Yokohama Band see, Takaya Michio and Ota Aito. *Yokohama Bando shiwa*. (Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan, 1981). For a brief look at the Sapporo Band see, George M. Oshiro, "Nitobe Inazo and the Sapporo Band: Reflections on the Dawn of Protestant Christianity In Early Meiji Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 1 (2007): 99-126. For the Kumamoto Band, see Notehelfer, *American Samurai*.

<sup>84</sup> Yamamori Tetsunao, *Church Growth in Japan: A Study in the Development of Eight Denominations, 1859-1939* (South Pasadena, California: William Paley Library, 1974), p. 50.

<sup>85</sup> Hamish Ion, *Cross and the Rising Sun Vol. 1.: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1990). p. 32.

<sup>86</sup> Yamamori, p. 47. Verbeck quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 312. Though religious toleration was not guaranteed by law until the constitution was promulgated in 1889, in the 1880s evangelistic lectures and preaching tours were allowed and Verbeck participated in many of these from Kyushu to Aomori up to his death in 1898.

<sup>87</sup> Yamamori, p. 47. One of the elders of this church in Kochi was Kataoka Kenkichi, a politician who was elected to the Lower House of the Japanese Diet in 1890 and served as its Speaker for several

associated this growth in Christianity with the “westernization” craze of the Meiji regime or with the People’s Rights (*jiyū minken*) Movement, but other factors also contributed to it, such as the sending of Japanese evangelists into rural Japan, the availability of the scriptures in Japanese, and generally good relations between the missionaries and the Japanese Christians.

This high growth period ended shortly before 1890, when the new Meiji constitution was promulgated. For a variety of reasons, the growth rate declined by the early 1890s. Discontent at the lack of treaty reform with the Christian nations of the West played a role in the growing hostility. Then, in 1891, a relatively minor incident in which Uchimura Kanzō, a well-known Christian teacher, refused to bow publically before the newly-issued Imperial Rescript of Education, unleashed a torrent of criticism directed at Christians. Though sobered in their optimistic predictions by the 1890s, the missionaries to Japan continue to remain hopeful for Japan’s conversion into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>88</sup> Protestantism never experienced such rapid growth again, and by the early 1900s, it increasingly became more of an urban middle class religion, and had an impact on many educational and social institutions throughout Japan. Despite facing continued hostility from some, at the end of the Meiji era, in 1912, in a meeting dubbed the “Three Religions Conference,” the government recognized Christianity as one of the three key

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sessions. Verbeck returned to Shikoku in 1892 on an extensive five-week preaching tour, which he hailed as “the most successful evangelistic campaign in my experience.” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 30 January, 1893. Letters from the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church of America (JMRCA), Gardner Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

<sup>88</sup> Most works on this history of Japanese Christianity acknowledge the 1890s as a decade of decline, though Gordon Laman asserts that the “reaction” did not immediately affect outlying areas of Southern Japan which also had not experienced the surge in growth in the 1880s as much. Gordon D. Laman, *Pioneers to Partners: The Reformed Church in America and Christian Mission with the Japanese* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), p. 345. Lande cites figures from a report at the Tokyo Missionary Conference in 1900 that gives the number of baptized members in 1891 at 31,360 and in 1900 at 37,360. This is an increase of 5,708, compared to an increase of 26,268 from 1882-1891. p. 54. Lande, *Meiji Protestantism*.

religions in Japan (along with Buddhism and Shinto). Thus, the hope of Japan's Christian leadership in Asia remained throughout the Meiji period, and in 1913 Sherwood Eddy, a leading Christian writer in America, argued for a "Renaissance of Asia" in which Japan as the leader of an increasingly Christianizing Asia.<sup>89</sup>

### **1.2.2 Japan in the Historiography and Literature of the Modern Missionary Movement**

How have writers and scholars approached such a widespread missionary movement that encompassed Japan and many other societies around the world? The earliest accounts of the modern missionary movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be found in various sources—reports in missionary periodicals, publications by foreign mission boards (often taken from missionary correspondence or annual reports), personal memoirs and missionary biographical literature—all of which are generally devoid of scholarly analyses. Some of the papers presented at periodic missionary conferences contain some analysis, but these generally focus on quantifiable results—such as converts, church congregations, translation materials, medical work—which tend to portray the image of a successful, expanding movement. In reading this missionary literature, it is clear that much of it was written at least partially to raise money for missions in a time when funds were often scarce. Especially in the Anglo-American world, this literature was substantial. For example, the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (SPK), based in England, in the year 1889-1890, published over 600,000 books or

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<sup>89</sup> Sherwood Eddy, *The New Era in Asia* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1913) p. 34. Eddy, however, did not overlook in his work some of the challenges to Christianity in Japan at the time.

portions of books in more than 75 languages.<sup>90</sup> The ideal of a growing successful movement and “the evangelization of the world in our generation,” was widespread enough to be, in rhetoric at least, a motto for this traditional historiography of modern missions up through World War I.<sup>91</sup>

Though a rich trove of literature that is often ignored in the recent scholarship on missions, the accuracy and utility of such missionary literature should be critically addressed when incorporating these sources. For example, in the first *Encyclopedia of Missions*, compiled by Edwin Munsell Bliss, Verbeck was referred to multiple times, in addition to having his own entry, and, even in the 1904 second edition, errors are repeated, including claims that he “accompanied the first deputation of Japanese to the outside world [Iwakura Embassy] on their tour among the nations of Europe,” that “one-half of its members were his students,” and that his decoration from the emperor “entitled him to appear at all public and court receptions.”<sup>92</sup>

Exaggerations were also common in the literature. In an account of Verbeck written for Sunday

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<sup>90</sup> Figures cited in Terrence L. Craig, footnote, p. 3. This is one of the few critical studies that focuses on the abundant missionary literature. Some other recent works that address this literature includes, and Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke, Eds. *Mission and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), and Nancy A. Hardesty, “The Scientific Study of Missions: Textbooks of the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions” in Bays and Wacker, pp. 106-122. In Europe, there was substantial literature published during this time, such as the German *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*. See Lande’s references to this literature in *Meiji Protestantism*.

<sup>91</sup> Though some might think the traditional historiographical approach to missions and missionaries ended in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was actually continued, though perhaps less triumphally, by the more conservative postwar evangelical missions. The goal of reaching the nations was often presented as fulfilling Christ’s words in Mark 13:10 that before he would return, “The Gospel Must be preached to all nations” (NIV). Though often lacking the optimism of the previous mainline missionary movement, it nonetheless, has continued some of the conventions of this earlier literature and incorporated relatively little of the critical scholarly literature on missions from the 1930s onward.

<sup>92</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Missions: Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Eds., Henry Otis Dwight, H. Allen Tupper, Edwin Munsell Bliss (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1904). p. 492. The first edition, edited only by Bliss, was published in 1891, before Verbeck’s death, and his entry remains largely the same in both editions.

School material, the author writes hyperbolically that the government of Japan did nothing without consulting Verbeck.<sup>93</sup>

The mission field of Japan—though eclipsed in number of missionaries by China and India—featured prominently in the voluminous missionary literature in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Particularly in the 1880s, the number of Christians had grown such that one prospective missionary referred to Japan as the “El Dorado” of foreign mission fields.<sup>94</sup> Even quantitative reports featured Japan. In 1888 the *Reformed Quarterly Review* made more specific quantifiable predictions of the mission field: “In...[Japan]...in the missions of the Presbyterian Union the increase was 80% in two years. If the same percentage of increase is kept up for 30 years, the 30 million people of Japan will be entirely converted.”<sup>95</sup> One of the American Board missionaries, Dwight Learned, wrote of Japan that, “In no country may a young man expect to see so much progress made within the limits of one lifetime.”<sup>96</sup>

In addition, Japan was seen as a field that was particularly successful in gaining highly-educated or high-ranking converts, in contrast to other fields such as India, China, and Korea.<sup>97</sup> This idea was fostered by the early missionaries such as Verbeck and Brown, and particularly by the oft-repeated story of Verbeck’s baptism of a high-ranking samurai. This tactic of focusing on

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<sup>93</sup> Brain, Bell M. *All About Japan: Stories of Sunrise Land Told for Little Folks* (New York and London: Revell, 1905), p. 53.

<sup>94</sup> Sandra C. Taylor. *Advocate of Understanding: Sidney L. Gulick and the Search for Peace with Japan*. (Kent State, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1984), p. 15.

<sup>95</sup> D. B. Lady. “Success of Foreign Missions.” *Reformed Quarterly Review* 35 (1888), p. 70.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted in Sandra Caruthers Thomson, p. 252. Dwight Learned, “A Plea for New Missionaries,” *Missionary Herald* 82 (1886): 179-180.

<sup>97</sup> This is in contrast to all of the previous literature on Japan before the 1880s. Even as far back as the 17<sup>th</sup> century Gilbertus Voetius, in a list of difficult mission fields, had listed only “Muslim countries, China, Japan.” Jongeneel, *Utrecht University*, p. 13. Helen Ballhatchet, “Confucianism and Christianity in Meiji Japan: The Case of Kozaki Hiromichi.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1988): 349.

the conversion of the ruling classes of Japan has precedents in the history of missionary movements from the Apostle Paul's reference to "Caesar's household" (Philippians 4:22), to the Venerable Bede's account of papal missionaries converting pagan rulers in medieval England, to Jesuit missions strategies throughout Asia in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Undoubtedly the focus on the conversion of the former samurai leaders led to great hopes for Japan's conversion, and Verbeck apparently contributed to this expectation as well in the 1880s; one missionary reported that, "Dr. Verbeck thinks that Japan will be a Christian nation in 10 years."<sup>98</sup>

Even in medical missions, though Japan had its own indigenous medical tradition and developed a modern Western medical system faster than any other non-Western country, Japan was initially a significant mission field.<sup>99</sup> The first medical missionaries to answer this call were Dr. James C. Hepburn for the Presbyterians and Duane B. Simmons for the Dutch Reformed (both of whom arrived in Kanagawa in the fall of 1859), as well as Dr. Ernst H. Schmid of the American Episcopal Church, who arrived in Nagasaki in the spring of 1860.<sup>100</sup> According to one scholar, in 1858 there were only seven medical missionaries in India and China combined and

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<sup>98</sup> Davis, p. 199. Verbeck was not alone in this optimistic outlook and Hepburn was also cited in this text. Verbeck's figure is repeated in Otis Cary's *History of Christianity in Japan* (though Verbeck's name is not included). The definition of a "Christian" nation is left vague, however, and one wonders how Protestant missionaries like Verbeck would define such a designation.

<sup>99</sup> I presented a paper on medical missions in Japan at the 2013 Conference of the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and World Christianity entitled, "A Medical Field Ripe for the Harvest: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Protestant Medical Missionaries in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan." This was the only paper on Japan, and in another presentation on East Asia, one of the speaker erroneously said that Japan didn't need any medical missionaries because it already had modern medicine.

<sup>100</sup> Lane Earns, "The American Medical Presence in Nagasaki, 1858-1922," *Crossroads* (Autumn, 1997). Journal article accessed online on May 3, 2014 at: [http://www.uwosh.edu/home\\_pages/faculty\\_staff/earns/amermed.html](http://www.uwosh.edu/home_pages/faculty_staff/earns/amermed.html)

only 28 in 1882; thus, Japan's early medical missions were comparable to other fields.<sup>101</sup> Under the treaty restrictions in the early decades, medical missionaries could often go where other missionaries could not. When the American Board missionaries sought to open a mission station in Okayama in the 1870s, only Dr. John C. Berry's application for residence was accepted, whereas the applications of those who were not medical doctors were denied.<sup>102</sup> Dr. Berry also started several churches in towns while doing medical work and inspected the sanitary conditions in prisons for the government.<sup>103</sup> Other missionary doctors, such as Duane Simmons, Willis Whitney, and the Episcopal missionary doctor Rudolph Teusler were all formative in founding hospitals that have remained to this day. Mission schools such as Doshisha and Sakurai Women's School established some of the first nursing schools in the Meiji period as well.<sup>104</sup>

Japan's prominence as a mission field is also apparent in the numerous publications and material about Japan throughout the missionary movement. An example from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century would be the publications of the Women's Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions between 1901-1939 which devoted four volumes respectively to India, Africa and Japan, whereas most other fields had no more than one or two.<sup>105</sup> In some of the earliest

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<sup>101</sup> David Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2008) p. 12.

<sup>102</sup> "Japan Mission—Okayama Opening" *Missionary Herald*, LXXV April 1879 p. 161) quoted in Yamamoto Masaya, p. 185.

<sup>103</sup> J. H. DeForest, *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909) p. 131.

<sup>104</sup> For a general history of nursing in modern Japan, see, Aya Takahashi. *The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession: Adopting and adapting western influences*. (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

<sup>105</sup> Hardesty, pp. 106-122. These works were: *Dux Christus: An Outline Study of Japan* by William Elliot Griffis in 1904; *The Woman and the Leaven in Japan* by Charlotte B. DeForest and *Creative Forces in Japan* by Galen M. Fisher, both in 1923; and *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian*



scholarly literature, such as James Dennis' two-volume *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*, and the nine volumes of reports of various commissions at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, the mission field of Japan figured prominently.<sup>106</sup>

Many scholars consider the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh to be the apogee of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary movement, and the relative significance of Japan in this event indicated the importance of Japan in the narratives of the missionary movement and its goals for the “evangelization of the world in this generation.”<sup>107</sup> Although various parts of the world received attention, the bulk of the focus of the conference was on China, India, and Japan. At the conference, there were four Japanese delegates who participated and spoke at the conference, all of whom were early converts of their respective missions and one-time presidents of Christian

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*Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* by Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushira in 1934. Hardesty also does not specifically include all the references to Japan in many of the more general works, as well as the final volume in 1938, *Woman and the Way: Christ and the World's Womanhood*, which highlighted prominent women such as the Japanese Christian educator, Michi Kawai. Of all the approaches of the recent literature on missions, the role and impact of women missionaries, particularly in education, is one where Japan has arguably been much more prominent from the beginning and has remained important in the historical literature. In some ways, Japanese Christian women contributed to the literature on women's missions from a much earlier date. For example, of all the works published by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions between 1901-1938, many of which focus on women missionaries or conditions of women in foreign countries, the only one written by non-Western writers from a specific country is on Japan, Hardesty, pp. 119-120.

<sup>106</sup> James S. Dennis, *Christian Mission and Social Progress, A Sociological Study, 2 Vols.* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, 1899). The nine volumes from the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh are entitled: 1. Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World; 2. The Church in the Mission Field; 3. Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life; 4. The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions; 5. The Preparation of Missionaries 6. The Home Base of Missions; 7. Missions and Governments; 8. Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity 9. The History and Records of the Conference.

<sup>107</sup> This phrase, usually associated with the Student Volunteer Movement that began in the U.S. in the 1880s, fits the vision of the conference, and its organizer John R. Mott who was a part of the SVM. Mott confidently asserted at the conference that the “intransigent opposition to the Gospel in many countries,” such as China and Japan, finally seemed to have broken down. Neill, p. 333.

schools or seminaries in Japan. Though the overall number of Japanese Protestants was small at the time (80,000 out of 52 million, as reported at the conference), Christianity was seen as having a disproportionately large social impact, “partly because its leaders came almost without exception from strata that had fulfilled leadership roles in feudal Japan [i.e., samurai] and had not easily abandoned those roles in the changed political circumstances created by the Meiji restoration...[and] were also able to achieve a synthesis between the values of American liberal Protestantism in the Social Gospel era and the aspirations of Meiji Japan for enhanced national influence through social reform and modernization.”<sup>108</sup>

The delegates from Japan at the conference represented the fruit of Protestant missions in Japan. The most prominent was Harada Tasuku, the only Asian representative in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the only Asian delegate to speak three times. Honda Yōichi was not invited by the mission board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but was invited personally by the American Christian leader John R. Mott, who knew him from his work with the YMCA and the World’s Student Christian Federation. Honda was the only Asian speaker who gave his address in his native language, though he was quite capable of speaking in English. Ibuka Kajinosuke, a leader in the *Nihon Kirisuto Itchi Kyōkai* (Union Church of Christ) from its inception in the 1870s, delivered two speeches and was the only non-Western member of the conference business committee, with a seat at the clerks’ table, just below the chairman. The fourth delegate was Chiba Yūgorō, a Baptist convert who later became the chairman of the National Christian Council of Japan and the most prominent Japanese Baptist

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<sup>108</sup> Brian Stanley, Ed. *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009) p. 111.

leader.<sup>109</sup> These delegates not only represented significant missionary achievements in Japan, but they were the strongest voices calling for autonomy for Asian churches, for strengthened educational work, and for the incorporation of non-Christian and Asian national ideals into Christianity. Ironically, the focus of the Japanese delegates was not on missions to Japan, but in presenting Christianity as a vital part of Japanese nationalism and modernization, and challenging some (though not all) of the presuppositions of Western Christians participating in this conference. Thus, the Japanese delegates complicated the missionary narrative of the conference leaders with the stories of Japanese modernization and nationalism. For many of the Western organizers and delegates, this was an indication that Christianity would grow around the globe along with these popular aspects of modernity.

Why did Japan remain, even after the growth rate declined significantly after the 1880s, an attractive mission field and a focus in the missionary literature through the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? The reasons are undoubtedly complex, but it should be noted that Japan in general was an attractive model to Western observers at the time. Modern Japan's westernizing reforms and their emulation of the "Christian" nations of the West, was not only seen as reinforcing Christianity which, though it had not grown as much as predicted, still seemed to have a bright future in Japan. Even Japan's imperialism did not elicit much criticism from missionaries or Christians in the West because they were only doing what they saw most of the "Christian" nations doing. Many missionaries presented Japan's early wars in Asia as opportunities for the spread and influence of Christianity among the troops, throughout the empire, and in

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<sup>109</sup> Stanley, *World Missionary Conference*, pp. 115-118.

organizations such as the Red Cross.<sup>110</sup> According to Otis Cary, during the Sino-Japanese War, Rev. Henry Loomis, the head of the American Bible Society in Japan, received permission from the Vice-Minister of War to visit the troops and give them copies of the gospels, and five prominent Japanese ministers became chaplains.<sup>111</sup> In addition, in the Russo-Japanese War, organizations such as the YMCA, Salvation Army, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union contributed to the war effort with enthusiasm, and most missionaries supported the war, particularly emphasizing the participation of Japanese Christian officers, such as Admiral Sotokichi Uryū.<sup>112</sup>

In addition, the emphasis in the West upon martial valor and military virtues in the 19<sup>th</sup> century up through World War I, provided a point of cultural similarity between Japan and the West (in contrast to China and India, perhaps). The conversion of former samurai, and the use of *bushido* that virtually all the prominent Japanese Protestant leaders utilized, merged with the

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<sup>110</sup> The Japan Red Cross (JRC), reorganized in 1886, showed the impact of the ideals of nursing and medical care in Japan. The JRC membership grew to 36,700 in 1893, and 160,000 members in 1895, with each member given a distinctive medal from the imperial government. By 1903 the JRC was the largest in the world, with 900,000 Red Cross members, and a total income of almost 3 million yen. By October 1913 membership stood at 1,620,530, 67,768 of which were women and 17,187 foreigners. Olive Checkland, *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan, 1877-1977* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p. 6-9. Japanese Christians were active and influential in the JRC, particularly during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. In World War I, the JRC was sometimes seen as a model for the countries of Europe.

<sup>111</sup> Cary writes that "In some places regiments were drawn up in a line that they might be addressed by a missionary before the books were given out." In addition, he says that "the Scriptures and other literature were distributed to soldiers in the hospitals....In nearly every case the books were thankfully received...Prince Komatsu, who was next in command to the Emperor, expressed in person his gratitude to Mr. Loomis." Cary, pp. 250-251.

<sup>112</sup> Cary also prominently mentioned Prime Minister Katsura Taro's meeting with the Presbyterian missionary, William Imbrie in 1904, in which he reiterated Japan's religious toleration and support of Christianity, arguing that the fact that Russia was a supposed "Christian" country should not affect American support for Japan. Also, Cary mentions that two Japanese men and an American missionary, representing the YMCA, were sent to the war and that, two of Admiral Togo's personal staff were Christians, in addition to Admiral Uryū. Cary, pp. 316-320, 330.

Western militarism and nationalism, as well as to the Western ideal of “muscular Christianity.”<sup>113</sup> Many of the early missionaries and Christian teachers were “if not men with actual military experience, people of strong personality and puritanical ideals.”<sup>114</sup> Americans such as Leroy L. Janes and William S. Clark, who were instrumental in the formation of the Kumamoto Band and Sapporo Band respectively, as well as Jerome Davis, a key early American Board missionary, and William Elliot Griffis, all served in the Civil War. Many of the missionaries and teachers appealed to the samurai sense of martial valor, supported or implemented military drill, and enthusiastically supported Japan’s wars. Japan’s success in war in the Meiji period seemed to augment their potential Christian leadership in the eyes of Westerners.

As demonstrated previously, Japan was one of the most prominent mission fields in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, not only in the relatively large number of missionaries, but also in the role that Japan—a progressive Westernizing and modernizing nation—held in the eyes of the West. Though initially hostile to Christianity in the 1860s, by the end of the 1870s Japan had become a much more tolerable field to work in. Edward Warren Clark, an American teacher in the 1870s, wrote, “the missionary field in Japan is in many respects pleasanter [than] that in other countries of the far East, such as China and India. The Japanese are more sympathetic and

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<sup>113</sup> See Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001). J.A. Hobson, wrote, “From the muscular Christianity of the last generation to the imperial Christianity of the present day, is but a single step.” Quoted in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, “The Missionary Enterprise and Imperialism.” For an analysis of how the idea of *bushido* was critical to many of the early Japanese Christian leaders, see James M. Hommes, “Baptized Bushido: Christian Converts and the Use of Bushido in Meiji Japan.” *Journal of the Southwest Conference on Asian Studies* 7 (September 2011): 117-144.

<sup>114</sup> Helen Ballhatchet, “The Modern Missionary Movement in Japan: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox,” in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*. ed. Mark Mullins. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003), p. 349

cordial than the majority of Asiatic people, and the climate of the country is one of the finest in the world.”<sup>115</sup> Even the challenge of long-standing Japanese religious traditions did not affect this early optimism. Though the early missionaries generally viewed Japanese religions as hostile rivals to Christianity, most of them, as well as many of the contemporary Japanese converts and students they interacted with, assumed that the traditional religions of Japan—namely, Buddhism and Shinto—were in decline. Even outside of the missionary literature, the optimism towards Christianity’s potential growth in Japan is evident. For example, the British linguist, scholar and diplomat who lived for decades in Japan, W. G. Aston, wrote in 1905 in *Shinto: Way of the Gods*, that a “still more formidable rival [than Buddhism] has appeared, to whose progress, daily increasing in momentum, what limit shall be prescribed?” The implication that Christianity was a growing rival to Shinto, which Aston saw as a decaying religion, reveals that this optimistic view of foreigners concerning the growth of Christianity in Japan was not limited to missionaries.<sup>116</sup>

Even after 1890, when the decline in growth had sobered the early optimism, the idea of Japan’s key role in the missionary movement remained. R. B. Peery, a Lutheran missionary in southern Japan wrote in *The Gist of Japan* (1897) that “Many circumstances conspire to make Japan stand alone among mission fields. She has been pronounced at once the most promising and the most difficult of all fields for evangelistic work: the most promising because of the life,

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<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Hamish Ion, “American Missionaries and the Writing of Meiji Christian History” *Meiji Gakuin Rekishi Jijō* 33 (Jan, 2001), p. 88. From Edward Warren Clark, *Life and Adventures in Japan*, (New York: American Tract Society, 1878), pp. 221-222.

<sup>116</sup> W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (Tokyo, Japan: Logos, 1968) First published in 1905. p. 377.

force, and ability of her people; the most difficult because of the host of peculiar hindrances under which the evangelist must labor.”<sup>117</sup>

### 1.2.3 Missionaries as Cultural Imperialists

The traditional historiography of the modern missionary movement began to decline by the 1930s, when it was challenged from various viewpoints. Missionaries have always had their critics among other foreigners such as merchants and consular officials. The journalist John R. Black in Japan commented in the early Meiji period that “It has always been the cry of some, and will, in all probability, continue to be so, that missionaries are the bane of foreign intercourse....”<sup>118</sup> In modern novels, from the mid-Herman Melville’s 19<sup>th</sup> century novel *Typee*,

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<sup>117</sup> R. B. Peery, *The Gist of Japan* (New York: Revell, 1897), p. 271-272. Peery goes on to state that some of these peculiar hindrances include extreme nationalistic feeling, the past record of Christianity, the character of their education, the old religions of Japan, the social ostracism converts face, the division in the church, the foreign communities in the ports, and the difficult language. This prominent view of Japan in Asia continued even into some of the postwar writing on missions. In Stephen Neill’s 1964 historical sketch of history of missions, he begins some of his sections with Japan, such as his section on the “Heyday of Colonialism, 1858-1914.” He also, in his concluding section “Yesterday and Today, 1914 and After” begins with the Far East, and specifically with Japan. Neill also views Japan as one of the vanguard mission fields in missionary cooperation and conferences, in establishing National Christian Councils, and dealing with pressures from nationalism. Neill, pp. 276, 391, 400, 403. For an interesting comparison between Protestant missions in Japan (beginning in 1859) and in Congo (beginning in 1878), which contrasts the autonomy and urban movement in Japan with the development in the Congo, which is depicted as “the extreme opposite of Japan in every way.” see R. Pierce Beaver, *Ecumenical Beginnings in Protestant World Mission: A History of Comity* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1962), pp. 164-185.

<sup>118</sup> John R. Black, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Edo, Vol 2.* (London: Trubner & Co., 1881) p. 71. However, Black considered such conclusions “erroneous” and proceeded to give examples of “the benefit that certain missionaries have conferred upon their brethren” in China and Japan.

to 20<sup>th</sup> century works such as James Michener's *Hawaii*, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, and Barbara Kingsolver's *The Poisonwood Bible*, missionaries have been critically depicted.<sup>119</sup>

Some of the criticisms of missions came from within Christianity, such as William E. Hocking's *Re-thinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years*.<sup>120</sup> This report came out of the *Layman's Foreign Missions Inquiry Commission* which studied the foreign mission fields of China, India, Japan, and Burma between 1930-32, in the wake of the 1928 ecumenical International Missionary Council conference in Jerusalem, and critically questioned the project of foreign missions. When the commission went to Japan, however, many missionaries complained that they spent little time talking with the missionaries. One Reformed Church missionary wrote that, though the commissioners lodged in the missionaries' homes, "the greater portion of their time is spent in direct contact with Japanese. Evidently they are not concerned most with what the missionaries [may] think or be doing."<sup>121</sup> Other critiques came directly from certain missionaries at the time, such as Pearl S. Buck who publicly expressed her opinion that China did not need Christian missionaries, and in 1934 was forced to resign as a Presbyterian missionary.

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<sup>119</sup> However, this ignores a large category of popular fiction—though sentimental and of poorer quality—throughout the Western world that has generally been forgotten and which held a very high view of missionaries and often published by religious presses. Also, as Schlesinger points out, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, public "religious outrage" forced him to omit some of the original critical remarks of missionaries from later 19<sup>th</sup> century editions of *Typee*. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism." In John K. Fairbank, ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts (Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 420.

<sup>120</sup> William E. Hocking's *Re-thinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1932). Japan was still prominent in the report, as one of four countries featured in the report (China, India, Japan, Burma). Japan was also chosen as the site for the World Sunday School Conference in 1920 as well as the world conference for the YMCA in 1927.

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in Gordon Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 482. When Hocking's report came out, it was criticized by both the missionaries and most of the Japanese churches and leaders. pp. 484-485.



In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars built on the earlier critiques of missionaries, such as William James' theories of the "narrowness of mind" of missionaries, as well as on later critics of colonialism such as Franz Fanon, and began to present missions as a form of "cultural imperialism." Some former colonial territories also critiqued missions as cultural imperialism, such as the Sri Lankan government's 1956 publication, *The Betrayal of Buddhism*, which largely blamed Christian missions for undermining Sri Lankan culture.<sup>122</sup> One of the events that propelled many scholars to question the missionary movement was the Communist Revolution in China in 1949. One such scholar was Paul A. Varg who concluded in *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* that Christian missions had largely failed in China because they presented, "a body of precepts unrelated to their own needs and aspirations...." In addition, Varg criticized "the paternalistic attitude of many of the missionaries and especially the sense of racial superiority among a few of them..." as well as the early missionaries' (before 1890) "impatience and disgust with Chinese recalcitrance in the face of demands to become as other nations were."<sup>123</sup>

Perhaps the most cited essay on missionaries as cultural imperialists was also in a work that dealt with China. In his critical essay, "The Missionary Enterprise and Imperialism," Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. accused missionaries of practicing "cultural imperialism," which he defined as

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<sup>122</sup> Sharkey, p. 25.

<sup>123</sup> Varg also contrasts the relative success of the Soviets compared to the Americans. However, Varg's assessment is not entirely negative view of missions in China. He writes, "But, the missionaries unquestioningly left a mark...in hospitals, schools, and chapels they stood forth as men who believed in the sacredness of human personality....While only a very small percentage of Chinese came to understand them, it would be rash indeed to conclude that the values they endeavored to impart have been forgotten....It is infinitely more difficult to learn that we cannot Christianize the world *after our own image* and that even when we try, as we did in China, the product of conversion is still foreign to us....Religious, political, or any other form of missionary work is a highly complex task that we ought to enter upon with caution." Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 321-326.

“purposeful aggression by one culture against the ideas and values of another.” In this essay, he presented cultural imperialism as “far more demoralizing” than political or economic forms of imperialism as those were “essentially utilitarian” and “did not reach so deep as cultural into the soul of native societies.” Though he acknowledged that “there were men of broad intellectual outlook among American Protestant missionaries,” Schlesinger wrote that the majority were narrow and of a “clearly delineated and aggressive psychological cast.”<sup>124</sup>

Throughout the literature on missions as cultural imperialism, there is little mention of Japan. In Schlesinger’s article, he cites not only examples from China, but also from Turkey, Algeria, and India. The only place where Japan is cited is related to the way the cultural imperialism of the missionary movement “helped to infuse the American role in the world with the impulses of a crusade,” which led to the “disaster in Indochina” but was “strengthened by the postwar military occupation experience, especially in Japan.”<sup>125</sup> In many ways, though not generally acknowledged in this literature, Japan played a significant role in the criticism of missions. As Schlesinger asserted in his article, “the penetration of the non-Western world by one of the most dynamic of Western ideas—nationalism—began in time to bring about a radical shift in perspective...[so] that the imperial process be considered in terms less of the sending

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<sup>124</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. “The Missionary Enterprise,” pp. 360-365. There are many other examples of the scholarly literature on missionaries as cultural imperialists. For China, see Jessie G. Lutz, ed. *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1965), particularly the essay by T’ang Liang-li entitled, “Missions, the Cultural Arm of Western Imperialism” pp. 51-59.

<sup>125</sup> Schlesinger, “The Missionary Enterprise,” p. 373. The connection with the Occupation also has a religious connection in that MacArthur and many in the U.S. government were very interested in reviving missions to Japan after World War II. Postwar missionaries have far surpassed in number the earlier movement. Whereas the number of American foreign missionaries in 1900 was about 5000, today it is close to 40,000.

than of the receiving country.”<sup>126</sup> Japan was one of the first non-Western societies to adopt this modern idea of nationalism, and also to realize that the cultural “West” that the missionaries brought was not monolithic but had elements that opposed the missionaries’ message. Though most societies, including Japan, had elements who opposed Christianity for various reasons, Japan was also one of the first fields where the early Japanese Christian leaders began to critique the missionaries. For example, Uchimura Kanzō, leader of the *Mukyōkai* or “non-church” movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century wrote, “Missionaries come to us to patronize us, to exercise lordship over us, in a word, to “convert” us; *not* to become our equals and friends, certainly *not* to become our servants and wash our feet....”<sup>127</sup>

The cultural imperialist view of missionaries has been influential and continues to be cited today, though many historians have questioned the interpretation of missions as cultural imperialism. Ryan Dunch has called for “a fresh appraisal of the missionary movement as a systemic factor in modern world history,” one that involves “a more dynamic and interactive framework” than the model of “cultural imperialism.”<sup>128</sup> Andrew Porter has also asserted that “Highly effective as missions were in promoting cultural change, they were amongst the weakest agents of ‘cultural imperialism.’”<sup>129</sup> Likewise, Jay Riley Case has pointed out that the charge of “cultural imperialism” for missionaries has been exaggerated, as many of them were rather ineffective proselytizers. In Case’s words, they were “almost always lousy at converting large

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<sup>126</sup> Schlesinger, “The Missionary Enterprise,” p. 364.

<sup>127</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, *Uchimura Kanzo zenshu*, Vol 18, 255-256.

<sup>128</sup> Ryan Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity,” *History and Theory* 41/3 (Oct. 2002), p. 325.

<sup>129</sup> Andrew Porter, “Cultural Imperialism and the Protestant Missionary Enterprise 1780-1914,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 3 (Sept. 1997): 388.

numbers of non-Westerners,” and that if missionaries were an example of “cultural imperialism, it proved to be a remarkably ineffective form of imperialism.” Case’s description of the early missionaries’ essential roles in “the birth of new movements of Christianity by establishing contacts, facilitating the first few conversions, educating leaders, translating materials, and providing resources” is a much more fitting description for a figure like Verbeck than the dismissive label of “cultural imperialist.”<sup>130</sup>

Overall, the concept of missions as cultural imperialism has been challenged as the general scholarly interpretation of missionaries, and it is no longer the reigning framework for thinking about the modern missionary movement. In Zhang Xiantao’s work, *Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China*, critiques the reigning interpretation in China of missions as cultural imperialism and shows that this concept is deficient in analyzing the role of missionaries in China. Zhang writes that, “The impact of the missionary press in the Chinese social and political context of the time contained a complexity that the cultural imperialism thesis fails to grasp.” Instead, the Chinese scholars sought to “appropriate and exploit” the media to “maintain their *own* hegemony.”<sup>131</sup> In general, the unidirectional charge of cultural imperialism seems overly simplistic for most missionary encounters, and it is no surprise that scholars have begun to criticize such a theory.

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<sup>130</sup> Case, p. 7. Case focuses more on mission fields like Burma, Hawaii, and Africa than on East Asia. Perhaps a more successful example of cultural imperialism might be Western sports as “cultural imperialism.” See Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) or Gerald Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

<sup>131</sup> Zhang Xiantao, *Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 127, 139.

## 1.2.4 Recent Approaches to the History of Missions and the Dearth of Scholarship on Modern Japan

The scholarly study of the history of missions is not new. With roots in the work of Gustav Warneck in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to Kenneth Scott Latourette and Stephen Neill in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in recent decades (particularly from the 1990s) scholars of global missions and world Christianity have begun to more critically reexamine the modern missionary movement. The scholar Andrew F. Walls, a former missionary in West Africa and founder of the Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World has been seminal in this change, publishing works such as *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*.<sup>132</sup> Scholars in other fields—particularly anthropology, religious studies, and missiology—have begun to incorporate new approaches in the study of the history of missions. In the historical scholarship on global or world history, however, missionaries in general have been relatively neglected, though a significant aspect of the study of world history involves interaction between different peoples. David Lindenfeld has argued that world historians have emphasized activities

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<sup>132</sup> Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996). For the earlier literature, see Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1884). Latourette was a influential professor at Yale Divinity School who had a brief missionary-teaching experience in China and continued to actively support the study of missions. He published works on missions as early as 1917, and his myriad publications feature missions, particularly in Asia, prominently. In his 1936 work, *Missions Tomorrow*, the author discusses the development of Japanese Protestantism and the only foreign missionary he mentions in Verbeck. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Missions Tomorrow* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1936), p. 20. Also see, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929), the 7-volume *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945). Perhaps the most well-known one-volume text on the general history of missions is Stephen Neill's *History of Missions* (1964), though it also deals with earlier missionary movements as well as the modern movement. One example from anthropology was Jean and John Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa Vol. 1* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

like commerce, warfare and migration, and neglected encounters which involve “the meeting of ideologies and of religious beliefs and practices.” One way to remedy this, he proposes, is to emphasize the “comparative study of religious encounters,” particularly in the global missionary movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>133</sup>

Perhaps one reason for the hesitance to study missionaries is that they have been so caricatured—either highly idealized in missionary hagiographies or derogatively denigrated by others as cultural imperialists. In *Errand to the World: Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, William R. Hutchinson asserts that despite their role in history, missionaries have generally “remained shadowy figures in narrations of religious and general history,” as figures that “...have seemed too admirable to be treated as villains, and yet too obtrusive and self-righteous to be embraced as heroes. The most common reaction, therefore, has been simple avoidance.”<sup>134</sup> Almost fifty years ago, in 1969, the eminent historian of China, John K. Fairbank, called publically for historians to take a renewed look at the missionary in this movement as the “invisible man” of American history, and for the study of mission history as “a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> David Lindenfeld, “Indigenous Encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800-1920: A Comparative Study.” *Journal of World History*, 16/3 (2005): p. 327-328.

<sup>134</sup> William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 2. Hutchinson further writes. “Whether the missionaries...suffered more at the hands of detractors or of admirers would be hard to say; both types of biographer created abstract and unreal figures. Stereotyping led to more avoidance and disdain, and the more we disdained the less we learned; thus the cycle of neglect and bad history became well established.” p. 2. Perhaps another factor in the neglect of religion is that in Marxist perspectives, missionaries are not as important in the materialist narrative of history, and religious motives are often subsumed under materialist interpretations of history and more overt economic interactions.

<sup>135</sup> John K. Fairbank, “Assignment for the 1970s.” *The American Historical Review*, 74/3 (Feb. 1969): 877-878.

Looking at the recent scholarly literature on the history of missions since 1990, one would never guess, however, that Japan played such a significant role in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Even a cursory perusal of the literature on the history of missions reveals a glaring lack of material on Japan. In the standard missiology reader, *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader, Third Edition*, there is not one reading about Japan, nor is there an excerpt of any writing by a Japanese author or Japan missionary (though China, Africa, Southeast Asia, and India are well-represented).<sup>136</sup> Many of the periodicals on the study of missions likewise have a dearth of articles on Japan. The *International Review of Mission* published by the World Council of Churches, has had no articles on Japan in the last two decades. Even the April 1991 issue, which has a regional focus on East Asia, barely mentions Japan but contains specific full-length articles on Korea and Indonesia. In scholarly book series on the history of missions, Japan has been similarly absent. In the series, *Studies in Christian Mission*, published by the Brill—one that defines itself as works concerning the “history of transcultural missionary movements from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards”—of the 44 volumes published since the series began in 1990, there are no books specifically on Japan.<sup>137</sup> Out of the

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<sup>136</sup> *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader, Third Edition*, eds. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1999). One of the only places where Japan was mentioned was in an entry by Patrick Johnstone entitled “Covering the Globe” in which he mentions 50 of the “People Clusters” who are the “least reached strategic peoples.” Most of the fifty listed are tribes or ethnic groups throughout the world, but for East Asia, they list “Hui, Mongolian, and Japanese.” p. 544.

<sup>137</sup> Brill Publishing. See website at: <http://www.brill.com/publications/studies-christian-mission>. The only exception is a work on Asian mission history in general from 1956-1998, that touches on Japanese Catholic mission history. Another example is from the recent periodical *Social Science and Missions*. From its inception in 2007 it has included articles on every region and major historical mission field except Japan, with an entire issue devoted to China in 2012. I have not exhaustively searched for literature in other European countries, though the series published by Franz Steiner Verlag in Stuttgart called *Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv*, also contains no works on Japan in the more than 20 works published since it began in 1996. Most of the volumes concern Africa, but there are at least three works on China. In the Netherlands, the University of Utrecht has a tradition of some 375 years of ecclesiastical

more than twenty volumes in the recent scholarly series *Studies in the History of Christian Missions*, edited by Brian Stanley and Robert Eric Frykenberg, contains not one volume or specific chapter on Japan, though these works focus on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century global missions movements relating to themes in the history of missions that “explore the significant, yet often contested, impact of Christian missions around the world.”<sup>138</sup> Japan has certainly been a “contested” mission field in many ways, and thus the total omission of Japan in such a historical series seems curious.

So, what explains why Japan and its missionaries—a prominent subject in the previous literature on missions—are virtually ignored in the recent literature on the history of missions? One explanation may be that many of the recent approaches either are not very applicable to Japan, or that the missionary interactions with Japan are not perceived as useful in the stories that recent scholars want to tell. For example, in the aforementioned Brill series, *Studies in Christian Mission*, the publisher “particularly welcomes proposals that position the study of so far unexplored episodes of mission within wider discussions of the social and cultural factors within missions, of colonialism and post-colonialism, of nationalism and transnationalism and of the tensions between localized and global forms of Christianity.”<sup>139</sup> Certainly the history of missions to Japan is not an “unexplored” episode, because, as previously mentioned, it featured prominently in the earlier missionary literature. Also, several other key themes are highlighted for which Japan does not seem to feature significantly in the views of most scholars writing on

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and scholarly support for missions, but Jongeneel lists no dissertations or theses on Japan in the postwar period. Jongeneel, *Utrecht University*, pp. 284-304.

<sup>138</sup> Quote from a description of the series on Eerdmans website: [www.eerdmans.com/Products/categoryCenter.aspx?categoryid=SE!SHCM](http://www.eerdmans.com/Products/categoryCenter.aspx?categoryid=SE!SHCM).

<sup>139</sup> Description from Brill website: [www.brill.com/publications/studies-christian-mission](http://www.brill.com/publications/studies-christian-mission).



missions: 1.) colonialism and postcolonialism 2.) nationalism and transnationalism 3.) localized and global forms of Christianity.<sup>140</sup>

The theme of colonialism and post-colonialism—which also relates to other topics such as race, civilization, orientalism, and subaltern perspectives—is one in which Japan has not generally been viewed as significant in the new literature. The use of “race” is prominent in looking at the Protestant missionary movement today, particularly in missions after 1860, when Social Darwinism became more dominant as Western societies associated progress with a hierarchical racial understanding of humanity. Japan as a society challenged such assumptions of racial supremacy that was equated with the West (Europe and North America). The Russo-Japanese War challenged Western domination throughout the colonized globe and provided inspiration to many subjugated societies as the first significant victory in modern warfare of a

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<sup>140</sup> The scholarship on women’s studies and missions, has not neglected Japan missions, especially in regard to women’s education and involvement in other institutions, though perhaps this topic is not seen as ‘unexplored.’ For recent works on women and mission in Japan, see Rui Kohiyama, “‘No Nation Can Rise Higher than Its Women’: The Women’s Ecumenical Missionary Movement and Tokyo Woman’s Christian College. In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 2010) pp. 218-239; Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909*. (New York: Routledge, 2004); Karen Seat, *Providence Has Freed Our Hands: Women’s Missions and the American Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008) and Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women’s Education in Japan* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992). There are other creative work on women and institutions, such as Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women’s Activism: The United States, Japan, and Japanese Immigrant Communities in California, 1859-1920* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2004); Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure with Itself: Caroline MacDonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997). Many of these works dealing with women missionaries in Japan are excellent, but some do not present these figures in a larger context. For example, in one recent work on the wife a the pioneer American Board missionary to Japan, Mary Jane Forbes Greene, though claiming she rivaled her husband’s impact on their mission and “was herself transformed by her pilgrimage,” concluded that had little significance outside of the Japan Mission of the American Board. Marion Kilson, *Mary Jane Forbes Greene (1845-1910), Mother of the Japan Mission: An Anthropological Portrait* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), p 87. Perhaps Japan is losing interest even in the scholarship of women and missions because, in the 2014 Conference on the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of Missions and World Christianity, on the theme of “Gender and Family in Missions,” there were numerous papers on China and Korea, but no papers on Japan (except for one that dealt with debates on women’s issues between Asian Christians in general, including the Japanese).

non-Western power over a Western one. Furthermore, missionaries in Japan and throughout the world may have been important factors in challenging such racial categories. Jay Riley Case asserts that missionaries often responded to challenges to traditional racial categories and assumptions by “reconfiguring their conceptions of race.” Such encounters with world Christianity, argues Case, “did more than academic theories of human difference to undermine racism in nineteenth century America” (many of which, by contrast, often initially intensified racism).<sup>141</sup>

Similarly, Orientalism as applied to Japan provides some challenges. First of all, Japan became modern and powerful but was not “Western.” However, Orientalism has appealed to some contemporary Japanese scholars, who embraced Said’s *Orientalism* when it was published, largely because, as Daisuke Nishihara has written, Said “endorsed what the Japanese had instinctively felt from the time of their first encounter with the West.”<sup>142</sup> Thus, the Japanese saw themselves as the subjects of Western “oriental” racism, as anyone who has studied late 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century American society must acknowledge. But, they also adopted elements of Western racialized thinking and applied it to their Asian neighbors, and the impact of Social Darwinist thinking on Japan’s view of themselves as “superior” in Asia has been widely recognized.

Likewise, subaltern perspectives of oppressed groups are not as helpful for looking at missions to Japan. Unlike in China, where ethnic minorities like the Hakka accepted Christianity, or India where it appealed to large numbers of the *dalit* or “untouchables,” or in

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<sup>141</sup> Case, p. 10. For an interesting look at missions and race from an American “home missions” perspective, see Derek Chang. *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

<sup>142</sup> Daisuke Nishihara, “Said, Orientalism, and Japan.” *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, 25 Edward Said and Critical Decolonization (2005): 241-253. Nishihara also discusses the difficulty of using Orientalist discourse in reference to Japan.

Korea where it appealed to the non-elites (that is, non-*yangban*)—in Japan, most Protestant Christians, particularly their leaders, were from the samurai class or later, the urban middle classes.<sup>143</sup>

The use of civilizational discourse was also prominent in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, at the height of the missionary movement. Civilizational language (often with Social Darwinist assumptions of stages of civilization) looms large in the missionary literature and in the “cultural baggage” that missionaries took with them to various mission fields in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>144</sup> However, some components of the evangelical missionary message challenged aspects of this discourse. If all people are created in God’s image and are “equally fallen and capable of transformation through Christ’s atoning work on the cross, regardless of their national, racial ethnic, social, or cultural states,” by extension, missionaries often came to recognize the “potential for good in the cultures of others.” Thus, Case asserts that when missionaries encountered other cultures in this way, it challenged Western notions of what “civilized” or “uncivilized” meant.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Though some of Japanese scholarship on rural Christianity in the Meiji Period has challenged this interpretation, it has also focused more on rural elites. Though there were a few missionaries, such as the English missionary, John Batchelor, to the Ainu and some Christian converts among the *burakumin* outcastes, they are not considered a very significant part of the story of Japanese Christianity. For the literature on the Hakka, see Jessie Gregory Lutz, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gutzlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852* (Cambridge and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2008) and, Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900, With the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary* (Armonk, New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1998). For a work on the *dalit*, see: Chad M. Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947*. (Cambridge and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008)

<sup>144</sup> However, civilizational discourse and Social Darwinist also appealed to many intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi who ultimately rejected the idea that the adoption of Christianity made a society more “civilized.”

<sup>145</sup> Case, p. 9.

Though this recognition of greater parity in civilization often took decades (and sometimes generations) of mission work in some fields, in Japan, the recognition of the Japanese as civilized almost from the beginning (and certainly from the 1870s) challenged Western racial and cultural conceptions of civilization. The missionaries and Christian teachers to Japan often seemed to present Japan as equal or nearly equal to the “higher civilizations” of the West. In 1878, Edward W. Clark, an American teacher that was the first foreigner officially allowed to teach “Bible classes,” wrote of the Japanese that,

As a people, they certainly excel us in politeness, gentleness, obedience to parents and superiors, and in social manners are our peers. They have also a culture and native refinement that surprises the foreigner; and their sense of honor is at least equal to that of the average American. Some of our customs, to them, are far from being desirable traits of civilization. The common people of Japan, with their simple wants and frugal ways of living, are at least as happy and contented as the corresponding class of society among us.<sup>146</sup>

Though he concludes by saying that Japan would be greatly enhanced by accepting Christianity, his admiration for Japan’s civilization is clear, and many of the letters of early missionaries reflect similar sentiments. Likewise, the tension between accepting Western models of education and the high level of education that was required of Western clergy was often a point of contention in many mission fields, but in Japan, the commitment to education, literacy, and theological training for clergy did not have to be imposed upon the Japanese converts, who also valued such things.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Edward Warren Clark, pp. 221-222.

<sup>147</sup> Case asserts that “Democratized missionaries, then, had far fewer scruples about ordaining poorly educated or ‘uncivilized’ Christians in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.” This was certainly not the case in Japan, however. Case also admits that there were a variety of responses and that the responses to these issues “did not unfold in a uniform or inevitable manner.” p. 12.

The perspective of postcolonialism, which is prominent in the recent studies of missions in Africa as well as India, is not as relevant for Japan.<sup>148</sup> Although Japan chafed under the “unequal treaties” for a few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japan itself became an imperial metropole in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Stephen Neill’s assertion that “Japan saved itself from the fate of others by the astonishing feat of transforming itself almost overnight from a sleepy medieval kingdom into a modern military power, annexed Korea and prepared the way for further adventures on the mainland,” revealed a view of Japan as more similar to the colonizing powers. There has been very little research on the place of Christians in Japan’s empire, particularly in Korea. A. Hamish Ion’s work on Canadian and British missionaries throughout Japan’s empire has been insightful in focusing on Japan’s position in relation to the Western imperialist powers. In “Missions and Empires: A Case Study of Canadians in the Japanese Empire, 1895-1941” he writes,

In North America, Africa, the West Indies, the Pacific Islands, South Asia, Southeast Asia, where missions and empires joined, the missionaries were either nationals of the imperial power or working in territory belonging to an imperial power that was Christian. There were exceptions, of course; the Ottoman and Persian empires before the Great War were two, but in those places the rights of missionaries were protected by Capitulations and by the active interest of the great powers in assuming the rights of the Christian minority. In China down to 1943, extraterritoriality and the ubiquitous gunboats protected missionaries. The only real exception was the Japanese Empire, neither European nor Christian, and unencumbered by Capitulations or extraterritoriality in terms of missions and empires.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> An example of this would be the edited work by Dana L. Robert, ed. *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1707-1914* (Cambridge and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

<sup>149</sup> A. Hamish Ion, “Missions and Empires: A Case Study of Canadians in the Japanese Empire, 1895-1941, in *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* eds. Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 177. Ion perhaps overlooks the lasting effects of the “unequal treaties,” whereby Japan did not control its own tariffs until 1913.

Ion not only focuses on Canadian missionaries in East Asia and their relations with the Japanese colonial authorities but also emphasizes the Japanese missionaries sent by Japanese churches to their colonies and how they “impinged on Japanese Christian attitudes toward not only Japanese imperialism but also Japan’s relations with the Western missionary movement in East Asia.”<sup>150</sup> Thus, Japan was the arguably the first non-Western nation in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to send out Protestant missionaries, in this case to its growing empire in East Asia. In 1912, the Reformed missionary to Japan, Albertus Pieters, visited Korea and China and was encouraged to see “Christian churches for the Japanese” there. As an example of the high degree of “independent and self-sustaining life” or “self-governing, self-sustaining, self-propagating” nature of the Japanese church, in contrast to Korea and China, he writes, “To me, this constant presence of the Christian church wherever a little group of Japanese were settled, was the most significant and cheering thing I had seen for years, for so far as I knew not in a single case had the church in any such place been started with American money or by the support of American missionaries.”<sup>151</sup> Thus, what many non-Western countries such as Korea, Mongolia, and African countries have started doing in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century—sending their own missionaries out—Japan began to do at the high point of imperialism. On the whole, certainly after 1940 if not before, these efforts were stymied by an emphasis on starting churches for Japanese nationals, by state control over religious institutions, as well as by their association with a harsh imperialist regime.

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<sup>150</sup> Ion, “Missions and Empires,” p. 177.

<sup>151</sup> These churches, however, seem to have mainly been churches established for Japanese Christians, and not very attractive to native Koreans or Chinese. Though Pieters writes that the church in Korea is not well-organized or large, it “far excels....[Japan’s church] in the vigor and fervor and zeal of its young life.” Albertus Pieters, *Mission Problems in Japan* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1912), pp. 178-179.

Unlike the territories of other empires, Japan's colonies were lost so quickly after WWII, that it is hardly worth calling decolonization. In fact, it was primarily the U.S., Japan's occupiers, who were forced to deal with many of their former colonies. Though Germany experienced a similar occupation and gave up territorial acquisitions in Europe, it had already lost its empire in the aftermath of the First World War. As the Cold War heated up in Asia, Japan's role as a key economic and political ally of the U.S. overshadowed their earlier historical role in Asia as colonizers. Though the legacy of imperialism looms large in East Asia, it does not fit the general outline of postcolonial discourse. Japan's embrace of Shinto as a state ideology, certainly led to the subservience of Christianity to the state, particularly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But, an unintended result of this aspect of Japanese imperialism was that it enabled Christians, particularly in Korea, to view Christianity as nationalistic and anti-imperialist because it was not imposed by the Japanese occupiers like Shinto was. Ironically, the geopolitical role of Japan in the recent "success" of Christianity in other parts of East Asia—particularly in Korea, but also in China and the Philippines—is also difficult to understand if Japan's historical role is ignored.<sup>152</sup> Japan's imperialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, based on the assumed superiority of the Japanese state and their divine emperor, was a great challenge not only to the subjugated peoples surrounding Japan, but also to missionaries and to Japanese Christians. However, the role of the missionaries in relation to Japan's imperialism is difficult to

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<sup>152</sup> Danielle Kane and Jung Mee Park, "The Puzzle of Korean Christianity: Geopolitical Networks and Religious Conversion in Early Twentieth-Century East Asia." *American Journal of Sociology*, 115/2 (Sept. 2009): 365-404. Kane and Park attribute the growth of Christianity in the early Meiji to the quelling of most "antiforeign agitation" so that Westernization and Christianity could be merged and fostered at Western schools. The subsequent decline in Japan is attributed to the slow pace of treaty reform and other events. They also see China's openness to Christianity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to their defeat by Japan and subsequent hostility was caused by "perceived double-dealings by the West (p. 372).

study using the present postcolonial approaches to missions, and, as a non-christian, non-western imperialist power, modern Japan does not fit the framework of postcolonial studies.<sup>153</sup>

Regarding the theme of nationalism and missions, Japan is a complex story. As mentioned earlier, the effort to get beyond “missionary” historiography in the writing of the history of indigenous Christianity was first attempted in Japan largely because of nationalistic ideas in Japanese Christian leaders. Though some Japanese Christian historians have focused on pioneer missionary figures like Verbeck, Hepburn, Brown and Williams, these have often been presented as figures who gave their lives for Japan and have been praised for their devotion to Japan. Thus, they are amenable figures to Japanese nationalism and have been incorporated into the history of Japanese Christianity.<sup>154</sup> One of the reasons often given for the decline of Christian growth after the 1880s was the intransigence of the Western “Christian” powers to remove the hated “unequal treaties.” Though this may be true, it is also true that most of the missionaries supported Japan’s attempts to remove these, and Verbeck even placed himself under Japanese law and protection in 1891 when all other foreigners had the rights of “extraterritoriality.” Japanese nationalism and expansion, though lauded by many in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and encouraged by the missionaries and the early Japanese church leaders, began to challenge the West, eventually leading to Japan’s disastrous experience in World War II.

Likewise, the transnational efforts of Japan—either in the Westernizing reforms of the Meiji period in sending Japanese to the West or in inviting Westerners to Japan—are highly

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<sup>153</sup> Several scholars have dealt with missionaries and Japanese imperialism, but not extensively. See, Sandra C. Taylor, “Ineffectual Voice: Japan Missionaries and American Foreign Policy, 1870-1941,” *The Pacific Historical Review* (1984): 20-38; Also see Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*.

<sup>154</sup> See Saba Wataru, *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai* 8 vols. (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1967) (originally published in 1937-1943).



regarded, but the transnational role of missionaries in this is not emphasized in the recent literature on missions. The influence of the Evangelical Alliance, a transnational movement which started in Europe, in the formation and the creed of the Union Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Itchi Kōkai*) is an example of an early transnational organization that influenced both missionaries and the Japanese believers.<sup>155</sup> In addition, Japan's involvement and cooperation in movements and events—such as, the World Parliament of Religions in 1893, or the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, or the World Sunday School Movement (with an international conference held in Tokyo in 1920), or the growth of the YMCA, Salvation Army, and the Red Cross in Japan—has all been eclipsed by the story of Japan's imperialism and war.<sup>156</sup> In addition, some Japanese Christian leaders were internationally recognized before the war, like Kagawa Toyohiko who was known throughout the world for his Christian social activism and work in the slums of Kobe. But during the war, the ultranationalism led to either a subservience of Christianity to the state, or the suppression of Christianity by the government, with little regard to transnational factors such as missionaries. The subservience of Japanese Christians politically during the war, particularly the forced unification in 1940 of all Protestants in what is called the *Kyōdan* denomination today, is not generally seen as a positive movement,

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<sup>155</sup> For a look at the Evangelical Alliance, see *Called to One Hope: 150 Years of the Evangelical Alliance* (London, 1996). Also see, Clive Calver, "The Rise and Fall of the Evangelical Alliance: 1835-1905" in Steve Brady and Harold Rowdon, eds. *For Such a Time as This: Perspectives on Evangelicalism, Past, Present and Future* (Milton Keynes, 1996). The Evangelical Alliance is still active today as the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), see its website: [www.worlddea.org](http://www.worlddea.org) and the Japan Evangelical Association, which represents various Protestant denominations, is a member of this alliance today.

<sup>156</sup> One work that looks at both national and transnational movements is: *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship*. Ed. Dick Stegewerns (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). Three of the chapters of this work focus on individuals, who were Japanese Christians (at some point at least)—Nitobe Inazō, Tokutomi Sohō, Yoshino Sakuzō.

though the removal of denominational barriers and a unified church has been an important aspect of Japanese Protestantism from the beginning.

The last theme listed for the Brill series on missions, “tensions between localized and global forms of Christianity,” is perhaps one of the most significant areas of research in the recent literature on the history of missions because it deals with the indigenization of Christianity and the way that the local mission fields and international missionary societies interacted. This desire to move beyond a missionary-oriented historiography and to focus on indigenous forms of Christianity—what Jeffrey Cox has called the move away from “white, male, clerical heroism” to a focus on local actors’ agency and autonomy<sup>157</sup>—is not unprecedented and ironically one of the first places where it occurred in relation to the modern missionary movement was in Japan. The first generation of Christian converts and leaders in Japan voiced such views already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Kozaki Hiromichi’s speech at the 1893 Parliament of Religions in Chicago reflected this assertive leadership of Japanese Christianity compared to other mission fields:

Christianity in Japan has already reached a stage that no other missionary fields have ever attained. Their native Christians not only take a part in all discussions, but they are in fact leading all kinds of discussions, theological as well as practical. They are leading not only in all kinds of Christian work, literary, evangelistic, educational, and charitable, but they are also leading Christian thought in Japan.<sup>158</sup>

Japan’s mission field also first encountered many of the difficulties and tensions of indigenization, autonomy and self-support that almost all other mission fields have subsequently

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<sup>157</sup> Cox, p. 16. Other recent works that feature this indigenization of Christianity include: David Lindenfeld and Miles Richardson, eds. *Beyond Conversion and Syncretism: Indigenous Encounters with Missionary Christianity, 1800-2000* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012). *Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol 8: World Christianities, 1815-1914* Eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Some scholars have coined the term “glocal” or “glocalization” to emphasize the merging together of global and local forms.

<sup>158</sup> Quoted in Ishizaki, p. 12.

dealt with. Though many of the foreign missionaries to Japan supported the principles of autonomy and indigenous control of the church, Jon Thares Davidann revealed how, even in the 1890s, this practice became a “vexing dilemma” for the YMCA in that the Japanese leaders of the YMCA (who were also some of the most prominent Protestant leaders like Kozaki) did not adhere to the same standards as their American organizations. The impact of this was that the American YMCA missionaries realized that “...Christianity could be interpreted and practiced in a multitude of ways with many different outcomes” and that this experience “...anticipated the problems American missionaries faced all over the globe after 1900, as indigenous converts demanded more autonomy and missionary leaders became more aware of their own racial and cultural assumptions.”<sup>159</sup> Thus, Japan was one of the first societies to wrestle with issues of autonomy of their churches and indigenization of their faith.

Why is Japan largely missing from this recent discussion of indigenized and localized Christianity even though Japanese Christians dealt with this issue from the beginning of its contact with Western missionaries?<sup>160</sup> One reason may be that much of the new literature tends to emphasize the narrative of “successful” indigenization in areas that have experienced a greater growth of indigenous forms of Christianity. Though it has wrestled with the indigenization of Protestant Christianity since the Meiji period, Japan has experienced minimal growth of Christianity during the century following the Meiji period, and the percentage of Christians in

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<sup>159</sup> Jon Thares Davidann, “The American YMCA in Meiji Japan: God’s Work Gone Awry.” *Journal of World History* 6/1 (Spring, 1995): 107-125, p. 124. Davidann also states that although the Japanese converts accepted Christianity, many of them “remained unwilling to accept the ideology and theology that went along with evangelical Christianity in the United States. They refused to have Christianity dictated to them by foreign missionaries.” p. 125.

<sup>160</sup> The one exception in Protestantism in Uchimura Kanzō’s *mukyōkai* or “non-church” movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is the most-frequently cited form of “indigenous” Japanese Christianity. However, this is a very small movement quantitatively, and is certainly not considered part of mainstream Protestantism. See Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

the country has hovered around one percent of the population. Most of the recent scholarship on missions claims to deal with the *historical* role of missions in societies, not the *present* significance or success of Christianity in those societies, but the narratives of indigenization often emphasize contemporary examples of Christian movements that have grown and have continued to exert a large impact on their societies.

This tension between the historiography of missions and indigenous church has been evident in Japan almost since the Meiji period, a much longer time than most mission fields. Aasulv Lande claims that Japanese church historians have been instrumental in telling the narrative of Japanese church history as well as missionaries' role in this.<sup>161</sup> In the historiography of Japanese Protestantism there have been at least three ways that the indigenous history of Protestantism has been presented in Japan: 1.) Growth of various Protestant "bands" 2.) Protestantism and social class (samurai or urban middle class) 3.) Japanese Christianity as an indigenizing faith, especially in the *mukyōkai* movement, but also in syncretic new religions. Even the focus of "bands"—which all originated with foreign missionaries or Christian teachers—puts relatively little emphasis on the missionaries. Two of the bands were started not by missionaries but by Christian laymen or teachers, one of whom was in Japan for less than a year, and though the Yokohama Band has ties to a variety of missionaries, none would be considered a sole founder. Instead, the focus is on the Japanese converts that came from those bands and influenced the nature of those "bands." The leaders that came from these "bands," at times faced tense relations

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<sup>161</sup> This recognition of the indigenous leaders in Japan over missionaries is recognized implicitly in some of the literature on missions. In Stephen Neill's *History of Christian Missions*, in the references section for Japan, there is not one biography of a missionary listed, but several biographies of Uchimura Kanzo and Kagawa Toyohiko, as well as a work on five leaders in the Japanese Church. In contrast, all the other mission fields have biographies of missionaries prominently listed. Neill, p. 488.

with the foreign missionaries. Given that Japan was one of the first mission fields to deal with such tensions and to write their own Christian historical narratives, it is somewhat perplexing to see Japan's absence in the recent literature on indigenization and missions.

The use of social class as an analytical tool in Japanese and postwar Western scholarship on missions and Japanese Protestantism relates to this theme of indigenization. The view that Protestantism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has, in the words of the Japanese Christian scholar, Mutō Kazuo, appealed mainly to the “urbanized, middle class intellectuals” who were important in leading the development of modern Japan, has resulted in them being “separated and siphoned off, entirely alienated from the main stream of Japanese tradition....Japanese Protestant Christians are inclined to be somehow alienated from the Japanese heritage, and...we have to reflect sincerely upon this fact as it relates to the problem of indigenization.”<sup>162</sup> Mutō writes that the crux of the problem of Christianity and missions in Japan is that “Japan has accepted Western types of Christianity as self-evident without any objections.”<sup>163</sup> Mutō's critique implies that the converts of the earliest missionaries were too quick to accept Western forms of Christianity, something that has been a criticism of missions by indigenous churches throughout the world.<sup>164</sup>

For Japan, the focus on the early prominence of samurai (or former-samurai) converts and the later prominence of urban middle-class converts, has made class a common theme in

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<sup>162</sup> Mutō Kazuo, *Christianity and the Notion of Nothingness: Contributions to Buddhist-Christian Dialogue from the Kyoto School*. Ed. Martin Repp (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 62-63.

<sup>163</sup> Mutō, p. 62.

<sup>164</sup> Applying social class to the missionaries to Japan is not very helpful for the early missionaries, as they were from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. John F. Howes, however, lumps the missionaries as those of Puritan stock who were from a “class” that was losing status in the U.S., though this is not very helpful either. In his analysis of class in the missionaries to Korea between 1884-1910, Dae Young Ryu admits that “compared to the antebellum era, post-Civil War America increasingly became a class-stratified and class-conscious society.” p. 94.

both the historiography of missions and of Japanese Protestantism. This is also in contrast to places like China, Korea, and India, where the ruling classes were resistant to Christianity and where there was a much smaller middle-class. However, the assertion that these missionaries imposed “middle-class” Western values in a cultural imperialistic sense on the Japanese converts is too simplistic. First of all, though the missionaries may have imposed certain cultural values, the Japanese were at the forefront of leading many of what Ryu calls “new middle-class voluntary associations” and other movements—this applies to education for women, freedom of religion, temperance movements, anti-prostitution laws, people’s rights movements for democracy, protests over industrial waste (such as the Ashio Copper Mine), as well as intellectual debates such as evolution. Missionaries like Verbeck were quick to welcome and support many such Japanese initiatives, and constantly reminded his missionary colleagues to remember the Japanese church as they made decisions.<sup>165</sup>

### **1.2.5 Conclusion on Japan and the Modern Missionary Movement**

In 1810, the pioneer missionary William Carey envisioned a missions conference with delegates gathered from all over the world, though countries like Japan would not even have been represented at that time. As mentioned earlier, in the Edinburgh Conference to commemorate the centennial of Carey’s dream, Japan and its prominent delegates were seen as a key mission field. In 2010, a missions conference in commemoration of the 1910 conference was held in Tokyo, where the globalization of Christianity was celebrated. It was pointed out that the largest

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<sup>165</sup> For example, in the report of the 1883 Osaka Missionary Conference, one of Verbeck’s few comments during discussion of papers, is to remind the missionaries to remember what is best for the Japanese church.

church in London is Nigerian, that Chinese missionaries are evangelizing westward with their “Back to Jerusalem” movement, that Mongolia is the biggest mission-sending nation in the world *per capita*; and that Korea has four of the ten largest churches in the world. Christianity and wealth were no longer presented as inextricably linked, and Kenya and Brazil are two of the most Christian nations on earth, while Japan and France were seen as two of the most secular.<sup>166</sup> How this change came about is an important question and the lack of interest in the prominent place or perceived significance of the mission field of Japan a century ago reveals a glaring historical myopia today concerning the history of missions and Christianity in Japan.

Why is the neglect of Japan in the recent literature on the history of missions problematic? Not only is a significant historically important mission field marginalized, and in some cases forgotten, but if Japan is not included, missions to Japan and the approaches to Japanese Christianity are not being reassessed through the new approaches in the research of the world missionary movement. In addition, since Japan’s historical trajectory was more advanced in terms of nationalism, modernization, and indigenization, they provide perspectives that may give insight into other fields that are dealing with such dynamics today. In *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, the authors describe the key role of missionaries in these movements: “At the interface between cultures and religions, missionaries from the Christian west spearheaded the proliferation of the practices of modernity: capitalist economic

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<sup>166</sup> Allen Yeh, “Tokyo 2010 and Edinburgh 2010: A Comparison of Two Centenary Conferences” *International Journal of Frontier Missiology*, 27/3 (Fall 2010) pp. 117-125.

systems, social institutions, ideas of gender, class and progress.”<sup>167</sup> This quote could describe the historic role of many of the missionaries, beginning, including those in Japan.

Despite its obvious flaws, the hagiographical missionary literature does allow readers to get a glimpse of how the missionaries saw themselves or how their supporters wanted to present the missionaries’ lives. Though it has many limitations, the cultural imperialist perspective recognizes the radical cultural challenges that missionaries and their message presented to the receiving societies. The recent scholarship on missions is a welcome addition to these prior perspectives and provides more diverse and comprehensive approaches to missionaries than hagiography or cultural imperialism. But the narratives and analyses derived from this research should not continue to neglect the historically significant mission field of Japan. Japan’s experience is not only relevant to the some of the new approaches to the history of missions, but, given their unique role in history during this time, may provide critical insights.

Though Japan’s small Christian minority may not be viewed as significant in the perspectives on world Christianity today, during the Meiji period in particular, the gospel presented by the missionaries was attractive to many, and to dismiss this as simply an obsession with the West does not make sense when many of these converts continued to pursue and propagate this new faith throughout their lives. Though much of the recent writing on the history of missions and world Christianity is creative and offers new perspectives, it sometimes overlooks the role of missionaries in telling the story of the indigenization of Christianity throughout the world. In an insightful article assessing recent changes in the writing on

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<sup>167</sup> Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, eds. *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange* (Brighton, Great Britain: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), p. 1.



indigenous Christianity in China, Philip Yuen-Sang Leung, writes that scholars should not adopt such a dichotomy but focus on both “the giving and the receiving.” He writes:

In the case of China historiography, the emphasis in the past decades was on the missionary end but in recent years has shifted toward the Chinese end....but...the dichotomization and polarization of mission history versus Chinese church history is not necessarily the best way to deal with mission history of Chinese church history. I shall argue that interrelatedness, interaction, inclusion, and intersections are better conceptual points and methods to be considered in our rethinking and reconstructing of Christianity in China.”<sup>168</sup>

Similarly, Jean and John Comaroff criticized anthropological analyses of the encounters between missionaries and African peoples as “hopelessly one-sided...the Europeans are seldom placed under the same scrutiny.” As a result,

...we persist in treating the evangelists not as individuals possessed of socially conditioned biographies that make a difference but as a taken-for-granted, faceless presence...in spite of our being well aware that their actions and interactions are—and always were—deeply influenced by their backgrounds, their cultures, and their ideologies.... Consequently, even our best analyses lack subtlety and depth.<sup>169</sup>

One recent work that has tried to remedy this lack of depth on the ideological background of missionaries as well as bridging the dichotomy between missionary and indigenous movements is Christopher A. Daily’s *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China*. In this work that focuses on the cultural background of pioneer missionaries such as Morrison and William Milne, Daily writes that:

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<sup>168</sup> Philip Yuen-Sang Leung. “Mission History Versus Church History: The Case of China Historiography,” in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*. Ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2002): p. 58-59. This article is a good overview and personal account of the scholarship on Chinese missionaries and Christianity in recent decades, though it was written over a decade ago. An example of the new focus on Chinese indigenous Christianity for Roman Catholicism would be Eugenio Menegon’s recent (2010) work *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China*. A good example for Protestants would be Ryan Dunch’s *Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2001).

<sup>169</sup> Jean and John Comaroff, p. 54.

It is not the intent of this research to underplay their struggles or successes or to dismiss the agency of the missionaries during the process of the mission...The aim of this project, in contrast, is to uproot and shine light upon the original and unique mission strategy—itself a synthesis of Scottish, dissenting, and evangelical influences—that inspired their accomplishments. In the process, a fruitful new approach via archival materials to early Protestant missions in China is introduced. Through this method, sinologists and missionary historians can excavate an untold aspect of the narrative concerning the planting of a unique strand of Protestantism in China. As a consequence of taking into account the perhaps unexpected theological, ideological, cultural, and historical factors that lie at the foundation of the powerful Chinese Protestant church, scholars can only sharpen their understandings of this major world religion.<sup>170</sup>

Likewise, missionaries to Japan like Verbeck, who “had the stature of a giant” according to Charles Iglehart, are fitting subjects for such analyses of their background and legacy. In addition, focusing on Verbeck could help restore Japan’s place in the history of the missionary movement and provide an opportunity to implement Leung’s conception of “interrelatedness, interaction, inclusion, and intersections.” But, to do this, it is necessary to adopt a more inclusive and flexible approach to the study of missionaries as dynamic figures, one that appreciates the narratives that they saw themselves enacting.

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<sup>170</sup> Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), p. 199.

### 1.3 CHAPTER THREE: “LIVING EPISTLES” AND THE PIONEER PROTESTANT MISSIONARY GUIDO F. VERBECK

*Living epistles of Christianity are as much needed in Japan as written ones.*

—John Liggins, the first Protestant missionary to Japan, in *Spirit of Missions*, 1861.<sup>171</sup>

In 1872, one of the pupils of Daniel C. Greene, an American missionary in Kobe, Japan produced an English letter apparently written by Guido Verbeck in the early 1860s. In this letter, Verbeck “urged the claims of Christianity,” and this epistle had, in the subsequent years, despite the proscriptions against Christianity, “quietly circulated among the Japanese.”<sup>172</sup> In 1972, exactly one hundred years after that episode, another American missionary had an experience related to Verbeck’s legacy. A man attended a worship service at their church, explaining that, although he was not a Christian, his family had been Christians for a century largely because of the testimony of Verbeck, who had first brought the gospel to his grandfather.<sup>173</sup> Such an enduring life and legacy should be a part, not only of the narrative of Japanese Christianity, but of the worldwide missionary movement. The reappraisal of a prominent figure like Verbeck in the modern missionary movement, can begin to remedy the omission of Japan in the recent scholarship, and help to forge new models for analyses of missionaries.

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<sup>171</sup> John Liggins, “Appeal for Japan Missions,” *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 26 No 6, (June 1861): 184-185.

<sup>172</sup> Greene, p. 98. Greene was the first missionary to Japan for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arriving in 1869 and staying for 44 years.

<sup>173</sup> Sytsma, Richard D. *So Send I You*. Unpublished memoirs, 1992, p. 196.

### **1.3.1 Various Scales of Analysis of the Modern Missionary Movement**

Despite the growing literature on the history of the modern missionary movement, new approaches can be discovered that are more inclusive and flexible, that encompass how the missionaries were viewed by both the sending and receiving societies, and that also acknowledge the deep challenges presented by cross-cultural religious interactions. To do this, one must first acknowledge the larger narrative of the missionary movement—that is, the story that missionaries sought to enact in their lives of service to God—without assuming readers already know the narrative (as much of the earlier missionary literature did). Thus, a new approach is needed which enables observers to gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives of missionaries, while also providing a means of critically evaluating their impact on various individuals, communities, and societies.

Scholars have employed various levels or scales in analyzing the modern missionary movement, from a broad overview of the entire movement, a focus on a particular region or country, an analysis of a specific denomination or institution, or the examination of individual missionaries. Ultimately, all of these levels are important and should be utilized in looking at Japan's place within this movement. Worldwide "missions history" is a long-established genre, with materials published by mission boards as well as works written by such scholars as Gustav Warneck, Kenneth Scott Latourette and Stephen Neill in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars are still writing on the history of missions on a broad global scale, but much of the recent literature by scholars like Dana L. Robert and Philip Jenkins, focuses on the role of

missions in the growth of world Christianity.<sup>174</sup> Studies of missions on a broad regional (e.g., West Africa, Southern Africa, the Middle East or the Indian subcontinent) or national scale are also commonly found in both the previous missionary literature as well as more recent scholarship.<sup>175</sup>

Another scale of analysis is the focus on denominations and institutions. Arguably one of the most accessible levels for scholars researching the modern missionary movement, it is also one of the most promising areas of recent research, with much relevance for purportedly unsuccessful fields like Japan.<sup>176</sup> Every denomination and missionary society composed various works on the history of their own missions, often focusing on specific “fields” and published by the foreign mission boards, denominational presses (or in denominationally-oriented

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<sup>174</sup> See Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity became a World Religion* (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2009). Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: the Coming of World Christianity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Unsurprisingly this literature also neglects historically significant mission fields such as Japan.

<sup>175</sup> Though there are many edited volumes published on regions or nations today, there is little comparison between various nations or regions. For an example of a comparative outline (though somewhat dated ) see Kiyoko Takeda, *Comparative Chronology of Protestantism in Asia: 1792-1945* (Tokyo, Institute of Asian Cultural Studies, International Christian University, 1984) is a good example of a comparative historical outline of various Asian nations. There are many recent examples of missions scholarship on the national scale. One example is, Timothy Yates, *The Conversion of the Maori: Years of Religious and Social Change, 1814-1842* (Cambridge and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2013) on New Zealand missions. The most prominent general work on missions to Japan is Otis Cary's *A History of Christianity in Japan*, published originally in 1909.

<sup>176</sup> For Verbeck's Reformed Church, see Bruggink (2004) which looks briefly at the entire history of the denomination, including its missions. Some missionary societies have recently been reexamined as well, such as *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010*, eds. Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, 165-192. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2012), an edited work with one chapter on Japan that focuses on indigenous evangelists in rural Annaka in central Japan. There are many denominational works on the mission field of Japan such as Henry St. George Tucker, *The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1938) and Stephen Willis Ryder's *A Historical-educational Study of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America* (York, Pennsylvania: York Printing Co., 1935), and Calvin Parker, *The Southern Baptist Mission in Japan 1889-1989*. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press, 1991). Laman's *From Pioneers to Partners* is perhaps the most recent example of a denomination history, for the Reformed Church in America, the denomination Verbeck was a missionary for in Japan.

periodicals). The role of missions in institutions, such as schools with missionary origins, is more heralded in societies like Japan today than the general anniversary of the inauguration of Protestant missions in Japan, which, in 1909 (50<sup>th</sup>) and 1959 (100<sup>th</sup>) were celebrated with much more fanfare. In 2009, though there was some recognition by Japanese Protestants of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary, outside of Japan there was virtually no interest.<sup>177</sup> In contrast, in 2013, the oldest mission school, Meiji Gakuin, celebrated its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary with the acknowledgment of its missionary founders.<sup>178</sup> There are also examples of literature on other institutions such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the YMCA in Japan. However informative, overall this literature on denominations and institutions often lacks a wider interpretive framework or application, and, particularly for Japan, fails to reach a larger audience or contribute much to the academic study of missions and world Christianity.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Contrast this to the large 2007 conference celebrating 200 years of Protestant missions in China, or even a conference devoted to the pioneer missionary to India, Henry Martyn, sponsored by the Henry Martyn Centre in Cambridge in 2012. The one exception, perhaps, was Hamish Ion's book *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Modern Japan*, published in 2009, who acknowledged the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in the introduction.

<sup>178</sup> Meiji Gakuin dates its founding back to the Hepburn *juku* in Yokohama in 1864. Churches, such as the Tokyo Union Church, celebrated its 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2012 as the oldest Japanese Protestant Church, founded by American missionaries and their converts.

<sup>179</sup> See, Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010) and Jon Thares Davidann, *World of Crisis and Progress: The American YMCA in Japan, 1890-1930* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Lehigh University Press, 1998). Though not about Japan, Miwa Hirono's *International Religious Agencies in China* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) focuses mostly on British missionaries and their societies (Salvation Army included) up to today. Perhaps this literature can be incorporated into the larger context of similar movements and institutions throughout the world, and contribute more to the literature on the indigenization of Christianity. Undoubtedly, the role of missionaries as founding figures in many of the institutions is readily acknowledged in the Japanese literature, particularly for educational institutions. For example, on the history of Christian and missionary schools in Japan see the centennial anniversary publication of the *Kirisuto gakkō kyōiku dōmei* [Association of Christian Schools in Japan] *Kameikō no ayumi: sōritsu no ishizue* [The Progress of the Affiliated Schools: The Establishment of the Foundation Stones] published in 2011, which gives a brief two page history of the historical roots (most of the through missionaries) of the 198 affiliated Christian schools. Also, the missionary contributions to the field of medicine is also acknowledged, if briefly, in works like John Z. Bowers, *When the Twain Meet:*

Though all of these levels provide insights into the history of the modern missionary movement and Japan, there is an advantage to starting small-scale with the analysis of individual missionaries. Such a focus could entail a more flexible approach to the study of the modern missionary movement that does not oversimplify or neglect the particularities of specific interactions. In a work on another admittedly “failed” mission field, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, Ussama Makdisi asserts that “the missionary movement is not simply about organizations, denominations, and groups, but individuals who have a larger impact through their connections, networks and personal relationships.”<sup>180</sup> Makdisi’s work focuses on As’ad Shidyaq, an early convert of American missionaries, from a prominent Maronite family in Lebanon who was imprisoned, tortured, stripped of his (Maronite) Christian name, and died in confinement in 1830, hailed by the American missionaries as a martyr. Makdisi calls for a more nuanced approach to the missionaries in the Middle East in a way that applies to the study of other societies such as Japan:

The rich histories of missions and the worlds upon which they acted must be rescued from the unimaginative nationalist and sectarian polemics that taint all those associated with missions with the stigma of foreignness. By the same token, the unpredictable outcome of the intersection of competing histories, cultures, and contexts must not be too quickly credited to missions, or grasped as evidence of the benevolence of missionaries....There is no such thing, ultimately, as the “fundamental egalitarianism” of the Christian message or the simple “imperialism” of American missionaries. There were Christians, there were (mixed) messages...but the relationships among all these were neither obvious nor fundamental, and certainly not straightforward. A new historical imagination is needed to uncover the entangled histories of a missionary encounter that began on the eve of modernity.<sup>181</sup>

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*The Rise of Western Medicine in Japan*. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

<sup>180</sup> Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 4-15.

<sup>181</sup> Makdisi, pp. 14-15.

One way to start building a “new historical imagination” of these missionary encounters is to provide a more meaningful study of the missionary movement at the individual level. But, how does one choose which missionaries to look at? Pioneer or early missionaries are useful figures to focus on because they often have a profound impact on and lay the foundations for later missions and growth of Christianity. In addition, pioneer missionaries are also figures who have much symbolic value for their sending societies, as well as their converts and the succeeding generations. The people of the receiving societies have often appropriated the pioneer missionaries for their own purposes to fit narratives that may be similar to or different than Western narratives. Even after their deaths, these missionaries are often not forgotten by these societies. For example, in a speech to the Federal Council of Churches in 1915, the well-known Japanese official and friend of Teddy Roosevelt, Viscount Kaneko Kentaro, acknowledged Japan’s general debt to Americans for “the good offices which your people rendered us at various occasions,” emphasizing the “heavy obligations” they had to the American Church “for the unselfish and impartial labor of your pioneer missionaries,” asserting that “the part that such missionaries as Drs. Hepburn, Williams, Verbeck, Brown and others have taken in the work of reconstructing the Empire is something which this nation shall never forget, so long as it lasts.”<sup>182</sup> Though all of these founders had passed away by that point, they were utilized for the purpose of easing diplomatic tensions regarding immigration restrictions by appealing to a shared narrative of mutually respectful Japanese-American foreign relations, something that became increasingly difficult after World War I.

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<sup>182</sup> Quoted in Shailer Mathews, “Viscount Kaneko on Christianity and Internationalism,” *The Biblical World* 45/6 (June, 1915), p. 362. The missionaries are the only specific individuals mentioned by name in the speech.



Also, these pioneer missionaries are transitional figures who often preceded many of the changes of modernity in the societies they were sent to and thus they, like their initial converts, experienced both the old and the new. For Japan, in particular, the pioneer missionaries arrived at the end of the Tokugawa period of seclusion and resided there during the birth pangs of a new era. The well-known reformer and westernizer Fukuzawa Yukichi recognized the unique position of his generation of scholars who, like the pioneer missionaries, lived through this dynamic period:

...when discussing the past, they are less likely to resort to vague conjectures. They can directly use their own experience to shed light on [the early stages of] Western civilization....The advantage of which I speak derives wholly from the unique experience of present-day scholars, an experience that will never come again once this present generation is gone....Consider for a moment that today's scholars of the West were but a few years ago, all students of Chinese learning, all adherents of Shinto and Buddhism, all feudal warriors or people living within the feudal system. It is just as if a person had led two lives in a single body, or as if a single person possessed two bodies.<sup>183</sup>

An example of the changes this transitional generation experienced, according to Marius Jansen, comes from the chronicler of the Iwakura Embassy to the West in the early 1870s, Kume Kunitake, who “adopted as his definition of civilization a simple correlation with the distribution of the wealth produced by a country. Nothing could better indicate the distance he had travelled from the feudal society into which he had been born a samurai.” Jansen asserted that the new Meiji generation possessed an optimism, believing that “Japan would have its chance, and so would able individuals....Limitations of status, rank, and region began to give way to qualifications established through education.” Jansen, citing C. V. Wedgwood's words that “history is written backwards, but lived forward,” argued that this transitional generation who

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<sup>183</sup> Quoted in Albert Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 163-164.

anticipated great things for Japan, could help later observers, who often take many of the changes for granted, “to realize what it was like to know only the beginning.”<sup>184</sup>

In a similar way to the Japanese scholars and statesmen, the handful of pioneer missionaries and foreigners who lived in Japan during the 1860s had a unique perspective and identity that later residents could not acquire. William Elliot Griffis, Verbeck’s biographer and one of the earliest foreigners to teach in the interior of Japan, observed the transition firsthand the replacement of the daimyo with the new governors of prefectures. Reflecting on this momentous occasion while he was teaching in the early 1870s in the domain of Echizen (Fukui), Griffis wrote,

The writer counts among the most impressive of all his life’s experiences that scene in the immense castle hall of Fukui, when the Daimio of Echizen bid farewell to his three thousand two-sworded retainers, and, amidst the tears and smiles and loving farewells of the city’s populace, left behind him lands, revenue and obedient followers, and retired to live as a private gentleman in Tokio.<sup>185</sup>

Another foreigner who had similar sentiments was the famed English scholar of Japanese language and literature, Basil Hall Chamberlain, who penned in his 1891 work, *Things Japanese*, that, “To have lived through the transition stage of modern Japan makes a man feel preternaturally old: for here he is in modern times,...and yet he can himself distinctly remember the Middle Ages.”<sup>186</sup> Similarly, James C. Hepburn, one of the pioneer medical missionaries to Japan, attended a dinner of the Tokyo Medical Society in 1884, and commented on Japan’s

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<sup>184</sup> Marius B. Jansen, “The Meiji Modernizers,” in Carl L. Beck and Ardath W. Burks, eds. *Aspects of Meiji Modernization: The Japan Helpers and the Helped* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Libraries, 1983), pp. 16, 18-19.

<sup>185</sup> Quoted in Jansen, “The Meiji Modernizers,” p. 13.

<sup>186</sup> Quoted by John Whitney Hall, “Changing Conceptions of the Modernization of Japan” in *Studies in the Modernization of Japan: Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 7.

impressive progress in medicine since his arrival: “Some seventy doctors sat down to dinner. Heard several very animated speeches from Japanese and others. This is one of the evidences of the wonderful advance made by this nation. How little I thought, twenty-five years ago, that I should see such a sight in my day.”<sup>187</sup> Individuals like Hepburn and Verbeck, who lived through such a dynamic period in modern Japanese history, deserve to be reassessed with a model that incorporates a “new historical imagination.”

### **1.3.2 The Mid-Nineteenth Century Ideal of “Living Epistles”**

Missionaries like Verbeck and Hepburn were members of the last generation of missionaries to Asia that circumnavigated the African continent in a five-month journey to Japan. In addition, Verbeck did not return to the U.S. or Europe until 1873, fourteen years after his arrival in Japan, an uncommonly long period of time for succeeding generations of missionaries. However, earlier missionaries like William Carey resided in India for 41 straight years, and Adoniram Judson lived in Asia for 37 years with only one furlough. What sustained these individual pioneer missionaries and their successors through the vicissitudes of their careers as missionaries throughout the world? An important part of their motivation was their sense of calling that they were enacting a larger narrative, one in which they were called to evangelize the world, bringing the message of the gospel to every corner of the globe. This was a lifetime commitment to a calling fraught with challenges, as Judson reveals in his “Advice to Missionary Candidates” in

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<sup>187</sup> In William Elliot Griffis. *Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmate: A Life Story of Toil for Christ* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1913), p. 159. Hepburn retired from his medical work in the mid-1870s and focused more on translation work and teaching.

1832, “Let it be a missionary *life*. That is, commit for life, and not for a limited term....Beware of prematurely judging native Christians and/or non-Christians upon arrival. Disappointment, disgust, lack of contextual understanding, and close contact with those formerly seen only from a distance can combine to dishearten or prejudice you altogether.”<sup>188</sup>

Missionaries, in contrast to the other foreign globetrotters of their era—whether merchants, diplomats or travelers—were committed to communicating this vital message to every tribe and nation. Furthermore, pioneer missionaries often went to locations where they faced hostility or where this message was not welcomed. Therefore, the idea of embodying the message in their daily life and actions was a central part of their vision and strategy for mission. One missionary in 1900 expressed it in such terms: “And meanwhile...we urge our message upon them in the name of God who sent us to them, and in the name of our message itself, which surpasses all other messages in fine, deep-reaching self-evidencing power. The living God in the message appeals to the living man who was made for God.”<sup>189</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, when the modern missionary movement was growing, the image of the missionary as a “living epistle” gave expression to such ideals and provides a useful concept in analyzing the impact of missionaries like Verbeck—both what they endeavored to do and how others perceived them.

In the spread of Christianity, missionaries have often been public figures not unlike political statesmen and cultural icons. From the Apostle Paul to St. Patrick in the ancient era, and from Francis Xavier to David Livingstone in the modern era, such missionaries are familiar figures in the annals of world history. As a “evangelizing” religion, all Christians in some sense

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<sup>188</sup> Quoted in James Jin-Hong Kim, p. 34.

<sup>189</sup> William Newton Clarke *A Study of Christian Missions* Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1900) p. 216.

have an obligation to spread the faith, but missionaries functioned as exemplars of this calling, going out and living amongst the people they were trying to reach with the gospel.<sup>190</sup> However, there is little evidence that the specific term “living epistle” was used prior to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Protestant missionary movement was growing. For example, in the 1840 Annual Report of the American Tract Society, the concept of “living epistles” was used to encourage Christians to be active and useful in the world, “...to carry ‘the light of the world’ where its beams may irradiate the chambers of ignorance and vice; to hold up the ‘living epistles’ ‘where they may be ‘known and read of all men,’ and to bring the ‘witnesses’ for God where their testimony may be heard.”<sup>191</sup> Though this broad call to “hold up the ‘living epistles’” was not limited to missionaries, they were celebrated manifestations of this ideal.

Though the term “living epistle” is not in the Bible, the concept of a “living epistle” is found most clearly expressed in Paul’s second epistle to the Corinthians, where he writes, “Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men. Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.”<sup>192</sup> Thus, the written

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<sup>190</sup> Missionaries can be viewed as those who follow the exhortation of the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Romans: “How then will they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without someone preaching? And how are they to preach unless they are sent?” (Romans 10:14-15a), English Standard Version, 2001 Crossway Bibles, Good News Publishers, Wheaton, Illinois, 2001).

<sup>191</sup> Fifteenth Annual Report, American Tract Society presented at New York, May 13, 1840, p. 31. Accessed online at Google books, 2/4/2013.

<sup>192</sup> II Corinthians 3:2-3 (King James Version) The context for this passage, and for much of the second epistle to the Corinthians, is Paul’s defense of his authority as an apostle, and thus his claim that the people of Corinth—as “living epistles” are the best evidence of claims. Thus, the 19<sup>th</sup> century use of the idea of “living epistles,” though based on the Bible, took this concept in a different direction. The epistles or letters are perhaps the most numerous genre found in the Bible, comprising 21 out of the 27 books of the New Testament.

“epistle”—defined as a letter or a message, usually one with a didactic or teaching purpose—is reinforced by the those who embody the gospel through their lives and actions. The epistles to the Corinthians, and this passage in particular, was the predominant source of the concept of a “living epistle.” As one scholar who focuses on missionaries asserts, “The original text accepted by most implicitly as the source of Christian mission spirit was the collection of letters by Paul in the New Testament, especially those to the Corinthians, which not only validated and encouraged evangelism but provided practical and spiritual advice on how it should be carried on.”<sup>193</sup> Thus, the concept of a “living epistle” expanded on and applied teachings exhorted by the Apostle Paul in his epistles.

But what was the larger narrative that “living epistles” enacted (or attempting to enact) in their lives? Nothing less than an extension of the incarnation, the greatest story of the Christian faith, beginning with the first words of Gospel of John, “the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,” and concluding with Christ’s final exhortation in Gospel of Matthew to “go and make disciples of all nations....”<sup>194</sup> In a scholarly analyses of missionary memoirs and biographies entitled, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography*, Terrence L. Craig, acknowledges the importance of the story of Christ in missionary narratives: “These books are written with the Bible not just in mind but often as a model. The New Testament especially provided patterns for a Christian life, while Christ himself was followed in a more literal fashion.”<sup>195</sup> “The Bible,” asserts Craig, “came to life for

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<sup>193</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 5.

<sup>194</sup> John 1:14a (NKJV), Matthew 28:19a.

<sup>195</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 39.

them, in *their* lives. Taking Christ as the model of a Christian hero, they recognized that by following Him they too could be religious heroes.”<sup>196</sup>

Though he doesn’t use the concept of “living epistles,” Paul Ricoeur makes a similar connection between “testimony as narrative” and “testimony as act” in which testimony has a “dialogic structure” such that “there is a dynamic and mutually reinforcing tension between how I characterize the world...and how I live in it.” Thus, a verbal account of the truth is not enough, but that truth must be embodied in action if it is to be an effective testimony or message.<sup>197</sup> In other words, the larger narrative of Christianity gave meaning to their lives, and the truth of the gospel they preached was reinforced by the way they lived. This is the way that missionaries were presented in the missionary and biographical literature, and, as Terrence L. Craig points out, a great majority of this literature was “written and read by sympathetic people in support a mutual cause.” Craig asserts that the tensions in this literature between the desired pattern, in which “...missionaries identified so fanatically with a cause, and with Christ...[and] those who wrote had the impossible job of matching a record of human strengths and weaknesses with the idealized life expected of them....To preserve themselves they had to preserve belief not only in their divine cause but that the divine cause was being achieved.”<sup>198</sup>

The concept of a “living epistle” relates to this idealized model of the missionary life that the biographical literature sought to diffuse, but it also provides insights to missionary identities and strategies that can be incorporated into the more recent analyses of the history of the modern

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<sup>196</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 46. He also writes, “The entire pattern of one’s life of self-sacrifice within a heathen community gradually won over to Christ and Western ways could be securely believed in.”

<sup>197</sup> Myron Bradley Penner, “Ironic Witness: Embodying faith in a Postmodern Age,” *The Christian Century* 130/14 (July 10, 2013), p. 33

<sup>198</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 105. It is interesting that in Ballagh’s funeral address for Verbeck, he relates Verbeck’s life to three key biblical figures Enoch, Moses and Elijah.

missionary movement. Overall, viewing missionaries as “living epistles,” as enacting what they saw as a larger, eternally significant narrative, allows observers to better understand their sense of calling and appreciate the motivation that would impel individuals like William Carey, Adoniram Judson, and Guido Verbeck to commit their lives to such a challenging task.

Many scholars, even those who do not necessarily dismiss missionaries as “cultural imperialists,” omit this larger narrative in their analysis of missionaries. For example, in his essay, *Japanese Christians and American Missionaries*, John F. Howes addressed what he refers to as one of the big questions in the development of Christianity in Meiji Japan—why such “exceptionally capable persons” were not only attracted to Christianity at first but remained active in the faith even after the novelty of Western ideas declined. Howes attributes this result primarily to two factors—the backgrounds of the individual young Japanese converts, and the “sense of dedication to spiritual reform which the young men found expressed in the action and teaching of the missionaries.”<sup>199</sup> Though Howes acknowledges the importance of the actions of these missionaries, in that “the spirit of the missionaries coupled with the contents of the faith itself led them to dedicate their lives to such reform,” the motives that inspired the missionaries is almost entirely absent. At one point he implies that the motivation of the missionaries was irrational, stating, “The idea of mission itself is often not rational.”<sup>200</sup> What is clear is that Howes, in his essay, is more concerned in presenting the missionaries’ role in the narrative of Japan’s modernization than in presenting the narrative of Christianity that the missionaries to Japan sought to enact in their lives.

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<sup>199</sup> Howes, p. 367.

<sup>200</sup> Howes, p. 358.



### 1.3.3 Movements in Protestantism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

There were many movements in the mid-nineteenth century that contributed to or gave support to the concept of “living epistles.” Most analyses of the modern Protestant missionary movement tend to focus on the origins in Great Awakenings in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. But the impact of revival movements in the 1850s were also important, and churches such as the (Dutch) Reformed Church, which recruited Verbeck, added more churches in America during the decade of the 1850s (150 congregations) than in any other decade in its history, more congregations in a single decade than had been added in the 172 years between 1628-1800.<sup>201</sup> In particular, the Revival of 1857-58 was a key event in awakening a renewed faith and unifying Protestant evangelicals. Kathryn Long describes this revival as “perhaps the closest thing to a truly national revival in American history...As a national event, the revival...captured and concentrated the attention of people throughout the different denominational streams of antebellum Protestantism and united them in a shared experience of intense personal religious concern.”<sup>202</sup> Not only this, but, unlike most prior revivals that began with clergy, this revival began with a prayer meeting led by a businessman (or layman) in the Old North Dutch Church in New York City and subsequently spread to other cities.<sup>203</sup> This emphasis on the leadership of a Christian laity was reinforced by the growth of organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association

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<sup>201</sup> Bruggink and Baker, p. 82.

<sup>202</sup> Kathryn Long, *The Revivals of 1857-1858* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 7; David J. Bosch. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in the Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 307.

<sup>203</sup> The businessman was Jeremiah Lanphier. The revival is sometimes called the “Layman’s Prayer Revival.” Today there is a sculpture of Lanphier in New York City, just outside the headquarters of the American Bible Society on Broadway.

(YMCA), since its founding in London in 1844 by the layman George Williams. The YMCA, which had become a worldwide movement by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, endeavored to “provide a structure of Christian fellowship...for respectable clerks and other such white-collar young men. The goal was to win these young men to Christ and form their minds in the best evangelistic tradition as they prepared for their careers in business.”<sup>204</sup>

Though few of the scholars writing on the Revival of 1857-1858 discuss its impact on foreign missions, it played a role in expanding foreign missions from the U.S. Though the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations had sent missionaries under the aegis of the Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions prior to the 1850s, in 1857 the Dutch Reformed Church, and in 1859 the Presbyterian Church (North), formed separate missionary societies and both societies sent out pioneer missionaries to Japan in 1859. Most of these missionaries propagated some of the practices associated with these revivals, particularly the focus on prayer meetings and the incorporation of laymen. Missionaries routinely held a “week of prayer” at the beginning of the year. For example, in Verbeck’s Second Annual Report in 1862, he reported that “This year, like the preceding one, opened with the “week of prayer.”<sup>205</sup> This practice continued, and in 1872, the first Japanese Protestant church grew directly out of the “week of prayer” that Verbeck’s colleague James Ballagh held in Yokohama. Also, according to Margaret Griffis’ diary, in the early 1870s, the members of the foreign community went to missionaries’ houses for singing and prayer meetings. On a particular gathering in 1872, she

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<sup>204</sup> Brian Dickey, “‘Going about and doing good’: Evangelicals and Poverty, 1815-1860” in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals in Britain 1780-1980*, ed. John Wolfe (London: SPCK, 1995), p. 53-54. The YMCA was very influential in Japan and China in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and many of the early Christian leaders became active in the YMCA.

<sup>205</sup> G. F. Verbeck, “Annual Report for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1861” in JMRCA, Gardner Sage Library, New Brunswick Seminary.

recalls that “after singing many hymns, accompanied by the organ [usually played by Verbeck], piano, and flute, we had a chapter read, and a prayer offered....”<sup>206</sup> The focus on unity in prayer and worship was a key aspect of the revival and promoted in mission fields like Japan in the 1860s and 1870s.

Another movement that had an impact on Protestantism and missions beginning in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was the Evangelical Alliance, an ecumenical movement formed in 1845-46 that sought to bring together the Continental and English evangelical Protestant churches, healing some of the earlier alienation between them in “a visible, worldwide fellowship of believers.”<sup>207</sup> In many ways, the Evangelical Alliance supported similar ideals as the revivals, in that it “encouraged the increased involvement of the laity, which itself helped to break down barriers between the religious and the secular...On the issues of economic ethics especially there was a growing interdenominational consensus of approach.”<sup>208</sup> The first international conferences of

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<sup>206</sup> Another time, she relates how, on a Friday evening, they “all met at Mr. Verbeck’s, had sacred music...read prayers....” In another entry she simply states, “prayer meeting at Mr. Verbeck’s in the evening.” Diary of Margaret Griffis. William Elliot Griffis Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Perhaps one of the more interesting aspects of this diary is her detailed description of the sumptuous Christmas feast at the Verbeck residence in 1872, and the mention of Verbeck’s role in arranging a presentation before the Imperial Court on New Year’s Day on 1873.

<sup>207</sup> Nicholas M. Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical network in the middle of the nineteenth century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), p. 49, 151, 253. Its doctrinal standards excluded such groups as Roman Catholics and Quakers from the Alliance. Relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics are generally antagonistic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Alliance founders saw their movement as “a bulwark against the onslaught of rationalism, atheism and movements within Roman Catholicism.” It certainly did not help matters when, in 1854, Pope Pius IX promulgated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. To some extent, prior Jesuit missionaries were held up in contrast to contemporary Catholics. In 1862, Henry Venn, secretary of the Church Missionary Society in England, wrote *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier*, which was translated into German seven years later.

<sup>208</sup> Jane Garnett, “Evangelicalism and Business in Mid-Victorian Britain,” in *Revival and Religion Since 1700: Essays for John Walsh* eds. J. Garnett, Emmeline Garnett, and Colin Matthew (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2003), p. 61. This approach mainly stressed individual piety and moral responsibility. At the same time that missionary biographies were proliferating, biographies of exemplary laymen, such as James Rendel Harris’s biography of the Manchester engine manufacturer, Frank Crossley

the Evangelical Alliance were held in conjunction with the first two industrial exhibitions—in London in 1851 and Paris in 1855. The next conference was held in Berlin in 1857, convened at the invitation of King Frederick Wilhelm IV of Prussia, and though Americans participated in all these conferences, the American branch of the alliance did not official form until after the Civil War in 1867.<sup>209</sup>

Undoubtedly, the Alliance had a great impact on missions, for “the efforts of members of the Evangelical Alliance in the field of mission helped to reverse attitudes widely held at the beginning of the nineteenth century when, in Lutheran and Reformed circles, it was deemed sinful to send contributions to the Missionary Societies of Basle and Paris.”<sup>210</sup> The director of the Basle Mission, Wilhelm Hoffmann in 1839 recorded that he only had the names of five “men of influence” who were interested in missions, but by 1846 that number had risen to fifty. “Missionary meetings that were considered to have been well attended if twenty people turned up could in 1846 count on the support of nearly four thousand.”<sup>211</sup> This interest in missions continued to grow throughout the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, from 1799-1879,

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presented these figures as those who could “revitalize the Christian creed, and prevent its leading formulae from falling into disuse or decay.” Garnett, pp. 63-64.

<sup>209</sup> According to Griffis, Verbeck’s father Karl, was from Germany, and Guido and his siblings spoke German at home with him. Railton, p. 185. Long, p. 207.

<sup>210</sup> Railton, p. 253. One of the leaders of the Alliance in Germany, was the Eduard Kuntze, one of the foremost supporters of foreign missions. He recalls earlier opposition to evangelism and to missions. But, by 1856, in contrast, missionary societies were recognized and accepted by church authorities. Kuntze was influenced by German pietism and Moravians, derived from the founders Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who founded a missionary society in 1705 and were the “spiritual roots of the modern missionary movement.” English evangelicals “took many ideas from the practical Christian philanthropy of the German pietists.” Railton, pp. 142-144. Thus, the Alliance was instrumental in promoting and building hospitals, orphanages, schools, Sunday schools, and other institutions.

<sup>211</sup> Railton, p. 150.

the British Church Missionary Society (CMS) sent out 991 missionaries and in the subsequent 26 years it sent out 1478 missionaries.<sup>212</sup>

One of the leaders of the Evangelical Alliance, Christian Gottlob Barth (1799-1862) set up a “cross-denominational and international communications network,” writing more than a thousand letters to people around the world, personally supporting missionaries like Gutzlaff, and speaking regularly at missions conferences. One of his contemporaries said of Barth that he “embraced the whole world with the aims of missionary love, and continuously exchanged despatches concerning the kingdom of God with all the nations of the earth, as perhaps no ruler, diplomatist, or ambassador ever did.”<sup>213</sup> An indirect impact of the Alliance was the growth of the concept of ecumenical missionary conferences in China and Japan, and also the support of union movements by missionaries such as Verbeck’s colleague, Samuel R. Brown.<sup>214</sup> In fact, the statement of faith that the first Japanese Protestant Union Church adopted was based partly on the doctrinal statement of the Evangelical Alliance, no doubt encouraged by early missionaries

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<sup>212</sup> Bosch, p. 307. Although many have attributed the growth in missionaries to a growth in imperialism, Bosch says it would be wrong to ignore other factors. One of the reasons for the official European and English churches’ lack of support of missions before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was the association of missions with Pietism as well as the earlier lack of support from commercial and political bodies.

<sup>213</sup> The Moravian church in England and on the Continent, with its origins in Germany, was an important part of the Alliance from its inception in the 1840s. See Railton, p. 51, 80-82, 253. One of the German pastors involved in the Evangelical Alliance, Theodor Fleidner (1800-1864) travelled to Holland and England to raise funds for poor unemployed workers when the silk mill closed in 1823, he attended missionary classes and met Karl Gutzlaff, Railton, p. 81-82. Gutzlaff met Carl Bunsen, one of the founders of the Evangelical Alliance (called the “pioneer of pan-Protestantism”) in London in Nov. 1849, and he called Gutzlaff “the apostle of China.” Bunsen had a great impact not only on the Alliance and on supporting foreign missions, but according to Railton, with Bunsen’s help, Max Müller, the great Orientalist linguist and scholar and editor of the 50 volumes of *Sacred Books of the East*, came to London and was given a chair at the University of Oxford. Railton, pp. 46-48 p. 250.

<sup>214</sup> In Japan, missionary conferences were held in 1872, 1883, and 1900. Brown, in particular, actually mentions the Evangelical Alliance in his letters and interacted with Englishmen in Yokohama who were influenced by the Alliance. Though Americans were not the most numerous group in the Alliance, in the official report from the formation in 1846 there were two Americans (out of the 25 listed). Railton, pp. 48, 85, 255, 259.

such as Brown who were enthusiastic supporters of such union movements from the beginning.<sup>215</sup> Brown mentions in a letter in late 1860 that they had daily “union prayer meetings” on board the 13-14 men-of-war in Yokohama in which the seamen respond favorably, a result which he says can be “traced back to the Fulton Street prayer meeting [in the Revivals of 1857-8]. Furthermore, in 1861, Brown notes that they began the new year with a “blessed week” of prayer, at the suggestion of the London Evangelical Alliance, which included a few “pious merchants of Yokohama” as well as a multinational group composed of American, English, Scottish and some Africans.<sup>216</sup>

The ties between missionaries in China and Japan were close from the beginning, and the ideals of unity and transcending denominations were important for the pioneer English missionaries in China.<sup>217</sup> The Gosport Academy, founded in 1800 by the London Missionary Society to train missionaries, was led by Dr. David Bogue who instilled in his students (such as Morrison and William Milne, early missionaries to China) a commitment to the missionary as one who was “generous, liberal and just principles...[and should] not be immediately attached to any sort of Christians....He should have a spirit of enlarged Catholic [universal] love...His

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<sup>215</sup> Stephen W. Ryder, p. 335. Tokyo Union Church presently dates its founding from this church, and continues this ecumenical focus. In their weekly bulletin, they declare: “Tokyo Union Church was founded in 1872 and is an ecumenical and international congregation...The word ‘union’ is used to indicate that the membership is composed of Christians from many churches and nationalities who are united through a common faith in the Lord Jesus Christ....Our vision: A diverse community of growing, committed Christians in the heart of Tokyo, sharing the light of Christ with all nations.” Tokyo Union Church Bulletin, August 12, 2012.

<sup>216</sup> Samuel R. Brown to Philip Peltz, 23 November 1860; Samuel R. Brown to Philip Peltz, 15 January, 1861, JMRCA. An example of the impact of the Evangelical Alliance of America is when representatives from the Alliance wrote Secretary of State William Seward about the persecutions of Japanese Christians in 1867, which supposedly convinced the American minister in Japan, Van Valkenburgh in support of missionaries. Ion, *Christian Missionaries*, p. 98.

<sup>217</sup> China missionaries visited Japan fairly frequently, usually for a short rest or vacation. Verbeck and his family also took shelter in Shanghai at one point, and Hepburn made frequent trips to Shanghai in the early years since there was no printer in Japan for publications like tracts and his dictionary.

converts should, if possible, be Catholic Christians, and his teaching influence them to cherish union, not to provoke division.”<sup>218</sup> But, given the great diversity of missionaries to China, such unity was generally unsuccessful, but the ideals were periodically revived. According to the American missionary, Timothy Richard, there had been earlier attempts to form such an alliance that had failed for lack of a common creed. In 1884, while staying with Dr. Joseph Edkins of the London Mission in Beijing, Richard read some back issues of the *Evangelical Alliance Magazine*. “In these I found that the various nationalities who were members of the Alliance, though agreeing in general, subscribed to very different creeds. I picked out the shortest of these to present to the Peking missionary body as most likely to have fewer controversial points. On this creed we finally agreed to found the China Evangelical Alliance.”<sup>219</sup>

Verbeck’s background and his career give evidence that he was influenced by the ideals of the Evangelical Alliance as well as the revivals. Verbeck mentioned the Evangelical Alliance in a reference to a lecture he was to deliver in Yokohama “On the Relation of Religion and Science” which was “under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance.”<sup>220</sup> This was the Japanese Evangelical Alliance, which was formed in 1878, and these meetings were usually referred to as

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<sup>218</sup> Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), p. 50. Daily considers the work of these pioneers as a success, though he largely bases this upon the later growth of the Church in China: “Robert Morrison’s mission was complete: the pioneering missionary had mastered the language, translated key texts, established a seminary...Overall] program and Morrison’s mission had been a success. China now possessed its own version of the Bible, a selection of evangelical texts, and the first generation of converts...the seed planted by the Gosport alumni, Robert Morrison and William Milne, would nevertheless continue to grow in China—blossoming into a unique Chinese Protestant religion, which still exhibits traits of its British evangelical ancestry and now claims over fifty million devoted adherents, making it one of the largest Christian communities on the planet.” pp. 190-191

<sup>219</sup> (Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1916), pp. 188-189.

<sup>220</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 11 March 1884. JMRCA.

*Shinbokukai* [General Fellowship Meetings, or Japan Alliance Meetings].<sup>221</sup> Verbeck would have been familiar with the focus on a living personal faith in the revivals because of his upbringing in the pietist Moravian community of Zeist in the Netherlands. The Moravian form of Pietism, which began in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century was led by figures like Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, brought about radical changes in Protestant churches because it “exhibited the worth and power of a living, personal, and practical Christianity.”<sup>222</sup> Verbeck, whose parents were Lutherans, would undoubtedly have been familiar with the ideals of the Evangelical Alliance movement as well, and the Moravians in general supported the Alliance, particularly its missionary and ecumenical emphases.<sup>223</sup> The Moravians were also the first Protestant group to fully support and engage in foreign missions as an outgrowth of their Christian piety. According to Gustav Warneck, the 19<sup>th</sup> century “father” of missiology, “It was in the age of Pietism that missions struck their first roots [in Protestantism], and it is the spirit of Pietism which...again revived them, and has brought them to their present bloom.....”<sup>224</sup>

One early Moravian missionary to Asia who was lived in the same community as Verbeck, was Joseph Kam, who served as a missionary to the Dutch East Indies from 1815-1833, a generation before Verbeck. Susan Nivens claims that the Moravians endeavored to “practice love over doctrinal debate,” and that the community in Zeist taught Kam that “every believer was

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<sup>221</sup> Verbeck spoke at several *Shinbokukai* [General Fellowship Meetings] in Japan, that focused on unity among Japanese Protestants.

<sup>222</sup> Gustav Warneck, quoted in Francis, M. DuBose, Ed. *Classics of Christian Mission* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1979), p. 75. Zeist was a Moravian community near Utrecht in the Netherlands that was founded in 1748.

<sup>223</sup> The Moravians did not require its followers to drop their membership in other churches and welcomed individuals from a variety of church backgrounds, such as Verbeck’s parents who remained members of the Lutheran church.

<sup>224</sup> Quoted in Francis M. Dubose, p. 75.



capable of leading worship, prayer, or singing.” Thus, as a missionary in Asia, Kam wrote hymns, sermons, devotional readings, began prayer meetings, all of which had a great impact, such that Kam has continued to be known as “the Apostle of Maluku” today.<sup>225</sup> Though a relatively obscure missionary figure today, individuals like Kam were the “missionary heroes” Verbeck would have continually heard about in his Moravian education. Verbeck also related being inspired by the presentations of these early missionaries, particularly the eccentric Karl Gutzlaff, who came to Zeist to speak of his mission to China. Verbeck wrote in 1890, “...whatever of true missionary spirit I imbibed in my youth and retained through life... I still hold in dear remembrance my early attendance at missionary meetings, and can vividly recall the deep impressions received in hearing missionary reports and addresses, among others especially those of Gutzlaff, the apostle of China.”<sup>226</sup>

The seven years Verbeck spent in America after leaving the Netherlands in 1852, though difficult in many ways, provided some of the most formative for experiences for his faith and commitment to missions. He recalled several instances of spiritual awakening that instilled in him a conviction of his calling to be a missionary.<sup>227</sup> While working in Arkansas as a civil

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<sup>225</sup> Susan Nivens, “Joseph Kam: Moravian Heart in Reformed Clothing,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35/ No. 3: 165-167. This title could apply to Verbeck as well, as well as the way Kam “sought practical, efficient solutions to barriers, emphasized evangelism and discipleship, and taught habits for Christian community” Nevins claims his time in Zeist with the Moravians gave Kam “discipline and physical stamina as he entered a more practical time of training.” p. 166.

<sup>226</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist* 5/ 6 (June, 1898), 174. The impact of Gutzlaff may have influenced Verbeck to want to be a missionary in China originally. Though none of the biographers mention it, in a speech at Auburn Seminary in 1890, Verbeck relates disappointment when he originally tried to become a missionary to China for the American Board, but was refused because he was not an American citizen. Records in Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary on Guido F. Verbeck, 1890.

<sup>227</sup> Before leaving for Japan, according to the minutes at Auburn Theological Seminary, he addressed the missionary society, discussing his calling to missions. He also revealed in a speech in 1890 at Auburn that he his application to be a missionary to China with the American Board was rejected because he was

engineer, he almost died of cholera and reportedly promised to become a missionary if he recovered. Years later, he recounted another experience around 1856 when, as an observer at a Methodist revival meeting, he was “deeply moved” and felt “led to repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and became a new creature....” The secretary of Verbeck’s foreign mission board, J. M. Ferris, in a reference to this prayer meeting Verbeck attended, wrote, “that small, obscure prayer meeting produced the Apostle to Japan.”<sup>228</sup> Shortly after this, Verbeck quit his work as a machinist in a Green Bay foundry, and attended the Presbyterian-affiliated Auburn Seminary, receiving not only theological training, but what in the 1850s was arguably the most organized advanced level of graduate education in America.<sup>229</sup> As previously mentioned, he was involved in the founding of a missionary society at Auburn, and also began attending the Dutch Reformed Church pastored by Samuel R. Brown, a former missionary to China and a man deeply committed to missions.<sup>230</sup> Verbeck’s embrace of the Calvinistic Reformed faith, though often under-emphasized by biographers, was also a consistent factor in his doctrinal beliefs and trust in God’s sovereignty throughout his years as a missionary.<sup>231</sup>

In general, movements such as Moravian pietism, revivalism, and the Evangelical Alliance in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to a vision which “helped to reinspire

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a foreigner. Archives of Auburn Theological Seminary, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

<sup>228</sup> J. M. Ferris, “The Beginnings in Japan” *Christian Intelligencer*, 1906, 257-258.

<sup>229</sup> Mark Noll, *The Civil War as Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 13.

<sup>230</sup> It is through his connection to Brown that Verbeck was recommended in 1859 as a candidate for the newly inaugurated Japan Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church.

<sup>231</sup> Verbeck consistently supported the use of the creeds and catechisms of the Reformed faith in the Japanese church. In the 1880s, he wrote a preface for a new translation of the Heidelberg Catechism by the German Reformed Church missionary A. D. Gring (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn and Tokyo: Kokubunsha., 1884).

churches...with evangelistic zeal and brotherly love,” thus lending widespread support to the ideals found in the concept of “living epistles.” Such influences were recognized in Verbeck, even by his contemporaries. At Verbeck’s funeral, fellow missionary James H. Ballagh highlighted the ecumenical nature of Verbeck’s faith. He mentioned the Moravians—“that eminently-evangelical and devoted missionary body of Christians”—from whom Verbeck received “a warmth and breadth of piety that with his cosmopolitan education made him more of a Continental or Ecumenical type of Christian than that of an insular or provincial character.”<sup>232</sup> Similarly, Otis Cary described Verbeck as “a conscientious and broad-minded Christian,” which had undoubtedly helped him to gain the trust of the Japanese people.<sup>233</sup> Throughout his years in Japan, Verbeck continued to interact with missionaries and Japanese Christians of various Protestant denominations, and supported the Japanese Protestant church union movement.<sup>234</sup> All of these factors—his pietist Moravian upbringing, his spiritual awakening and call to pursue missions, and his theological training—helped prepare him for his mission to Japan and contributed to making him an ideal missionary figure in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>232</sup> Rev. J. H. Ballagh, “Address at Dr. G. F. Verbeck’s Funeral Service” Tokyo, March 12, 1898. In JMRC. For instance, in his first annual report in 1860 he writes of the Episcopal missionaries as “Episcopal Brethren.” His first three children were baptized by the Episcopal Missionary, Channing Moore Williams, and his second son was named after him. His daughter Emma remained Episcopal and became a missionary in Japan for that church. A. Hamish Ion contrasts Verbeck and Brown to Ballagh in that he “did not seemingly live up to his early promise,” and that Ballagh’s repeated criticism of the Orthodox and Catholics in Japan, “show him to be much less cosmopolitan in outlook than Hepburn, Brown and Verbeck.” A. Hamish Ion, “Seeding the Wheat among the Tares: James Ballagh and Protestant Beginnings in the Hakone, Mishima and Numazu Regions,” *Meiji gakuin kirisutokyō kenkyūjo kiyō* 45 (Dec. 14, 2012): 4,7.

<sup>233</sup> Otis Cary, 351.

<sup>234</sup> A. Hamish Ion writes Christopher Carrothers writes that Hepburn, Verbeck, and Henry Stout (who replaced Verbeck in Nagasaki) did not vote for the Protestant union in 1872. Though this may be true, particularly of the Presbyterians like Hepburn and Carrothers, for Verbeck and Stout, they seemed mostly concerned that they not rush to make such a decision without knowledge and permission from the Board in the U.S. And, as Ion points out, “there was sympathy for the union effort, even from those whome Carrothers claimed opposed it” which included Verbeck. Ion, *American Missionaries*, pp. 246-249.

### 1.3.4 The Concept of “Living Epistles” Applied to Missionaries and to Verbeck

In general, movements such as the Evangelical Alliance and the revivals in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century contributed to the outward demonstration of piety that lent widespread support to the ideals found in the concept of living epistles. However, similar to these movements, the conception of “living epistles” has received little focus in relation to missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In David J. Bosch’s standard text on missiology, *Transforming Mission*, he discusses various “missionary motifs” that have been used in what he calls “the Enlightenment era” (the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century). Some of these include the “Great Commission” of Christ from the end of Matthew’s gospel to “go and make disciples of all nations” (Matt. 28: 19a) and the image of the “Macedonian man” who, in a vision, implored Paul to come to Macedonia (Acts 16:6-10). But he does not mention the concept of “living epistles.”<sup>235</sup>

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, however, this phrase “living epistle” began to be increasingly employed by some Protestant clergy in North America to illustrate the necessity for Christians to vividly display their written or spoken faith in their lives. In 1859, coincidentally the same year in which Tokugawa Japan was first opened to Protestant missionaries, Rev. Cornelius Tyree, a prominent Methodist minister in Virginia, delivered a sermon in which he declared that, “The Christian whose light thus shines, not only correctly renders—but beautifies the sacred text. His

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<sup>235</sup> Bosch, pp. 284-345. However, when Bosch discusses the development of a newer more “relevant” missiology in the latter 20<sup>th</sup> century, it sounds remarkably like the earlier 19<sup>th</sup> century “living epistle” model. Bosch quotes from a 1980 statement called *A Response to Lausanne*, which declares, “there is no biblical dichotomy between the word spoken and the word made visible in the lives of God’s people. Men will look as they listen and what they see must be at one with what they hear....” Bosch, p. 405-6. Bosch comments further on the necessity of such a “living message”: “If the church is to impart to the world a message of hope and love, of faith, justice and peace, something of this should become visible, audible, and tangible in the church itself. The witness of life of the believing community prepares the way for the gospel.” Bosch, p. 414. Bible quotes from the New International Version (NIV).

life and conduct are a sort of second edition of the written Scriptures—a living epistle which all can read, all understand, and that convinces and convicts all.”<sup>236</sup> In that same year, Tyree published a work entitled *The Living Epistle; or Moral Power of a Religious Life*, and was later awarded a doctorate in 1869 for his writing and preaching. In this work, he bemoaned the debased state of Christian testimony in America and urged Christians to let their faith speak, applying it directly to foreign missions:

All of earth’s inhabitants are one family. According to the teachings of Christ, all, the furthest off, are our neighbors....the missionary enterprise is not a modern conception engrafted on the religion of Christ, but is as much one of the genuine forms and developments of faith in Christ...Christ was the great model Missionary; the apostles were missionaries; all the members of the primitive churches were missionaries...and this spirit, Christians, in this day, must possess....You can not define New Testament religion, without including, as one of its essential elements, the missionary spirit.<sup>237</sup>

Almost two decades after Tyree’s work, the Canadian Methodist minister, E. Hartley Dewart wrote *Living Epistles; or, Christ’s Witnesses in the World*, a work that depicted the power of a “living epistle”:

It may be safely affirmed that the impression, made by the spirit and character of Christians upon the unconverted, is greater than what is made by their direct intentional efforts. You may not be able to induce those who mind only earthly things to read the Bible, or study the evidences of its Divine authorship....But they cannot escape from the influence of a godly life. It will preach to those who witness it daily wordless sermons of most persuasive eloquence. It is an argument for the truth and power of religion, which the most obtuse can understand. The power of a loving, self-denying act all can feel and appreciate. A life in harmony with the principles by which it professes to be governed, is its own best interpreter.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Cornelius Tyree, 1859 Accessed online at [gracegems.org](http://gracegems.org/25/living_epistle3.htm) on 16 October 2012: [http://gracegems.org/25/living\\_epistle3.htm](http://gracegems.org/25/living_epistle3.htm). Original work *The Living Epistle; or Moral Power of a Religious Life* Sheldon, Blakeman and Co., 1859. Reprint, Backus Book Publishers, Rochester, New York, 1986. This book still in print today.

<sup>237</sup> Tyree, *The Living Epistle*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>238</sup> E. Hartley Dewart *Living Epistles; or, Christ’s Witnesses in the World, Also an Essay on Christianity and Skepticism* (Toronto: Christian Guardian Office, 1878), p. 40. Dewart was not only a minister in various parts of Canada from 1851, he represented Toronto in the 1874 and 1878 First and Second General Conferences of the Methodist Church of Canada, and the editor of the Canadian periodical,

In conclusion, Dewart asserted that “it is God's purpose that every saved sinner should be a living epistle, in which all may read a practical testimony for the efficacy of His saving grace, — a witness for Christ in the world...”<sup>239</sup> This is similar to Tyree’s view of a living epistle as, “The Christian whose light thus shines [and] not only correctly renders, but beautifies the sacred text. His life and conduct is a sort of second edition of the written Scriptures—a living epistle that all can read, all understand, and that convinces and convicts all.”<sup>240</sup>

Such a concept of a living epistle appealed to missionaries particularly in East Asia where hostility towards Christianity was well-entrenched, and where outright evangelism was proscribed.<sup>241</sup> Some of the earliest Protestant missionaries to Japan advocated the ideal of a “living epistle,” in a country in which the preaching of the gospel was prohibited. John Liggins, the first Protestant missionary to Japan, in an appeal in 1861 for more missionaries to Japan stated that missionaries could,

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*Christian Guardian*, from 1869-1873. See George Henry Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada: Containing Historical, Educational and Statistical Information* (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), pp. 84. Though Dewart didn’t write about Japan specifically, according to Cornish’s statistics, the only listed foreign missions—other than to areas in North America—are three missionaries to “the Germans” and nine (including five Japanese assistants) to Japan. Cornish, pp. 523-524.

<sup>239</sup> Dewart, p. 48. He also applies this to conversions in a missionary context with the following anecdote: “When the native converts in Madagascar used to present themselves for baptism, they were often asked: “What first led you to think of becoming Christians? Was it any particular sermon, or the reading of God's Word?” The answer usually was, that the changed conduct of others, who had become Christians, was what first arrested their attention.” I knew this man to be a thief; that one was a drunkard; another was cruel and unkind to his family. Now, they are all changed. The thief is an honest man; the drunkard is sober and respectable; and lie that was cruel has become gentle and kind. There must be something good in a religion that can work such changes.” pp. 52-53.

<sup>240</sup> Tyree, *The Living Epistle*, p. 89.

<sup>241</sup> Though arguably pioneer Christian missionaries faced hostility in most societies initially, many areas by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century such as most of Asia and Africa, had been colonized so that most of the official hostility was checked by the “Christian” imperialist powers.

...by their Christian walk and conversation, by acts of benevolence to the poor and afflicted, and by kindness and courtesy to all, weaken and dispel the prejudices against them, and convince the observant Japanese that true Christianity is something very different from what intriguing Jesuits of former days, and unprincipled traders and profane sailors of the present day would lead them to think it is. *Living epistles* of Christianity are as much needed in Japan as written ones, and it would be very sad if either are withheld through a mistaken idea, that Japan 'is not open to missionary labor.'<sup>242</sup>

Likewise, some of the first medical missionaries in Japan also supported these ideals.

The first medical missionary to Nagasaki, the American, Dr. Ernst Schmid related in a letter in 1861, that:

Many, many Japanese are inquiring into the religion of Christ. They seek for books to enlighten themselves on all its points. But it is needful for them not only to read of Christianity, but to see it demonstrated in the life of the Christian man, and especially in the example of Christian families. They are powerfully influenced by example...They must learn by experience...that virtue is better than vice, and that all the principles which govern the actions of a true Christian can alone constitute true happiness. All this can not come at once, but only gradually in a country where change has heretofore been almost unknown.<sup>243</sup>

The idea of disarming the hostile population and gaining respect for Christianity through one's actions was also evident in the work of Dr. Duane B. Simmons, a pioneer medical missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church who accompanied Verbeck on his journey to Japan in 1859. The following description of Dr. Simmons by a Dutch merchant residing in Yokohama, recognizes that living testimonial of the benevolence of the Christian faith:

The Americans...rightly understood that for a missionary to make inroads among foreign folk, nothing could give him greater prestige than to be a doctor of medicine and thus by healing infirmities with his art, he could cloak himself in the nimbus of miracle worker....Simply dressed, he walked the streets as if he was in his homeland,

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<sup>242</sup> John Liggins, *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 26 No 6, June 1861, pp 184-185. John Liggins, an American Episcopal missionary may well have read his fellow Virginian, Rev. Tyree's, work on living epistles.

<sup>243</sup> Letter from Ernst Schmid, 1861, June 13 Nagasaki, in *The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, in China and Japan 1835-1870*, Accessed online: <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/11074>

unarmed....But he was full of fire for one thing...which was to help his fellow man, whether foreign or Japanese, through his art. Unselfishly, without taking a penning's reward, this apostle of charity roamed around the slums of the Japanese city to cholera cases and lepers, illnesses of all complaints....In short, I have never met a truer Christian than this skillful, modest doctor-missionary, whose greatest desire was to turn all his powers, all his knowledge and science, free of charge, to the charity of his fellow men, without asking national character, religion, position or skin color.<sup>244</sup>

Thus, the living epistle concept allowed for missionaries to be effective witnesses in a hostile environment, as they endeavored, through their lives, to convince the people that Christianity was not harmful or evil. Through their Christian examples, they gradually broke down much of this animosity to Christianity, eventually gaining legal and cultural acceptance for their faith. Japanese observers also recognized this role of missionaries in “dispelling prejudice” in Japan. Shimada Saburo, a Meiji politician at the time, commented on the early missionaries:

When the country entered upon its new era, the reactionary spirit against Christianity still retained its old prejudice. Fortunately the missionaries and educators, whom the United States sent to Japan about this time, and their sincerity and kindness produced on the minds of our countrymen a profound impression....The sincerity and patience of these early messengers of the Gospel seldom failed to inspire respect in those who were brought into contact with them. In fact they were a *living testimony*, completely dispelling whatever prejudice remained against Christianity in the bosoms of our countrymen, who were naturally led to the conclusion that after all there could be nothing hateful or dreadful in a religion which could produce such men.<sup>245</sup>

If American diplomats had forced Japan's doors open, by their “living testimony,” the early missionaries helped to dispel prejudices against Christianity.

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<sup>244</sup> C. T. Assendelft de Coningh, *A Pioneer in Yokohama: A Dutchman's Adventures in the New Treaty Port*. Ed. and Trans. Martha Chaiklin (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 2012), pp. 113-115. Though Dr. Simmons wanted to stay as a medical missionary, he was dismissed by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1861 largely because of conflict over the behavior and actions of his wife, who was apparently not keen on being a missionary. After returning to the states briefly, Dr. Simmons came back to Japan and continued to do medical work, not technically as a missionary, but he was important in building the general hospital in Yokohama through the mid-1880s. For correspondence between Dr. Simmons and the mission board, see the archives of JMRC.

<sup>245</sup> Quoted in Burkman, p. 195.



Thus, the concept of “living epistles” was accepted specifically by some of the missionaries in Japan who interacted with Verbeck, such as Liggins, Schmidt and Simmons. Liggins may have been thinking of Verbeck when he wrote his appeal for “living epistles.” Verbeck, who spoke highly of Liggins and called him a “dear Brother,” had lived with him during his first few months in Nagasaki. When Liggins left the following year for health reasons, he entrusted his collection of Chinese-language Christian and scientific works for Verbeck to distribute, though Verbeck was not part of the Episcopal mission.<sup>246</sup>

Most early missionaries, like Liggins and Verbeck, became teachers largely because, in a society like Japan, the daily interaction between teachers and their students was one of the most effective ways to become living epistles and to break down suspicions and gain trust. In an article in *The Missionary Herald* on education for women in Kobe College, James L. Barton wrote “It is well understood that the women neither of Japan nor of any other country, can be properly educated simply by imparting instruction in the arts, sciences, and letters, but that true education in that which is highest and best comes through personal and living contact with a personal teacher from whom new impulses and inspirations are obtained.”<sup>247</sup> John F. Howes acknowledged the importance of this personal contact for Japanese Christians who he claimed were unique in the early Meiji period for the amount of access they had, not just to written texts, but to living ones. “Most of their countrymen,” asserted Howes, “knew the West only through

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<sup>246</sup> G. F. Verbeck, “Annual Report for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1861.” JMRCA.

<sup>247</sup> James L. Barton, “Kobe College for Girls, Kobe, Japan,” *The Missionary Herald, Containing the Proceedings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 95, no. 8 (August, 1899): 318.

books. The Christians, almost alone in Japan, had the opportunity to judge the West by means of its men as well as its writings.”<sup>248</sup>

The friendship that Verbeck and the early missionaries developed with their students and others throughout their lives also resonated with the common Confucian notions of friendship. Earlier missionaries to East Asia, such as Matteo Ricci who, centuries earlier, also recognized the importance of cultivating relationships. In his booklet written in Chinese, *On Friendship*, Ricci wrote that in order to

get rid of his doubts and to fortify his virtue, there is no better way than having a good friend, because what I often see and hear, penetrates slowly in my mind and heart, and makes me reflect upon myself; a friend is like a living norm and rule that constantly stands before my eyes. Great is the strength of a virtue! This man has neither spoken to me, nor has been angry with me, but with his authority he holds me back and prevents me from doing evil.

Ricci recognized the power such a “living norm” which comes close to the concept of a living epistle.<sup>249</sup>

In addition to their mostly samurai students, many of the early missionaries also taught inquiring Buddhist priests, some of whom were government spies or individuals who wanted to undermine their teachings. Verbeck, in particular, made an impression upon Buddhist priests in Nagasaki, as he taught them, gave (Chinese) Bibles to them, and invited them to his home. Though one Buddhist priest attacked him personally in a tract, he could not find any specific charge against him except the spurious assertion that the “Maria the wife of the Protestant priest

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<sup>248</sup> Howes, pp. 339-340. This is perhaps an exaggeration, as some Japanese at the time had contact with Western teachers and mentors who were not missionaries or Christians, but was true to a great extent.

<sup>249</sup> In No. 62 in *Matteo Ricci in China: Inculturation through Friendship and Faith*, eds. Christopher Shelke and Mariella Demichele (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2010), p. 69.

Verbeck, leaving the infant at her breast, has gone to Shanghai.”<sup>250</sup> In 1868, Verbeck baptized a priest named Shimizu Miyauchi, who subsequently spent years in prison for his faith.<sup>251</sup>

According to Henry Stout, Verbeck’s successor in Nagasaki, on the day he left for Tokyo, he spent much of the day answering questions from a Buddhist priest, so that he had to hurriedly bind up his remaining articles and rush to catch his boat.

However, Buddhists were also learning from Protestant missionaries like Verbeck, on how to embody the more practical aspects of their religion.<sup>252</sup> In education—though Buddhist Tokugawa-era *terakoya* schools were closed in the early Meiji Period—Buddhists began building private schools as well as Sunday schools for the youth.<sup>253</sup> One pastor at the time said that his Sunday School “drew much more attention from the Buddhists than it did from the Christians. For almost three years, priests came regularly to observe my Sunday School.” Many of the elements that became part of Japanese Buddhism—social welfare institutions, such as orphanages and hospitals, ministries to the homeless and to prostitutes, marriage and regular

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<sup>250</sup> “Gossip about the Rise and Progress of the False Religion in Nagasaki, In M. Paske-Smith, pp. 111-112. Though the tract was anonymous, Verbeck, who was upset at the lie about his wife, said that it was in all probability written by a priest he had taught.

<sup>251</sup> Ozawa Saburo, “*Meiji gannen furubekki yori jusen seshi ‘Shimizu bo’ naru fumei no jinbutsu ne tsuite*” [“Regarding the unknown Shimizu Buddhist priest baptized by Verbeck in the first year of Meiji”] *Bakumatsu Meiji Kirisutokyoshi kenkyu*. (Tokyo: Nihon kirisutokyodan shuppan kyoku, 1973) 59-81.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid. 8-9. One way that Buddhism was made more “practical” was through the unprecedented “Order 133” of the Meiji government. This order allowed Buddhist priests to marry, eat meat, grow their hair and wear normal clothing. The motivation behind the order was to make Buddhism more amenable to common Japanese society. Although some saw this order as another attack on Buddhism, this order was actually given at the advice of a Sōtō Zen priest, Otori Sessō. The impact of Christianity on Order 133 was perhaps indirect, but the example of the Protestant clergy who were married and looked and lived much like other Westerners, left a lasting impression. Undoubtedly, the Buddhist (and Shinto) wedding ceremonies that began during the late Meiji Period were also modeled after Christian wedding ceremonies Kisimoto, Hideo, ed. *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*. Vol. 2. (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1956), p. 285.

<sup>253</sup> Shigeyoshi Murakami, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, trans. H. Byron Earhart (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1980), p. 58.

clothing for priests, as well as the adoption of a Buddhist “Bible” (*Bukkyō seiten*)—were in response to this interaction with Christian missionaries in the early Meiji period.<sup>254</sup> In addition, respect for early missionaries like Verbeck remained strong among some Buddhists. Writing in the *Hansei Zasshi*, after his death, one Buddhist author claimed: “The Doctor [Verbeck] is surely one of those who rejoice in being the friends of Japan. We Buddhists who have no conspicuous success in foreign mission-work should be shamed by the example of this venerable missionary.”<sup>255</sup>

As a pioneer missionary in Nagasaki and then in the new capital of Tokyo, Verbeck played a key role in dispelling prejudice and gaining respect for Christianity, not only for his students, but for the society in general. In his second annual report he asserted the importance of such initial impressions in living among the Japanese: “We have by this time...obtained the confidence of the people and authorities, as well as vindicated the peaceableness and disinterestedness of our aims by living among them; we have considerably enlarged the circle of our acquaintance, and consequently influence.”

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<sup>254</sup> For Buddhism and Christianity, see Natto Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity: From Conflict to Dialogue: 1854-1899* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987). The design of the “bible” is remarkably “Protestant” with an introduction and sections on “faith,” “action,” and “doctrine.” Thelle, pp. 209-210, 273. It also included a brief chronicle of the Buddha’s life and history of Buddhism, a map of the world, and a brief catechism. This Meiji Buddhist Bible was the guide for later versions which are still printed today and apparently even placed in hotel rooms and certain foreign resorts. The 19<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist priest Yatsubuchi Banryu called for Buddhists in Japan to imitate Christianity in applying their faith to the needs of society: “If we desire to extend the influence of Japanese Buddhism to every aspect of our nation, then we must, like the Christianity of America and Europe, become a Buddhism for the family, a Buddhism for the workplace, a Buddhism for the military, a Buddhism for celebrating, a Buddhism for all.” In James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 104.

<sup>255</sup> From *Hansei Zasshi* (Buddhist) in *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 182. Though most of the early missionaries did not think highly of Buddhism or study it very deeply, their low view of Buddhism was largely a reflection of the attitudes of most of the Meiji leaders at the time. Buddhists were treated poorly in the early Meiji era, not only with the loss of political support by the demise of the *bakufu*, but by discrimination and the destruction of temples. See Ketelaar.

Verbeck's contribution in preparing the Japanese to accept Christianity was recognized even at the end of his life. A Committee of the Board of Directors of Meiji Gakuin, asserted that, "the great service to the Church of Christ in Japan for which Doctor Verbeck will always be distinguished was that of a preacher who prepared the way of the Lord...he gladly went from place to place, gaining the ear of the people, removing their prejudices, and opening their hearts to receive the Gospel of Christ."<sup>256</sup>

Even after the official proscriptions against Christianity were removed in 1873 and religious toleration guaranteed in the constitution in 1889, the image of a living epistle continued to appeal to missionaries in Japan. Despite the decline in growth of Christianity in Japan after the 1880s, the number of missionaries did not decrease in number, nor in their hopes for Japan's conversion. In 1883 there were 138 American missionaries in Japan, and this number grew to 723 in 1900, and, according to one Japanese author, the missionaries were "exceptionally well-qualified and highly committed to their task and produced the most outstanding leaders of the foreign missionary community."<sup>257</sup> Over three decades after Verbeck's arrival, a Reformed missionary in Japan and a close colleague of Verbeck, Martin N. Wyckoff, in a letter in 1890 to the head of the mission board discussing recent challenges of missionaries in Japan, wrote, "Though our words may not receive as much attention, or produce as great effect as they have

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<sup>256</sup> G. F. Verbeck, "Annual Report for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1861." Meiji Gakuin obituary written by Ibuka Kajinosuke and William Imbrie, quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, pp.185.

<sup>257</sup> Thomson, pp. 250-251. The 1890s were also a difficult decade in America, with crippling depression and dwindling funds for missions, as well as concerns over foreign crises from Hawaii to Cuba. Because Verbeck died in 1898, he did not live through the transition in what Akira Iriye has called the "worsening" of Japanese relations with the U. S. in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. See Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972).

seemed to in the past, the influence of Christ-like living has lost none of its power. Our desire now is to be ‘living epistles.’”<sup>258</sup>

### 1.3.5 Verbeck, a “Living Epistle” in Japan

By the 1890s, Verbeck had begun to be hailed in the missionary literature as one of the greatest missionaries to Japan.<sup>259</sup> As early as 1878, in a report to the *General Conference on Foreign Missions* held in London, J. M. Ferris listed important events over the first 13 years from 1859-1872, focusing on the work of Verbeck. After mentioning him prominently several times, he writes, “And it is, to speak mildly to say that our missionary brethren won the favour of these officials. This has been especially true in regard to Rev. G. F. Verbeck, D.D. Any statement of the introduction and progress of the kingdom of Christ in Japan, omitting an account of his influence and work is vitally defective....”<sup>260</sup> In Edwin Munsell Bliss’s inaugurating *Encyclopaedia of Missions*, under the entry for “Protestant Christian Missions” in Japan, Verbeck has over twice as much text as the other pioneer missionaries.<sup>261</sup> At his funeral in 1898,

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<sup>258</sup> Martin N. Wyckoff to Henry N. Cobb, Dec 26, 1890. Quoted in Gordon D. Laman. *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 388. Wyckoff worked closely with Verbeck and at the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Protestant Missions Conference in 1909, he wrote and delivered a “historical sketch” of Verbeck as one of the pioneers of Protestant missions in Japan.

<sup>259</sup> At his death the *Independent* reportedly put his name alongside Ulfilas, the fourth century missionary who converted the Goths, and Boniface, the 7<sup>th</sup> century apostle to the Germans.

<sup>260</sup> *Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions*, October 1878 (London: John F. Shaw and Co., 1879), p 240-243. He also lists two other missionaries by last name briefly, though one is misspelled James Ballagh as Bullagh.

<sup>261</sup> Edwin Munsell Bliss, *Encyclopaedia of Missions: Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891), p. 492. The entry concludes with: “Since 1879 he rejoined the

his colleague James Ballagh heralded Verbeck as “a man of so truly patriarchal and apostolic character.”<sup>262</sup> Dr. Divie B. McCartee, who outlived Verbeck by two years and had been a colleague of Verbeck’s at the *Daigaku Nankō* in the 1870s, wrote of Verbeck that “his quiet self-denying labors could not help commanding the greatest respect of all who had the privilege to know him. He has always been my ideal of a faithful missionary.”<sup>263</sup>

Undoubtedly, part of Verbeck’s significance was a result of accident and geography—namely, that he happened to be one of the only Westerners in Nagasaki when the demand for Western education was so high. And, he was the only Protestant missionary in western Japan throughout the 1860s and thus the only one who developed relationships with the future Meiji leaders from critical domains in that region. In addition, he was also most active as a missionary during the 1880s, when Protestant Christianity experienced its greatest growth. But, there were also certain qualities found in most portrayals of Verbeck in the missionary literature that reflected the ideal of a living epistle. Two of these were: his exemplary life, in which his actions spoke louder than his words, and his excellence in teaching and preaching, through which he displayed the qualities of humility and gentleness.<sup>264</sup>

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mission at Tokyo, and has since been abundant in labors as preacher, Bible translator, touring evangelist, theological professor, and helper of the churches.”

<sup>262</sup> Ballagh, “Address at Dr. G. F. Verbeck’s Funeral,” JMRCA.

<sup>263</sup> D. B. McCartee, “A Tribute from an Old Friend,” in *The Japan Evangelist* June, 1898, p. 189.

<sup>264</sup> McCartee, who lived in East Asia from 1843, was someone whose missionary career could serve as an example of a “living epistle.” One pastor of a Chinese church in Ningpo, Who Cong-eng, wrote of him after his death: “Though Dr. McCartee is dead, he yet lives....Those who were helped by him are still here to proclaim his praises....Those who were his pupils are still here, living out his instructions; his life is reproduced in them....His example is fixed indelibly in the hearts of all who knew him, and stirs them with a desire to be such as he was. Robert E. Speer, ed. *A Missionary Pioneer in the Far East: A Memorial of Divie Bethune McCartee* (New York: Revell, 1922), p. 213.

Verbeck's exemplary life is a theme reiterated in the literature on Verbeck. Though Verbeck and successive Christian missionaries failed to "convert" Japan as they had hoped in the 1880s, this did not diminish Verbeck's reputation in the Western missionary literature because these works on missionary lives were "enormously successful in recruiting their successors and in raising funds and other forms of support for the enterprise. It was seen in its time as a successful literature about success itself...."<sup>265</sup> In an obituary for Verbeck, the editor of the *Japan Daily Mail* wrote that through his "single-hearted devotion" and "the fine example of his blameless life, he may be said to have contributed more to the spread of Christ's creed in Japan than perhaps any other of the noble men whose lives have been given to that purpose."<sup>266</sup> This image of the ideal missionary was dependent not so much on the growth of Christianity in Japan, but on a shared commitment to a narrative that Verbeck's life and work enacted. Terrence L. Craig, in his analysis of missionary biographical genre, writes that most of these "lives" of missionaries contained

touchstones that accumulate to represent convincingly a complete missionary: a healthy, pious childhood, incipiently rebellious adolescence, the awakening to the vocation, preparations (including marriage), the voyage, the arrival in the field, language training and acclimatization, first contacts and converts, home leaves, developing family, expansion of contacts and arrival of assistants, and the deathbed scene followed by tributes.<sup>267</sup>

And, like Verbeck's career, often the missionaries' success could be "measured in terms as much secular as religious, the two areas blurring under the comprehensive well-intentioned

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<sup>265</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 13. Other than Griffis' biographies on Verbeck, Brown and Hepburn, see the following popular biographical works for three early American Board missionaries which include many of the conventions that Craig lists: M. L. Gordon, J. Merle Davis, Evarts Boutell Greene.

<sup>266</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 181.

<sup>267</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 73.



altruism.”<sup>268</sup> Thus, Verbeck’s teaching and advising for the government are usually unproblematically listed, if briefly, amidst his contributions as a missionary in most of the biographical missionary literature.

Though William Elliot Griffis’ foundational biography of Verbeck diverges from Craig’s missionary life “model” somewhat (for example, it has no hint of a rebellious adolescence, though his initial years in America are portrayed as difficult), it largely corresponds to this pattern. But, Griffis’ biography, published only two years after Verbeck’s death, also reinforces the view of Verbeck as a living epistle. Though he does not use the term “living epistle,” to describe Verbeck, in several places he alludes to it by describing Verbeck as “a man of action, rather than of words;” “always mightier in work than in word,” and; preferring “golden silence to silver speech or iron ink.”<sup>269</sup>

This focus on Verbeck speaking volumes by the way he lived out his faith, is prominent throughout Griffis’ biography and in the subsequent missionary literature that is heavily dependent on Griffis’ presentation of Verbeck. For example, organizations such as the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), which had formed in 1886, utilized such missionaries in promoting their movement and conveying specific messages about the nature of missions and Christianity. Missionary biographies and collections of short biographical sketches, books like *Men of the Outposts: the Romance of the Modern Christian Movement*, which featured men and women like Verbeck in order to stir “restless, hard-working, success-driven, self-conscious youths of the

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<sup>268</sup> Terrence L. Craig, p. 27.

<sup>269</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 12, 27, 136, 331. Griffis also wrote a biography of Verbeck’s colleague, Samuel R. Brown, which he published shortly after Verbeck’s biography, in 1902. However, Brown had been dead for over two decades, so it seems Verbeck’s story seemed most important to Griffis.

middling sorts, by portraying such missionaries as ambitious, responsible, and heroic people.”<sup>270</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, much of the literature was remarkably sanguine, believing that earlier missionaries like Verbeck had made such a lasting Christian impression on the founders of modern Japan. In 1903, Ernest W. Clement wrote in, *A Handbook of Modern Japan*, that Japan had “a Christian head on its heathen body” in that “the leaders of New Japan are favourable to Christianity and its institutions, and are reconstructing the nation largely on Christian lines and with Christian ideas.”<sup>271</sup>

Many Japanese observers also emphasized the exemplary life and conduct of Verbeck. Ōkuma Shigenobu, two-time Prime Minister and the founder of Waseda University, and arguably Verbeck’s most famous student from his days in Nagasaki gave an address at a conference celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Christian missions in Japan in 1909. Okuma discussed the impact of his teacher’s life: “But we must not forget that life is more important than discussion. It was the life of Dr. Verbeck that influenced me more than his teaching.”<sup>272</sup> In the account of the address in the *Japan Daily Mail*, Okuma, “...prayed for still greater effort and advance in the future and such advance as should be manifest in lives of lofty virtue of the

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<sup>270</sup> Cited in Dae Young Ryu, p. 97. Herbert Welch, *Men at the Outposts: The Romance of the Modern Christian Movement* (New York, Abingdon Press, 1937). Welch lists Verbeck and Mary Slessor (missionary to Africa) as “social reformers” and concludes with John R. Mott, a leader in the SVM. For a similar work by someone who corresponded some with Verbeck and was influenced by the SVM, see: Robert E Speer, *Servants of the King*. New York: Young People’s Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909.

<sup>271</sup> Quoted in Hamish Ion, “American Missionaries and the Writing of Meiji Christian History” *Meiji Gakuin kirisutokyo rekishi kiyo* 33 (Jan. 2001), p. 92. Ernest W. Clement, *A Handbook of Modern Japan* (A.C. McClurg & Co., 4<sup>th</sup> edition 1904, originally published in 1903). Clement also wrote that “when we take into consideration how much Christianity has done for Japan in less than fifty years, we feel quite warranted in prophesying that within this twentieth century Japan will become practically a Christian nation.” p. 276.

<sup>272</sup> Quoted in Frank Cary, pp. 340-341.

Verbeck kind. To teach the Bible was all right, but to act it was better...Profession and conduct ought to go together.”<sup>273</sup>

Even more tellingly, Uchimura Kanzō, the famous Japanese theologian and founder of the *Mukyōkai* (“Nonchurch”) movement, who became very critical of missionaries, wrote a reflection upon hearing of Verbeck’s death in which he reminisces about the pioneer missionaries and particularly Verbeck: “The first [Brown] said he would teach, the second [Hepburn] that he would heal, and the third [Verbeck] that he would preach... . Apart from the doctrines he [Verbeck] came here to preach, there was a sustained energy in the man such that we might well envy and seek to possess... .”<sup>274</sup> Uchimura’s focus on “the sustained energy” in Verbeck and an individual whose powerful life gave force to “the doctrines he came to preach”—could be a definition of a “living epistle.”

Another way that Verbeck was viewed as a living epistle was through the exemplary character he displayed in his teaching and evangelism, which was often credited for the unprecedented level of respect and trust in Verbeck. The fact that Verbeck taught for both the *bakufu* and Saga domain at the *Seibikan* and *Chienkan* respectively in Nagasaki, for the Meiji government at the *Daigaku nankō* and the *Kazoku gakkō* (Peers School), and for Meiji Gakuin’s Theology school after that, speaks volumes for his reputation for excellence in teaching.<sup>275</sup> In addition, he taught classes and gave lectures on the Bible in his home, which

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<sup>273</sup> Quoted in Arthur Judson Brown, “The New Japan” in *Japan and Japanese American Relations*, ed. George Hubbard Blakeslee (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company, 1912)

<sup>274</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, *Uchimura Kanzō zenshu*. Vol. 5, pp. 319-320.

<sup>275</sup> Verbeck was one of the first members of Meiji Gakuin’s Board of Directors in 1886, and when he joined the faculty of the Union Theological School, according to one scholar, “his presence added significantly to the prestige of the school.” Jerry Burnstein. “The American Movement to Develop Church Colleges for Men in Japan, 1868-1912,” PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1964, p. 44.

attracted a variety of listeners. The liberal Meiji intellectual, Ueki Emori wrote in his diary in 1877 that one Sunday, he “...went to Verbeck’s to hear a lecture on the Bible.”<sup>276</sup>

Verbeck was respected for his diligence and learning, but also for his unparalleled skill in speaking and teaching in colloquial Japanese. His diligence and hard work were also respected by the missionary community, which was reflected in the decision of various mission boards to entrust Verbeck with two difficult tasks. One was to become one of three missionaries on the committee to edit the Japanese Bible, and the other was to write a general history of Japan missions for the 1883 Osaka Missionary Conference.<sup>277</sup> Verbeck was also frequently asked to participate in Japanese preaching or lecture tours, knowing his reputation for excellence as a speaker. Even Japanese Protestant leaders like Kozaki Hiromichi and Uemura Masahisa, who were critical of many missionaries, highly respected Verbeck, inviting him to preach in their churches and going on evangelistic tours with him. Dr. Dwight W. Learned of the American Board of Foreign Missions, reflected that “Dr. Verbeck was a man of learning, but he preached in such a simple way that all could understand him, even the women and the children.”<sup>278</sup> Though Verbeck seemed to speak Japanese with such ease, it actually came with much preparation. When Verbeck visited Aomori in the autumn of 1897 to give a series of lectures and sermons for ten days, the missionary Leila Winn wrote of his preparation:

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<sup>276</sup> Quoted in Donald Keene, *Modern Japanese Diaries: The Japanese at Home and Abroad as Revealed through their Diaries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 256.

<sup>277</sup> His knowledge of multiple Western languages, as well as of Greek and Hebrew for Biblical translation work were impressive. But, his various detailed writings on the Japanese language show an excellence and expertise that was impressive. He was also an excellent musician and singer, and was asked to accompany on the organ throughout his career in Japan.

<sup>278</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 189.

The first thing that impressed me was what a *student* he was. He never preached at random. One could see at once that there had been thorough preparation beforehand. He called the little park at Aomori his “study room.” As soon as breakfast was over, he would go off to the park and not be seen again till noon. After dinner he did the same until evening. It was no wonder then that, evening after evening, he held his audiences spell-bound.<sup>279</sup>

Unfortunately, few of Verbeck’s sermons and lectures remain, because he did not write them out, but delivered them by memory from color-coded (red, blue, green and black) notes. A fellow missionary, E. R. Miller, explained his method: “Each color had a distinct meaning to him, but what was written was but an outline of the discourse, which when spoken, was filled in with the most suitable words, in the most felicitous manner, so that any one would suppose the whole were carefully elaborated and written out beforehand.”<sup>280</sup>

In addition to his excellence in teaching and preaching, Verbeck’s humility was also emphasized by both the missionary literature and Japanese observers. An example from the end of the Meiji period is found in Archibald McLean’s *Epoch Makers of Modern Missions*: “One who knew him well said that a compliment seemed to give him pain rather than pleasure. He always changed the subject. He wanted the people to think of Jesus Christ, not about himself.”<sup>281</sup> A postwar example of the assertion of Verbeck’s concern for all, is in John Theodore Mueller’s *Great Missionaries to the Orient*, in which he writes, “Among all the great

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<sup>279</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p 189. Perhaps the only negative aspect of his excellence was that some of his successors such as the Baptist missionary, Jonathan Goble, who also served for a time in Nagasaki, but was not as well respected. Hepburn quite harshly said of him, “Goble is a thoroughly bad and undisciplined man, a wolf in sheep’s clothing, who has been the bane and the disgrace of the missionary work in this country....” Quoted in Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 243. Verbeck’s cousin, Charles H. H. Wolff, came to Japan as a Reformed Church missionary, and was a good educator in English, but was apparently unable to communicate well in Japanese.

<sup>280</sup> *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, 187. A couple of his speeches are preserved in Japanese from notes that observers have taken, in such works as Saba, *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*.

<sup>281</sup> Archibald McLean, *Epoch Makers of Modern Missions* (NY: Revell, 1912), p. 273.

pioneer missionaries of Japan, none left a greater impression upon the people or exerted a wider influence among low and exalted, poor and rich, than did Guido Verbeck.”<sup>282</sup> In addition, Robert Speer in *Servants of the King* in 1909, wrote regarding Verbeck: “His great reputation, his favor with the government, his wonderful command of the Japanese language, which brought great crowds to hear him speak, and his unselfishness and lowliness of mind made him one of the great Christian forces of the empire, and he went far and wide, preaching in theaters and halls and churches.”<sup>283</sup> These writers focus on Verbeck’s humility as revealed in his actions and character, drawing people to hear the message of the gospel.

In presenting the gospel, many observers comment on Verbeck’s gentle, winsome evangelism. One woman missionary in northern Japan recounting Verbeck’s visit there on an evangelistic tour: “Dr. Verbeck swayed and governed those about him by his gentleness, rather than by words of fault-finding and criticism. His visit here made me wish to be a nobler, better woman, and to overcome all that was petty and belittling in my nature.”<sup>284</sup> Perhaps the most important aspect of his time in Nagasaki was the trust he developed with many of his students, as he quietly and patiently lived and taught among them. Okuma Shigenobu writes of Verbeck that “Our teacher was an extremely tender gentleman (*shinshi*). In Nagasaki, I entreated on behalf of fifty students for him to teach us English. There were occasions where we listened

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<sup>282</sup> John Theodore Mueller *Great Missionaries to the Orient* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1948). A. Hamish Ion asserted that Verbeck was superficial and always concerned about class and status. Though he does use words such as “the better classes” and in giving recommendations for students to study in America does vouch that they are from “good families,” it seems more likely that these are more conventions and phraseology of that time period and do not necessarily reveal a superficial concern for the status of his students.

<sup>283</sup> Robert Speer, *Servants of the King*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>284</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 188.

to Christian teachings. But, unlike some missionaries, our teacher was not the type of person to force his opinions upon us.<sup>285</sup>

Okuma also wrote that Verbeck influenced him and other students to think about religion in different ways, and it is clear Verbeck's manner in approaching such potentially divisive issues was very circumspect.<sup>286</sup> Though many of his students did not become Christians, at the very least, they could not dismiss all Christians and missionaries as hostile and forceful. H. N. Cobb, the secretary of the Foreign Mission Board who corresponded with Verbeck, wrote of his gentleness in evangelism in a way fits the ideal of a living epistle:

As a missionary he was not the man to approach a stranger with a tract in his hand. His reserve in intercourse with comparative strangers among the Japanese was due...to his native disposition, which fitted him to influence individuals by living rather than by preaching Christianity. It was undoubtedly one secret of his immense influence that his Japanese friends felt that he could be trusted not to take unworthy advantage of his relations with them so as to force Christianity upon them in any way.<sup>287</sup>

This gentle quality of Verbeck had a great impact on his student, Takahashi Korekiyo, later prime minister and finance minister in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Richard J. Smethurst, "The tolerant Verbeck was not the kind of missionary who proselytized directly, but one who spread his religious beliefs by living them as he taught...." In addition, Smethurst asserts that Takahashi's "lifelong magnanimity and his tolerance toward what he saw as the foibles of others (and himself) may well have developed from his ten years of close association with Verbeck." When Takahashi, who lived with Verbeck for a while, decided to move out to live a life of youthful rebellion and dissipation, Verbeck

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<sup>285</sup> Quoted in Furuta Eisaku, "G. F. Vaabekku ron (4)" *Otemae joshi daigaku ronshu* (Journal of Otemae College) 23: 85-86.

<sup>286</sup> Quoted in Furuta, pp. 85-86.

<sup>287</sup> H. N. Cobb in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 174.

simply said, “If you want to leave to live elsewhere, you are free to do so. And feel free to move back in again if you want.” Then, Verbeck unexpectedly gave Takahashi his large family Bible, asking him to read it at least once a day, no matter what. Though Takahashi may not have become a Christian, he kept the Bible and continued to read it diligently, perhaps primarily out of respect for Verbeck.<sup>288</sup>

Even when Verbeck disagreed with a decision of the Japanese church, he was still portrayed as one who did not try to force his opinion on them. By 1890, the largest Japanese Protestant denomination (the *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai* or NKK, formed from various Reformed and Presbyterian denominations) decided to remove some of the doctrinal standards that they felt were unnecessary and had been imposed on them by the missionaries (such as the Westminster Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism) and write their own creed, which also included the Apostle’s Creed. According to Griffis’ biography and his letters to the mission board, Verbeck was uncomfortable with some of these changes, but he refused to force his will on the Japanese church (though he had ample opportunity to do so). As this example shows, Verbeck was gentle and respectful even in disagreement, and Griffis describes this characteristic as the “secret” of his power among the Japanese:

One secret of his power among Japanese, high and low, was that he always regarded the self-respect of each individual with whom he had contact. One of his traits of character was an extreme unwillingness to exercise his will in influencing the will of others. He respected the right of each individual to act independently too much to use undue influence over them. Consequently, as a missionary even, he would never try to force Christianity on a Japanese.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Smethurst, p. 43-46. This Bible was displayed during Takahashi’s funeral after Takahashi was assassinated by militarists in 1936.

<sup>289</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 23.



This gentleness and unwillingness to impose his will on others could also be viewed as weakness, though none of the missionary literature depicted Verbeck in this way. However, in Margaret C. Griffis' diary, when the Japanese government did not renew her brother Willie's (W. E. Griffis) contract for what she considered to be unjust reasons, she wrote, "Willie has had several interviews with Mr. Verbeck, urging him to do him justice in regard to his contract. He is a very weak man in some respects, although such a good one."<sup>290</sup> Thus, Verbeck's refusal to force the issue was seen as weakness in her eyes. A recent work that is more critical of Verbeck on this issue is Hamish Ion's *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatōi and Japan 1859-1872*. In this work, he sees Verbeck's unwillingness to assert his will regarding the persecution of Christians as a sign of fear or apathy, and that "Verbeck was much more disposed to leave [the issue of the persecuted Catholics] well enough alone for fear of bringing retribution down on Christian inquirers."<sup>291</sup> In both of these cases, Verbeck did not want to try to force the Meiji government either to hire someone or to tolerate Christianity as the consuls were wont to do, but let them make the decision themselves. On the issue of religious toleration, in contrast to Ion, most of the literature recognizes the crucial impact of Verbeck's quiet labor and example, as well

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<sup>290</sup> Diary of Margaret C. Griffis, Entry for Sunday, Dec. 7, 1873.

<sup>291</sup> Ion, *Christian Missionaries*, p. 102, 123. He also questions Verbeck's humility, portraying him as one who was "quick to take credit for himself" (p. 136) one who "always paid attention to whether Japanese came from good families or not" (p. 129) and that "It was typical of Verbeck to try to underline his influence and importance..." (p. 147). Ion has a good point, in that Verbeck does occasionally make claims in his letters to the mission board. However, Verbeck is also trying to raise support for himself and for the mission through these letters, in difficult financial times. Also, this seems to contradict not only the way he is depicted in the missionary literature, but also the way that he is seen by the great majority of Japanese and Western observers.

as his proposal to Okuma in 1869 that became the blueprint for the Iwakura Embassy to the West (1871-73) during which the government chose to begin tolerating Christianity.<sup>292</sup>

In many ways, the ideal of missionaries as living epistles continued to resonate with the Japanese people—particularly the leaders in the Japanese church— beyond the Meiji period. In 1927, almost thirty years after Verbeck’s death, Japanese church leaders were asked to respond to a survey with a series of questions regarding missionaries. Though there were a variety of responses, one of them wrote that “Japan needs the missionary who...understands the ideas of the people outside the church... .With such a knowledge of things he will be in a position to come to an unbiased heart-to-heart contact with the people.”<sup>293</sup> This idea of “unbiased heart-to-heart contact” is related to the ideals of a “living epistle,” one whose genuine Christian life allows for such genuine “heart-to-heart” contact. In addition, although some of the respondents were wary of accepting more missionaries, many of those surveyed concluded that, “If the missionaries of today are such as those who came in the early years of the Meiji era they are needed in any number....That is, if they are really self-sacrificing men they are much in demand....The missionaries who came in the first years of the Meiji were really great and fine men. Such missionaries are of great value.”<sup>294</sup>

One of the results of this adulation of the pioneer missionaries, is that later missionaries often seem to pale by comparison. In Japan, the independence of Japanese Christians from the

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<sup>292</sup> See Albert Altman, “Guido Verbeck and the Iwakura Embassy” *Japan Quarterly* 13, No. 1 (Jan-March 1966): 54-62. See Okubo Toshiaki, *Iwakura shisetsu no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Shuko shokyoku, 1976). One of the chapters in Okubo’s work on the Iwakura Mission is specifically entitled “Okuma Shigenobu to Furubekki.”

<sup>293</sup> Milton Theobald Stauffer, ed. *Japan Speaks for Herself: Chapters by a Group of Nationals Interpreting the Christian Movement* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the U. S. and Canada, 1927), pp. 118-119.

<sup>294</sup> Stauffer, pp. 118-119

missionaries had become a point of contention, and many of the church leaders claimed that the early missionaries such as Verbeck, Ballagh, and Brown, were more sensitive to or respectful of such issues of cooperation. Ibuka Kajinosuke, one of the early converts of these missionaries, according to a report by the Presbyterian mission board in 1927, “mentioned by name and in love the older missionaries,” which led the author of the report to conclude that “it is in this affection of personal relationship that the true relation of all problems of cooperation must be found.”<sup>295</sup> Is this true, or are such founding figures presented in such contrasting terms to critique later missionaries? Perhaps later critics exaggerated the differences between pioneer missionaries like Verbeck and later missionaries. But viewing these pioneer missionaries as examples of living epistles who engendered such respect and love can provide a way to understand their widespread appeal as figures in the history of the missionary movement in Japan.

### **1.3.6 Implications of the Model of “Living Epistles”**

The rich variety of missionaries in the “long” nineteenth century, according to Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker, “...provides a full spectrum of examples: missionaries as among the most earnest, courageous, and inspiring, yet at the same time as among the most stubborn, blinkered, and exasperating figures....Their legacy and influence are with us still. And their story...merits a

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<sup>295</sup> “Report on Japan-China of Deputation sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.” Presented by Mr. Robert E. Speer. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church USA. Dr. Hugh T. Kerr, New York City, 1927: pp. 16-17.

careful hearing.”<sup>296</sup> In order to give such a hearing, it is essential to meaningfully examine these men and women, who, like Verbeck, traversed the globe in order to become living epistles in foreign lands. The model of living epistles enables scholars to understand and articulate the significance of figures like Verbeck for both Western and Japanese observers, acknowledging their motives in their missionary work and recognizing the consequences—both intended and unintended—of such an ideal.

Focusing on missionaries as living epistles highlights the impact of mid-nineteenth century movements—particularly movements, such as the Revivals of 1857-58 and the Evangelical Alliance—on individual lives and on the missionary movement as a whole. In addition, it enables scholars to focus on the networks of individual missionaries and those who responded to the lives of these missionaries, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively. For Japan, in particular, it brings up issues that question some of the accepted ideas in the historical scholarship on missions and Japanese Christianity, namely, the focus on the motif of Protestant “bands,” and dichotomies between various groups of missionaries.

Seeing Verbeck and other missionaries as living epistles is helpful in understanding the impact of their lives on the Japanese people, particularly their students and converts. The intended consequences of such an ideal is to try to exemplify the goodness of the gospel before presenting it, convincing the skeptical of the truth of your religion by your daily example. However, such an ideal that prioritized actions above beliefs, may have had some unintended consequences. One of the criticisms of Japanese Christianity by the end of the Meiji period was its emphasis on morals and ethics at the expense of doctrine and belief in the Bible. At the time of the World Missions Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, a prominent Presbyterian missionary

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<sup>296</sup> Bays and Wacker, p. 189.

in Japan, William Imbrie, wrote a report in which he discussed the challenge of this tendency to emphasize Christian ethics: “There are those who hold that Christianity of Japan will be quite a different thing from that of the West. But, when it comes to definiteness of statement, what is said amounts practically to this, that the Christianity of Japan will retain the ethical elements and dispense with the supernatural.”<sup>297</sup>

There were no doubt many roots of this aspect of Japanese Christianity. Many of the early Japanese converts were samurai and had received a Neo-Confucian education that had emphasized ethics. These individuals often became Christians after much interaction with missionaries or lay Christians in whom they witnessed the strength and moral character that they equated with Christianity. With the breakdown of traditional Confucian learning in the early Meiji period, some may have looked to Christianity more for its ethical code of conduct than for its theological message of the saving work of Christ. This was true of the famous Japanese Christian, Nakamura Masanao, who was deeply impressed with Christian morality and civilization, which he witnessed first-hand in his American teacher, Edward Warren Clark. According to A. Hamish Ion, for Nakamura, “the appeal of Christianity was not spiritual but principally due to its moral code.”<sup>298</sup> Nakamura believed that Japan’s adoption of Christianity

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<sup>297</sup> Quoted in Douglas Clyde Macintosh, “The New Christianity and World-Conversion,” *The American Journal of Theology* 18/3 (Jul. 1914): pp. 276, 337-354.

<sup>298</sup> A. Hamish Ion, “Edward Warren Clark and Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of Cultural Contact,” *Modern Asian Studies* 1/ no. 4 (1977): 557-572. Nakamura also spent time in England, and translated Samuel Smiles’ work *Self-Help* in 1871, a work which he translated for its “moral value, and in which he “appears to attribute the ultimate cause of people’s success to Christianity.” Ion, p. 565. Ion also asserts that the early converts were “immature and impressionable” and that “Christianity...was not stressed for its spirituality, and most Japanese converts accepted it only as an ethical code deemed to be superior to the Confucian tenets.” A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun Vol. 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea and Taiwan 1865-1945* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993), p. 30. The early converts were quite diverse in how they thought about their prior Confucian education. For an example of an early convert who was deeply influenced by his Confucian samurai training, see Fred Notehelfer, “Ebina Danjō: A Christian Samurai of the Meiji Period”

would aid Japan's advancement, which Clark's life and teaching in some ways reinforced. "As a result," asserts Ion, "Clark and other foreign Christians propagated a utilitarian type of Christianity which lacked the spiritual aspect of Christ as a Saviour."<sup>299</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, a Meiji intellectual who converted to Christianity in Kumamoto and later became critical of Christianity, commented in 1891 that at the outset Christianity had filled an important moral need but then, "unsophisticated missionaries...had tried to introduce a lifeless dogma that would have stifled the youthful spirit by controlling every aspect of conduct and inquiry."<sup>300</sup> Tokutomi does not specify who these particular later missionaries were, but the "lifeless dogma" he accuses them of propagating seems to imply that he, at least, did not see these later missionaries as convincing living epistles.

Some Japanese scholars have commented on this ethical aspect of Japanese Christianity, such as Sumiya Mikio, who wrote that "the weakness of Japanese Christianity was that it possessed a strong ethical and moral orientation without, at the same time, possessing a deep

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in *Papers on Japan From Seminars at Harvard University* Vol. 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1963, pp. 1-56. Others, like Kozaki Hiromichi in *Seikyō Shinron* (1886), emphasized the contrast between Christianity and "the enslaving, dehumanizing characteristics of traditional Japanese expressions of Confucianism" and Nijima referred to the filial piety as taught by Confucianists in Japan as "tyrannous." Cited in Richard H. Drummond *History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 185.

<sup>299</sup> Ion, "Edward Warren Clark," pp. 571-572. In some cases, as with Ueki Emori, Christianity provided an ethical challenge to the Meiji regime and for him, it was "probably the Christian insistence on the existence of duties that are higher than one's obligations to the state that attracted Ueki, more than theological matters." Keene, p. 256-257. In the same way, Uchimura Kanzō, when he went to America to study, was appalled at the morals of this "Christian" country: "Bad as Japan is, it is not so bad as America is. We can only say that the moral state of America is staggering." *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* Vol, 22, p. 27.

<sup>300</sup> Quoted in Donald W. Treadgold, "The United States and East Asia: A Theme with Variations," *Pacific Historical Review* 49/no. 1 (Feb. 1980): 1-27. p. 10. Treadgold also shows the influence of Christianity on early Japanese socialism, as five of the six founders of the Socialist Party were Protestant converts. p. 13.

sense of both personal sin and responsibility to a personal God.”<sup>301</sup> Often this characteristic is attributed to factors, such as; syncretic thinking in the Japanese Christian leaders, the influence of German liberal theology and Unitarianism from the mid-1880s,<sup>302</sup> or the impact of the Social Gospel with its explicit emphasis on social justice and reform above spiritual beliefs. However, the ideal of a living epistle, which early missionaries like Verbeck embodied, often emphasized the practical personal example and moral character of the faith. They assumed that the Japanese who embraced the missionaries as living epistles, also embraced the larger narrative of redemption and salvation in Christ that they enacted. But, this may not have been the case for some of their converts. Though an unintended consequence, the ideal of of a living epistle in the early missionaries like Verbeck may have encouraged to some degree this primarily ethical interpretation of Christianity.

This may also help explain why some of the closest students of Verbeck, such as Ōkuma and Takahashi—though they gave homage to the exemplary life of their revered teacher—never converted to Christianity. For example, after Takahashi’s assassination, at an exhibit of his political mementoes in Tokyo, Takahashi’s family included Verbeck’s Bible that Takahashi had kept his entire life and in which he inscribed on the first page, that he read it to “to correct his bad habits.”<sup>303</sup> Particularly after Verbeck’s death, it was possible for writers to deemphasize the

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<sup>301</sup> Sumiya Mikio, *Kindai Nihon no Keisei to Kirisutokyo* [Formation of Modern Japan and Christianity] (Tokyo: Shinkyō shuppan sha, 1950), pp. 110, 116. Quoted in Ernest E. Best, *Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis: The Japanese Case* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), p. 150.

<sup>302</sup> A good example is from Tetsunao Yamamori who asserts, “During the 1880s, missionaries and Japanese Christians were driven by deep theological convictions. Actually engaged in evangelism with the burning passion and rock-ribbed faith in the sufficiency of Christ....The cold theology of the 1890s and the influence of skepticism chilled the passion of the church and immobilized its evangelistic efforts.” Yamamori, p. 77-78.

<sup>303</sup> Smethurst, p. 315.

message of the gospel he believed in and preached, and focus on the admirable ethical qualities of Verbeck's life.<sup>304</sup> Instead of assuming only incongruity between the early missionaries and the ethical nature of Japanese Protestantism, perhaps the model of living epistles reveals more of a connection than is recognized in the historiography and scholarship.

The concept of "living epistles" also can provide an alternative model for looking at Christianity in the Japan. The predominant historiographical motif of Protestantism in Japan focuses on the development of "bands" of Christian converts in the 1870s, particularly the Yokohama, Kumamoto, and Sapporo Bands. These bands have their origins in a Christian missionary or teacher, and each one developed specific Japanese Christian leaders. This motif leaves out many other groups, causing subsequent historians to point to the existence of other "bands"—such as in Hirosaki and Shizuoka—while neglecting other groups such as the Episcopal and American Board missionaries.<sup>305</sup> Even with such additions, this focus on "bands" tends to ignore the work of women missionaries and Japanese women as well as Japanese rural evangelism and medical missions. But the idea of a band of converts around a key figure does not even fit that well for the Yokohama Band, and ignores important differences in the quality of the relationships between the missionaries and the members of the various "bands." Though

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<sup>304</sup> By World War II, however, even the ethical ideals of Christianity were seen as a failure and ineffective to many. According to a Jesuit priest in Japan, J. B. Knaus, by the late 1930s, the Japanese regarded Christianity as a Western religion, one "without drive, able neither to prevent a World War and the other European wars nor to hinder the formation of a mass proletariat through its doctrine of charity. It is only fanatical where Bible reading and good works, or movements against alcohol and smoking are concerned." Thomas Ohm, *Asia Looks at Western Christianity* (Freiburg, West Germany: Herder and Herder, 1959) p. 46. Originally published in German in 1948.

<sup>305</sup> Though to some extent, the American Board is subsumed under the Kumamoto Band because most of the prominent members ended up at Doshisha, which was administered by the American Board under the leadership of Nijima Jo. For the Episcopal Church, I have seen the term "Williams Band" after Bishop Channing M. Williams. Though not usually extended to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox, churches, sometimes the early Orthodox believers is called the "Nikolai Band" after Father Nikolai.



initially the figure of James H. Ballagh was prominent in Yokohama, there was no single figure in the Yokohama Band, but many missionaries, and they largely remained in Japan for decades. The Kumamoto and Sapporo bands were primarily started by Christian educators in government-sponsored Western Studies institutions who spoke only English and did not remain with their bands after their conversion. Thus, like the Yokohama Band, there were a variety of missionaries and teachers who subsequently impacted these early converts.

One of the prominent women missionaries in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan, Mary Deyo, criticized the exclusive focus on the notion of “bands” and wrote of the spread of Protestant Christianity through “bonds that mingled blood-kinship and honor-kinship.” Deyo notes that, “the paradigm of bands leaves out the history of women in the Christian missions in Japan, and a more suitable one—I modestly suggest a more inclusive *bonds*—must be found for historians.” The concept of “bonds” is more inclusive in that it also helped to explain the existence of “bands,” such as the “Yokohama band, around the Prebyterian Hepburn and Reformed Verbeck.”<sup>306</sup> Whereas “bands” implies a band of followers or a group of people united together for a common purpose, “bonds” implies a living relationship, friendship or kinship that is both broader and perhaps more complicated to analyze than a band. Often in Japan these bonds went back to missionaries or Christian teachers, like Verbeck or Mary Deyo, who, as living epistles, resided among the

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<sup>306</sup> Mary Deyo, “In the Wake of a Great Man: Verbeck Evangelizes Ueda,” *Missionary Gleaner* 14/2 (1898), cited in Jennifer M. Reece, *They Published Glad Tidings: American Women in Mission and the Evangelical Sisterhood of Letter in the United States and Japan, 1861-1911*. Princeton University, PhD. Dissertation, Feb. 2002, p. 118. In 1897, on one of Verbeck’s last evangelistic trips, he went throughout Ueda and the neighboring parts for three weeks, “drawing huge crowds because of his fame and popularity as the most influential foreigner associated with the Meiji regime.” Reece, p. 104. Some observers have named the Episcopal Church band “Williams Band” after the pioneer missionary Bishop Channing M. Williams, whose half-century life in Japan could be seen as another exemplary “living epistle.”

Japanese in such a way that they developed deep relationships and ties not only with these individuals, but to the message they lived and preached.

Another aspect that would be emphasized in the concept of “bonds” is the personal impact of individuals like Verbeck, particularly in his teaching and enduring friendships with some of his students. Verbeck’s early teaching, although primarily providing instruction in languages and other Western subjects, indirectly fostered knowledge that could help nurture the Christian faith. He used the New Testament in his English lessons, and offered free Bible classes to students who were simply interested in learning more about the West. And, as mentioned previously, some of the first converts came through his teaching in Nagasaki. In 1877, after teaching in the top government school and advising the highest organs of government, he expressed a desire to teach in a more “distinctively missionary school,” and wrote, “I think that we may leave mere secular teaching to secular teachers.”<sup>307</sup> Thus, Verbeck desired to teach and interact with future pastors and leaders of the Japanese church, teaching courses with specific Christian content like “Christian Evidences,” homiletics, pastoral theology, and the Old and New Testaments.” The bonds between Verbeck and these Christian students and future pastors in the theology school at Meiji Gakuin is arguably the least discussed aspect of Verbeck’s life, though some sources vaguely claim that he was close to many of the pastors and evangelists during this time.<sup>308</sup> The work that Verbeck saw as most integral to his mission—evangelism and

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<sup>307</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 291-292.

<sup>308</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 294. Archibald McLean, *Epoch Makers of Modern Missions* (New York, Revell, 1912), 272. The Union Theological Seminary had been founded earlier by Samuel R. Brown and others, though Brown returned to the U.S. in 1879 and died in 1880. For a brief reference to his influence on pastors see Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 283. In Saba’s *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai* volumes, he will sometimes remark that a particular pastor studied homiletics under Verbeck.

translation—is also not emphasized in the focus on “bands,” where the educational institutions tend to receive more focus.<sup>309</sup>

The broader notion of bonds could expand the historiographical focus on bands but also the overwhelming emphasis on early Protestant samurai converts and, later, on Protestantism as an urban middle class religion. In his evangelistic tours, Verbeck was able to interact and connect with all classes of Japanese people as well as with missionaries and pastors throughout Japan. One early example of the legacy of bonds with Verbeck was in Saga, where the mother and later the daughter of Murata Wakasa-no-kami and her nurse were baptized as well. Griffis writes that this example of “four generations of Christians in this one household have illustrated the beauties of Christian holiness and have strengthened the prophecy of a Japan over which Christ shall rule.”<sup>310</sup> Such stories involving bonds made between individuals easily falls below the radar of most scholarship on Christianity in Japan, but are significant. Also, the depth of interaction between missionaries and Japanese scholars revealed bonds that could be more emphasized. In 1882, a Japanese Bible translation revision committee for the Old and New Testaments was formed, which met at Verbeck’s house in Tsukiji. This included Verbeck, Philip Fyson (from the Anglican Church Missionary Society) and James Hepburn, as well as several

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<sup>309</sup>In *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, pp. 175-176. Verbeck also wrote religious tracts in Japanese in addition to this, such as *Kirisutokyō Shōkoron* (“Essay on the Proofs of Christianity”) and *Shu wo homeru beki* (“The Worship of God”). Ebisawa Arimichi, ed. *Nihon kirisutokyōshi kankei wakansho mokuroku* [Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts Relating to the Early Christian Mission in Japan 1590-1890] (Tokyo: Bunkodo, 1954), p 35.

<sup>310</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 179. Gordon Laman cites the example of these individuals, but also points out that in a meeting in Tokyo in 1883, Murata’s brother Ayabe spoke and said, “I am Ayabe. Since my baptism I have been in the army and also employed in surveying. During all these years I have carried the Bible with me, and have been accustomed to read it daily.” Apparently he also was a preacher in the Methodist Church. Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, pp. 186-188.

Japanese assistants, including Matsuyama Takayoshi and Uemura Masahisa.<sup>311</sup> Verbeck's impact on the translation committee and the relationship between him and particularly Matsuyama, with whom he translated the Psalms, are other bonds that merit more attention. Though less neat than "bands," the motif of "bonds" would allow for more varied and individualized analyses of missionaries like Verbeck and their impact on the Japanese people.

There are other implications of the adoption of the model of living epistles in studying missionaries and Christianity in Japan. Specifically, by presenting a different model for missionaries, it challenges some of the dichotomies between missionaries in the modern missionary movement. Some categories that have been applied to missionaries, such as theologically liberal or conservative, tend to create such dichotomies. But someone like Verbeck might at times be seen as a liberal (i.e., in his support for Japanese church autonomy and for ecumenical cooperation among Protestants) and at other times as a conservative (i.e., in his adherence to creeds and his more literal biblical interpretation). These dichotomies are useful up to a point, but tend either to ignore missionaries that don't fit the mold, like Verbeck, or to oversimplify the lives and interactions of these missionaries in a way that a more individualized approach would avoid.

The dichotomy between formalist and antiformalist (or populist) missionaries which is used in some of the recent literature, can be helpful in recognizing some of the tensions between various missionaries and their churches, particularly in light of the revival movements. Kathryn Long writes that the formalists—usually Congregationalists, Presbyterians, low-Church Episcopalians, and Reformed Churches—stressed "decorum...order in worship, theological precision, and an educated ministry....and also "viewed revival as an...essential element in the

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<sup>311</sup> H. Ritter, p. 225.

transformation of society and the nation.” The antiformalists, on the other hand—Baptists, Methodists, and others--”stressed the emotion trauma...of the New Birth, an experience empowering and open to all...a democratic, Arminianized gospel message in which the grace for conversion...was always available, needing only to be ‘stirred up’ or ‘brought down’ by preaching, prayer, testimony, or song.” By the 1840 and 1850s—that is, the time the ideal of living epistles began to spread—the “two streams had begun to converge, particularly in urban areas,” with formalists toning down their rigid Calvinism and anti-emotionalism, and antiformalists incorporating more orderly worship and more educated clergy.<sup>312</sup> The pioneer missionaries to Japan may, at first glance, seem heavily formalist, but are truly a mixed group, particularly when one includes Baptists and Methodists, who sent many missionaries to Japan later in the Meiji period.<sup>313</sup>

The formalist missionaries, according to Jay Riley Case, emphasized the promotion of “the Kingdom of God through the structures of society” and the antiformalists emphasized personal conversion and displayed “a greater knack for sparking movements.” Case claims that antiformalist missionaries, “often proved to be much more adaptable to non-Western cultures, which made them more likely to spark, encourage, and validate new movements of world Christianity.”<sup>314</sup> This distinction between formalist and antiformalist is not as helpful for the

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<sup>312</sup> Long, p. 6-7.

<sup>313</sup> The various denominations of Methodist missions combined to form one unified Methodist denomination in Japan in 1907, and one of the most prominent mission schools was the Methodist Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo. The appeal of Verbeck to these “antiformalist” missionaries can be seen in the fact that one of the most significant Baptist missionaries to Japan, George Washington Bouldin, wrote his seminary thesis on Verbeck in 1905 before embarking for Japan as a missionary. F. Calvin Parker, *The Southern Baptist Mission in Japan 1889-1989* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), p. 67-69.

<sup>314</sup> Case, pp. 13-14.

pioneer missionaries to Japan, who seem to share both formalist and antiformalist sensibilities, particularly missionaries like Verbeck who have a varied background. It might be more effective to contrast the individual missionaries—such as James H. Ballagh, who seemed much more antiformalist than James C. Hepburn, though both seemed to share a similar theology and perspective towards Japanese culture. Generally speaking, such categorization tends to ignore similarities and also disregards changes both in the missionaries themselves and in the context they live in. It tends to view missionaries as static, instead of as dynamic individuals who could often dramatically change their views and outlooks during their lifetimes on the mission field.

Another dichotomy often made between the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century missionaries and the late-19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century missionaries, particularly for the mainstream denominations, is the distinction between the former as evangelicals focusing on evangelism and the latter as social reformers focusing on the Social Gospel and addressing social problems.<sup>315</sup> However, as the model of living epistles demonstrates, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, a concern with “living” not just “preaching” the gospel was vitally important to many earlier missionaries. As one scholar focusing on early women missionaries to 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan wrote, “Believing in the Christian Gospel’s power to transform both individual lives and the world, they were supporters of many movements for social reforms and especially the growing movements for foreign and domestic

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<sup>315</sup> See, for example, Scott Sunquist, who makes a convincing case for such a distinction for missionaries in China in “American Christian Mission and Education: Henry W. Luce, William R. Harper, and the Secularization of Christian Higher Education,” in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea*, eds. Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng, Chong Ku Paek, Scott W. Sunquist, Yuko Watanabe, pp. 1-14. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011). Another dichotomy that is sometimes emphasized is the more “racialized” thinking of the post-Darwinian, Social Darwinist missionary perspectives of later “Social Gospel” missionaries and those like Verbeck who were not deeply influenced by such thought.

missions.”<sup>316</sup> Some of the early missionaries to Japan, such as Verbeck, were involved not only in education and evangelism, but in causes such as temperance societies and movements for individual political rights.<sup>317</sup> Thus, the dichotomy between individual conversion and societal transformation that is implied in this distinction is too simplistic. In the missionary literature concerning Verbeck, the distinction between secular work for society and sacred work for the church is not as neat, even when Verbeck tried to distinguish the two in his letters. Both social and personal transformation were important to these early missionaries (and to those in movements such as the YMCA), and the ideal of living epistles was broad enough during this time to encompass both of these aspects in the life and work of these missionaries.

Another dichotomy that is often not stated is the gulf between the older more hagiographical literature on missionaries and the newer more scholarly literature that seeks to, in C. T. McIntire’s words, “analyze the multifactorial complexity of the missions and with a sense of critical fairness to identify the ambiguities of the work and the motivations of the people involved.”<sup>318</sup> Much of this recent scholarship ignores the older literature, but often does not address the motives of the missionaries in a meaningful way like the older literature did. Viewing missionaries as living epistles can help to provide a model that can address this

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<sup>316</sup> Reece, p. 22.

<sup>317</sup> Verbeck spoke at various temperance society meetings, as revealed in his 1892 datebook in the William Elliot Griffis collection at Rutgers University and other sources. Even twenty years later, in the 1920 issue of *The Japan Christian Yearbook*, in an section about the widespread consumption of alcohol in Japan, they mention Verbeck’s alleged comment that most Japanese men went to bed drunk every night. pp. 164-165. For the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in Japan see Ian Tyrrell, *Woman’s Work, Woman’s Empire: The Women’s Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chappell Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

<sup>318</sup> Quoted in Terrence L. Craig, pp. 134-135. According to Cratig, the earlier phase of the biographical literature, unlike the recent literature, “represented the missionaries as they wanted to be seen, within situations reduced to a simplistic manichean duality, and with a faith that, by not being able to contemplate failure, overlooked the seeds of failure all around them....” p. 135.

deficiency in the recent literature. Though the concept of a living epistle is rooted in a specific historical context—the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century—it could be a more inclusive model for interpreters of individual missionaries in any time period, incorporating both the missionaries’ and their contemporaries’ views of their lives, as well as the successive “readings” of the lives of missionaries up to the present. Like the medieval biblical commentaries, where successive interpretations of the commentaries lie etched in the margins of manuscripts, or the centuries-old layers of interpretations on commentaries of the Confucian classics, the interpretations of missionaries as living epistles could build upon or react against former interpretations of their lives, bringing contemporary concerns into their perspectives.

One last dichotomy that this model of living epistles challenges is that between foreign missionaries and indigenous Christians, one that for Japanese Christians is very significant.<sup>319</sup> The Christian worldview that the foreign missionaries possessed was widely espoused at home, particularly in the readership of the missionary literature. But it is not as clear how broadly the larger narrative that missionaries like Verbeck attempted to embody as living epistles was accepted in Japan, even by Japanese Christians. The Japanese scholar, Mutō Kazuo (1913-1995), writing in the 1960s, acknowledged this dichotomy, asserting that foreign missionaries came to Japan with good will, but possessed “a kind of colonial character” in the insistence of separation from Japanese traditional heritage and fostered (unintentionally perhaps) a “cultural and social elite consciousness” among their converts. However, Mutō Kazuo, who was born in Nagasaki to a Protestant family whose grandfather had been baptized in the 1870s by Verbeck’s

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<sup>319</sup> Some, like John Howes, have used cultural characteristics, such as “Puritan” elements of the early missionaries, to analyze distinctions between missionaries and their converts. However, such terminology is not very precise, and Howes also makes other vague claims such as his assertion that these missionaries all belonged to a declining class in America. Howes, pp. 339-340.



Reformed missionary colleague, James H. Ballagh, lived in a manner that embodied the ideal of a living epistle. A life-long church member and Christian intellectual who eventually occupied the Chair for Christian Studies at Kyoto University, the example of Mutō's faith had a great impact on those around him. At his funeral, a friend remarked "that the front (*omote*) and the backside (*ura, honne*) of this personality matched each other completely. He was a thoroughly honest person." Another claimed that Mutō had been "a pastor for me without having held a single sermon."<sup>320</sup> The latter comment bears a striking affinity with the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideal of a living epistle.

Thus, the dichotomy between the foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians, although still a formidable one in much of the literature, could be bridged by viewing very different figures—such as Mutō and Verbeck—by the same model of living epistles. In Japan, as in most of Asia, Christians have always lived in a society where non-Christian religions are not only the majority religions but the ones that have been historically indigenized for centuries. In the West, the major non-Christian religions are in the minority and usually come from outside of their cultural traditions. Thus, many Asian Christians could view themselves as "missionaries" to their own societies and, like the foreign missionaries, endeavor to be living epistles to their own societies. Verbeck's missionary life—which has been seen as one embodying the ideal of a living epistle, is remarkably similar to what one recent Japanese scholar calls a more "contextualized" way of communicating the gospel for Japanese:

communicators are the most significant component of the messages they convey...because there is no greater strategy than the life involvement of the communicator. The receptor pays attention not only to what the communicator says but also to how he/she lives....Personal participation in the lives of the receptors is required because the deeper meanings of the message can only be expressed through shared life

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<sup>320</sup> Mutō, pp. 3-8, 31.

involvement between communicators and receptors. How can we communicate the message if we do not earn credibility as respectable human beings?...God's message is a person message. He has communicated His message through person-to-person interaction. He meets individuals as persons. He did not simply input knowledge to human beings, but lived a life among His receptors.”<sup>321</sup>

Surely, the legacy of a pioneer missionary figure like Verbeck, who could be depicted as a living epistle in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, should not be overlooked in an assessment of the modern missionary movement and the development of modern Japan. Reassessing a figure like Verbeck provides a good opportunity to develop, in Usama Makdisi's words, “a new historical imagination” needed to uncover the “entangled histories” of missionary encounters and the way that their lives have been, and continue to be, interpreted. But, Verbeck as the ideal pioneer missionary to Japan, though arguably one of the most common ways that Verbeck's life has been presented, is not the only way that Verbeck has been seen by observers and later scholars. His role as a key *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“foreign employee”) in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan makes him unique among the missionaries living in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan.

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<sup>321</sup> Mitsuo Fukuda, *Developing a Contextualized Church as a Bridge to Christianity in Japan* (Gloucester, England: Wide Margin, 2012), p. 192.

**2.0 PART TWO: VERBECK AS A PROMINENT *OYATOI GAIKOKUJIN***  
**(“FOREIGN EMPLOYEE”) IN BAKUMATSU-MEIJI JAPAN**

## 2.1 CHAPTER FOUR: THE *OYATOI GAIKOKUJIN* IN BAKUMATSU-MEIJII JAPAN

*“...of all wonders in the world, the progress of Japan, in which you have been aiding, seems to me about the most wonderful.”*

—Charles Darwin, in a letter to Edward S. Morse, an American scientist and *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“foreign employee”) hired by the Japanese government during the late 1870s<sup>322</sup>

The 1870s were a watershed in Protestant missions to Japan. The first Japanese church was founded in 1872, and in 1873, the edicts proscribing Christianity were removed and the largest influx of missionaries arrived, more than any other year in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>323</sup> The mid-1870s also marked the peak of the Meiji government’s policy of hiring foreigners (called *oyatoi gaikokujin*, or *oyatoi*) in order to more quickly adopt Western ideas and modernize Japan.

The early 1870s also marked the period in which Verbeck had the most influence on the Japanese government. His prominence as an teacher, translator and advisor for the government—and his role in the narrative of Japan’s modernization—has been emphasized in much of the scholarship on Verbeck since the postwar period. Even some works that deal with Christianity in Japan emphasize this aspect of Verbeck’s life. For example, Samuel Lee, the

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<sup>322</sup> *More Letters of Charles Darwin*, vol. 2, publisher not indicated, pp. 383-84. Cited in Dorothy G. Wayman, *Edward Sylvester Morse: A Biography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 251.

<sup>323</sup> Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 263. Twenty-nine missionaries arrived in 1873.

author of several works on Christianity in Japan, in his recent work, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom: Two Thousand Years of Christian History in Japan*, refers to Verbeck (the sole Meiji-era missionary he mentions) simply as a Protestant missionary who was employed by the Japanese government and functioned “in various capacities as an advisor.”<sup>324</sup> Though the book is about Christianity in Japan, Verbeck’s significance as an *oyatoi* in the development of modern Japan is the interpretation of Verbeck’s life that Lee emphasizes.

In the second part of this case-study, I will be focusing on the *oyatoi gaikokujin* using Verbeck to address a few questions regarding the *oyatoi* in general. First, what are some of the challenges involved in studying the *oyatoi* and assessing their role in the modernization of Japan? Also, what does the historiography on the *oyatoi*, both in the West and in Japan, reveal about the narratives of modernization in Japan? Though all observers agree that the *oyatoi* are a part of the story of Japan’s remarkable modernization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the interpretations of their role and their significance in this narrative has fluctuated. In prewar Japan, the writing about the *oyatoi* was more sporadic and sparse, but in the postwar period, and particularly from the 1960s, interest in studying the *oyatoi* increased as scholars more systematically studied various aspects of Japan’s modernization. Finally, how might a broader, more comparative approach allow for the subject of the *oyatoi* to be incorporated or expanded into a global discussion regarding modernization and foreign employees like Verbeck?

Though most of the literature on the *oyatoi* has tended to focus narrowly on the role of

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<sup>324</sup> Samuel Lee, *Rediscovering Japan, Reintroducing Christendom: Two Thousand Years of Christian History in Japan* (Lanham, Maryland: Hamilton Books, 2010) p. 136. Lee seems to want to downplay the missionary contribution to Japanese Christianity, and thus does not want to focus on the narrative of the missionary movement, but on the indigenization of Christianity in Japan. Lee only has six pages on the Protestant movement in Japan, as compared to almost 30 pages on the historically controversial “Nestorian” movement in Japan.

such figures in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, cultural borrowing is nothing new in Japanese history. Furthermore, individuals working for governments or societies where they are not citizens or permanent residents is nothing new either. It has occurred in various societies from Persia to Rome, from the Mughals in India to the Ming in China. Perhaps many of the foreigners historically were mercenaries, but there were many other areas of expertise. Often these foreigners were expected to become subjects of the empire or obligated to submit to its laws and norms. One prominent example was the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci. Ricci, who wrote many works in Chinese and became essentially a scholar-official of the Ming Emperor, did not return to Europe and was buried in China in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were some distinctive conditions that facilitated such interactions; such as, the expansion of maritime empires, the gradual replacement of empires by nation-states, and the proliferation of treaty ports. In addition, certain types of knowledge, particularly scientific and technological expertise, were highly valued, with the West (for the first time in history) leading the way globally in these areas.

Despite the existence of parallel examples earlier in their history and throughout the history of other societies, Japan's cultural borrowing in the Meiji period was distinctive in several ways. First of all, the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century—when Japan embarked on a course of greater openness to the world—was the first truly global moment of cultural diffusion, including all of the Americas, Australia, the islands in the South Pacific, as well as the interior of Africa. Also, because of the effects of the Industrial Revolution, the level of disparity between the “West” and the rest had grown by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly with mechanization by means of fossil fuels, widespread innovations in transportation with the railroad and steamship, the mass production of projectile armaments for warfare, and the technological application of scientific

advances in the physical sciences (increasingly through universities and other research institutions).

Japan, however, began implementing many of these innovations and was not many decades behind Western societies in many cases. The policy of hiring *oyatoi* in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan was viewed by Japan's government as a short-term expense to close that gap. Though there were foreigners hired in earlier centuries by the Japanese, such as the English pilot Will Adams in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>325</sup> the scale of borrowing from the West was much greater and more systematic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with large numbers of foreigners hired, hundreds of students sent overseas to study, and the adoption of new institutions and techniques based on the West. Also, unlike the Occupation period after World War II, and unlike many contemporary societies throughout the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Japanese remained in control of the borrowing and the use of foreign employees by assuming full responsibility for the costs of the *oyatoi* and for many of the students sent abroad. They also, unlike Egypt, Russia or other societies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, refused to rely on large foreign loans, and replaced the foreign employees with competent Japanese personnel as quickly as possible. The Japanese policy of hiring foreigners was expensive, but an expense that Japan's leaders saw as a "necessary evil" to rid Japan of the hated "unequal treaties" and to gain respect and power on par with the West. Remarkably, in a few decades Japan achieved their goals—by 1899, the treaties were removed, by 1902 they signed an alliance with Great Britain on equal terms, and in 1905 they defeated

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<sup>325</sup> Will Adams and his second mate, Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn, on the Dutch ship which he piloted, the *De Liefde*, were both selected to be confidants and advisors to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and both became his retainers (*hatamoto*). Adams, known as *Anjin Miura* [pilot of the *Miura*], has been much more celebrated in Japan (and in the West by romantic portrayals like James Clavell's *Shogun*), though both of the neighborhoods of Tokyo where they had residences are named after them today (with historical about them)—Anjin-cho (in Nihonbashi) for Will Adams, and Yaesu (near Tokyo station) for Jan Joosten (*yan yosuten* or *yayosu* in Japanese).

Russia, a major Western power, in a war. The story of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* is part of the larger narrative of how modern Japan was able to accomplish such a feat.

### 2.1.1 Challenges in Defining and Quantifying the *Oyatoi Gaikokujin*

The subject of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* has its share of challenges for those interested in studying them. First of all, the use of the term itself—the literal meaning as well as the connotations of the term—had a mixed reception by Westerners from the beginning. The designation *oyatoi gaikokujin* (“hired foreigner”) is from the root Japanese word *yatoi* (noun) or *yatou* (verb)—The word is translated in James C. Hepburn’s first edition of *A Japanese and English Dictionary* (1867), though the meaning changes slightly in later editions. In the first edition, *yatoi* means “to hire temporarily, to call, as a coolie,” or, “A person hired temporarily.”<sup>326</sup> The 1886 edition (and subsequent editions) of Hepburn’s dictionary defines *yatoi* as “hiring or employing for service, a hired person” and *yatou* as “to hire, to engage or employ for service...to hire a coolie.”<sup>327</sup> Thus, Hepburn’s definition changed slightly, but never went beyond the notion of a “hired employee.” The use of the longer term *oyatoi gaikokujin*, though a more honorific form

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<sup>326</sup> The Japanese have used the characters 傭 or 雇 for “yatoi” although the second one is more common in the Meiji period and in the literature. J. C. Hepburn, *A Japanese and English Dictionary* (London: Trubner and Co, 1867). The word, *yatoware* is listed as the passive of *yatoi*. p. 528. In addition, the word *hiyō*, defined as “day-labor, wages, hire” is a synonym for *yatoi*. p. 118. Though found in Hepburn’s dictionary, the word “yatoi” or “foreign employee” was not employed in the missionary literature.

<sup>327</sup> J. C. Hepburn, *Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, Seventh edition, 1903. Tokyo: Z. P. Maruya and Co. (copyright 1886). In addition *yatoibito* is defined as “a hired man, employé,” p. 738. The second edition of 1872 was very similar to the 1867, the only change being that the passive *yatoware* was defined as “to be hired or engaged to do service” J. C. Hepburn, , *Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1872), p. 602.



of *yatoi*, nevertheless reveals that “although the foreigners were referred to with a term of respect, they were regarded, from first to last, as wage workers ‘employed’ by [the] Japanese.”<sup>328</sup>

Apparently, even Hepburn’s later definition was seen by some of the *oyatoi* as an ignoble description of their significant contribution and role in the creation of modern Japan. The geologist and seismologist *oyatoi* professor John Milne, in a letter to Griffis in 1906, wrote that, “*Yatoi* (hirelings and menials) they may have been, but for the full significance of the word, dear old Hepburn requires extension. It has led to controversy.”<sup>329</sup> Throughout the early Meiji period, Japanese officials used the more honorific term *oyatoi gaikokujin* as well as *yatoi*, and the noun form of “*yatoi*” also was an English neologism for “government foreign employee”<sup>330</sup> and continued to be used by foreigners into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as Griffis, who, by 1919, defined it more loftily as a “salaried foreign expert,” (though he had earlier defined the *yatoi* as “hired foreign servants” or “foreign helpers”).<sup>331</sup>

This servile designation of the foreign employees as *yatoi* was accepted amiably by some like Verbeck, but for others it became a point of tension, despite their salaries being much higher

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<sup>328</sup> Takutoshi Inoue, “Japanese Students in England and the Meiji Government’s Foreign Employee’s (*Oyatoi*): The People Who Supported Modernisation in the Bakumatsu-Early Meiji Period. Discussion Paper No. 40. Kwansei Gakuin University, School of Economics, July 2008, p. 18. Jones writes that by the use of such a term, “a psychological tone was immediately set.” p. xv.

<sup>329</sup> Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines, Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 106. However, the term *gaikokujin* (“foreigner”) was much preferable to derogative terms often used for foreigners in the Tokugawa period, such as *banjin* or *ijin* that meant “barbarians” and had connotations of “devils” and “savages.”

<sup>330</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. xv.

<sup>331</sup> From a letter from Griffis to the newspaper *Star*, cited in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 91. The term “hired foreign servants” is used in his introduction to Richard Henry Brunton’s *Building Japan 1868-1876*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi, (Sandgate, Folkestone, Kent, England: Japan Library, 1991) p. 18. Interestingly, the Japanese title for a series of conference papers on *oyatoi gaikokujin* in 1985 in Japan was title *Za yatoi* in katakana, a reference to the English phrase “the *yatoi*” as used by foreigners like Griffis. *Za yatoi: oyatoi gaikokujin no sōgōteki kenkyū* [The *Yatoi*: A Comprehensive Study of Hired Foreigners], Eds, Umetani Noboru, et. al. (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1987).

than that of the Japanese staff. Some took offense, such as Thomas W. Kinder, the director of the Imperial Mint in Osaka, whose strained relations with the Japanese officials and staff eventually led to his dismissal.<sup>332</sup> Kinder wrote in 1874, "...First even the government regards me by the name of *yatoi*...that this character in Japan is the word used for lower level daily worker, I certainly have known...."<sup>333</sup> Later, in 1892, the editor of the *Japan Weekly Mail* wrote, "All persons in the service of the Government who do not possess official rank are *yatoi*...a term very often resented by foreigners as a rudeness." Men of distinction "are in Japan reduced to the level of the lowest semi-official."<sup>334</sup> It wasn't only the British who took offense at their supposedly servile position. When the American, Horace Capron arrived in Japan in 1871 to head the agricultural development of Hokkaido, he was presented to the Meiji Emperor. When Capron's reply to the Emperor was published in the court journal, Capron was offended when "he was reported as having described himself as the *bishin* or 'insignificant servant' of His Majesty," a phrase Capron never uttered.<sup>335</sup>

Many of the *oyatoi* knew that, despite their high salaries, their classification as "hired hands," their short-term contracts, and the rapidity with which they were replaced, demonstrated

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<sup>332</sup> This disparity in pay between the *oyatoi* and the Japanese staff was not only visible in the more "prestigious" positions like Kinder's, but even a teacher like Lafcadio Hearn in rural Matsue received a comparatively modest salary of 100 yen, though the principal at this middle school only received a salary of 55 yen. Cited in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 168.

<sup>333</sup> Quoted in Jones, "Griffis Thesis and Meiji Policy Toward Hired Foreigners," in *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. Ardath W. Burks, (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), p. 221.

<sup>334</sup> From 30 June 1892 issue, quoted in Jones, "Review of *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 30, no. 4 (Winter, 1975): 465. This is likely written by Frank Brinkley, and fits with his later definition of "*yatoi*" in his *Japanese-English Dictionary* (originally published in 1896) as, "a government employee (not a regular official); lowest grade of officials." Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. xv.

<sup>335</sup> Described in Brunton, *Building Japan*, p. 111.

Japanese desires to take the initiative and the credit for their modernization.<sup>336</sup> They wanted the *oyatoi* to be dispensable and in some cases virtually forgotten. Francis (Frank) Trevithick, a British railway engineer who helped lay the tracks for Japan's first railways, bemoaned the fact that his brother Richard Trevithick of Kobe, also an *oyatoi*, "will never be known in Japan by the Japanese as the designer and builder of the first Japanese locomotive, the credit being already given to a Japanese who has very little mechanical knowledge."<sup>337</sup>

The history of the official use of the term *oyatoi gaikokujin* or *oyatoi* is also somewhat unclear. According to Takutoshi Inoue and Hazel Jones, the first official use of the term *oyatoi gaikokujin* by the national government was in 1872, in the *Oyatoi gaikokujin ichiran* [Table of Foreign Employees], compiled by the Foreign Ministry.<sup>338</sup> This official designation is what historian Tezuka Tatsumaro called the first "institutionalization" of the employment of foreigners, which, despite previous periods of cultural borrowing and hiring of foreigners in Japanese history, was unprecedented. "Old-time Japan," writes Tezuka, "followed a practice of employing foreign visitors to assimilate [the] culture of their advanced nations....It was not until

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<sup>336</sup> Most early *oyatoi* contracts were given for 2-3 years maximum, though Verbeck's unprecedented five-year contract is one exception to this rule. Japan's earliest railroads in the 1870s were built almost entirely with the expertise of British *oyatoi*, but by early 1880s, the Japanese had learned how to build railroads without any assistance.

<sup>337</sup> Quoted in Neil Pedlar, *Imported Pioneers: Westerners who helped build modern Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 121. The Trevithick brothers were the grandsons of the famous pioneer English inventor, and both Frank married Japanese women, though Richard's wife is simply called a "Japanese lady," on the Trevithick family tree. Frank married Yoshi Okuno in 1880 and adopted his wife's name to gain Japanese citizenship. Frank's grandson, Frank Masahiro Trevithick Okuno, who studied in Ireland after World War II and married an Irish woman, recently passed away in 2009. "Japanese Trevithick was proud of his ancestry," Accessed online May 3, 2014. <http://www.westbriton.co.uk/Japanese-Trevithick-proud-ancestry/story-11504601-detail/story.html> In 1997, the Japanese Railway Society celebrated 125 years of British involvement in Japanese railways beginning with these *oyatoi*. Richard Tremaine, "The Japanese Railway Society," *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, no. 30 (March, 2002): 38-39.

<sup>338</sup> Inoue, p. 18, Jones *Live Machines*, p. 5.

the advent of the Meiji Period that such a practice of employing foreigners was institutionalized. The evolution of Japanese new civilization in all fields owed much to this institution.”<sup>339</sup>

However, the term *oyatoi* was used at times prior to 1872 by Japanese officials both at the domain and national level who dealt with foreign employees. For instance, the Saga domain retainer, Itō Jihei who negotiated with Verbeck and the Nagasaki magistrate to hire Verbeck in 1867 to teach in the Saga domain school, used the terms *yatoi*, *oyatoi*, or *yatoinin* frequently in his private memoirs.<sup>340</sup> In addition, Hazel Jones writes that *oyatoi gaikokujin* was not the only term used for foreign employees in these years. The government also used more specific terms such as *oyatoi kyōshi* [“foreign teachers”] and, according to Ogata Hiroyasu, the term *okakae*, meaning tutor, was a more common Bakumatsu (1853-1867) term for government-hired foreigners.<sup>341</sup>

Hence, not only was the designation of the foreigners as *oyatoi* sometimes controversial, but trying to come to a consensus on an appropriate translation of the term has been problematic. In most of the Western literature on Japan, until quite recently, the Japanese word was not used, but instead writers used translated terms such as, “hired foreigners,” “foreign employees,”

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<sup>339</sup> Tatsumaro Tezuka, “Government-Employed Foreign Missionaries: Verbeck and Thompson” *Tokyo Municipal News*, December, 1968 p. 5. Though Hazel Jones cites some of Tezuka’s popular articles on specific lesser-known *oyatoi* in a series published in the bi-monthly *Tokyo Municipal News*, for some reason she does not mention this article on Verbeck and Thompson. She mentions one on Martin W. Wyckoff, Channing M. Williams, and Charles DuBousquet. Umetani Noboru also cites an earlier article by Tezuka on the Frenchman Prosper Gambet Gross entitled, “Dr. Gross and Captain Hoehn: Contributions to the Japanese Police System,” cited in Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi Gaikokujin no kenkyū Vol. 1* (Tokyo: Shōshi shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 2010), p. 325.

<sup>340</sup> Morita Tadashi, *Nihon no kindai ni kōken shita Nagasaki no Furubekki senkyōshi* [The Contributions of Nagasaki’s Missionary Verbeck to Japan’s Modernization], Unpublished manuscript in Nagasaki Prefectural Library, 5/1/2009, pp. 59-66. Morita claims that Itō deserves much of the credit for all of the negotiations surrounding Verbeck, not Ōkuma, who often gets the credit for this.

<sup>341</sup> In addition to *oyatoi gaikokujin*, the official term *oyatoi kyōshi* was used to refer to “foreign teachers.” Jones writes that, “It was in their tutorial and advisory ‘sub-leadership’ role that their full significance is to be found.” Hazel Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 106.

“foreign experts,” “foreign advisers,” “foreign helpers,” “hired foreign servants.” Hazel Jones entitles her work on the *oyatoi* creatively as “live machines,” which is not a translation of the term, but is taken from an anecdote of a Japanese official in the 1860s who, when purchasing Western machinery, said that he desired to hire foreign experts, adding, “What I am thinking of is not a dead machine but a live machine.”<sup>342</sup>

Though the use of the English neologism “yatoi” did not endure, more recently, the untranslated Japanese term *oyatoi* or *oyatoi gaikokujin*, has started to be utilized recently in scholarship on Japan. Andrew Gordon briefly refers to the *oyatoi gaijin* (“hired foreigners”) in *A Modern History of Japan*, and designates them as “consultants and managers,” adding that the term, “had a pejorative connotation suggesting that the foreigners brought no value beyond detailed technical expertise.”<sup>343</sup> Perhaps the first book in English to contain the word *oyatoi* in the title was A. Hamish Ion’s 2009 work, *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi and Modern Japan 1859-1872*, a work that deals more with Christian missionaries than the topic of *oyatoi*, only dealing with early Christian *oyatoi* like Griffis and Edward W. Clark. The corresponding use of the term in lectures, seminars, and some scholarly literature in recent years demonstrates

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<sup>342</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 125. In a related anecdote, cited by Umetani Noboru, the Chief Minister of the daimyo Sufu Masanosuke, wanted to send five young retainers to England and secretly called for Satō Sadajirō, the head clerk of a merchant of Yokohama, Daitokuya Rokubei, asking for his assistance in purchasing “living machines from Europe.” Umetani Noboru, *The Role of Foreign Employees in the Meiji Era in Japan*. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economics, 1971, p. 84.

<sup>343</sup> Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 72. Another example of its use in scholarship is in Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War* (Durham, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 12-19, 32. In this work, Shimizu uses the term *oyatoi* repeatedly in narrating the introduction of baseball to Meiji Japan.

less reluctance to use the Japanese term today.<sup>344</sup> Though using the term *oyatoi* is attractive to avoid the limitations and connotations of certain English terms, a disadvantage of using the Japanese term is the continuing isolation of the scholarship on the *oyatoi* from the history of the employment of foreigners in other societies.<sup>345</sup>

The total number of *oyatoi* hired during the Bakumatsu-Meiji period has also been considerably challenging to definitively tabulate, because accurate government records were not kept until 1872 (and even these are somewhat incomplete, according to Umetani Noboru and Hazel Jones). Thus, it is difficult to arrive at an exact number of foreign employees from officially published statistics. In the records, the government used the Japanese syllabary *katakana* for transliterating foreign names, leading to various forms of foreign names, and usually they omitted given names despite directives from the government to use their full Romanized name. In addition, some *oyatoi* were employed by several bureaus or by more than one ministry.<sup>346</sup> Most authors give the figure of roughly 3000 foreign employees in government

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<sup>344</sup> Two examples of seminars from 2013 include a public seminar in the United Kingdom on “Oyatoi-Gaikokujin and the Modernisation of Japan,” with a special lecture on the *oyatoi* by historian Ian Nish, and a lecture by Kristin Meißner at the German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo on “Channeling influence through experts: British and German oyatoi in Meiji Japan. Also see Tim Neeno, “The Oyatoi gaikokujin: U.S. and British Advisors in Meiji Japan, 1868-1905.” Masters Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1990.

<sup>345</sup> An example of a common term that is more both more limited and vague is “foreign advisors.” To some extent all *oyatoi* “advised,” but very few *oyatoi* wielded the influence of a “foreign advisor” in being able to influence the direction of the government, particularly since they were employees of the Japanese. This term could apply to certain individuals such as Verbeck and Herman Roesler and Henry Denison. For a broad work on foreign advisors in China that covers a broader time period and is somewhat critical of such figures, see Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisors in China* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1969).

<sup>346</sup> One example is the two Frenchmen, Georges Bousquet and Albert Charles du Bousquet, both prominent French *oyatoi* in the 1870s, and as such can be confused with each other. Even well-known names like Verbeck are spelled in a variety of ways in katakana. In addition to *furubekki*, I have found at least the following *furubeki*, *faabekku*, *vaabekku*. Verbeck is an example of someone who was employed as an advisor for more than one ministry.

service in this period. Umetani in another work designates *oyatoi* employed by the government from 1868-1890 and divides them by country with a total of 2,299,<sup>347</sup> and Hazel Jones reduced the sample in her work on government-employed *oyatoi* to 2,050 ostensibly to avoid repeated names and individuals who worked for more than one bureau or ministry. Another factor that has presented difficulty is the lack of precision of the category of *oyatoi*, which changes depending on the scholar. In Umetani's edited work, *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin*, the designation *oyatoi* is confusingly expanded as to incorporate the families and servants of *oyatoi* as well as missionaries who were not *oyatoi*, thus implying "the tacit inclusion of all foreigners who came to Japan" in the ranks of the *oyatoi*. Though Jones limited her analysis to public, government-employed *oyatoi*, Umetani and many of the Japanese authors of the 17-volume *Oyatoi gaikokujin* Series, though emphasizing government employees, considered both public and private *oyatoi*.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Umetani Noboru, "Oyatoi no Gaikokujin no genjō to dōkō [Hired Foreigners: Present Conditions and Trends] in *Za Yatoi*, pp. 13-14. Umetani lists the following countries: England=928, America=374, France=259, China=253, Germany=175, Netherlands=87, Austria=21, Denmark=21, Italy=16, Sweden=9, Portugal=6, Others=24, Unknown/no description=80, Multiple nationalities=28.

<sup>348</sup> Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, pp. 37-38. Umetani also compiled lists of *oyatoi* employed by prefectural and municipal governments, pp. 52-53, 188-192. Umetani's overall numbers of *oyatoi* here seem quite high, though some of Umetani's compilations seem closer to other researchers like Jones. Jones writes that this overly broad definition in *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin*, ed. Yunesuko Higashi Ajia Bunka Kenkyū Senta (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1975). obscures the etymology of the term *oyatoi*. Jones, "Review of *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin*", p. 465. The following are the volumes in the *Oyatoi gaikokujin* series, published by Kashima Shobō between 1865-1976, as they are numbered in the *Oyatoi Gaikokujin* series: *Gaisetsu* [Outline], Umetani Noboru (1968); *Sangyō* [Industry], Yoshida Mitsukuni (1968); *Shizen kagaku* [Natural Sciences], Ueno Masuzō; *Kōtsū* [Railroads], Yamada Naomasa (1968); *Kyoiku, shūkyō* [Education and Religion], Shigehisa Tokutaro (1968); *Gunji* [Military], Takahashi Kunitarō (1968); *Tsūshin* [Telecommunications and Postal Service], Takahashi Zenshichi (1969); *Kinyū, zaisei* [Finance and Public Finance], Tsuchiya Takao (1969); *Igaku* [Medicine], Ishibashi Chōei, Ogawa Teizō (1969); *Ongaku* [Music], Nomura Kōichi (1971); *Seiji, hōsei* [Government and Law], Umetani Noboru (1971); *Gaikō* [Diplomacy], Imai Shōji (1975); *Kaitaku* (Hokkaido Development), Harada Kazufumi (1975); *Chihō, bunka* [Regional and Cultural], Shigehisa Tokutarō (1975); *Kenchiku* [Engineering and Public Works], Muramatsu Tenjirō (1976); *Bijutsu* [Art], Kumamoto Kenjirō (1976); *Jinbun kagaku* [Social Sciences], Kanai Madoka (1976?).

Despite these challenges in compiling totals, all scholars agree that the peak years of *oyatoi* hired by the government were 1874-1875, when approximately 525 *oyatoi* were hired by the Japanese governments (national and prefectural).<sup>349</sup> Though the number of government-employed *oyatoi* declined after these peak years, Umetani includes both government employees and private-sector employees in his statistical analysis of *oyatoi*, (though he emphasizes the government-employed *oyatoi* because the biographical information he gives is almost entirely about them). According to Umetani, the number of public-sector employees peaked in 1875 at 527 and then decreased to 321 by 1878. The growth in private-sector employees, however, grew from three in 1873 to 499 in 1878, and in 1897 it reached as high as 760. Thus, private-sector employees outnumbered public-sector employees by 76 beginning in 1877 and this disparity continued to grow throughout the Meiji period.<sup>350</sup>

### 2.1.2 Challenges Regarding The Historical Role of the *Oyatoi* in Modern Japan

Another challenge has been to accurately place the *oyatoi* accurately in the context of the opening of Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan to the West. Though the hiring of *oyatoi* greatly expanded with the Meiji period, most historians acknowledge that the Meiji regime's program of hiring *oyatoi* continued and expanded what the Tokugawa government had begun in the 1850s and 1860s. A few scholars look back even before Perry's treaty in 1854. Inoue Takutoshi found that

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<sup>349</sup> Inoue, pp. 20-21.

<sup>350</sup> Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin gaisetsu* [An Outline of Foreign Employees] (Tokyo: Kashima Kenkyūjō, 1977) pp. 52-53, 93-94. For a detailed list of the specific public and private *oyatoi*, their dates of employment, nationalities, areas of work and salaries, see Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū* Vol. 1, pp. 193-226.



ten out of sixty Westerners in Japan between 1825-1855 [1859?] were foreign employees (mostly in Nagasaki). He also found that between 1860 and mid-1868, twenty-five out of about eighty foreigners were foreign employees, and between 1868-1871, fifty-five out of approximately ninety individuals were foreign employees.<sup>351</sup> Prior to the opening of the treaty ports in 1859, foreign doctors and instructors associated with the long-standing Dutch presence in Nagasaki, such as Philipp von Siebold in the 1820s, and Pompe van Meerdervoort of the Dutch Naval Institute in the 1850s, had taught Japanese scholars, mainly doctors.<sup>352</sup> Hazel Jones claimed that between 1854-1868, at least 200 foreign technological and language instructors were hired, most by Tokugawa *bakufu* and some by the domains (*han*). More than 80 were French, more than 60 were Dutch, about 30 were British, and Americans and Germans constituted the remainder.<sup>353</sup> The bulk of the Dutch *oyatoi* were instructors in the two naval institutes in Nagasaki, and the majority of the French *oyatoi* were hired while Leon Roches was consul between 1864-1868. Diplomatic relations between the French and the Tokugawa regime led to the French becoming the most significant foreign influence on the *bakufu*, with most of *oyatoi* working on the construction of the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal under the leadership of the naval engineer Léonce Verni.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Takutoshi Inoue, p. 20. Inoue uses the *Rainichi seiyō jinmei jiten* [A Dictionary of Westerners in Japan] (Tokyo: Nichi Gai Asoshisetsu, 1983) to compile the number of foreigners, and cross-references them with various sources, including the *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin*,

<sup>352</sup> See Bowers, *When the Twain Meet*. Though the Dutch were prominent in medicine throughout the 1860s, the British hospital-based system gained prominence in the 1860s through the English doctor William Willis.

<sup>353</sup> Jones, *Live Machines* p. 1. According to Jones, some 70% of the new leadership in the Meiji encountered Western learning directly through study at home or abroad, many during the Bakumatsu period. p 26.

<sup>354</sup> The arsenal had a school associated with it as well, which was also staffed by Frenchmen. Though the French were reluctant to back the new Meiji regime after 1868, the new regime continued the work on the

Initially, the political and social status of the *oyatoi* in Tokugawa Japan was somewhat vague. The first *oyatoi* contracts for Americans with the *bakufu* in 1862 were two mining engineers, Rafael Pumpelly and William Phipps Blake, who went into the interior of Japan. Their contracts provided no recourse to the U.S. representative, but they were ensured in that “full protection of life shall be afforded him by the Government of Japan, while in its service...he acting in conformity to the laws and regulations of said [Japanese] government.” Another vague part of the contract was that the employee would “have a social position and rank in Japan relatively equal to that of scientific men in similar position in other countries.” (particularly, in their home country).<sup>355</sup>

One challenge is to determine the motives underlying the various parties involved. What motivated the late Tokugawa and Meiji governments and leaders to utilize *oyatoi*? The purpose of the government policy of hiring *oyatoi* was to most efficiently and quickly modernize to match the level of the most advanced Western countries. It was the most efficient and safest way (with the ban on overseas travel in the 1860s) to begin to incorporate and implement Western ideas, and, in so doing, to prevent Japan from being subjugated by imperialist powers and eventually to remove the hated “unequal treaties.” Thus, the policy of *oyatoi* cannot be

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naval dockyards, which were completed in the early 1870s. The French were superceded politically by the British, but were still hired as *oyatoi*, particularly in the army (until surpassed by the Germans in the 1880s) and as legal experts, such as Emile Boissonade between 1873-1895. For the French and Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, see Meron Medzini, *French Policy in Japan During the Closing Years of the Tokugawa Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1971) and Richard Sims, *French Policy Towards the Bakufu and Meiji Japan 1854-95* (Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Japan Library, Curzon Press, 1998).

<sup>355</sup> The implication of these contracts under the early treaties was that foreigners travelling beyond the port concession areas not only required Japanese permission but were under Japanese protection and had conform to Japanese laws....By the Meiji period, representatives such as the British consul Harry Parkes, were insisting that, even in the interior, foreign employees were still under consular jurisdiction, in effect denying Japanese sovereignty. Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 2-3.

separated from the threat of imperialism and humiliation of the “unequal treaties” forced on Japan in the 1850s and 1860s. Irokawa Daikichi asserts that

...it can be understood that the major concern of its [Japan's] leaders was...mastering the secrets of their (Western) enemies' wealth and power quickly—in other words, the utilization of Western civilization to strengthen Japan....These men [Bakumatsu and Meiji supporters of adopting Western technology] were driven by a deep, strong sense of national crisis and independence that kept them from falling into blind worship of the West.<sup>356</sup>

However, the Tokugawa government was reluctant to hire foreign teachers in some institutions, such as the key *bakufu* Western studies institution, the *Bansho Shirabesho* [Institute for the Investigation of Foreign Books] and instead sent out some exchange students to the West who returned as instructors for this school.<sup>357</sup> In the 1860s, however, the *bakufu* did employ a few foreign teachers in the treaty ports, most notably Verbeck who became the head foreign teacher of the *bakufu* language school (*Seibikan* or *Saibikan*) in 1864.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period* Trans. Marius Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) pp. 51-52. Originally published in Japanese in 1970.

<sup>357</sup> This institution was renamed the *Kaiseisho* after 1862, and in the early Meiji years was called the *Daigaku Nankō*, at which Verbeck became the head teacher between 1870-1873. In 1873 it was once again renamed the *Kaisei Gakkō*, and in 1877 was merged with the medical school to form the University of Tokyo. See James M. Hommes, “The *Bansho Shirabesho*: A Transitional Institution in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan,” Masters Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2005.

<sup>358</sup> Though Hazel Jones also lists Verbeck's colleague Samuel R. Brown as a “fairly long-term yatoi,” this is highly questionable. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 29. Though Brown was employed by the *bakufu*'s “interpreters' school” in Yokohama, this operated only periodically during the 1860s. Also, though Brown received occasional remuneration, he did not have a contract with a salary as Verbeck did (though he expressed a wish to receive remuneration like Verbeck during the cash-starved 1860s). Brown did go to Niigata to teach in a government institution there in 1869, but his stay there was brief. Hepburn's teaching of medical students and his wife's teaching of English was done on a private and more informal basis, though in 1864 they opened a school, Hepburn *juku*, in their home. This private teaching had a great impact on the competency of scholars in the Meiji period, such a Takahashi Korekiyo in English and Dr. Miyake Hiizu in medicine. When the German *oyatoi* Dr. Leopold Mueller and Dr. Hoffman came to teach at the medical school in the early 1870s the only competent person to interpret for them was Miyake Hiizu, who had lived with Dr. Hepburn for four years. Later, he studied in Germany and became professor of medical history and pathology at the University of Tokyo. Bowers, *Twain*, p. 69, 126. .

Many of the foreigners in the treaty ports in Japan were wary of the Meiji leaders whose slogan of *sonno jōi* (“revere the emperor, expel the barbarian”) did not seem as progressive or open to Western learning as the Tokugawa leadership at the time. However, to those foreigners like Verbeck and the British consular officer Ernest Satow, who had associated closely with some of the Meiji leaders in the last years of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, the greater openness to hiring foreigners and sending students to study in the West was not a surprise. Many of those who mention the greater openness to the West in the early Meiji period focus on the “Five Charter Oath” issued by the Meiji leaders in 1868, in which the fifth charter enjoined that “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.”<sup>359</sup> This charter is often credited with inaugurating a different sentiment towards the West, but perhaps the impact of foreigners like Verbeck, who had gained the trust and respect of the leaders of the new regime, was just as critical to the expanded Meiji program of hiring *oyatoi gaikokujin*.

How does the policy of hiring *oyatoi* relate to the policy of sending Japanese students abroad (*ryūgakusei*) during this time, which was another integral part of Japan’s assimilation of Western ideas? When the Meiji leaders took over, the policy of employing foreigners and sending students to the West had already begun on a modest scale. Many *oyatoi*, like Verbeck, lent support to such study abroad by giving recommendations for students (Verbeck did so as far back as 1866 for his students). The first officially-sanctioned students were sent by the *bakufu* to the Netherlands by in 1862, with more students subsequently to other countries. Though prohibited by law to leave Japan without the government’s permission in the 1860s, several domains—particularly Choshu and Satsuma who were most prominent in toppling the *bakufu*—

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<sup>359</sup> Quoted in Umetani Noboru, *The Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 27.

illegally sent young students to the West to study in the 1860s. A small number of isolated individuals who later became important in Japan went abroad as well, some by accident like the shipwrecked sailors John Manjirō (Nakahama) and Joseph Heco (Hamada Hikozō, the first naturalized Japanese-American citizen in 1858), who were rescued by American vessels in the 1850s and educated in American institutions. Others went willingly, such as Niiijima Jō, who, in the mid-1860s, illegally left the country on an American vessel to study in the West.<sup>360</sup>

When the Meiji regime took over, it initially greatly expanded the number of students abroad, and Umetani writes that they issued 170 passports from January 1869 to November, 1870, and that this number totaled 280 by September 1871.<sup>361</sup> Precise student numbers for the 1860s and 1870s are difficult to ascertain, but Ogata Hiroyasu estimated that some 1500 studied abroad from the 1860s-1890s. Watanabe Minoru, based on Education Ministry annual reports from 1875-1894, cites a total of 623, with the height of the overseas study occurring after 1884. By that time the policy was more monopolized by the government, with a preference for Germany as the destination. Later, by the 1880s, the emphasis switched back to a policy of encouraging more study abroad and decreasing the number of *oyatoi*. These returning *ryūgakusei* replaced the *oyatoi*, but, according to Hazel Jones, “their talents were more

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<sup>360</sup> All of these individuals returned to Japan and played a role in interpreting and teaching about the West, and reducing the hostility towards foreigners, particularly Americans. For a summary of John Manjiro and Joseph Heco, see Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, pp. 195-197. The literature on Niiijima, who returned to Japan in the mid-1870s, with the support of the American Board, as a Christian missionary to his own country, started Doshisha, and was arguably the best known Japanese Christian in the early Meiji period. These three individuals are mentioned in many history texts for students in Japan. For an early work on Niiijima see, Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1894).

<sup>361</sup> Umetani *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 84-85. Watanabe’s numbers are lower in that they would not include those who failed to register with the government or those who did not originally go to the West as students.

monopolized by government.”<sup>362</sup> Takutoshi Inoue correlated the numbers of overseas students and the numbers of *oyatoi*, and has concluded that during the peak years of *oyatoi* hiring, the number of overseas students decreased, suggesting that the Iwakura Embassy (1871-1873) “served as a stimulant to change the means of modernization from sending Japanese students overseas to importing ‘living machines,’ or foreign employees.”<sup>363</sup> The cost of sending foreign students overseas for many years was high, and thus the hiring of *oyatoi* looked preferable, as Basil Hall Chamberlain quipped, “It is hard to see how matters could have been otherwise, for it takes longer to get a Japanese educated than to engage a foreigner ready made.”<sup>364</sup>

Though the hiring of private-sector foreign employees continued to grow slowly throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, why did the government policy of hiring *oyatoi* decline after the 1870s, and almost entirely disappear after 30 years? Though it may not be possible to arrive at the definitive total expenses for the *oyatoi*, it is not difficult to see how the exorbitant salaries of some of the *oyatoi* were seen as extravagant in the mid-1870s. Hazel Jones claims that the expenditures were often underreported, but between 1876-1877, the government-published expenditures on the *oyatoi* were close to 1.4 million yen. Perhaps more telling is that, in 1879, even after letting some of the *oyatoi* go, the Public Works Ministry (*kōbusho*) spent 66% of its budget on *oyatoi* and the Education Ministry (*mombusho*) in 1877-78 spent at least one-third of

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<sup>362</sup> Jones *Live Machines*, p. 23.

<sup>363</sup> Inoue, pp. 22-24.

<sup>364</sup> Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1971) p. 183. There were various editions of this work, originally entitled *Things Japanese* in 1890. This reprint is the 1905 edition, entitled *Japanese Things*.

the Tokyo University budget on salaries for foreign professors.<sup>365</sup> The cost of the *oyatoi* placed a heavy financial burden on the government during the critical first two decades of the Meiji regime—with internal rebellions, regional military crises, vast payments of samurai stipends, and the subsequent financial retrenchment—which made such lavish expenditures on foreigners unsound. Though nationalism and xenophobic reaction made the hiring of foreigners less popular as well, there was also clearly the sense that the hiring of *oyatoi* was temporary and that Japan wanted to conduct and control their own modernization.

Though the policy of hiring *oyatoi* can seem organized and efficient in theory, in practice the Meiji government had its share of challenges and mistakes. One challenge was to find quality *oyatoi*. At times, they hired unqualified “experts” or unstable characters, or adopted Western systems that did not work well in Japan. In addition there was factional strife and political rivalries within the Japanese government and among the foreign nationalities, duplication of efforts and frequent changes in policy and ministries (which the *oyatoi* often called “earthquakes”), as well as inconsistent support for certain endeavors and premature cancellation of projects.<sup>366</sup> The refusal to allow foreign investment and the dismissal of foreign employees before the Japanese were fully trained, also led to inconsistent results overall for the

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<sup>365</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 13. Beauchamp cites Ogata Hiroyasu’s figures that the Department of Education spent 14% of its total budget on *oyatoi* salaries in 1873. Edward Beauchamp, *An American Teacher in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976), p. 87. Itoh Noriko in *Guido F. Verbeck*, cites that in 1874, the cost of the 520 *oyatoi* was 2,272,000 yen, 33.7% of the annual budget of the government, p. 156. The accuracy of these figures can be debated, but the heavy burden on the government financially is clear.

<sup>366</sup> There are many examples of inept *oyatoi*, including many teachers at the *Daigaku Nankō* when Verbeck arrived there in 1869. An example of the cancellation of a project was the Kaitakushi in Hokkaido. Another example of such inconsistency for a private-sector *oyatoi* would be Clara Whitney’s father, who was recruited to teach Western accounting at a school in Tokyo by Mori Arinori. Mori had promised to set up, but when the Whitneys arrived in Tokyo, Mori had dropped the endeavor. It was only because individuals like Katsu Kaishu pursued the matter, that the Whitneys were able to remain in Japan. See M. William Steele, ed., *Clara’s Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979).

*oyatoi*. Some Japanese leaders recognized the unfinished nature of Japan's development, such as Itō Hirobumi, who, in 1879, the year after Verbeck retired from his work as an *oyatoi*, admitted that the Japanese were still not sufficiently trained.<sup>367</sup>

However, because the Japanese maintained control over the hiring of *oyatoi* and were more discriminating in who they hired after the first decade of Meiji, those who were hired in the 1880s suffered no identity crisis as to where their primary obligations lay; they were employees of Japanese employers. By the late 1890s, when relatively few *oyatoi* remained, the “unequal treaties” and the Western imperialism which had been “catalysts for the amazing Meiji experiment in massive foreign borrowing” were no longer as pressing of a concern for Japan, the first recognized non-European imperialist power.<sup>368</sup> However, the employment of a handful of foreign legal advisers up to the end of World War I, such as the American, Henry Denison, “attests to Japan's continuing uneasiness in international relations” even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>369</sup>

### 2.1.3 Challenges in Understanding the Background of the *Oyatoi*

There are other challenges associated with researching the *oyatoi* beyond difficulties of translation, tabulation, and contextualization. One of these is the fairly limited sources outside of

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<sup>367</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>368</sup> Jones *Live Machines*, p. 48.

<sup>369</sup> The political advisors tended to be German or American, and Jones explains some reasons why, “From the late 1870's, the trend away from hiring British and French employees towards hiring Americans and Germans was clearly connected with treaty revision problems (p. 114). The United States agreement to tariff revision caused the Japanese to give General U. S. Grant's unofficial visit in 1879, coinciding with the ratification of the treaty, an unusually joyous welcome. Grant's frank statements about what he would do if similarly confronted with infringements of national sovereignty won him popularity for himself, the United States, and American yatoi” Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 112.



the official records. The sources on many of the *oyatoi* are not that abundant and some have been lost or destroyed, either by catastrophic events or carelessness. Of the roughly 8000 foreigners in Japan in the early Meiji period (roughly half of whom were Chinese) a large number of *oyatoi* were common laborers, hired from many countries.<sup>370</sup> The stories of these laborers, whether Chinese, British, Filipino, French or Korean, have not been written and almost all of the research and biographical work on *oyatoi* is on the highly-paid “experts,” who arguably had much more of an impact, but also were the ones for which we have sources.<sup>371</sup> Even with prominent *oyatoi* like Verbeck, there are large gaps. He wrote no letters during the period in which he was solely an advisor to the government (August 1874-May 1877) and the Japanese primary sources on Verbeck are somewhat fragmented, with brief references in government documents and personal memoirs. In addition, he never wrote down any of his lectures or sermons, and his 27-volume journal has been carelessly lost to posterity.<sup>372</sup>

Not only are the records from the early years lacking and many sources destroyed or lost, but, according to some scholars, much of the neglect has been intentional. Anesaki Masaharu claims that “the memory of these foreign advisers has been much obliterated, partly willfully,

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<sup>370</sup> Umetani Noboru has published lists of the various *oyatoi*, broken down into country of origin, in *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 76-79.

<sup>371</sup> Many missionaries initially hired Chinese servants and cooks in the early years because they were more familiar with Westerners, though Verbeck wrote that he preferred to hire Japanese servants after his first year there.

<sup>372</sup> Similarly, Notehelfer asserts that the neglect of earlier generations of scholars on the *oyatoi* means that the postwar scholarship often suffers “from an equal lack of the living and breathing quality that is so important to meaningful historical writing.” F. G. Notehelfer, “Review of Ardath Burks, *The Modernizers*.” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12/1 (Winter 1986): 211.

due to the conservative reaction of the nineties [1890s].”<sup>373</sup> Although the Foreign Ministry tried to coordinate the administration of foreign employees, according to Hazel Jones, “its efforts to maintain complete records were foiled by activists.”<sup>374</sup> Fred Notehelfer, commented on the results of this intentional rejection of the *oyatoi*:

Whatever the psychological need, the conscious rejection of an important component of the Meiji experience during the pre-World War II years was to have unfortunate consequences. Unrecorded and unstudied, the memories of a generation of Japanese which had been centrally involved in the Westernization process, and which had worked closely with Japan’s foreign mentors—not as faceless individuals, but as human beings intimately familiar with one another—were irretrievably lost.<sup>375</sup>

This lack in the depth of the sources is one reason why Notehelfer surmised that the research on *oyatoi* in Japan has tended to be heavily statistical and tends to ignore the context from which the *oyatoi* came. He views this as unfortunate, for “the backgrounds of the men who came to Japan varied widely and often had roots in distinct cultural traditions. To understand their work in Japan one has to deal with the cultural contexts out of which they emerged....”<sup>376</sup> Similarly, Donald Roden also pointed out that very little research has illuminated the social, economic and cultural background of the specific *oyatoi* who were attracted to Japan.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion*, reprinted in *The Kegan Paul Japan Library Vol. 3* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995 (originally published in 1930), commented on need for study of Meiji’s foreign assistants, “Their lives and services should be compiled out of the documents of the time, but unfortunately many of those documents stored in government offices were destroyed by fire after the earthquake of 1923. The sources are therefore to be sought in the native countries and families of those foreign workers.” p. 350.

<sup>374</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. xv-xvi, 5

<sup>375</sup> Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 209.

<sup>376</sup> Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 210-211.

<sup>377</sup> Donald Roden “Commentary: on the *Oyatoi*” in *Aspects of Meiji Modernization: The Japan Helpers and the Helped*, eds. Carl L. Beck and Ardath W. Burks (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 1983), pp. 49-51.

Though the motivation of the Japanese government's use of the *oyatoi* is fairly clear, the motives of the individuals who became *oyatoi*, most of whom were young men in their 20s or 30s, are more difficult to assess. Undoubtedly, the generous salaries of many of the *oyatoi* provided a primary motive for these individuals. The highest paid *oyatoi* was William Walter Cargill who received a salary of 2000 yen (dollars and yen were roughly equivalent) a month for his work in coordinating railroad construction for the Ministry of Public Works (*kōbusho*). Horace Capron also famously received an annual salary of \$10,000 for his work in Hokkaido for the *Kaitakushi* [Hokkaido Development Commission], which was much more than he was receiving at the time as Grant's Commission of Agriculture. Umetani cites some of the highest paid public-sector *oyatoi* (though he excludes Cargill and Capron) starting with Thomas W. Kinder for the Mint at 1,045 yen a month, Henry Dyer at the School of Engineering at 660 yen a month, and Verbeck, Georges DuBosquet, David Murray, and Hermann Roesler each receiving 600 yen a month.<sup>378</sup> The medium of payment generated some debate, with many insisting on payment in Mexican silver dollars (*yōgin*), the most common currency for foreign exchange in the treaty ports, though some demanded their own currency or the equivalent in gold.<sup>379</sup> Whether or not it was necessary to pay such high salaries is a question that is difficult to answer. Undoubtedly the Japanese wanted to get quality foreign experts and advisers, but the remoteness and relative insignificance of Japan (whose trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with Britain never

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<sup>378</sup> Umetani, *Gaisetsu*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>379</sup> The Meiji government inherited the problems of currency and the "payment-medium crisis" reached a peak in the Navy Ministry in 1874-75 after the British mission arrived. In 1876 senior councillor Iwakura Tomomi directed each office to use whatever medium was convenient for payment. Though Meiji officials fought hard for the acceptance of the new monetary system, throughout the first decade they faced difficulties, and silver thus became the standard officially authorized for payment of foreign employees and was a dollar equivalent whether listed as *yōgin*, *kan* (indicating coin), or *yen*. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 11.

constituted more than 1% of her total trade) also made Japan less attractive. But, considering how far away Japan was, the number of *oyatoi* from a country like Britain, which made up the largest number of *oyatoi*, particularly in engineering and railroads, is impressive. This ambivalence regarding Japan did not lessen the impact of the *oyatoi*, but ironically, it may have made it easier diplomatically for the Japanese government to drop the *oyatoi* later when they did not need their services. Regarding British relations with Japan in the early Meiji period, Grace Fox concluded that, “The breadth and depth of British influence [in Japan]...can certainly not be attributed to any great interest in Japan among political leaders or within the British public at this period,” and concluded that “...with Japan on the periphery of Britain’s vast commercial empire and of relatively minor interest to the British government...Britain’s extensive contributions to a development of modern Japan may well be considered unique in the history of international relations.”<sup>380</sup>

Does this mean that every *oyatoi* was motivated simply by the high salaries? As with most such questions, it is difficult to distinguish true motives from officially stated reasons, and perhaps relatively few of the *oyatoi* reveal or admit such private motives. Umetani Noboru has shown that, though top *oyatoi* like Verbeck were well-paid, the majority of the *oyatoi* received between 100-300 yen, and only 57 (out of more than 3000) receiving a yearly salary of over 1000 yen.<sup>381</sup> Even these more modest salaries were likely at least comparable to what they could receive in their home countries, but points to the fact that there were likely many non-pecuniary motives of the *oyatoi*. Deborah Claire Church has divided the American *oyatoi* into three categories, based on what she sees to be their primary motivation: “opportunists, romantics, and

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<sup>380</sup> Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan 1858-1883* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 534-535, 551.

<sup>381</sup> Umetani, *Gaisetsu*, pp. 92-93.

professionals.”<sup>382</sup> Most likely, even these categories were mixed in many *oyatoi*. One example of a self-confessed opportunist was Benjamin Smith Lyman who worked in Hokkaido for the *Kaitakushi* (Development Commission) beginning in 1871. Fujita Fumiko points out that he openly admitted that his purposes in going to Japan were partly “to expand the frontiers of scientific knowledge,” and to gain fame and financial remuneration. The fact that he did not go to Japan until the Japanese government raised his salary from \$3000 to \$7000 seems to support the view of him primarily as an opportunist. But he also was motivated by professional goals, as he wanted to advance science and thoroughly surveyed Hokkaido’s coal deposits.<sup>383</sup> Even a Japanophile like Griffis resembled an “opportunist” when he wrote in a private letter that his objectives were to continue studying theology on his own, collect materials to write a book, support his family at home (“at least pay the rent, carpet the floors”), and “eventually obtain a handsome home.”<sup>384</sup> Verbeck, whom few would lump in with the opportunists, was nevertheless motivated not only by the influence he might have for Protestantism, but also by the salary which would provide for his large family needs during a time when missions funding was meager in the post-Civil War American economy.<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Deborah Claire Church, “The Role of the American Diplomatic to the Japanese Foreign Ministry,” PhD Diss., University of Hawaii, 1978, p. 11. Cited in Timothy Neeno, p. 21.

<sup>383</sup> Fumiko Fujita, “Understanding of a Different Culture: The Case of Benjamin Smith Lyman” in *Aspects of Meiji Modernization: The Japan Helpers and the Helped*, eds. Carl L. Beck and Ardath W. Burks (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 1983) p. 40-41, 44.

<sup>384</sup>“Jones, “Griffith Thesis,” p. 246-250.

<sup>385</sup> Not only does Verbeck defend his decision in terms of being less of burden on the mission, but Samuel R. Brown, his colleague in Yokohama, tried unsuccessfully in 1864 to have the *bakufu* pay him (and some other missionaries) for their teaching at the Interpreters’ School in Yokohama, just as they were going to pay Verbeck, “...that the Board may thus be relieved of the support of this mission in these hard times.” He ends the letter by saying that last month’s expenses were not paid and Mr. Verbeck calls for money. Samuel R. Brown to Philip Peltz 17 October 1864, JMRCA.

Fame might have motivated some, like Lyman, but many of the *oyatoi* became more famous later in Japan than in their homelands, where most have been virtually forgotten. It is likely that those who have been remembered would tend to be included in the categories of professionals or romantics, rather than mere opportunists. Prominent *oyatoi* like Hermann Roesler, Henry Denison, Josiah Conder, Lafcadio Hearn, Erwin Baelz, Ernest Fenellosa, and Verbeck are largely unknown in their homelands but known in Japan. Some *oyatoi* had prior achievements in their own lands before coming to Japan—such as Emile Boissonade in French law, David Murray was a prominent professor at Rutgers College, Horace Capron as Grant’s Commissioner of Agriculture, and Edward Morse as a prominent student of the scientist Louis Agassiz. However, the fact remains that even these figures are more well-known in Japan today than they are in their home societies. If we take one of the most well-known *oyatoi* teachers, William Smith Clark, the founder of both the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the Sapporo Agricultural College, his eight months in Japan was in many ways the high point in his career.<sup>386</sup>

Some of the *oyatoi* were experts before they came, and others simply possessed (or appeared to possess) certain skills that the Japanese desired to utilize. Often, those *oyatoi* who remained for years became experts in some area; for instance, Lafcadio Hearn on Japanese culture, Ernest Fenellosa on Japanese art history, and Basil Hall Chamberlain and Guido Verbeck on the Japanese language. Or, like W. E. Griffis and Edward Morse, they became experts on Japan for their home societies. The longevity of service or the sustained concern about Japan for many of these *oyatoi* indicates that their motivation went beyond financial

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<sup>386</sup> For a biography on Clark, see John M. Maki, *A Yankee in Hokkaido: The Life of William Smith Clark* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003).

remuneration. For Verbeck and for many of these *oyatoi*, there was not only a sense of professionalism and respect but also, if not a romanticism about Japan, at least an idealism for what Japan could become. Samuel R. Brown writes of Verbeck's idealism when he was working as an *oyatoi* in Nagasaki, "I believe with Bro[ther] Verbeck, that when Japan is fairly opened, there will be an amazingly quick large work of grace all over the land."<sup>387</sup> Thus, Verbeck found that his missionary calling and his work as an *oyatoi* were not incongruous, but could work together for the good of Japan. Donald Roden claims that, like Verbeck, many of the American *oyatoi*, saw themselves as "cultural missionaries" which also reflected an attitude of diplomatic idealism characteristic of United States in that era.<sup>388</sup>

Assessing the position of the *oyatoi* within the foreign communities in Japan is also challenging, and has been relatively unexplored in the literature, though many of the early *oyatoi* were recommended by governments or by consular officials. In the Bakumatsu period, virtually all engagements were made upon recommendation by foreign government representatives or foreign business entrepreneurs residing in the open ports, and thus *oyatoi* "from the outset were under the aegis of their respective nations and, knowingly or not, their employment became a means by which pressure was exerted by those nations."<sup>389</sup> Though the *oyatoi* include more than

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<sup>387</sup> Samuel R. Brown to J. M. Ferris, 9 January 1866. JMRCA.

<sup>388</sup> Roden, p. 50. Hamish Ion's recent work treating both American missionaries and Christian *oyatoi* as similar in motivation implies a similar sense of calling. He is not the first to do so, as Howes does the same thing in his essay on missionaries in Jansen's work. Of Howes' five examples of "missionaries," he includes the *oyatoi* teachers William S. Clark and Leroy L. Janes.

<sup>389</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 2-3. The U.S. was somewhat restricted in this regard since the 1856 Consular Act forbid consuls to recommend U.S. nationals for employment, though many of the consuls to Japan, such as Charles DeLong and John Bingham, were instrumental in removing this restriction in 1874. Many of the *oyatoi* worked in the interior, which was forbidden for other foreigners at the time. Even though Verbeck was not recommended by the consul in Nagasaki in 1864 to head the language school, the Nagasaki government had to apply to the consul and Verbeck had an interview with the

twenty-five national groups, a few prominent countries like Britain, France, the U.S., and Germany dominated the ranks of the highly-paid *oyatoi* experts. The countries from which the *oyatoi* were chosen reveals not only a desire for diversity, but also the attempt of the Japanese to choose from various models.<sup>390</sup> The leading position of British commerce and population in the treaty ports (75% of trade in the bakumatsu period, 50% in the Meiji period) gave the British minister precedence and a correspondingly larger representation among the *oyatoi*.<sup>391</sup> According to Hazel Jones, the British made up roughly half of the *oyatoi*, as well as two-thirds of those who were employed by the Public Works Ministry (building projects and industries), peaking at 185 in 1874.<sup>392</sup> In a chart labeled, “Foreigners Employed by Various Bureaus of the Ministry of Industry and Technology,” Umetani Noboru claims that 450 out of 580 employees were from England (with 233 employed by the railway, and others in such fields as mining, telephone, lighthouse, engineering, building and repair, survey). This is 77.5% of the total for this ministry, and the next largest is France with 12.8%.<sup>393</sup> However, the *oyatoi* hired by the Education Ministry in the Meiji period was much more diverse with Germans composing 37.2%, the British, 22.5%, Americans, 20.1%, French 13%, Swiss 1.8%, Austrians 1.2%, and others

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Nagasaki governor and consul before signing the contract. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to Philip Peltz, 22 August 1864, JMRCA.

<sup>390</sup> Interestingly, in his Japanese language books, Umetani includes many more charts and graphs, but most of them list Britain, U.S., France, Germany, Netherlands and then “Others” (*so no ta*), whereas the English version of his texts, in the relatively fewer charts he includes many more countries. See Umetani, *Gaisetsu*; Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 76-79

<sup>391</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 7. The British minister during most of this time 1866-1883 was Sir Harry Parkes, who was the dominant member of the foreign legations in Japan during this time.

<sup>392</sup> From 1870-1885, the same ministry, hired 60% of all foreign employees, mostly engineers, technicians and field workers. (in 1885, this ministry was abolished and the work transferred to Communications or Agriculture-Commerce ministries). Jones *Live Machines*, p. 6-7, Inoue, 26.

<sup>393</sup> Umetani Noboru, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 56.



less than 1%.<sup>394</sup> Between 1871-1914, there was always an American advisor on international law, which Jones attributes to Japan's awakening interest in its own boundaries, neighboring territories, and in the position of the U.S. in the Pacific—these advisors included Charles LeGendre, particularly regarding Taiwan and China between 1872-1875 (the first American to receive a decoration from the emperor), Durham H. Stevens regarding Korea, 1884-1907 (assassinated by Korean dissident) and Henry Willard Denison between 1880-1914 (the most decorated *oyatoi*).<sup>395</sup>

The growing nationalistic and imperialist rivalries in this period led to tensions over the hiring of *oyatoi*, though it is difficult to determine whether the tensions simply spilled over from other larger diplomatic concerns. The animosity of the British press in Yokohama to what they saw as Verbeck's hiring of American over British teachers for the *Daigaku Nankō* reveals this,<sup>396</sup> as does the pressure from various countries' representatives on the debate over which "system" of medicine to adopt—British, Dutch, or German models. Sometimes the *oyatoi* themselves could be hostile to certain nationalities. William Elliot Griffis criticized the British, particularly

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<sup>394</sup> These figures were compiled by Ogata Hiroyasu largely from Cabinet Collection records. In the early Meiji years, Americans had a greater influence in Education, but by the early 1880s, Germans were much more influential. According to Ogata's research, the number of *oyatoi* that were involved with the Department of Education was 169, and the number involved in government/public schools and private schools was roughly 330. Cited in Shigehisa Tokutaro, *Oyatoi Gaikokujin: kyōiku to shūkyō* [Education and Religion] (Tokyo: Kashima, 1968), p. 17. See Benjamin C. Duke. *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Construction the National School System, 1872-1890* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008). In Communications, it was mainly British employees, and from 1880, Germans superseded Americans and British in agriculture. The Kaitakushi in Hokkaido were mainly Americans, the navy, British, railroads, British, the army French, then British and German, art and weapons makers Italians and Belgians. Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>395</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 8. The Americans were not alone—there were also other nationalities represented such as French and Germans.m

<sup>396</sup> The British in Yokohama were critical of Verbeck for hiring mainly Americans at the *Daigaku Nanko*. For Verbeck's responses to these accusations regarding the "illiberality of selection" of teachers see: *The Japan Weekly Mail*, Vol. III, No. 44 (Nov. 2, 1872): 702, and No. 45 (Nov. 9, 1872).

their behavior in the treaty ports as “offensively vaporous in their pretensions...finical concerning every idea, custom, ceremony, or social despotism of any kind supposed to be English...who make it their regular practice, to train up their servant “boys”...by systematic whippings, beatings, and applications of the boot.”<sup>397</sup> One of the first German doctors hired to teach in the medical school, Leopold Mueller, was critical of Verbeck, commenting that the head of the *Daigaku Nankō* was an American missionary whose previous occupation had been as a locksmith and that many teachers at the school (Americans, mostly) had no training whatsoever.<sup>398</sup> The hiring of different nationalities of military advisers and teachers, the dispatch of students to various countries’ naval academies and other institutions, the power struggles between the consuls for influence—all revealed tensions between various foreign powers in Japan. In addition, when a limited number of the *oyatoi* received handsome salaries, and fewer still were given advisory powers and prestigious decorations from the Meiji Emperor, the diplomatic corps and mercantile factors naturally pushed for their own nationals to fill those coveted positions.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Quoted in Pedlar, p. 15. Griffis does add that “in these remarks we do not refer to that large body of educated, refined, and true-hearted Englishmen who have been such a potent influence in the civilization of Japan.”

<sup>398</sup> Irisawa Tatsuyoshi, “Leopold Mueller,” *Fūshū shu*, (1936). After relating this critique, Irisawa Tatsuyoshi commented that “it seems that Mueller and [his German colleague in Japan] Hoffman never got along with Americans.” Irisawa also points out the irony that, “However, it was Verbeck who began Japan’s importation of German medical studies.”

<sup>399</sup> The variety of nationalities employed by the Japanese government can be seen in the various imperial decorations given to foreigners beginning in 1875. In addition to LeGendre, Jeremiah Richard Wasson (who had previously served as advisor to the Khedive of Egypt, came as secretary of U.S. legation to Japan at 18 years of age, participated in Hokkaido survey where taught triangulation in 1873, and helped the Taiwan expedition in 1874. In 1876, Wasson was given the second-highest Order of Chrysanthemum in December, then two Russian ministers, and five Frenchmen (army instructors as well as François Léonce Verny engineer and director of Yokosuka Naval Arsenal) who then returned to France in 1876. The American, Thomas Antisell, chemist, doctor, geologist and worked in Hokkaido for the Kaitakushi, lived in Japan from 1871 was decorated in March 1876. In 1877, Verbeck, who is listed as *genrōin*

Another difficulty involved in evaluating the impact of the *oyatoi*, is an accurate assessment of their expertise or skills, though in some areas, such as Richard Brunton's lighthouses or William Cargill's railroads, the finished product attested to the level of expertise. The fact that the Japanese were building railroads on their own by the early 1880s and that Japanese doctors like Kitasatō Shibasaburō, the "father of Japanese bacteriology" were known worldwide by 1890, implies that the Japanese had learned much from the *oyatoi*. But, in some areas, the results are harder to judge, such as in teaching. With language teaching, something Verbeck was specifically involved in, his excellence in teaching was recognized early on by the promotion of two Chinese-language interpreters to whom he had taught English.<sup>400</sup> Many of the *oyatoi* complained about language barriers and communication problems, and most had to rely on interpreters. One of the foreign teachers in Japan was the Dutch physician Pompe van Meerdervoort, who arrived in 1857 to start a school and hospital and gave lectures on theory and elementary science, with practical demonstrations for medical training. He complained about the low level of competency in Dutch, saying that the scholars "could not talk to me nor understand

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*yatoi* (傭) *beijin* [hired American for the Council of State] was decorated on May 5, 1877, the same time as DuBosquet received his decoration. The documents use both characters (雇 and 傭) interchangeably for "yatoi", sometimes with honorific "ō" before the first, but never before the second (which can also be read *hiyo*). Umetani Noboru, ed. *Meijiki gaikokujin jokun shiryō shūsei* [Compilation of Historical Records on Imperial Decorations to Foreigners in the Meiji Period] (Tokyo: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1991), pp. 123-124.

<sup>400</sup> These interpreters were Ga Reinosuke and Hirai Gijurō. Itoh, p. 201. Later, Verbeck's English teaching curriculum at the *Daigaku Nankō* seemed to work well, and involved dividing the courses into Regular (*Seisoku*) English taught by foreign teachers with a focus on conversation and speaking, and Irregular (*Hensoku*) English taught mainly by Japanese teachers, and focusing on translation and reading. See Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, pp. 210-211. This *hensoku* method was used at the *bakufu*'s schools such as the *Bansho Shirabesho* which preceded *Daigaku Nankō*. Shimpachi Seki, a student of English at the *Shirabesho*, found "the uselessness, from a practical point of view, of the so-called *hensoku* or 'wrong method' in studying language which was pursued at the [*Bansho shirabesho*]." Desiring to converse directly with foreigners, he first studied with Nakayama Manjirō (who had been shipwrecked and lived in America), and then he became a servant of a foreigner in Yokohama. In 1861, Seki became an official interpreter for the *bakufu* and went to America as a Japanese envoy.<sup>400</sup>

me.”<sup>401</sup> Even over a decade later, when the first German doctors, Dr. Mueller and Dr. Hoffman, arrived at the medical school in Tokyo, interpreters were essential for instruction, but only one competent person was available at the time: (Miyake Hiizu, who had lived with Dr. Hepburn for four years). However, when arguably the most influential and certainly one of the longest *oyatoi* physicians, Erwin Baelz, arrived in 1876, the situation was much changed. According to him, interpreters were generally not needed, as everyone understood German well. This demonstrates that the Japanese had gained much ground in language acquisition during this period in which *oyatoi* were employed.<sup>402</sup>

With the growing professionalization and specialization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in education and medicine, universities played a greater role in the selection of *oyatoi*. But, the world of the *oyatoi* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a multi-faceted and interconnected one. The *oyatoi* are figures amidst the background of a host of other foreigners such as, merchants, missionaries, diplomats, mercenaries, scholars and travelers.<sup>403</sup> There were

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<sup>401</sup> W. G. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 48. Of the 61 students who completed the course Pompe taught, over one-third received diplomas in which they were described as “having attended classes without much result.” Pompe did mention one very intelligent female student named Ino who was the only woman to attend Pompe’s dissection in 1859, and was the daughter of the famous German doctor in Japan, Philip von Siebold. See, Elizabeth P Wittermans and John Z. Bowers eds. and trans. *Doctor on Desima: Selected Chapters from JHR J. L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort’s Vijf Jaren in Japan [Five Years in Japan, 1857-1863]* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1970).

<sup>402</sup> Bowers, *Twain*, p. 69, 126.. Erwin Baelz. *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor*. Ed. Toku Baelz. (New York: The Viking Press, 1932), p. 14.

<sup>403</sup> There were some missionary families, such as the Gulick family, whose connections with the American Board including missionaries all over the Pacific, from Hawaii to Japan. There were many merchant companies that operated in Asia, such as Jardine Matheson from Britain. One American ship company was run by Olyphant, who was very supportive of missionaries, and would help transport and exchange funds in the early years when missionaries had relatively few options. There are few biographical studies on merchants in Bakumatsu Japan. A few good examples are: Fred Notehelfer, ed. *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, 1859-1866*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001); C.T. Assendelft de Coningh, see *A Pioneer in Yokohama*, and on the Scottish merchant,

formal and informal networks of missionaries who often served in multiple fields during their careers (both regionally in East Asia and denominationally throughout the world). Likewise, there were networks of diplomats who often served in various locales, such as. the American Townsend Harris in Thailand and Japan, and the British Harry Parkes, in China and Japan), and mercantile networks throughout the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (particularly in the growing number of corporations). Was there a corresponding growing network of “experts”? In some areas, particularly in engineering and industrial technology, railroad and shipyard construction, military and armament training, as well as international law, there seems to have been a growing body of expertise in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. How that growing expertise and the various networks affected decisions regarding the *oyatoi* and Japanese modernization is an area that has largely remained unexplored.<sup>404</sup>

Though Britain often took the lead in forming many of the networks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many nationalities were represented in the ranks of these various foreign experts, and their educational training and employment was often very cosmopolitan. For example, the American Benjamin Lyman received training in mining in France and Germany and worked as a geologist for the British in India before coming to Japan. His experience in Japan was not entirely positive and he wrote a fellow expert in India who had been offered employment in Japan about the

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Thomas B. Glover, see Naito, Hatsuho. *Meiji kenkoku no yosho, Thomasu B. Guraba shimatsu* [The Foundation of Meiji's Early Days: The Dealings of Thomas B. Glover] (Tokyo: Atene Shobō, 2001.) The works on treaty ports and diplomats is much more significant, as is the literature on travelers. Perhaps the first significant biography is F. V. Dickins, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*. 2 vols. London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1894. For American diplomats see Jack L. Hammersmith, *Spoilsmen in a "Flowery Fairyland": The Development of the U.S. Legation in Japan, 1859-1906* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1998).

<sup>404</sup> See Eleanor Westney, Morris Low, *Building a Modern Japan: Science Technology and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond* (New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005). For engineering, also see Graeme J. N. Gooday and Morris Low, “Technology Transfer and Cultural Exchange: Western Scientists and Engineers Encounter Tokugawa and Meiji Japan” *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 13 (1998): 99-128.

situation there.<sup>405</sup> Many of the experts worked for both Japan and for China, such as the French officer, Léonce Verni, who supervised the construction of the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal and also built similar naval facilities in Shanghai. Another example is the first American *oyatoi*, Raphael Pumpelly, a geologist who worked in China after working for the Tokugawa *bakufu* in the 1860s. Even those who did not have such a wide employment experience, had to be cosmopolitan in their expertise. The American banker George B. Williams, an *oyatoi* advisor from 1871-1875 was employed by the Finance Ministry but had to provide information on a wide variety of topics including the mixed-court system in Egypt, Russia's budget in 1875 as well as American banking and laws.<sup>406</sup>

This network of experts interacted with diplomatic, mercantile, and missionary networks, thus creating a complex and multifaceted set of relationships that has not been adequately researched. In the early years of the hiring of *oyatoi*, there must have been a greater mix of merchants and government employees, as most subsequent contracts (including Verbeck's) forbid employees to engage in other economic activities. Sometimes the roles and networks overlapped, with missionaries working for foreign legations (such as William Imbrie in Japan and John Robert Morrison in China), merchants taking on diplomatic roles (such as Thomas B. Glover, as Portuguese consul), and all of them recruited (or seeking) to fill the ranks of the *oyatoi*. The results of such blending of humanity was sometimes criticized, as one British observer, F. V. Dickins, colorfully described the majority of the *oyatoi* instructors at the *Daigaku Nankō* when Verbeck became head teacher there,

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<sup>405</sup> Fumiko Fujita, "Understanding of a Different Culture," pp. 40-41, 44.

<sup>406</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 90.

...the majority of the “Professors” in the schools of Tokyo were graduates of the dry-goods counter, the forecastle, the camp and the shambles, or belonged to that vast array of unclassified humanity that floats like waifs in every seaport. Coming directly from the bar-room, the brothel, the gambling saloon...Japanese pride revolted...after a report had been circulated that one of the professors was butcher by trade.<sup>407</sup>

Another example of the interconnections between Japanese government officials, merchants, and *oyatoi* is in the case of the Scottish engineer, Henry Dyer. The first Minister of Industry and Technology, Ito Hirobumi, argued in his petition to establish the Technical School (college after 1877) that though it was unavoidable to depend on many foreign employees for industrial development, it was nevertheless imperative to train Japanese personnel to shoulder Japanese industry in the future. He said that “even if Japan should enjoy temporary flowering and prosperity by relying on their services, she cannot hope, on the strength of that, to come into possession of wealth and power for the interminable future of the country.” Thus in August, 1871, they established a Technical school, and Ito knew Hugh Matheson, a Scottish industrialist from his time in England in the 1860s, through whom they received a recommendation for Henry Dyer, a top graduate of Glasgow University’s engineering program. Dyer arrived in Japan in July, 1873 as a 25 year old, and taught until 1882 at the school, building one of the most impressive engineering departments in the world.<sup>408</sup>

Thus, the history of the treaty ports where the *oyatoi* and their counterparts throughout Asia arrived, is complicated and diverse, with many of the ties and networks lost in the informality of the relations and the paucity of documentation.<sup>409</sup> In the case of Verbeck (as well

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<sup>407</sup> Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 73.

<sup>408</sup> Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 55-58.

<sup>409</sup> There is a whole separate literature on the treaty ports, much of it dominated by the British perspective. See Ernest Satow’s memoirs, Paske-Smith, and Harold Williams. For merchants there is the diary of Francis Hall, edited by Fred Notehelfer, and Assendelft deConingh by as well. In scholarly literature there is Michael Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture*

as his colleague Samuel R. Brown), though he had no official diplomatic authority, he was entrusted by both the Tokugawa *bakufu* and the Meiji governments (as well as various domain governments such as Fukui/Echizen and Kumamoto/Higo) with requests for foreign teachers, as well as arrangements for the placement of students abroad (*ryūgakusei*).<sup>410</sup> Verbeck worked mainly through missionary channels in writing to J. M. Ferris, the secretary of the Reformed Church foreign missions board, but he also established a relationship with Rutgers, and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Rutgers in 1874. And, despite Griffis' assertion that Verbeck had few mercantile interests or connections, he helped smuggle young men in merchant vessels who wanted to study abroad, particularly in Shanghai.<sup>411</sup> Two brothers named Maeda were smuggled on a vessel to Shanghai with Verbeck's help "to learn how to print and publish dictionaries."<sup>412</sup> Some other students wanted to leave Nagasaki to study painting in China in 1867, but could not do so without permission from their daimyo or the shogun. They went to Verbeck, and found an "ideal intermediary who would facilitate their voyage." So, thanks to Verbeck's efforts, they illegally boarded a merchant ship bound for Shanghai, disguised in

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*of Japanese Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1004). On Nagasaki, see Shigetō Takao, *Nagasaki kyoryūchi to gaikoku shōnin* [Nagasaki settlement and foreign merchants] (Tokyo: Fukan Shōbo, 1967) or the various editions of the *Crossroads* journal on Nagasaki (available online). For Kobe, see Peter Enns, *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kobe, Japan 1868-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2014).

<sup>410</sup> This resulted in the *oyatoi* teachers W. E. Griffis in Fukui and Leroy L. Janes in Kumamoto. Some of the early exchange students that Verbeck recommended included two nephews of Yokoi Shonan from Kumamoto, as well as one of the sons of Iwakura Tomomi. Griffis calculated that 594 Japanese students went abroad for study between 1865-1885, and Schwantes estimated that 487 men and 5 women went between 1868-1877, more than half to the U.S. See Ion, *American Missionaries*, pp. 126-127, 336 (note)

<sup>411</sup> According to Murase Hisayo, he also had interactions with an American merchant named William Abrams French who traded with various domains in western Japan.

<sup>412</sup> Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 201.



Chinese queues or Buddhist monk's attire.<sup>413</sup> Clearly, individual *oyatoi* like Verbeck demonstrate that the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was an increasingly globalized and interconnected world composed of many formal and informal networks.

Though the subject of the *oyatoi* is only one part of the story of Japan's modernization, it is a complex subject in the various challenges that must be overcome to assess their impact on modern Japan. But, it is also necessary to study the way that individual *oyatoi*, like Verbeck, fit into the narrative of Japan's modernization, which the historiography on the *oyatoi* has focused on from the Meiji period until today. Fred Notehelfer noted both the popularity of such a topic in Japan as well as the challenges in researching the *oyatoi*,

Anyone who has visited Japanese bookstores in the past decade [1980s] is well aware that there is something of a boom in *oyatoi* studies in that country today....Japanese, now in the position of teachers rather than students, have suddenly found themselves at ease to look at their early Meiji experiences without the psychological and nationalistic demands of an earlier age...Japanese and Western historians alike confront a difficult and elusive subject in the *oyatoi*. Frequently on the move, residing in the country for only a few years, and often returning to an equally mendicant life style in their home countries, these men left a trail of historical evidence that is widely scattered and difficult to trace.<sup>414</sup>

If such an assessment is correct, how this situation came about, and how a figure like Verbeck fits into the historiography of the *oyatoi* in the narrative of Japan's modernization, is an important story that needs to be told.

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<sup>413</sup> Joshua Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 39-40. The students were Chūjō Unpei and Ichikawa Gozan (Kansen) from Etchū domain (Toyama), and Yasuda Rōzan. Unpei got sick and had to take another trading vessel, the *Feiloong*, also arranged by Verbeck, later in 1867.

<sup>414</sup> Notehelfer, "Review of Ardath Burks," pp. 210-211.

## 2.2 CHAPTER FIVE: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE *OYATOI GAIKOKUJIN* AND JAPAN'S MODERNIZATION

*“As educator, trainer of statesmen, adviser of the leaders of government, counting the term YATOI equal to the Imperial decoration, [Verbeck] served Japan for forty years.”*

—William Elliot Griffis, Guido F. Verbeck's biographer<sup>415</sup>

In a work published in 1990 at the height of Japan's postwar economic success, entitled *The Imported Pioneers: Westerners who Helped build modern Japan*, Neil Pedlar wrote glowingly of the *oyatoi*:

They are an international set—a set which does not fall into the realm of any one nation, except Japan, and Japan would prefer to group them as assistants who were interesting but insignificant. The western nations from whence they came tend to ignore them and regard them as weird eccentrics because their experiences are so far removed from the norm....But what fantastic catalysts these men were! What expert farmers to sow the seeds of the West in the East and have them grow so healthily.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> W. E. Griffis, “Dr. Ballagh and His Japanese Friends,” *The Japan Review: The Journal of Japanese-American Cooperation* 4, no. 8 (June 1920): 236.

<sup>416</sup> Pedlar, p. 8. This book, though an interesting read, is not very scholarly, containing no notes (though there is a short bibliography at the back) and jumping from one topic to another in its 42 short chapters (in 240 pages). However, in some ways, it is the most readable of all the works on *oyatoi*, with it

Though Pedlar's assertion that these *oyatoi* "catalysts" have largely been forgotten is not entirely true, it is true that, in both Japan and the West, the *oyatoi* have been selectively remembered and their perceived role and significance in the story of Japan's modernization Japan has fluctuated. Does this historiography on *oyatoi* like Verbeck reveal anything about the relationship between Japan and the West and their respective interpretations of Japan's modernization?

One reason for the selectivity is that the various observers of the *oyatoi*, whether Japanese or Westerners, come at this topic with different perspectives and priorities. In an essay in the 1965 work, *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, John Whitney Hall asserted that "differing premises from which...observers have begun their studies and the varying degrees of involvement which they have felt in the dramatic events of revolution, war, depression, or prosperity in Japan have colored their interpretation of Japan's modern development."<sup>417</sup> Thus, for the researcher, "the meaning of modernization—that is our ideas about the nature of modern society and the process by which it came into being....sets the premises with which he approaches his data and frames the problems which he considers worthy of study."<sup>418</sup> Hall's observation could be applied to the perspectives of both Western and Japanese scholars concerning the significance of the *oyatoi*, who represented Western models of modernization to the Japanese people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But, just like the changing perspectives

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biographical sketches, and touching on so many areas. After an introductory section which also has chapters on the 17<sup>th</sup> century and Siebold in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pedlar has sections on westerners in the treaty ports and teachers and technocrats, and the concludes with sections on images of Japan and the reactions and consequences of this interaction (including a brief look at the Occupation!).

<sup>417</sup> Hall, "Changing Conceptions," pp. 7-8, 29

<sup>418</sup> Hall, "Changing Conceptions," p. 8

on missionaries, there have been varying interpretations of the role of the *oyatoi* in the formation of modern Japan. Donald Roden asserts that succeeding generations of Japanese observers have viewed the *oyatoi* as symbols of various things—of “civilization and enlightenment” (*bunmei kaika*) in the 1870s, and “symbols of imperialist encroachment” after 1900, and as “symbols of renewed friendship” in the 1960s.<sup>419</sup>

Despite such varying symbolism, when the *oyatoi* have been remembered in the historiography, it has been as figures in larger narratives relating to Japan’s modernization. But the meaning and ultimate purpose of that modernization changes depending on the perspective of the observer, and this can be observed particularly in the way that Verbeck’s life is viewed. Initially, the *oyatoi*, particularly Christian *oyatoi* like Verbeck, were considered important in a Western narrative that saw Japan’s modernization coinciding with a Christian civilizational and missionary narrative for Japan. This is represented primarily by the key figure of William Elliot Griffis, Verbeck’s colleague and biographer, but includes much of the Western writing on Japan until the postwar period.<sup>420</sup> In contrast, for many Japanese scholars, the *oyatoi* were relatively ignored as figures in Japan’s modernization because of the nationalistic emphasis on Japanese figures, not foreigners. It was only in the postwar period when both Japanese and Western scholars began to focus on the *oyatoi* and their crucial—though still subservient—role in Japan’s

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<sup>419</sup> Roden, p. 50. Roden here focuses on Japanese perspectives, not Western perspectives.

<sup>420</sup> I am not claiming that there was only one Christian or missionary narrative, but by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century it was clear that there were diverging interpretations in the West. As Hazel Jones has pointed out, in many ways Griffis’ perspective and Christianity was broader than many of the missionaries (and church leaders). She writes, “He had that touch of secularism which was already congealing the edges of protestant evangelism in the late nineteenth century. Like most yatoi, though very moral in his personal life, he valued his own “broader” outlook. Yet in his grasp of the role of the yatoi, a sense of mission was implicit. He was a product of his times, in which an evangelical element permeated political philosophy....” Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 93.

modernization. Verbeck has been an important figure in this new scholarship, which focuses not on a broader Christian narrative, but on the larger narrative of the modernization of Japan.

Just as the financial reasons for the declining number of the public-sector *oyatoi* after the mid-1870s is clear, the nationalistic reasons given for the subsequent neglect of the *oyatoi* in prewar Japan are also fairly obvious. Fred Notehelfer, in pondering what he calls, “the great silent chapter” of the *oyatoi* in modern Japanese history surmises that the forced opening of Japan by the West resulted in an ambivalence towards the West, and the leaders’ decision to borrow from the West was defensively motivated by fear of foreign threats. Thus, this borrowing, and the hiring of *oyatoi*, was hardly “the product of a spontaneous inner desire to emulate the West, “but born of the necessity for survival.” According to Notehelfer, this ambivalence lingered, and

...the early twentieth-century Japanese who had finally moved past the Meiji “crisis” felt little need to emphasize Western contributions to the Meiji experience. It may even be argued that many Japanese now felt a measure of psychological satisfaction in resigning to silence a chapter of their history that did not square with the broader themes of modern Japanese nationalism. In contrast to foreign borrowing, late Meiji Japanese emphasized the virtues of the emperor, the wisdom of the oligarchs, and the hard work of the Meiji achievement....As tools of the Meiji “victory,” Westerners were treated as machines—“live machines”—...—expensive and necessary at the outset but later to be replaced, discarded, and forgotten.<sup>421</sup>

The relative neglect of the *oyatoi* in Japan’s desire to emphasize indigenous leaders and contributors in the story of Japan’s modernization was understandable. But why would the *oyatoi* be relatively forgotten by Westerners? Was it simply that they were “weird eccentrics,” as Pedlar asserts? In the Western literature on Japan, the underlying narrative in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the expansion of the West and the spread of Christianity worldwide. Where the *oyatoi* fit with this narrative, they were discussed, such as in the contributions of

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<sup>421</sup> Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 209.

Verbeck and various Christian *oyatoi* teachers. But other *oyatoi*, who were not as significant to that narrative, were not as emphasized in the early literature.<sup>422</sup> After 1905, the Western literature seems to come closer to the Japanese interpretation of the *oyatoi* simply as “helpers,” but as tensions between Japan and the West rise in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such figures who helped Japan modernize, are not as attractive. It is only after World War II (and particularly from the 1960s) that the *oyatoi* are reexamined in both Japan and the West, and become a distinct subject of research relating to Japan’s modernization. Though Verbeck is a significant figure in this research, the scholars generally focus on his government work, and not on his missionary work. By looking at the historiography and the narratives underlying the shifts in the perspectives of *oyatoi* such as Verbeck, it is possible to discern certain shifts in the views of Japan’s modernization.

### **2.2.1 *Oyatoi Gaikokujin* in Historiography Prior to World War II**

Though the scholars writing on the *oyatoi* may differ on many points, there is one point that all acknowledge—the historiography of the *oyatoi* began with William Elliot Griffis. Griffis was also a key figure in the historiography of pioneer missionaries to Japan like Verbeck, Brown, and Hepburn, but unlike these works, he never wrote the book he had contemplated for years on the

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<sup>422</sup> Since the early missionaries and Christian teachers to Japan were overwhelmingly American in the Meiji period, this conflating of missionaries and *oyatoi* tends to emphasize Americans. A. Hamish Ion’s 2009 book on American missionaries and Christian *oyatoi*—which is really a work on the early history of Protestantism—though challenging the Christian narrative of writers like Griffis, in a way demonstrates the ease with which these two groups have been merged in the historiography. It is hard to imagine a similarly structured work merging the British, French or German missionaries and *oyatoi* in Japan.

“yatoi.”<sup>423</sup> It was not for lack of interest or effort, as anyone who has sifted through the files of materials he collected on *oyatoi* in the Griffis Collection at Rutgers will attest.<sup>424</sup> Beginning around 1900, Griffis began to send “yatoi” postcards—addressed “To the yatoi (foreigners in the service of the Japanese government 1858-1900), or their children, relatives or friends”—to every foreigner that he knew had been employed by the Japanese government, in order to solicit basic biographical information about them.<sup>425</sup> As a former *oyatoi* himself, Griffis was concerned that the role of the *oyatoi* in modern Japan would be forgotten.

Although he spent less than four years in Japan as an *oyatoi* teacher (from 1871-74, first in Fukui and then in Tokyo), Griffis became one of the most prolific Western writers on Japan and other topics on East Asia, writing some fifty books and hundreds of articles for periodicals.<sup>426</sup> As the many conferences and works on *oyatoi* from the 1960s demonstrate,

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<sup>423</sup> Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 208. Notehelfer also writes of Griffis, “Why.... has it taken so long—in many cases over a hundred years—to consider the history of this group? This is even more intriguing when one becomes aware of the fact that Griffis contemplated writing the history of this movement some eighty years ago. Despite his efforts to collect *oyatoi* materials, his history never saw the light of day, and it is only within the last two decades that scholarship on both sides of the Pacific has shifted attention to this field.” Notehelfer concludes: “In short, the history of Westerners in Meiji Japan has fallen between two schools. Neither the American and European historians, nor the Western historians of Japan, have regarded these men historically approachable and worthy of attention.” Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 211.

<sup>424</sup> For the Griffis Collection, see Ardath W. Burks and Jerome Cooperman, “The William Elliot Griffis Collection” *Journal of Asian Studies* 20, no. 1 (November 1960: 61-68; Clark L. Beck, Jr. and Ardath W. Burks, “Additional Archives of the Yatoi,” *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 45, no. 1 (June 1983): 25-42; Carl L. Beck, Jr. “Primary Manuscript and Printed Sources for Studying the Yatoi: The William Elliot Griffis Papers and Related Special Collection at Rutgers University,” in *Foreign Employees*; Ruth J. Simmons and Wendell Piez, *Survey of The William Elliot Griffis Collection, 1859-1929* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections and Archives, 1993). D. E. Perushek, ed. *The Griffis Collection of Japanese Books: An Annotated Bibliography*. (Ithaca, New York: China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1982). Also, Umetani Noboru in *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū* talks about the Griffis collection and *oyatoi*, Vol. 1, pp. 181-184, 436-439.

<sup>425</sup> Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

<sup>426</sup> The only biography specifically on Griffis is Beauchamp’s, *An American Teacher in Early Meiji Japan*. In addition to the English and Japanese works surrounding the *oyatoi* literature, several works

Griffis' work and writing was formative in the study of the *oyatoi*. Though Griffis played a role in the introduction of Western scientific education in Japan, his often exaggerated and self-promoting claims are also present throughout his work. He claimed to be among the first of "5 or possibly 6000 of the yatoi (1869-1919) called out from a foreign country under the imperial oath to serve Japan, and the only one from America to go into the interior and live within the mysteries of feudalism."<sup>427</sup> Also, while teaching at the *Daigaku Nankō* under Verbeck's leadership, he wrote that "my prestige and position here is second only to Mr. Verbeck," and later he claimed that "I know personally every one of the fifty-five men who made up the new [Meiji] government."<sup>428</sup> Despite such lofty claims regarding his employment in Japan, Griffis' impact on American views of Japan and on the historiography of Japan were arguably more significant.

In 1876, Griffis published *The Mikado's Empire*, arguably his most popular and most significant work on Japan, two years after leaving Japan. This work, which he acknowledged could not have been written without the help of his Japanese friends, was published a mere eight years after the Meiji Restoration and during the height of the government's program of hiring *oyatoi*. It went through some 12 editions by 1913 and is still in print today. Not only was Griffis' work one of the first to recognize and analyze the emperor's role more accurately, but the renowned Japanese historian John Whitney Hall, referred to it as "the single most influential

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focus on Griffis as a key figure, such as Rosenstone's account of three American *oyatoi*: Griffis, Edward S. Morse, and Lafcadio Hearn. Robert A. Rosenstone, *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988).

<sup>427</sup> Quoted by Hazel Jones in "The Griffis Thesis" p. 220. This is from an unfinished manuscript circa 1919 in the Griffis Collection at Rutgers, Box VIII-8.

<sup>428</sup> Quoted in Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, pp. 88, 93.



book on Japan published prior to World War I.”<sup>429</sup>

In his historical overview of Japanese history, Griffis placed the policy of foreign borrowing at the time in a larger historical context. He referred to “three great waves of foreign civilization in Japan,” from China in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, Western Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from Europe and America. Though Griffis discussed these earlier periods of foreign borrowing, he focused on the 19<sup>th</sup> century borrowing from “America, Europe and the world in the decade[s] following the advent of Commodore Perry” which “were destined to leaven mightily the whole Japanese nation as a lump.”<sup>430</sup> He did not specifically mention the *oyatoi* in the first edition, though he acknowledged the role of “cannon-balls, commerce, and actual contact with foreigners” in the growing desire for Western civilization in this period. Instead, for him the key to understanding these changes was “*an impulse from within* that urged the Japanese to join the comity of nations.”<sup>431</sup> Griffis repeatedly emphasized that “the foreigners and their ideas were the occasion, not the cause” of the downfall of the Tokugawa government, and that their presence, “merely served to hasten what was already inevitable.”<sup>432</sup> He asserted that the Japanese were “ever ready to avail themselves of whatever foreign aids or appliances will tend to their own aggrandizement...the movement toward modern civilization originated from within, and...the work of enlightenment and education, which alone could assure success to

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<sup>429</sup> John W. Hall, *Japanese History: New Dimensions of Approach and Understanding* (Washington D.C. , 1996). Quoted in n Beauchamp and Iriye, pp. 292

<sup>430</sup> Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (Berkeley, California: Stone Bridge Press, 2006) Originally published in 1876, with many later editions. Griffis asserts that that the most powerful and far-reaching of these waves was the first, from China (via Korea). pp. 85-86.

<sup>431</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 370.

<sup>432</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 339.

the movement, was begun and carried on by native students, statesmen, and simple patriots.”<sup>433</sup>

In the second edition, in 1877, though he alluded to the *oyatoi*, it was with an emphasis on the Japanese control over the four hundred or so foreigners in the Civil Service of the government, such that “All of these with but two exceptions, are simply helpers and servants, not commissioned officers, and have no actual authority.”<sup>434</sup>

In his work, Griffis repeatedly revealed that the narrative of modern Japan’s modernization and the role of the *oyatoi* in it, was closely tied to the narrative of the missionary movement and Japan’s Christianization. He asks in the *The Mikado’s Empire*, “Can a nation appropriate the fruits of Christian civilization without its roots? I believe not.”<sup>435</sup> In the 1883 edition of the work, after a brief section on the introduction of Christianity in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, Griffis concluded that, “The wondrous assimilation of the salient features of modern civilization by the Japanese has smoothed the path for success in Christian missionary labor which is marvelous.”<sup>436</sup> In the 1886 edition, he added that “Japan’s opportunity seems unique in history. Under Divine Providence she began a renaissance at a time coincident with the highest development of the forces—spiritual, mental, and material—that control human society.

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<sup>433</sup> Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, p. 379. Griffis asserts that “The noblest trait in the character of a Japanese is his willingness to change for the better when he discovers his wrong or inferiority.” (pp. 370-371). He focuses, not on foreigners, but on Japanese scholars sent abroad to study and men who assimilated Western civilization, like Fukuzawa Yukichi to whom, “Western ideas were texts: he clothed them in Japanese words,” and others like Nakamura Masanao who devoted themselves to “the expression of Western ideas adapted to the understanding of the Japanese.” pp. 374-375.

<sup>434</sup> Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, p. 578 (1877 second edition) The exceptions, though he doesn’t specify, probably refer to Horace Capron and Verbeck, or possibly G. E. Boissonade.

<sup>435</sup> Quoted in Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, p. 57.

<sup>436</sup> Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, pp. 403.

Christianity, the press, and steam are forming the nation.”<sup>437</sup>

Not until the 1894 edition of *The Mikado's Empire* did Griffis specifically mention the *oyatoi* in his narrative. They are presented as “leaven from Christendom,” without whom “this oriental lump would not be as it is seen and felt to-day.”<sup>438</sup> In addressing the question of who were the creators of “New Japan,” he writes that,

As certainly as on the foundation-stones of the Japan of the Meiji era belongs the name of Rai, Sakuma, Yoshida, Yokoi, Fukuzawa....so also should be inscribed those of the *Yatoi Tōjin*, or “hired foreigners.” Whether in Japanese pay or not, as hirelings, or as guests, or as forces healthfully stimulating, who from their own governments or societies received stipend, or self-impelled wrought for Japan’s good, their work abides. The world may forget the singer, but the song is still heard.<sup>439</sup>

Then, beginning with the American Professor Raphael Pumpelly, Griffis relates how the government and individuals “enlisted a great army of auxiliaries from abroad,” rhetorically asking, “In what branch of science or friendly service are the makers of New Japan not indebted?” Griffis proceeds to list various nationalities and their contributions to modern Japanese institutions, concluding that “all are the creation of the foreign employees of the Japanese government.”<sup>440</sup> This section on the *oyatoi* ends with the highlighting of the Christian

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<sup>437</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, pp. 414-415.

<sup>438</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 435-436. A few pages later, Griffis employs the imagery of “leaven” to Christianity as well: “At present, the religion of Jesus in Japan is better represented by the parable of the leaven than by that of the mustard-seed.”p. 440.

<sup>439</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, pp. 435-436. Griffis uses the older word for foreigner “*tōjin*,” and he also has a very broad definition of the *yatoi*. Griffis also acknowledges the importance of the Dutch in laying the foundations “hard to find a single native pioneer of progress in the early years of Meiji...who was not directly indebted to the Dutch.” p. 436. Interestingly, Hazel Jones’ work ends similarly to Griffis here: “Thus, even as the Meiji government is being faulted today for overlearning the Western pattern of modernization, those “live machines” and “living reference books” echo in the streets.” Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 144.

<sup>440</sup> Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, pp. 436-437. He focuses particularly on the work of the German Dr. Gottfried von Wagener (whom he knew in Japan and who had recently died in Japan in 1892).

missionary as a “noble figure,” asserting that “the teachers of Christianity have prepared the nation for the adoption of a higher form of civilization.” Though acknowledging the recent decline in Christianity, Griffis interpreted this as a sign that the Japanese would “create their own theology and adapt it” to their own national consciousness,” and that “the Japanese genius, as vitalized by the Holy Spirit, tends to assimilation rather than to mere acceptance.”<sup>441</sup>

Another example of Griffis’ focus on Christianity’s impact on modern Japan is his biography on Verbeck. Though this work is often viewed in the context of the missionary literature, Griffis wrote the work when he was becoming increasingly interested in writing about the *oyatoi*. Thus, in *Verbeck of Japan* he wrote, “I imagine the ‘official’ Japanese history will take no note of the ‘yatoi.’”<sup>442</sup> In a way, Griffis’ biography of Verbeck is his most significant writing on the *oyatoi*. And, as anyone who deals with the *oyatoi* cannot ignore Griffis, anyone who writes on Verbeck must deal with Griffis. One critical reviewer of Griffis’s biography of Verbeck, wrote, “Thus the volume is made up, something of Verbeck as a man, something of him as a missionary, something of him as a statesman, interlarded with a considerable something of Griffis; a mixture of capital merits and unfortunate defects which were possibly unavoidable in part....without making apparent any systematic design to show a complete Verbeck.”<sup>443</sup> That Griffis chose Verbeck is a sign of his desire, not only to tell the story of the *oyatoi* in Japan’s modernization, but also to emphasize their importance in the growth of Christianity in Japan. In

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<sup>441</sup> Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, pp. 438-439.

<sup>442</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 219.

<sup>443</sup> C. Meriwether, “Review of *Verbeck of Japan, A Citizen of No Country*,” *The American Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (July, 1901), pp. 829-830. In the Verbeck biography, Griffis inserts an entire chapter on himself, entitled, “The Biographer in Tokio,”

his biographies of Verbeck and Brown he used terms like “makers” of a New Japan, and focused on both their experience as teachers and missionaries.<sup>444</sup>

Many scholars have been understandably critical of Griffis’ prolific publications, and the underlying Christian narrative is unmistakable throughout his work. Pioneer missionaries like Verbeck were attractive figures for him because in many ways they represented what he believed about the mutual relationship between Christianity and the modernization of Japan. In *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*, Robert A. Rosenstone reflects on the importance of understanding this perspective of a different era that colored Griffis’ interpretations, “But remember Griffis always describes himself as the instrument of a higher power. That a later generation cannot invoke such a power, at least not to explain anything historical or personal....cuts us off from Willie, from the experience of an ego whose boundaries can dissolve into those of a God.”<sup>445</sup> Thus Griffis, an ordained minister, wrote with a Christian worldview which informed his perspectives on modern Japan. This is evident in all his work but in some more than others. For example, in 1907, he wrote a short piece for the foreign mission board of the Reformed Church entitled, “Christ the Creator of the New Japan.”<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Some examples include the short article: William Elliot Griffis, “American Makers of the New Japan, *Century* 86 (1913): 597-605, and Brown’s biography, entitled, *A Maker of the New Orient: Samuel Robbins Brown*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902) Brown worked as a teacher for the *bakufu* and briefly in a government school in Niigata. The Hepburns never worked for the government, though both Brown and Hepburn could be considered private-sector *oyatoi*, who worked in private Christian educational institutions. Griffis never published any biographical works on other *oyatoi* (though he had written biographies of diplomatic figures like Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris, whom he also presented as devoted Christians, particularly Harris). See, *Townsend Harris: First American Envoy in Japan* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1895).

<sup>445</sup> Rosenstone, p. 252.

<sup>446</sup> William Elliot Griffis, *Christ the Creator of the New Japan*. (Boston: American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Envelope Series Vol. X, no. 1 (April 1907). Another work by a Japanese Christian that incorporates a similar perspective to Griffis’ focus on missionaries is Yamamoto Hideteru’s biography of Hepburn, *Shin nihon no kaitaku: J. C. Hebon hakase* [A Pioneer of New Japan:

The Griffis Collection at Rutgers University, contains much scattered material on the *oyatoi*,<sup>447</sup> as well as some of his general reflections on the topic, but the closest he came to a historical summary of the *oyatoi* in print, was in his works *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907) and *The Mikado: Institution and Person; A Study of the Internal Political Forces of Japan* (1915). In the former work—dedicated to “the coming union and reconciliation of orient and occident in which Japan, America and Great Britain are to bear a noble part”—Griffis devoted an entire section to “Modern Occidental Influence,” the last chapter of which was entirely devoted to the “yatoi,” which he calls “foreign servants and helpers.”<sup>448</sup> In the latter work, he has a section on “Yatoi or Salaried Foreign Helpers,” in which he similarly discusses the contributions of various foreigners to Japan’s government.<sup>449</sup>

Griffis was not the only former *oyatoi* to discuss the contributions of the “yatoi.”<sup>450</sup> Other *oyatoi*, like the *Yokohama Daily Mail* editor, Captain Frank Brinkley, who had previously worked as an instructor in Fukui and at the Navy School and Engineering College in the 1870s, referred to the *yatoi* in his newspaper and included the term in his *Japanese-English*

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Dr. J. C. Hepburn], 1926.<sup>446</sup> For a contrast to Griffis and Chamberlain’s “western Christian” narrative one might look to *oyatoi* like Fenellosa and Hearn who were outspoken in criticism of missionaries and the imposition of Western Christianity upon Japanese culture.

<sup>447</sup> This includes some random materials relating to Verbeck, including his 1894 datebook and the special passports presented to Verbeck by the Japanese government in 1891.

<sup>448</sup> Griffis, *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*, (London: George G. Harrop, W. E Tokyo: 1907), p. x. This definition fit with his later conclusion that “not a shred of political power was given to the foreigners, but all were paid well. Quoted in Jones, “Griffis Thesis,” p. 220.

<sup>449</sup> Griffis, *The Mikado: Institution and Person*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915).

<sup>450</sup> Jones, *Live Machines* p. 93.

*Dictionary*.<sup>451</sup> Another example, Basil Hall Chamberlain, who lived and worked in Japan from 1873-1890, eventually becoming a lecturer in Japanese linguistics at the Tokyo Imperial University and a translator of classical texts. Chamberlain wrote in his work, *Japanese Things*, that the “new figure” of the foreign employé appeared in the 1860s, and became “the creator of the New Japan.” Chamberlain faults popular Western writers’ accounts of Japan (“those literary gentlemen who paint Japan in the brilliant hues of their own imagination”) for “ignoring the part which foreigners have played” in modern Japan. He admits that perhaps, “there is nothing picturesque in the foreign employé,” and that “the Japanese have really done so much that it seems scarcely stretching the truth to make out that the Japanese have really done the impossible.” Thus, for Chamberlain, ignoring the *oyatoi* is a dishonest portrayal of Japan’s development, ignoring credit that should be “awarded to those who have helped her to her present position.”<sup>452</sup> However, unlike Griffis, neither Brinkley nor Chamberlain contributed much to the historiography of the *oyatoi*.

Hazel Jones asserts that Chamberlain’s “thesis” about the *oyatoi* being the “creators of a New Japan” stands in contrast to Griffis’ thesis that the *oyatoi* were salaried “helpers.” In her work, Jones (and perhaps all scholars who have written on the *oyatoi*) have wrestled with the

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<sup>451</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 167, 179. Although most biographers imply Verbeck had few friendships with the diplomatic and mercantile communities in the treaty ports, it seems that Verbeck knew Brinkley fairly well. In his 1894 datebook, he records writing Brinkley about an incredible experience he had while he was at a conference and wrote him about it (ostensibly to print in his paper). However, the next day he relates that he went to Yokohama to tell Brinkley not to print the story. Guido F. Verbeck, “1894 Datebook”, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

<sup>452</sup> Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1971, reprint of 1905 edition), p. 182-185. Griffis actually cites Chamberlain as an authority on this in a later edition of *The Mikado’s Empire*, “The aliens employed by the Japanese have not told their story, yet, as Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain, in his “Things Japanese,” says, “The foreign employé is the creator of New Japan.” Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, p. 435. Chamberlain has an entry for “Foreign Employees” as well as other related entries such as “Europeanization” and “Railroads” that relate to *oyatoi*.

question of determining the significance of the *oyatoi* in Meiji Japan, with the two opposing views of the *oyatoi* as “helpers” (Griffis) and as “creators” (Chamberlain). Edward Beauchamp writes that perhaps both are true, but he fails to get to the heart of the issue which is the perception and presentation of their role and why some *oyatoi* are more effective (or seen as more effective).<sup>453</sup> In his writing on the *oyatoi*, Griffis wrote, “Those aliens who tried to be masters failed miserably....Those who accepted their work fully, honestly and in the spirit of brotherly help (servants) succeeded so they became masters even of their employers.”<sup>454</sup> Thus, according to Griffis, those who saw themselves as humble and respectful “servants” or “helpers” (with Verbeck as a key example) did much better as *oyatoi* than those who saw themselves as “masters” or heavy-handed public-school “prefects”(with *oyatoi* like Thomas William Kinder at the Osaka Mint as examples). Jones writes that, unlike Chamberlain, Griffis saw the *oyatoi* merely as cooperators, and that they were not given much power but were seen as “live machines” or “living books of reference,” (a description by Frederick Piggott, legal adviser to the Japanese government from 1887-1891). Thus, they were at best “decision-supporters” or “decision-conditioners,” or, at most, provided what Jones describes as a “tutorial and advisory ‘sub-leadership’ role” for Meiji Japan.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, p. 44.

<sup>454</sup> Quoted in Jones, “Griffis Thesis,” p. 220.

<sup>455</sup> Hazel J. Jones, “The Griffis Thesis”, pp. 219-222, 242-250. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 106. Another *oyatoi* often depicted as the heavy-handed master type was Richard Brunton, an engineer who built lighthouses and other projects in the first years of the Meiji period. See Brunton, *Building Japan*. Brunton wrote this at the end of his life (c. 1900) and never published it, though he had entitled it “The Awakening of a Nation: being a description of Japan into the sisterhood of nations, with an elucidation of the character of her people from personal experience.” Brunton’s widow later sold the work to Griffis for 20 pounds. Though Griffis does not gloss over the conflicts Brunton experienced with the Japanese, Griffis introduced and edited the work, though he doesn’t gloss over the tensions Brunton had with the Japanese, he unreservedly praises Brunton and his work and saw himself, like Brunton, as one who was critical of Japan.



Though providing an intriguing categorization between two “types” of *oyatoi*, the dichotomy between the “Griffis thesis” and the “Chamberlain thesis” is problematic. For one thing, it ignores similarities between the two, including the underlying view of the role of the *oyatoi* in the growth of Christianity in modern Japan.<sup>456</sup> In addition, Griffis’ actions are not necessarily in accord with this theory. Even while he was in Japan, Griffis recognized the general Japanese perspective of the *oyatoi* merely as “helpers.” In a letter to the editor of *Scientific American* in 1872, he cautions foreigners with lavish expectations of work and high status to avoid coming to Japan. Acknowledging that “The Japanese simply want helpers,” he writes that the Japanese, like anyone, simply want to “play with their own toys and run their own machines,” Griffis cautiously suggests, “if a man means real hard work that takes off his coat, and is willing to run the risk of going hungry occasionally, and if he has patience enough to wait until an experience taught people can trust him, and isn’t a born brigadier-general, and is willing to help without “taking charge” of everything, let him try Japan.”<sup>457</sup> Though Griffis implied he had accepted this “helper” role, it was not necessarily what he preferred and, in fact, some of his

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<sup>456</sup> Though with Chamberlain this commitment to Christianity is not as easy to recognize than in Griffis, Chamberlain highly praised the Protestant missionaries in his entry on “Missions” in *Japanese Things*, and seemed to support the underlying unity of Western civilization and Christianity. Chamberlain, *Japanese Things*, pp. 322-334. Like Griffis, he advises missionaries to disassociate themselves with Western power, suggesting that, “their complete subjection to native law and rejection of all diplomatic interference on their behalf, would at once enormously increase their influence.” p. 334. He also translated some of the Psalms into Japanese in the early 1880s. Whereas Chamberlain translated some of them into a more classical Japanese poetic form (published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*), Verbeck and his Japanese assistant Maruyama, chose (or created) a more common hybrid style of Japanese.

<sup>457</sup> Quoted in Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, p. 43.

actions as an *oyatoi*, particularly while he was in Tokyo at the *Daigaku Nankō*, showed that he could be quite demanding and act more like a “prefect-type” of *oyatoi*.<sup>458</sup>

Perhaps most importantly, the distinction between Griffis’ “thesis” and Chamberlain’s, assumes these authors had a static view concerning the *oyatoi* and modern Japan. However, Griffis’ perspective on the *oyatoi* seemed to change several times in his lifetime. In the first edition of *The Mikado’s Empire*, he does not mention the *oyatoi* specifically, by the 1894 edition he quotes from Chamberlain about them as “creators” of the New Japan and proceeded to publish the biographies on Verbeck and Brown as “makers” of modern Japan. Before 1905, it seemed that Griffis’ views were not very different from Chamberlain’s. The fact that he began sending the postcards to gather information on the *oyatoi* during this time reveals that, as Beauchamp asserts, “Griffis felt very strongly about the important role the *yatoi* had played...and was convinced that the Japanese historians would ignore them in their writings.”<sup>459</sup>

After 1905, though Griffis’ writings sometimes included short chapters on the “yatoi,” he focused more on Japanese initiative and presented the *oyatoi* as “helpers” or “servants,” rather than as “creators” or “makers” of modern Japan. In 1908, Griffis was also awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, 4<sup>th</sup> class by the Emperor Meiji which he accepted as a great honor.<sup>460</sup> His biography of the Hepburns, published in 1913, did not present Hepburn as an *oyatoi* but simply

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<sup>458</sup> Griffis made demands of the Japanese government for a higher salary and other stipulations (against Verbeck’s suggestions) such as demanding Sundays off. He and some other teachers had also gotten in trouble for an illegal 4<sup>th</sup> of July fireworks on campus and he claimed extraterritoriality. Griffis also wrote articles criticizing the Japanese government in this process. His contract was not subsequently not renewed.

<sup>459</sup> Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, p. 139.

<sup>460</sup> When he accepted his decoration, he showed his great pleasure and appreciation, and some surprise, claiming, “for I have never ceased to criticize Japan and the Japanese.” Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, p. 140.

as a pioneer missionary who helped bring Christianity and “Christian civilization” to Japan. In the biography, he refers to Hepburn as a “loyal samurai of Jesus,” and stresses Japan’s success in recent years, including in their recent wars (though Hepburn had left Japan even before the Sino-Japanese War).<sup>461</sup> Perhaps another explanation for Griffis’ inability or unwillingness to write a work on the *oyatoi* was that his views had changed during these years. For most of his Western readers, a work focusing on the contributions of the *oyatoi* would focus on the superiority of the West, and by this time he was more interested in telling the story of a more equal and mutual exchange between “East” and “West.” In an address at Clark University, Griffis related such views:

After nearly the whole of an adult life spent directly or indirectly with ‘the Orientals,’ ...and with an honest perseverance and fairly steady industry in research, I see absolutely no difference in the human nature of an Asiatic, a European or an American....The ignorance and prejudice that now exist on this subject is a disgrace to America and to our Christianity. Sooner or later, we must acknowledge that Asia has been the great mother of inventions, art, science and religion and as she has always been the teacher of Europe while Europe has for the most part but developed and applied, so now. ‘The Orientals’ have more to teach us than we can possibly teach them.<sup>462</sup>

Thus, Griffis’ views had shifted to focusing on what the “West” could learn (and had learned) from Japan, and the history of the *oyatoi* was not as useful for such an objective.

Though the impact of the Russo-Japanese War was only one factor at this time, it was nonetheless an important event in changing both the ways that Westerners (Griffis’ main

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<sup>461</sup> Griffis, *Hepburn*. Though he mostly highlights Hepburn’s Christian influence, he also relates Japan’s accomplishments and even the successes of recent wars. In his preface, he calls Hepburn a “loyal samurai of Jesus” and says that “none have exceeded in the graces of true chivalry, in true courage, and in the loftiest phases of bushido, the Christian leaders of New Japan.” p. viii.

<sup>462</sup> Griffis, “A Literary Legend: ‘The Oriental’ in *Japan and Japanese-American Relations*, ed. George Hubbard Blakeslee (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1912) p. 209. He concludes the speech with: “To the man of science there is not East or West, they being purely expressions for convenience of speech and thought.” It is also apparent the Griffis is very concerned about the anti-Asian immigration sentiments that were growing at the time in the U.S.

audience) viewed Japan and the way the Japanese thought about their nation. Japanese writers commented on the growth of its national pride in the eyes of the world after the Russo-Japanese War. In 1911, the novelist Natsume Sōseki, though relieved that the Japanese sense of patriotism no longer consisted of “such foolishness as saying to foreigners, ‘My country has Mt. Fuji,’ noted that, “...since the [Russo-Japanese] war one hears boasting everywhere that we have become a first-class country.”<sup>463</sup> An example of a popular work published in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War by the British writer J. Morris, entitled *Makers of Japan*, illustrates the thinking in the West towards Japan. Morris’ work contained short biographies of Japanese figures, but none of the *oyatoi* are even alluded to in the work. Okuma’s education with Verbeck is not mentioned, though in Okuma’s chapter he writes that the thing that most accounts for Japan’s progress was the “fundamental principle” of copying “what is worth copying in every country,” and that Japan “never hesitated to adopt anything that she has found to be good....”<sup>464</sup> Thus, it seems that the emphasis of Westerners who supported Japan shifted after the Russo-Japanese War, to feature Japanese actors, and to deemphasize or ignore the role of the *oyatoi* in the creation of modern Japan.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Though he recognized the importance of the war, Natsume Sōseki also “felt it ‘frivolous’ to claim equality with the West on the basis of military victories.” Quoted in Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 198-199. Another change by 1905 was the growth of a nationalist narrative that replaced the earlier debate of Japanese intellectual over the nature of Japanese modernization viz-a-viz the West. The Min’yusha school of thought represented those who argued that the argued that “the course of Western civilization represented the universal path of progress for the nation.” The Seikyōsha school of thought opposed the idea of unilinear progress and “advanced the concept of an evolving world civilization, in which progress was achieved through competition and diversity among nations,” and tried to find special strengths and characteristics of Japan--“elements of their cultural heritage that need not be sacrificed in the course of modern development.” Pyle, pp. 191-192.

<sup>464</sup> J. Morris. *Makers of Japan*. (London: Methuen and Co., 1906), p. 253.

<sup>465</sup> Griffis, though supportive of Christianity in Japan, was not well-liked by many missionaries perhaps partly because he was very committed to the ideal of church union in Japan and denounced sectarianism,

Most of the postwar scholars who have studied the *oyatoi* generally assume that the growing respect for and nationalistic sentiments of Japan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century stifled any interest in the *oyatoi*, both in Japan and in the West. Though this is largely true, Griffis' underlying Christian narrative for modern Japan continued to resonate with many, and is evident in some of the works on Japanese relations that touched on the subject of the *oyatoi*. One example is *Japan and Japanese-American Relations*, a work containing a series of Clark University addresses on the topic of Japan and America, which contained and at least four addresses by former *oyatoi*. Even though this work emphasized Japan's development in general, there was still a prioritizing of Christianity, particularly with the choice of the missionary Dr. John C. Berry on medicine, a chapter on "The New Japan" by Arthur Judson Brown, the secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and two separate chapters by missionary veterans on Christianity entitled "The Modern Japanese Christian Church" and "Some Results of Christian Work in Japan." In addition, there is a short address by Griffis, arguably the most outspoken Christian *oyatoi*.<sup>466</sup>

However, this edited work also demonstrates that, as with Griffis' work, the writing on Japan and the perspectives of the role of the *oyatoi* by the last years of the Meiji period had changed. Though not completely neglected, they were certainly deemphasized to make sure they

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warning them against undue foreign influence. He wrote in 1874 in an "open letter" to Japanese Christians, "Let the missionaries teach you the gospel and make you Christians, but do not join their sects" Quoted in Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, pp. 120-121. Though Griffis' works were still influential in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were other popular and scholarly works, many of them written by missionaries or former missionaries. Some of these authors included Ernest Clement, Karl Reischauer, Kenneth S. Latourette, Sidney L. Gulick. Similar to Griffis, the Christian and mission-oriented narrative guided their approaches to modern Japan and Japan-American relations, even as the achievements and challenges of modern Japan were the focus of their works, not the *oyatoi* (though often missionary-*oyatoi* like Verbeck are mentioned).

<sup>466</sup> Blakeslee.

did not detract from Japanese achievements. For example, *Japan and Japanese-American Relations* began with an retrospective address by the *oyatoi* science professor Thomas C. Mendenhall in which he mainly commented on all the great changes in Japan since his time in Japan thirty years earlier, giving credit to the Japanese for all this progress.<sup>467</sup> Garret Droppers, previously Professor of Political Economy in the University of Tokyo, in his address entitled “The Secret of Japanese Success” also spoke glowingly of Japanese modernization since the Meiji period, and even criticized some of the foreign expertise given by “foreign advisers”:

In some cases, I believe, the Japanese have exhibited more wisdom than their immediate foreign advisers who in the first instance were employed to aid them in the process of transformation. For instance under American advice in 1871 they introduced the American national banking system. It took the Japanese less than ten years to discover that this system was so faulty as to be useless for their purposes. The government sent a board of inquiry abroad to study the various banking systems of foreign countries...[eventually] decided in favor of a bank on the model of the Bank of Belgium.<sup>468</sup>

Other examples of this changing emphasis can be seen in the work of Japanese writers who wrote in (or translated works into) English during the Meiji Period. One such author was Inazō Nitobe, who had become a Christian while studying at the Hokkaido Agricultural College at which several *oyatoi* teachers taught, including William Smith Clark. Nitobe devoted much of his writing to fostering understanding between Japan and the West, most famously in the popular

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<sup>467</sup> Thomas C. Mendenhall, “Japan Revisited After Thirty Years,” in *Japan and Japanese-American Relations*, pp. 10-21 Mendenhall was a science professor at Tokyo University until 1881, who returned to visit in 1911.

<sup>468</sup> Garret Droppers, “The Secret of Japanese Success,” in *Japan and Japanese-American Relations*, pp. 100-114. Quote from pp. 101-102. The *oyatoi* George Williams, a banker from Indiana, was largely responsible for what Droppers refers to as the “faulty” early banking reforms in Japan in the 1870s modeled after the U.S. system. Droppers also quotes from Junjiro Takakusu, Director of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, about Japanese initiative and contributions, in assimilating “Western knowledge and mechanisms” but also improving on them, “...as for instance the Shimose gunpowder, the Murata rifle, the Arisaka gun and the Kimura wireless telephone. Our Red Cross Society while at first copied from the West, has attained a unique pitch of perfection.” p. 111. Takakusu’s words are taken from an article in *International Journal of Ethics*, October 1906.

work, *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan*.<sup>469</sup> By 1891, Nitobe had become a Quaker and married an American Quaker. He also published a work entitled *The Intercourse between the United States and Japan* in which he discussed the *oyatoi* (though he doesn't use the word) and revealed an affinity for a Christian perspective not unlike Griffis.<sup>7</sup> Though Japan still had a few revered American *oyatoi* such as Henry Denison and Dr. Erwin Baelz, the government policy of hiring *oyatoi* was largely over by the time Nitobe wrote this work. In a chapter entitled "Americans and American Influences in Japan," Nitobe noted important foreigners in Japan who contributed to various areas such as education, science, postal system, religion, agriculture, railways, and miscellaneous areas (mainly law, foreign policy, government and journalism). This categorization in some ways anticipates the 1960s era multi-volume Japanese series on *oyatoi gaikokujin* which was divided largely by subject area.<sup>470</sup>

If any Japanese work in the Meiji period should not be ignored on the topic of Westerners and Japan, it is Okuma Shigenobu's impressive two-volume compilation of essays authored by

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<sup>469</sup> Inazō Nitobe, *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1905).

<sup>470</sup> Inazō Nitobe, *The Intercourse between the United States and Japan* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1891). Nitobe also had subsequent works that continued to mention the *oyatoi*, such as, *Japan: Some Phases of Her Problems and Development* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1931). In this more detailed work published 40 years later, Nitobe wrote that there were over 200 such advisers in government employ in 1872, and proceeded to try to tabulate the overall government expenditures on the salaries of these "advisers" in proportion to state revenues. Nitobe emphasizes the Japanese government's "wise device" of employing "expert foreign advisers in every branch of administration and enterprise, be it of private or public character." Despite the obvious sacrificial expense, Nitobe concluded that "this dearly bought experience taught the Japanese what to learn from abroad and what not to learn. And they learned much—nearly all that could be learned or was worth learning." p. 109. Another edited work published in 1931, *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relation*, edited by Nitobe, contained essays written by Japanese experts and academics, and covered a wide variety of topics, such as education, philosophy, "legal ideas," science, religion, art, journalism, communications, railways, army, navy, sports, and music. The authors focus on Japanese achievements in these areas. Some of them acknowledge the role of foreigners, particularly teachers, but the references are very brief and they quickly move to prominent Japanese students who studied in the West or the achievements in these areas after the *oyatoi* were gone. Inazō Nitobe, *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

various Japanese scholars entitled, *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, was published in Japanese in 1907 and in English in 1910.<sup>471</sup> Not only was Okuma one of the most well-known leaders in Japan at the time, he was also one of Verbeck's first students and, in his career, he had more interaction with various *oyatoi* than any other Meiji leader.<sup>472</sup> Some of the authors of the essays mentioned foreign employees, particularly ones they interacted with personally or who had a great impact on the field they were writing about, but the focus of the work was on the work of the Japanese in building the "New Japan." Most striking in its omission of *oyatoi* is the chapter on "Hokkaido and its Progress in Fifty Years," by Shōsuke Satō. In contrast to the attention given to American *oyatoi* such as Horace Capron and William S. Clark today, the essay does not mention any *oyatoi*, except one brief mention of Kuroda Kiyotaka's "American advisor" (though Capron's name and contributions are not stated).<sup>473</sup>

A few of the essays in Okuma's work even critique some of the borrowing from the West in general, though no specific *oyatoi* are criticized. In a chapter written by Kimmochi Saionji on education, he wrote critically of the "mania for foreign ideas" in the first fifteen years after the Restoration, where "Western civilization was imported on a large scale by all ranks of people. So blindly did men follow everything foreign..."<sup>474</sup> In an essay on railroads, Viscount Masaru Inouye, one of the "Choshu Five" who illegally left to study in England in 1863, recounted that

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<sup>471</sup> *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, ed. Ōkuma Shigenobu, English version by Marcus B. Huish (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1910; New York, Kraus Reprint, 1970).

<sup>472</sup> Hazel Jones writes that of Okuma's "formidable collection" of papers, "more than half, in a sense all, consist of information gathered from foreigners in Japan, principally foreign employees and is a major source for yatoi opinions and proposals." Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 74.

<sup>473</sup> Shōsuke Satō, "Hokkaido and its Progress in Fifty Years," in Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, pp. 513-529. Reference on p. 519.

<sup>474</sup> Marquis Kimmochi Saionji, "National Education in the Meiji Era" in Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, pp. 164-165.



the Japanese built a railroad line in 1878 between Kyoto and Ōtsu “without any assistance from foreign engineers.” Instead of focusing on cooperative efforts between the *oyatoi* engineers and the Japanese in the 1870s, he criticized the use of foreign staff as very expensive and claimed there was “much useless expense incurred owing to the lack of mutual understanding” between the foreign staff and the Japanese workers.<sup>475</sup>

Though the contributors to Okuma’s work were mainly interested in praising New Japan’s remarkable progress and modernization, some of the chapters in Okuma’s work also were amenable to an underlying Christian narrative for modern Japan that is reminiscent of Griffis’ in that it assumed Japan had a special spiritual role in the development of Christianity that distinguished it from the West. In the chapter by Inazō Nitobe on “The Influence of the West upon Japan,” he focused on the spiritual influences of the West. Addressing the issue of what he calls the “Japanization of European influences” and the “blending of two culture grades or the welding of two different types of civilization,” Nitobe asserted that, “Friend or foe, we owe much of what we are to the West,”<sup>476</sup> He then proceeded to enumerate the various areas of indebtedness, claiming that

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<sup>475</sup> Occasionally, Inouye implies that the foreigners’ ignorance was responsible for this waste. For example, Inouye writes, “in construction stone walls for bridges, the workmen used to smooth four faces of each stone, while it was really necessary to do so only with the two joint-faces. In another case it was found that only right-angled slippers were used, the others being thrown away as unserviceable. In this and other ways not only a great deal of money, but much time and labor were wasted. Masaru Inouye, “Railroads” in Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 424-446. It is interesting to contrast Inouye’s very confident account of the Japanese railroad industry in Okuma’s work with Steven Ericson’s more realistic account in Steven J. Ericson. *The Sound of the Whistle: Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

<sup>476</sup> Inazō Nitobe, “The Influence of the West upon Japan,” in Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, p. 459, Nitobe concludes that Japanese has had “ample experience in assimilating alien thoughts and alien institutions” and that “Japanese eclecticism is a concrete method, whereby Western ideas were adopted and consciously and voluntarily adapted to our own ends.” Pp. 464-465.

The greatest influence of the West is, after all, the spiritual, by which I do not mean only the religious. Christianity has influenced the thought and lives of many individuals in Japan, and will influence many more...[though] Christianity has not worked such obvious influence upon the social life of our people as...zealous advocates of missions are inclined to think.<sup>477</sup>

Unlike Griffis, Nitobe did not view missionaries to be as significant in this narrative, but Christianity's impact, as well as the spiritual and mental impact of the European (and particularly English-language) works on the "mental habits" of the Japanese, were "incalculable." However, Nitobe concluded with a focus on Japanese potential arising from this interaction: "Without meaning in the least to detract from the magnitude of foreign influence upon us, we have self-respect enough to believe that the intellectual capital we borrowed from the West was largely invested in opening our own existent resources...by which our own minds have been helped to deliver their contents, to give birth to their own fruits."<sup>478</sup> Likewise, Okuma, in his conclusion to the work, stated in strikingly similar language to Griffis that Japan had a "heaven-ordained office" and a "mission of harmonizing the civilizations of the East and the West." Okuma believed that the Japanese nation was the best nation to achieve this "grand mission," as they were, "a nation which represents the civilization of the Orient and has assimilated the civilization of the Occident."<sup>479</sup>

Though Japanese nationalism permeated Okuma's and Nitobe's work and the *oyatoi* were not prominently featured, their overall interpretation of Japan's development was not perceived by most Westerner observers as antithetical to the underlying Christian perspective on modern Japan. Though Okuma never became a Christian, his sense of a "mission" for modern Japan was

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<sup>477</sup> Nitobe, "The Influence of the West," pp. 473-474.

<sup>478</sup> Nitobe, "The Influence of the West," pp. 475-476.

<sup>479</sup> Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of a New Japan*, pp. 574-575.

broad enough for foreign missionaries to view Okuma as a supporter of Christianity and missions and he was asked to speak at the opening of the conference in the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Protestant missions in Japan at that time.<sup>480</sup> In fact, for many, the impact of Japan's successful modernization was seen as beneficial to the cause of Christianity in Asia. For countries closer to Japan, like China and Korea, Japan was a much more affordable destination for study abroad by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Japanese "experts" began, like the *oyatoi*, to work in China and in other parts of Asia. The China missionary, W A.P. Martin, in *The Awakening of China*, wrote that, by 1907, China had sent 10,000 students to Japan and had imported from Japan:

...a host of instructors whose numbers can only be conjectured. The earliest to come were in the military sphere, to rehabilitate army and navy. Then came professors of every sort, engaged by public or private institutions to help on educational reform...This Japanning process, as it is derisively styled, may be somewhat superficial; but it has the recommendation of cheapness and rapidity in comparison with depending on teachers from the West.<sup>481</sup>

Thus Japan became, for these countries, a key source of education and foreign employees and experts. Though, as Martin implies, this "Japanning process" had its critics, it was generally interpreted positively by Martin and many missionaries.

But, this perspective of Japan as the foremost "Oriental" country who had assimilated the "Occident," spread throughout the world, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War. This view of Japan as the only non-Western, non-Christian successfully modernized country was popular among many non-Western nationalists and modernizing elites from the Ottoman Empire to

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<sup>480</sup> Okuma also sent a message for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the YMCA in 1913: "I sincerely congratulate the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago on its fiftieth anniversary, because of the noble work it has done for your great city and humanity, and for the civilization of the world. *Fifty-Five Years: The Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago, 1858-1913*. London: Forgotten Books. (Original work published 1913), pp. 64-65.

<sup>481</sup> Martin, *The Awakening of China* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907) p. 194.

China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Though these writers often highlighted Japan's borrowing and assimilation of Western ideas, the narrative of Japan's modernization that they told was one in which Japan, with their "proper assimilative balance," kept their culture and nation intact and were not dominated by the Western powers. According to Renee Worringer,

Japan was believed to have simultaneously repelled the West while borrowing from it the necessary attributes so that Japanese moral values were not lost as it assumed its place among the Great Powers. Japanese ancestry, character traits, and patriotic behavior were considered bases of the country's national strength....The degree to which this narrative of Japan appearing in Ottoman and Arabic sources was historically accurate is not so significant. More relevant is its usefulness as an illustrative tool for discerning how the provincial Ottoman Arab elites...formulated their understanding of modernity at the turn of the twentieth century."<sup>482</sup>

Another Muslim writer waxed more poetically about the impact of Japan's modernization in 1909: "A spring erupted in the land of a people, and its waters overflowed to others who put it to good use by making gardens possessing magnificence and springs. That is the example of Japan, wherein they borrowed from Western civilization to the extent that they raised themselves to be among the nations of prosperity and those advanced in the world....."<sup>483</sup>

Japan was often seen as a contrast to their own societies in their ability to pick and choose elements to adopt from the West, without much reliance on foreigners. In 1910, Ahmad Ārif al-Zayn's article, "Future of the East," in a Lebanese journal spoke of "Japanese physical and spiritual strength that made them powerful enough to defeat Russia in war and to develop their own products and institutions at home *without prolonged use of foreigners*, demonstrating

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<sup>482</sup> "Japan's Progress Reified: Modernity and Arab Dissent in the Ottoman Empire" by Renée Worringer in *Islamic Middle East and Japan: Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity*, ed. Renee Worringer (Princeton, New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007) p. 91-92.

<sup>483</sup> Munīr Ya'qūb, "Mādhā Akhadhnā 'an al-Gharbīyyīn," *al-Muqtabas (al Umma)* 27 December 1909, quoted in Worringer, p. 117.

the potential for other Asian nations to progress.”<sup>484</sup> Many elites in the Ottoman Empire (which had adopted a series of Western reforms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), contrasted their government’s lackluster record to Japan’s success. According to one critic in 1909, the Ottoman’s mere “imitation” of the West was a stark contrast to Japan’s successful and more selective modernization: “The Japanese took from the sources of European civilization what was most agreeable and appropriate for the disposition of their country and the most suitable for their customs and their character....Us, we borrowed that which did not suit our conditions and our nature at all and did not suit our interest and our culture....”<sup>485</sup> Others criticized Ottoman society for “carelessly trying to adopt unsuitable Western ideas. Whereas the Ottoman Empire was seen as degrading itself by merely imitating Western behavior, Japan carefully selected appropriate concepts, profited immensely from them, and became one of the Great Powers.”<sup>486</sup>

In most of these accounts of Japan’s modernization, not only are the *oyatoi* absent, but the role of Christianity that Griffis emphasized, was also entirely missing. Japan’s non-Christian identity was important to many in Asia who did want to modernize but wanted to oppose the missionary-influenced approaches to modernization. This can be seen particularly in educational reforms. In the Ottoman Empire, Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908) saw education as a crucial battleground with many of the foreign missionary schools which were viewed as turning out graduates who were hostile to their religion and state. Thus, he implemented educational reforms, including the Public Education Regulation of 1869, a French-inspired plan for integrating the empire’s educational system. Though the original educational system

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<sup>484</sup> Quoted in Worringer, p. 103. Emphasis mine.

<sup>485</sup> Munir Ya’qub, quoted in Worringer, p. 117.

<sup>486</sup> Worringer, p. 105.

Abdulhamid inherited from earlier reforms was “foreign in inspiration, his government took great strides to render it consonant with Ottoman and Islamic traditions.”<sup>487</sup> Thus, with Japan as a successful model, in such non-Christian societies, the cultural and nationalistic elements that were distinct from the West were combined with more secularizing Western reforms to counter the impact some of the Christian missions in these societies.

In contrast to this literature on Japan in non-Christian parts of the world in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the literature on diplomacy and foreign relations between the U.S. and Japan published after 1905, the views expressed are not that different from Griffis’ perspective. This literature more readily mentioned the contributions of American *oyatoi* who were not missionaries or Christian teachers, but who did help guide Japan’s foreign policy, such as Charles LeGendre, E. Peshine Smith and Henry Denison. However, there was still an overall emphasis on the impact of missionaries and of Christianity. In the classic work, *Japan and the United States, 1853-1921*, historian Payson J. Treat, in a chapter entitled “Rise of a New Japan,” quotes at length from Shimada Saburō on this point:

Fortunately the missionaries and teachers whom the United States sent to Japan about this time [1860s] were all men of piety, moderation and good sense, and their sincerity and kindness produced on the minds of our countrymen a profound impression, such as tended to completely remove the suspicions hitherto entertained towards the Christian religion....In fact, they were a living testimony, completely dispelling whatever prejudice against Christianity in the bosoms of our countrymen, who were naturally led to the conclusion that after all there could be nothing hateful in a religion which could produce such men.”<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> Resat Kasaba, ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4 Turkey in the Modern World*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 51-52.

<sup>488</sup> In Payson J. Treat, *Japan and the United States, 1853-1921* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), pp. 98-99. This book was based off a series of lectures Treat delivered in Japan in 1921. In 1917, Treat published *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan*, which dealt mainly with the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and was written for an American audience.

Treat wrote that “In these days the Japanese were eager to learn all that they could of Western methods and ideas.” He lists Verbeck, Brown and Hepburn, all “friends and teachers of Japan,” concluding that “Under these pioneer missionary-teachers many Japanese studied who later made names for themselves in the service of their state.”<sup>489</sup> Thus, Treat’s emphasis on the missionary-*oyatoi* (though he does not ignore others) is not much different from Griffis’ emphasis. By the end of the Meiji era, when Treat wrote his works on Japan, the Japanese had in many ways become the equal of the Western powers. Yet, unlike the literature in the non-Western world, the narrative of Christianity in a Western-dominated world prevailed. As one recent author on this period has written, “Veteran observers of Japan [such as Griffis] now argued that the Japanese had indeed escaped from Asia: Christian in heart if not in name, they were cousins of the Anglo-Saxon....establishing and defending outposts of civilization in their East Asian colonies.”<sup>490</sup>

By the end of the Meiji period, though the foreign views on modern Japan tended to downplay the significance of the *oyatoi* in modern Japan, ironically Japanese language historiography on the *oyatoi* had its birth in the decades of the 1920s and 1930s. Though limited, it did contribute to the later, more detailed, scholarship after World War II and was not heavily indebted to the perspective of Griffis (though some of the scholars were associated with Japanese Christian institutions). Umetani Noboru claims that at the end of

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<sup>489</sup> Payson J. Treat, *Japan and the United States*, pp. 101-103. After this quote, Treat also mentions various American *oyatoi* who had been educators or served in the Foreign Office

<sup>490</sup> Henning, p. 166. Henning’s work is creative in that it focuses on *oyatoi* figures whose writings impacted American views of Japan, like Griffis, Edward Morse, and Lafcadio Hearn. Though not denying the prevalence of racialized thinking in many figures like Griffis, Henning seems to easily conflate religion and race in a way that subsumes Christianity under a racial and civilizational narrative of modern Japan and America. This may have been the case for some Americans, but I am not convinced that it is the case for all, including Griffis.

the Taisho era (the early 1920s), there was a growing interest in foreigners who had lived and worked in Japan, though some of the archives were destroyed in the fire from the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake.<sup>491</sup> One of the earliest writers was the Christian statesman, Yoshino Sakuzō, who, in the mid-1920s began writing on the *oyatoi*.<sup>492</sup> In the 1930s and 1940s there were a few isolated “pioneer” scholars interested in the topic of foreigners in Japan, some of whom later became the backbone of *oyatoi* research in Japan in the postwar period. In particular, Ogata Hiroyasu, from Okuma’s Waseda University, and Shigehisa Tokutarō from the Christian university, Doshisha, began to write on the topic of *oyatoi* and of foreigners’ impact on Japan’s culture in the Meiji Period.<sup>493</sup> Another genre of literature that grew from the mid-1920s in Japan was memoirs and biographical literature on

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<sup>491</sup> *The Meiji bunka zenshū* [Meiji Literature Collection] series, between 1927 and 1930, included at least one essay by Yoshino on the *oyatoi*, as well as others by different scholars on the *oyatoi* hired by domains like Kaga and Kōchi. Umetani discusses some of the works written during this time, most of them entries on the *oyatoi* in dictionaries or in the *Meiji bunka zenshū* [Meiji Literature Collection] or short scholarly essays on the impact of foreigners on various aspects of Japanese culture and government. Umetani lists seven works published before the postwar period on the *oyatoi*. Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū*, Vol. 1, p. 185, 440-442. Also, Hazel Jones references several sources of lists compiled by Japanese researchers before the postwar period, including: Sigusa Hiroto, *Gijutsushi*, Gendai Nihon bunmeishi, 14, (Tokyo : Tōyō keizai shimpōsha, 1940); Shigehisa Tokutarō’s “pioneering contributions” in “Meiji jidai ni okeru sei-yōjin no bunka jigyo,” *Dōshisha kōshō ronsō* 20:10 (1939): 134-48. Shigehisa Tokutarō and Amano Keitarō “Meiji bunka kankei Ōbei jimmeiroku,” *Toshokan kenkyū* 10:4 (1937): 347-72. Hazel Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 5, 167-168 (notes).

<sup>492</sup> Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, Vol. 1, p. 440-442. Another short summary of the *oyatoi* in the 1920s is “Oyatoi gaikokujin ichiran” [Glance at foreign employees], *Meiji bunka zenshū* (Tokyo: 1928), v. 16, pp. 347-362. This series was edited by Kimura Ki, but Yoshino Sakuzō contributed to this series in the 1920s.

<sup>493</sup> Shigehisa, Tokutarō. “Meiji jidai ni okeru sei-yōjin no bunka jigyo” [Westerner’s Cultural Activities in the Meiji Period] *Dōshisha Koshō Ronsho*, no. 20 (1939): 134-148. In addition, Shigehisa also wrote *Meiji jidai nihon bunka no kōjō ni kōken shita ōbei jinmei roku* [A List of Europeans and Americans who Contributed toward the Enrichment of the Culture of Japan during the Meiji Era] (Kyoto: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1939) and *Meiji shoki no nihon bunka ni taisuru ōbeijin no kōken* [The Contributions of Europeans and Americans toward the Culture of Japan during the Early Meiji Era], Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, Vol. 16, no. 1, 1940. In Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū*, Vol. 1, pp. 444. Also see, Ogata Hiroyasu, *Seiyō Kyōiku inyū no hōto* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1961).



prominent *oyatoi*, such as Gustave Emile Boissonade, William S. Clark and Basil Hall Chamberlain.<sup>494</sup>

In general, the prewar Japanese writers who wrote on the *oyatoi*, tended to portray the *oyatoi* as “helpers” for the nation of Japan, but their approach was more more interested in telling the story of the *oyatoi* in Japan’s national modernization without reference to the overarching expansionist narrative of missionary Christianity. But, the nationalism fostered in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century did not entirely kill interest in the *oyatoi*. Fumiko Fujita has noted that in Hokkaido, despite the wartime animosity during WWII, the American *oyatoi* who contributed to Hokkaido’s development continued to be eulogized in literature during the war.<sup>495</sup> Also, during the wartime period, particularly in the late 1930s, the figure of Verbeck continued to be seen as a significant figure in some accounts of modern Japan.<sup>496</sup> Thus,

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<sup>494</sup> Umetani mentions many of these in his work. For example, there are biographies of Gottfried Wagener (1925) and Hepburn (1926) and in the 1930s on figures such as Dr. John C. Berry (1930), Dr. Leopold Mueller (1933), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1935) William Gowland (1935) G. E. Boissonade (1936) W. S. Clark (1938), Benjamin Lyman (1938), and others. See Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū* Vol. 1, pp. 441, 445-446.

<sup>495</sup> Fumiko Fujita, “Understanding of a Different Culture,” in Beck and Burks, p. 46. The source she refers to is *Hokkaido bunkashi ko* [Thoughts on the cultural history of Hokkaido] (Sapporo: Nippon hoso kyōkai, 1942.)

<sup>496</sup> An example a work in the 1930s that highlights Verbeck and other Christian missionaries and *oyatoi* are the multiple volumes on the prominent Japanese Protestant leader Uemura Masahisa: Saba Wataru. *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai* [Uemura and his Times], *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, 8 vols. (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1967). The first five volumes published were compiled and published between 1937-1943. Though this work shows some similarities to Griffis’ work in its focus on Christianity, it contained mainly Japanese sources and tended to view Verbeck as figures who contributed to an indigenous Japanese church. Saba Wataru, the author/compiler of these volumes was a historian but also Uemura’s son-in-law. Other memoirs that mention like Verbeck would be the memoirs of his students such as Okuma Shigenobu, Soejima Taneomi, or Takahashi Korekiyo, though some of these were not published until after the war.

when the historian Ogata Hiroyasu wanted to choose an *oyatoi* figure to emphasize after the war as a “founding father” of modern Japan, like Griffis, he chose Guido F. Verbeck.<sup>497</sup>

## 2.2.2 *Oyatoi Gaikokujin* in Postwar Historiography

From the mid-1930s through the war years, there was almost no literature in the West on the *oyatoi*, as these “helpers” of Japanese modernization became less attractive, and the perspective of writers like Griffis were difficult to mesh with the views of Japan as an increasingly powerful non-Christian power in Asia. In 1945, John M. Maki, in an attempt to explain the misunderstanding and naivete of Americans toward Japan in the prewar period, points to the distorted view of Japan found in writings by foreigners, like Griffis:

One barrier between us and a true understanding of the Japanese was the fact that almost all our knowledge about both the land and the people came through the eyes of foreigners who lived in Japan. The vast majority who wrote and talked about the Japanese were honest; they reported accurately, in most cases, those particular segments of Japanese life, those Japanese or those material achievements in Japan with which they were in closest contact....Even those who knew the Japanese more intimately.... were barred from a complete understanding because they were teachers and missionaries, and the very nature of their work tended to give them a somewhat distorted view of the Japanese.<sup>498</sup>

After the war, George B. Sansom, the well-known British diplomat, historian and Japanologist, published a work in 1949, entitled, *Japan and the Western World*. In this work, Sansom continued the general omission of the *oyatoi* and mainly dealt with intellectual and literary influences (though he briefly mentioned a few famous foreigners who were *oyatoi*, like

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<sup>497</sup> See Ogata Hiroyasu, “*Kindai nihon no kensetsu no chichi*.”

<sup>498</sup> John M. Maki, *Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 5.

the legal expert Gustave Emile Boissonade) However, he concluded with the following assertion regarding the impact of the “foreign advisors” on the Japanese who created modern Japan:

A study of what we call literary influences, though tempting to the historian, may be misleading, for often they do not penetrate beyond intellectual circles and find little response in practical life. It is probable that, despite the great number of Western books circulated in Japan during the first twenty years of Meiji, their effect was not so great as the aggregate influence of individuals consulted by Japanese on their journeys abroad and of foreign advisors employed in Japan, who were in close touch with officials, and students destined later to hold important posts.<sup>499</sup>

Though recognizing the “probable” great impact of the foreign advisers, Sansom never expanded on the subject of these *oyatoi*, but acknowledged that it was a significant subject worth discussing. After the war, Sansom was appointed as a British representative on the Far Eastern Commission for the postwar Occupation, but it was American scholars who began to develop an interest in the *oyatoi* during the U.S. Occupation’s reformation and rebuilding of Japan. In the period of the Occupation and throughout the early-1950s, the importance of Christianity and its diffusion—a perspective not unlike Griffis’, though perhaps sobered by the war and the perceived “failure” of prewar missions—resurfaced.<sup>500</sup>

Not only did Douglas MacArthur and many of the American Occupation officials encourage and the revival of Christian missions, but the immediate postwar period was another period in which Christianity grew in Japan and is sometimes compared to the 1880s.<sup>501</sup> By

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<sup>499</sup> Sir George B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1950) p. 362. Jones, p. 183.

<sup>500</sup> Though there were some notable exceptions—such as the work of E. H. Norman—this view permeated much of the literature written during the Occupation years.

<sup>501</sup> For an account of the impact of Christianity during the Occupation, see Ray A. Moore, *Soldier of God: MacArthur’s Attempt to Christianize Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011). For a biographical account of a Japanese convert at this time, see Gordon W. Prange, *God’s Samurai: Lead Pilot at Pearl Harbor* (New York, Brassey’s, 1990) about Michio Fuchida, the leader of the attack on Pearl Harbor, who was converted and became an evangelist during the 1950s. For a missionary perspective concerning the Occupation, see Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*.

1963, there were over 4000 missionaries in Japan, the vast majority from America. Stephen Neill has argued that the Japanese “revulsion against the system that had brought them to such disaster...prepared them to accept the American way of life entire, and the Christian Gospel as part of it.” Neill claimed, however, that this revival of Christianity was a “rather superficial religious interest;” that it died away and “the Japanese soon began to be occupied with their economic reconstruction to the almost total exclusion of everything else.”<sup>502</sup> Perhaps the commemorative literature on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Protestant missions to Japan in 1959 was the last gasp of the old Christian mission-centered narrative that Griffis strongly promoted. From this point on the negligible growth of Christianity in Japan and the decline of Japan as a focus in the missionary literature after 1959 are undeniable.<sup>503</sup>

Thus, the 1950s reflected a shift in America’s thinking towards a political economic focus on Japan as a Cold War ally and major trading partner. This transition in perspectives can be seen in the Western scholarship that featured the *oyatoi* in the 1950s. Perhaps the most significant work was Robert S. Schwantes’ doctoral dissertation, *American Influence in the Education of Meiji Japan 1868-1912*, and subsequent book *Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations*.<sup>504</sup> Unlike the earlier Western scholarship, Schwantes’ material

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<sup>502</sup> Neill, p. 426-427.

<sup>503</sup> In some ways, the centennial celebration and the works published in 1959 on missions to Japan, can be seen as the last works within this perspective. Frank Cary’s *History of Christianity in Japan*. Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1959) is largely a collation of previously written work, and very nostalgic. After 1960, most of the scattered works on Japanese Christianity written by Western scholars, unlike the previous literature, utilized Japanese sources, not simply missionary sources. See Drummond’s *History of Christianity in Japan*.

<sup>504</sup> Robert S. Schwantes, *American Influence in the Education of Meiji Japan 1868-1912*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1950; *Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations/ Harper and Row, 1955). For his emphasis on Christianity, also see:

was well-researched and utilized some Japanese sources. His underlying perspective at first glance seems similar to Griffis and the prewar literature in that he still focused on Christian missionary-*oyatoi*. With a lengthy chapter on “The Role of American Missionaries,” Schwantes saw Japan’s “ancient faiths” as “anachronistic,” claiming that for Japan to achieve a “new peaceful synthesis,” the previous “wholesale importation of the material side of Western civilization” must be augmented by exposure to “the religious values that are “the checks to the materialism of the West.” In his conclusion, he presented the legacy of cultural relations between the two societies (before 1941) as “clearly a positive contribution toward peace and cooperation,” and “As teachers and technicians several hundred Americans played important roles in the modernization of Japan....The Christian churches in Japan begun by American missionaries exerted an intellectual force far out of proportion to their size.”<sup>505</sup>

Schwantes’ work, however, was actually an example of a transition between the prewar literature and the scholarship of the 1960s on the *oyatoi*. Though it fit with the American Occupation’s renewal of Christian missions to Japan, it also revealed the influence of Edwin O. Reischauer, Schwantes’ advisor at Harvard, as well as the changing views on Japan. Though Reischauer, as the son of Presbyterian missionaries to Japan, often gave lip-service to the critical role of early Protestant missionaries in Japan, his research and writings did not focus on them.

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Robert S. Schwantes “Christianity Versus Science: A Conflict of Ideas in Meiji Japan.” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12 (February 1953): 123-132.

<sup>505</sup> Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans*, p. 283, p. 320. Later, Schwantes cites Yanaihara Tadao of Tokyo University who “bases his absolute pacifism upon Christianity,” and that what Japan needs is “not rearmament supported by America but the faith in God to preserve the truth.” pp. 326-327. Hazel Jones also asserted a direct connection between the Westernization of the Meiji period and the reforms in the postwar years: “Had a technological base not been laid and a spirit of constitutionalism engendered in the Meiji Period, the post-Second World War American occupation’s laboratory experiment in legislated social change could hardly have had the social and intellectual effects it has had. The present technological explosion and postwar commitment to the new constitution, whatever the varied and changing motivations, have their origins not in the ashes of defeat but in the Meiji experiment” Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 143.

Likewise, though Schwantes echoed MacArthur's famous call for more Christian missionaries, he also accepted the shifting definition of missions in mainline denominations, which, from the 1930s, had become less interested in evangelism and proselytizing. The emphasis of missions in the 1950s, according to Schwantes, was "no longer on 'conversion of heathen'" but on bringing "valuable resources for education, humanitarian work, and intellectual stimulation," and recognizing "the inherent values of Japan's Buddhist and Shinto faiths." Though Schwantes' work, like Reischauer's work in the 1950s, contained some similarities to the prewar literature, it was different in that it pointed to the formation of a new narrative of "modernization" divorced from the underlying Christian narrative of writers like Griffis. Thus, the 1950s was in many ways a transition to the "modernization" literature of the 1960s which led to the most intensive research on the *oyatoi*.<sup>506</sup>

Japan's postwar economic success in the 1960s became a driving force behind the scholarship on Japan, in particular, explaining reasons for Japan's success. The interpretations of Japan's modernization, from the Tokugawa and Meiji eras through the postwar period, was the focus of the scholarship for both Japanese and Western historians. Many welcomed this alternative to the prevailing Japanese Marxist historians' views of modern Japanese history, the

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<sup>506</sup> Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans*, p. 328. Schwantes wrote the foreword to Beauchamp's biography of Griffis, and Beauchamp calls Schwantes' work a "treasure chest" and that his idea of studying the *yatoi* in general came from reading his work. In the next work usually cited in this genre, Foster Rhea Dulles' *Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), the change in perspective is even more evident. Though Dulles discusses the missionaries in his chapter entitled, "The Yankee Invasion, he gives much more space to their critics, such as E. H. House, Fenellosa and Hearn and tends to focus less on the religious implications. The literature on foreign relations has added little to the research on *oyatoi*, but does mention their role. See Burks, *The Modernizers*, where Schwantes wrote a chapter entitled, "Foreign Employees in the Development of Japan," pp. 207-218.

wartime ultra-nationalist rhetoric, or the earlier missionary Christian narrative of Western writers.<sup>507</sup>

Most of the historical scholarship written on Japan from the eve of the 1960s, did not focus on Japan as a potential mission field or on the contributions of Christianity. The few works published in the 1960s and early 1970s on Christianity and Meiji Japan that focused on the work of the *oyatoi* were more interested in the Japanese Christian converts and the “crisis” that the modernization of Japan (and the corresponding contact with Christian foreigners, specifically teachers) had on these converts.<sup>508</sup> Some of the Japanese works that focused on modernization in this period viewed Christianity as very significant in the early Meiji period, but from the nationalistic 1890s an increasingly irrelevant subject in the narrative of modern Japan. For example, the scholar Irokawa Daikichi, whose formative experience in the Japanese military influenced his critical interpretations of the modern Japanese state, wrote:

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<sup>507</sup> There were a number of Japanese historian with Marxist-influenced interpretations who did not share the views of modernization theory. In the 1930s, the debates between various Marxist factions over the nature and extent of the Meiji Revolution dominated much of the prewar discourse (and to some extent the postwar debates). The *Kōza* faction of historians emphasized the feudal nature of modern Japan and believed in a “two-stage” theory of revolution. The *Rōnō* faction of historians saw the Meiji Restoration as an incomplete revolution, but emphasized the growing capitalism and proletarianization of modern Japan. Also, Japanese nationalists, influenced by Kita Ikki and others, by the 1920s and 1930s had advocated a “Showa Restoration” and this movement was discredited by the war. Thus, modernization theory provided an alternative approach for Japanese historians who wished to break out of the prewar debate which had preoccupied Japanese historians. For an overview of Marxism and historians in Japan, see Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Marxist history and postwar Japanese nationalism* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

<sup>508</sup> See Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), and Howes. Both Scheiner’s and Howes’ works focus more on the impact of the contact on Japan’s modernization and the challenges that the converts faced—seeing Christianity mainly as a means of coping with the challenge of Japan’s position vis-à-vis a “superior” West.. The fact that Howes’ brief article and Scheiner’s short book have been so often cited in works referring to Meiji Christianity, reveals the paucity of English sources on this topic from the 1960s and 1970s.

On many counts, Japan's baptism in Western modernization took place through Christianity....For many, the more intense their encounter with Christianity, the more intense their subsequent renunciation of it and the deeper their confusion. According to a history of the Christian church in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto kyokai shi*) of the 7,700 people baptized between 1891-1899, 3, 795 later left the church...Shortly afterward [the 1892-3 controversy over the Rescript] the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 broke out. Virtually all Japanese were caught up in the current of patriotism, and the influence of the Christian church declined rapidly.<sup>509</sup>

Overall, then, Griffis' story of modern Japan's role in the expansion of Christianity is largely irrelevant to the postwar literature of the *oyatoi* because the overarching narrative is concerned with explaining Japan's successful modernization in itself. The work of Western scholars like Edwin O. Reischauer, John Whitney Hall, and Thomas C. Smith, addressed new issues and were working within a framework that emphasized Japan's modernization as a topic of study within the larger narrative of a more global narrative of modernization (beginning with the West). The *oyatoi* related to various aspects in story of Japan's modernization—its industrialization, banking and finance, the adoption of technology and science, diplomacy and imperialism, military expansion, education reform, agricultural development, politics and law, medicine, and others. The *oyatoi* piqued the interests of many scholars concerned with these aspects of Japan's modernization as well as those who wanted to use such figures as symbols for a renewed friendship and cross-cultural dialogue after the war.<sup>510</sup> Having lived through a war that lasted almost a decade and nearly eight years of foreign occupation (the first in its history), Japan began its "economic miracle" to become, once again, the most successful modern developed country

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<sup>509</sup> Irokawa, pp. 211-212.

<sup>510</sup> Hazel Jones cites some articles on specific lesser-known *oyatoi* by historiographer Tezuka Tatsumaro began a series published in the bi-monthly English-language. *Tokyo Municipal News*.



outside of Europe and America. The most important reason for the growth in the study of *oyatoi* is their attraction as catalysts and agents of change in the story of Japan's modernization.<sup>511</sup>

The scholarship on *oyatoi* beginning in the 1960s (and continuing into the 1980s) was influenced by the growth of what is broadly referred to as modernization theory, a theory which developed in the postwar period, but was rooted in the social and political ideas of 19<sup>th</sup> century theorists such as Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. Walter Rostow's 1960 work, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, with its "take-off" model for a country's development, was applied to nations like Japan, and Talcott Parsons's postwar works were also popular in Japan.<sup>512</sup> Because it was the first non-Western power to modernize, Japan was a prominent country in the application this theory, which has subsequently been much criticized by scholars for its overly simplistic definition of modernity, its Eurocentric model, and omission of the negative costs of modernization.<sup>513</sup> But the fruit of the scholarship during this period

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<sup>511</sup> In many ways the scholars writing on the *oyatoi* have a close network. Hazel Jones, in her work *Live Machines*, thanks Ogata Hiroyasu of Waseda, Umetani Noboru of Osaka, Ardath Burks of Rutgers, and Roger Hackett at Michigan. According to Richard Smethurst, both Umetani and Jones studied at the University of Michigan in the early 1960s.

<sup>512</sup> For an critical perspective on the application of Rostow's "take-off" to Japan, see, James L. Huffman, "Meiji 1-10: Takeoff Time for Modern Japan," in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 18-25. In the 1970s, Parsons spent some time in Japan. An entire issue of *American Sociologist* is devoted to Parsons and the reception of his ideas in Japan. See *American Sociologist* 31, no. 2 (Summer, 2000).

<sup>513</sup> Much ink has been spilled trying to define modernization and modernity, and the various aspects of that discussion lie outside the scope of this work. One broad definition of modernization is: "the grand transformation that began in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages and that in our own day has engulfed the remotest countries." In *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, eds. Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 3. Cyril Black suggests, in *Dynamic of Modernization: Essays in Comparative History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), that the central aspect of modernization is "man's rapidly increasing control over the forces of nature." p. 4. For a critical view of modernization theory applied to Japan, see John W. Dower's introduction "E. H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History" in John W. Dower, ed. *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E. H. Norman* (New York: Random House, 1975). For a look at the costs of modernization, see Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

produced a corpus of some of the most illuminating work on the history of modern Japan. Scholars such as Thomas C. Smith, Marius Jansen, Albert Craig, and Robert Bellah incorporated some of the tenets of modernization theory which applied to Japan and challenged orthodox Marxist theories of modern Japanese history.<sup>514</sup> Many of these scholars also developed in a more systematic way some of the ideas of earlier writers (such as Nitobe's idea of "Japanization"), and they emphasized both Japanese initiative and "proto-modern" developments in the Tokugawa period.<sup>515</sup>

One of the most ambitious results of the work of such scholars as John Whitney Hall and Marius Jansen was the six-volume series, *Studies on the Modernization of Japan*, published by Princeton University Press. The idea for this series arose out of The Conference on Modern Japan, which originated in a gathering of Japan scholars in 1958 at the University of Michigan.<sup>516</sup> Because Japan's case had to be seen in the larger narrative of modernization

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<sup>514</sup> Thomas C. Smith, *Political Change and Industrial Development in Japan: Government Development 1868-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955) and *Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959); Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Albert Craig, *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); Robert Bellah's *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

<sup>515</sup> Some have labeled the perspective of emphasizing the roots of modernity in the Tokugawa period as the "Reischauer line" but it was developed by many scholars including Japanese scholars such as Maruyama Masao. Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, trans. Mikiso Hane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). Some of this work has antecedents in scholarship prior to the postwar period. For example, during World War II, Japan held a conference entitled "Overcoming Modernity," which sought to challenge the Western narrative of modernity, trying to find Japanese roots of modernity.

<sup>516</sup> See John W. Hall's foreword in Jansen, *Changing Attitudes*, pp. v-vi. There were two conferences of Western and Japanese scholars that preceded these works: Hakone (1960) and Bermuda (1962). The other works in the series include: *The State and Economic Enterprise in Modern Japan*, ed. William W. Lockwood (1966); *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*, ed. R. P. Dore (1967); *Political Development in Modern Japan*, ed. Robert E. Ward (1968); *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, ed. Donald H. Shively (1971), and *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, ed. James W. Morley (1972).

around the globe, another aspect of the modernization literature was comparative works, such as C. E. Black's *The Dynamics of Modernization, A Study in Comparative History*, which divided societies into seven patterns of political modernization and development, beginning with Great Britain and France, and ending with undeveloped countries. Japan is placed in the fifth pattern—"those societies that modernized without direct outside intervention, but under the indirect influence of societies that modernized earlier"—along with countries such as Russia, China, Iran, Turkey, Ethiopia, and Thailand.<sup>517</sup> Other scholars provided more in-depth comparative work, comparing Japan to Turkey or to Russia, as well as further comparative analyses by scholars such as S. N. Eisenstadt.<sup>518</sup>

Though Japan's historical development fit the paradigm of modernization theory and compared favorably with other "late-modernizers" such as Turkey and Russia, as the first "non-Western" country to modernize on par with the West, it also provided a challenge to the Eurocentric model of modernization theory and the concept of "westernization." The scholars that looked at Japan's modernization during this period distinguished between westernization and modernization, at the same time asserting a global trend of modernization in various contexts. John W. Hall, in discussing Reischauer's theory of modernization occurring in three categories of historical settings (with the West as the model) concluded that

...there are and will continue to be great variation in modernization and no one case can therefore be considered typical. In particular, we should guard against the assumption that the historical and causal sequence in which the characteristics of modernization first appeared in northwest Europe is somehow the norm...Since modernization is a

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<sup>517</sup> Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization*), pp. 106-128, quote from 119.

<sup>518</sup> Ward and Rustow, eds. Cyril E. Black, ed. *The Modernization of Japan and Russia: A Comparative Study* (New York: Free Press, 1975); S. N. Eisenstadt. *Japanese Civilization: A Comparative Review* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Although in his recent work, *Multiple Modernities*, his comparative framework goes beyond modernization theory, in some ways it simply builds on his earlier work on Japan as a different model (a "non-axial" civilization, in his terms).

world-wide phenomenon, its general nature can only be understood through a careful comparison of many local examples.<sup>519</sup>

Hall claims that Japan's modernization can be best understood in comparison with other examples worldwide, and that 'westernization' indicates 'too great a cultural passivity,' whereas 'to say that Japan 'became modern' after 1853 puts emphasis on a more universal process, one in which the Japanese themselves served as active and creative participants.'<sup>520</sup> However, in the end, these scholars of Japan's modernization often tended to emphasize Japan's differences rather than similarities to other societies. Hall concludes, "As one of the late modernizing societies Japan naturally followed a pattern which has many points in common with other countries outside of western Europe. Yet a close comparison with such supposedly comparable countries as China and Turkey reveals the most startling differences."<sup>521</sup>

Japan's selection and adoption of certain aspects of the West—with the *oyatoi* as one part of this process in the Meiji period—was viewed by these scholars as a significant aspect of Japan's modernization in the postwar period. Japan's experience was often used as a model for other societies. Writing on Japan, Robert Scalapino, recognized three basic responses of "Asian societies" who confronted the challenge of the West: "first, total rejection; second, the attempt to distinguish between values and general culture which would continue to be drawn from

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<sup>519</sup> Reischauer observes, "Japan is a curiously mixed case....According to historical type, Japan can be fruitfully compared with all the other highly developed nations of Asia, but in some ways the comparisons with Russia and east Europe might be even more interesting." Quoted in Hall, "Changing Conceptions of the Modernization of Japan" in Jansen, *Changing Perceptions*, p. 35. Most of the scholarship on multiple definitions or models of modernity differ from this earlier literature in that Hall asserts that they are mainly concerned with the *process* of arriving at modernity rather than a description or definition of the *condition* of modernity. Unlike the modernization scholarship, I think much of the literature on "multiple modernities" today emphasizes the *condition* more than the *process*.

<sup>520</sup> Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 139-140. John W. Hall, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1971), pp. 243, 246.

<sup>521</sup> Hall, "Changing Conceptions," p. 35.

tradition, and “technology” which would be borrowed from the West; and finally, the quest for some workable, comprehensive synthesis between indigenous and foreign elements at all levels, a quest that is still continuing.”<sup>522</sup> For a “late-modernizing” country like Japan, this is not a simple and straight-forward process, even with examples of earlier modernizing societies and the assistance of Western experts such as the *oyatoi*. Robert A. Scalapino commenting on the complex process of Japan’s modernization, noted that:

...It is also doubtful whether the political modernizers of Japan avoided many mistakes as a result of the experiences—the lessons—of earlier modernizers. Certainly there were advantages in being able to observe and borrow from others. One could take the latest inventions and technology. But the process of modernization is vastly more complex than the mere copying of a textile machine or the employment of a foreign technician....In the final analysis, Japanese modernizers in the political field learned by their own experiences through a process of trial and error. They made many mistakes, but it was the willingness to experiment, the essential pragmatism characterizing the leadership, that gave the political modernization of Japan its most progressive qualities, especially in the Meiji era.<sup>523</sup>

The underlying question regarding Japan and modernization is one that is still relevant, long after the modernization theory has been challenged and largely superseded: Why did Japan modernize so rapidly and successfully compared to other societies? In his recent work, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire*, Philip D. Curtin admits that modern Japan “stands in sharp contrast” to many relatively unsuccessful modernizing societies. In this work, Curtin defines successful modernization as

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<sup>522</sup> Robert A. Scalapino, “Environmental and Foreign Contributions” *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* p. 71. This observation is not new, but had a long history in Japan and China, going back to Sakuma Shōzan’s *wakon-yōsai* (Japanese spirit-Western learning) articulation of this in the 1850s and arguably continued through the work of many Japanese writers like Nitobe and Okakura and others, who emphasized a distinctive Japanese “spirit” untouched by Western learning and technique. However, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Scalapino claimed that the “enlightened conservatism” of Japan’s elites in adopting Meiji reforms showed that they wanted “the minimum number of changes necessary to enable Japan to survive, or perhaps more accurately, to flourish. Their goal was evolution, not revolution....they did not want to see the Japanese cultural legacy swept away in some revolutionary flash flood.” p. 69.

<sup>523</sup> Scalapino, p. 66.

achieving a level of spending and comfort, a much simpler definition than the complex list of criteria from the earlier work influenced by modernization theory.<sup>524</sup> Though the criteria has changed, the underlying question remains the same. One key factor for Japan, was the relatively high level of education. Marius Jansen pointed out that in the Tokugawa period, “education was more diffuse, and literacy was more widespread...[and]...over half the males, and probably at least one tenth of Japanese females, were getting education outside their homes in a structured school setting.” Thus, in Japan, education and literacy was already growing, and the Meiji program of universal education that Verbeck and others encouraged and helped to implement, “represented a logical continuation of this trend.”<sup>525</sup>

Another factor emphasized by scholars from the 1960s who were interested in Japan’s successful modernization from the 1960s was the *oyatoi* in the early Meiji period. Though certain reference works published in Japan in the 1950s contained short entries on *oyatoi gaikokujin*, they were viewed by both Japanese and Western scholars as a significant category for analysis only beginning in the 1960s, under the framework provided by modernization theory and the focus on Japan’s modernization.<sup>526</sup> Though modernization in theory could provide a more global outlook, the research on the *oyatoi* during this period focused almost entirely on

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<sup>524</sup> For a detailed discussion of the criteria of modernization as it applied to Japan, see Hall, “Changing Conceptions,” pp. 7-42, and Marius B. Jansen, “Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization,” in *Changing Japanese Attitudes*, pp. 43-98. Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Curtin, however, writes vaguely that he sees some “common threads” in Japan’s experience with others societies such as Buganda, Imerina, Hawaii, and Siam,. Curtin, p. 171.

<sup>525</sup> Marius B. Jansen, “Aspects of Meiji Modernization,” in Beck and Burks, p. 14.

<sup>526</sup> Some examples are the “Oyatoi gaijin kyōshi” [Foreign Instructors] *Nihon kindaiishi jiten* [Dictionary of Modern Japanese History] (Tokyo: 1958), p. 65. “Oyatoi gaikokujin” [Hired foreigners], *Nihon rekishi daijiten* [Encyclopedia of Japanese History] (Tokyo: 1956-60), p. 2, p. 440. Umetani Noboru lists various other sources in *Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū*, pp. 185-187. 449-455.

Japan, implying that Japan's experience of hiring *oyatoi* was, if not unique, then categorically different. If other nations were alluded to at all, it was usually to point out dissimilarities. For example, Hazel Jones asserts that the Japanese leadership "marshalled indigenous resources, selected from among the successful nineteenth-century Western models of modern development, adhered firmly to a policy of Japanese control and management, assumed total responsibility for the cost of modernizing, and carried out their decision to replace foreigners with trained Japanese as rapidly as possible...and in these respects Japan's experience has few, if any, parallels."<sup>527</sup> Most of the scholars writing on the *oyatoi* tended to emphasize the Japanese role in initiating and administering the *oyatoi*. They conceded that Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was behind the West (especially Britain, France, and U.S.) in technology because of the industrial revolution, but "in terms of its bureaucratic institutions and psychological finesse, Japan easily matched the West."<sup>528</sup> Ardath Burks, summarized the conclusions of the scholars who studied Japan's modernization and how they related to the study of the *oyatoi*:

Most serious scholars—Japanese and Western—have admitted the critical importance of the nineteenth century Western impact as a catalyst, but the majority have argued that the final precipitation was still largely a Japanese compound. This treatment has dealt a death blow to the popular concept, "Westernization," and has placed the roles of employed foreigners...who served as vehicles for Western influence, in proper perspective."<sup>529</sup>

This perspective is not very different from the Japanese perspective in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century expressed by the likes of Nitobe and Okuma, but it is also not far from Griffis' interpretation

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<sup>527</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, xiii. Also, in contracts was stipulated that they were treated as Japanese as to respect Japanese law, for example, the license for W. E. Griffis in Meiji 3 hired by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the request of Fukui han, the last sentence writes, "This foreigner during employment is to be treated the same as a Japanese and may travel in the interior without hindrance." Appendix in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 166.

<sup>528</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 25.

<sup>529</sup> Burks, *The Modernizers*, pp. 11-13.

that the modernization of Japan was primarily a Japanese achievement, with the *oyatoi* as “helpers.”

The scholars in both Japan and the West who wrote on the *oyatoi* in the 1960s acknowledged their connection with the earlier scholarship, particularly of Griffis, but did not share the presuppositions of his overall Christianizing narrative. The doyen of *oyatoi* scholarship, Umetani Noboru, gives much credit to Griffis’ pioneering work. In *Oyatoi gaikokujin: Meiji nihon no wakiyaku tachi* [Hired foreigners: Meiji Japan and its Supporters], the foreword discusses Griffis and his collection on the “yatoi,” complete with photographs of the kimono-clad Griffis in his later years, as well as his signature “yatoi” postcard.<sup>530</sup> In his two-volume collection, *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, Umetani highlights the historiographical role of Griffis. In volume one, the first page contains a picture of one of Griffis’ postcards, and in volume two, the first page contains pictures of Griffis’ works, *The Mikado’s Empire*, and *The Mikado: Institution and Person*.<sup>531</sup> Similarly, Ardath Burks, a researcher from Rutgers University (Griffis’ alma mater), recognized Griffis’ key role in the historiography of the *oyatoi*: “It is a fact that Griffis began the systematic study of the foreign employees...in 1901.”<sup>532</sup> In

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<sup>530</sup> These postcards asked for photographs and also specifically requested nine listed items of information—date of birth, education, how appointed to Japan, date of arrival and departure from Japan, services to the Japanese, subsequent record and career, in outline, date of decease, if not living, personal details as to wife and children, and information as to other yatoi. Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin: Meiji nihon no wakiyaku tachi* [Hired foreigners: Meiji Japan and its Supporters] (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shimbunsha, 1965), pp. 11-20.

<sup>531</sup> Umetani, *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyū*, Vol. 1-2, p. 1. In addition to this 2-volume work, republished in 2010, which contains much of his earlier works, Umetani has edited and compiled many other works on the *oyatoi*. Japanese efforts by individuals such as Umetani and Shigehisa Tokutarō culminated in 17 short volumes (two of which Umetani wrote) in a series entitled *Oyatoi Gaikokujin*, published between 1968-1976 under the auspices of the Kashima Research Institute. This impressive series by a variety of authors was divided into various categories, mainly according to subjects.

<sup>532</sup> Burks, *The Modernizers*, pp. 1-2.



contrast to Griffis, however, Ardath Burks emphasized the role of the *oyatoi* as individuals driven by a secular mission “to convert Japan into a modern nation.”<sup>533</sup>

Thus, the *oyatoi* scholars acknowledged their debt to Griffis’ pioneering labors and also tended to expand on this interpretation of the *oyatoi* as helpers or supporters. Despite Umetani Noboru’s numerous Japanese works on the *oyatoi*, the only English work he published on the subject was *The Role of Foreign Employees in the Meiji Era in Japan* in 1971. This work was a composite of two of his earlier works, *Oyatoi gaikokujin: Meiji nihon no wakiyaku tachi* [Foreign Employees: Supporters of Meiji Japan] (1965) and the first volume in the 17-volume *Oyatoi gaikokujin* series, *Oyatoi Gaikokujin Gaisetsu* [Outline] (1968)<sup>534</sup> In comparing the English volume with the Japanese ones, the historical overview was similar (if a bit less detailed) and the last part on the modernization of Japan was also similar. However, the second chapter—the bulk of all three of the books—was entirely different in the more academic *Gaisetsu* [Outline]. In that work, it consisted primarily of a lengthy statistical analysis which was truncated and shifted towards the end of the English volume.<sup>535</sup> In the English work, the lengthy

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<sup>533</sup> Ardath Burks, “The *Yatoi* Phenomenon: An Early Experiment in Technical Assistance” in Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye, eds. *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, (Boulder, San Francisco and London: Westview Press, 1990), p. 12. Though, there is still faint echoes in the English-language *oyatoi* literature, of Christianity’s importance, it is not very prevalent in the scholarship. For instance, Jones asserts that “The *yatoi* were also one medium for the transmission of Western spirit in its multiplicity. Early missionaries ruefully remarked that the Japanese wanted everything except opium and Christianity. The Japanese prevented the ingress of the former, but the latter filtered through *yatoi* carriers of their own culture and other foreigners and provided the motivation for social protest in the Meiji and Taisho periods in particular and in a more subtle but wider form today.” Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 142. In her footnote on this matter, she cites Irwin Scheiner’s book and Takeya Kiyoko *Haikyosha no keifu* [Genealogy of Apostates] as evidence of this.

<sup>534</sup> Umetani Noboru, *The Role of Foreign Employees*. The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies adopted the study of the foreign nationals employed in Japan as its major research program for 1967-1970, and one result of this was this monograph published by the Institute of Developing Economies.

<sup>535</sup> The English work also had no photographs, whereas the Japanese works contained periodic photos. Also, for some reason, Griffis’s role was deemphasized in the English work, and he was relegated to an

section in the second chapter was entitled “Meiji Foreign Employees,” and is divided into biographical sections on thirteen or fourteen *oyatoi*, beginning with Verbeck. Though Umetani was interested in what Verbeck and the other *oyatoi* contributed to Japan’s modernization, in the Japanese volumes in particular, the main actors were the Japanese—specifically the government—who launched the reforms, expanded the use of *oyatoi*, accepted or received the *oyatoi*, gave them their duties, paid them respectively, and benefited from their meritorious services (*kōseki*). In *Meiji nihon ni wakiyaku tachi*, the second chapter was entitled “*Kōseki o nokoshita bito*” [People who have Left Meritorious Service]. Overall, in the English work, the contributions and achievements of the *oyatoi* were much more emphasized and seemed to resemble Jones’ portrayal of them as “subleaders,” whereas in the Japanese work, their supporting or minor role (*wakiyaku tachi*) in the service (*hōshoku buri*) of Japan implied a much more subordinate role for the *oyatoi*.<sup>536</sup>

*Oyatoi* scholarship thrived in the 1960s and 1970s, when modernization theory was predominant in both the U.S. and Japan, and scholars could build on the foundation of the previously mentioned collaborative scholarship on modernization. In 1967, a joint conference

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appendix, whereas his role was featured in both Japanese texts. In the third section of Ch. 2 of *Gaisetsu*, Umetani listed a few of the specific *oyatoi* who were accepted or received (*ukeire*) with lengthy quotations from sources such as the records of the Foreign Ministry (*gaimusho*), as well as the inclusion of Gottfried Wagener’s contract in its entirety and other documents. It was only in the last section of Ch. 2 on the “lifestyle” (*seikatsu*) of the *oyatoi*, that Umetani specifically focused on specific *oyatoi*, starting with Verbeck and Griffis, and moving quite dizzily through brief references to many *oyatoi* in a section entitled *hōshoku buri* (“in the service”) and a section on *gyōseki* (“achievements” or “contributions,”) outside of their assigned duties, which was relegated to an appendix in the English edition. Only in the final few pages of the chapter, in a section on their daily life, did he give more details, focusing almost entirely on Verbeck and Edward Morse as examples.

<sup>536</sup> Umetani, *Gaisetsu*; Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin: Meiji nihon ni wakiyaku tachi*. In contrast to the Japanese works, William Gowland (who examined the mounds or *kofun*) and John Ing (a teacher in Tohoku who introduced many agricultural products including apples, to the region) are relegated to an appendix in the English work. (but are significant enough in the Japanese edition to warrant pictures).

with North American and Japanese scholars that focused on the *oyatoi* and other related topics was organized at Rutgers University by Ardath Burks. One of the results of the conference was a work (published much later, in 1985) entitled *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees and Meiji Japan*. The title is a bit misleading, in that the first part of the volume introduced the Tokugawa background, and (other than Burks' introductory essay) contained only one chapter on overseas Japanese students (*ryūgakusei*). The rest of the work gave a general overview of the *oyatoi* and their impact, with much of it focused on education and on the impact of Griffis.<sup>537</sup> In 1980, Ardath Burks and Carl L. Beck edited a short work entitled, *Aspects of Meiji Modernization: The Japan Helpers and the Helped*—with papers from a symposium at Rutgers to launch a special exhibit of materials from the William Elliot Griffis Collection—which focused more directly on the *oyatoi*,<sup>538</sup>

This fruitful collaboration culminated in a final conference on the *oyatoi* held at Fukui University in 1985, which focused less on a general overview and more on the work of individual *oyatoi*. The Japanese publication of the conference papers, published two years afterward in a nice cloth-bound edition, was entitled *Za yatoi: oyatoi gaikokujin no sōgōteki*

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<sup>537</sup> This conference also celebrated the bicentennial of Rutgers and as well as the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of Rutgers-Japan relationship (beginning with Verbeck's students in 1866) and the Meiji Restoration. *The Modernizers* was published 18 years after the conference was held, and though half of the chapters (nine) are written by Japanese authors, the volume is dominated by the editor and organizer of the conference, Ardath W. Burks, who, in addition to an introduction and conclusion, has full introductory chapters for all five sections of the book. Other than Griffis, the only other *oyatoi* that has a chapter devoted to him is David Murray, for his role in Japan's education. One wonders why it took so long to publish the work, but other works on the *oyatoi*, such as Hazel Jones' *Live Machines*, was not published until 1980, long after she had done most of her research.

<sup>538</sup> Beck and Burks, eds. *Aspects of Meiji Modernization*. This short work, after an general introduction and chapter by Marius Jansen, focuses primarily on two *oyatoi* in the *Kaitakushi* in Hokkaido, with a paper by John M. Maki on William S. Clark, and another by Fujita Fumiko on Benjamin Lyman. In addition, in 1980, an agreement of cultural and educational exchange between Rutgers University and Fukui University in Japan began.

*kenkyū* [The Yatoi: A Comprehensive Study of Hired Foreigners] and edited by a six-person committee including Umetani Noboru. The English edition, published in 1990, was entitled, *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, and was edited by Edward R. Beuchamp and Akira Iriye.<sup>539</sup> Unlike the Japanese work, the American volume did not emphasize Fukui Prefecture or Griffis' role—thus, Ardath Burks' chapter was altered from “The *Oyatoi* Phenomenon and Fukui” to “The *Yatoi* Phenomenon: An Early Experiment in Technical Assistance.”<sup>540</sup> Also, the English work divided the papers into case studies on “North American Views” and “Japanese Views.” This categorization reveals that the American editors in 1990 may have wanted to move beyond the modernization framework and portray the *oyatoi* from a multicultural perspective. However, the content and style of the chapters from North America and Japan were very similar, and thus this division seems a bit forced, whereas in the Japanese work, virtually all of the papers were combined in a section entitled, “*Kindaika no dentatsusha tachi*” [Transmitters of Modern Civilization].<sup>541</sup> Though the Japanese and English scholarship on the *oyatoi* was cooperative and the contents of this conference were published in both English and Japanese, the format and the presentation of the *oyatoi* research was remarkably different.

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<sup>539</sup> Edward R. Beuchamp and Akira Iriye, *Foreign Employees*. Both this volume and Burks' earlier volume were not published by university or leading academic publishers, but by Westview Press. In contrast to the Japanese edition of this work, these publications were rather cheaply produced with no photographs and few charts, and bound in soft-cover, very plain-looking books. One wonders how wide of an impact such works have had on the scholarship. Beauchamp and Iriye's work in the library at the University of Pittsburgh was in storage and the binding was falling apart.

<sup>540</sup> The emphasis was less on Griffis and his contribution to the field. Papers on the Griffis collection are omitted and in the Japanese title of the work, the word “*yatoi*” (in katakana) seems to be a reference to Griffis who used the English term “*yatoi*” in his writing.

<sup>541</sup> According to the program of the conference in *Za Yatoi* (which is only in the Japanese version) the panels were largely divided by English-language and Japanese language presentations, but they are simply labeled “*Kenkyū happyō*” [Research presentations], pp. 9, 362-364.

In many ways, the collaborative conferences in 1967 and 1985 represented the high point of *oyatoi* scholarship in Japan and the West that tried to address questions regarding Japan's modernization. The latter conference addressed the dearth of studies on individual *oyatoi* that Hazel Jones called for in *Live Machines*, "As yet there are few studies of individual foreign employees...their social backgrounds, relations with individual government officials and private entrepreneurs, specific contributions and drawbacks, actual levels of competence, activities after resignation, and the like..."<sup>542</sup> Though scholars have responded with biographical work on various *oyatoi* in the last few decades,<sup>543</sup> the other neglected areas she listed, such as the precise work and modus operandi of *komon* (advisers), the influence of minor *oyatoi*, and the impact of the *oyatoi* on their contemporaries after returning home has not been addressed as much.<sup>544</sup> Ardath Burks, in a speech at the second conference in Fukui tried to change the direction of the scholarship on *oyatoi* to more of a mutual relationship: "In my opinion, the influence of the Yatoi on Japan has been overemphasized, as compared with the influence of Japan on the Yatoi and, through them, on the west."<sup>545</sup> This idea of mutual impact is a concept that has led to some fruitful work, but this new question changes the nature of the research so that the impact of the

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<sup>542</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. xvi.

<sup>543</sup> Some examples of more recent biographical works in English include: Fred Notehelfer, *American Samurai*; Jonathan Cott, *Wandering Ghost: The Odyssey of Lafcadio Hearn*. New York: Knopf, 1991; Fumiko Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier: American Experts in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Japan* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994); John M. Maki, *A Yankee in Hokkaido*; James Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

<sup>544</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. xvi. There are some exceptions, such as Fujita, *American Pioneers* on the *oyatoi* in Hokkaido. Fujita's work not only deals with the influence of some minor *oyatoi* (as well as major ones), but also touches on their impact on the U.S. after their return.

<sup>545</sup> Umetani Noboru, "Oyatoi gaikokujin kenkyū no genjō to dōkō [The status quo and trend of studies on *oyatoi gaikokujin*] in *Za Yatoi*, pp. 26-27. That was one of Burks' desires for the second conference in Fukui. He stated, "I believe that this latter emphasis will receive more attention in this, the second international conference devoted to the Yatoi."

*oyatoi* on Japan's modernization is no longer the focus, and the *oyatoi* lose their distinct identity as agents or "catalysts" of modernization. Thus, the unifying modernization framework that replaced the earlier Christian narrative of Griffis or the prewar Japanese nationalist narrative, had begun to lose its preeminence. Such questions may give more context for understanding the worlds of the *oyatoi* and provide interesting studies of individual *oyatoi*, but can lead to a more subjective and narrowly-focused treatment of the *oyatoi*.<sup>546</sup> Certainly, biographical works on individuals like Leroy L. Janes and Lafcadio Hearn have been published in the wake of these studies, and the impact of the generally positive perspective of the *oyatoi* in the scholarship from the 1960s-1970s is apparent even in less scholarly examples. For example, in *Japan in Transition: One Hundred Years of Modernization*, an English publication by the Japanese government in 1973, the positive view of the *oyatoi* is clear:

They [the Meiji government] considered that the employment of foreigners for introduction [of] foreign techniques entailed no danger. In fact, they offered high salaries to attract them....In almost all fields of national activity, such as the legal, military, and economic, foreigners were employed. These men were sincere and serious and did not stop at providing only the necessary knowledge but undertook on their own initiative to perform the role of advisors.<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> One example could be Fred Notehelfer's biography of Janes. A well-written and thoughtful biography, it adds much to our understanding of Janes and his perspective and life, but adds comparatively little to the overall understanding of the *oyatoi* in history. Some works, like Hamish Ion's *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Modern Japan, 1859-1872* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009) focuses on a number of *oyatoi*, but in a way combines Schwantes' focus on Americans with Griffis' focus on Christians, albeit with a much more critical approach utilizing many more sources.

<sup>547</sup> *Japan in Transition: One Hundred Years of Modernization* (Tokyo: International Society for Educational Information, 1973), p. 57.

However, much of the general literature and the popular literature on these figures in Japan today involves relatively little new scholarship, and the attempts to build on the fruit of the *oyatoi* scholarship of the 1960s-1970s, have been limited.<sup>548</sup>

In general, though this collaborative scholarship was one that focused on the *oyatoi* as a separate subject for the first time, ironically many of the scholars have concluded that the *oyatoi* played a relatively minor role in Japan's modernization, which tended to be controlled by the emerging Japanese state. Ardath Burks concluded that, "the employed foreigners performed decision-conditioning, rather than decision-making, roles. Despite the aura of glamor thrown around them, then and now, their contribution in Japan was marginal."<sup>549</sup> Edward Beauchamp, though agreeing with the Hazel Jones that the *oyatoi* were "consciously used by the Japanese as machines," also argued that though this was "true for the majority of the *yatoi*...there were others like Guido Verbeck and Henry Denison whose influence did shape policy."<sup>550</sup> Perhaps further scholarship on such exceptional figures like Verbeck and Denison would enrich the corpus of scholarship on the *oyatoi* and perhaps foster other interpretations of the *oyatoi*.

Despite the conclusion of many scholars concerning the minor role of the *oyatoi*, the legacy and the extent of the impact of *oyatoi* like Verbeck still needs to be assessed with greater consistency. As Hazel Jones acknowledged, the depth of the impact of the *oyatoi* is difficult to determine:

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<sup>548</sup> One such work is a collaborative book dedicated to Marius Jansen, Martin Collicutt, Katō Mikio, and Ronald P. Toby. *Japan and Its Worlds: Marius B. Jansen and the of Japanese Studies* (Tokyo: International House Press, 2007). In this work the authors reexamine many aspects of this literature that came out of the 1960s, including Hiroshi Mitanni's "In Search of Historical Dialogue and Comparative Studies: A Reinterpretation of *Changing Japanese Attitudes*," pp. 71-99, and a call by Fred Notehelfer to research more Westerners entitled "Looking for the Lost: Westerners in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Japan," pp. 175-185.

<sup>549</sup> Ardath W. Burks "Introduction" in Beck and Burks, *Aspects of Meiji Modernization*, p. 6.

<sup>550</sup> Beauchamp "Review of *Live Machines*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35/4 (Winter 1980): 503.

The sweep of *yatoi* activities, like all foreign borrowing in that era, is easily observable; the depth is more difficult to calculate. Strong teacher-student ties developed, but some *yatoi* also questioned the quality of educational reception. On his silver anniversary in Tokyo Imperial University, von Baelz observed that on occasion Japanese misunderstood Western learning. He declared that the Western academic world was an organic body, not a machine, and that the Japanese tended to think of learning as a machine. The Japanese wanted to carry their study everywhere to everything. Whereas deep study needed a lifetime of effort to acquire, the Japanese were content to live on only the interest on their spiritual capital.<sup>551</sup>

This comment in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Dr. Erwin von Baelz, an *oyatoi* who was a great admirer of Japan, speaks to one of limitations of modernization theory—and perhaps some of the notable scholarship produced in this period. The scholarship often focused on more outward evidences of a “modernizing” society, whereas the concept of what “modernity” is has been more difficult to narrowly define, just as “Western learning” for Baelz implied more than simply technology or technique.

One thing is clear from the postwar historiography of the *oyatoi*. The framework of modernization theory largely replaced earlier narratives—whether Christian or nationalist—in the way that the contributions of these foreigners have been viewed both in Japan and in the West. Though relatively few *oyatoi* are prominently remembered in Japan today, one of the most well-known is William Smith Clark, an American who organized the Sapporo Agricultural College, a Western-style institution and the forerunner of the University of Hokkaido today. Clark is often cited in secondary history texts in Japan, and particularly his supposed final words to his students, “Boys, be ambitious.” This exhortation from a beloved *oyatoi* teacher not only resonated with his devoted students, but subsequently symbolized the Japanese view of the dynamic early Meiji generation propelling Japan into the modern world. However, the missionary literature and earlier historiography in the West emphasized Clark’s role as a

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<sup>551</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 134-135.



Christian educator in converting his students and building the pioneering “Sapporo Band” of Christians, part of the story of the growth of Christianity in Japan.<sup>552</sup>

Thus, Verbeck is not the only foreigner whose life has been interpreted as enacting more than one larger narrative. Though he has always been acknowledged by Japanese and Western scholars as a Protestant missionary, the bulk of postwar literature on Verbeck focuses on his role as an *oyatoi* for the Japanese government, a “helper” in Japan’s modernization. This switch from Verbeck’s life as embodying the model pioneer missionary to Verbeck as a key *oyatoi* in the narrative of the successful modernization of Meiji Japan is evident in the postwar *oyatoi* literature. In the volume on “Education and Religion” by Shigehisa Tokutarō in the multi-volume *Oyatoi Gaikokujin* series published from the late-1960s, most of the somewhat sparse material on Verbeck dealt with his role as an educator for the Japanese government, but little on his religious impact. In contrast, Umetani Noboru’s volume on government and law contained much on Verbeck, with the entire first chapter entitled *Kindai nihon no kensetsu to furubekki* [Verbeck and The Establishment of Modern Japan] focusing on Verbeck’s role as an *oyatoi* in the government.<sup>553</sup> Similarly, in the only Japanese biography of Verbeck (until recently, in 2010), *Meiji ishin to aru oyatoi gaikokujin: Furubekki no shōgai*, [An Foreign Employee in the

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<sup>552</sup> Though there is some debate over the authenticity of Clark’s statement, what is more interesting is the Japanese perception and desire to have this foreigner pronounce this statement to his young students who were to become that Meiji generation that Japanese today characterize as possessing *risshin shusse* (“to rise up in the world”). Clark’s quote supposedly finished with the words, “...for Christ,” but these words have been deleted out of this famous exhortation. At least one contemporary Japanese pastor has criticized the excising of Clark’s quote from textbooks. He writes, “His parting words became very famous, ‘Boys, be ambitious for Christ.’ What the Japanese did was to cut the last two words out. We cut out the best part of it and it is no wonder that we have problems.” On Park Avenue Church of Christ (Memphis, Tennessee) website, Accessed online 11/29/2013 <http://www.parkave.org/missions/articles-related-to-japan/banzai-and-kamikaze-page-2>

<sup>553</sup> Shigehisa Tokutarō, *Oyatoi gaikokujin: kyōiku to shūkyō* [Education and Religion], Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin: seiji, hōsei* [Government and Laws]

Meiji Restoration: The Life of Verbeck], there was relatively little emphasis on his missionary activities. The last chapter (on Verbeck's final decades in Japan) contains only a few brief and rather vague passages on his missionary work.<sup>554</sup> The implication is clear: Verbeck's most important contributions to Japan were those that helped guide Japan's modernization. Thus, the switch from Verbeck as ideal "pioneer missionary" in the earlier Western literature to Verbeck as "trusted *oyatoi*" revealed an underlying change in perspective and a different narrative which his life was perceived to enact.

*Oyatoi* studies, despite its potential for development in the 1960s and 1970s, does not exist today. One reason for this is that the study of the *oyatoi* needs to be expanded to incorporate more comparative work on the use of foreigners in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps in other periods as well. The *oyatoi* literature, because it assumed that Japan's use of foreign employees was qualitatively different, has rarely been viewed in the light of foreign employees in other contemporary societies. Though in the 1960s, the modernization of Japan was compared to modernization in Turkey and Russia, the *oyatoi* research never broadened to include much comparative research on "foreign employees" of other states.<sup>555</sup> In Japan, the framework of *oyatoi gaikokujin* was used by several scholars in a couple of very brief essays comparing a

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<sup>554</sup> Out of the 370 pages of the work, most of them focus on his role as an *oyatoi*. Even the final chapter deals more with a general history of Meiji Christianity. Only about two specific pages deal with his Bible translation work, and about five pages deal with the two decades in which he returned as a missionary. In these five pages or so, the authors cover Verbeck's return as a missionary, his work relating to Christian education and evangelism, a section on Shimazaki Toson, Verbeck's "Historical sketch of Protestant Missions," and his evangelistic tours throughout Japan. Ōhashi and Hirano, pp. 356-361.

<sup>555</sup> Scholars such as Edward Beauchamp and Umetani Noboru have compared the *oyatoi* to the Peace Corps and governments that have sent "experts" to the developing world, but this comparison has not been pursued either. Beauchamp calls the *yatoi* "the precursors of today's Peace Corps volunteers," Beauchamp, *An American Teacher*, pp. xii, 142.

couple of countries in Asia, such as China, Thailand, Turkey, but there was little depth in these essays and they did not lead to further research.<sup>556</sup>

One positive aspect of some of the scholarship written under the influence of modernization theory was that it encouraged comparative work between various societies and, unlike the prewar Christian narrative represented by Griffis, presented a fairly unified perspective with presuppositions that both Japanese and Western scholars largely agreed upon. One scholar has claimed that the *oyatoi* scholarship not only got scholars interested in the role of foreigners in Meiji Japan, but “took the argument beyond [Marius] Jansen’s assertion of innate Japanese ability to assimilate and pointed to a need, as [Sheldon] Garon noted, to take a more all-encompassing approach and ‘examine the process of Japanese emulation from a comparative perspective without, of course, denying the existence of indigenous innovation and adaptation.’”<sup>557</sup> I would argue that, despite the collaborative scholarship on the *oyatoi*, this comparative task is still largely neglected on this subject. What David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley wrote regarding Germany in their landmark work, *The Peculiarities of German History*,

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<sup>556</sup> These include Katō Yūzō “*Chūgoku ni okeru oyatoi gaikokujin*” [Foreign Employees in China], pp. 32-43; Ichikawa Kenjirō, “*Tai ni okeru oyatoi gaikokujin*” [Foreign Employees in Thailand], pp. 44-48; Nagata Yūzō, “*Toruko ni okeru oyatoi gaikokujin*” [Foreign Employees in Turkey], pp. 49-54; and Tanaka Tokihiko “*Oyatoi gaikokujin no kokusaiteki haikei* [Foreign Employees and their International Background], pp. 9-31. The essays were published in *Shiryō oyatoi gaikokujin* [Historical Records of the Foreign Employees] UNESCO *tōajia bunka kenkyū hen* [UNESCO East Asia Cultural Research Compilation] (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1975). These essays are very broad and mention few specific individual foreigners. Though Ichikawa’s essay on Thailand is the shortest essay, he mentions specific foreigners by name more than the similarly brief essays on China and Turkey. Comparative works published at the time on Japan do not deal with the *oyatoi*. For example, Albert Craig’s *Japan: A Comparative View* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) contains no references to the *oyatoi*. Marius B. Jansen’s essay “On Foreign Borrowing” though it provides a useful framework, focuses more on Japan’s borrowing from China and comparing Japan to Russia.

<sup>557</sup> Ian Douglas McArthur, “Mediating Modernity—Henry Black and narrated hybridity in Meiji Japan” Doctoral Dissertation, University of Sydney, 2002, p. 48. The work of Sheldon Garon’s that he cites is *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

applies equally to Japan's modernization and the subject of the *oyatoi*: "That does not mean that we should write the history of Germany as if it were like the history of everywhere else; only that we should not write it as if it were quite unlike the history of anywhere else."<sup>558</sup>

As many critics have pointed out, the underlying narrative of modernization theory was often a Eurocentric account, or, alternatively, a nationalistic one, as in Japan's case. The Japanese historian Irokawa Daikichi, who criticized Marxism because of its focuses on conflict and dispute, also criticized modernization theory because it was "concerned with ends rather than means." The goal of modernization—to become "modern"—has been defined in a variety of ways, from the complex criteria of modernization theory to Philip Curtin's simple definition of achieving a certain standard of living. One attraction of larger narratives such as Marxism or a Christianizing missionary narrative is that these focus on modernization not as an end in itself, but as a *means* to a greater end, whether it be an equal classless society or the enlargement of the kingdom of God. In Irokawa's view, modernization in the Meiji Period led to mixed results, as evidenced by World War II. For Irokawa, "the question of rapid modernization led to popular traumatization and war," but, he insisted, "There were forces in the mid-nineteenth century that could have led to other outcomes."<sup>559</sup> The *oyatoi*, who played a role in Japan's modernization, were one of these forces that contributed to the historical development of the society in which

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<sup>558</sup> David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley. *The Peculiarities of German History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 291. Modern Japan and Germany have been compared for many reasons. Both of whom began a process of nation-building and large-scale state-oriented modernization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and both ended up with militaristic governments in the 1930s. Another similarity is the growth of the notion of a "peculiar path" (*Sonderweg*) to explain modern German history and their path to modernity, which resembles some of the notions of a special "Japanese" path to modernity as well as some of the postwar *nihonjinron* literature. Blackbourn and Eley's work largely defeated the *Sonderweg* argument in the field of German history, but no such definitive work has been published for Japanese history.

<sup>559</sup> Quoted in Jansen's introduction to Irokawa, pp. xiv-xv. Jansen suggests that Irokawa may have "an optimistic and even romantic view of early nineteenth-century Japan"

these figures worked and the places from which they came. Perhaps further comparative work could illuminate not only the role of figures like Verbeck in the development of modern Japan, but also shed light on similar figures in other societies, as well as the dynamics of such cultural interactions throughout the world.

## 2.3 CHAPTER SIX: VERBECK AND THE EXPANSION OF THE STUDY OF *OYATOI GAIKOKUJIN* IN WORLD HISTORY

“...Verbeck emerges as the epitome of a trusted *yatoi*,”

Hazel Jones, in *Live Machines*<sup>560</sup>

In Umetani Noboru’s definitive two-volume *Oyatoi gaikokujin no kenkyu* [Studies on Foreign Employees], the first person pictured in the first volume is Verbeck and his wife Maria, and his first chapter on politics and law is entitled “Verbeck and the Establishment of Modern Japan” [*Kindai nihon no kensetsu to furubekki*]. It is evident in Umetani’s work, and by the preeminence given to Verbeck in Hazel Jones’ work, that the interpretation of Verbeck as a key *oyatoi gaikokujin* has been prominent both in Japan and the West in the postwar period. Why, if Verbeck is such a significant figure in the *oyatoi* literature, is he not better known, outside of the small cadre of scholars who deal with the *oyatoi*? There may be many reasons, including technical ones such as language barriers or funding resources, but the most important factor is the relative isolation of the scholarship and research on the *oyatoi*. Many questions, such as assessing the significance of the *oyatoi*, are difficult to answer in isolation, except in vague terms such as Ardath Burks’s designation of their “decision-conditioning” rather than “decision-making” roles. What does this difference mean in practice, and was this true for other societies with foreign advisors, such as Egypt or Siam, or is Japan exceptional in limiting their foreign employees to a relatively subservient role?

Undoubtedly, the *oyatoi* are challenging figures to assess and to compare. The diversity of foreign employees—from common laborers to highly-paid experts, from corporate employees

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<sup>560</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 96, 98.

to government advisors—makes even a common designation difficult. The English translations for *oyatoi gaikokujin* includes a wide variety of terms which are not as commonly used for such foreign figures in other societies. Terms such as “hired hands,” “foreign helpers,” “foreign employees,” “foreign workers,” “foreign teachers,” as well as the specific Japanese terms *oyatoi gaikokujin* or *yatoi*, are not terms used in scholarship for such individuals in other countries. However, the use of terms like “foreign advisers,” or “foreign experts”—though narrower than the Japanese term—are more commonly used terms that would invite more parallels. Even Griffis in his latter years began to refer to the *yatoi* as “salaried foreign experts.”<sup>561</sup>

One of the prominent reasons that Verbeck and the *oyatoi* in general are not more known, is that the *oyatoi* scholarship has not been incorporated into a larger framework so that Japan’s experience can be included in a larger context and conversation. The literature focuses almost entirely on the role of foreign employees *exclusively* in Japan, and has not been expanded to include other similar figures in various societies. Thus, the *oyatoi* have been segregated into their own specific subject and have continued to remain relatively obscure figures in the study of world history. The study of *oyatoi* has the potential to contribute to the formation of a literature that could compare various foreign employees and experts in societies around the globe, but this expansion in the framework of the study of the *oyatoi* has been largely neglected.

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<sup>561</sup> Cited in Hazel Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 91. Jones comments that for Griffis, “perhaps hindsight refined the image” of the *yatoi*. One recent sources that uses the term “foreign experts,” is *The Historical Dictionary of United States-Japan Relations*. eds. John Van Sant, Peter Mauch, Yoneyuki Sugita (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2007), p. xix. In the chronology at the beginning, they write “Meiji Government hires ‘foreign experts’ from United States and Europe to help establish new government institutions” as the first entry under the 1870s. A work that looks at various foreign advisers for China, is Jonathan Spence, *To Change China*. The word “foreign advisers” in the period of the 1960s might have had negative connotations from the term being used for U.S. military “advisers” sent to Vietnam in the early years of the Vietnam Conflict.

In looking at other societies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is clear that the Bakumatsu-Meiji's governments' overall strategies for the adoption and assimilation of Western technology and ideas were not unique. Japan could be compared with earlier cases of foreign borrowing like Peter the Great's Russia or with more contemporary 19<sup>th</sup> century examples such as Egypt, Siam (Thailand), and China. In most of these societies, the three basic strategies to accomplish this were similar to Japan's: the translation and study of Western books, overseas study and training for individuals, and hiring foreigners as advisors, experts and teachers. The first two strategies have received more scholarly attention for many of these societies (though they could be expanded as well). For example, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the "founder" of modern Egypt, Mehmed Ali, began to reform his country, and his grandson Is'mail Pasha, (b. 1830) sent various students to Europe and implemented many military, industrial, and educational ideas. Raouf Abbas Hamed, in *The Japanese and Egyptian Enlightenment* compares Fukuzawa Yukichi to Rifa'ah al Tahtawi (1801-1873) a 19<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian thinker and reformer. This well-educated and scholar spent five years in Paris and became head a new School of Languages in Cairo and in charge of a translation bureau.<sup>562</sup> But, the strategy of using foreign employees has received much more attention in Japan (with the *oyatoi* scholarship) than in these other societies.<sup>563</sup> A comparison with foreign advisors and experts in these societies as well as the

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<sup>562</sup> Cited in Albert Craig, *Japan: A Comparative View*, pp. 159-160. Craig compares Tahtawi's use of a similar "stage" theory to Fukuzawa, which included Muslim countries such as Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Morocco and Syria in the highest "civilized" stage, though Fukuzawa did not do so with Japan, China and Korea. Is'mail was recognized in 1867 as Khedive of Egypt and Sudan, 1863-1879, built the Suez Canal and many railroads, increased cotton exports. In contrast to Japan, Is'mail's period of modernization is considered somewhat of a failure, largely because the British government had him removed and Britain and France took over finances and government.

<sup>563</sup> One could also broadly compare the 19<sup>th</sup> century to earlier periods of assimilation, both in Japan and in other societies. Other ancient societies, such as those in the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic period, had similar earlier formative periods of cultural assimilation like Japan's borrowing from China.



responses of governments and elites in them would broaden the application of the *oyatoi* scholarship. The *oyatoi* scholarship could thus be incorporated into a larger framework that would enable scholars not only to understand Japan's modernization better, but also analyze global trends.

How does one begin to make such comparisons between societies? Just as there are different scales in the study of the missionary movement, there are also different levels of analyses of foreign employees. They can be analyzed on a country-wide basis, classified by quantitative and demographic data (i.e., age, country of origin, numbers employed, level of pay, public or private sector, length of employment, and field or department of employment). Such data, if available for all societies, would provide some aggregate numbers for a statistical comparison between countries, such as the proportion of government versus private sector employees. But it does not give much detail on the qualitative contributions of the employees or the impact of their work.<sup>564</sup> One could look at institutions, such as governments, militaries, educational institutions, corporations, or NGOs (like the Red Cross), which would provide a

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Japan's experience in the 16<sup>th</sup> century could be compared to that of other states, such as the contemporary "gunpowder" empires of the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals. One could also compare Verbeck to prior figures like Matteo Ricci or João Rodrigues (the Interpreter) in the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Such comparisons across centuries are difficult but may prove to be fruitful, at the very least to show that employment across political boundaries is nothing new.

<sup>564</sup> Umetani has used such statistics to analyze the differences in the types of *oyatoi* hired. For instance, in the 1870s, 40% were engineers and 29% teachers, whereas in the 1880s, teachers became the largest, with engineers second, though both categories had decreased by almost a half since 1874. In the 1890s, teachers were still the most numerous, and very few engineers were hired. However, some of the categories are somewhat vague—such as "unclassified workers," "clerks" and "artisans," for which there is almost never any description. Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 71-72. However, the category "engineers" and "teachers" may be a bit vague as well. Hazel Jones claims that the majority in the first decade were "basic instructors" and in the Public Works Ministry three-quarters were "menials or laborers," with only a quarter of those considered skilled workers. *Live Machines*, p. 39. Also, categorizing *oyatoi* by their contributions to specific fields—the format for the 17-volume *oyatoi* series in Japan—is useful as well but also tends to present the fields themselves as the subject, and the *oyatoi* as somewhat obscure figures in the development of areas like engineering, education, or art in modern Japan.

broad comparison of the various projects and endeavors in various locales. However, focusing on comparisons of the individual employees by various types or categories can provide a helpful way to analyze the role and significance of foreign advisors and experts in various societies. It can also be an inductive method to challenge some of the ways in which *oyatoi* have been categorized in the earlier literature.

Some of the literature on foreign employees in Japan has already incorporated a few qualitative comparisons of the *oyatoi* by placing them into certain categories. In this chapter, I will examine and evaluate two of the qualitative comparisons from the *oyatoi* literature in which Verbeck has been utilized as one of the chief examples—the “cooperators” versus the “domineering” types, and the categories of “generalists” versus “specialists.” In addition, I will propose some categories that apply to *oyatoi* like Verbeck, and that could be useful in transcending the narrow focus of the *oyatoi* literature on Japan’s experience?

### **2.3.1 Verbeck as a “Cooperator”: Cooperating Versus Domineering Types**

One of the comparisons in some of the *oyatoi* literature, particularly in English, has been to distinguish between the “cooperating” versus the “domineering” types, i.e., those who were more amenable and willing to play a more subservient role, and those who were problematic to work with or wanted to have more control over the projects (and often did not last as long). Griffis alluded to this distinction in his second edition of *The Mikado’s Empire* in 1877, though he focused on the Japanese responses to these two types of *oyatoi*: “To their faithful and competent advisers they award a fair measure of confidence and cooperation. To the worthless,

nepotic or those who would play the lord over their employers, they quietly pay salary and snub.”<sup>565</sup>

But how useful are the categories of “cooperators” and “domineering” types of *oyatoi* in assessing their work and in understanding their role in Japan’s modernization? Undoubtedly, certain *oyatoi* experienced friction or outright conflict with the Japanese government, their colleagues, or the interpreters, and Hazel Jones refers to these as the “prefect-type” of domineering *oyatoi*. Some examples of this type would be the engineer Major Thomas W. Kinder (director of the Mint), Richard H. Brunton (lighthouses and other projects), Commander Archibald L. Douglas (navy), General Horace Capron (Hokkaido agricultural development), and Heinrich Edmund Nauman (geologist). Other *oyatoi*, with “humility and accommodation,” saw themselves as catalysts and as guides for modern Japan. Verbeck would be included in this type, as would *oyatoi* like William W. Cargill (director of gov’t railways and telegraphs), George B. Williams, (in the Finance Ministry), Captain Frank Brinkley (instructor for the naval school), Alexander A. Shand (in the Finance Ministry), and Basil Hall Chamberlain (University of Tokyo professor of Japanese linguistics).<sup>566</sup>

However intriguing this categorization based on the working relationships between the *oyatoi* and the Japanese might be, it is limited in its usefulness. It tends to focus on the individual personalities of the *oyatoi* (such as a quick temper or pompous manner) and oversimplifies a complex relationship. Some personalities are difficult to put into such categories, such as the American *oyatoi* Erasmus Pershine Smith, who was very supportive of

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<sup>565</sup> Griffis, *Mikado’s Empire*, p. 578. According to Jones, Griffis distinguished between the “cooperators” versus the more “domineering” in some of his later writings.

<sup>566</sup>Cargill was the highest paid *oyatoi*, at \$2000/month. Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 83-87, 90.

Japan, but his flamboyant and flippant nature made him a bit of a “loose cannon.” As Jones describes him, Smith shocked many people by sitting on a horse, “clasping his young mistress to his bosom” with the lady in a red *hakama*, and he wearing samurai attire and two swords. Despite such uncouth behavior, Smith—labeled a “crapulous dotard” by the British press—was generally well-regarded by the Japanese and honored by the emperor because he advised the Japanese on the foreign treaty reform, recommending they not accept compromised treaties that limited their sovereignty.<sup>567</sup> No doubt, there were (and still are) individuals like Verbeck who were much easier to work with and were likely develop a deeper friendship and respect with the Japanese people. In addition, the presence of rude or domineering figures among the *oyatoi* may also explain why the Japanese historiography on these *oyatoi* during a period of rising nationalism was so sparse. However, this distinction is a relic of the historiography of Griffis, which scholars like Hazel Jones have expanded upon.<sup>568</sup> Griffis wrote of the *oyatoi*, “With some temperaments and characters they had their hands full...How did employers and employed get along with each other. Surely there is no finer art than that of living together...Those aliens who tried to be masters failed miserably....Those who accepted their work fully, honestly and in the spirit of brotherly help (servants) succeeded so they became masters even of their employers...”<sup>569</sup> Is it true that those who tried to be masters “failed miserably?” And what does it mean that the *oyatoi* became “masters of their employers”? How well do such vague assertions stand up in an examination of the *oyatoi*?

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<sup>567</sup> However, after his contract expired, he was replaced by a less controversial *oyatoi*. (Herman Roesler). Smith also got in trouble with the U.S. consul for failure to register as an American citizen, and the foreign community denounced his supposed “malign influences” in Japanese foreign affairs. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 78.

<sup>568</sup> See Jones, “The Griffis Thesis.”

<sup>569</sup> Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 92.

In actuality, such a distinction sheds little light on the specific contributions and role of the *oyatoi* in Japan's modernization. Looking at the previous lists of *oyatoi*, most of the "domineering" or "prefect" types listed were actually quite productive and made as many significant contributions as the "cooperators"—if not more—to Meiji Japan's modernization. Though many of the former type did not stay as long in Japan as the latter, both types have generally been held in high regard in Japan for their valuable contributions. Umetani wrote that, though the *oyatoi* Archibald L. Douglas was pompous, interfered in everything, "easily lost his temper if his opinions were not accepted," and returned to England before his contract expired, "there is no denying Japanese indebtedness to him for helping found a navy."<sup>570</sup>

Certainly the "domineering" types were more critical of Japan, based on their experiences as *oyatoi*, but their critical attitudes did not necessarily mean they despised Japan. For example, Richard H. Brunton in his reflective memoir, which he entitled *The Awakening of Japan* and finished shortly before his death in 1901, gave credit to the Japanese for "emerging from a state of barbaric ignorance" in the space of forty years. But he also criticized the popular glamorizing of the Japanese and cautioned against a "much too exalted judgment formed of their capabilities," that in one generation they had become "the equal, in knowledge, experience, sense of honor, morality, of the cultured peoples of Europe and America." Undoubtedly, Brunton could be domineering and condescending and often chafed against the Japanese attempts to control his work, but he is honored today in Japan for the many lighthouses he erected, and for enabling the Japanese in the space of a few years, to build lighthouses on their own.<sup>571</sup> Another

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<sup>570</sup> Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 44-45.

<sup>571</sup> Brunton, *Building Japan*, pp. 157-159. Brunton writes that he made a conscious choice to enforce his direction because he was responsible for the results, which, in the case of lighthouses, "was a work

“domineering” type that was critical of Japan based on his experience as an *oyatoi*, was Heinrich Edmund Nauman, who returned to Germany and gave talks that criticized Japan’s backwardness and their indiscriminate adoption of Western culture, which offended Japanese students like Mori Ōgai, who was studying in Germany at the time. But this has not prevented Nauman from being dubbed the “father of Japanese geology.”<sup>572</sup> Obviously, such critical attitudes did not mean that their contributions were less significant or that Japan has forgotten their achievements.

In addition, many of those who would be considered “cooperators,” like Verbeck, could also be critical of Japan, although often not as openly so. Certainly, none of the *oyatoi* became “the masters of their employers,” as Griffis claimed. Even Verbeck may not have been as influential in his later years as an advisor. His colleague, Rev. Henry Stout, who replaced him in Nagasaki wrote as early as 1874 that Verbeck’s influence in the government was already waning, “I might also say that Mr. Verbeck’s day of influence in government is past. Other than his particular friends have come into power, and other favorites are enjoying the services of the government.”<sup>573</sup>

Perhaps Griffis, and the later *oyatoi* scholars who continued to emphasize such a distinction, wanted to present good and bad models of intercultural relationships through these “types.” Arguably, this reveals as much about the motives and opinions of those who made these distinctions as it does of the *oyatoi* themselves. Though it may provide some insight into the interpersonal relationships during this time, it is not a very helpful distinction in looking at the

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covenanted for in solemn treaties, and was in the interests of humanity at large.” Quoted in Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 84.

<sup>572</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 86.

<sup>573</sup> Letter from Henry Stout to J. M. Ferris, 12 May 1874, JMRCA.

either the general or specific impact of the *oyatoi*, and would likely be similarly unproductive in looking at similar figures in other societies.

### **2.3.2 Verbeck as a “General Adviser”: Generalists Versus Specialists**

At first glance, such a distinction between generalists and specialists seems natural and useful. Particularly in the initial stages of development or modernization, an adviser who has a wide general knowledge—and is able to impart this through teaching and training—would be acceptable and even preferable to a specialist until the general level of knowledge (particularly in language acquisition and basic sciences) increases so that the specialists’ knowledge can be more effectively applied. In addition, such a distinction could also fit with the interpretations based on modernization theory, where the move from generalists to specialists could signal a move from one level of modernization to a more developed one.

If one means by a “generalist” that someone is not a legal scholar or lawyer, trained educator or professor, medical doctor or scientist, naval or army expert, then Verbeck fits the profile. Undoubtedly, such wide knowledge was useful to Japan (and to most societies) in the 1860s and early 1870s and many foreign teachers around the globe—from China to the Ottoman Empire—could fit this description. In these early years of Japan’s modernization and Western-borrowing, what was valued, in addition to expertise in various areas, was a general knowledge of the West, its languages, sciences and history. With his international background and wide interests, his Moravian and seminary education, and his engineering and foundry work

experience, Verbeck possessed such qualities.<sup>574</sup> But, particularly for Japan, this period of transition was relatively short, and as Jones herself asserts, Japan plunged directly into highly specialized streams flowing in nineteenth-century Western cultures in this period, and that ‘the cultural-educational childhood was skipped over.’<sup>575</sup>

It was the combination of Verbeck’s competence in foreign languages, wide-breadth of knowledge, excellence in teaching, and the trust he had developed through relationships with many of the Meiji leaders, that made him such a useful figure in so many areas. But, Japan needed relatively few such generalists, as Verbeck could provide advice and guidance on a wide range of topics and would be more affordable than a slew of experts. He was highly regarded for his wide learning by many of the Japanese people he interacted with. In 1871, the Meiji Emperor praised him in an imperial rescript (*chokugo*) for his “talent and broad learning and his years of effort in teaching and guiding students,”<sup>576</sup> To many of his students, Verbeck’s breadth of knowledge seemed encyclopedic. Takahashi Korekiyo wrote that “whenever we wanted to know about the circumstances and situations of foreign countries, we asked the teacher Verbeck everything.”<sup>577</sup> Recent literature on Verbeck has continued to portray him as a “generalist,” such

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<sup>574</sup> His interests in aspects of science continued—for example, in Japan he built a type of seismograph “by means of variously constructed pendulums” to measure the direction and force of earthquakes and later became, by special invitation, an honorary member of the Seismological Society in Japan. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 24 Oct. 1882, JMRCA. Verbeck apparently designed a machine that could detect the direction from which an earthquake came. See Satō, Verbeck was also musically gifted (he played the harmonium for church services in Nagasaki) and also enjoyed reading poetry. Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 309.

<sup>575</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 133.

<sup>576</sup> Verbeck taught in the government language school Seibikan from 1864-1869 and served from 1869-1873 as head teacher of the Daigaku Nanko in the Education Ministry (NOT formed until 1871).

<sup>577</sup> Quoted in Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 147.



as Noriko Itoh who describes Verbeck as “a generalist rather than a specialist.”<sup>578</sup> Benjamin C. Duke also asserted that the Japanese considered Verbeck “a virtual encyclopedia of western knowledge,” and stressed the breadth of his learning: “How Verbeck was capable, and inclined, to teach such a wide variety of subjects to his devoted Japanese young samurai shows the mark of the man.”<sup>579</sup>

Thus in looking at Verbeck, such a distinction seems useful. But, in analyzing the *oyatoi* in general, this categorization actually proves to be somewhat problematic. Arguably, most of the early teachers such as Verbeck and Griffis were more generalists than specialists, but in much of the scholarship all of the teachers are usually classified either into a general category or discussed in relation to the subject-areas that they taught. The Japanese scholarship in general does not emphasize as much such a distinction between generalists and specialists. The various subjects and fields covered in the multi-volume *Oyatoi gaikokujin* series, are presented mainly chronologically and thus a progression in knowledge and expertise is implied, but such categories are not utilized.

In the *oyatoi* scholarship, this distinction is applied to a relatively small number of *oyatoi*. Hazel Jones uses it primarily in looking at government (particularly legal) advisers, whom she presents as a small elite among the *oyatoi*:

Advisors were an elite within an elite. For many *yatoi* this position was an extra-contractual commitment. Advisors were asked not only to provide factual and theoretical advice and written proposals but also overviews of their area of expertise. They were to call attention to omissions in the area in which they were consulted, and

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<sup>578</sup> Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 165. Both Duke and Itoh emphasize that he had no general training as an educator and Itoh points out that although he was multi-lingual, he “never learned foreign languages systematically or grammatically.” I would disagree somewhat with this in that he had to have studied Greek and Hebrew systematically in seminary. Though he had some training in science and experience in foundries, this was not that extensive.

<sup>579</sup> Duke, p. 44.

they were also expected to bring attention to potential problems. Perhaps those advisers dealing directly with government matters best illustrate an elite among the cooperators. Some of them actually saw themselves as collaborators for the benefit of the Meiji state.<sup>580</sup>

For Jones, both the “general advisers” and the “legal specialists” had similar tasks. Though the category of “legal specialists” is fairly clear with many individual examples, the nature of the “general advisers” and who qualified as such, is not very clear. The only two *oyatoi* that Jones specifically described as “general advisers” in *Live Machines* were Verbeck and Albert Charles du Bosquet. There were certainly many similarities between these two figures—both were around 30 when they arrived in Bakumatsu Japan, both were gifted linguists and wrote or translated works into Japanese (though Du Bosquet did more interpreting), both worked as advisers for the *Dajōkan* (Council of State) as well as the *Genrōin* (Senate) after the former was abolished in 1875, both were instrumental in arguing for a conscripted army, both were awarded imperial decorations in 1877, and both died and were buried in Tokyo.<sup>581</sup> Jones saw both of these men as “general advisers” on legal matters and as transitional figures to the legal specialists who followed them (such as Boissonade): “Certain general advisers (*komon*), such as Verbeck and Du Bosquet, were also used for unraveling Western legal complexities, as may be seen by numerous extant views (*ikensho*) solicited from them and by the books they

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<sup>580</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p 94. Jones contrasts the advisors to “informants,” which were the majority of the *oyatoi*. Thus, for Jones, both the generalists and specialist advisors were few, and because they “best illustrate an elite among the cooperating, who also considered them an “elite” among the “cooperating” category of *oyatoi*.

<sup>581</sup> Another similarity is that Du Bosquet worked for the French legation both before and after his time as an *oyatoi* and Verbeck worked as a missionary on either side of his *oyatoi* years. There are also some interesting differences. Du Bosquet married a Japanese woman and they had three children, and he was only 45 when he died. Du Bosquet is often confused with the Justice Ministry’s first law instructor George Bosquet, who arrived in 1871, and for whom Du Bosquet served as interpreter. See Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp 40-42.

selected for translation. It may well be that through the use of general advisers, Meiji officials came to the conclusion they required a lawyer, or even a corps of lawyers.”<sup>582</sup>

Though Jones emphasized the similarities between the “general advisers” Verbeck and Du Bosquet, the differences are more revealing. Verbeck might not have been an expert in any specific area, but it is clear that Du Bosquet was hired for his expertise (and experience) in military matters. In contrast to her coverage of Verbeck, Jones listed almost none of Du Bosquet’s specific contributions. In contrast, in Umetani Noboru’s account of Du Bosquet, the various works he listed for Du Bosquet all related to Western military topics, and the contributions he mentioned also related to Meiji military reforms, including the civilian control of the military (which the government unfortunately discarded in 1878).<sup>583</sup> In contrast to his summary of Du Bosquet’s contributions (and the other dozen or so *oyatoi* he features), Umetani’s account of Verbeck’s contributions were much broader and ranged from: teaching and education reform, translation and legal counsel, establishment of new political institutions, military conscription, and the Iwakura Mission.<sup>584</sup> Thus, putting both figures in the same category as “general advisers” is problematic in that it glosses over significant differences in their work.

Unlike for Du Bosquet, both Umetani and Jones lavishly praised the breadth of Verbeck’s contributions and elaborated upon his impact on the Japanese government. Umetani wrote that,

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<sup>582</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 39.

<sup>583</sup> Umetani, *The Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 40-43. Umetani writes that the the lack of civilian control of the military was one of the causes of the Pacific War, and writes that when the German system replaced the French one, “Bosquet seems to have been forgotten by the Japanese.” Umetani writes more about Du Bosquet in *Meiji zenki seiji-shi no kenkyū* [A Study of the Political History of the Early Meiji Period] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1963).

<sup>584</sup> Umetani, *The Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 30-34.

in the building of new political institutions, Verbeck—"the highest adviser to the government" at the time, "may be said to have rendered the greatest service to this country" of any *oyatoi*.<sup>585</sup> Jones explained that "Such general advisers as Verbeck made solid contributions to Japanese because they assumed their duties in the same spirit as did native servants. They deferred to their superiors and co-operated to the extent of their abilities." She proceeded to give examples of this cooperation of general advisers (though only for Verbeck, not for Du Bosquet), asserting that Verbeck was "well-versed in many fields...[and] provides a profile of the good general adviser." She concludes by saying that Verbeck's and Du Bosquet's services ended after the 1870s and that "The general adviser was destined to be displaced in the growing dimensions of Japanese government, and their services terminated in favour of specialists."<sup>586</sup> Thus, in the *oyatoi* scholarship, Verbeck has been the only significant figure who was truly presented as a "general adviser" in relation to the Meiji government. Interestingly, this is not very different from Griffis' interpretation of Verbeck, in which he stated, "...Dr. Verbeck for years stood to the new government in place of the great corps of expert advisers which were afterward assembled...as able men of special abilities from abroad and at home were sought and found, there was less need of Dr. Verbeck remaining in government service."<sup>587</sup>

Why is Verbeck viewed as such a distinctive figure among the *oyatoi*? He was surely not the only individual with a wide breadth of knowledge and multilingual abilities, though Verbeck's conscientious work ethic and his ability to work well with others, also made him a

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<sup>585</sup> Umetani, *The Role of Foreign Employees*. pp. 30-31.

<sup>586</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 97-98. Though she gives many anecdotes and much description about Verbeck, the only evidence she gives of this spirit of cooperation for Du Bosquet is that he "married a Japanese."

<sup>587</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 282.

good candidate for a “general advisor.”<sup>588</sup> But, arguably the key factor to Verbeck’s unique role, was the high level of trust the leaders had in Verbeck. In Griffis’ colorful description, “his multifarious services were those which only a cosmopolitan linguist and scholar, absolutely trusted by a naturally suspicious and sensitive people....”<sup>589</sup> In a comparison with Du Bosquet, this high level of trust is apparent even in their formal contracts. Du Bosquet “was enjoined, under pain of dismissal, not to discuss his work ‘large or small points’ with either Japanese or foreigners.” Verbeck’s contract contained no such threats, and he was even awarded Sundays off, when other *oyatoi* at the time (such as Griffis) were not given such allowances. Though Jones wrote that the official correspondence in the Japanese government often contained “a faint critical undercurrent” regarding *oyatoi* advisers, in contrast to this generalization, “Verbeck emerges as the epitome of a trusted yatoi.”<sup>590</sup>

Therefore, though there were likely many *oyatoi* who were not specialists, like Verbeck, he stands alone as the significant “general advisor” in the early Meiji years. Benjamin C. Duke asserts that “it was Verbeck’s destiny to provide a foundation in modern government to a great

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<sup>588</sup> Because Verbeck was so respected, he had no difficulty in obtaining the Sunday holiday even at the height of the dispute about this matter. Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 279. Itoh writes that at the *Daigaku Nankō* he had to direct and lead 17 foreign teachers and 7 Japanese teachers, hired new teachers and further developed the curriculum, and that “he was a man of great attainments and superior to anybody else.” Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 164. Verbeck himself admitted to feeling overwhelmed by the work, and in his first letter to the U.S. in nearly three years, “Almost daily, questions occur that oblige me to undertake much research and extensive reading.” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to Isaac Ferris, 27 May 1877. There is no question that this work took its toll on Verbeck’s health, which deteriorated during the years he work as an *oyatoi* in Tokyo. In 1873, he took his first furlough, a much-needed one to “recover my nerves & elasticity of body and mind” (Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 22 Feb. 1873) and in 1878, he explained in a letter that he left Japan, because of “so much perplexity, pressure and care, and the sate of my nervous system was so disturbed” that he asked for a “temporary withdrawal from the Japan field” and only planned to return if his health improved. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 18 Sept. 1878, JMRCA.

<sup>590</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 96, 98. Jones writes, in reference to this matter, that Verbeck “had none of the truculence displayed by some yatoi.”

number of Japan's first generation of leaders during the Meiji Period."<sup>591</sup> But, what specifically did Verbeck the "general adviser" for the government, contribute in laying this "foundation" which later *oyatoi* and Japanese built upon? And, how does he differ from later "specialist" figures? In many ways, the 1870s was the part of Verbeck's career that was most distinctive, but we have relatively few specific sources concerning his service as an *oyatoi*. He wrote no letters from the spring of 1874 until the fall of 1877, and the government documentation in the archives is sparse.<sup>592</sup> Did he not want to reveal any secrets, or was he asked not to do so? Or, was he too busy, as he claims when he resumed his letters to the mission board in 1877? The people he assisted in government occasionally mentioned Verbeck but often in passing or simply in recognition of his work, with few details on what that work specifically entailed. Even if his diaries could be found, I would speculate that, given the demands on his time, the growing needs of his large family, and his circumspection in divulging information, his entries would likely have been fairly sparse during this time. In addition, though Griffis apparently had access to these diaries, his biography also contains little specific information on his work as an adviser. Though we will never know every matter he was involved in during his years as an *oyatoi*, the major areas of Verbeck's contributions that have been emphasized in the *oyatoi* literature were in education, political reforms, and translation work.

First, in education, Verbeck's contributions are perhaps the most significant, as he worked in schools for some ten of his fifteen years as a *oyatoi*. In addition to his crucial teaching of some of the future leaders of Meiji Japan in Nagasaki in the 1860s, as superintendent (or

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<sup>591</sup> Duke, p. 44.

<sup>592</sup> I have searched through the National Archives (*Dokuritsu Gyosei Hojin Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan*) in Japan. There are various references to Verbeck's employment by various government bureaus and his contributions, but they are briefly listed without much description.

“head teacher”) of the *Daigaku Nankō* from 1870, he improved teacher standards and hired professional teachers, stating that “Our staff, I hope, will gradually come up to my ‘beau ideal.’”<sup>593</sup> Also in 1870, the government drafted its “Instructions for Hiring Foreigners,” under the guidance of Verbeck. With Verbeck’s advice, the government adopted the German system of medicine for the *Igakkō*, the Western Medical School, instead of the English or Dutch language and systems.<sup>594</sup> In addition, various daimyo and governors asked Verbeck to find teachers for their domain or prefectural schools in the early 1870s.<sup>595</sup> Lastly, Verbeck redesigned the curriculum at the *Kaisei Gakkō*, had a central role in establishing employment standards for foreign teachers, and also influenced the educational plan (*gakusei*) issued by the Ministry of Education (*Mombusho*) in 1872.<sup>596</sup>

In education, Verbeck the “generalist” is sometimes compared to the “specialist” Dr. David Murray, an American professor from Rutgers who was hired in 1873 as an *oyatoi* adviser for the Department of Education, the year that Verbeck was dismissed as the head of the *Daigaku Nankō*. Verbeck’s insistence on more highly trained teachers or specialists, particularly

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<sup>593</sup> Letter from Verbeck to Griffis, September 7, 1871 in Griffis Collection. Particularly in education, Jones points out that, with the help of Verbeck, the Japanese government “made concerted efforts to determine standards for selection, employment conditions, and general regulations governing foreign instructors in schools throughout Japan .... These were implemented in 1873, the same year that Verbeck stopped his work as superintended of the *Daigaku Nankō* (renamed *Kaisei Gakkō*). One could say that Verbeck’s recommendations for hiring more specialists as *oyatoi* was one of the factors that contributed to the hiring of more specialists. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 38.

<sup>594</sup> Duke, 55.

<sup>595</sup> In 1870 the daimyo Matsudaira Shungaku asked him to obtain a science teacher for his domain of Fukui, and William Elliot Griffis, a graduate of Rutgers, was hired. In 1871, the daimyo of Kumamoto in Kyushu inquired whether Verbeck could procure a “samurai” teacher from the West. Though Verbeck assured him there were no samurai in America, he asked the mission board to look for a military man and eventually Captain Leroy Lansing Janes, a veteran of the Civil War, was hired for the school. Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans*, p. 22, Notehelfer, *American Samurai*, pp. 105-106, 138.

<sup>596</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, 95. Okuma and other Japanese observers acknowledged Verbeck’s proposal for revision of the national education system.

when he was in charge of the school, is sometimes depicted as eventually disqualifying himself for his position. Thus, Hazel Jones asserted that, “Being a man of broad learning rather than a specialist, [Verbeck] was no longer needed in education. He himself had recommended the hiring of a specialist.”<sup>597</sup>

However, Verbeck himself did not depict his dismissal in these terms. When Verbeck returned to Japan after a furlough in 1873 to find that he was no longer the head of the school, he was initially discouraged. In his letter to the mission board in early 1874, he seems to imply that some officials of the education department had “the grand idea of excluding all missionaries,” and that “having once had a taste of power & action independent of the advice and contract of a foreign superintendent, they made up their minds to carry the thing on their own hook.” He speaks of Murray as a “good & wise adviser,” but says that the only influence that Professor Murray’s appointment had on his dismissal was pecuniary and political—“that they could not well keep two foreigners in co-ordinate superior situations in the same department, nor could they well place me either under or over him.”<sup>598</sup> Undoubtedly, Murray had more experience and training as an educator than Verbeck, given that he had been a principal of an academy and a professor of mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy at Rutgers since 1863. But, his appointment was mainly due to his detailed and thoughtful response to questions on education posed by Mori Arinori, Japan’s representative in the Washington. Though originally the Ministry of Education had wanted to invite four experts, one from the U. S., England, France and

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<sup>597</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>598</sup> Letter from Guido F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 19 February, 1874. JMRCA.



Germany respectively, it scrapped that plan and hired Murray to “take charge of all affairs connected with Schools and Colleges.”<sup>599</sup>

The Japanese government’s perspective of Verbeck in this situation was also not seen in such terms as replacing a generalist with a specialist. First of all, Murray did not technically replace Verbeck, whose position at the *Daigaku Nankō* was filled by a Japanese administrator, Hatakeyama Yoshinari (who had attended Rutgers College through Verbeck’s recommendation and was baptized in the Reformed Church while he was there).<sup>600</sup> Verbeck also had many in the government that did not want to lose such a useful adviser, who was not only very knowledgeable and multilingual, but, unlike Murray, was skilled in Japanese. In the fall of 1873, many officials urged Verbeck’s appointment as a special adviser to the government, promising to economize on other expenditures.<sup>601</sup> Though certainly Verbeck’s role as an educational adviser was eclipsed by others, such as Murray, Verbeck’s input on education was still important, and in 1876 the government asked him to translate a book written for the Centennial Exhibition in

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<sup>599</sup> Duke, pp. 91-95. Murray was apparently only one of several educators who received Mori’s questions, and he was apparently not the first choice for the position, which was Dr. Cyrus Northrop, professor of Rhetoric and English literature at Yale University, who turned them down. Verbeck, in sending some of the earliest Japanese students to Rutgers in the 1860s, arguably was instrumental—if indirectly—in Murray’s interest in Japan and its education.

<sup>600</sup> Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans*, 37-38, Duke, 46. In 1873, the school was renamed the *Kaisei Gakkō*, and Verbeck left for a long-overdue six-month furlough. Without Verbeck at the helm (and before Hatakeyama was appointed) relations between the foreign staff and the Japanese officials became very heated over issues such as the introduction of a “bewildering variety of courses,” an illegal firework celebration on July 4<sup>th</sup> (and the corresponding insistence on extraterritorial rights), and the government’s attempt to take away Sunday as a holiday. Duke erroneously writes “...Hatakeyama replaced Verbeck as president of Kaisei, his last and most prestigious government assignment before returning to the life of a missionary in his beloved adopted country of Japan.” However, William Elliot Griffis’s contract was not renewed, primarily as a result of his pressure on these issues.

<sup>601</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 96. Verbeck’s salary dropped from 600 yen a month to 400 yen a month, still a comparatively large salary among the *oyatoi*.

Philadelphia entitled *An Outline History of Japanese Education*.<sup>602</sup> If the hiring of Murray signified a shift from “generalists” to “specialists,” why was Verbeck given such a long contract (five years) with the highest organs of the government? Did the government see him as a “generalist,” as opposed to the specialists they were hiring at the same time for the medical school, engineering department, and all other areas? This distinction is not as helpful in interpreting their decisions. It seems that Verbeck was seen as a valuable *oyatoi* adviser who possessed a measure of expertise, particularly in languages, and, in addition, was someone whose honest judgment Japan’s leaders felt they could fully trust to recommend what was best for Japan.

Secondly, Verbeck’s advice was elicited on a variety of political subjects and he had earned the confidence of many high officials, most of the details of which were likely not recorded. Tatsumaro Tezuka writes, “At the beginning of his government service, he was appointed Cabinet advisor on the recommendation of Premier Sanetomi Sanjō. He attended an every day cabinet meeting[s] and took part in several important decisions such as on the approbation of the use of the surname by commoners, on the abrogation of traditional customs of men’s topknot hair-style and sword-wearing, and on the abolition of clans and establishment of prefectures.”<sup>603</sup> An “intimate friend” of Okuma and Iwakura Tomomi, according to Ogata Hiroyasu, he allegedly counseled Okuma in his dispute with foreign representatives about the treatment of Japanese Christians. Verbeck’s opinion was elicited on the choice of models for the

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<sup>602</sup> Duke, 221.

<sup>603</sup> Tatsumaro Tezuka, “Verbeck and Thompson,” p. 6.

new army and on the advisability of introducing military conscription.<sup>604</sup> He also wrote a proposal for an embassy to the West in 1869 that was instrumental in the subsequent Iwakura Embassy to the West between 1871-1873.<sup>605</sup> In the context of the formation of laws and government in Meiji Japan, Verbeck can certainly be contrasted to a specialist like Gustave Emile Boissonade, who was already a well-known legal scholar and jurist hired in 1873 to advise Japan on its legal reforms. Both *oyatoi* were paid high salaries, but unlike Verbeck, Boissonade, remained an influential expert *oyatoi* until he left Japan in 1895 and his specific legacy in writing Japan's criminal and civil codes is much more well-known.<sup>606</sup>

The third major area of contribution was Verbeck's translation work, for which he was uniquely gifted and prepared, and which could be seen as an area of expertise. Verbeck achieved a competence in many languages largely through his upbringing in the Netherlands (his father spoke German at home, which William Elliot Griffis called Verbeck's "heart language"), and by his Moravian schooling in Zeist. This polyglot education gave him the ability to be fluently in his "four mother tongues"—Dutch, German, French and English.<sup>607</sup> Verbeck had begun doing

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<sup>604</sup> His pithy comments supposedly influenced officials opposed to conscription: "Peace is the dream of philosophers and the hope of Christianity, but war is human history." This quote is cited in Griffis' work, but Umetani puts Verbeck's role as a factor in the debate between Okubo's samurai-based army and Yamagata's conscripted army. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 95

<sup>605</sup> The Iwakura Embassy involved high-level Japanese government figures such as Iwakura Tomomi, Kido Kōin, Ōkubo Toshimichi and many others who accompanied them to the U.S. and various countries in Europe between 1871-1873. In addition to learning from these countries, they had originally set out to attempt to remove the "unequal treaties" with many of the countries they visited. For an account of the embassy, see the five-volume work by Kume *The Iwakura Embassy*, and for Verbeck's role in the Iwakura Embassy see Altman. "Guido Verbeck and the Iwakura Embassy."

<sup>606</sup> See Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 34-37. Perhaps today Boissonade, is more prominently remembered, with his specific legal contributions and law schools, in addition to a 26-floor tower (built in 2000) named after him at Hosei University in Tokyo.

<sup>607</sup> Frank Cary, p. 173, and Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 280. Murase Hisayo has emphasized the importance of Verbeck's Moravian training and heritage in *Furubekki no haikei: oranda, amerika no*

translation work for the government while at the *Daigaku Nankō*, assisting Japanese scholars in translating such texts as Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Henry Wheaton's *International Law*. In October 1873, Mitsukuri Rinshō, the head of the *Seiin* (Central Chamber) Translation Bureau, appealed to the Meiji leaders to employ Verbeck as "supervisor of translation and consultant to each bureau on matters relating to foreign countries," and in December Verbeck signed a contract dividing his time "equally between translation and answering questions from the legislative section" (*Sain*, or the Left Chamber).<sup>608</sup> As such, Verbeck was asked to help Japanese scholars translate many legal works, including the *Code Napoleon*, works by jurists like Johan Caspar Bluntschli and Louis Prosper Auguste Eschbach, miscellaneous works on topics such as forestry laws and parliamentary rules of practice, as well as various state constitutions.<sup>609</sup> In the area of translation, Verbeck the "generalist" begins to look more like Verbeck the "specialist" in language, particularly on the Japanese language. Thus, Verbeck's most

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*chosa o chushin ni*" (The Background of Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck: Based on the Historical Record in the Netherlands and the United States). *Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyo Ronshu*, (St Andrew's University Journal of Christian Studies) 39 (2003): 55-78. According to one 19<sup>th</sup> century source, the Moravian schools would assign a day for each language studied, and, for the entire day, the students were not allowed to speak any other language. This education, then, "provided him with a master-key for both studying and using the language of Japan with a freedom, accuracy, and scope such as astonished his Japanese audiences, and have not been equaled by either missionary or civilian in this country." Henry William Rankin, "Political Values of the American Missionary." *The American Journal of Sociology* 13, no. 2 (Sept. 1907), p. 149-150.

<sup>608</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 96-97. Jones writes that thought "they were aware that it might seem inappropriate to hire a foreigner in the Cabinet because many matters were secret... Yet, these officials argued, such an appointment was indispensable for the office work, and there would be no impropriety in hiring a person of splendid character..." Jones, pp. 96-97. The source she cites for these appeals is the *Naikaku bunko shiryō*, *Seiin honyakukyoku oyatoi goaikokujin kankei shorui*: Fu-Bu-Shi-Ga.

<sup>609</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 280. The constitutions included countries like Spain, Switzerland, Portugal, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany and Austria. Also see: Ebisawa Arimichi, ed. *Nihon kirisutokyōshi kankei wakan sho mokuroku* (*Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts Relating to the Early Christian Mission in Japan 1590-1890*). (Tokyo: Bunkodo, 1954), 34-38, 64-68. Schwantes, 35. However, most of his translations projects were done while he was a special advisor to the *Dajōkan* and the *Genrōin* between 1873-1877.

impressive works are his expert translations into Japanese and his writings on the Japanese language. Perhaps one could contrast him with an *oyatoi* Japanese language “specialist” like Basil Hall Chamberlain, who became a Japanese linguistics professor at the University of Tokyo. But both possessed expertise in the Japanese language and though Verbeck used this expertise during his time as an *oyatoi*, arguably this expertise can be seen as much or more in his missionary work.

Thus, even with Verbeck, it is difficult to define expertise in some areas. In the modern period, the nature of expertise changes, often quite dramatically. Figures such as the Jesuit Matteo Ricci in China, were valued for a general expertise in many areas such as geography, mathematics, and astronomy that surpassed the Ming expertise in those areas, but this expertise became somewhat outdated when the Copernican and Newtonian theories became more accepted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. To a large extent, in many fields in the dynamic 19<sup>th</sup> century, some skills were becoming obsolete in the industrial age and some types of learning, such as a Confucianist education, were becoming increasingly devalued as the Western models of modernity were increasingly adopted. Even with relatively clear-cut fields such as military or medical expertise, it is clear that the level of expertise of foreigners even in these professions varied considerably in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. In medicine, early missionaries in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in many locales could do “medical work” without much medical training, though in Japan that was generally not the case. But, even in Japan, there was much debate over which Western system of medicine to adopt. The German system, based on the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), the chief architect of the new German (Prussian) educational system, held that medical faculties should be rooted in universities and institutes and that an indissoluble bond linked research and teaching. The British system, on the other hand, was hospital-based and favored practical clinical

instruction. When the government was unable to decide, they went to Verbeck for advice, and he suggested the German system. But, even the implementation of the German system depended on which particular German medical experts they hired. Dr. Erwin Baelz's expert leadership of the medical department of the University of Tokyo for over 25 years, helped cement Japan's commitment to a German medical system, but also led to a few unintended consequences, such as the initial rejection of the germ theory for diseases such as tuberculosis, which Baelz did not adhere to.<sup>610</sup>

One question that is usually not asked in the literature on *oyatoi* is how the Japanese could recognize the level of expertise in all these areas. Itō Hirobumi admitted such difficulties in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century:

In the early days we brought many foreigners to Japan to help to introduce modern methods,...I must say that sometimes the foreigners, and even the foreign nations themselves, endeavored to take advantage of the Japanese inexperience by passing men off as experts when they really knew next to nothing of the subjects for which they were engaged. We were, however, able to secure the services of many excellent men whose names are still honoured in Japan, although they themselves have long since left her shores.<sup>611</sup>

Undoubtedly, many societies had difficulty distinguishing quality employees among the various foreigners who vied for positions of high pay and influence. Sometimes the *oyatoi* had done similar work for other societies and so their prior work was evidence of a level of

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<sup>610</sup> See William Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1995).

<sup>611</sup> Hirobumi Ito, "The Growth of Japan" in *Japan by the Japanese: A Survey by its Highest Authorities*, ed. Alfred Stead (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1904), p. 64. In the entire volume of *Japan and the Japanese*, this is the only mention of the *oyatoi*, and there are no specific *oyatoi* names mentioned by any of the authors.

competence. For instance, Léonce Verni had built naval dockyards in China before he was hired to do so in Japan, and William Kinder had set up a mint in Shanghai before being hired by Japan for a similar institution in Osaka. But the lack of specific credentials and proof of worth led no doubt to the hiring of many foreign “experts” who were frauds or simply not worth the high salaries they were paid. Thus most of the foreigners were hired on recommendations from trusted individuals like Verbeck, or by somewhat biased diplomatic personnel. Undoubtedly, Verbeck was key in helping to recognize such expertise at the beginning of the Meiji regime, as they tried to distinguish fraudulent or false expertise from true competence.

Finally, though the distinction between foreign employees as “generalists” and “specialists” provides some difficulties in its application to Japan, does it apply to other societies at the time? Certainly there were foreign individuals in other societies who contributed in areas outside of their training or specialization, as Verbeck did. And it seems that modernizing governments were aware of Western expertise in many areas. In this period Siam (Thailand)—which was also not colonized—makes a good case for comparing to Japan, particularly during the reigns of two reform-minded Chakri monarchs, Mongkut and his successor King Chulalongkorn.<sup>612</sup> In a letter to the editor of the English-language *Bangkok Recorder* in 1865, King Mongkut admitted that Siam was pressured by Western advisers, but was not ready (or willing) to fully embrace Western technology. He wrote that Siam was not ready to build railroads or telegraphs, but would be glad to have “any person who may examine our land and

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<sup>612</sup> Thailand, like Japan and China, were compelled to sign “unequal treaties,” and the consul who negotiated Siam’s treaty in 1855 for the U.S. was Townsend Harris, before he went to Japan. For an interesting look at Thailand during Mongkut and even the interest in the West even centuries before Mongkut, see Ian Hodges, “Western Science in Siam: A Tale of Two Kings” *Osiris* 13, Beyond Joseph Needham: Science, Technology, and Medicine in East and Southeast Asia (1998): pp. 80-95. For a study of modernization during King Chulalongkorn’s reign see Maurizio Peleggi, *Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

point out where some mineral oil would be obtainable.” His conclusion alludes to the pressure he felt from foreign advisers on these matters: “Ah! O! many foreigners who are endeavoring very often to let us be advised and have great expense for what we think will be of no use for this country of poor and ignorant people.”<sup>613</sup> It seems that the Thai monarchy did not trust these foreign who were advising them, and though they were aware of Western expertise, they were not inclined to hire such experts unless they helped procure resources. Perhaps, for them, the experts represented not only expensive (and unnecessary) projects, but also a lack of control over the pace of Western reforms. Mongkut’s successor Chulalongkorn began a Western school for elites, and he hired various Western teachers and advisers (including some were missionaries) who seem more like generalists, but they did not seem to have a high level of trust in them. It seems that highly trusted, competent and effective general advisers like Verbeck were rare, and comparisons between such figures for various governments could be a fascinating study.

In transitional periods, such as the 1860s and early 1870s for Japan, individuals who were more knowledgeable in a variety of areas like Verbeck may actually be more useful, particularly as this “general” Western knowledge was not familiar at first. Thus, such knowledge may have differed little at first from expertise in the eyes of the ones who were hiring such foreigners, particularly in societies where there was comparatively little knowledge about the West. One could argue that most foreigners who taught Western subjects or languages in the early Western-

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<sup>613</sup> Accessed online. “Choosing an Appropriate Form of Modernity for Siam in the Fourth Reign” Written on 05 October, 2012. <http://leminhkhai.wordpress.com/2012/10/05/choosing-an-appropriate-modernity-in-the-fourth-reign/> . The editors reply was as follows: “His Majesty complains that many foreigners would try to induce the Siamese, to enter into many things at great expense, which they think would be of no advantage to them. We suppose it would be difficult to accept all the proposals made to the Siamese by Europeans and it will require the exercise of judgement to chose those which will be really useful, but we are sorry that His Majesty thinks that his people are not yet in a condition to appreciate railroads and telegraphs. He thinks the iron rails, and telegraph wires, would be too great a temptation to their thieving propensities.”



modeled schools from China to the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were probably not specialists, but what is clear is that most of the foreigners (even the skilled laborers) who were hired, were hired for a specific expertise or skill that they possessed (or were assumed to possess) which the government or society desired to use.

The distinction between “generalists” and “specialists,” then, is much more difficult than it appears because the definition of “specialist” is actually much harder to determine in broad terms. In looking at the hiring of foreign employees around the world, historical scholarship on expertise can provide some insights on this difficulty. The recent interdisciplinary literature referred to as “studies in expertise and experience” (SEE), provides a helpful approach to this subject in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (though some of the case studies go back to earlier centuries).<sup>614</sup> Just like other societies, the Japanese government in the 19<sup>th</sup> century hired foreigners that they recognized possessed useful “expertise” based on various factors, including the perceived needs of their society, the assessed (or assumed) level of competence for the expert, and their trust in certain individuals. In utilizing experts, Eric H. Ash acknowledges the importance of a society’s or a government’s “recognition” of expertise, stating that “Experts did not exist without a sociopolitical context; expertise required some form of public acknowledgment, affirmation, and legitimation to make it real.”<sup>615</sup> Experts, in turn, reinforced the growing institutionalization of

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<sup>614</sup> See Eric H. Ash, “Expertise and the Early Modern State,” *Osiris* 25, no.1, Expertise and the Early Modern State (2010): pp. 1-24. This entire issue of *Osiris* is devoted to the topic of experts in various societies. Though this owes much the history and philosophy of science, it also incorporates other disciplines such as sociology, law, and economics.

<sup>615</sup> Ash, p. 9. Though Ash and the contributions to this issue of *Osiris* focus on periods earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the principles and use of expertise by various states are remarkably similar. One aspect of the earlier movement is the challenge these experts provided to the traditional Aristotelian hierarchy of human knowledge, with *episteme* (theoretical knowledge), *praxis* (knowledge through reason and experience), and lastly *techne* (knowledge of how to make things or produce effects), Ash, p. 20. Though still present in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century universities, the Industrial Revolution had largely shattered this outmoded epistemology.

society, and this “rise of institutions is an important focus of the relationship between expertise and the state...[and] that expertise acquires full legitimacy only through the affirmation of certain established institutions such as universities, corporations, and government bureaus.”<sup>616</sup>

All of these factors relating to expertise and modern states could be fruitfully applied to the study of the *oyatoi* in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan, as well as provide potential avenues for comparison with other societies. In addition, it could help in the creation of a more useful comparative framework that incorporates the scholarship on the *oyatoi*, but goes beyond the framework of modernization theory, revealing the subjective and dynamic nature of distinctions like “generalists” and “specialists,” as well as their importance in modern state and institutional formation. In doing so, it may be useful to consider some new categories for the comparison of foreign advisers and experts by viewing Verbeck as a figure who transcended boundaries in several ways. First, Verbeck transcended the boundary between missionaries and foreign employees, trying to function as both for fifteen years. How does Verbeck compare with other foreign employees or advisers who were not missionaries, and how does his work and impact compare with other such missionary-employees in other societies? Second, Verbeck also transcended political boundaries (as an *oyatoi* for both the Tokugawa and Meiji regimes), and he also transcended the boundaries of nationality in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although styling himself an “Americanized Dutchman,” Verbeck’s citizenship and national identity were somewhat fluid. In many ways, he stands as a transnational figure who, transcended the boundaries of national identity, and who invites comparison with similar individuals in other societies. I will attempt to use these boundary-transcending characteristics of Verbeck to move beyond the narrow focus on

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<sup>616</sup> Ash, pp. 15-18. Ash writes that these institutions were formed in the modern era, but may have premodern roots: “Yet the origins and forebears of many of these institutions have extensive premodern roots, and they evolved alongside the experts and states in question.” p. 18.

Japan that is emphasized in the “cooperator” and “domineering” *oyatoi* comparison. In addition, I will try to move beyond the framework of modernization theory that undergirds much of the “generalist” and “specialist” comparisons. In this way, Verbeck can be useful for comparing similar figures, interactions and processes not only in Japan but in other societies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **2.3.3 Verbeck as Missionary-Oyatoi: Transcending Missionary Boundaries**

The boundary between the clergy and laity is one that can be found in many religions, and though religious clerics have functioned as advisors for various regimes throughout the world, missionaries are not commonly found in those ranks. However, with some of the Jesuit missionaries in the early modern period, such as Matteo Ricci, who became a Chinese official of the Ming, such a boundary distinction is difficult to maintain. Although in the Protestant missionary movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a narrow distinction between the clergy and the laity was not necessarily emphasized, the idea of working for the government, particularly of a “non-Christian” country, was relatively rare and required some justification. There were several reasons for this. Perhaps the most important reason is that it was seen as a distraction from the “real” work of missions: evangelism and building the “kingdom of God.” Though today the idea of “tentmaking” missionaries—that is, those who work a separate job to support their missionary

work—is fairly common, it was not a popular notion in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though missionary funds from the sending societies were often quite sparse and inconsistent.<sup>617</sup>

A second reason that missionaries-employees were rare is that in many of the locales that missionaries went to, the societies and governments either could not afford to hire foreigners or were not interested in encouraging Westernized reforms. This was not the case in Japan, but there was nevertheless a reluctance to hire missionaries, particularly in the early Meiji period. Not only did Verbeck reveal a hostility towards missionaries in the Ministry of Education after he was dismissed from his position as superintendent, but the popular anti-Christian sentiments from the Tokugawa period did not disappear.<sup>618</sup> In one instance, rumors perhaps originating from Verbeck's appointment in 1873 as a special advisor to the government, circulated that "...the head of the Council of State [*Dajōkan*] was a foreigner and a Christian...and inspectors were sometimes rumored to be foreigners, Christians or *burakumin* [outcasts]."<sup>619</sup> Such hostility was also found in other societies, such as China in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but, as Verbeck and other figures such as W.A.P. Martin in China reveal, these boundaries between missionaries and

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<sup>617</sup> The word "tentmaking" refers to the Apostle Paul, who is referred to briefly as a such (Acts 18:3) and apparently supported his missionary journeys with this work. One notable exception was the first Baptist missionary to Japan, Jonathan Goble, who came to Japan in 1860. Trained as a cobbler, he also had been a marine on Perry's expedition to Japan in 1853, but returned as a missionary. He was very poorly funded and thus he did work as a cobbler to support himself (and some claim he had some impact on Japan's budding Western shoe industry). Goble was not, however, widely respected in the missionary community (though Verbeck spoke and would not have been seen as a good model. See F. Calvin Parker, *Jonathan Goble of Japan: Marine, Missionary, Maverick* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990).

<sup>618</sup> "During my absence, it seems, that some of the narrow-minded officials of the educational department, hearing that Prussia and Switzerland were secularizing their school systems, conceived of the grand idea of excluding all missionaries from their department. Dr. Newman, of Washington, on his visit to this place last summer, did & said all he could to convince them of the folly of this measure, but in vain. The consequence is that Dr. Brown, Mr. Wolff & myself were not re-engaged at the expiration of our contracts." Letter from Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 19 Feb 1874, JMRCA.

<sup>619</sup> Platt, pp. 187-188.

employees were crossed at times. Thus, another useful category for analysis would be foreign employees who were originally or essentially missionaries—who saw their work as foreign employees as temporary and not their ultimate calling—versus those who were not missionaries.

What are some distinctive characteristics of most missionaries that might apply to this comparison? It would be safe to say that most missionary who became employees can be seen more as “generalists,” since most missionaries’ were likely not hired for any specialized knowledge they possessed, though in medicine and languages, missionaries often possessed more expertise than many elites in their target societies. Missionaries often expected hostility, particularly from the government or from other religious groups. They were generally committed to staying in the field for a long duration, and were not primarily motivated by financial rewards. This last point is generally true, but, as in Verbeck’s case, financial considerations were a significant motive for his continuing work as an *oyatoi*. Some missionaries, such as Young J. Allen in China only worked as a teacher in the government school in Shanghai in the 1860s when, because of the Civil War, he received no financial support from home.<sup>620</sup> In addition, though certainly there were scoundrels and unsavory types among the missionaries, the mission boards were often careful to send the best and most trustworthy individuals that were willing to go. For example, the early Protestant missionaries to Japan were carefully chosen by the mission boards and have often been idealized by both supporters and critics of missions. The China missionary, Samuel W. Williams, who visited Japan in 1858, “beseeched the missionary societies to send only ‘wise teachers’ to ‘a proud and spirited people, who ‘wanted everything from the West, except opium and Christianity,’” Thus, according to

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<sup>620</sup> Warren A Candler, *Young J. Allen: The Man Who Seeded China* (Nashville, TN: Cokesbury Press, 1931), pp. 150-151.

one postwar Japanese writer, four “elect Americans”—Verbeck, Brown, Williams, Hepburn, “of finest culture and noblest spirit”—were chosen....”<sup>621</sup>

Of the relatively few missionaries to Japan who officially became *oyatoi*, almost all of them were involved in education, many of them in remote locations outside of Tokyo, and thus, not attractive locations for most foreigners. Though Verbeck seems to fit this profile of the typical missionary-employee as teacher, there were some key differences. Aside from Verbeck, none of the missionaries became official advisers to the highest organs of government, nor were they honored by the emperor for their service to Japan’s government.<sup>622</sup> The missionaries that were hired as *oyatoi* teachers tended to not serve very long in that capacity, and have not been prominently remembered in Japan.<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Tezuka, “Verbeck and Thompson,” pp. 4-6.

<sup>622</sup> There were other (non-*oyatoi*) missionaries, such as Hepburn and C.M. Williams, who were honored by the emperor. Another missionary who was significant but not an *oyatoi* was William Imbrie, a Presbyterian missionary who taught at Meiji Gakuin, met with Prime Minister Katsura Taro and was later honored by the emperor with the Order of the Rising Sun, 4<sup>th</sup> class.

<sup>623</sup> Some missionaries include the following. David Thompson, who came in 1863, and lived for 52 years in Japan, taught English at *Unjoshō* (the customs office) in Yokohama, and then moved to Tokyo and was an instructor in English at *Daigaku Nankō* after Edward Cornes died in boiler explosion in August, 1870, but for less than six months. Christopher Carrothers, though talented and taught at government English schools in Hiroshima, Osaka and Sendai, “had a bad reputation with his fellow missionaries because of his odd character.” Walter Dening of the Church Missionary Society who came to Japan in 1873 was employed by the Ministry of Education to compile English textbooks and taught at the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Second Higher School in Sendai. Divie B. McCartee, a long-time missionary from China, taught at the Kaisei Gakko for a few years in the 1870s, but he was not subsequently considered a very capable scientist, and in his reaction to Edward Morse’s teaching of Darwin, said, “I am told that an idiotic book which treats of the view that man evolved from monkey has been published. You must neither read such a book nor believe such a view.” Tezuka, “Verbeck and Thompson,” pp. 5-7. Other missionary *oyatoi* listed in Shigehisa Tokutarō, include Edward W. Syle, Episcopal at Tokyo Kaisei Gakko (1874-1879); Thomas P. Poate at the Tokyo English School (1875-1877) George Knox (Presb) Tokyo University Literature Department lecturer (1886). None of these missionaries received more than half of Verbeck’s salary of 600 yen per month, and most received substantially less. Shigehisa, p. 72. Some missionary *oyatoi* outside of Tokyo include S. R. Brown, Niigata English School teacher, 1869-1870 (along with Mary Kidder); Henry Stout in the Nagasaki Kodōkan, 1869-1872; Wilton Hack [of Australia], Hiroshima English School (1874-1875), M. N. Wyckoff, Niigata English School (1874-1876), Charles H. H. Wolff, Aiwa English School (1877),

So, why was Verbeck an exception as a missionary-*oyatoi* in Japan? One could provide various answers to this question, from his personality and character, his growing financial needs amongst dwindling mission funding, and his fortuitous placement in western Japan in the 1860s, when Nagasaki was a crossroads for many of the aspiring students of Western studies and the future leaders of Meiji Japan.<sup>624</sup> But most of the answers stem back to his work as a teacher. How did he justify his work as an *oyatoi* teacher and his calling as a missionary? Though not a teacher by profession or experience, as a multilingual seminary graduate with a broad engineering training and work experience, Verbeck was certainly qualified to teach in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Verbeck was also chosen as one of three Dutch Reformed missionaries largely because he was a seminary graduate with Dutch language skills, thus enabling him to communicate with the Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki, some of whom were his students.<sup>625</sup>

It is somewhat ironic that Verbeck did not seem to prioritize his teaching but preferred evangelism or translation work. But, he nevertheless realized from his early days, that the respect and status that a “*sensei*” received in Japan was a valuable means of forming relationships and gaining the trust of the Japanese people. Unlike his fellow missionaries Samuel R. Brown and James C. Hepburn in Kanagawa, he was able to find reasonably good housing and a competent Japanese language tutor. “Nagasaki,” Verbeck wrote in 1861, “appears to be the place best adapted for missionary operations at present.”<sup>626</sup> Also, there is much that is similar

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Thomas C. Winn in the Fourth High School in Kanazawa, (1888); Daniel R. McKenzie, Fourth High School in Kanazawa (1888-1891); Shigehisa, p. 73.

<sup>624</sup> There are a couple of famous 1860s-era photographs taken in Nagasaki with Verbeck and many of his samurai students, and I will deal with these photographs and the literature surrounding them, in the next part.

<sup>625</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>626</sup> Letter from Verbeck to Isaac Ferris, February 17, 1861, Papers of JMRCA.

between the work of preaching and teaching. Verbeck delivered many lectures a teacher, but, even when he was an *oyatoi* in the 1870s, he continued to preach in churches, and always tried to hold a Bible class in his home. But, the preparation of teaching classes and imparting knowledge that did not directly relate to the Bible could be seen as a distraction from the work of a missionary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Although Verbeck in his letters seemed to consider teaching as a temporary calling for him at the time, it had at least two advantages: the Japanese desired Western education, and it paid fairly well (particularly in light of both Japan's growing inflation in the 1860s and his own growing family expenses) and he could use the Bible as a teaching tool. Verbeck reported in 1861 that during that year he privately taught seven students in English, three interpreters and four other scholars or officials sent from other domains to study English. He wrote that his own language study was going slow because he spent so much time teaching English, but he felt that "yet the general influence cannot fail to be good."<sup>627</sup> By 1862 he also had a Bible class of four students, though he admits that they may have been there only "in consequence of having been my pupils in English."<sup>628</sup> Though initially Verbeck was somewhat reluctant to expend so much time and effort to teach these students—which he had "sometimes considered as perhaps an unprofitable drudgery, and which often tried my time and patience"—he reported that it had "under Providence turned to so good an account."<sup>629</sup>

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<sup>627</sup> Guido F. Verbeck. Annual Report for the Year Ending Dec 31, 1861, Papers of JMRCA; Earns, pp. 95.

<sup>628</sup> Duke, p. 42. His teaching was interrupted in 1863 by the circumstances surrounding the British bombardment of Satsuma, which forced the Verbeck family –after a student warned him of a threat to his life—to take refuge in Shanghai for six months. But Nagasaki remained untouched, and he soon resumed his teaching.

<sup>629</sup> Verbeck, Annual Report for 1862, Papers of JMRCA .



In many ways, Verbeck's position as a missionary-teacher was similar to the missionaries who engaged in medical work. Earlier medical missionaries, such as Peter Parker in China in the 1840s, received little support for medical missions from figures like Rufus Anderson, secretary of the American Board, who was skeptical about the evangelistic harvest of medical missions.<sup>630</sup> According to David Hardiman "before the 1870s, no hard-and-fast distinction was made between the evangelical and the medical missionary." This is clear even from the missionary correspondence of medical missionaries like Dr. Hepburn, who wrote more about his literary and translation activities than his medical practice, insisting that he came to Japan "not as a physician, but as an evangelist."<sup>631</sup> In a Protestant Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1877, one speaker stated that the goal of medical missionaries was "not simply the advance of science...nor is it merely philanthropic...Their object is essentially a *Christian* one. It is to make the medical work an auxiliary to the spread of the gospel...."<sup>632</sup> Another speaker highlighted the exemplary work of Dr. Benjamin Hobson who, he claimed, "preached every day to his

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<sup>630</sup> For a brief summary of Peter Parker, see Gerald H. Anderson, "The Legacy of Peter Parker, M.D. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 37/3 (July 2013): 152-156.

<sup>631</sup> Discussion following paper of Theobald Palm, "The Position of Medical Missions" *Proceedings of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan held at Osaka, Japan 1883* (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn and Co., 1883) p. 321. Hepburn, who had spent years as a medical missionary in China, was no doubt influenced by this secondary role generally accorded to medical missionaries there. Dr. Duane Simmons who traveled to Japan with Verbeck, was perhaps an exception but he did not remain a missionary for long. Hardiman, p. 11. Hardiman claims that distinct medical missionaries did not become important until the 1870s and that many medically unqualified missionaries practiced medicine. Therefore, Hardiman sees distinctive medical missions as "a product of the medical revolution of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, with its breakthroughs in surgery and its new understanding of disease causation and prevention." Hardiman, p. 14.

<sup>632</sup> William Gauld, "Medical Missions in China" pp. 119-126. *Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missions of China held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1877) p. 120. In the discussion following Gauld's paper, the only missionary who disagreed with him was Dr. MacGowan, (who had worked in Japan for five months in 1859). Dr. MacGowan disagreed that medical missionaries should only teach the subject of religion, but should spread scientific knowledge and that "the importance of medical missions can not be overstated" and should be extended. p. 129.

patients before he commenced to treat them.”<sup>633</sup> Irwin Scheiner depicts such missionaries as fusing “secular and religious aspects of the West” such that they became “indivisible to them that Christianization assumed the character of Westernization, and Westernization implied the necessity of conversion to Christianity....”<sup>634</sup> According to the concept of “living epistles,” what was most important was not *what* they did as much as *how* they did it. Certainly they preferred to do “missionary” work such as evangelism and Bible translation, but other more “secular” work—supremely education, medicine, and what we now call social work—would not only provide a “need” for the society, but also an opportunity to gain the people’s trust and an opportunity to develop relationships that would hopefully lead to greater spiritual “fruit.”

Though Verbeck viewed the favorable response to his informal teaching as a sign of God’s blessing, as a missionary, he still felt a need to justify his subsequent employment to teach in government schools as an *oyatoi*. By the end of 1863, Verbeck had gained the attention of the Nagasaki *bugyō* (Governor) who was pleased with the progress that two of his interpreters had made under Verbeck’s tutelage, and a new institution was founded to encourage the study of “foreign languages and science...with Verbeck as the principal.”<sup>635</sup> In a letter in 1864 where Verbeck first introduces his decision to work for the government, Verbeck defends this teaching assignment both financially (as a good thing for the Board in the present times of high rates of exchange), that in the furthering of general education in Western languages and subjects, which

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<sup>633</sup> *Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missions of China, 1877*, p. 126. Like Hobson, Hepburn also, practiced such evangelism and had biblical passages, such as the 10 Commandments, hanging in his dispensary. According to Griffis, “During the last five years of his ministrations in the dispensary, before commencing medical work, he gave the patients assembled every day a talk upon some Christian truth.” Griffis, *Hepburn*, p. 103.

<sup>634</sup> Scheiner, p. 14

<sup>635</sup> In gratitude after passing their examination by the governor, these two interpreters sent Verbeck a young pig. Robert S. Schwantes, “American Influence,” p. 17.

is “always a good object to further.” He does admit that “the good done is not in proportion to the time expended, for a missionary who can not spare to lose his study hours,” and he writes that “it is an easy matter to discontinue the school or to refuse any returns, if the Board should say so.”<sup>636</sup> Eventually, this school was renamed the *Seibikan*, and after 1865, Verbeck also began teaching on alternate days at the newly-established *Chienkan*, the Saga (Hizen) domain school of Western studies in Nagasaki where he was allowed to teach a broader curriculum that included some economics, law, history and politics.<sup>637</sup> When he was working at the two schools in Nagasaki, he supposedly received \$4500 annually, a salary that exceeded a pastor’s salary in America, but the payments were actually quite irregular and Samuel R. Brown continued to periodically send him money in the 1860s.<sup>638</sup> By 1868, Verbeck’s reputation had grown as a teacher and the daimyo of other domains such as Kaga, Satsuma and Tosa all contacted him about starting similar Western Studies schools in their domains or acquiring teachers for these schools.<sup>639</sup>

Despite his success as a teacher, Verbeck repeatedly emphasized the spiritual “fruit” from his work as an *oyatoi* in his correspondence. In a letter to the mission board in 1866, he alluded to the pressure the board exerted for conversions stories, “I must confess you puzzled me considerably by calling for converts, or the great need of accounts of converts, for the

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<sup>636</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to Philip Peltz, 22 August 1864, JMRCA. In addition, Verbeck was concerned for the safety of the converts in Japan, and therefore was reluctant to spread the details of such stories of conversion. However, in a latter letter to the board, he includes a picture of Murata, which was used in the literature.

<sup>637</sup> Schwantes, “American Influence,” 17; Duke, 44.

<sup>638</sup> Duke, p. 43. Six children were born to the Verbecks in Nagasaki, though their firstborn, Emma Japonica, tragically died several weeks after she was born in 1860.

<sup>639</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 129.

churches....”<sup>640</sup> Earlier in 1866, the first such “fruit” of Verbeck’s work had occurred, with the baptisms of the *karō* (councilor) Murata Wakasa-no-kami and his brother. Though it was the second Protestant baptism in Japan, it was undoubtedly the most celebrated story in the missionary literature. Another example of such fruit occurred a couple years later, in 1868, when he baptized a Buddhist priest named Shimizu Miyauchi, who was later imprisoned for his faith.<sup>641</sup>

Another example of the spiritual “fruit” of teaching that Verbeck emphasized was the sending of students to the West, for which Verbeck is widely recognized in both the missionary and *oyatoi* literature (though S. R. Brown and other missionaries did this as well). Thus, Verbeck was one of the most important conduits for Japanese students desiring to study in the West and he saw this as a way to grow Christianity in Japan as well. Starting in 1866, Verbeck gave letters of introduction to various family members of prominent individuals like Iwakura Tomomi and Yokoi Shonan to study in America.<sup>642</sup> Griffis, no doubt exaggerating the numbers, claimed that Verbeck helped nearly 500 students to study at schools such as Rutgers and the Naval Academy.<sup>643</sup> Verbeck surely hoped that study in America would incline the students to look favorably upon Christianity, as well as provide a quality education in Western subjects.

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<sup>640</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to Philip Peltz, 19 October 1866, JMRC.

<sup>641</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 133-137. Also see an article by Ozawa Saburō, pp. 59-81; Ion, *American Missionaries*, pp. 112, 115. Verbeck was not hasty to baptize converts, and expose them to the authorities, and the baptisms were generally done in secret.

<sup>642</sup> Yokoi Shonan was a samurai from Kumamoto who, in the 1850s and 1860s advocated political reform and the opening of the country. Unfortunately he was assassinated in 1869 by reactionary samurai who suspected him of being a Christian. His nephews received letters of introduction from Verbeck. Iwakura Tomomi was a imperial court noble who was a prominent figure in the Meiji Restoration.

<sup>643</sup> This number seems highly speculative but is repeated by many contemporary works as authentic. Schwantes asserts that this number is exaggerated, and the archivists at Rutgers were unsure how many there were, except that they agree that Griffis’ number is inflated. It is still occasionally cited, however. Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 139.

Still, he realized the limits that the government placed on these students who received passports with several stipulations, one of which was that they could not change their religion (though many ignored this and were baptized while in the U. S.)<sup>644</sup>

Verbeck accepted the offer to move from Nagasaki to the capital in 1869 without much hesitation for a variety of reasons, many of which he couched in spiritual terms in his letters. He had already been contemplating moving to another location because, with the opening of other treaty ports, Nagasaki was no longer as prominent of a city. He visited Osaka in 1868 to scope out its potential for missions and met with some Meiji leaders (and former students) who had intimated that they wanted him to teach at a school they were planning to start in Tokyo.<sup>645</sup> He also recognized the influence he could have in Tokyo with some of his former students, implying the potential spiritual fruit that could come from such work. Verbeck relates being invited by these leaders “special meetings” and consultations in which they were determining the direction of Japan’s government:

More than a year ago I had two very promising pupils, Soyeshima and Okuma, who studied with me a large part of the New Testament... You may be sure that my friends and pupils above named will work hard, not only for the repeal of the ancient edicts against Christianity, but if possible for universal toleration in the empire... It was interesting to see how their own reasoning, with a little guiding touch here and there, led these men to the conclusion that at the bottom of the difference in civilization and power between their country and such countries like ours and England, lay a difference of national religion.<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> Hamish Ion, *American Missionaries*, 139.

<sup>645</sup> During this time in Osaka., Griffis relates an interesting episode where he accompanied Komatsu in negotiations for the *CSS Stonewall*, which the U.S. minister refused to give to the Meiji leaders initially (because the then-defunct *bakufu* had purchased it). Supposedly Verbeck, after conversing with the American minister (VanValkenburgh), he said, “I told him [Komatsu] he must convince the Minister of the fact that the opposing party are only a small faction, in no way able to affect foreign intercourse and commerce in the empire.” Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 168-169.

<sup>646</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 174-175.

In addition, Verbeck expressed that the offer seemed providential “as it came unsought,”<sup>647</sup> and that he was afraid that if he rejected it he might open the door for the more “undesirable” influence of Roman Catholics (“Romanists”) “who exert themselves to the utmost for the same object.”<sup>648</sup>

These early years in Tokyo have often been depicted in the missionary literature (and in some of the oyatoi literature) as ones where Verbeck used his influence to guide the ship of state. But, initially this was not the case, and Verbeck’s first year or so in Tokyo were one of the hardest times of his life amidst the chaos of ever-changing reforms in the dangerous capital, working in areas he was not fully trained in, and wondering when and if he could get back to his missionary calling.<sup>649</sup> In his first letter from Tokyo in March, 1869 he writes that “As regards my own special duties at Yedo, I do not myself as yet exactly know what they are.”<sup>650</sup> In June Verbeck admitted that his move to Edo came at “a most unpropitious time,” and though he had received a “cordial reception” initially, it did not last, for the government became influenced by anti-foreign parties, and he was “almost like a prisoner in my house.” He wrote longingly of his days in Nagasaki:

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<sup>647</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 29 June 1869, JMRCA. Though he might have assumed a higher salary as well, this was not immediately apparent, and he had to borrow funds from the mission board to move to Tokyo and send his family home on furlough. After becoming the head of the *Daigaku Nankō*, in 1870, he received a salary of \$600 a month, supposedly the maximum paid to a foreign teacher in Japan at that time.

<sup>648</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 183.

<sup>649</sup> After receiving the promise of some financial assistance and credit from the mission board, he saw his family off from Yokohama on April 30<sup>th</sup> for a six-month separation. This type of separation was not unusual for missionary families at the time, but it was difficult for Verbeck, who sorely missed them during the trying months of 1869, and in one letter writes that “it is a dreary life for a man alone in these desert regions...how I miss those dear little voices and the patter of those little feet...”<sup>649</sup> Verbeck writes that he planned to keep a journal for his wife to give an account of the “probably very interesting incidents of the year.” Letter from Verbeck, 31 March 1869, JMRCA.

<sup>650</sup> Quoted in Griffis *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 185.

...daily I wish myself back to Nagasaki...far removed from the restless political centres....while at Nagasaki I could do a vast amount of direct missionary work besides attending to my school here I can hardly do a thing in this important line...So, I have made up my mind to go on to the end of the year, if I can hold out so long, and then if matters have not improved by that time, to go back to my old station to work there permanently.<sup>651</sup>

In his next letter, Verbeck seemed even more discouraged: “Never during my ten years’ sojourn on heathen soil did I feel the severance from the enjoyments of civilization and Christian intercourse so deeply as at present. I feel very lonely...I hardly ever before in my life, now nearly forty years, felt so much a pilgrim and stranger in this world.”<sup>652</sup> Thus, Verbeck sorely missed, not only his family, but his interaction with other Christians. As the number of missionaries in Edo slowly grew in the early 1870s, he hired a few of these competent missionaries as teachers for the school, and became an integral part of their community throughout his time as an *oyatoi* teacher and advisor.

Though spiritual factors continued to be at the forefront of his justifications for his work as an *oyatoi*, it is apparent that financial motives were also significant. When he was contemplating becoming a full-time missionary in 1874, after losing his position as superintendent he wrote of the debt he had acquired, including \$300 to the mission, which he had “no hope of getting out of it, with my large family on a mission salary” as well as the needs of his children’s education. In same letter, however, he spoke of the spiritual fruit that he hoped would come of his work as an adviser:

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<sup>651</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 29 June 1869, JMRCA, also see Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 187-188. Verbeck writes that one of the major reasons why he did not return to Nagasaki is that at least 36 of his former pupils had come after him to Tokyo and “it would not so easy for them to go back as for me.”

<sup>652</sup> Letter from Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 28 July 1869, JMRCA In a letter in August he seemed discouraged with his work for the government and wrote that the next spring he wanted to return exclusively to full-time missionary work, and requests that the board begin looking for a house for him. Letter from Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 27 August 1869, JMRCA.

I was somewhat hopeful at the time...to do good service to our cause as well as to the government in assisting in the framing in a beneficial code of church-laws. So far I have been disappointed, as the government is so involved in other more immediately pressing affairs of state, that for the time being its attention is quite withdrawn from the important question of establishing religious liberty on a sound basis....<sup>653</sup>

He concluded by writing that “unless the prospect of greater usefulness in my present position should soon become manifest....and unless the way is opened for me in my present position to do something settling or effective for the cause of Christianity in Japan,” he was going to request to rejoin the ranks of the full-time active missionaries.<sup>654</sup> Years later, when he was decorated by the Emperor Meiji at the end of his *oyatoi* employment with the government, Verbeck presented this honor as “an indirect tribute to the cause of missions. Certainly, if the government cherished hostile feelings towards protestant missions, it would not have taken such a step.”<sup>655</sup>

Obviously, Verbeck defended his work as an *oyatoi* by pointing to the many positive results which came from that labor for the cause of Christianity in Japan. But, how was Verbeck’s work as an *oyatoi* perceived by his contemporary missionaries and in the missionary literature? Though a few missionaries may have been critical of such “secular” labors for the government, as far as I can determine Verbeck was never mentioned by name in such critiques. Verbeck admitted that many in the foreign community in Japan did not like a missionary being in such a position. He wrote, “Among all foreigners here there always is and has been a great deal of envy & in regard to missionaries, & especially in regard to me because I occupied a prominent situation.”<sup>656</sup> But, in the missionary literature, the presentation of Verbeck as an influential

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<sup>653</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 19 Feb. 1874, JMRCA.

<sup>654</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 19 Feb. 1874, JMRCA.

<sup>655</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 24 July 1877, JMRCA.

<sup>656</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 19 February 1874, JMRCA.



teacher and a trusted adviser for Japan is commonly found in the missionary literature. Though Verbeck at one point distinguishes between “secular” education and Christian or missionary work, writing that “...I think we may leave mere secular teaching to secular teachers.”<sup>657</sup> in the missionary literature, particularly in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was little hesitancy to emphasize his work as an *oyatoi* as Christian labors. The contemporary missionary Otis Cary wrote of Verbeck, “He was a man of integrity beyond all question; of proved sagacity, kindly but frank to bluntness when occasion required; of unselfishness, self-effacement, willing to be the man behind the scenes, not the man in the spotlight; of untiring devotion, ready for toilsome research...so they trusted and used him as a government adviser in a wide range of affairs which later required many advisors.”<sup>658</sup> James I. Good attributed this trusted *oyatoi* advisory role in the early Meiji government to his earlier work as a teacher: “The revolution of 1868 was essentially a students’ revolution, and when it was successful the young men in Tokio felt the need of wise counsel. Instinctively, they turned to their old teacher, Verbeck, of Nagasaki.”<sup>659</sup> Lastly, Galen M. Fisher wrote, “Dr. Guido Verbeck was a man of internationalist training and more than any other foreigner was trusted by high officials in affairs of state.”<sup>660</sup>

However, this dual identity of Verbeck as missionary and *oyatoi* has resulted in common misrepresentations of Verbeck’s life up to this day. Some of the missionary literature made exaggerated claims regarding Verbeck’s contributions as an *oyatoi*, or claimed things that were clearly untrue. One 1905 work asserted that, “He was the head of Imperial University at Tokyo

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<sup>657</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 27 May 1877, JMRCA.

<sup>658</sup> Otis Cary, p. 199.

<sup>659</sup> Good, p. 256. Good also erroneously claims that “half of the [Iwakura] embassy had been pupils of his” p. 257.

<sup>660</sup> Fisher, p. 147.

for nearly 15 years [actually, it was the *Daigaku Nanko* not the Imperial University and it was only for three years]” and “no important step was taken without first asking his advice.” (clearly not true).<sup>661</sup> Furthermore, the image of Verbeck as missionary-employee has influenced the way that he has been cited in some in new literature on the history of missions. In the January-February, 2014 issue of *Christianity Today*, in an article on the work of J. Dudley Woodberry regarding the legacy of missionaries in the spread of democracy entitled, “The Surprising Discovery of those Colonialist, Proselytizing Missionaries,” Verbeck is featured after the end of the article as one of eight missionaries hailed as “bellwethers for global democracy.” The short entry on Verbeck describes him as “a Dutch political adviser, educator, and missionary hired by the Japanese government to establish a new English school system in Nagasaki. He went on to lead massive changes in Japan's education system, set up an exchange program with the States, and began the first Bible study in modern Japan.” Aside from the exaggerations contained in these two sentences, the description seems to point more to the perspective of Verbeck the missionary-*oyatoi* than Verbeck as a pioneer American missionary.<sup>662</sup>

It is clear from his correspondence and his work, that even when he was an *oyatoi*, Verbeck still considered himself a missionary, though not a full-time missionary. Throughout his years as an *oyatoi*, he was officially included as part of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church by the mission board, and he specifically thanked the board in 1877 for “having so long

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<sup>661</sup> Brain, p. 209.

<sup>662</sup> Andrea Palpant Dilley, “The Surprising Discovery of those Colonialist, Proselytizing Missionaries,” *Christianity Today*, January-February, 2014. Accessed online: <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2014/january-february/world-missionaries-made.html?order=&start=8>, Verbeck is the only missionary to Japan mentioned, and the others are Alice Seeley Harris (Congo), John Mackenzie (Botswana), Trevor Huddleston (South Africa), Ida Sophia Scudder and James Long (India), Timothy Richard and Eliza Bridgeman (China). The implication is that figures like these can be seen as significant in the larger narrative of modernization, which, in Woodberry’s case, is manifested in global democratization.

kept the name of so unprofitable servant as myself” listed in the ranks.<sup>663</sup> Almost all of the sources on Verbeck, including the scholarly *oyatoi* literature, claim that for fifteen years (1864-1878) he received his income as an *oyatoi* of the Japanese government, not from the foreign mission board. This is only partially true. When he worked for the *bakufu* in Nagasaki, his pay not very consistent, and at one point he wasn’t paid for over six months.<sup>664</sup> From 1869-1878, when he was employed by the Meiji government he was paid regularly, though he had to request loans of the mission board on at least three occasions (primarily for travel expenses, in 1869, 1873, and 1878). In addition, while he was working as an *oyatoi*, he played a prominent role in the small missionary community in Tokyo and attended all major missionary events, such as the first missionary conference in the fall of 1872, and continued to preach on Sundays (sometimes twice) and have Bible classes in his home, and by 1877 he had begun to teach homiletics and evidences of Christianity in the theology school that later merged with Meiji Gakuin.<sup>665</sup> Arguably the highest paid individual in this community, he had a Western-style house built through the assistance of his former student Takahashi Korekiyo. In 1876, Clara Whitney describes visiting her friend Emma Verbeck, describing details such as 50 teapots, two grand

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<sup>663</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 27 May, 1877. JMRCA.

<sup>664</sup> In examining the letters of Samuel R. Brown, it is evident that Verbeck did continue to receive periodic assistance from mission funds, even while under contract with the *bakufu*. Brown writes in a letter to the head of the mission board on January 12, 1866 that he sent Verbeck \$300 to make up for his expenses, and that he had sent him \$200 the previous year. Similarly, in a letter from August 27, 1866, Brown writes, “It is quite probable that I shall have to send Mr. Verbeck his allowance for the year...he writes me that he has not received a dollar from the government since last January. I sent him \$400 the other day.” Letters from Samuel R. Brown to the Mission Board of of the Reformed Church of America, JMRCA.

<sup>665</sup> One good source for this is Margaret Griffis’ diary from the early 1870s, where she describes missionary prayer meetings at the Verbeck’s house as well as sumptuous Christmas dinner and other activities of the missionary community in Tokyo. In the William Elliot Griffis Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University. Also see Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 27 May 1877, JMRCA.

pianos, and a beautiful Arabian horse.<sup>666</sup> The other missionaries clearly viewed Verbeck as a fellow missionary, and in his letters he periodically expressed his desire to return to full-time missionary work. His almost seamless switch from prominent *oyatoi* to prominent missionary is evidence of the fact that he was clearly highly respected by and involved in the missionary community.

In contrast to the Western missionary literature, the overall assessment of Verbeck's missionary work, particularly after his years as an *oyatoi*, is not very positive in the Japanese scholarship on Verbeck in the postwar period. During his lifetime and after his death that didn't seem to be the case. For example, the document, written by Okuma Shigenobu to raise funds from Verbeck's former students for a memorial for his grave, views his work as a missionary more positively and emphasizes much of this activity.<sup>667</sup> In contrast, in his *Oyatoi gaikokujin* volume on education and religion, Shigehisa Tokutarō wrote that, “after returning from American, he returned to being a missionary, but his last years were misfortunate (he uses the word *fugū*, which means misfortune or bad luck).<sup>668</sup> From reading and talking to scholars

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<sup>666</sup> Cited in Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 161. Verbeck, by his own admission, was not good with money and did not manage to save much money. His large family, travel and education expenses, and very generous nature also explain his inability to save money. It seems from his letters that the education of his children gave him the most concern. At times they attended schools in the U.S. (mainly in Oakland, California, but in 1882, he decided that he wants his children to return to Japan and study in various schools. Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p. 231. His son Gustave was a gifted artist and studied in Paris in the 1890s. By the end of his life, he had a good-size library (500 books of which Emma was going to try to keep intact in a collection), but his funeral expenses were defrayed by the Emperor and probably many of his books and possessions were sold to pay for various expenses for the family. Letter from Emma Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 14 April 1898, JMRCA.

<sup>667</sup> In Ōhashi and Hirano, pp. 368-370. Many of the 39 students were not Christians, including Katō Hiroyuki, who was hostile to Christianity. Also, in Saba Wataru's *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai* volumes, he seems to view Verbeck's latter years as very productive in supporting the Japanese church.

<sup>668</sup> Shigehisa Tokutarō, *Oyatoi: kyōiku, shūkyō*, pp. 17-21. Shigehisa discusses Verbeck at the beginning of a chapter on “The Work of Oyatoi Teachers,” but his work has relatively little on Verbeck throughout the book—a little over three pages on him, and mainly on education, not religion. In Tezuka's article,

interested in Verbeck in Japan, it seems that Takahashi Korekiyo and later *oyatoi* scholars' somewhat dreary assessment of Verbeck as a failed missionary has had a large impact on interpretations of Verbeck's latter decades in Japan.<sup>669</sup> Takahashi, in his autobiography, wrote that, when Verbeck came back to Japan as a missionary, "of course his Japanese surpassed that of all of his colleagues, and his sermons and writings were splendid. But he was not popular with his fellow missionaries (*kiuke ga yokunakatta*).<sup>670</sup> Itoh Noriko, in her recent biography on Verbeck, seems influenced by Takahashi's assessment, and she emphasizes the aspects of his life that provided hardships during his latter decades, such as his separation from family, lack of money, the death of his teenaged son Guido, and growing health concerns. In addition, she presents him as becoming proud and quarrelsome after 1883 and contrasts this with his earlier "modest and honorable" character. A few Japanese scholars today disagree—that, in contrast, the last two decades of missionary labor after he quit his work as an *oyatoi* were the high point in Verbeck's career as a missionary in Japan.<sup>671</sup> Overall, however, his missionary identity and role are deemphasized in the *oyatoi* literature, both in Japan and in the West.

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he writes more positively of Verbeck's missionary motives: "Verbeck, whose original mission was the gospel preaching, wished to leave his employment at the earliest possible date, but the Japanese Government, who highly appreciated his personality and intelligence, was earnest for his remaining in service even [after] his term of office at *Daigaku Nankō* expired. So he could not retire easily and continued to serve the Japanese Government as an outside counselor to the Senate and a superintendent [not true, because Verbeck refused the position] of the Peers' School until 1877. Tatsumaro Tezuka, "Verbeck and Thompson," p. 6-7.

<sup>669</sup> Smethurst, p. 316. Takahashi said he failed largely because the other missionaries distrusted him or were jealous because he spoke Japanese too well and had so many Japanese friends.

<sup>670</sup> Takahashi Korekiyo, *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden*, Vol 1, (Tokyo: Chikura Shobō, 1936), p. 154. The phrase *kiuke ga yokunakatta* means that he was not popular or that he was not favored (among the missionaries). It seems clear that Verbeck confided some of his frustrations concerning his life as a missionary with Takahashi.

<sup>671</sup> Itoh writes that "Living in Japan for 25 years gave Guido Verbeck overconfidence in workin as a missionary, as a teacher, and as a translator. He was showing off and trying to tell how important he had been. He had been modest and honorable. Guido seemed like beign involved in conflicts and quarrels

Though missionaries worked throughout the globe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, those in societies like India and much of Africa are a bit difficult to compare to Japan, in that the foreigners employed there (including missionaries) were often representatives of the colonial powers that controlled the government and paid for the projects and institutions. Most of the missionaries in non-colonized countries like Siam, China and Japan entered by way of the treaty ports established under the “unequal treaties” with the various Western countries. Unlike in China by the 1860s, foreigners, including missionaries, were limited to the port areas in Japan (unless granted special passports). Special residence areas (*kyoryūchi*) were designated in these ports where foreigners could lease land, purchase and build houses and warehouses. Though Japan also had to agree to “extraterritoriality” of foreigners, including missionaries, it tried to reform its laws to match Western standards of legal justice, which made relatively little impact until Japan promulgated a constitution in 1889. Though many missionaries and *oyatoi* tried to respect and abide by Japanese laws, the majority of foreigners held views closer to the *oyatoi* legal adviser George Bousquet, who commented in the late 1870s, “no European concerned for his dignity would wish to place himself under Japanese law in its present state.”<sup>672</sup>

In Siam, the contact with foreign advisers that entered through the treaty ports tended to be limited to royalty and an upper elite, and mainly through education. King Chulalongkorn, born in 1853, the year Perry arrived in Japan, was raised differently than all previous Thai monarchs. He was familiar with foreigners, sent 14 of his cousins to an English school in

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among foreigners and missionaries in Japan.” Itoh, *Guido F. Verbeck*, p.233. However, Itoh provides few specific examples to prove these claims. For those who would challenge Takahashi’s assessment, see Murase Hisayo’s work and Junko Nakai Murayama’s work on Verbeck’s Bible translation.

<sup>672</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 55. For the courts in the treaty ports in Japan, see Richard T. Chang, *The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth Century Japan* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1984). By 1891, however, Verbeck had no qualms about placing himself and his family under Japanese legal protection, and the unequal treaties were abolished by the end of that decade.

Singapore for training and had various English tutors. He also used foreign missionaries as advisers and teachers during his regime. In 1868 the American missionary J. H. Chandler became his tutor, and in 1872, Chulalongkorn built a palace military school with a section that taught foreign languages like English and French as well as mathematics, under the supervision of the Englishman, Frances George Patterson.<sup>673</sup> This was not very successful, but in 1877, under the advice and guidance of the missionary Samuel McFarland, Chulalongkorn established a more successful college in Bangkok where the nobility and elites could receive a modern education.<sup>674</sup> Thus, at the same time as Japan, the Thai government used missionaries to help build Western schools. However, unlike Japan, the political and educational reforms in Thailand (and the use of foreign advisers, including missionaries) were inconsistent, varying with the whims of the rulers and not permeating to classes above the top elites.

Another country that employed foreigners in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was China, and unlike Siam, there were some missionary-employees that were very significant figures like Verbeck. One who has already been compared to Verbeck by some Japanese scholars is the American

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<sup>673</sup> David K. Wyatt, "Education and the Modernization of Thai Society," in *Change and Persistence in Thai Society* eds. G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 131-133.

<sup>674</sup> Patterson was employed for three years and the enthusiasm for Western education declined. Initially the school had about 150 students and by 1873 only the five brothers of Chulalongkorn remained. B. J. Terwiel, *Thailand's Political History: From the 13<sup>th</sup> century to recent times* (Bankok, Thailand: River Books, 2005), pp. 185, 191. There were other foreign advisers who were not missionaries, such the British Oxford graduate, Robert Laurie Morant, who was hired as a tutor in 1887 for Chulalongkorn's son, Prince Vairunhis, and in 1890 he became the general advisor to Prince Damrong, the director of Siam's Department of Education. Chulalongkorn was so impressed by Morant's ideas on education that he hired him to write textbooks and eventually appointed him the headmaster of Raja Kumara College. Morant remained in the employ of the Siamese government until 1895 when he wrote a forty-page letter in which he suggested the prince should be placed in a military academy in England to receive better discipline. Nigel Bradley, *Two Views of Siam on the Eve of the Chakri Reformation* (Arran, Scotland: Kiscadale Publications, 1989), p. 25.

missionary, William Alexander Parsons (W.A.P.) Martin in China.<sup>675</sup> Verbeck and Martin were both long-term missionaries—Martin for the Presbyterian Church and Verbeck for the Reformed Church. They both entered their fields during a time of great upheaval and change. Martin arrived in southern China in 1850 on the eve of the Taiping Rebellion, and Verbeck arrived on the eve of the 1860s in western Japan, where the greatest challenges to the Tokugawa government would soon arise. When Martin moved to Ningpo, he did not want to live in the Presbyterian compound, but chose to live in the city amidst the Chinese population. Likewise Verbeck also chose to live outside of the concession area both in Nagasaki (only one other foreigner did so in the 1860s) and in many of his years in Tokyo. Martin had much more freedom to preach and taught in church-supported missionary schools whereas Verbeck initially had to be more circumspect, could only hold private Bible study classes in his home, and had to teach in government schools.

In their careers and work, Martin and Verbeck show marked similarities as well. Both were committed to learning the spoken language thoroughly, though Martin initially preferred to adopt a Romanization of Chinese (similar Hepburn in Japan in the 1860s who supported printing a *romaji* version of the New Testament). Both prioritized preaching and evangelism, though neither one engaged in “street preaching” and Verbeck’s opportunities to preach in Japanese came mainly after the first decades. Both were important in the translation of the Bible into a more colloquial form, though Martin’s New Testament used the Ningpo dialect and Verbeck’s

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<sup>675</sup> See the work of Ihara Sawahiro. “*Nichu ryokoku no shokikan rippogakko to futari no senkyoshi (ue)—Matin to Furubekki o chushin ni shite*. [The Earliest Government Western School in China and Japan: The Influence of Two Missionaries] *Otemon gakuin daigaku bunkabu kiyo* 32 (1997): 29-52, 33 (1997): 1-21, 34 (1998): 1-25. Also, Yoshida, Tora. “*Kindai higashi ajia no keisei to kirisutokyo—Marutin to Furubekki no hikaku kōsatsu*.” *Rikkyo daigaku shigakkai* 80 (Sept. 2009): 5-23. These works focus on similar biographical facts, but also on more specific elements such as the subject matter that both figures taught in their government-established schools for Western studies.



translation of the Psalms incorporated a hybrid style of written Japanese, not the formal literary form (*bungo*). Both wrote original works which addressed the truths (and objections) to Christianity, though Martin's *Tendō Sōgen* [*Evidences of Christianity*] presented Christianity in a Confucianist format and was much more detailed than the short tracts or speeches that Verbeck produced. Martin's work was very influential in missionary circles throughout East Asia, and Verbeck circulated copies of his work during his first years in Nagasaki. He was so impressed with it, that he later helped to translate and edit a Japanese version of it in the 1880s. Yamaji Aizan writes that it was influential among the first Japanese converts to Protestantism because, although its format was somewhat Confucian, in this "simple book" they "had the feeling that they were in contact with something new."<sup>676</sup>

Unlike Verbeck, Martin served as an interpreter for American diplomatic missions to Tianjin and Beijing from 1858-1860. Martin taught English, international law, political economy and other subjects in the Chinese government-sponsored university for Western languages and learning, called the *Tongwen Guan*. In 1869, Martin was made president of this school at the recommendation of Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Maritime Customs Office.<sup>677</sup> This was different from Verbeck, who was recommended by Japanese officials, not consular or foreign employees. Martin taught at the school for over 25 years, from 1869-1895, and this school became a part of the Imperial Capital University in 1902, just as the *Nankō* became part of Tokyo University. In 1898, during the Hundred Days reforms, Martin served as an advisor to the government and was asked to be in charge of the science curriculum at the Imperial University. This university somehow survived the subsequent annulment of the

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<sup>676</sup> Yamaji, p. 65.

<sup>677</sup> Ihara, p. 37.

reforms, and one friend of Martin's commented that "only Martin's prestige had saved the school."<sup>678</sup>

Martin translated various works on international law, natural philosophy and others, just as Verbeck translating similar Western works, and incorporated these subjects into their respective school's curriculum. Both worked with translation departments—Verbeck for the translation bureau of the *Seiin* (Central Chamber) of the *Dajōkan* (and its successor), and Martin for the *Zongli Yamen*, the office in charge of foreign affairs.<sup>679</sup> Both felt obligated to defend their "secular" teaching and translation work, and both justified it as being for the good of the people and country and leading them toward the Christian faith. Martin wrote in 1863, that such work was, "not unsuitable for a missionary who feels in duty bound to seek the welfare of the country he has chosen for the seat of his labors," trusting that it "might bring this atheistic government to the recognition of God and His Eternal Justice."<sup>680</sup>

Martin and Verbeck felt at times that their teaching was sometimes taking too much of their time, and both were convinced by the Japanese and Chinese governments respectively to remain in service (though Verbeck remained an employee for a much shorter time). Martin wrote, "To be candid, the care of only ten boys who learn nothing but English is for me too small

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<sup>678</sup> Martin, according to Covell, was given a contract with the *Zongli Yamen* to work on various translation projects and granted a specific amount of money for "horse and cart, paper and pens," and later, an "allowance for wood and water" (though it was essentially a salary added to the amount he received as president of the school). Ralph Covell, *W. A. P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China*. (Washington, D.C.: Christian University Press, 1978), pp. 185-186.

<sup>679</sup> Martin, according to Covell, was given a contract with the *Zongli Yamen* to work on various translation projects and granted a specific amount of money for "horse and cart, paper and pens," and later, an "allowance for wood and water" (though it was essentially a salary added to the amount he received as president of the school). Covell, pp. 185-186. They both specifically translated some of Bluntschli's work for the government. Ihara, p. 47.

<sup>680</sup> Quoted in Spence, p. 134.

a business. It looks like throwing away my time.”<sup>681</sup> This teaching, however, was also very profitable for both Verbeck and for Martin, as it doubled Martin’s missionary salary, and, when he became president of the school, he received a salary that—similar to Verbeck’s high salary—was ten times what he had received as a missionary. At this time, he resigned from the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, as Verbeck did when he began to work as an *oyatoi*.

Martin and Verbeck had growing family expenses, though Martin’s family remained in America after 1869 and Verbeck’s family stayed in Japan with him until they were older and his wife generally stayed in Japan with him until the mid-1880s. Both Verbeck and Martin established Western curriculums, endeavored to maintain competent faculty, particularly for the foreign teachers, and to produce quality students at their respective schools. Both were honored by imperial authorities, with Martin granted the third rank and then the second rank in the Chinese hierarchy by 1895.<sup>682</sup> Unlike Verbeck, Martin continued to teach for the government for decades, until the Boxer Rebellion. Then, in 1902, he was supposed to return to his position but the government refused to fund the high salaries of the foreigners. He became the head of a new university in Wuchang (Wuhan today), where he remained until 1905. Despite the failure of this institution, Martin, for his four decades of educational work has been recognized as the “founder of modern state education in China.”<sup>683</sup> In some ways, Martin deserved this accolade more than Verbeck because he worked for four decades in this endeavor, but in other ways Verbeck’s work as an adviser was more versatile and perhaps more effective in influencing the government to reform. Lastly, after retiring from teaching at the government school in Beijing,

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<sup>681</sup> Quoted in Spence, p. 136.

<sup>682</sup> Spence, p. 140.

<sup>683</sup> These comparisons are based largely upon material from Covell, Spence, and Ihara. Quote on Covell, p. 189. Particularly, see Covell, Chs. 2-7, pp 38-198.

Martin wrote a historical sketch/memoir entitled, *Cycle of Cathay or China, South and North. With Personal Reminiscences*, which Verbeck read. Other than a short reflective article in a missionary periodical, Verbeck wrote no memoir or autobiographical work.

When we compare these two cases of missionary-employees, the similarities are striking. Obviously, the notion that Japan's policy of paying high salaries for its foreign employees was not unique. Neither was their bestowing of imperial honors upon key foreigners, nor their desire to adopt Western ideas in order to defend themselves against foreigners. But there are some key differences that these cases reveal. For one thing, the slow rate of reform and the inability to replace foreigners like Martin with Chinese teachers was one key difference. The failures, particularly in the short-term, are more obvious. At the end of four decades of work on behalf of the Chinese government, Martin found himself, in the Boxer Rebellion, trapped with all the other remaining Westerners in Beijing, frustrated and "blushing for shame at the thought that our life-long services had been so little valued."<sup>684</sup> In the wake of the rebellion, Martin was very critical of the Chinese, and justified Western imperialist ambitions in China, declaring that the people "were made to be ruled by others" and that Chinese independence was "neither possible nor advisable." In voicing such seeming support for imperialism, he is a contrast with Verbeck, who never stated such opinions about the Japanese. However, in his last letter, Verbeck seemed to indirectly criticize Japan through a reference to Martin. He writes, "I suppose you have seen my old friend Dr. Martin's book on China [*Cycle of Cathay*]. If a man should undertake to write a similar book on Japan and the Japanese, with but one-tenth; nay one-twentieth of its critical and

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<sup>684</sup> Quoted in Spence, p. 158. One could also discuss the failure of other China missionaries who worked unsuccessfully to change China. For instance, John Fryer, who spent almost four decades in China trying to bring Western science to China in the hopes that it would lead to an embracing of Western religion as well.

person reflections in it, he had better not think of ever coming again to this country. It may not be safe to do so.”<sup>685</sup>

But, like Verbeck, Martin did not give up on China and continued to believe that with more reforms and “sound science and true religion,” they would eventually “take their place among the leading nations of the earth.”<sup>686</sup> In *The Awakening of China*, he wrote, “Imagination revels in picturing her [China’s] future, when she shall have adopted Christian civilization, and when steam and electricity shall have knit together all the members of her gigantic frame.”<sup>687</sup> In his last eleven years in China, similar to Verbeck, he resumed full-time missionary work, and supported the independence of the Chinese churches. Also, like Verbeck, he was buried in a foreign cemetery in his adopted land. Unlike Verbeck, however, it was the American legation, and not the imperial government, who provided a guard for the graveside service. But the wagon with his casket was covered with both Chinese and American flags and the Chinese *Peking Gazette* wrote “Dr. Martin is dead, but he still lives, and may we not truly say that by his words, his writings and the lives which he has touched, he will live on in China forever and ever.”<sup>688</sup> Such high praise echoes the encomiums which Japanese observers bestowed upon Verbeck when he died almost two decades earlier.

In contrast to Verbeck and W.A.P. Martin, there were many employees who were not missionaries, like Henry Denison or Hermann Roesler in Japan or like Robert Hart in China. Henry Denison went to Japan as vice-consul in 1869 and worked for the American legation until

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<sup>685</sup> Letter from Guido F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 24 Feb. 1898, JMRCA.

<sup>686</sup> Quoted and cited in Spence, p. 159.

<sup>687</sup> W.A.P. Martin, *The Awakening of China*, p. x.

<sup>688</sup> Quoted in Covell, p. 266.

1876, practicing law in Japan for a few years and in 1880 becoming an advisor to the Japanese government on international law. He served in this capacity until 1914, working to revise the unequal treaties and as a consultant at various treaty negotiations during those years. Ardath Burks cites Verbeck and Denison as the most trusted *oyatoi*, so it seems fitting to compare them.<sup>689</sup> Verbeck and Denison were both highly paid, and they received a high level of trust and respect from the Japanese, including imperial recognition throughout their lives (though Denison's service was much longer and his awards from the emperor were eventually the highest of any *oyatoi*). Denison, like Verbeck, was honored by many Japanese leaders during his lifetime, particularly those who dealt with foreign relations, such as Ōkuma Shigenobu, Mutsu Munemitsu and Itō Hirobumi.<sup>690</sup> As might be expected, *oyatoi* like Denison and Verbeck, who were content to play a low-key role and willingly faded into the background were some of the most successful.

Denison was given a state funeral and buried in the same cemetery as Verbeck, and his legacy, though significant, is fairly straightforward. He is remembered for his lifetime commitment to Japan and his invaluable assistance to Japan's diplomacy, and it is fitting that after his death, the future Prime Minister Hara Kei had a bust of Denison placed in the entry to the Diplomatic Training Center near Yokohama. Very little scholarship, however, has been written on Denison, and the sources are limited. For example, he destroyed some of the sources by his own choice, such as the records he made during the negotiations for the Russo-Japanese

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<sup>689</sup> Burks "Introduction" in Beck and Burks, *Aspects of Meiji Modernization*, p. 6.

<sup>690</sup> For Denison, see Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 98-103 and Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, pp. 45-48. Jones asserts that Denison and Roesler were both loners, like Verbeck and DuBousquet had been. What she means is not precisely indicated, though certainly characterizing Verbeck as a "loner," seems to overlook his interaction not only with his students, Japanese friends, but, perhaps most importantly, his missionary work.

War Treaty in Portsmouth—ostensibly so that he would not take any of the credit away from the Japanese delegation.<sup>691</sup> Umetani's claims for Denison are nearly as glowing as for Verbeck: "Denison enjoyed the absolute confidence of successive foreign ministers and helped Japanese diplomacy over a thirty year period. In doing so, he probably thought only of Japan's interests." Just as Verbeck was accused of catering to Japanese interests, Denison was also viewed similarly, and even President Teddy Roosevelt in Portsmouth teasingly asked him if he was an American or a Japanese.<sup>692</sup> Like Verbeck, he was a key *oyatoi* in guiding the Meiji leaders through this critical period.<sup>693</sup>

Another trusted *oyatoi* advisor who was not a missionary was Hermann Roesler, a German legal scholar who was initially hired, like Denison, to work on treaty reform. He was one of the most prominent *oyatoi* in Meiji Japan and was highly respected for his key role in advising the government on the creation of the Constitution. Many of his suggestions, such as the rule that the previous year's budget would be renewed if the Diet refused to pass a new one, became part of the Meiji Constitution in 1889. Like Denison, Roesler was relatively unknown before he began working for the Japanese. But, after 1881, the German (Prussian) model of government was preferred by Japan's leaders, and thus the Meiji government used Roesler's legal expertise in drafting the Constitution. Like Denison, Roesler was more of a specialist, but

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<sup>691</sup> Denison had supposedly tendered his resignation in 1908, wanting to return to the U.S. and work there. But the Japanese insisted that he should remain and increased his salary from 10,000 to 15,000 yen. Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 102-103.

<sup>692</sup> Anyone who knows the turbulent politics of the Meiji period would realize what a feat this was. Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 47.

<sup>693</sup> However, his unreserved support and assistance for Japan imperialism during this time perhaps makes him a more ambivalent figure than Verbeck in the postwar period and today, particularly with those who focus on the legacy of Japanese imperialism and WWII.

both were committed—like Verbeck—to helping Japan build a modern nation and develop a system of law that would help them to achieve their goals. And, like Denison, Roesler's close association with the prewar Meiji Constitution has made him a more ambivalent historical figure in the postwar period. Unlike Verbeck and Denison, however, Roesler was more willing to candidly critique nationalistic aspects of the Constitution that he disagreed with, such as the opening declaration of the eternity of the Imperial line. One author, commenting on Roesler's criticism, writes that "...the fact that Roesler dared such a critique proves that he was held in high esteem by the Japanese."<sup>694</sup>

Unlike missionaries such as Verbeck, Denison and Roesler did not view their employment as temporary or subsumed under a higher calling. However, at least in Roesler's case, this does not mean that they did not view their service to Japan in light of larger religious or ethical ideals for the Japanese nation or society. According to Roesler's biographer, Johannes Siemes,

Roesler's conception of the constitution, its role and its organic development rests on a presupposition which is not written in the constitution and cannot be written there....The spirit of social freedom and social law which for Roesler is the life-spring of the social state has an ethico-religious root. Roesler considered it an offspring of the Christian idea of humanity. Only the Christian religion which sees every man personally called to God can uphold the freedom and social responsibility of the person with an absolute conviction. Roesler believed that these essentially Christian ideas would be accepted everywhere in the modern world, and that the cultural development of Japan after the Restoration was moving in a direction toward the realization of these ideas....In reality, however, in the socio-cultural transformation of the Meiji era no Christian humanism took root in the new nation.<sup>695</sup>

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<sup>694</sup> Quoted in Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 40.

<sup>695</sup> Johannes Siemes, *Hermann Roesler and the making of the Meiji State* (Tokyo: Sophia University/Charles E. Tuttle, 1968), pp. 42-43. Siemes mentions that part of the motivation for moving to Japan was that Roesler, as a Catholic German, was on the losing side in Germany's *Kulturkampf* in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Germany.



Though the differences in motivation between missionaries like Verbeck and Roesler are clear, there may have been more similarities between their views of their work in and for Japan. Roesler's perspective on the future of Christianity in the 1880s in Japan reveals a closer affinity between the opinions of some *oyatoi* to the optimistic hopes of Verbeck and other missionaries at the time.

Both the Japanese and Chinese governments did not prefer to hire missionaries, but when they did hire them, like in the cases of Verbeck and Martin, it seemed to make little difference in how their work was perceived by the respective governments. Though it spans a much larger time period, another work that deals with missionaries who were foreign advisers is Jonathan Spence's *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960*. Spence lumps together missionaries, teachers, and military officers as "foreign advisers" with a mission to change China. He is generally critical of the failure of these individuals and their "missions" (whether religious or political), and has a much more negative view of such foreign figures than the *oyatoi* literature does. Though the Chinese in essence "defeated" these advisers' attempts to change China, the Westerners were perceived as trying to impose their will and ideals on China. In the conclusion, he posed questions such as, "What were the basic motives of these men, and what did they hope to achieve? What was the personal cost of their type of service? By what right did they go?"<sup>696</sup> The first two questions could be fruitfully asked of all the *oyatoi*. The

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<sup>696</sup> Spence, p. 291. Spence's work, originally published in 1969 at the height of the *oyatoi* literature is also written at the height of the Vietnam War. Spence sees these western advisers as predecessors to modern advisers and foreign workers throughout the world who "are still trying to carry out similar work in other parts of the world." These questions sound similar to Notehelfer's questions on the *oyatoi*: "But the records that remain [on the *oyatoi*] are frequently the remnants of bureaucratic history. In the majority of cases we know virtually nothing of what the *oyatoi* observed, how they felt, what they tried to accomplish, or what their motivations for going to Japan were. All too often...the nature of *oyatoi* documents has resulted in studies that tend to reflect the dry, husk-like nature of the materials upon which

last question does not generally apply to the *oyatoi*, but it is relevant for missionaries to Japan. But for figures like Verbeck and W.A.P Martin, who successfully straddled the boundaries between missionaries and foreign employees, it was not a difficult question to answer. Their identities as missionaries seemed to trump their service as employees for the government. Thus, their work was always instrumental, that is, the education and modernization that they helped these societies to acquire, were, in God's providence, to serve a higher mission, to somehow lead to a greater acceptance of or conversion to Christianity. Perhaps the dual identity of missionary and adviser/employee for Verbeck and W.A.P. Martin also means that their legacies in world history are more complex than foreign advisers like Roesler and Denison in that they are also included in the narratives of the history of missions and Christianity in Japan and China respectively.

#### **2.3.4 Verbeck as a Transitional and Transnational *Oyatoi*: Transcending Political Boundaries**

Another category for analysis that Verbeck provides a good example for is a foreign employee figure who transcended political boundaries, both political regime boundaries and boundaries of nationality. In Japan, Verbeck was one of few *oyatoi* who worked for both the Tokugawa *bakufu* and for the Meiji government (most of the others were French *oyatoi* such as Léonce

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they are based rather than the living elements of the men and women whose lives produced them.” Notehelfer, “Review of Burks,” p. 209.

Verni, though there were a few others such as the English doctor William Willis.<sup>697</sup> Thus he is one of the few *oyatoi* who was prominent during both the Tokugawa and Meiji periods, his prominence with the latter government developing out of relationships and a reputation established in the former.

There are other individuals in prior epochs who also accomplished a similar straddling of regimes, such as the Jesuit astronomer, Johan Adam Schall von Bell, who worked for both the Ming and the Qing governments in China. Also, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were some foreign employees in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service who worked for the Chinese governments on both sides of the 1911 Revolution. Most likely, there were foreigners who worked for both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Comparing such figures would not only reveal the various ways the individuals accomplished such a feat, but also the importance of foreign expertise in legitimizing various regimes. For Verbeck, the way that he transcended both regimes was related to the interpersonal relationships and trust he engendered with various elites as their teacher of Western learning. And, though the Meiji leaders had formerly wanted to “expel” the foreigners, the growing strength of treaty powers and the *bakufu*’s increasing reforms in its latter years, made it virtually impossible for the Meiji leadership to reject such Westernizing reforms as an essential part of their regime.

Verbeck provided an ideal transitional figure who not only represented a sense of continuity in the commitment to the modernizing reforms for both regimes, but also a trusted figure who

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<sup>697</sup> Neither of these figures were as successful as Verbeck in making the transition. Verni was not only tainted by the French support for the *bakufu*, but he had difficulties working with the Japanese authorities and complained that he had received more money for building docks in China. Like Verbeck, he was honored by the emperor (the year before Verbeck, in 1876), but then left Japan. Dr. Willis was highly respected by the Meiji government, but shortly after the Meiji Restoration, in 1869 was sent to start a hospital in Satsuma, where he stayed until the rebellion in 1877. See Hugh Cortazzi, *Dr. Willis in Japan: British Medical Pioneer 1862-1877* (London and Dover, New Hampshire: The Athlone Press, 1985).

would allow the new leaders to maintain the continued policy of Japanese control over this process.

Another characteristic of Verbeck is that he transcended national boundaries. Some foreigners presented a strong national orientation in their service as foreign employees, often hired through the recommendation of a consul and returning to their countries of origin after their brief period of employment.<sup>698</sup> Other foreign employees, like Verbeck, can be seen as more transnational figures, with his multilingual Dutch upbringing, his training and marriage in America, and his long residency in Japan. Perhaps for the majority of the *oyatoi*, a specific national identity and allegiance was clear, but for some, the experience as *oyatoi* involved transcending the boundaries of a single national identity. In Arjun Appadurai's terms, individuals like Verbeck could imagine themselves as part of more than one nation, revealing that, "The modern nation-state grows less out of natural facts—such as language, blood, soil, and race—and more out of a quintessential cultural product, a product of the collective imagination."<sup>699</sup> Thus, Verbeck could imagine himself as Dutch, as American, or as Japanese, depending on which group he imagined himself as belonging to or identifying with. Likewise, observers could depict Verbeck as fitting into whichever of these they imagined him. The subtitle of Griffis' biography, "Citizen of No Country" focuses on Verbeck's lack of citizenship with any state, and Umetani similarly states, "having failed to get American citizenship, he had

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<sup>698</sup> Verbeck, unlike most of the early *oyatoi*, was not hired through the recommendation of a consul (though for his residence and the contract for teaching in Nagasaki the American consul's assistance was necessary).

<sup>699</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 161.

no registered nationality.”<sup>700</sup> But the implication of this fact means that Verbeck has an identity that is potentially more fluid.

Though this lack of a specific registered nationality gave Verbeck the freedom to be transnational, some policies of the Meiji government, family dynamics, and missionary policies worked against this transnationalism. For example, the emperor granted awards by national designation, so that Verbeck was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, *as an American*, though he never became a citizen. In his letters to the mission board, he emphasized his American identity, claiming “to have more of the true American spirit than any Americans in this part of the Japanese empire” and claimed that “as an American, I am more looked to and respected by the natives than any other of our countrymen here.” Perhaps there is a bit of self-promotion in this passage, but Verbeck is primarily trying to present himself as a committed “Americanized Dutchman.”<sup>701</sup> Also, with his family all emigrating from Holland to America, his marriage to an American, and his children’s subsequent lives in America, it is not surprising that he is often viewed as an American.<sup>702</sup> However, at one point in his correspondence to the head of the mission board, he criticized the narrow nationalistic policies of the Presbyterian and American Board missions which

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<sup>700</sup> Umetani, *Role of Foreign Employees*, p. 30.

<sup>701</sup> In other letters, he emphasized his use of the U.S. Constitution in his teaching as well. Earns, “A Miner,” 97-99.

<sup>702</sup> His son General William Verbeck was the superintendent of Manlium Military Academy for 30 years. In 1910, he was granted American citizenship by the New York legislature when it was discovered that because of his father’s lack of citizenship and his birth in Japan, he was not technically a U. S. citizen.

refused to send out foreigners (even naturalized foreigners) to the mission field (in contrast to the English and Episcopal missionary societies).<sup>703</sup>

Another example of an *oyatoi* who transcended national boundaries could include people like Edwin Dun an American who spent considerable time in Japan. Dun worked in Hokkaido for the Kaitakushi in the 1870s, but returned to work for the American legation in the 1880s and became the chief American representatives in the mid-1890s during the Sino-Japanese War. Dun's unpublished memoirs were entitled "Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan." Though he supported Japan's adoption of Western technology and science, he strongly doubted the value of transplanting other social and political institutions. "The Japanese of today," wrote Dun, "was a civilized being three thousand years ago and the teachings, traditions and gradual development of thirty centuries has made him what he is now. He is not a European, American or Chinaman....He must advance as a Japanese."<sup>704</sup> Dun was often distressed at American views on Japan, particularly when a U.S. Senator declared that the Japanese "only fifty years ago were

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<sup>703</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 172-173. Verbeck was glad in 1869 when the Dutch Reformed Church got rid of the "Dutch" because he did not think it was best to have a specific nation's name in their church denomination. Particularly during the Civil War, Verbeck hopes the war will end, but his responses have little of the emotion of the letters of Samuel Brown (who had a son fighting in the war) and of James Ballagh's (who was from Virginia) on this topic. Ballagh arrived in Japan in 1861 and had difficulties sending and receiving letters from his family. Letter from James H. Ballagh to Philip Peltz, 2 Jan. 1862. After discussing the memories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg the previous July 4<sup>th</sup>, Brown writes in 1864, "We fear, however, that there is to be much more bloodshed, ere the rebellion is ended. Prayer is offered...from loyal hearts in Japan, for the speedy return of peace to our stricken land." Letter from S. R. Brown to Philip Peltz, 6 July 1864, JMRCA.

<sup>704</sup> Fujita, *American Pioneers*, p. 84. Some of the key features of Japanese culture and society that differed from America and which Dun perceptively noted were the Japan's "hierarchy, paternalism, and absence of individualism." Dun's daughter comments that he remained nostalgic for America, and loved to watch the early movies that came from America.

emerging from barbarism.”<sup>705</sup> Dun also married two Japanese women during his lifetime and died and was buried in Aoyama Cemetery, the same cemetery that Verbeck was buried in.

There are many other foreign advisers that could be seen in transnational terms. Denison committed his entire career to assisting the Japanese in nation and empire-building in the Meiji period and was teased by Teddy Roosevelt, for seeming to be Japanese. There are also parallels, particularly with countries like the Ottoman Empire (Turkey), Siam (Thailand), China and Egypt, of many lesser-known individuals, but their transnational stories are largely unknown. In the Ottoman Empire, there were foreign experts such as the Swiss physician Dr. Josef Koetsche, who spent his entire career in Ottoman service in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. During the reign of Abdulaziz (1830-1876), approximately 400 English workmen worked at the Haskoy dockyards. Many of the educated and skilled Polish and Hungarian refugees who fled to the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century adopted Turkish names and became engineers and army officers for the regime, building railroads, telegraphs and other projects.<sup>706</sup> Many of these individuals may have remained or were naturalized in these societies, but they began as foreign employees and share some characteristics of transnational figures like Verbeck.

Verbeck was also not the only missionary who committed himself to and identified with the society he was sent to. Quite a few missionaries committed their lives to their mission fields, identified with the people, were buried in those lands, and continue to be fondly remembered by these societies. Some earlier missionaries, such as Matteo Ricci could certainly be seen as a figure who transcended boundaries. Similarly, many later Scottish missionaries, such as John

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<sup>705</sup> Fujita, *American Pioneers*, p. 84-85.

<sup>706</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 75-77.

Philip in South Africa and Mary Slessor in Nigeria, who, unlike the *oyatoi*, worked in education and government work funded almost entirely by Western imperialist powers, nonetheless both committed their lives to their respective fields and are remembered as indigenous heroes in these societies. Similarly, Amy Carmichael, a missionary from Northern Ireland, built the Dohnavur Fellowship in India, an institution for abandoned youths, which still exists today. She was buried in her adopted land and is still remembered fondly by many in India. Undoubtedly, the identities of these missionaries were changed by their missionary service for the people of another land, but because of various factors, including their experiences and their backgrounds, they were less nationalistic in their outlook.

Two very different transnational figures with some similarities in background were Verbeck and Charles William Joseph Emile LeGendre. Both were born in Europe in 1830, Verbeck in the Netherlands and LeGendre in France. Both moved to America in the mid-1850s, though LeGendre was naturalized and fought in the Civil War. After the Civil War, ambitious and disappointed by his lack of promotion, LeGendre set out for East Asia, became the U. S. consul at Amoy and took an interest in the island of Taiwan (which was in his consular jurisdiction). After a falling out with the U.S. minister to Beijing in 1872, he was initially appointed by President Grant as Minister to Argentina, but the Senate did not recommend him because he was not born in the U.S. This resembles Verbeck's rejection as a missionary for the American Board to China, before he was approached by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Disheartened, on his way home from China, LeGendre stopped in Japan and was hired as an adviser in both foreign and military affairs in 1872, a year before Verbeck officially became an adviser. He accompanied Soejima Taneomi (one of Verbeck's earliest students) to China in an audience with the Chinese emperor in 1873. LeGendre claimed credit for the success of this



meeting, particularly for the “Perry-like firmness” which he had urged Soejima to display.<sup>707</sup>

After this demonstration, the Chinese government tried unsuccessfully to get LeGendre to stop working for Japan by offering him a lucrative position with the Customs office at \$20,000 a year (the Japanese government paid him \$12,000).<sup>708</sup> Refusing this, LeGendre also helped plan the Taiwan Expedition of 1874, though he himself was not able to accompany the Japanese military expedition because he was awaiting trial in China for his actions. The Japanese government had no qualms about recognizing his efforts on their behalf, and he was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, Second Class, in 1875, one of the first Americans to be so honored and two years before Verbeck was awarded the Third Class.

Both Verbeck and LeGendre had close ties with Ōkuma, one of Verbeck’s earliest students from Saga and a powerful Meiji politician. Even after his retirement as an *oyatoi*, LeGendre continued to serve as a private adviser to Ōkuma. Unlike Verbeck, he wrote several works on political and diplomatic issues in East Asia, including “Is Aboriginal Formosa a Part of the Chinese Empire” (1869), “How to Deal with China” (1871) and, *Progressive Japan: The Political and Social Needs of the Empire* (1877).<sup>709</sup> Unlike Verbeck, during his career, LeGendre had gained more notoriety than renown or respect. The China missionary Samuel W. Williams denounced LeGendre as “an evil counselor.” The British minister to Japan, Harry Parkes wrote

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<sup>707</sup> William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur*. (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 93

<sup>708</sup> Neumann, p. 93-94.

<sup>709</sup> This last work is more extensive and was published. Charles LeGendre, *Progressive Japan: The Political and Social Needs of the Empire* (New York and Yokohama: C. Levy, 1878). For LeGendre, see William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 89-99.

that in the expedition to Taiwan in 1874, Japan had been “led away by their own conceit and by advice...which has been chiefly been supplied by that man named LeGendre!”<sup>710</sup>

LeGendre lived in Japan, like Verbeck, until the 1890s. After his divorce from his American wife, he married Itō Ikeda, the illegitimate daughter of the daimyo Matsudaira Yoshinari of Fukui, and their son became a famous kabuki actor.<sup>711</sup> However, after failing to convince Japan to revise its regulations on trade with Korea in 1891, he declared to a friend, “Japan has become perfectly hateful to me....Japan has ceased to be what it used to be.” Thus, unlike Verbeck, he became critical of Japan’s imperialism in Asia, and, disillusioned with Japan, he went to Korea and became an advisor to King Gojong for the remainder of his life. He died a year after Verbeck and was buried in a foreign cemetery in Seoul. LeGendre, like Verbeck, had a cosmopolitan background, but in contrast to Verbeck, he seemed eager to use the volatile political situation in East Asia to gain personal fame, not committing to one place in East Asia but moving from China to Japan to Korea. Though LeGendre was a naturalized American citizen, his lack of attachment not only to the U. S., but to Japan, makes him, in some ways, more of a transnational figure than Verbeck. Though similar in transcending national boundaries, Verbeck and LeGendre were very different transnational figures and who have been perceived very differently. Though LeGendre was honored first by the Emperor and contributed to Japan’s

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<sup>710</sup> Neumann, pp. 95-97. After this, LeGendre, who was employed by the Department of Colonization, gave advice to the Japanese government on the colonization of Hokkaido and relations with Russia. One suggestion, that Japan import Mormons from the U.S. to settle Hokkaido was never implemented.

<sup>711</sup> Their son became the famous kabuki actor Ichimura Uzaemon XV.

imperialism, he is barely mentioned in the *oyatoi* literature and is virtually unknown in both the U. S. and in Japan.<sup>712</sup>

A comparison of Verbeck and LeGendre reveals very different motives and legacies of these transnational figures, but LeGendre's multinational government employment makes him different than Verbeck, and arguably less significant to Japan. However, the prominent figure of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Union from 1863-1911, provides an example of a foreigner who, like Verbeck, devoted himself in the service of one country. Like Denison in Japan, Hart began his career in China as a legation employee, and never saw himself as a missionary or "Christianizer," nor did he seek to engage in other work beyond their service to the Chinese government. Hart took charge of the mismanaged Maritime Customs Office, and under his expert guidance customs revenue grew from three to thirty million. Hart enabled the Chinese government to keep solvent, function more efficiently, and eventually to train a corps of Chinese employees that would eventually replace the foreign employees.<sup>713</sup> W.A.P. Martin wrote that Hart delayed recommending the opening of a school for the training of Chinese officials for the customs service because, for all his public spirit, he "never ventured to recommend [such a school], because it implies the speedy replacement of the foreign staff by trained natives."<sup>714</sup> Through his work, he also enabled many of the foreign employees who worked under him in the Customs office to remain after the 1911 Revolution,

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<sup>712</sup> Other than some information on LeGendre in books on diplomacy with Japan, the only full-length work on his life is Susan Caruthers' dissertation, "Charles LeGendre: American diplomacy and expansionism in Meiji Japan, 1868-1893," Ph.D. Diss., University of Colorado, 1966.

<sup>713</sup> See Catherine Ladds, *Empire Careers: Working for the Chinese Customs Service, 1854-1949* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013). One recent work that focuses on the Chinese staff at the Maritime Customs Service is: Chihyun Chang, *Government Imperialism and Nationalism in China: The Maritime Customs Service and its Chinese Staff 1895-1941* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>714</sup> Martin, *Awakening of China*, p. 209.

including his nephew Frederick Maze, who continued to work for the Customs Union into the 1930s.

Hart also developed China's postal system and was a trusted advisor and mediator for the Qing government. Arguably one of the most internationally decorated foreign employees in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he received honors and decorations not only from Britain and China but from a variety of nations. By the end of his life, according to Juliet Bredon, he was decorated 24 times and 13 of those decorations were Grand Crosses, the highest order of "knighthood" awarded in most countries.<sup>715</sup> Despite such respect and effectiveness, Hart's autocratic style was not appreciated by some who worked with him. One of them, Johannes von Gumpach, "sued him for high-handed and deceitful practices, calling him 'a thorough egotist—unscrupulous and ambitious selfishness personified.'" Some of the Chinese officials occasionally criticized him and even his "friend and ally" Li Hongzhang once described him as "'quite contentious' and willing to exert himself on China's behalf only because he coveted a high salary."<sup>716</sup>

Though Hart never married a Chinese woman, became Sinicized or wore Chinese attire, as the head of a multinational group of employees he was seen as a "cultural middleman—British by birth, Chinese by choice." However, this adopted Chinese identity only went so far, and his employers in the *Zongli Yamen* lamented the fact that he had not been "born a Chinese." By his own admission he was a "Chinese agent" and as "completely Chinese in his sympathies as a Chinese himself," but he remained a foreigner who lived in the foreign concession, and his

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<sup>715</sup> Juliet Bredon, *Sir Robert Hart: The Romance of a Great Career* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1909) pp. 250. Also see Spence, *To Change China*, pp. 107-136. Hart's house, belongings and records were completely destroyed by fire during the indiscriminate anti-foreign reaction in the Boxer Rebellion.

<sup>716</sup> *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization: His Journals, 1863-1866*. Eds. Richard J. Smith, John K. Fairbank, Katherine F. Bruner (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 409.

ultimate loyalty to China was uncertain in the minds of some of the Chinese officials. In 1867, he was asked whether he would wear Chinese regalia if the Qing emperor granted him an audience and he said that he would not do so because, “being a foreigner, I cannot k’ow’tow & therefore I should wear foreign dress.”<sup>717</sup> Hart, though in many ways so different from Verbeck, yet was similar in his longevity and commitment to an adopted country, unlike the shifting loyalties of individuals like LeGendre.

In many respects, the study of the *oyatoi* has resulted in a significant amount of scholarship since the 1960s on relatively neglected foreign figures in Japanese history. But if viewed in light of other similar figures worldwide, the *oyatoi* could be analyzed in more global or transnational terms. A comparison with other so-called “late-modernizers” such as the Ottoman Empire, Thailand, and China, can reveal some similarities as well as clear differences regarding foreign experts and employees. Japan’s use of foreign employees was certainly more systematic, selective, government-controlled, and limited in duration. But Japan’s exceptionalism (“*tokubetsuna Nihon*”) in this regard can be overstated. Some answers to the question why Japan alone succeeded in modernizing in such a short period of time includes not only distinctive proto-modern developments in the Tokugawa period, but also their extensive use of *oyatoi* in the Meiji period. The study of *oyatoi* should not only be compared with other such figures in modern societies but should incorporate more recent approaches to expand the subject of foreign employees. Scholars like Umetani Noboru and Ardath Burks alluded to the extension

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<sup>717</sup> Robert Hart and *China’s Early Modernization*, pp. 26-27, 410. The military counterparts of Hart for China might include some of the famous foreign officers that helped China defeat the Taiping rebels, such as the British Major Charles “Chinese” Gordon or the American Frederick Townsend Ward. Gordon technically remained an officer of the Royal Engineers and was only employed as a Chinese officer for two years. Ward, on the other hand, became a general, admiral, and official for China before his early death at age 30. Hart was exclusively a Chinese foreign employee for more than four decades, but wielded much power and influence. Spence, *To Change China*, pp. 57-92.

of the *oyatoi* to contemporary interactions in the developing world in the use of experts and advisers (many of them Japanese as well as “Western”) but scholars have not expanded on this comparison.<sup>718</sup> Another recent approach that could be utilized in studying the impact of these figures is the area of “mobility studies,” which focuses on the movement of cultural ideas and elements as well as technological and material culture throughout the globe in the modern period.<sup>719</sup> In a similar vein, the subject of “go-betweens” focuses on individuals who functions as mediators between various cultures and societies.<sup>720</sup> Though undoubtedly merging the study of *oyatoi* with such new approaches will present challenges, it could provide more comparative transnational perspectives to Japan’s experiences, and lead to a better understanding of general trends in modern world history.

Michael R. Auslin’s recent work, *Pacific Cosmopolitans* focuses on both American and Japanese figures, but distinguishes three groups of Americans who went to Japan—“employees, missionaries, and individual romantics”—though he admits that these roles were “often blurred,

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<sup>718</sup> The publisher of Umetani’s 1971 English translation of his introduction to *oyatoi gaikokujin*, *The Role of Foreign Employees in Meiji Era in Japan*, was published by the Institute of Developing Economies, most of whose publications are on various lesser-developed societies in Asia. Most of the scholarship tends to point to the Japanese experience as exceptional. However, the hiring of foreign experts between modern Western societies during this time is also a common practice, particularly in higher education and in some industries. Edward R. Beauchamp writes, in a review of Hazel Jones’s book, “Although the use of foreign experts by developing nations is not uncommon in our times, Jones rightly points out that there are few real parallels to the Japanese experience. Because they controlled and managed it, assumed the costs, and replaced foreigners with qualified Japanese as soon as possible.” Beauchamp, “Review of *Live Machines*,” pp. 502-503. Jones also compares the Meiji with the Occupation period, but not with the experience of other countries during the postwar years.

<sup>719</sup> For mobility studies, see Stephen Greenblatt, Ines Županov, Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, Heike Paul, Pál Nyíri, and Friederike Pannewick, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Though it focuses more on the Mediterranean, the recent journal, *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies*, provides an example of a “transnational, multimodal, and transdisciplinary” approach in “mobility studies.”

<sup>720</sup> See *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence*, Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, James Delbourgo, eds. (Sagamore Beach, Massachusetts: Science History Publications, 2009).

with missionaries becoming key employees, and employees acting more like romantics.”

According to Auslin, the first group, the *oyatoi gaikokujin*— “modern descendants” of the famed shipwrecked pilot and shogunal adviser William Adams— were the most visible of the three.<sup>721</sup>

Though he cites Verbeck as the “dean” of American *yatoi*, his transnational identity makes him unusual. Auslin admits that he “might not even be considered an American” and that, unlike other Americans in Japan, “Verbeck did not in turn educate the citizens of his first adopted country about Japan, neither writing a popular account of what he witnessed nor going on speaking tours back in America.”<sup>722</sup> In this way, Verbeck not only differs from other *oyatoi* like Griffis, but he differs from American missionaries to other societies, such as W.A.P. Martin.

Though only one figure in this time period, Verbeck has been presented as a pioneer missionary and a key foreign adviser in Japan. But what about a romantic, Auslin’s third group? Perhaps it is a less obvious category for Verbeck, but some recent portrayals of Verbeck in Japan point to his significance in the larger narrative of nation-building in Meiji Japan. Though it has a bit of a romantic ring to it, “Verbeck as a ‘foreign hero’” for modern Japan is a perspective that is worth exploring as a third enacted narrative for Verbeck’s life.

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<sup>721</sup>Michael Auslin, *Pacific Cosmopolitans: A Cultural History of U.S.-Japan Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 76.

<sup>722</sup> This is technically not true because Verbeck did speak in Reformed churches in the 1890s, and even spoke in a chapel in his alma mater of Auburn Seminary. Auslin also highlights William S. Clark and Charles LeGendre, and briefly mentions George W. Williams (banking) and Horace Capron and Edward H. House. He mentions Verbeck briefly in the missionary section but focuses on other missionaries.

**3.0 PART THREE: VERBECK AS A “FOREIGN HERO” AND MODERN  
JAPANESE NATIONALISM**



### 3.1 CHAPTER SEVEN: MODERN JAPANESE NATIONALISM, JAPANESE PROTESTANTISM, AND VERBECK

*“If there is, among the foreign missionaries resident in Japan, any one whose life deserves to be recorded in her history, Dr. Verbeck must be that one....”*<sup>723</sup>

—From *Shinseiki*, quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898.

In a 2002 article in *Foreign Policy* entitled “Japan’s Gross National Cool,” Douglas McGray writes, “Most foreigners will never penetrate the barriers of language and culture well enough to see Japan as the average Japanese sees it... There exists a Japan for Japanese and a Japan for the rest of the world.”<sup>724</sup> This view of an inscrutable Japan that is out of the reach of the understanding of foreigners is not new but has been remarkably enduring.. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Japanese have largely defined themselves as a homogenous ethnic nation, though the influx of immigrants from Korea and China over Japan’s long history as well as distinct cultural differences in the Ainu and Ryūkyū peoples has recently challenged such assumptions. With such beliefs of Japan’s national identity, the inclusion of foreign elements into the canon of Japanese “heroes” is relatively rare. But, even before the Meiji period, there were a few well-known foreigners who played a significant role in Japanese history, such as the English pilot

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<sup>723</sup> From the periodical *Shinseiki*, quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 182.

<sup>724</sup> Douglas McGray, “Japan’s Gross National Cool,” *Foreign Policy* no. 130 (May-June, 2002), p. 52.

William Adams, who became a retainer of Tokugawa Ieyasu in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or the Ming-era Chinese monk Ingen Ryūgen (Yinyuan Longqi), the founder of the Obaku sect of Japanese Zen Buddhism. But, could foreigners like Verbeck who entered Japan after it was “reopened” in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century be viewed as “foreign heroes” for modern Japan and, if so, what do such figures reveal about the history of Japanese nationalism?

Arguably, Verbeck was one of the most prominent foreigners in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan. As I have demonstrated in the previous parts of this case-study, Verbeck’s role as a pioneer missionary and his work as an *oyatoi* have made him a significant figure for many observers in both Japan and the West. But, focusing on Verbeck as a pioneering missionary or as a key *oyatoi* in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan does not fully explain the significance attributed to Verbeck’s life. As a Christian missionary, he should not have engendered such widespread admiration and deep trust from so many during a period of general hostility toward Christianity in Japan. Why did figures like Kido Kōin who were generally opposed to missionaries, not take offense at Verbeck but trust him more than any other foreigner? As an *oyatoi*, he should be a more ambivalent figure, reminding the Japanese of their previous deficiencies, and overshadowed by the Japanese individuals who replaced him. But, in general, this doesn’t seem to be the case with Verbeck. Why? Perhaps, this is because Verbeck not only enacted the narratives of the global missionary movement and of modernization, but also the larger narrative of modern Japanese nationalism. Though still a foreigner, the figure of Verbeck appealed as a “foreign hero” for Japan to both Japanese and Western interpreters of his life from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today. Before looking at the concept of a “foreign hero” and the ways that Verbeck has been viewed as such, it is important to understand the role nationalism has played in modern Japan

and the larger narrative framework it has provided in interpreting the story of Japanese Protestantism, as well as for key foreign figures like Verbeck.

### 3.1.1 Nationalism and Modern Japan

Nationalism is a term that must be approached with care in dealing with any nation's history, but particularly for modern Japan. The word for "patriotism" during the Meiji period was *aikoku* or *aikokushin* ("love country spirit"), but the word "nation" was introduced with the use of various terms in the Meiji period, such as *minzoku* and *kokumin*. Both of the terms, *kokuminshugi* ("people principle") and *kokkashugi* ("state principle") have been translated as terms for "nationalism," though the former implies more of an emphasis on the people or race (*minzoku*), and the latter on the state.<sup>725</sup> In addition, in the postwar period, scholars began using the foreign term *nashonarizumu* in their analyses of nationalism.<sup>726</sup>

Much of the literature on modern Japanese nationalism in the past century has focused on the development of the state (*kokutai*) and the "emperor system" (*tennosei*) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, often leading to a focus on Japanese imperialism and the build-up to World War II. In recent decades, ultranationalist factions and controversial issues between Japan and

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<sup>725</sup> See Doak, *A History of Nationalism*, p. 2-3. Doak sees *kokkashugi* as more similar to the French word *estatisme* or "statism," and thus *kokka* is more of a reference to the state. According to Kevin Doak, many of the early Christian leaders promoted the concept *kokuminshugi* and the failure of this idea and many of its Christian promoters in the 1880s and 1890s led to the search in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century of "a new conceptualization of the nation to replace the Christian emphasis on personalism and the dignity of the individual that had been invested in *kokuminshugi*. Some turned to *minzoku*, others to *shakai*, and others yet simply abandoned the nation for an embrace of the state or the monarch." Doak, p. 199.

<sup>726</sup> For example, the two volume work by Kimura Tokio, *Nihon nashonarizumu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Maeno Shoten, 1973).

other East Asian nations have also served as “hot-button” nationalist issues for Japan. Thus, the term “nationalist” often carries a stigma in Japan today, even though some aspects of nationalism have grown in recent decades in Japan. One popular example of this was a recent book by the mathematician and writer Fujiwara Masahiko entitled *The Dignity of the Nation*, a title that echoes a notorious pamphlet issued by the Japanese government in 1937. Though the publisher, Shinchōsha, originally printed only 30,000 copies of the book, it sold over three million copies and has gone through twenty-one printings. In this work, Fujiwara criticizes “Western” values and characteristics and promotes supposedly “Japanese” values, claiming that, “It may take time, but I believe it is the Japanese, and no one else, who are now capable of saving the world.”<sup>727</sup> Many of the “mainstream” nationalists, as one observer calls them, “simply want Japan to have the respect, political influence, and power commensurate with...[its economic significance]...They want to change the way Japan views itself and the way the rest of the world views it.”<sup>728</sup> The same could have been said about the reformers, political figures, and Japanese Christian leaders that Verbeck interacted with in the Bakumatsu-Meiji period.

The period in which Verbeck lived and worked in Japan, is in many ways the focus of much of this revived nationalism in Japan. The popularity of Bakumatsu and early Meiji figures can be seen in popular television series in recent decades, such as the NHK *Taiga drama* [“Big River Drama”] historical series and *anime* series such as *Rurōnin Kenshin* (which

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<sup>727</sup> A bestseller in 2006, Fujiwara’s book was second only to the new Harry Potter book. Quoted in Andrew Rankin, “A Question of Dignity or Cause for Embarrassment” in *The Japan Times*, July 8, 2007. Accessed online on 3/2/2014. Faye Yuan Kleeman, “Pan-Asian Romantic Nationalism: Revolutionary, Literati and Popular Oral Tradition and the Case of Miyazaki Tōten,” (Pp. 45-67) in *Sino-Japanese Transculturation: From the Late Nineteenth Century to the End of the Pacific War*, eds. Richard King, Cody Poulton and Katsuhiko Endo (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), p. 65.

<sup>728</sup> Eugene A. Matthews, “Japan’s New Nationalism,” *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec., 2003), pp. 85-86.

is set in the early Meiji period). The perennial popularity of Saigo Takamori and the recent obsession with figures like Sakamoto Ryōma is also evidence of this.<sup>729</sup> Most of the popular historical novels of Shiba Ryōtarō (1923-1996) such as *Ryōma ga yuku* (“Ryoma on the Move”) and *Saka no ue no kumo* (“Clouds over the Hill”) were set in this time period, and Shiba often contrasted the “bright Meiji” period (1868-1912) with the “dark Showa” period (1926-1945).<sup>730</sup> Thus, nationalists like Shiba focus on Bakumatsu-Meiji figures like those whom Verbeck educated and associated with, as opposed to the generations who followed them. Verbeck passed away before the West became critical of Japanese militarism (and even before individuals like Uchimura Kanzō became pacifists). Therefore, unlike later foreign missionaries such as Sidney Gulick and William Merrill Vories, Verbeck is in some ways a much less controversial figure both for Japanese and for foreigner perspectives.<sup>731</sup>

Though some writers on nationalism like Arjun Appadurai have hailed the eventual demise of nationalism in an increasingly globalizing, diasporic and media-saturated world, no

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<sup>729</sup> For an informal account of the recent Sakamoto Ryōma craze, see Henry D. Smith, “Sakamoto Ryōma in Kyoto: Getting in Personal Touch with the Past in Heisei Japan,” in *Japan and its Worlds*, pp. 103-118. Various places, particularly in southern Japan, want to emphasize their historical ties to Ryōma, with recent colorful publications. For Nagasaki, see Honda Sadakatsu, *Ryōma no Nagasaki* (Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensha, 2009). For Choshu see *Ryōma to Chōshū*, eds. Umechi Kazuyuki, Ōshima Ryōhei, et.al. (Hiroshima: Za Mediajon, 2007).

<sup>730</sup> Sven Saaler, *Politics, Memory and Public Opinion: The History Textbook Controversy and Japanese Society* (Munich: Die Deutsche Bibliothek, 2005), p. 33, 153-155. The first work deals primarily with Ryōma’s role in the Meiji Restoration and the second work portrays a heroic story of the Russo-Japanese War. In addition to being bestsellers, both of these works of Shiba were also adapted for an annual NHK television historical drama series. Saaler’s book is a good introduction to some of the new ultranationalist issues, particularly in the publication of textbooks. Shiba’s view is similar to the perspective of some Western authors such as Thomas Havens, *The Valley of Darkness* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1978).

<sup>731</sup> For a perspective of Gulick, see Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*. For a critical view of the role of Japan missionaries in general during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Taylor, “The Ineffectual Voice.” Taylor contrasts the success of the China missionaries to the ineffective Japan missionaries, and though her time period overlaps with Verbeck’s life, she ignores him in her analysis. Vories will be dealt with later in chapter 8.

one would deny that nationalism has been an important force in the modern world, providing unifying narratives for many nations, including Japan.<sup>732</sup> Kenneth B. Pyle, in his 1971 article reviewing postwar approaches to Japanese nationalism, asserted that nationalism is “the most powerful emotion in the modern world” and “surely one of the major organizing themes of modern Japanese history.” Pyle bemoaned the general lack of scholarly analyses of Japanese nationalism in the immediate postwar decades, but the literature on nationalism in general, as well as work specifically on Japan, has grown since that time.<sup>733</sup>

The concept of the nation-state in the narrative of world history is relatively recent. Ernest Renan’s 1882 speech “What is a nation?” focuses on the particularity of the “spirit” of each nation, an often unspoken assumption in the study of Japanese nationalism, not only in the prewar ideas of *yamato damashii* (“Yamato spirit”) but also in the postwar literature on *nihonjinron* (“debate on Japaneseness”).<sup>734</sup> Many postwar theorists on nationalism in general

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<sup>732</sup> Appadurai in *Modernity at Large*, reveals the constructed nature of modern nationalism, much like other recent theorists on nationalism, though he is more assertive on the eventual demise of nationalism. Interestingly, Japan’s nationalism and imperialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a direct impact on Appadurai’s views. He candidly reveals his experiences of being ostracized because his father had chosen the “wrong” kind of Indian nationalism, since he had joined Subhas Chandra Bose’s Japanese-supported Indian National Army during World War II. p. 160.

<sup>733</sup> Kenneth B. Pyle, “Some Recent Approaches to Japanese Nationalism,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31, no. 1 (Nov. 1971): 5. ( 5-16) Pyle cites Delmer Brown’s 1955 work, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955) as an important early work. He also cites certain case studies such as George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). Though I do not intend to go into the Japanese language scholarly literature on Japanese nationalism, in postwar period, see Maruyama Masao, “*Nashonarizumu, gunkoku-shugi, fuashizumu*” in *Gendai seiji no shisō to kōdō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956-57). Also see the two-volume work by Kimura Tokio, *Nihon nashonarizumu shi ron* (Tokyo: Waseda Univeristy Press, 1973). In addition, Kinoshita Kanji’s two-volume *Nihon kokka-shugi undō shi* (Tokyo: Fukumura, 1971) is also important works on the history of Japanese nationalism. Also, see the English-language works of Yoshino Kōsaku, particularly *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Inquiry* (New York: Routledge, 1992) and edited work *Consuming Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

<sup>734</sup> The *nihonjinron* literature peaked in the 1970s and 1980s. For a brief summary of the *nihonjinron* ideas, see “Nationalism and Nihonjinron, pp. 107-135 in Harumi Befu, ed, *Cultural Nationalism and*

have moved away from such racial or ethnic definitions of nationalism with seminal works as Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* and Eric Hobsbawm's *Invention of Tradition*, which focus on the constructed nature of nationalism and its ties to modernity, print media, and state and empire-building.

Recent analyses of Japanese nationalism such as the edited works of Stephen Vlastos' *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions* and Sandra Wilson's *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*, as well as Christopher Hill's comparative work, *National History and the World of Nations* have analyzed modern Japanese nationalism using such perspectives. Works such as Kevin Doak's *A History of Nationalism in Japan: Placing the People* and Tessa Morris-Suzuki's *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*, have focused on the development of new conceptions of the nation and nationalism from the Meiji Period, and Paul Clark reveals the importance of the impact of state-instituted standardized Japanese language on the formation of modern Japanese identity in *The Kokugo Revolution: Education, Identity, and Language Policy in Imperial Japan*.<sup>735</sup> The concept of the plurality of nationalisms, can also be found in works, such as;

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*East Asia: Representation and Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1993). For a more critical work, see Peter Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

<sup>735</sup> Stephen Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Sandra Wilson, ed., *Nation and Nationalism in Japan* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2001); Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Doak, *A History of Nationalism in Japan: Placing the People* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and Tessa Morris-Suzuki *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998); Paul Clark, *The Kokugo Revolution: Education, Identity, and Language Policy in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2009). Doak, in particular, focuses on the various neologisms and words that are still used interchangeably for "nation" or "nationalism" in Japanese. For another approach that focuses on ideology, the state and nationalism, particularly in the late Meiji period, see Carol Gluck, *Japan's National Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University

*Nationalisms in Japan*, edited by Naoko Shimazu, and *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity* by Brian J. McVeigh.<sup>736</sup> Recently, a more regional approach to nationalism in East Asia has become popular, for example in Gilbert Rozman's edited work, *East Asian National Identities: Common Roots and Chinese Exceptionalism*.<sup>737</sup>

Despite the variety of approaches to nationalism in recent decades, overall the narrative framework of nationalism—unlike the missionary movement or modernization—still operates by focusing on a particularly defined group and largely excluding those outside this “nation” from its analysis. Like Christianity (and unlike modernization perhaps), nationalism also provides a higher purpose and meaning to the actions and contributions of the individuals who are included in the narrative. For those in this “nation,” there often are specific cultural aspects that are included in a shared historical narrative. One of those aspects is religion. Though in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many assumed that religion would become less important in a secularizing modern world, Arjun Appadurai more than two decades ago recognized that, “There is vast evidence...that religion is not only not dead but that it may be more consequential than ever in

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Press, 1985) and Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>736</sup> The idea of more than one type of nationalism is not entirely new, and for the West goes back at least to the work of Carlyton J. H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1931). Brian J. McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004). Naoko Shimazu, ed. *Nationalisms in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1971). Another work on that focuses on individual case studies of Japanese case studies from the Meiji through the Showa period is the edited work by Dick Stegewerns. The case studies include: Fukuzawa Yukichi, Tokutomi Sohō, Nitobe Inazō, Yoshino Sakuzō and the Showa Period are Rōyama Masamichi, Ishibashi Tanzan, Yokomitsu Riichi.

<sup>737</sup> *East Asian National Identities: Common Roots and Chinese Exceptionalism*, ed. Gilbert Rozman (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012). This work is also one that incorporates recent “shocks” in Japan such as the 2009-2010 political crises, being replaced by China in 2010 as the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economy, and the crisis of the tsunami and aftermath in 2011.



today's highly mobile and interconnected global politics.”<sup>738</sup> Thus, religion continues to be an important way that people define their identity, both nationally and transnationally.

Certain theorists on nationalism, such as Anthony D. Smith, have focused on the importance of religion in modern nationalism, particularly for Judeo-Christian religions.<sup>739</sup> In some ways, the “missionary” religions of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are more transnational, and the various indigenized forms of these religions still have a common transcendent core of beliefs and practices that unifies across such boundaries. When the concept of “world religions” became the dominant categorization for the study of religions by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the inclusion of more “national” religions such as Hinduism, Shinto and Daoism revealed the impact of nationalism on religion in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>740</sup> Particularly in Japan and China, the syncretic mixture of religions led to a fusing of religions and even the use of singular terms such as “Japanese religion” or “Chinese religion” in a way that could be viewed more as the result of a national cultural construction than indigenous forms of “world religions” (such as Buddhism). However, in much of the recent literature on nationalism and Japan, religion is not as emphasized, except perhaps in the historical development of State Shinto

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<sup>738</sup> Appadurai, p. 7.

<sup>739</sup> Unlike Anderson and Gellner, Smith emphasizes the importance of ethnicity in the formation of modern nationalism in *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986). For a good introduction and summary of nationalism see Smith's *Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010). For religion and nationalism, see Smith's *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Some theorists, beginning with Durkheim's work *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, propose the idea of nationalism as a religion. See also, Carlyton Hayes 1926 work *Essays on Religion* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926).

<sup>740</sup> For the development of the conception of “world religions” in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

from the Meiji period through the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>741</sup> For example, Brian McVeigh, in *Nationalisms in Japan*, places “religious nationalism” 13<sup>th</sup> out of 16 in a list of the various types of nationalism. This “religious nationalism” includes State Shinto and some new religious movements, such as the Mahikari (with its “decidedly Japan-centric view of the world,” and “a mystical version of linguistic nationalism”) but is only dealt with briefly in a section entitled “marginal nationalism.”<sup>742</sup>

Undoubtedly, religion has been a prominent element in Japan’s cultural identity as well as in their historical interactions with foreigners. Japan has repeatedly gone through the alternating processes of importing various religious ideas and then assimilating them into its own distinctive religious traditions (for example, in Buddhism with Nichiren and Shinran in the 13<sup>th</sup> century). In the Meiji period, Protestant Christianity was only the most recent example of this process, but, in contrast to earlier time periods, it was imported in an era of growing nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What place is given to the role of foreigners, particularly missionaries like Verbeck, in the story of the development of modern Japanese religion? Most contemporary textbooks on Japanese religions contain little content on Christianity, particularly since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and do not often mention foreign missionaries by name. For example, in H. Byron Earhart’s textbook, *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity*, in the less than four pages on Christianity

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<sup>741</sup> For a good summary of State Shinto in modern Japan, see Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868-1988* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>742</sup> McVeigh, p. 5, pp. 240-256. In Shimazu’s work on nationalisms, religion is almost entirely ignored, with the exception of references to the faith of Japanese Christian “internationalists” in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A work that focuses on the broader category of “cultural nationalism” for all of East Asia is Harumi Benu, *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993).

from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there are no specific missionaries mentioned.<sup>743</sup> Most of the content on Japanese Christianity in such works focuses on the *kakure kirishitan* (“hidden Christians”) or on Uchimura Kanzō’s *Mukyōkai* (“Non-church”) movement, both of which tend to be presented as examples of indigenized Japanese Christianity with little need to mention foreigners (aside from possibly a brief reference to missionaries at the beginning of each movement). Despite the general neglect of foreign missionaries in the accounts of Japanese religion today, foreigners like Verbeck were seen as significant figures in earlier periods, particularly in the development of Japanese Protestantism in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan. What explains such fluctuating views of Verbeck and other similar figures in the narratives of the modern Japanese nation-state?

### 3.1.2 Verbeck and Cycles of Nationalism and Internationalism in Modern Japan

One of the ways that the history of modern Japan has been organized, particularly from the perspective of Japan’s relations with foreigners and their ideas (such as Christianity) is the concept of alternating cycles of national and international orientations. The use of such alternating cycles is not unique to Japanese historiography. Arnold Toynbee in his *A Study of History*, designated periods of alternating national and international periods, dubbing them the “Herodian” (internationalist) and “Zealot” (nationalist) periods, a reference to two factions in Jewish history.<sup>744</sup> In Japanese history, a historian of Japanese Christianity, Yasuo Furuya,

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<sup>743</sup> H. Byron Earhart, *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004). In contrast, the early 16-17<sup>th</sup> century has over twice as much text, and refers to missionaries such as Francis Xavier.

<sup>744</sup> Furuya Yasuo, *History of Japan and Christianity*, A Theology of Japan Monograph Series 3 (Saitama, Japan: Seigakuin University Press, 2006), pp. 62-63. Toynbee viewed the Meiji Restoration as an event “to pursue the Zealot-type purpose using the Herodian-type means.” Quoted in Furuya, p. 62. Furuya cites other historians who have presented a similar alternation between Europeanization and nationalism,

emulating Toynbee's model, developed the theory of the "20-year cycle" of Japanese history from the Meiji Restoration through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, alternating between periods of internationalism and nationalism. Thus, 1868-1886, 1907-1926, 1946-1965, are labeled "international" and 1887-1906, 1927-1945, 1966-1985, as "nationalist." Similar to Anesaki Masaharu—sometimes called the "father" of religious studies in Japan—he views nationalism as a primarily negative force, and characterizes the nationalistic periods as generally "bad" and the international as generally "good."<sup>745</sup> Likewise, Anesaki viewed the narrow "Japanism" of the 1890s nationalist period as a passing phase that "could in no way satisfy the yearnings of the individual soul." Anesaki saw religions like Buddhism and Christianity ("the two great religions" in Japan) as possessing a common enemy in "anti-religious nationalism."<sup>746</sup> Such a cyclical approach to modern Japanese history has appealed to those, like Furuya, who study the history of Christianity in modern Japan, and has arguably tied the narrative of Japanese Christianity with nationalism in a way that seems logical and provides an explanation for many of the fluctuations in this history. Despite its usefulness, there are several problems with this

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including: Katō Shuichi, *Nihonjin no Sekaizo* [An Image of the World by the Japanese] in *Sekai no Naka no Nihon* [Japan in the World]; *Kindai Nihon Shisōshi Kōza* [Course on the History of Modern Japanese Thought] Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo, 1961); Yamamoto Shin, *Shuhen Bunmei Ron—Ōka to Dōchaku* [A Theory of Peripheral Civilization—Europeanization and Indigenization](Tokyo: Tosui Shōbo, 1985), Furuya, pp. 86-87. For this concept applied to U. S. history, see Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, in his *Cycles of American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986). Perhaps Frank L. Klingberg's alternating periods of "introversion" and "extroversion" in American foreign policy would come closest to Furuya's theory for America. Schlesinger, pp. 43-45.

<sup>745</sup> Furuya, pp. 77-89.

<sup>746</sup> As such, Anesaki highlights such ecumenical movements in the 1890s, such as the Teiyuu Ethical Society, composed mainly of Buddhist and Christians and organized by Japanese Christian leaders, Yokoi Tokio and Hajime Onishi. For Anesaki, such movements led by Christians in the nationalistic 1890s, represented a more positive "tendency to resist the tide of nationalism and to emphasize the deeper spiritual meaning of ethical problems and religious faith." Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 370

theory of alternating national and international cycles, and looking at Verbeck's life and legacy can help to reveal some of these.<sup>747</sup>

One general problem with Furuya's approach is that his cycles begin in 1868, ignoring the formative Tokugawa period. Many scholars, however, see this period as formative for Japanese nationalism. Arano Yasunori asserts that, "the foundations of Japanese national identity lie in the anti-Christian prejudices of the Edo period, as well as in efforts to assimilate the various ethnic groups into standard Japanese mores and customs under *baku-han* authority."<sup>748</sup> In particular, the Bakumatsu period, when Verbeck arrived in Japan, is a critical period. Furuya and others might reasonably view the Bakumatsu years as a "nationalist" period before the "internationalist" early Meiji years. Some of Verbeck's words would seem to indicate this. In a report reflecting on his early years in Japan, Verbeck wrote, "We found...the nation not at all accessible touching religious matters. Where such a subject was mooted in the presence of the Japanese, his hand would, almost involuntarily, be applied to his throat, to indicate the extreme perilousness of such a topic."<sup>749</sup> But this designation oversimplifies the reforms in the last years of the Tokugawa regime and the general laxity of the *bakufu* to persecute Christians in

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<sup>747</sup> One could also, as with any periodization, argue with the specific dates he chooses, though arguably they generally fit well with Japanese historical development and chronology (Meiji 1-20, Meiji 20-40, and the first 20 years of Showa ending precisely in 1945 at the end of WWII). The one exception is the year 1907 which seems like a strange year to switch to internationalism, but Furuya cites the All Nations Christian Youth Association Convention (YMCA world convention) that year, as well as the arrival of General William Booth of the Salvation Army that year as significant signs of a change. This reveals Furuya's interest in the history of Christianity in this narrative framework. Furuya, p. 81.

<sup>748</sup> Cited in Doak, *A History of Nationalism*, pp. 166-167. According to Doak, Arano argues that Japan's lengthy opposition to Christianity, dating back to the beginning of the Tokugawa period, was foundational to Japanese nationalism. Kiri Paramore also claims that the two most prolific periods of anti-Christian literature in Japan are in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and the early Meiji Period and tries to make connections between them in the formation of modern Japan.

<sup>749</sup> Quoted in Robert E. Speer, *Missions and Modern History: A Study of the Missionary Aspects of Some Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. II (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1904), p. 406.

the mid-1860s. It is also problematic in Verbeck's case because it was in the "nationalistic" 1860s when he gained the unwavering trust of his students who became prominent in the Meiji leadership. It also ignores the anti-foreign ideals (and renewed persecution) of the Meiji leaders during this time. The renewed "threat" of Christianity in the Meiji period revealed a strong nationalistic tendency in the early Meiji years. Trent Maxey wrote that the idea of Christian "conversion" in the early Meiji period was seen as destabilizing, for "Christian conversion posed a threat precisely because 'religious' identities and practices were deemed inseparable from political loyalties and boundaries." Maxey claims that the Meiji government's creation of State Shinto by the early 1880s and the modern imperial institution was "shaped by a political imagination concerned with the specter of Christian conversion." In response, the early Meiji government wanted "to counter Christianity with a 'national doctrine' capable of capturing the hearts of the people."<sup>750</sup>

Another aspect that Furuya's approach reflects is the tendency in much of the historiography on modern Japan to gloss over the critical 1880s.<sup>751</sup> Arguably the 1880s are the most overlooked decade in the Japanese national narrative of the Meiji period, though such an omission is understandable to some extent. The collapse of the *bakufu* in the 1860s and the ensuing civil war and restoration, as well as the opening of treaty ports make that decade

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<sup>750</sup> This is not only true in Japan, but for China and Korea as well. See Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). Trent Maxey, "The Crisis of 'Conversion' and Search for National Doctrine in Early Meiji Japan" in Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart, eds. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), p. 3. Also see John Breen and Mark Williams. *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*. eds. (London: Macmillan Press, 1996).

<sup>751</sup> This is arguably also true of the 1880s for post-Civil War U.S. history, as well. I was introduced to the idea of the "forgotten 1880s" in paper on U.S. history presented by Rebecca B. Edwards entitled, "Progressivism's 'Gilded' Beginnings: The Lost Decade of the 1880s in American Politics" at the 2014 AHA Conference in Washington D. C., and thought that the idea applied equally to Japanese history.

undoubtedly crucial. Likewise, the monumental challenges of the first decade of Meiji rule—including the removal of the remnants of the Tokugawa social and political structure, massive rebellions in Kyushu, and the loss of key Meiji leaders such as Saigō Takamori, Kidō Kōin, and Ōkubo Toshimichi—undoubtedly make the 1870s a significant decade. Then, there is an understandable tendency to emphasize the monumental 1890s—the first decade of the government under the constitution, the rising nationalism surrounding the Sino-Japanese War, and the removal of the unequal treaties. Anesaki writes that by the 1890s, a “national reaction” took place, where “Nationalism and hero worship began to rule the mind of the people, and so Christianity was seen as a national menace.”<sup>752</sup> In this view, the underlying hostility to Christianity fostered during its earlier centuries of proscription was reignited by a revived nationalism, not only as a reaction to the political failure of treaty-reform, but by seemingly minor incidents in the early 1890s such as one in which the Christian teacher, Uchimura Kanzō, refused to bow before the Imperial Rescript with the Emperor’s seal.<sup>753</sup> This emphasis on the 1890s is still largely true today. For example, in Gilbert Rozman’s recent work, *East Asian National Identities*, he never mentions the 1880s, but the 1890s are emphasized in the historical development of Japanese nationalism. Rozman writes, “In the 1890s and 1900s Japan resented

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<sup>752</sup> Anesaki, pp. 81-86. An important reason that Anesaki and others give for the acceptance of Christianity in the 1880s and the subsequent reaction against it was the desire to reform the “unequal treaties.”

<sup>753</sup> This act of *lese-majesty* provoked a flurry of reactions against Christianity (according to Carol Gluck these totalled 76 volumes and 493 articles by 1894). Cited in Seat, p. 94. The most famous of these reactions was penned in 1892 by Inoue Tetsujirō, the head of the Tokyo Imperial University and, entitled, *A Conflict between Religion and Education*. Inoue argued that the Christian doctrine of universal love was incompatible with nationalism and the Japanese virtues of loyalty and filial piety. According to Doak, Japanese Christian leaders also wrote a variety of responses to these reactions. The anti-Christian literature in Meiji Japan is numerous, often building on the literature from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the reasons behind the hostility were varied. Ironically, Yamaji Aizan mentions he heard Uchimura give a speech in 1889 on the emperor’s birthday and he said, “Our Imperial Household, like heaven and earth, has no end. It should be the only pride of the Japanese people.” Yamaji, p. 160-161.

unequal treaties and insisted on changing the regional order,” and “...from the 1890s there was a big rise in cultural nationalism,” and “...from the 1890s, this claim to a special morality arose in reference to bushido or to an original spirit (*yamato damashii*).”<sup>754</sup>

In contrast to the 1890s, the early 1880s, are usually seen as the height of Japanese “Westernization.”<sup>755</sup> Despite the symbolic construction of the Western-style Rokumeikan (“Deer Cry Pavilion”) in 1883—often viewed as the peak of Japan’s Westernizing craze—the early 1880s were not simply the apex of modern Japan’s first “internationalist” period. In many ways, the 1880s, particularly 1882-1885, were critical in constructing much of what came to characterize Japanese nationalism in later decades. In 1882, the “Imperial Rescript for Soldiers and Sailors” was issued, and the Japanese government began to distinguish “state Shinto” from “sect Shinto.”<sup>756</sup> There was also a clear change in leadership with Iwakura Tomomi’s death in 1883, which was also the year that Yamagata Aritomo became Home Minister and Lord Chancellor as well as the year Sir Harry Parkes, the powerful British minister, left Japan.<sup>757</sup> In early 1884, Ito Hirobumi returned to Japan, and became much more prominent, forming a special

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<sup>754</sup> Rozman, p. 15, 27, 40. Likewise, Gluck’s *Japan’s Modern Myths* focuses on Japanese national and statist ideology from around 1890.

<sup>755</sup> Many of the historical analyses on the 1880s focus on economic issues as well as Westernization, such as the controversial deflationary policies of finance minister Matsukata Masayoshi.

<sup>756</sup> The government wanted the term “*jinja*” to be a more generic term that could apply to state Shinto, and stipulated that sects must use the term *kyokai*/church or *kyoha*/sect. In 1884, with officially no state religion in Japan, the Japanese government stopped opposing Buddhism and officially promulgating Shinto.

<sup>757</sup> Harry Parkes was a imposing and somewhat controversial figure throughout his two decades of service for the British legation in Japan. Grace Fox in her book, *Britain and Japan*, on relations between Japan and Britain, stops at 1883, the year that Harry Parkes left for China. Also, in Emma Verbeck’s letter to the mission board in 1898 about her father’s death, she writes that a biography of her father would be almost as important as the late biography on Sir Harry Parkes. There is another connection between Verbeck and Parkes because Parkes’ aunt was married to Gutzlaff, the missionary to China who was one of the figures on missions that Verbeck heard speak in Zeist. Parkes’s parents died when he was young, and so he was raised by his aunt and Gutzlaff in China.



bureau to draw up a constitution under the authority of the Imperial Household. The Liberal Party was dissolved, and conservative forces gained momentum as the People's Rights Movement declined. By 1885, a new peerage was established, the Council of State was dissolved and replaced by a cabinet was under the emperor's authority, and Mori Arinori, the new minister of education, reformed Japanese education to make it more state-directed and incorporated military drill. Japanese migration to Hawaii was permitted after 1884, and Japan's interest in Korea was cemented in the aftermath of the failed Kapsin Coup and the subsequent Li-Ito Agreement in 1885. Thus, even before the duly emphasized promulgation of the Constitution in 1889, the oft-overshadowed 1880s cast a long shadow for modern Japan.

Looking at the writings on Verbeck in the context of the historiography of Japanese nationalism also reveals a striking chronological similarity. Much of the biographical and scholarly literature on Verbeck tends to gloss over this decade in relating his contributions to modern Japan. By the end of the 1870s, his role as an *oyatoi* was over and he had already received his decoration from the Meiji Emperor. Though he had returned to being a fulltime missionary by 1880, the era of "pioneer" missions to Japan was also largely over. Later writings on Verbeck tend to include a short section on Verbeck's latter years (*bannen*) that includes both the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>758</sup> For Verbeck, the 1880s can be seen as the high point in his missionary career and the peak in the growth of the Protestantism that he played a prominent role in

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<sup>758</sup> For example, in Ōhashi and Hirano's biography, out of almost 370 pages, only some 20 pages deal with these decades, and in Noriko Itoh's recent biography, out of 250 pages of text, less than 25 deal with these decades. Though the Western missionary literature is somewhat better, it still tends shortchange these decades. Though Griffis spends more time on this period, it is only 60 pages of his 360-page book, and the section on the 1880s, entitled "Preacher and Translator" is the most poorly written chapter in book, with random anecdotes thrown together. Some short biographical accounts in English, such as Herbert Welch's nine-page chapter on Verbeck in *Men of the Outposts* completely ignores his latter decades. One notable exception to this pattern is Junko Nakai Murayama, who focuses on Verbeck's biblical translation work in the 1880s.

introducing in Japan. He not only translated the Psalms and edited the Japanese Bible during much of the 1880s, but he wrote his influential historical sketch of Japanese Protestant missions for the missions conference, along with other tracts and writings during these years. He also accompanied Japanese pastors on evangelistic tours from Kyushu to Tohoku, successfully speaking and preaching to thousands of people.<sup>759</sup> Though building on his earlier reputation as a teacher and advisor for Japan, Verbeck's significance to Protestant missions and to Japanese Christianity in the 1880s and beyond was a critical factor in the view of Verbeck as a "foreign hero" for Japan. Even recent works that acknowledge Verbeck's last two decades, such as Itoh Noriko's biography and Sasaki Akira's article on these years (entitled, "*Daikazoku o kakaete: Furubekki no bannen*" [Carrying a Large Family: Verbeck's Last Years]) focus on it as a difficult period of hardships and family concerns.<sup>760</sup>

Furuya's first "international" period in the early Meiji period (1868-1887) was when Verbeck was most prominent. It was also the period of the greatest growth in Protestantism, as foreign missionaries proliferated and the Japanese church grew. The growth of Christianity and Christian institutions during this time is undeniable, as is the pursuit of Western ideas. However, during this early Meiji period, missionaries often underestimated the historic and cultural

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<sup>759</sup> One example of rural conversions to Christianity is in the silk-growing areas north of Tokyo (modern Gunma Prefecture). In Haruko Matsukata Reichauer's work *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), she recounts how many of her grandfather Rioichiro Arai's family became Christians in the 1880s, writing that "During this period, when silk exports were rising rapidly, Christianity and the silk industry became almost synonymous in Gunma." pp. 220-221. Verbeck writes of going to Takasaki on a preaching tour in March 1884, which was in this same region. Also, Hamish Ion, in "Japanese Evangelists, American Board Missionaries, and Protestant Growth in Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of the Annaka Kyōkai" in Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, pp. 165-192 studies the growth of the church in Annaka (where Nijima Jo was originally from) during this time.

<sup>760</sup> Sasaki Akira, "Daikazoku o kakaete—Furubekki no bannen (1879-1898) *Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyo Kenkyusho Kiyo* 38 (Feb. 2006): 195-236.

hostility towards Christianity and the strength of traditional Japanese religious practices, whether Buddhist or Shinto, and some of their early converts also deemphasized the weight of past cultural and religious traditions in the formation of the new Japan. For example, the early Christian convert and scholar, Nakamura Masanao, according to one scholar, possessed a “futuristic, individualistic, and populist orientation of Christian nationalism” that was not shared by most of Japanese society.<sup>761</sup>

Therefore, even in this “internationalist” period, this acceptance of Christianity was limited. As a religion introduced by Western missionaries, it was an easy target for those who were critical of the West throughout the 1880s. Hideo Kisimoto relates that, in some of the provinces in Japan in 1884-1885, “A number of people made a straw effigy of Christ. They impaled it on a spear and marched around the town with it” and in another place they “threw rocks, snakes and frogs” at a Christian service, saying, “all Christians, to the last man, should be slain with spears.”<sup>762</sup> Verbeck’s letters acknowledge this hostility towards Christianity during this time, but the expectation was that it would not last. In 1882, Verbeck writes, “I repeat that I consider the aversion of the upper grades of society here towards missions and missionaries, or rather towards Christianity; for I am convinced it will pass away and is passing away.”<sup>763</sup> By 1884, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who had earlier criticized Christianity, publically wrote in support of

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<sup>761</sup> Doak, *A History of Nationalism*, p. 167. One evidence of this is Nakamura’s memorial in the 1870s that suggested that the Emperor should become a Christian. Anesaki, in *History of Japanese Religion*, asserts that Nakamura Keiu (Masanao) claimed to be a Christian but more interested in the ethical teaching (and combining with Confucianism) and was never baptized and didn’t believe in the Trinity or miracles. p. 353. Though in the 1870s a few key intellectuals such as Nakamura had been baptized, and other scholars such as some members of the Meiji Six Society (*Meirokeisha*) were sympathetic to aspects of Christianity, others intellectuals were more hesitant. Some influential scholars, such as Nishimura Shigeki, and Katō Hiroyuki were hostile to Christianity during this time.

<sup>762</sup> Kisimoto, p. 234.

<sup>763</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 24 Oct. 1882, JMRCA.

Christianity, even proposing that Japan might want to become a nominally “Christian” country. Verbeck writes, “Mr. Fukuzawa, who has hitherto shown himself extremely hostile to the introduction of Xty [Christianity] into Japan...has now completely, so completely, changed his mind.” Verbeck, recognized that Fukuzawa, “is a kind of opportunist and has a large following...[and] Although humanly speaking there seems to be little hope of his ever embracing our faith himself, there can be no doubt that his article will exert a very extensive influence in favor of Xty [Christianity].”<sup>764</sup> Fukuzawa’s assertion the following year, in 1885, that Japan should “leave Asia” (*datsu-a*) and join the west (*nyūō*) has been duly emphasized in Japanese historiography, but may have been motivated by similar thoughts of leaving traditional Asian conceptions, whether religious or political, and joining the “Christian” Western powers.<sup>765</sup>

The budding nationalism of Japan is often seen in opposition to Christianity, but it is also evident in the Japanese church in the 1880s. Though the 1880s was in some ways a great period of cooperation between foreign missionaries and Japanese church leaders, it also was a period of growing frictions, which often did not erupt into conflict and disruption until the 1890s but essentially have their roots in the 1880s. This nationalist character of Meiji Christianity has been highlighted in Japanese historiography primarily for the Kumamoto Band of Christians, but it applied to all the “bands” that began in the 1870s, and to other individuals like Niiijima Jō, as

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<sup>764</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb 10 July 1884, JMRCA.

<sup>765</sup> Fukuzawa published this idea in an editorial in the *Jiji Shinpō* newspaper entitled “*DatsuA-ron*.” For a recent use of Fukuzawa’s idea of *datsua nyūō* see Kazuhiko Tōgo, “Japanese National Identity: Evolution and Prospects,” in Gilbert Rozman, pp. 147-168. For a recent review of the postwar development of this idea as well as a critique of the misuse of Fukuzawa in this debate, see Pekka Korhonen, “*Leaving Asia? The Meaning of Datsu-Aand Japan's Modern History*,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 12, issue 9, no. 3 (March 3, 2014) at <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Pekka-Korhonen/4083>

well.<sup>766</sup> Leaders like Uemura Masahisa of the “Yokohama Band” and Uchimura Kanzō and Nitobe Inazō of the “Sapporo Band” asserted their nationalism even as they argued for the key role of Christianity in modern Japan. Their responses ranged from Uemura Masahisa’s “baptized *bushido*,” to Uchimura Kanzō’s “Two J’s” (“Jesus and Japan”) to Kozaki Hiromichi’s claim that “one could only serve the nation by being a Christian.”<sup>767</sup> What these ideals had in common was their assertion that it was not just *possible* to be a Christian and truly Japanese, but that being a Christian and Japanese were mutually beneficial. Though often these ideas were more fully expressed later, during the “nationalistic” period of the 1890s and following, one can see them even in some of their early writings, such as Uchimura Kanzo’s writings on *bushido* when he was living in the U.S. in the mid-1880s. In addition, in the 1880s, the Japanese Christian leaders started writing books and editing influential journals, such as *Rikugo zasshi*, [Cosmos Magazine], which was established in 1880 as the journal of the Japanese YMCA. They often became prominent in political debates about the basis of Japanese nationalism, such as

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<sup>766</sup> Much of the focus on these three bands has been an attempt to categorize them. Ebina Danjo, in the 1920s, classified the Yokohama band as more ecclesiastically-oriented, the Kumamoto as more nationally-oriented, and the Sapporo as more individual or spiritually-oriented. It is interesting to note that Ebina classified the band he was a part of as “nationalist.” Kisimoto, p. 201.

<sup>767</sup> Uchimura Kanzō’s quote on the “two J’s” reveals both his nationalism and criticism of missionaries. “I love two J’s, and no third; one is Jesus, and the other is Japan. I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan. I am hated by my country for Jesus’ sake as Yaso, and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan’s sake as national and narrow...for Japan’s sake, I cannot accept any faith which comes in the name of foreigners....I am emphatically a Japanese Christian, though I know missionaries in general do not like that name...and I know that one strengthens the other; Jesus strengthens and purifies my love for Japa; and Japan clarifies and objectivise my love for Jesus.”<sup>767</sup> See Hommes, “Baptized Bushido.” Also see, Hiroko Willcock. *The Japanese Political Thought of Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930): Synthesizing Bushido, Christianity, Nationalism, and Liberalism*. (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008). Nitobe in his popular work *Bushido, The Soul of Japan* does not use these terms, but certainly, as a Japanese convert to Christianity, shows affinity to these ideas. But Nitobe and Uchimura can also be presented as more internationalist figures by examples from other writings.

Kozaki Hiromichi's prominent support for *kokuminshugi*, a nationalism grounded in the people, rather than *kokkashugi*, a nationalism grounded in the state.<sup>768</sup>

Though the Japanese church and its leadership defended Christianity for Japan, they did not necessarily defend the missionaries as necessary to this vision. But even this story of the growing challenge to missionaries is usually told in the context of the “nationalistic” 1890s. However, the Japanese church leaders began to challenge the missionaries' authority earlier. Even in the late 1870s, some leaders had begun to criticize the missionaries. Niijima Jō, a leading Japanese Christian, sent a memorandum to the American Board in 1879, in which he criticized some missionaries for their lack of adaptation to Japan, which he implied has contributed to the loss of promising students in Doshisha: “...To my great disappointment some missionaries do not take enough pains to adapt themselves to our way in this important respect...The chief reason is that they are still Americans. Their habits, ideas, and imagination are all American....”<sup>769</sup> In the 1880s, many Japanese Christian leaders began to be critical of the inordinate role of the foreign missionaries, and challenged their control over various areas, as well as the Western forms of Christianity they brought to Japan. Many of the Protestants had formed a “union” church in the 1870s (with the support of quite a few of the missionaries). But, they carried the ideas of union even further in the formation of ecumenical *shinbokukai* [General

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<sup>768</sup> Doak, p. 167. Doak writes that, in contrast, the contemporary Buddhists tended to support *kokkashugi*. These Japanese Christian leaders, though prominent at the time, were largely drowned out by the end of the Meiji period by those who were either ambivalent or hostile to Christianity, or who viewed it as a Western religion that was not as easy to use as a tool of nationalism as Shinto was. Similarly, in the formulation of the ideals of *bushidō*, the state increasingly influenced the relationship between religion and Japanese national identity and largely silenced the voices of these alternative Japanese Christian views and possibilities by the late 1930s.

<sup>769</sup> Quoted in Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 340.

Fellowship Meetings] which began in the late 1870s and became very popular in the 1880s.<sup>770</sup>

They also expanded rural evangelism in the 1880s with little missionary involvement (because they were generally limited to the treaty ports), and expressed their desire for autonomous churches and more control over Christian schools.<sup>771</sup> In 1883, a high point for missions in Japan with the Osaka Missionary Conference, the Japanese pastors called their own independent Japanese pastors' conference in Tokyo. In the missionary conference, they generally concluded that the Japanese church was not ready for autonomy, in contrast to the opinions of many of the Japanese pastors.<sup>772</sup> The Japanese church leaders also began to challenge the Western theological and creedal standards of the missionaries, and Verbeck relates giving advice on such revisions in his letters in the mid-1880s.<sup>773</sup>

What role, then, did missionaries like Verbeck play in this growth of Japanese Protestantism in the 1880s? Hideo Kisimoto relates that, in the early Meiji period, "The missionaries...in response to repeated pleas [to become teachers] left direct evangelism to

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<sup>770</sup> This was often called the Japanese Evangelical Alliance by Verbeck and other missionaries, but was entirely led by Japanese leaders, though Verbeck and other missionaries were invited to speak at some of these meetings.

<sup>771</sup> Doak, pp. 185-188. But, none of the critics of missionaries specifically included Verbeck in their critiques, and some, like Uchimura, Uemura, and Ebina, praised Verbeck highly. Uemura published an important work entitled *The Christian Church (Shinri Ippan)* in 1884, and Kozaki published *New Thesis on Politics and Religion (Seikyō Shinron)* in 1886 in which they, particularly Kozaki, discuss some political issues, especially in the context of the government's suppression of the People's Rights Movement and Christian persecutions in 1884-5. The issue of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating is often called the "Nevius system" after an influential China missionary, but was actually initially propagated by head secretary of the ABCFM, Rufus Anderson, and the secretary of the CMS, Henry Venn, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>772</sup> The missionary H. H. Leavitt presented a paper expressing these sentiments at the conference, entitled, "Self-support of the Native Churches" which was in contrast to the opinions of leading Japanese pastors such as Paul Sawayama. See Kisimoto, p. 235.

<sup>773</sup> It seems that Verbeck's advice was considered, but somewhat rejected in the revision of the creedal standards of the church in 1890.

become teachers of Western Learning or political advisors to the government. They indirectly expressed their Christian faith by helping develop Japan.”<sup>774</sup> Verbeck would be the key example of such a missionary and this might have been the case somewhat for Verbeck in the 1870s, but it totally ignores his role in Japan in the 1880s. When Verbeck returned in 1879, his former students at the *Kazoku gakkō* (Peers School) asked him to continue his lectures there twice a month and in 1881 wanted him to increase them to four times a month. However, he decided to discontinue such work entirely, seeing that “so much more important work was called for” and stating that he did not expect the missionary societies to support such work that would consume “1/5 of my time for their secular interests.”<sup>775</sup>

Thus, by the early 1880s, Verbeck cannot be said to be doing what Kisimoto says the foreign missionaries were doing. Instead, he was engaged in work that partnered with the Japanese church and its leaders. His translation work on the Bible (done in conjunction with Japanese church leaders), his preaching tours throughout Japan, (accompanied by many of these Japanese leaders) his seminary teaching to prepare Japanese pastors (particularly in homiletics), his speaking at *shinbokukai* lectures (and other meetings such as Temperance society meetings<sup>776</sup> and Christian school graduations)—all of these consumed much of his time in the 1880s. Verbeck also supported the Japanese church’s desire for unity, writing after a evangelistic meeting of “...the sweet fraternal spirit with which a number of brethren of different Missions,

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<sup>774</sup> Kisimoto, p. 177.

<sup>775</sup> Verbeck was paid by both the Reformed Church in America and the American Bible Society, which he said, in 1881, “shall pay a large share of my salary.” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 23 Nov. 1881.

<sup>776</sup> Verbeck, in 1882 suggests that “a good temperance or total abstinence lecturer would find a large field here,” though he himself admits he seldom drank “weak wine,” particularly when ailing. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris 24 Oct. 1882, JMRCA. In the *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1920, it cites Verbeck as commenting that most Japanese men went to bed drunken every night, p. 164-165.



dropping all [the] many distinctions of nationality and denomination, worked heartily together for their one Lord and Master! Would that such blessed experiences were more common.”<sup>777</sup>

Though Verbeck reveals that this experience was perhaps not the norm, at least in Verbeck’s case, he publically supported such efforts of the Japanese church. Verbeck also apparently supported the Japanese church’s desire in the 1880s to be autonomous and eventually free of missionary control. Verbeck, as cited by one of his missionary colleagues, Albertus Pieters, wrote:

I am less sanguine than many others, but it is my confident belief that if the missionary societies are faithful to their charge up the end of this century, you need not, after 1890, send any more missionaries to Japan. You will need to support the men already there, and the institutions, for a while, but no new men will need to go. The finishing up of the work can be safely left to the foreign force which will be by that time there, working in conjunction with the ever increasing number of native pastors and evangelists.<sup>778</sup>

The 1880s, then, were critical in the perception of Verbeck as a revered and supportive figure for Japanese Protestantism. One reason Verbeck was able to do this so well was because of his long residence in Japan, and also because he did all of these activities by means of his uncommon skills in the Japanese language. But, even more important was Verbeck’s life and example—the “living epistle” of his faith—which is reflected in the tasks he was entrusted with during this time. This perception of Verbeck was recognized, not only by the Japanese, but also by the missionary community. When he came down to Kyushu on a “preaching tour” one of his fellow missionaries wrote, “The good Dr.[Verbeck], as he goes through the country, with no

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<sup>777</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 11 March 1884, JMRCA.

<sup>778</sup> Quoted in Pieters, p. 16. Pieters writes that Verbeck “heartily repented, later, of having written such things, and...did his best to remedy the evil they caused.” This might be true, though no such admission can be found in Verbeck’s correspondence. Pieters’ focus is more on the work of the schools, most of which depended on mission support to operate. Pieters, p. 16.

thought apparently but that of preaching Christ, comes as near the apostolic ideal as anything I ever expect to see.”<sup>779</sup>

Verbeck was often appointed by the missionaries to translate or relay information to Japanese Christians not only because of his language skills, but also the trust which both the missionaries and Japanese Christians possessed in him. For the 1883 Osaka Missionary Conference he was put on two committees - “Committee on Self-Support of the Native Churches” and “Committee to Prepare a Statement in Japanese of the Views of the Conference.”<sup>780</sup> For both of these committees, his rapport with the Japanese church and its leaders was essential. Though Verbeck was not an outspoken contributor to discussions after the various papers at the missionary conference in 1883, when he did contribute, he often expressed a concern for the Japanese people. For example, regarding the hotly-debated issue of self-government for the Japanese church, he remarked that “in all our intercourse with and arrangements for the people of Japan, there should shine forth a real love for them. All this desire for self-support and efforts toward it springs from this as its paramount motive, and is for their real good alone.”<sup>781</sup> Thus, it is no surprise that Uemura Masahisa, one of these early church leaders, said of Verbeck that, “he gave his life for the development of Japan and emotionally enjoyed her development.”<sup>782</sup>

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<sup>779</sup> Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 257.

<sup>780</sup> Verbeck and Hepburn were also assigned to “prepare a statement in Japanese, setting forth the views embodied in the report on Self-support for general circulation amongst the native Christians.” In *Proceedings of the Osaka Missionary Conference*, xii-xiii, 278.

<sup>781</sup> *Proceedings of the Osaka Missionary Conference*, 275.

<sup>782</sup> In Saba, Vol. 1, p. 289. There are also other figures that can be seen in this light, such as Verbeck’s colleague, James Ballagh, whom John F. Howes views critically in his essay.

Therefore, even before the nationalistic period of the late 1880s and 1890s, the roots of Japanese nationalism can be seen in the Japanese government and in the Japanese church. Though growing out of differences in the 1880s, by the 1890s, many more conflicts arose between the missionaries and the Japanese churches over issues like the control of Christian schools, the adoption of new creeds, evolutionary teachings, and higher critical theology, and the working relationship between Japanese pastors and evangelists and missionaries.<sup>783</sup> Also, as demonstrated by the anti-Christian reaction to Uchimura Kanzō's refusal to bow before the Imperial Rescript in 1892 and the declining numbers of Christians during this "nationalist" period, the 1890s undoubtedly present a contrast with the 1880s.<sup>784</sup> Another story demonstrating the contrast between the early 1880s and the 1890s can be found in an anecdote in Verbeck's letter that relates an incident that Verbeck feared at the time would revive "old prejudices" against Christianity. An low-ranking officer in the army garrison in a city north of Tokyo who was a Christian, refused to pay a contribution for the mortuary services of their deceased comrades, because he would in effect be paying for Buddhist (what he saw as "idolatrous") services. This man was arrested but refused to give in, and was eventually released and restored

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<sup>783</sup> There are many works that touch on these matters, but for a fairly balanced missionary viewpoint, see Otis Cary's *History of Christianity in Japan*. For an early Japanese perspective, see Yamaji, pp. 110-170. Yamaji also cites other early works by Japanese church leaders on these issues, such as *The Present Church in Japan and the Church of the Future* by Kanamori Tsūrin in 1891, and *Problems of Christianity in Our Country* by Yokoi Tokio in 1894. p. 148.

<sup>784</sup> Cited in Seat, p. 94. Japanese Christian leaders also wrote a variety of responses to these reactions to Uchimura's act. Ironically, Yamaji Aizan mentions he heard Uchimura give a speech in 1889 on the emperor's birthday and he said, "Our Imperial Household, like heaven and earth, has no end. It should be the only pride of the Japanese people." Yamaji, p. 160-161.

to his position. It would be hard to imagine such liberal responses to such an action in the 1890s.<sup>785</sup>

But, one thing that unifies the 1880s and the 1890s was the Japanese church's continued desire to be free of foreign missionary control.<sup>786</sup> Yamaji Aizan, an early convert and one of the first Japanese historians of Protestantism, cited that "the ignorance of foreign missionaries" contributed to the decline of Christianity in the 1890s. He also criticized many of those in the early Japanese church, including Niiijima Jō, for relying on missionaries for assistance when the missionaries refused to change. "The majority of the foreign missionary societies," Yamaji claims, "...persisted as before in the so-called traditional principles. With the appearance of the new theology, the missionaries of the Christian church [including Japanese evangelists] fell into a situation where their spirits were poisoned. If they expressed their beliefs freely, the source of funds for their missionary work would dry up."<sup>787</sup> In the postwar period, Professor Takeshi Takasaki of Union Theological Seminary divided the missionaries to Japan into two eras. In the first era, the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he characterized the missionaries as the "heroic" type—"the man of power, initiative and weighty dignity, but at times almost overbearing, even high-handed." The 20<sup>th</sup> century missionary tended to be "more sociable and likeable, more apt to see the nuances"

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<sup>785</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 22 Dec. 1880, JMRCA. The issue of Christian funeral rights was a problem in the 1880s, though by 1889, freedom of religion was granted in the Constitution, and the first really public Christian funeral was in 1890, or the future prime minister, Katsura Taro's first wife, who was a Christian.

<sup>786</sup> Gordon Laman's book, *Pioneers to Partners*, shows the tensions and various solutions between the Reformed Church missionaries and the Japanese church from Verbeck's time until the present. He claims that, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, when the cry of "Missionary, Go Home" reverberated throughout many mission fields in an era of decolonization, there was little impact in Japan, which had addressed this issue much earlier. Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 612.

<sup>787</sup> Yamaji, p. 154-155, 174. Yamaji states that the reason this led to decline was that there was no freedom to debate and Japanese pastors and missionaries had to be very vague on their stands. This might include Verbeck, who seems intentionally vague on some issues.

but not “heroic.”<sup>788</sup> Yamaji would likely agree with much of Takasaki’s definition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary, but it doesn’t seem as applicable to Verbeck in that he certainly belongs in the “heroic” era and as such could have wielded much authority, but generally chose not to do so. Thus, even for those, like Uchimura and Uemura who criticized the missionaries, they deliberately singled out Verbeck as an exception.

Undoubtedly, nationalism grew in the 1890s, both in the church and outside it. In the Sino-Japanese War, which Saya Makito calls the defining moment in Japanese nationalism and Lafcadio Hearn dubbed, “the real birthday of Japanese nationalism,” these church leaders enthusiastically supported the war.<sup>789</sup> A few individuals who were attracted to Christianity as a more universal and cosmopolitan religion earlier, were turned off by the nationalistic responses of some of the Japanese church leaders during the Sino-Japanese War. Ōsugi Sakae, an anarchist and labor activist, relates in his *Autobiography* that he was influenced by Christianity baptized in Ebina Danjō’s Hongō Church but was later disillusioned, largely by Ebina’s nationalism during the Sino-Japanese War:

I ended up attending the Hongō church of Ebina Danjō. It was not only the one closest to my lodgings, but I liked his sermons best. I do not know whether I was unaware of Ebina’s nationalism or whether perhaps it suited the military spirit lingering still in the back of my mind. In any case, I was completely entranced by the preacher’s eloquence....I had believed, as Ebina Danjō taught, that religion had a *cosmopolitanism* that transcended national boundaries and a *libertarianism* that recognized no temporal authority....But the attitude that religious individuals took toward the war [Sino-

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<sup>788</sup> Cited in Richard H. Drummond, “Christian Mission and Missionaries in Japan” *Gettysburg Theological Studies II, Theological and Missionary Studies in Memory of John Aberly* (Gettysburg, PA: Times and News Publishing, Co, 1965): 115.

<sup>789</sup> See Saya Makito, *The Sino-Japanese War and the Birth of Japanese Nationalism* (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2011). Hearn quoted in Ian Buruma, *Inventing Japan: 1853-1964* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), p. 50. Verbeck apparently was apparently allowed to go with another missionary in 1894 to help distribute Christian literature to the soldiers during this war. Some of the most significant naval officers, such as Admiral Uryū Sotokichi and Admiral Serata Tasuku were both baptized members of Protestant churches.

Japanese]—especially the attitude of Ebina in whom I believed—thoroughly betrayed my faith. The fact that Ebina’s Christianity was one of nationalism and the Japanese spirit, was now clearly exposed to my sight. He held prayer meetings for victory. He sang hymns that seemed like military songs. He gave sermons on loyalty and patriotism. And he quoted Christ completely out of context, as in “I came not to bring peace.” [Matthew 10:34]<sup>790</sup>

Ōsugi’s response was certainly not the norm and even he admits that this nationalism that Ebina demonstrated during the war was not new. Most Japanese Christians and their leaders (as well as many foreign missionaries) fully supported the nationalism surrounding both the Sino-Japanese and the subsequent Russo-Japanese War.<sup>791</sup> Verbeck’s colleague, James Ballagh, during the Sino-Japanese War, “joined crowds along the railway hailing the emperor...and praised the patriotism of Japanese Christians who held lectures and prayer meetings in support of the war.”<sup>792</sup>

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<sup>790</sup> *Sources of Japanese Tradition* Compiled by Wm. Theodore Bary, et al. Vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). pp. 912-14. The full text of Matthew 10:34 reads: "Do not think that I came to bring peace on the earth; I did not come to bring peace, but a sword." (New American Standard Bible).

<sup>791</sup> For a summary of the views of Protestants on imperialism in Meiji Japan, see Yosuke Nirei, “The Ethics of Empire: Protestant Thought, Moral Culture, and Imperialism in Meiji Japan,” Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2004. Though some Christians, such as Kashiwagi Gien opposed Japanese imperialism even as he defended himself as a loyal subject. Uchimura Kanzo, though he supported the Sino-Japanese War, had become a pacifist in 1903 and opposed the Russo-Japanese War. Doak, *A History of Japanese Nationalism*, p. 101. Verbeck’s colleague Ballagh was outspoken in support of the war, refusing to leave Japan, and having daily prayer meetings for Japan’s success.

<sup>792</sup> During the Russo-Japanese War, Ballagh refused to leave Japan, explaining, “I cannot feel it right to be out of touch or sympathy a single hour. Have daily and hourly prayed for the success of the Japanese arms.” Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, pp. 281-283. Laman also cites a letter from Booth regarding the Japanese military participation in the Boxer Rebellion in which he expresses a hope that Japan “in the near future will become openly and aggressively Christian.” Laman sees these missionaries as naïve about Japan’s ambitions, but ignores the impact of the widespread association in the West of military virtues with Christianity at the time. Though Verbeck had no military experience and seemed by all accounts to possess a peaceable personality, he likely also held such martial virtues in high regard. When Kumamoto (Higo) wanted to get an “American samurai” to teach at their domain school, they went to Verbeck to ask him to find one. Even more telling, his oldest son William (as well as William’s son and grandson) entered the military and became the headmaster of Manlius Military Academy in New York). In the records of Manlius Pebble Hill School, there are files relating to the service of General William Verbeck and his successors, as well as stories of the Gen. William Verbeck performing feats with his “600 year-old” samurai sword in front of the students.

How did Verbeck respond to these changes in the 1890s? Though Verbeck wrote little about the Sino-Japanese War, according to Henry Loomis of the American Bible Society, Verbeck accompanied him to Yokosuka to visit the naval station there, where they were greeted by Admiral Inouye [Yoshika?] and his chief-of-staff (both apparently Christians) and were invited to speak to the officers and troops.<sup>793</sup> In many ways Verbeck continued what he had done in the 1880s—to support the work of the Japanese church. However, he became more critical of the growing antagonism of some of the Japanese nationalists, if not publically, at least privately. Regarding some divisive issues among the church in the early 1890s, he writes in 1894 that some “hot-headed brethren, who used to talk of sending home the missionaries, as no more needed” were forced to acknowledge that “if they carried things beyond all reason and endurance, the despised foreign missionaries might themselves solve the difficulty in a very practical though unlooked-for way.”<sup>794</sup> But, such criticism of the Japanese Christians was rare and overall, as can be seen by his datebook from 1894, he spent most of his time continuing to support the church in preaching and evangelism from Morioka to Kochi.

Verbeck used his public speaking at times to support the idea that Christianity was not antagonistic to Japanese nationalism. In a speech in 1896, entitled, *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o bensu* [Speech Concerning Misunderstandings of Christianity] (published as a tract by the Protestant publishing company Kyobunkan), Verbeck claimed that Christianity, just like

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<sup>793</sup> Clara Denison Loomis, *Henry Loomis: Friend of the East* (New York: Revell, 1923), p. 102. Verbeck wrote few letters by 1895, and his only reference to the war was that when he was on a preaching tour, “the people in the country districts are much agitated about the recent war and its results,” and thus the attendance was a little low. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb 4 June 1895, JMRCA.

<sup>794</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 23 July 1894, JMRCA. Verbeck, however, is more critical (albeit in vague terms) about his colleagues at Meiji Gakuin, and in 1893 writes that “it is far from pleasant and congenial” for him to teach there, and in 1895 claims “for several valid reasons, I cannot well continue at the school, unless it be perhaps for the one branch of Homiletics.” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 4 June 1895, JMRCA.

Buddhism and Confucianism and Islam, was originally an “Oriental” religion, not a Western religion. Verbeck also argued that Christianity was not opposed to Japanese patriotism (*aikokushin*), and cites the example of the selfless bravery of many Christian officers and soldiers in the recent Sino-Japanese War.<sup>795</sup> In his last two decades, he extensively used his language expertise in his lectures and evangelism. Frank Cary related that in an address at the Osaka Y.M.C.A. in 1896 (which may have been the same speech), that Verbeck asserted that “in his opinion it was Christianity that introduced the words ‘patriotism’ and ‘patriot’ into the Japanese language.” Verbeck said this because he had looked through many dictionaries and vocabularies and had not found the term.<sup>796</sup> Thus, Verbeck not only tried to counter the popular equating of Christianity with Western nations, but also the corresponding assumption that Christianity was incompatible with Japanese nationalism. Some Japanese Christian apologists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, echoing Verbeck’s claims, called for the “restoration of Christianity to the Oriental consciousness,” on the ground that “Christ himself was not Oriental and the Occidental civilization is not entirely Christian.”

In his last years, Verbeck did express some criticism of Japan, but not publically. One of the few occasions he did this was in response to a series of questions about Japan which the American Christian leader Robert Speer posed to him.<sup>797</sup> In his last letter before his death in 1898, he emphasized his desire to keep these responses private. He wrote that, if made public, these somewhat critical responses “would draw upon me a host of foes, Christian as well as non-

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<sup>795</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o bensu* [Speech Concerning Misunderstandings of Christianity] (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1896). At one point in the speech, he apparently used the phrase *wagakuni* (“our country”), which by a foreigner is unusual and perhaps implies Verbeck’s identification here with the Japanese nation here.

<sup>796</sup> Frank Cary, 193.

<sup>797</sup> Quoted in Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, p. 416.



Christian.”<sup>798</sup> In these responses he referred to a characteristic in the Japanese of an “...intense ambition, a desire to advance and rise, not to be behind or below anybody.” He also observed that “the strongly prevailing national spirit, in itself honourable, frequently manifests itself towards foreigners in the form of unbounded conceit and persistent self-assertion.”<sup>799</sup> Thus, Verbeck recognized some of the ill-effects of the impact of Japanese nationalism in their interactions with the (often equally nationalistic) Western countries.

However, even within these critical observations, he often distinguished between Japanese Christians and Japan at large. He wrote, “Virtue and anything like high morality, as we understand these, are well-nigh unknown qualities to them,” but he adds in parentheses “I am now speaking of th[os]e ‘outside of the church.’” In addition, he wrote, “In regards to the present attitude of the non-Christian spirit of Japan towards Christianity, I think it may be said to regard our religion with more or less appreciation and respect. But the upper classes look upon the native Christians, especially upon the pastors, with a good deal of doubt and suspicion. They sometimes express wonder at the confidence placed in them; but this is mostly from not really knowing them.” In Emma Verbeck’s letter after his death, she revealed his reluctance to express these opinions publically: “As my father often said to me, ‘If I should express my real opinions of the Japanese and their custom, and morality—openly and sincerely, my usefulness in the country would be destroyed.’”<sup>800</sup> Who was Verbeck “useful” to in this last years? Undoubtedly

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<sup>798</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 24 Feb., 1898, JMRCA.

<sup>799</sup> In Speer, *Missions and Modern History*. Verbeck never shared such views publically, but shared these views with Speer in confidence, and Speer only quotes them posthumously as the “frank” opinion of “a foreigner who had been long a resident of Japan and who knew the Japanese as well as any foreigner knew them.” p. 414-415. Verbeck refers to answering such questions by Speer in one of his letters to the mission board, where he repeats that his usefulness in Japan could be harmed by a publication of his views.

<sup>800</sup> Letter from Emma Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 14 April 1898, JMRCA.

to the mission, but I think mainly to the Japanese church and its leaders and pastors. Thus, Verbeck wanted to keep being useful to the church and not be a figure that brought criticism upon the church in their continuing close association with him.<sup>801</sup> Thus, even some who were opposed to his Christianity, recognized that Verbeck truly was a “friend” of Japan. One Buddhist periodical wrote of him: “The Doctor is surely one of those who rejoice in being the friends of Japan. We Buddhists who have no conspicuous success in foreign mission-work should be shamed by the example of this venerable missionary.”<sup>802</sup>

It seems that Verbeck understood that Japan’s nationalism was something that could be used to oppose Christianity, particularly if the missionaries, as representatives from Western, ostensibly Christian, nations, gave them reason to suspect that they did not respect the Japanese people. By beginning the “nationalist” period in 1887, the year in which the treaty reforms failed, Furuya also acknowledges that the growth of Japanese nationalism in the Meiji period could not be divorced from Japan’s relationship with the West.<sup>803</sup> For the Japanese Christians Verbeck supported, incidents such as the repeated refusal to revise the “unequal treaties,” the

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<sup>801</sup> However, Verbeck at the end of his responses to Speer, praises all of the Japanese people, and writes that “the Japanese are the nicest and brightest people to fall in with and live among. I am not surprised to see that many travellers are quite smitten with them. During many years of close intercourse with them, I myself have never had the least difficulty with the non-Christian Japanese, have experienced nothing but kindness and respect at their hands, and have many friends among them.” In Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, pp. 415-417.

<sup>802</sup> Quote from the *Hansei Zasshi* (Buddhist), *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 182.

<sup>803</sup> Many missionaries and other foreigners (such as former president Ulysses S. Grant when he visited in 1879) supported Japan’s hopes for more political equity of treatment for Japan. For example, a petition against these treaties printed in the *Japan Mail* of May 17, 1884, included every Protestant missionary in southern Japan. See Thomson, “Meiji Japan Through Missionary’s Eyes,” p. 255. According to Richard H. Drummond, one factor which contributed to this favorable change of view towards Christianity was “the recognition that the missionaries both favored and worked strongly to revise the early treaties with foreign nations which were still in force....” Drummond, *History of Christianity in Japan*, p. 191. After many unsuccessful attempts, the treaties were removed in 1899 (though control over tariffs remained until 1911).

denial of Japanese occupation of the Shandong Peninsula according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the racist rhetoric and immigration restrictions in America, and the refusal to pass an “equality clause” in the League of Nations, repeatedly challenged not only the political relationships between Japan and these Western powers, but also Verbeck’s and Japanese Christian leaders’ arguments that Christianity was supportive of Japanese nationalism.<sup>804</sup>

At the end of the Meiji period, in 1912, it seemed as if Christians had achieved recognition as a national religion of Japan when church leaders were invited by the government to a meeting of the three religions of Japan—Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity—in what was called the “Three Religions Conference.” In hindsight, because of the subsequent domination of religion by the state, particularly during the war years, it is hard to see this meeting as an unmitigated blessing for Japanese Christians. However, at the time, many Japanese Christians were encouraged that, in the space of four decades, they went from a proscribed religion to one of the recognized big three “national religions” of Japan.<sup>805</sup> Continuing antagonism towards Christianity—whether it came from the lingering social and cultural animosity, revamped Buddhist and Shinto religious opposition, or intellectual secularist challenges—revealed that there were still underlying sentiments that Christianity was not amenable with Japanese

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<sup>804</sup> Many missionaries did challenge their governments on issues like the unequal treaties, violations of sovereignty, immigration restrictions, and racist policies. Verbeck and many of the missionaries supported the Japanese government’s desire for treaty reform, but perhaps this support was not entirely disinterested as it would open up the interior of Japan to missionaries. See Jennifer C. Snow, *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850-1924*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2007); For Sidney L. Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem: A Study of the Racial Relations of the East and the West* (New York: Scibner’s Sons, 1914). Also, for Sidney Gulick, see Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*.

<sup>805</sup> One work that examines the Three Religions Conference from a nationalistic perspective is, Timothy S. McKenzie, “Spiritual Restoration and Religious Reinvention in Late Meiji Japan: The Three Religions Conference and Religious Nationalism” Ph. D Dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 2003.

nationalism. By the mid-1930s, when ultranationalist factions prevailed, foreign missionaries were forced to leave and Japanese Christians were often suspected of not being “truly” Japanese.<sup>806</sup>

Even as the foreign missionary movement declined by the 1930s, some of the most prominent Japanese historians of Protestantism, such as Saba Wataru and Hiyane Antei, wrote historical works that focused on Japanese interpretations of both the indigenous and missionary contributions to Japanese Protestantism.<sup>807</sup> Many of these presentations focused on the first leaders of Japanese Protestantism, and Verbeck (and other pioneer missionaries) are often mentioned and highly regarded throughout their works. The views of Verbeck initially seems similar to the missionary literature in the general outline of the facts of his life, but in analyzing these works, many of the anecdotes and references are different in that they use Japanese sources and portray Verbeck as a great supporter of early Meiji Protestantism. Thus, in these works the

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<sup>806</sup> In 1939, with the passing of the Religious Organizations Law (*shukyō dantai hō*), all of the Christian denominations were forced to join one large denomination called the Kyodan. Though the Japanese Protestants had, from the beginning, been supportive of a more unified church, this forced unification in wartime Japan did not sit well with many in the church. However, the Kyodan remained in the postwar period and remains the largest Christian denomination in Japan. For a recent reinterpretation of this law in a more nuanced light, see Hans Martin Kramer, “Beyond the Dark Valley: Reinterpreting Christian Reactions to the 1939 Religious Organizations Law,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 38, no. 1 (2011): 181-211. Groups such as the Holiness Churches, refused to join and were one of the few Christian groups who opposed the war and were persecuted for it. Though almost all of the missionaries returned to the West by late 1941, Gordon Laman highlights the one Reformed Church missionary who remained in Japan during the war, Sarah Couch, who spent the war in a prison camp. Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, pp. 505-507.

<sup>807</sup> Regarding missionaries, they particularly focus on pioneers like Verbeck, Brown and Hepburn. The Western literature on Meiji Protestantism in the 1920s and 1930s is relatively poor, which, according to Aaslv Lande, “reflects a low emphasis on the history of missions during this period.” Lande, *Meiji Protestantism*, p. 13. One of the first historians of Japanese Protestantism was Yamaji Aizan. Saba Wataru’s great multi-volume work, *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai* is also significant in this regard. Yamamoto Hideteru, *Nihon Kirisutokyokai shi* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyokai Jimusho, 1929); Hiyane Antei, *Nihon kirisutokyo shi 4 [The History of Christianity in Japan] Vol. IV: The Period of Revival 1844-1889*. Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1938. Also, works by some of the early Protestant leaders were published in the 1930s, such as Ebina Danjo, *Nihon Kokumin to Kirisutokyo* (Tokyo, 1933) and Kozaki Hiromichi, *Nihon Kirisutokyo shi*, (Tokyo, Kyo Bun Kwan, 1938).

narrative of the missionary movement was generally replaced by a more national-oriented Japanese Christian narrative, and Verbeck, though clearly a foreigner—was a part of that story.<sup>808</sup> Aaslv Lande has observed that, in contrast to the prewar historiography on missions, many of the Western scholars who wrote on Japanese Christianity in the postwar period were more influenced by Japanese scholarship than previous writers and that Western historical scholarship on Japanese Protestantism was largely subsumed under contemporary Japanese categories.<sup>809</sup> But, even before the war, in the Japanese literature on Meiji Christianity, the early missionaries to Japan had become more prominent as part of the national story of Japanese Protestantism than they were in the narrative of the worldwide missionary movement.<sup>810</sup> In 1926, the Presbyterian missionary August Karl Reischauer wrote of the work of missions passing

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<sup>808</sup> In fact, most of the short sources on Verbeck in Japanese in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century are from Japanese Christians or in Christian publications. Speeches of Verbeck from commencement addresses at Christian schools or from Temperance Society or other meetings were published by small Christian publishers during this time. Though they contain few new facts about Verbeck, and have rarely been used by scholars writing on Verbeck, and they reveal a growing appreciation for Verbeck as a respected figure in the development of Japanese Protestant history.

<sup>809</sup> In contrast to the history of missions at the time, the historiography of Christianity in Japan was written primarily by the Japanese and is comparatively rich throughout the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Lande, in *Meiji Protestantism* cites many examples of such postwar works include: Sumiya Mikio, *Nihon Shakai to Kirisutokyo* [Japanese Society and Christianity] 1954; Ishihara Ken, *Nihon Kirisutokyoshi Ron* [Views on Japanese Christian History], 1967 and *Kirisutokyo to Nippon* [Christianity and Japan] 1976, in which he “stresses the missionary beginnings of Japanese Protestantism and the fact that early Protestantism came to Japan via China missions; Ebisawa Arimichi, *Ishin Henkakuki to Kirisutokyo* [The Period of Restoration—Reforms and Christianity], 1968; Morioka Kiyomi at Tokyo University, *Nihon no Kindaishakai to Kirisutokyo*, [Modern Japanese Society and Christianity] 1970; Takeda Cho Kiyoko of International Christian University *Nihon Purotestanto ningen keiseiron* [The Formation of Human Being in Japanese Protestantism] 1963; Kudo Eiichi, *Meijiki no Kirisutokyo: Nihon Purotestanto shiwa* [Christianity in the Meiji Period: Tales from Japanese Protestant History], 1979. .

<sup>810</sup> Lande, *Meiji Protestantism*, p. 8. Though Lande’s work is one of the few to analyze and compare the historiography of missions with that of Japanese Protestantism, his work is over 25 years old and thus does not assess some of the recent approaches to missions and world Christianity as well as recent biographical work on missionaries. In addition to Verbeck’s biography by Itoh Noriko in 2010, see Oe, Mitsuru. *Senkōshi Wiriamuzu no dendō to shōgai: Bakumatsu-Meiji Seikōkai no kiseki*. [The Life and Missionary Work of the Missionary Williams: The Locus of the Bakumatsu Meiji American Protestant Episcopal Church]. Tokyo: Tosui Shobo, 2000, and Nakajima Kōji, *Kindai Nihon no gaikō to senkyōshi* [Modern Japan’s Diplomacy and Missionaries] Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kyobunkan, 2012) on William Imbrie.

through various phases—the pioneering stage, the paternal stage, and a fraternal stage, and found that this fraternal phase had not been reached in any field but was “rapidly evolving” in Japan, where this fraternal stage “came very early, for the Japanese people were rather highly civilized when missions were begun, and what is more is the fact that it was the most alert and progressive classes that were first drawn to the missionaries.”<sup>811</sup> This is true, but it also seems that some early missionaries like Verbeck were willing to move beyond the first two stages much quicker than many of the missionaries in other fields.

Many Japanese Christians, even today, have continued to make connections to their historical roots in Meiji Christianity. But the sense of the vital importance of Christianity to modern Japan that the early leaders of Japanese Protestantism had during Verbeck’s time, is generally absent. In 2012, I attended the 8<sup>th</sup> International Seminar of the Northeast Asia Council of Studies of the History of Christianity in Japan, and noticed that very few of the papers presented were on Japan. During the seminar, however, the question of why Christianity had failed to thrive in Japan was implied and even stated at one point.<sup>812</sup> It seemed that many of the Korean and Chinese delegates were quite comfortable with presenting the significance of Christianity in their national histories, but for Japan it seemed more difficult to assert such a claim. The implication, instead, was that nationalism in Japan had worked against Christianity (with the war years as definitive proof of this perhaps).

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<sup>811</sup> August Karl Reischauer, *The Task in Japan: A Study of Modern Missionary Imperatives* (New York: Revell, 1926) p. 221-223.

<sup>812</sup> One of the papers was on missionaries and the other was on the 17<sup>th</sup> century Catholic Christianity. Some Japanese Christian scholars have directly addressed this question in works such as Yasuo Furuya, *Naze Nihon ni Kirisutokyō wa hiromaranai no ka* [Why doesn’t Christianity grow in Japan] (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2009).

In actuality, the history is much more complicated. The struggle of these Meiji Christian leaders to formulate the nature of Christianity's relationship to Japan's national identity deserve greater attention as attempts to, in Anesaki Masaharu's phrase, show "how Christianity can be naturalized and grow out of the people's own soul."<sup>813</sup> And many of the recent arguments made by Korean and Chinese Christians, such as the amenability of Confucianism and Christianity, were asserted more than a century ago by the early Japanese converts such as Ebina Danjō.<sup>814</sup> For these early leaders of Japanese Protestantism during Verbeck's time, Christianity was a vital part of their vision of their nation and it was not antithetical to Japanese nationalism. Some, like Uchimura Kanzō, may have asserted too large a role for Christianity in Japanese nationalism. Uchimura wrote, "Now that Christianity is dying in Europe, and America by its materialism cannot revive it, God is calling upon Japan to contribute its best to His service. There was a meaning in the history of Japan. For twenty centuries God has been perfecting Bushido with this very moment in view. Christianity grafted upon Bushido will yet save the world."<sup>815</sup>

Though Verbeck may have disagreed with Uchimura and of these leaders on many points, he respected the need of the Japanese Christians to graft their traditions with the new religion and that there were no simple or easy solutions. In his analysis in 1935 of Verbeck and other Reformed missionaries, Stephen Ryder asserted that part of Verbeck's effectiveness was that "he was sensible enough to recognize that the new must find some

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<sup>813</sup> Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 348, 374. Anesaki writes that some of the Christian apologists did not accept all of the faith. Also, Hajimi Onishi became a Universalist.

<sup>814</sup> For Ebina Danjō, see Notehelfer, "Ebina Danjō." For Korea and Confucianism see Antton Egiguren Iraola, *True Confucians, Bold Christians: Korean Missionary Experience, a Model for the Third Millennium* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

<sup>815</sup> *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, Vol. 22, pp. 161.

bonds of connection with the old, and tactful enough not to oppose a situation he could not remedy.” In addition, Ryder claims that Verbeck had “an underlying feeling that each people...had some contribution or peculiar interpretation of life to make to an ideal society, or civilization, or religion, of the future.”<sup>816</sup> Verbeck might have been a missionary of Takasaki’s “heroic” era of missions, but in actuality he did not abuse this authority, and, like the missionaries of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, he was “more apt to sense the nuances of their situation,” and to support and guide the Japanese in building their church. Though observers today may critique some of the interpretations of this early generation of Japanese Christians as too nationalistic or naive, the vision which they possessed at that time for the role of their newfound faith for Japan, is one that shouldn’t be ignored.

Perhaps the “20-year cycle” theory for modern Japan is overly simplistic, particularly in approaching the oft-overlooked 1880s. However, I am not necessarily challenging the theory, but using it to illustrate a point, that Verbeck, a foreigner, does not seem to fit well into this theory. It seems that Verbeck could be portrayed as both an international and national figure, but he has arguably been more attractive as a figure during the periods of nationalism. Thus, the periods of the most literature written on Verbeck in Japan, tend to be the ostensibly “bad” nationalistic periods (1887-1907, 1926-1945, 1965-1985)<sup>817</sup> But, the literature on Japanese nationalism, does not generally include foreign figures like Verbeck in their historiography or

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<sup>816</sup> Ryder, p. 138, 151.

<sup>817</sup> Though Furuya’s work does not extend past the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the period from the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, particularly beginning with Prime Minister Koizumi Jun’ichiro (2001-2006) could be characterized as more nationalistic. And, the writings on Verbeck since the early 2000s have grown somewhat as well. This is particularly true with Saba Wataru’s multi-volume *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, published during the war, but also in various recollections by former students, and historians of Christianity, such as Akio Dohi. In addition, the first works on the *oyatoi* in Japanese are written during the postwar “nationalist” period, as I have demonstrated in previous chapters.



analyses. Furuya's work, *History of Japan and Christianity*, demonstrates this pointedly. Though he mentions missionaries in general, no foreign missionaries are specifically discussed in his work. However, in his preface (written in 2006), he wrote that, "if I were to write it now, I would emphasize more the influence of missionaries upon politics and education. For example, I would include Guido Verbeck (1830-98), one of the first American missionaries, who had originally advised the Meiji government to send the Iwakura Mission to the Western countries and who had designed the original system of Tokyo University."<sup>818</sup> The fact that he only mentions Verbeck (and no one else) reveals a view of Verbeck as a particularly significant figure in telling the story of Japan and Christianity. If so, "Verbeck, a pioneer missionary" and "Verbeck, a key *oyatoi gaikokujin*" don't seem to fully capture this view of Verbeck. Perhaps to fully appreciate his legacy and significance, we should consider the image of "Verbeck, a 'foreign hero' for Japan"?

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<sup>818</sup> Furuya, p. 7.

### 3.2 CHAPTER EIGHT: VERBECK AS A “FOREIGN HERO” FOR MODERN JAPAN

“Dr. Verbeck is destined to be one of Japan’s few foreign heroes.”<sup>819</sup>

—Sidney Gulick, an American Board missionary to Japan, 1904.

In the monthly Japanese Christian devotional entitled *Mana deboshon gaido* (*Manna: Devotion Guide*), the September 2010 issue contained a short piece on Verbeck entitled, *Kono hito ni aetara 6: furubekki* [What if you could meet this person? #6: Verbeck]. The devotional begins with a reference to the recent popularity of “*haka mairaa*,” that is, people—probably Japanese Christians—who visit the graves of prominent figures, one of which is Verbeck’s tomb in Aoyama Cemetery.<sup>820</sup> In Saga, near Nagasaki, a secondary school named *Chienkan* (after the domain school in which Verbeck taught in the late 1860s) displays a high-quality golden engraving of the famous 1860s-era photograph of Verbeck with his students from the Bakumatsu-era school. This impressive work was donated recently by a prominent Japanese company that, for some reason, wanted to draw attention to this photograph of Verbeck and his

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<sup>819</sup> Sidney L. Gulick. *Evolution of the Japanese*, p. 91.

<sup>820</sup> “*Kono hito ni aetara: Dai 6 kai--G. F. Furubekki (senkyoshi): Mukokuseki no oyatoi gaikokujin*” [What if you could meet this person? No 6—G. F. Verbeck (missionary): the foreign employee with no nationality], *Mana: Debōshon gaido* [Manna: Devotion Guide] Vol. 13 (September 2010) *Inochi no kotoba sha*: 26-29. This is only one of a series of short historical sketches entitled “*Rekishhi* [History] View,” and it contained photographs and an advertisement for a book they published entitled, *Seisho o yonda samurai tachi* [The samurai who read the Bible with Verbeck], which has the famous photograph of Verbeck on the front. An additional anecdotal evidence of this trend came from my father. When he visited a large Protestant church in downtown Tokyo in 2012, he mentioned my dissertation topic and an elderly member of the church told him that she liked to walk in Aoyama cemetery and visit various graves, including Verbeck’s grave.

students.<sup>821</sup> The growing interest in the figure of Verbeck in Japan recently, though much of it is peripheral and shedding little new light on Verbeck's life, seems to point to Verbeck as a heroic figure for Japan. What aspects of Verbeck are highlighted in such perspectives? Is such an image for Verbeck new, or can it be found in other periods? Does it apply to other foreign figures who have been viewed in similarly nationalistic terms?

The idea of Verbeck as a "foreign hero" challenges cultural barriers and definitions, but could such a category allow for greater understanding of the place of figures like Verbeck in the historical imagination of Japan? In this chapter, I will argue that Verbeck has been viewed as a foreign hero to various groups or individuals both in Japan and outside of Japan. Many of the characteristics which have contributed to him as a foreign hero are also important in the presentations of Verbeck as a pioneer missionary and *oyatoi*, including, his noble character, his expert instruction and advise, and his unwavering Christian witness. However the perspectives on Verbeck as a foreign hero highlight his unswerving devotion to Japan and his respect for its people, customs, language, culture and government. Such attributes make him an attractive and heroic figure, but his identity as a foreign hero challenges the common framework of Japanese nationalism and the place of foreigners in the narrative of Japanese history.

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<sup>821</sup> When I asked about who had given the engraving, the answers were a bit vague, and my guide implied that he thought it had something to do with "right-wing" (*uyoku*) elements. In any case, most likely they were more interested in the prominent Japanese figures surrounding Verbeck and his son William.

### 3.2.1 Defining “Foreign Heroes”

How does one define a “foreign hero”? The literature concerning heroes certainly goes back to the historiographical traditions of the ancient world in such figures as the Near Eastern hero Gilgamesh. In the Greco-Roman world, it includes the heroes found in the works of such writers as Homer, Livy and Plutarch. The modern definition of hero, as “a man distinguished by extraordinary valour and martial achievements; one who does brave or noble deeds,” arises out of the ideals of these traditions, particularly by the time of the Renaissance. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century the word “hero,” though still emphasizing military valor, became more inclusive of non-martial figures, with hero defined as “a man who exhibits extraordinary bravery, firmness, fortitude, or greatness of soul, in any course of action, or in connexion with any pursuit, work, or enterprise; a man admired and venerated for his achievements and noble qualities.”<sup>822</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century Western literature on heroes—works such as Thomas Carlyle’s 1841 work *On Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*—are often the starting point for modern studies on heroism and the “great man” approach to history. Carlyle’s works were also very influential on 19<sup>th</sup> century Japanese Christian converts such as Nitobe Inazō and Uchimura Kanzō, in addition to foreign interpreters of Japan such as William Elliot Griffis.<sup>823</sup> In Asia, heroes can be found in

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<sup>822</sup> Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 8.

<sup>823</sup> Sèbe, p. 8. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (London: James Fraser, 1841). Hamish Ion claims that the “great men” perspective of history common in Carlyle, also resonated with the Japanese and with the historiography of Japanese Christianity. Inazō Nitobe quotes from Carlyle throughout his English works, and Uchimura also cites as heroes figures that Carlyle highlights, such as Luther and Cromwell. Both Nitobe and Uchimura also tried to extend Carlyle’s ideals of heroism to Japanese figures, such as Uchimura’s writing on Nichiren. Ion asserts that the early missionary historiography, particularly that written by Verbeck, Griffis and Otis Cary has had a great influence on Japanese historiography and, in particular, “continues to live on in the periodization of Meiji

the Chinese historiography and in Confucian literature on the heroic “sage kings.” In Japan, such heroes date back at least to the 8<sup>th</sup> century histories of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, which, like the Greco-Roman heroes, elevated many martial characters as heroes such as Yamato Takeru. Such martial figures remained the focus of much Japanese heroic literature through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though other heroic figures like the early reformer, Prince Shotoku Taishi, and the self-made commoner Nintomiya Sontoku, are not military figures.<sup>824</sup>

The concept of a “foreign hero” is undoubtedly more difficult to define. It is often applied in wartime to foreigners who contribute to war efforts (such figures as the Marquis de Lafayette and Thaddeus Kosciuszko in the American Revolution) but often this is a short-lived role and many of these figures return to their nations to do further heroic acts.<sup>825</sup> Internationally hailed “heroes” in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as Horatio Nelson, Guiseppe Garibaldi, Abraham Lincoln, Louis Kossuth, or Heihachirō Tōgō, were known for acts associated with war or statesmanship for their own countries and hardly qualify as “foreign heroes.”<sup>826</sup> There is some recent scholarship on “colonial heroes,” but these colonial heroic figures in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

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history, and in the great men theory of Japanese Christian history.” Ion, “American Missionaries and the Writing of Meiji Christian History,” *Meiji Gakuin kirisutokyō kenkyū kiyō* 33 (Jan. 2001), pp. 83-119.

<sup>824</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century figure Shotoku Taishi had a military role in the defeat of a rival faction, yet is primarily a hero for his religious and civil acts.

<sup>825</sup> For a recent work on the topic of foreign-born heroes in the Revolutionary War see Reneé Critcher Lyons, *Foreign-Born American Patriots: Sixteen Volunteer Leaders in the Revolutionary War* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2014).

<sup>826</sup> This does not mean that such figures are not seen as great figures to other nations. On the contrary, figures like Lincoln can be heroes for people all over the world, but it is generally for the things that they did for their own nations.

are considered heroes also for their important roles in the imperialist projects of their respective empires.<sup>827</sup>

There are internationally acclaimed heroes, some of whom begin worldwide movements like Florence Nightingale, whose life inspired the Red Cross, and William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army. But they are not devoted to any one country and are more “international” or “transnational” heroes. One example of a Japanese “international hero” in the 20<sup>th</sup> century might be Sugihara Chiune-Sempo (1900-1986), a Japanese diplomat, who—though reticent about his actions and little acclaimed in Japan during his lifetime—was honored in 1985 by the state of Israel as “righteous among the nations” for risking his life and career during World War II to save over 6000 Jews in Lithuania.<sup>828</sup> Though too ill to receive the award in Israel, his wife and son accepted it on his behalf and the family’s descendants were bestowed with perpetual Israeli citizenship. Though a memorial and museum were built after his death in his hometown of Yaotsu, he is still less known in Japan and has many more memorials overseas. In Lithuania there is a museum, a park, memorials and several streets named after him. He also has at least two memorials in the U.S., and was posthumously granted various prestigious awards from the government of Lithuania and Poland.

Though there are plenty of examples of individuals who have been enamored with Japan, its people and culture, they would hardly be considered “foreign heroes.” The older term “Japanophiles” or the more recent term, “Japanapologists” (used by Jon Woronoff in the work

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<sup>827</sup> For an example of an analysis of British and French “colonial heroes” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Sèbe.

<sup>828</sup> “The Sugihara Story,” *The Sugihara Project*. <http://www.eagleman.com/sugihara/>. Accessed 9/1/2010, pp. 2-4. An asteroid was also named after Sugihara, and in 2011, at the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, his alma mater, Waseda University, erected a monument in his honor.

*Japan as Anything But Number One*) can be applied to many foreign admirers and defenders of Japan, including 19<sup>th</sup> century figures, but they are generally not considered heroes for Japan. Many of these individuals, as Woronoff points out, often have ulterior motives, such as their standing in their home country and the fact that it may pay well to support Japan. Even where these motives are not present, Woronoff sees most of these writings as “flowering compliments from foreign friends” and many Japanese observers and scholars disagree with their views.<sup>829</sup>

Another category of “foreign hero” might be one who fosters a greater cause that transcends his/her nationality, or a person who devotes his/her life for another nation’s cause. An example of a Japanese citizen who has been depicted as more of a “hero” for another nation was Miyazaki Tōten, a Japanese Pan-Asianist who traveled extensively in China and supported Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese Revolution in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>830</sup> In his collection of reflective essays, *From the Kotatsu [Kotatsu no naka yori]*, he wrote of his earlier contributions,

Now as I look back calmly, I think of my actions—abandoning my birth country to become engrossed in other nations’ revolutionary enterprise—as something only a

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<sup>829</sup> Woronoff, whose critical book was written just prior to the collapse of Japan’s economic “bubble,” also calls Japanapologists “long-time ‘friends’” of Japan and writes that they “feel that they must explain the country...they become advocates (*shinnichika*), making Japan’s case to the world.” Woronoff, *Japan as Anything But Number One* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc, 1990), p. 21. Woronoff, p. 279, 281. He also claims that they are often “‘friends’ of the elite but not the people,” and supporters of the status quo. Woronoff views Edwin O. Reischauer as the epitome of the “Japanapologist.” I think some missionaries like Sidney Gulick could be seen as a “Japanapologist,” but Verbeck wrote relatively little about Japan itself for the West, and was very reticent to express his views. For a recent work on various interactions between Americans and Japanese from the Bakumatsu period through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Auslin, *Pacific Cosmopolitans*.

<sup>830</sup> Miyazaki’s autobiographical work, *My Thirty-Three Years Dream*, was first published serially in a newspaper in 1901, but has been reprinted many times and translated into English. See Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen, *My Thirty-Three Years Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). Miyazaki, like Tokutomi Sohō, was influenced by Christianity for a period, but was more interested in politics, though he later became a devotee of the new religion Ōmotokyō.

crazy, reckless person would do; no one with common sense would even attempt them. Moreover, even should I have attained some degree of success, being a foreigner I certainly would not have played a key role in carrying out the idealistic enterprise.<sup>831</sup>

Despite his latter-day doubts, Miyazaki has been somewhat more prominent in Chinese historical texts and virtually unknown in Japan. Faye Yuan Kleeman asserts that this “has to do with the national construction of collective memory, strategically commemorating and erasing certain parts of the past history to fit into the current national discourse. Pan-Asianism no longer serves any purposes for either country, and thus Miyazaki has to be forgotten.”<sup>832</sup> Perhaps all heroes are dependent on their usefulness in particular “discourses” or narratives, but particularly “foreign heroes.”

I would define a “foreign hero” as someone who is recognized as a hero, mainly in and for a society where they are acknowledged to be an outsider, but one to whom that society feels they owe a debt. The foreign heroes’ names are often more prominent in the nation for which they are considered “foreign heroes” than in their homelands, and their legacies are permanently tied to the history and development of the nation. Some prominent figures like Douglas MacArthur could be considered a foreign hero for Japan, though arguably he is also prominent in U.S. history, and he is seen in both positive and negative terms, depending on a person’s view of his legacy in postwar Japan. One prominent Japanese Christian leader who might have viewed MacArthur as a “foreign hero” is Toyohiko Kagawa who said that “in his judgment the American Occupation of Japan was unique in human history for its fairness and generosity of spirit and policy.”<sup>833</sup>

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<sup>831</sup> Quoted in Kleeman, pp. 63-64.

<sup>832</sup> Kleeman, p. 64.

<sup>833</sup> Quoted in Richard H. Drummond, “Christian Mission,” p. 121.



For some countries, like the U.S., which has been multiethnic for a long time and does not define its nationality by ethnicity or place of origin, the concept of a “foreign hero” is not that necessary, since many such “foreign heroes,”—like the Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Albert Einstein in the 20<sup>th</sup>—became American citizens. For Japan, the term “foreign hero” is more helpful, not only because the Japanese people tend to define themselves more narrowly as a nation, but because they also tend to emphasize ideas like *uchi* (“inside”) and *soto* (“outside”) much more than many societies. Thus, in general foreigners are *soto*, but I am arguing that some foreigners in Japan are considered *uchi* (“inside”) for the Japanese as a whole.

Even such a simple task as translating the term “foreign hero” into Japanese is not an easy task. There are various terms for a heroic person in Japanese. Some common words for “hero” are *ei-yū* 英雄 and *eiketsu* 英傑 which normally refer to a “hero” or “great man.” Other words, like *gunshin* 軍神 (“god of war”) refers to soldiers who have fought and died bravely. *Yūshi* 勇士 (“brave warrior”) can refer to martial heroes, *yūsha* 勇者 means “man of valor,” and *rōyū* 老雄 means “aged hero.” Though I don’t think these terms for “hero” were used for Verbeck, he is sometimes called a “gentleman” (*shinshi*) or “wise man” (*kunshi*), which shows he was greatly respected. The modern word *kokumin teki hiiro* 国民的ヒーロー is a modern English-derived term that means “national hero” but is not generally applied to foreigners. Adding “foreigner” to this term would not only be cumbersome, but it sounds very strange to put *gaijin* (“foreigner”) and *kokumin* (“nation”) together. Simply calling a foreigner like Verbeck a “*kokumin teki hiiro*” may be startling enough to give the connotation of a “foreign hero.”

### 3.2.2 Verbeck and Other Candidates for “Foreign Heroes” in Japan

Perhaps the earliest example of a Westerner who could be seen as a “foreign hero” was William Adams, the 17<sup>th</sup> century English pilot who became a retainer of Tokugawa Ieyasu. In Japan, there has been some acknowledgement of him almost as an anomaly in Japanese history.

Certainly, his life was a fascinating one. In Hirado, Adams refused to stay in English quarters and instead resided with a local Japanese magistrate, preferred to wear Japanese dress and spoke Japanese fluently. John Saris, captain and representative of BEIC arrived at the factory in Hirado in 1613, commented on Adams: “He persists in giving “admirable and affectionated commendations of Japan. It is generally thought amongst us that he is a naturalized Japaner.”<sup>834</sup>

Are there more foreign figures like William Adams in Japanese history? Particularly with the opening of Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the spectacular growth and changes during these years, one would think the number of foreigners who might be candidates for such “foreign heroes” as Adams, would have grown.<sup>835</sup>

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<sup>834</sup> Michael Pakenham, “‘Samurai William,’ a rich saga from the infancy of globalism,” *The Baltimore Sun*, 12 January Accessed online: [http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2003-01-12/entertainment/0301120342\\_1\\_dutch-william-adams-japan](http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2003-01-12/entertainment/0301120342_1_dutch-william-adams-japan). In the West, there has been much romanticization of Adams since Verbeck’s time, beginning with the novel, *The First Englishman in Japan: A Romantic Biography* published in London in 1861 and more recently, James Clavell’s novel (and later, mini-series) *Shogun*.

<sup>835</sup> Others foreign figures are more locally known “heroes,” such as the Bakumatsu figure, Eduard Schnell, who, with his brother Henry, militarily aided the domain of Aizu and their allies in their futile attempt to oppose the Meiji regime. Eduard, who served as a military instructor and weapons procurer, became a sword-bearing retainer of the daimyo of Aizu, taking a Japanese name (Hiramatsu Buhei) and a Japanese wife. The information on the Schnell brothers I owe to Nyri Bakalian whose doctoral dissertation on the Boshin War is forthcoming from the University of Pittsburgh. There were also Frenchmen who fought for the anti-Meiji forces in the Boshin War such as Eugene Collache, Henri Nicol, and Jules Brunet who helped in Enomoto’s futile defense of Hakodate. Though arrested by the Meiji government, they were pardoned and returned to France. Ironically, Brunet was even given awards for his service by the Meiji government in the 1880s. See Chrisian Polak, *Hakodate no bakumatsu issin* [The

But the category of “foreign heroes” is not a highly featured one in the story of modern Japan and so it is necessary to look for some possible figures for such a distinction. Since I have already considered Verbeck as a missionary and an *oyatoi*, it would be appropriate to look at other candidates for “foreign heroes” for Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century from among these categories. Some criteria that might apply to foreign heroes, in Japan and elsewhere, include: long residence and/or burial in the country, significant work for the government or other institutions, continued sacrificial support for the nation and its people, respect for the leaders (and respect from the leaders), government decorations or honors, intermarriage or family ties, or citizenship status.

Historically, missionaries are arguably some of the best candidates for foreign heroes, particularly ones who committed their lives to foreign fields from Matteo Ricci in China to David Livingstone in Central Africa to Mary Slessor in Nigeria.<sup>836</sup> However, their images as heroic figures have often been more tied to the church and to humanitarian causes than to a specific nation’s development. Yet, Matteo Ricci’s life has recently been interpreted as a life devoted to China and its people, as in the following description: “But the essential consideration remains always the same, namely, that there is no greater proof of love than *giving one’s life* for the sake of others...of sharing, in complete solidarity and without dissimulation, in the suffering,

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End of Hakodate in the Bakumatsu and Meiji Restoration] (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1988). Some claim that Brunet was the inspiration for Captain Nathan Algren in the 2003 film, *The Last Samurai*.

<sup>836</sup> For Mary Slessor, see Elijah Obinna. “Bridging the Divide: The Legacies of Mary Slessor, ‘Queen’ of Calabar, Nigeria. *Studies in World Christianity* 17/3 (2011): 275-293; Jeannete Hardage. *Mary Slessor—Everybody’s Mother, The Era and Impact of a Victorian Missionary*. (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2010). One could go back and compare earlier missionaries such as St. Patrick in Ireland, though I would suspect the construction of St. Patrick as an ecclesiastical hero rather than a “foreign hero” is more important during that particular time period. The fact that we don’t even know for sure where St. Patrick was born (though not in Ireland for sure) is an indication that nationality was not as important in his image through the ages until quite recently.

or the passion, of others. Matteo Ricci...did precisely that in relation to ...[his] Chinese friends, and to the Chinese People as a whole.<sup>837</sup> Likewise, nineteenth-century biographies of Protestant missionaries, composed within the larger Western heroic framework, often tend to deemphasize national identities within the various “fields” and instead focus on the promotion of Christian institutions or on “evangelizing the world.”<sup>838</sup> They often give little voice to the indigenous perspectives of these missionaries, and emphasize the wide cultural gulfs between the missionaries and their target “fields.”<sup>839</sup>

There are certainly other missionary candidates in 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as James C. Hepburn, who spent 33 years in Japan, and C.M. Williams who spent just under 50 years, or Verbeck’s colleague, James Ballagh, who spent over 50 years in Japan. Though Verbeck’s language skills were extensive, other missionaries like Bishop Channing M. Williams were also excellent preachers in Japanese and fellow missionaries Hepburn and Samuel R. Brown were good translators. These missionaries were all lauded in both Japanese and Western sources. In 1895, the Japanese newspaper, *Taiyō*, published brief articles on the missionaries Verbeck, Hepburn and Williams in which they highly praised these figures for their work for Japan, complete with a collage of photos of all three men on top of the larger photograph of Verbeck

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<sup>837</sup> Shelke and Demichele, pp. 181-182. This recent work is a translation and analyses of the first published tract of Ricci’s (in 1595), *On Friendship*. The authors of this work also see Ricci as a conscious transnational figure. “He [Ricci] was challenging them [the Chinese people] to overcome their parochial and nationalistic views with the universal vision of humanity in that there were no strangers and foreigners. It was also a challenge to the missionaries, Christians and westerners to acknowledge the universality of Christianity; and not to limit the Church in the bonds of the western-Greco-Roman phenomena and views....” p. 167.

<sup>838</sup> This is particularly true when British and American agencies accepted non-British or non-American citizens into their societies. This was common in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in British societies such as the Church Missionary Society, but Verbeck is also an example of this.

<sup>839</sup> As I mentioned in previous chapters, Japan is a bit of an exception here, with Japanese voices becoming a part of the missionary literature from a fairly early date.

and his students. After listing many of Verbeck's accomplishments, the author wrote that "all of his strength was exhausted on behalf of our country."<sup>840</sup> Griffis, the biographer of three of these figures, also continually focused on the significance of these early missionaries and their work for Japan. In a brief editorial in *The Japan Review* in 1920 entitled "Dr. Ballagh and his Japanese Friends," William Elliot Griffis focuses not only on James Ballagh, who had recently died, but also on four of his pioneer missionary colleagues, Hepburn, Brown, Verbeck, and C.M. Williams. "These five men," wrote Griffis, "loved Japan and the Japanese. They criticized and condemned much of what they saw all around them; but it was not Japan or her people, that they denounced. They made war against what were the same evils everywhere...In a word, they were soldiers of righteousness and servant[s] of Japan for Christ's sake."<sup>841</sup>

Of the pioneer Protestant missionaries, Samuel R. Brown and Hepburn, who arrived the same year as Verbeck, would certainly be worthy candidates for foreign heroes. Uchimura Kanzō, in an editorial in *Yorozu Chōhō* in 1898, wrote "Brown, Hepburn, Verbeck—these are the three names which shall be remembered in connection with Japan's New Civilization....The first said he would teach, the second that he would heal, and the third that he would preach....All three by their silent labours hve left Japan better than they had found it."<sup>842</sup> In 1909, Otis Cary, in

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<sup>840</sup> Togawa Sanka, "Furubekki hakushi to Hebon sensei," in *Taiyō* 7, no.1 (1895) pp. 157-163. This also includes a section on Bishop Williams entitled, "Kantoku Uiriamusu shi" In the photograph, Verbeck is (uncharacteristically) shown wearing the medal that he received from the Meiji Emperor almost two decades earlier, which neither of the others had. Hepburn was finally honored and recognized by the emperor but it was not until much later, in 1905.

<sup>841</sup> William Elliot Griffis, "Dr. Ballagh and His Japanese Friends," *The Japan Review: The Journal of Japanese-American Co-operation* 4/no. 8 (June, 1920): 236. It is interesting that Griffis in this editorial is very inaccurate on the dates of missionary service to Japan for these pioneers, except for Verbeck (40 years). He writes that Hepburn served nearly 50 years (actually 33), Brown served nearly 40 years (actually 20), and Williams served 40 (actually closer to 50).

<sup>842</sup> Quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 181. Though Uchimura does not say these exact words, he does reserve his highest praise for Verbeck. Also, though he praises Hepburn and Brown, he mistaken

his *History of Christianity in Japan* quoted from Uchimura, but then added a comment for Verbeck. He wrote that when Verbeck died, “the Japanese said, ‘Brown, Hepburn, Verbeck—these are the three names which shall ever be remembered in connection with Japan’s civilization. But the greatest of these three was Verbeck.’”<sup>843</sup>

Verbeck’s colleague, Samuel R. Brown, had often been often portrayed in heroic terms, with his devotion to teaching his Japanese students, particularly his theology students in the 1870s, and his oft-repeated famous words, “If I had a hundred lives, I would give them all for Japan.” Like Hepburn and Williams, Brown also spent years in China as a missionary, and left Japan in 1879 after spending almost two decades in Japan. Consequently, he did not live in Japan during the crucial 1880s and has received comparatively less attention than Verbeck and Hepburn.<sup>844</sup>

Hepburn’s legacy in Japan is mainly fostered by Meiji Gakuin today, an institution he helped to found and in which he served as its first president. In the fall of 2013, Meiji Gakuin celebrated their 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary (the oldest Christian educational institution in Japan) because they date their origins to the school in the Hepburns’ home in Yokohama

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writes that Hepburn had long passed away, revealing somewhat of a lack of interest in Hepburn, who would live in the U. S. for another thirteen years past Verbeck’s death.

<sup>843</sup> Otis Cary p. 203..

<sup>844</sup> Griffis, *Samuel Robbins Brown*, p. 303. “Daniel Crosby Greene, who came to Japan in 1869 and stayed until death in 1913, “His conscientious yet broadminded attitude and valuable services in the field of education won respect and esteem in the tradition of Verbeck...Greene was to come to like the Japanese immensely and they him. But he was first and foremost a missionary, and in many ways a lot like Guido Verbeck.” Other missionaries compared unfavorably to Verbeck, such as the Baptist missionary Jonathan Goble. According to Goble’s biographer, “Unfortunately, however, Guido’s towering intellect, social grace, and rapport with students, conspired to put Jonathan at a disadvantage. The Japanese who esteemed Verbeck expected similar qualities in Goble, and they were gravely disappointed.”Parker, *Jonathan Goble*, pp. 133-134.

(Hepburn-*juku*) which began in 1864. Though Verbeck is not as celebrated as Hepburn is at Meiji Gakuin, he was one of the original Board of Directors, taught in the seminary there for many years, and is still a revered figure there. An oil painting of Verbeck (along with ones of Hepburn and Brown) is prominently displayed in Memorial Hall, one of the few remaining buildings from the 19th-century campus. According to A. Hamish Ion, there are over fifty entries for books dealing with Hepburn in the Meiji Gakuin University library, which range from children's books to scholarly works. (and this does not include various articles and files on him).<sup>845</sup> This surpasses the works on Verbeck in Japan, though Verbeck's contributions to modern Japan are arguably more varied. Hepburn initially practiced medicine in Japan and was widely respected for this work as well as for his famous dictionary and Romanization system, and yet his appeal as a heroic figure is mainly for those associated with Meiji Gakuin, and for those Christians who have emphasized his contributions as editor and translator of the Japanese Bible.<sup>846</sup>

Thus, even among the giants of the other pioneer missionaries, Verbeck—the only one buried in Japan—stands out. One prominent missionary candidate for a “foreign hero” in the next generation is William Merrill Vories (Hitotsuyanagi, 1880-1964). Vories, like

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<sup>845</sup> Also, next to the chapel on the campus, there is a curiously-placed stone in the ground with Verbeck's name carved into it, the origins of which are unknown (though it is believed that a former student or students placed it there around 1910). A. Hamish Ion, “Friends, Foes and Other Foreigners: A Re-Appraisal of the Relations between American Missionaries and the Western Community in Treaty Port Yokohama 1859-1872” in *Meiji Gakuin Kirisutokyō Kiyō*, No. 41 (Dec. 2008), pp. 115-160, p. 148.

<sup>846</sup> The Japanese Romanization system which he used in his dictionary (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) and which bears his name can perhaps be seen as a broader nationalistic contribution. Missionaries like Hepburn, Williams, D. B. McCartee have no surviving descendants and thus their memory is primarily preserved in the work they did in their careers in Asia such as the founding of educational institutions like Meiji Gakuin and Rikkyō University or literary works such as a Hepburn's *Japanese-English Dictionary* and translations of religious works. Other missionaries adopted children, such as the McCartee who adopted a Chinese girl, the Anglican missionary John Batchelor, who adopted Ainu children, as well as the Methodist missionary Elisabeth Russell who adopted a Japanese girl.

Verbeck, has a varied legacy and was buried in Japan, but unlike Verbeck, he became a Japanese citizen and personally established enduring institutions in Japan. Vories went to Japan in 1905, after being inspired by the Student Volunteer Movement as a college student. Originally he taught (as a prefectural foreign employee) at the Shiga Prefectural Commercial School in Omi Hachiman, but in 1907 was fired for teaching about Christianity. Unlike the first generation of missionaries, Vories married a Japanese woman, Makiko Hitotsuyanagi, the daughter of a viscount who had studied in the U.S., in 1919.<sup>847</sup>

After leaving his teaching, Vories established an architectural firm, and over the next 35 years designed around 1600 buildings, including the chapel at Meiji Gakuin and the Naniwa Church building in Osaka.<sup>848</sup> Vories engaged in evangelism, but also began the Omi Mission (later changed to Omi Brotherhood), an organization of schools and other institutions that still exists today and is founded on the equal brotherhood of all of its members. He founded a sanatorium for tuberculosis patients in 1918. He and his wife established a kindergarten in 1922 and began the Omi Sales Company in 1920 that produced and sold mentholatum throughout Japan. Just prior to the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, Vories was naturalized, pledging his

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<sup>847</sup> Most American missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were strongly encouraged to go to the mission field married, as illustrated by Verbeck's marriage to 19-year old Maria Manion a couple months before embarking for Japan. In some ways, if Verbeck had married a Japanese woman, he would have perhaps had less anxiety about his children and their education and less separation from them when they returned to America. As he reveals in some of his letters, he felt torn between Japan, the place he loved and felt called to work, and his family who, with the exception of Emma, did not return to Japan after they were grown. Though he was able to return to the U.S. more often in the 1880s and 1890s, there were large periods of separation. Takahashi Korekiyo visited Maria and the family periodically in California, even after Verbeck's death, and remarked that they seemed poor and Maria's health was also fragile. See Itoh, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 249.

<sup>848</sup> When I was in Japan in 2012, I visited the historic Ogata Koan's *Tekitekijuku* in downtown Osaka and the Naniwa Church is near this school. After visiting the school, I went to the church and was able to talk to the pastor. In addition to mentioning that they were the first Japanese church in Osaka (built in 1877), he also emphasized that their church was designed by Vories.



allegiance to the Emperor and to Japan. After taking shelter in Karuizawa during the war, Vories visited SCAP headquarters in 1945 and has been credited by some for convincing the Americans not to try the emperor as a war criminal (though he supported the policy of his declaration of his humanity and the removal of the claim of his divinity). In 2002, the Omi Brotherhood school celebrated its 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a musical entitled, “Vories: Man of Love and Faith.” Also, in 2005 the Vories Spirit Preservation Committee was established, and in 2007 a Vories Peace Memorial Chapel was dedicated. Such an enduring figure, though living through a different time and context than Verbeck, is undoubtedly still perceived as a hero, though arguably somewhat of a naturalized Japanese hero than a foreign hero.<sup>849</sup>

There are many other lesser-known missionaries of the next generation who might be considered as well, particularly in medicine. One example is Dr. Mary Saganuma, a medical missionary who arrived in Nagasaki in 1891 intending to do medical work with the support of the Methodist Church. In 1893, she married Saganuma Motonosuke, and was forced to sever relations with the Methodist mission, but decided to open a dispensary in Nagasaki.

By 1902, the hospital she built was called the Nagasaki Women’s Hospital, and Dr.

Saganuma saw more than 2000 patients a year, without discrimination and she provided

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<sup>849</sup> The continued prevalence of his American name Vories, instead of his naturalized name Hitotsuyanagi indicates to me the desire to highlight his foreign origins, though it may just have been his preference. An example of an English-language biography of Vories is Grace Nies Fletcher, *The Bridge of Love* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1967). This work also emphasizes his role as a “liaison” between SCAP and the Japanese, as well as his personal relationship with members of the imperial family. An example of a Japanese biography is Iwahara Susumu, *Aoime no omi shōnin mereru vōrizu: sōgyosha seishin”shinkō to shōbai no ryōritsu no jissen” o uketsuide* [The Blue-Eyed Omi Merchant Merrill Vories: Founder and Spirit--“Putting into Practice the Coexistence of Faith and Business (Tokyo: Bungeisha, 1997). Most of the information on Vories is from the website “William Merrill Vories Library.” The motto on this site reveals the way in which he is depicted by the Omi Brotherhood Group, “Succeed to the soul of W. M. Vories, our founder: Omi Brotherhood Group.” [www.vories.com/english/](http://www.vories.com/english/) Information on the Omi Brotherhood and schools was from their website “Omi Brotherhood Schools” <http://www.ob-sch.ac.jp/English/history/> Accessed 3 March 2014.

services free of charge for those who could not afford it. Another example, was Hannah Riddell, a Church Missionary Society missionary, who was horrified by the condition of lepers in this city, and retired from the mission in 1895 and opened the first leprosium at Kumamoto in Kyushu, devoting her life to this work. She founded the Hospital of the Resurrection of Hope, and her work was not only recognized by the Japanese but stimulated them to act on behalf of lepers by building similar institutions throughout Japan.<sup>850</sup>

Verbeck was also certainly not the only candidate for the distinction of a “foreign hero” among the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, particularly those who devoted much of their careers to these countries. However, as I have shown in earlier chapters, there has been a reluctance on the part of many observers to embrace such foreigners in Japan’s national historiography (or at least a tendency to overlook these figures). Perhaps someone who is hired (and often highly paid) for a job which they perform well is admirable, but not exactly heroic. Still, some *oyatoi* figures that went beyond their duties for Japan could be seen as “foreign heroes.”

Hazel Jones described a “distinct type of *oyatoi*....who were emotionally committed to Japan’s nation-building.”<sup>851</sup> One example of this type that Jones mentioned was Edward H. House, one of Verbeck’s colleagues at the *Daigaku Nankō*. House, who generally disliked missionaries but had a high regard for Verbeck, was another *oyatoi* who knew Ōkuma well and since the early 1870s had sent reports to him, “apprising Ōkuma of attitudes abroad about Japan,

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<sup>850</sup> After almost three decades of medical work in Nagasaki, and after a destructive fire in 1920 and the death of her husband six months later, Saganuma returned to the U.S. in 1922 to live with her adopted Japanese son. Lane R. Earns, “The American Medical Presence.”

<sup>851</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 77. This sounds similar to Uemura Masahisa’s assertion that Verbeck was “emotionally enjoyed Japan’s development.”

praising those with pro-Japanese positions, blaming those impeding Japan....”<sup>852</sup> Hazel Jones also listed other *oyatoi* that achieved “total cultural identification” (though she never defined precisely what she meant by such a description). For example, Dr. Erwin von Baelz, who, after 25 years as an *oyatoi* in the medical school in Tokyo University, retired and took his Japanese wife and children back to Germany.<sup>853</sup> According to Jones, “Baelz’s approach to Japanese society and culture was intellectual, but his meeting with Japan was an emotional experience. Among the *yatoi* he perhaps came closest to desiring the wedding of cultures....Such *oyatoi* sought to preserve the best of Japanese culture, cautioning the Japanese “against losing their cultural identity in the inundation of foreign borrowing.”<sup>854</sup> Other possible candidates for what she called “total cultural identification” might include Verbeck, Ernest Fenellosa and Lafcadio Hearn. In reference to Fenellosa, who wrote many books on Japanese culture and art and converted to Buddhism, both Jones and Umetani Noboru emphasize how Fenellosa became a “culture preserver” for Japan, rather than simply a culture bearer like most of the Westerners.<sup>855</sup>

Some criteria for assessing the *oyatoi* as possible “foreign heroes” are not as applicable to Verbeck. *Oyatoi* like House, Fenellosa, Edward S. Morse and Lafcadio Hearn (Koizumi Yakumo) all contributed positively to Japan’s image in the West and have been praised by the

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<sup>852</sup> For the best work on House, see Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan*. Though Huffman does explore the “pro-Japanese” aspect of House’s journalism and opinions, as well as his adoption of a Japanese girl, I’m not sure if he would call him a “foreign hero.” House wrote a fictional story, *Yone Santo*, which depicted a missionary character negatively.

<sup>853</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 79.

<sup>854</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 80.

<sup>855</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 80.

Japanese.<sup>856</sup> There were various *oyatoi* such as the British architect Josiah Conder and Frank Brinkley, as well as Baelz and Dun, who married Japanese women. James Murdoch, the agnostic Scottish teacher (of Natsume Soseki, most notably) who wrote the three-volume *History of Japan*, married a Japanese woman and learned to read both classical and modern Japanese.<sup>857</sup> Unlike figures like House, Hearn, or Murdoch, Verbeck did relatively little to influence public opinion on Japan in the West, and he did not have any formal family ties with any Japanese people.<sup>858</sup>

By looking at the various criteria for deciding whether a figure is a “foreign hero,” there are many candidates that surface, in addition to Verbeck. Though Verbeck may have been the only missionary or *oyatoi* granted special passports from the Emperor in the 1890s giving him the right to travel anywhere in Japan, others, like Hearn and Vories, later became Japanese citizens. Verbeck, however, was willing to become a Japanese citizen, and wrote, “If there

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<sup>856</sup> Even in more popular literature, such as Christopher Benfey’s, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentric, and the Opening of Old Japan* (New York: Random House, 2003) some of these *oyatoi* are highlighted. In particular, Benfey focuses on Edward S. Morse and Lafcadio Hearn (as well as Fenellosa’s wife Mary).<sup>856</sup> Morse not only awakened an interest in Japanese archaeology with his keen observance of shell mounds, but also wrote a popular book on Japanese houses and studied Noh drama. Hearn, born of an Irish father and a Greek mother, was an idealistic “wandering journalist of the lower class,” who went to Japan in 1891 and was immediately entranced. He married a Japanese woman, became a Japanese citizen and produced “a prodigious outpouring of idealized, romanticized writing that, more than any other writer since Perry himself, brought Japan to the attention of the American public.” Also see, Auslin, *Pacific Cosmopolitans*, p. 82.

<sup>857</sup> For Murdoch, see Sukehiro Hirakawa, *Japan’s Love-Hate Relationship with the West* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2005). Murdoch also seems fairly humble and refused any imperial decorations during his life.

<sup>858</sup> Other than penning some short articles in missionary periodicals, the only evidence I found of Verbeck directly speaking on Japan to Americans are references to a speech he made at Auburn in 1890 (in the archives at Auburn Seminary) and a reference to his impact on the “Western Churches” (the Reformed Churches in the Midwest, like Michigan, etc...) in 1890 as well. House did not marry, but he adopted a Japanese girl. Verbeck had seven surviving children, the descendants of whom all live in the U. S. Two of the prominent descendants who are interested in his legacy are, Guido F. Verbeck III, an Episcopal priest in Louisiana, and his son Guido F. Verbeck IV, a chemistry professor at the University of North Texas.

existed in the Empire laws for the naturalization of foreigners, I should under these circumstances gladly avail myself of them.”<sup>859</sup> Also, according to Takahashi Korekiyo, he once said to him, “I am now serving as a missionary, but I really want to become a Japanese citizen. If I could receive one hundred yen a month from the Japanese government, I could live as a Japanese and support myself in Japan.”<sup>860</sup>

Though Verbeck was buried in Japan with honors, the cost of his funeral defrayed by the Emperor and a permanent burial plot given to him by the Tokyo government, other foreigners received such honors or assistance. Imperial decorations, though much touted in the literature on Verbeck, were not uncommon, particularly among the *oyatoi*, but also with missionaries like Hepburn and William Imbrie. Verbeck’s long residence outside of the treaty ports is also unusual for the time but he was not the only foreigner to do so.<sup>861</sup> Others, like the missionary Arthur Lloyd and *oyatoi* Ernest Fenellosa were more interested in deeply studying aspects of Japanese culture and religion, such as Buddhism.<sup>862</sup> Certainly there were foreigners who displayed a comparable deep respect for the Japanese people and for the Meiji Emperor and were respected in return. He was not the only missionary or *oyatoi* who was humble and gave preference to Japanese interests. For example, Henry Denison by all accounts was a deeply humble man who refused to take credit for many of his achievements. Channing M. Williams,

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<sup>859</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 3 March 1891, JMRCA. In another letter, he was informed that that, if the Diet had not adjourned, “a special law might have been gotten to be passed...to make me a Japanese subject...” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 31 March 1891, JMRCA.

<sup>860</sup> Takahashi Korekiyo, *Takahashi Korekiyo Jiden* Vol. 1, (Tokyo: Chikura Shobō, 1936), p. 154.

<sup>861</sup> For example, when he lived in Nagasaki, Siebold also lived outside the concessions. Other *oyatoi* teachers, scientists and experts lived outside the concessions, not by choice, like Verbeck, but because of where they were working.

<sup>862</sup> Arthur Lloyd wrote *The Development of Japanese Buddhism* in 1894, and Fenellosa converted to Buddhism, was tonsured and after his death he was cremated and his ashes were buried in Japan.

the pioneer missionary and the first Episcopal bishop in Japan, was very self-effacing and virtually unknown by face to foreigners in Japan. Known for his humility and charity, he refused to ride in the trains in any car above third class.<sup>863</sup>

In essence, the list of various criteria may help to narrow down the list of “foreign hero” candidates, but they are not sufficient in themselves. Perhaps the deciding factor are the informed opinions of various people toward this heroic figure, particularly the people of that nation, but also of outsiders. This is not necessarily the same as popularity because popularity is often ephemeral and myopic. For example, foreigners who have (particularly in recent decades) become great sumo wrestlers, played on Japanese professional baseball teams, or lived and competed in Japan (such as the late Kenyan runner Sammy Wanjiru), are popular “foreign heroes” for what they accomplished personally while in Japan or perhaps for Japanese athletic leagues, but not necessarily for Japan as a whole.<sup>864</sup> It seems to me that the informed opinions that would be foremost for designating such foreign heroes in Japan’s history would be the assessments of their contemporaries, the opinions of those who continue to be impacted by their work or their legacy, and the perspectives of scholars or individuals who study about them.

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<sup>863</sup> “Bishop Channing M. Williams of Japan: Christian, Pioneer, Spartan,” *Missionary Review of the World* 36 (September, 1913): 653-666. The same periodical published an article on Hepburn in 1911: “James Curtis Hepburn: Pioneer of Science and Religion in Japan” Magazine article, *The Missionary Review of the World* 31 (Dec. 1911).

<sup>864</sup> In sumo, though foreigners have been present since the 1970s in small numbers, in recent decades the inclusion of many individuals from places like Mongolia and Eastern Europe is unprecedented for such a “Japanese” sport. In baseball, a certain quota of foreign players have played on professional teams for decades. Though heroes, they are often treated differently. I remember in 1985, when Randy Bass was on track to break Sadahara Oh’s homerun record, they intentionally walked him, not wanting a foreigner to break the Japanese hero’s record. Sammy Wanjiru moved to Sendai, Japan as a teenager and ran in Japan for years in high school and on club teams. After winning several prominent marathons, including the 2008 Olympic marathon, his tragic death in 2011 came as a shock and he was deeply mourned in Japan. Arguably, even such figures could be included into the category of “foreign heroes,” depending on how broadly the term is defined.

However, such “informed opinions,” both in the past and today, are highly selective. For example, Fred Notehelfer related that in 1990, he attended a conference in Kumamoto on the *oyatoi* figures Leroy Lansing Janes and Lafcadio Hearn, both of whom had been teachers in that city, the former in the 1870s and the latter in the 1890s. Notehelfer wrote that a Tokyo University professor, in an article in anticipation of the conference, raised the question of which of these two men should be seen as “the representative Westerner of 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan.” Janes, who disliked Japanese food, dress and did not use Japanese in his teaching, was presented as a much less desirable representative than Hearn who was impressed with Japanese folktales, wore Japanese attire, liked Japanese cuisine and found time to “listen to the bugs.” Notehelfer, however, wondered why Janes, who physically exhausted himself working 12-16 hours a day to improve conditions in Kumamoto was not accorded much consideration. This conference revealed the selective nature of Japanese attention to foreigners in Japan, and that some figures are more easily appropriated as nationalist figures, particularly in certain contexts. Janes, who helped to “found” the Kumamoto Band of Christians, would have likely been more of a “foreign hero” to many of the early Christian leaders of Japan than Hearn. But Hearn is a much more attractive figure to many, with his romantic embracing of aspects of Japanese culture, his nostalgic writings on “old” Japan, and his willingness to adopt more of a Japanese identity. Hearn’s contemporary, Okakura Kazuzō, in *The Book of Tea*, speaks of the “the chivalrous pen of a Lafcadio Hearn” which “enlivens the Oriental darkness with the torch of our own sentiments.” He contrasts Hearn with the “Christian missionary [who] goes to impart, not to receive” and with the popular literature on Japan, that attempted to impart an understanding of

Japan by “the meager translations of our immense literature” and “the unreliable anecdotes of passing travelers.”<sup>865</sup>

Yet, Lafcadio Hearn has been the subject of much debate among scholars in his contribution to and attitudes on modern Japan. Though Hearn married a Japanese woman, (similar to Janes) he did not study or teach in Japanese. And though Hearn has managed to appeal to the Japanese as someone who truly understood Japan, individuals like Donald Keene were outraged to be hailed as “the second Hearn.” Keene expressed little admiration for Hearn, who he saw as not studious, merely repeating the stories related by his wife. Also, Hearn’s harsh criticism of Japan in letters to his English friends, also present him in a less favorable light.<sup>866</sup> Like Janes and Verbeck, Hearn is a complex figure that can be interpreted in many ways. He has been characterized as one who romanticized “Old Japan,” but he was also a firm believer in Social Darwinist ideas and encouraged Japan’s modernization. Unlike Verbeck, Hearn was not reticent to publically express his impressions and thoughts on Japan, but he did not have to concern himself with working among the Japanese people, as Verbeck did.<sup>867</sup>

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<sup>865</sup> Okakura Kazuzo, *The Book of Tea: The Illustrated Classic Edition* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2000), p. 21. For Hearn as a nationalist figure, see Starrs, Roy. “Lafcadio Hearn as Japanese Nationalist.” *Japan Review* 18 (2006): 181-213.

<sup>866</sup> Notehelfer, “Looking for the Lost: Westerners in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan,” in *Japan and Its Worlds*, p. 180-181. Donald Keene is in many ways a good contemporary example for a “foreign hero” in Japan. Though a well-known scholar and translator of numerous Japanese works, who has received countless honors and has been decorated by the emperor, his life-long devotion to Japan was highlighted by his retirement in 2011 from Columbia University and his move to Japan to become a citizen. Though many foreigners were leaving Japan at the time because of the 3/11 earthquake and tsunami as well as the Fukushima nuclear disaster, Keene wanted to live in Japan to share in these difficult times with the country that he has come to cherish. This made a strong impression on the Japanese people, who are much more likely to know his name because of this well-publicized decision.

<sup>867</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1904). This work was somewhat critical of Japan’s development and modernization, and in it Hearn expressed an inability to truly understand Japanese culture. Such works also had an impact on Western views of



Though Verbeck shares many of these criteria with the aforementioned individuals, Verbeck is distinctive in some ways. Though not the only missionary or *oyatoi* who might be seen as a foreign hero, he is arguably the only figure presented as an *equally* prominent missionary and *oyatoi*, with arguments from various perspectives as to which was more important for Japan.<sup>868</sup> Thus, the missionary literature and scholarship on Japanese Protestantism focused on his successful missionary career and usually mentioned the teaching and advising as instrumental (or distracting in some cases) to his missionary service. In Griffis' opinion, Verbeck became one of the "foster-fathers of that new nation, which we believe is yet to be wholly Christian."<sup>869</sup> Verbeck has also been viewed as a devoted teacher in much of the Japanese literature, but is depicted in much of the missionary literature (as well as in his letters to the mission board) as a reluctant teacher who preferred to preach and translate. Others who focus on him as an *oyatoi* have spoken of his ultimate "failure" as a missionary and emphasized his success as a teacher and adviser—in Ogata Hiroyasu's words, a "founding father" of modern Japan.

Clearly, the assessments of Verbeck as a foreign hero are dependent on his roles prior to the 1880s as a pioneer missionary and prominent *oyatoi*. These roles—and the narratives they enacted—continued to inform the writing on Verbeck into the 20<sup>th</sup> century both in Japan and in the West. But, as I demonstrated in the last chapter, the last decades of Verbeck's years in Japan

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Japanese culture, echoes of which can be found in works such as Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*.

<sup>868</sup> Though Jones says Brown was a significant *oyatoi*, she does not discuss him at all, and I think this claim is exaggerated. There are others such as Divie B. McCartee, who taught at Tokyo University in the 1870s who is seen as significant, but he was a missionary in China for most of his life and I believe never technically served as a missionary in Japan.

<sup>869</sup> W. E. Griffis, *Dux Christus*, p. 260. In this work, Griffis wrote that Verbeck, "...was a preeminent imparter of light and power to vast audiences." p. 166.

are vital to understanding how many of the leaders of the Japanese church viewed Verbeck, not simply as a foreign missionary or as a teacher of Western ideas, but as a partner in a larger vision for the nation of Japan. But, the writings emphasizing Verbeck as a foreigner to whom a great debt is owed, or as an exemplary figure who used his abilities tirelessly for a people and nation he had devoted his life to—that is, as a foreign hero—are not limited to Japanese Christians, but can be found among the many informed opinions on Verbeck, whether in Japan or in the West.

There are various ways that Verbeck has been portrayed as a foreign hero, but I will discuss them under the following three characterizations, which certainly can overlap at points: “Verbeck, a respected *sensei* (“teacher”)”; “Verbeck, a revered *hakushi* (“doctor” or “expert”)”, and “Verbeck, a devoted life for Japan.” Verbeck as *sensei* emphasizes the views of Verbeck as the Western studies teacher of some of the Meiji national heroes as well as a teacher of pastors and Japanese Christians. Verbeck as *hakase* focuses on him as an expert professor, translator, advisor, learned evangelist and lecturer, as well as an exceptional communicator in Japanese. Verbeck as one who devoted himself for Japan includes the overall assessment of Verbeck’s four decades of toil in Japan as a teacher, *oyatoi* and missionary, with an emphasis on presenting his unwavering affection for the Japanese people, the mutual respect between Verbeck and the Meiji Emperor, the unprecedented bestowal of special passports for him and his family, as well as the portrayal of his death, burial, and legacy in Japan.

Before examining various aspects of Verbeck as “foreign hero,” it should be stated that Verbeck likely would have objected to such a notion of him as a foreign hero, and certainly would not have claimed such a designation for himself. Verbeck, of all the early missionaries to Japan, was very conscious of the way he was perceived by foreigners and particularly by the Japanese. Perhaps being a Dutch immigrant in the U.S. made him more aware of the importance

of the perception of outsiders in a society. At any rate, he was very careful not to cause offense, publicly criticize or even state his opinion on many issues, both in his letters to America and in his interactions with the Japanese people.<sup>870</sup> Though he was not without his contacts among the treaty port consuls and merchants, he tended to live outside the concessions and was more aloof from that society of foreigners than Hepburn or Brown.<sup>871</sup> He was honored to receive the Order of the Rising Sun from the Meiji Emperor, but refused to allow the Japanese to use it to promote his evangelistic tours.

In looking at Verbeck as a foreign hero, it is necessary to look beyond his correspondence and see what others have said of him. In researching these perspectives, it struck me how many sources commented, however briefly, on Verbeck's work in Japan. Though he had some critics during his life, after the 1860s, they were primarily Westerners.<sup>872</sup> These critics mainly focus on certain decisions during his service as an *oyatoi* and many of them can be attributed, at least in

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<sup>870</sup> At one point, in the early 1894, he wrote a draft of a 16-page report he wrote on "three resolutions passed by a certain clique of the native church," but never sent the letter referring to it as "foolscap." Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 23 July 1894. He also responded candidly to a series of questions about Japan from Robert Speer, with the understanding that they would not be published. Even when Speer cited them in a work in 1904, he did not give Verbeck's name, but merely called him a "foreigner who had been long a resident of Japan and who knew the Japanese as well as any foreigner knew them." Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, p. 414.

<sup>871</sup> One example of this is that, unlike Brown or Hepburn, Verbeck never joined the Asiatic Society of Japan, formed in the early 1870s, though he writes in 1882, "For years past I have been urged again and again to join the Asiatic Society, but I have never felt a call to do so." Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 24 Oct. 1882, JMRCA. However, Verbeck was more involved than one may think, as his name appears occasionally in Yokohama periodicals such as *The Japan Weekly Mail*, and he responds to criticism at points.

<sup>872</sup> The British in Yokohama were critical of Verbeck for hiring mainly Americans at the *Daigaku Nanko*. Dr. Mueller called him a "former locksmith" who catered to the Japanese. Margaret Griffis saw him as "weak" largely because he refused to pressure the Japanese government renew her brother's teaching contract in 1874. Though Takahashi writes that Verbeck's fellow missionaries were jealous of him, there are relatively few specific examples of criticisms that have remained. Griffis merely comments that he was "sometimes a trial to his own brethren" because he was a broader, more continental type of Christian. Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 20-21.

part, to envy or jealousy of his position or connections.<sup>873</sup> One aspect of the sources that have dealt with Verbeck is the variety of interpretations of his life and impact on Japan. Stephen Ryder categorized the Reformed missionaries according to whether they were appreciative of the indigenous culture of Japan or unappreciative, and put Verbeck as a foremost example of the former category.<sup>874</sup> On the other hand, Richard Henry Drummond criticized Verbeck's relative lack of interest in Japanese culture and religion any more beyond what was necessary for evangelism:

Verbeck, like other missionaries of scholarly interests, studied Japanese thought, history, customs and popular beliefs widely, but this was primarily to understand the background of the people in order to preach the gospel to them through skillful use of 'their own proverbs, gems of speech, popular idioms and the epigrams of their sages.' He apparently felt no need to study the traditional Japanese religions for their own meaning and value.<sup>875</sup>

Also, Verbeck can be interpreted in a variety of ways regarding his theological or religious views. In his letters, Verbeck seems to portray himself as more theologically conservative and discriminating, particularly when it came to matters such as the removal of

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<sup>873</sup> Griffis' "criticisms" in the beginning of his hagiographical biography of Verbeck are barely critical—they include characteristics such as his overly generous nature (and therefore his inability to save money), his quick wit and sense of humor (which was occasionally too sharp), his conservative character (though after stating this, Griffis calls him "a very Fuji Yama in the loftiness of his gifts and powers as teacher, preacher, prophet and statesman,"). Lastly, Griffis, says he was not as good of an organizer of institutions. Even this last criticism is stated such that it seems more complimentary, for he states, "his abilities as actual organizer belong on a lower level. He did not possess, or apparently wish ever to gain, those gifts of manipulation and adjustment, or that organizing faculty which enables a man to turn his profound connections into institutions." Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 20-21.

<sup>874</sup> Ryder, p. 137-139. Similarly, Griffis and other have highlighted his interest in Japanese art, and the fascinating *kakejiku* (scroll) of Verbeck in kimono attire in Nagasaki is a very unusual image of a foreigner (particularly one who normally dressed in western clothes). See Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 176-178.

<sup>875</sup> Drummond, *History of Christianity in Japan*, p. 157.

creedal standards and the pluralistic religious views associated with events such as the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, of which he writes,

...in many respects I regret not having been able to see the Columbian Fair...yet if I had been present at the 'Parliament', I can now see that I should have been much embarrassed. The difficulty that would have beset me there is one that sufficiently troubles and hampers all of us here in our regular work. It lies in the fact that one cannot freely and frankly express one's real opinion in public about the Japanese without giving offence to them. Every thing said as well as written about the Japanese in Europe or America is sure to come back here in print.<sup>876</sup>

But with the Japanese, particularly his students, he seems more liberal and accepting of alternative viewpoints on religion. Ōkuma Shigenobu, relates that he began to espouse eclectic religious ideals while studying with Verbeck, wanting to create a new religion combining Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism. Also, in a conversation between Takahashi Korekiyo and his son-in-law, Takahashi revealed what he had learned from Verbeck on religion:

"As for religion, I believe that Verbeck-sensei had it right. Here is what he said. Today religions are fragmented into many factions. This is like a tube of sugar that is narrow at one end, fat in the middle, and narrows at the other end. Originally (basically?) there was one god, but when we got to the middle, religion had fattened into many factions, before returning to the basic one god at the other extreme. In Buddhism, benevolence (mercy-*jihī*) rules the world; in Christianity we call it love. How do they differ? Ultimately one power governs the universe, but we call it by different names."<sup>877</sup>

This discrepancy between Verbeck in his letters and Verbeck in the memories of his students may be seen as inconsistency on Verbeck's part, but it can also be a reflection of the different ways in which Verbeck can be viewed, depending on the sources, and the image one

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<sup>876</sup> Letter from Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 13 November 1893, JMRCA. Verbeck was personally invited by the chairman of the Congress, J. H. Barrows, to be part of the Advisory Council for the Congress of Religions, which he preliminarily accepted. However, he was not able to attend mainly because he wanted to spend the time with his family. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 17 Jan. 1893, JMRCA.

<sup>877</sup> Unpublished conversation between Takahashi Korekiyo and his son-in-law, Oka Chisato, on September 16, 1931. Courtesy of Richard J. Smethurst. I am not claiming that Verbeck was the source of Okuma's or Takahashi's eclectic religious beliefs, but that he did not forbid such exploration of religious thinking.

wants to portray. One critical comment by American Board missionary Daniel Greene in a letter in 1877, reveals that some missionaries did not approve of some of Verbeck's "liberality" towards his students. Greene notes that Hatakeyama Yoshinari, who replaced Verbeck as the head of the *Daigaku Nankō*, did not openly profess his faith while in this position. Greene wrote "but I have good reason to believe that one American and Christian holding a most influential position justifies Hatakeyama in his course and presumably justifies others similarly situated...has been the ruin of three-fourths, if not nine-tenths of the Japanese who were sent to become Christian in the U.S."<sup>878</sup>

Verbeck's identity as a missionary is clear, but how well he fit in with the missionaries also is much debated. Hazel Jones described Verbeck as a "loner," but he had many friends and acquaintances among the Japanese people, the missionaries and the foreign community.<sup>879</sup> In the missionary correspondence and in fellow missionary depictions of Verbeck, he was generally highly esteemed and he seems to have been a leader in the missionary community, as evidenced by their decisions to have him write the history of Protestant missions in Japan and edit the Japanese Bible. However, there are moments in his letters that fit with Takahashi's assessment of Verbeck's sense of alienation from other missionaries and foreigners in Japan. Reflecting on some of the difficulties and tensions he had with other missionaries who were "totally different that mutual understanding becomes at time exceedingly difficult," he admitted, "The fault lies

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<sup>878</sup> Quoted in Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 184. Though he does not mention Verbeck by name, it seems clear that this figure is Verbeck (though he also disliked Griffis, who had worked there earlier, but was gone by 1877). Ion claims that Greene did not like Verbeck, but offers no proof of this, Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 197.

<sup>879</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 98. Griffis claims he was "innately sociable" but had "no one very close intimate among his friends." *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 21. Margaret Griffis' journal and Clara Whitney's diary reveal the Verbecks in the 1870s as leaders of the foreign missionary community in Tokyo and provide a good contrast the interpretation of Verbeck as a "loner."

probably largely with myself; those twenty years of solitary action have unfortunately made a kind of Leatherstocking or Crusoe of me, and I sometimes feel like a kind of rough pioneer among regular settlers. With the Japanese, I am happy to say, there exists not a shadow of this feeling; for if there is one sense strong in me, it is that my mission is to the Japanese, that I am here to benefit them.”<sup>880</sup> Thus, though he revealed his tensions with other missionaries, he contrasted this with his calling to serve the Japanese.

There are many other points where interpretations vary. Some observers, like Hamish Ion, have seen him as boastful and “strikingly naïve,” not realizing that his students and the government were only using him and not interested in Christianity or its toleration.<sup>881</sup> Many other observers, have pointed to the conversion of some of his students, and emphasize his humility and reticence about much of the work he did for Japan. They praised him for his usefulness to the Japanese nation, and for his contributions in finding quality teachers and for adept teaching of his prominent students. Ion also presented him as callous and uncaring about the persecution of Christians in Nagasaki (mainly Catholics).<sup>882</sup> On the other hand, others highlight Verbeck as the most important contributor to religious toleration because of his

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<sup>880</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 24 Oct. 1882, JMRCA.

<sup>881</sup> Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 102, 196. Ion also claims Verbeck was too focused on social status of his students, though in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to recommend a young student based on the status of his family or background was fairly standard. Some have claimed that Verbeck’s prominent students like Ōkuma, Soejima and Takahashi did become Christians. Griffis colorfully asserts that “Okuma, though not a member of any Christian church, yet the tenor of his life shows that he has a Master higher than any on earth. He is loyal to the Samurai of the Ages.” W. E. Griffis, “Oriental Portraits: Marquis Okuma: Japan’s Veteran Educator.” No. 4, *The Nation*, Dec. 7, 1918: 702. Griffis writes in this article that “Verbeck could use eight languages, and he read men. He could restrain emotion in a way quite equaling an image of Buddha in Nirvana. This and the qualities of a willing servant made him a demigod.”

<sup>882</sup> Verbeck, like most of the Protestants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were quite anti-catholic and periodically wrote critically of the “Romanists” in Japan. See Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 96

proposal to Ōkuma which came to fruition in the Iwakura Embassy to the West.<sup>883</sup> He can be viewed as a foe of Darwinist ideas, but also as someone who was not closed-minded and a man of science.<sup>884</sup> He was supportive of and instrumental in Japan's Westernization, but has been depicted as cautioning Japanese students to the West not to lose their Japanese spirit or culture. Though he is often seen as cautious and careful, his overly confident claim that Japan would be a Christian nation by 1900 seems to contradict this. Thus, his role as a missionary and as an *oyatoi* are varied in their interpretations.

However, the views of him as a foreign hero for Japan are unequivocally positive, both from Japanese and Western observers.<sup>885</sup> The reasons for this in the Japanese sources is somewhat obvious, but the positive views in Western sources of Verbeck as a "foreign hero" for Japan point to the generally positive foreign opinion of a successfully modernizing (and

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<sup>883</sup> Ion presents Verbeck as originally opposed to church union as well, and that he joined the "side" that was opposed to the Union Church in the 1872 conference, along with Hepburn (who wasn't present), Chris Carrothers, and Henry Stout. However, unlike Carrothers, he did not make an issue of it, and deferred to the Japanese church leaders. In reading his letters, it seems that the issue was that they should have waited for permission from the mission board to do so. Carrothers also thought that since Verbeck was an *oyatoi*, he should not be considered the first Protestant missionary to live in Tokyo. *American Missionaries*, p. 249,349. Stout reveals that he also was in favor of it, for he writes, "I voted for it with all my heart." But he says he was "opposed strenuously" to drawing up a church polity on the spot, not wanting to be hasty and consulting with the mission board first. Letter from Henry Stout to J. M. Ferris, 10 Oct. 1872, JMRCA.

<sup>884</sup> Verbeck comments about Edward Morse's teaching of Darwinism at the University of Tokyo in the late 1870s, "As to the influence of Prof. Morse and similar skeptics, I do not dread it much, and think that the purity of truth and morality itself a sufficient defence against its effects." Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J.M. Ferris, 18 June, 1879. JMRCA. Griffis writes that Verbeck preached on Social Darwinist topics such as "Survival of the Fittest from a Christian point of view, explaining the fittest to be whatever is most nearly conformed to God's will; and inferring thence the survival of Christianity after the downfall of idolatry, Buddhism, and all false religions and philosophies." Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 321. This is in contrast to Verbeck's fellow missionary and friend, Dr. Divie B. McCartee, who taught science as the Kaisei Gakko, but was extremely critical of Darwinism and criticized as being opposed to true science.

<sup>885</sup> Hazel Jones writes that Verbeck was accused of being "too Japanese," which seems critical, but does not feature in any of the major writings on Verbeck or in missionary correspondence that mentions Verbeck.



Christianizing, for some observers) Japanese nation at the time. The quote at the beginning of this chapter that identified Verbeck as “one of Japan’s few foreign heroes,” was Sidney L. Gulick, who was one of the most vocal supporters of the Japanese nation, even into the 1930s. As these opinions began to change regarding Japan after the Meiji period, many Western writers slowly dropped Verbeck as a prominent figure in the narrative of modern Japan (as well as in the narrative of the missionary movement).<sup>886</sup> However, even as he decreased in prominence as a figure in the global missionary narrative, he increased in stature as a heroic figure in the narrative of Japanese nationalism (as well as in the narrative of Japan’s modernization).

### 3.2.3 Verbeck, the Respected *Sensei* (“Teacher”)

One of the roles or images that has figured prominently in both the Japanese and Western views of Verbeck as a foreign hero is Verbeck as a respected *sensei* (“teacher”) in Bakumatsu-Meiji Japan. A *sensei* is not only a teacher, but also a mentor with a potentially long-term relationship with his/her students. A *sensei* will also give references, as Verbeck did for his students to study at places such as Rutgers, Princeton, and other institutions. A *sensei* is highly respected and honored, with students showing loyalty and, at times, adoption of new ideas and even religious conversion. Some scholars have noted how conversion to Christianity in Meiji Japan was “often the result of prolonged and intimate contact with a Western lay Christian or missionary,” and many converts began as students, either formally in a school or informally in a Bible class in

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<sup>886</sup> In the archives at Manlius Pebble Hill School today, there are many articles about the descendants of Verbeck (including Guido Verbeck II) who fought in the Pacific in WWII. In many of the articles, they mention him being the descendant of one of the first Americans who became a Japanese citizen.

their homes. Thus, in addition to the instruction, the students also learned from observing the personal example, home life, relationships with wife and children and other parts of the *sensei*'s life.<sup>887</sup> For example, when Takahashi Korekiyo, a future finance minister and prime minister was a student at the *Daigaku Nankō*, he lived with Verbeck and was arguably as influenced by his example as his teaching. He studied history and read the Bible with Verbeck, and according to Takahashi's biographer Richard J. Smethurst, "Verbeck's teachings had a powerful impact on Takahashi... Takahashi's lifelong magnanimity and his tolerance toward what he saw as the foibles of others (and himself) may well have developed from his ten years of close association with Verbeck."<sup>888</sup>

Undoubtedly, the affection that most of his Japanese friends and acquaintances, such as Takahashi, felt towards Verbeck was rooted in his initial role as their revered teacher. It is difficult to know exactly how many individuals Verbeck taught or how deeply he influenced those with whom he came into contact.<sup>889</sup> Undoubtedly, without his identity as *sensei*, Verbeck would not have gained such a high level of trust and respect. Though not trained as a teacher, his Dutch background, polyglot Western education, willingness to give generously of his time, and conscientious concern for his students, resulted in success for Verbeck as a teacher. He

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<sup>887</sup> Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun* Vol. 2, p. 30. John Howes also asserts that this personal relationship with missionaries was a key factor in early conversions. Howes, pp. 337-368. Though not many students lived with Verbeck on a permanent basis (perhaps because of his large family), it was not unusual for him to invite students to his home on a regular basis to study and discuss.

<sup>888</sup> Smethurst, 43. Another example of the influence of personal and familial factors was with the Japanese pastor Tamura Naomi, who published a work entitled *The Japanese Bride*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893) that portrayed Japanese marriage customs (at times critically) in contrast to those of the West and caused quite a controversy in Japan. See Ennis, R. "Slander Against Our People: Tamura Naomi and the Japanese Bride Incident." *Japanese Religions* 18 (1993): 15-46.

<sup>889</sup> There are detailed lists of students for many of the schools he taught in, but it is difficult to determine how much interaction he had with all of these names.

became a “head teacher” in most of the schools he taught in, attracting many samurai students in Nagasaki, many more students at the *Kaisei Gakkō* in Tokyo, the nobility at the *Kazoku gakkō* (Peers’ School), and young Christians at Meiji Gakuin.

This aspect of Verbeck as a beloved and instrumental teacher can also be seen in the recent literature surrounding the 1860s-era photographs of Verbeck sitting amidst his students in Nagasaki. Though the works based on this topic have expanded in recent decades, much of it may simply be a reflection of the recent popularity of the Bakumatsu-Meiji period as a formative period in Japanese history. The authenticity and dating of the photographs, as well as the identities of the students, have been the source of much speculation in a number of recent books and articles.<sup>890</sup> Most of the literature about the photographs revolves around trying to identify the young Japanese samurai students of Verbeck and there is surprisingly little new material about Verbeck. These Bakumatsu-era photographs, taken by the Nagasaki photographer Ueno Hikoma, depict Verbeck sitting amidst many of his samurai students. In one of them, he is seated with his son, William, and 44 students associated with the Saga Domain school, the *Chienkan*, and in the other one, he is seated with 23 of his students at the Nagasaki *bakufu* school, the *Seibikan*. The photographs, though taken around 1868, were not published or circulated at the time, but the Saga domain school photograph first appeared in the *Taiyō*

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<sup>890</sup> Murase Hisayo, “*Nagasaki ni okeru furubekki no jinmyaku*” (Verbeck and his Nagasaki Students). *Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyō Ronshu* (St Andrew’s University Journal of Christian Studies) 36 (2000): 63-94. Yamaguchi Takao, *Nihon no yoake: furubekki hakushi to bakumatsu not shishi tachi* (Tokyo: Bungeisha, 2009). Takao in his non-scholarly work concerning the photograph, claims that the photo is authentic and attempts to identify all but one of the students. Takao, however, dates the photograph to around February 1865, whereas Murase and most others argue that it was taken sometime between December 1868 and the end of January 1869. Also see Masakazu Kaji, *Bakumatsu ishin no angō*. (Tokyo: Shodensha, 2007), and Kuramochi Motoi. “‘*Furubekki shashin*’ to bakumatsu meiji ki no Nagasaki no gakkō: rekishi shiryō toshite no koshashin. *Koshashin kenkyū* 3 (2009): 37-44. This article was based on an exhibition in Nagasaki on Nov. 16-17, 2007 entitled “International Exchange Depicted in Old Photographs.”

magazin in 1895, and, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century both photographs have become relatively well-known photographs of the Bakumatsu period.<sup>891</sup> One recent book on the photograph with the *Chienkan*, is entitled *Nihon no yoake* [The Dawn of Japan], implying Verbeck's critical role in "awakening" Japan. This work, like many of the works based on this photograph, focuses primarily on identifying Verbeck's students, but mentions what a catalyst their teacher was.<sup>892</sup>

According to many of these somewhat questionable sources, Verbeck is seated with samurai from various powerful domains, a list of which reads like a "who's who" of the Meiji Restoration: Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori and Mori Arinori of Satsuma; Kido Kōin, Itō Hirobumi, and Ōmura Masujiro of Chōshū; Sakamoto Ryōma and Gotō Shōjiro of Tosa; as well as Ōkuma Shigenobu, Etō Shimpei, Katsu Kaishū and others.<sup>893</sup> Though many of these could not have been present—for example Saigo, Sakamoto, Okuma, Katsu, and Okubo were not in Nagasaki at the time. However, there is more consensus that two sons of Iwakura Tomomi and Etō Shimpei are likely in the photograph, along with many

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<sup>891</sup> Murase, "*Nagasaki ni okeru*," 87-88. The literature on these photographs is abundant even though much of it is speculation. The pictures are placed together in the first volume of Saba Wataru's *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, published originally in 1938, and only a few of the Japanese figures are identified in that work. Saba, v. 1, p. 305. Richard Smethurst found a photocopy of a version of this famous picture at a flea market near Tokyo in which someone had supposedly identified and labeled many of the figures. In 24 January, 2002, *The Japan Times* carried a brief article entitled, "Phony Meiji Era Photos Fetching Top Yen," that dealt with the controversy over the photograph's authenticity. For a brief summary, see Takahashi Shinichi "*Furubekki shashin*" ["Verbeck Photograph"] Accessed online on 4/5/2014 at: [http://www.academia.edu/3706893/The\\_Verbeck\\_Photo](http://www.academia.edu/3706893/The_Verbeck_Photo). Takahashi believes that the original photograph was originally owned by Verbeck, but that Emma Verbeck took it with her when she left Japan, and it has been lost. Takahashi also claims that a ceramics manufacturer at Arita in Saga further popularized this image recently by putting it on a plate.

<sup>892</sup> Yamaguchi, p. 14.

<sup>893</sup> Yamaguchi, pp. 227-288. Though often neglected by scholars, Murase Hisayo claims that Verbeck also left quite an impression on Itō Hirobumi and other significant figures. See Murase, "*Nagasaki ni okeru*," pp. 63-94.

prominent figures from Saga.<sup>894</sup> At any rate, this striking photograph provides a tantalizing glimpse of the influence that Verbeck gained during these early years of teaching with some of the heroes of the Restoration. Many Japanese scholars have tended to emphasize Verbeck's success as a Western educator and trusted teacher, and have used such photographs as a symbolic representation of this role. "Verbeck was a very important figure," writes Yamaguchi Takao, "and should be honored as the respected teacher he undoubtedly was."<sup>895</sup>

When Verbeck left Nagasaki for Tokyo in 1869, he had already gained a reputation as a competent and respected teacher from his leadership and instruction in these two schools in Nagasaki. He claimed that 36 of his students left for the capital with him, and his devotion to these students was one reason why he was committed to staying in Tokyo despite the difficulties he encountered there. One scholar has argued that Verbeck alone among the missionaries in Japan supported the Meiji Restoration from the beginning.<sup>896</sup> This may be true, partly because he was the only missionary at the time in western Japan, where much of the anti-Tokugawa sentiment was building. But perhaps the deeper reason is the relationship he fostered with many of his students who became an integral part of the new government. Though in his years in Nagasaki he was isolated from other missionaries, he always seemed to look back fondly on those years. He knew that the trust and confidence he gained with the Japanese people was fundamentally based on his reputation formed in these early years. Henry Stout, Verbeck's

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<sup>894</sup>Takahashi Shinichi, "Verbeck Photograph."

<sup>895</sup> Yamaguchi, p. 16.

<sup>896</sup> Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 75.

successor in Nagasaki, recognized this in 1869 when he wrote regarding his predecessor that, “the half of his work and his influence has not been told.”<sup>897</sup>

When Verbeck received the formal invitation to come to Tokyo in February 1869, he was not terribly surprised because the previous autumn he had met with some of the new Meiji leaders (some of whom were former students) and they had intimated such a possibility. In a letter in 1868 from the Meiji leader Ōkubo Toshimichi of Satsuma to Kidō Kōin of Chōshū, their high opinion of Verbeck as a virtuous and knowledgeable teacher, is apparent:

As you know, Verbeck, an American residing in Nagasaki, is a knowledge-able and virtuous man and is well acquainted with our Imperial Land....If you hire him and take him under your wing, others will surely want to learn from him at once. Would that not be an excellent outcome? New schools are about to be founded. One like the shogunate’s old Kaiseisho ought, I think, to be opened immediately. When that happens you are apt to find him of great use indeed.<sup>898</sup>

Arriving in Tokyo in the spring of 1869, however, Verbeck found the educational reform of the new Meiji regime in turmoil. Western Studies (*yōgaku*) faced hostility from both the traditional Confucian establishment and the newly empowered Shinto (*kokugaku*) scholars.<sup>899</sup> Eventually, however, Western Studies prevailed, and the old *bakufu* Western Studies school, the *Kaiseisho*, was renamed the *Daigaku Nankō* (Southern College of the University) and Verbeck was the third foreign teacher hired there.<sup>900</sup> The need for competent teachers was urgent and Verbeck wrote that if this “active demand for general instruction is not satisfied by good men, it will be done by those who undo and destroy as much, if not more, than we can build up.”<sup>901</sup> The

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<sup>897</sup> Quoted in Earns, “Miner,” p. 112.

<sup>898</sup> Quoted in Motoyama, p. 95.

<sup>899</sup> Motoyama, p. 94.

<sup>900</sup> Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 175.

<sup>901</sup> Letter from Verbeck, 29 October 1869, Papers of JMRCA.

students also left much to be desired. Kido Kōin reported in 1869 that “There are a great many students [in Tokyo], and they are totally undisciplined.”<sup>902</sup> The schools in Tokyo were flooded with samurai returning from the war who were often not very interested in studying. One student described the scene in 1869: “....anyone who wanted to study was scorned as a shilly-shallying foggy. Many students would go off in the afternoons and, depending upon how much money they had, go to....a restaurant, drink sake, and summon a geisha, although some went to the brothels... .”<sup>903</sup>

Verbeck was by no means idle at the *Daigaku Nankō* while he patiently waited for and helped support domestic educational reforms. He wrote his last letter of 1869 on December 29<sup>th</sup> at 2 a. m. in order to get it onto the mail ship, and in the letter he wrote that he was busy with five and half hours of teaching at the school, extra tutoring and translation work, the placing of orders to America for texts, materials and instruments, in addition to all the preparatory work for his teaching. On Sundays, he had a half-dozen or so inquirers for Bible study as well.<sup>904</sup> In 1870, Verbeck was appointed head teacher or superintendent (*kyōto*), and he began to fill the teaching positions with more competent foreigners, many of them Christians.<sup>905</sup> By March 1871, there were twelve foreign teachers and 994 students who could choose to learn English, French or German and study Western subjects such as physics, chemistry, mathematics and literature in these languages.<sup>906</sup> Verbeck was the head of the English department as well as head teacher for

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<sup>902</sup> Quoted in Motoyama, p. 121.

<sup>903</sup> Quoted in Motoyama, p. 120.

<sup>904</sup> Letter from Verbeck, 29 December 1869, Papers of JMRCA.

<sup>905</sup> Duke, pp. 52-54.

<sup>906</sup> Pedlar, p. 128.

the entire teaching staff. A rare photograph of the school in 1871 depicts a large number of students of various ages, with a smattering of foreign teachers, including Verbeck, in the back.<sup>907</sup>

In November 1871, the new Minister of Education, Ōki Takatō, Verbeck's former student, closed the school for a few weeks, conducted rigorous examinations and whittled down the student body to 430 students who were kept under greater control when the school reopened.<sup>908</sup>

According to Benjamin C. Duke, the *Nankō* became essentially a foreign language school of science and, "As a result of Verbeck's reforms in both the curricula and faculty, by the end of the 1871 school year Japan finally had a national institution worthy of recognition as the first public institution of higher education in the modern era."<sup>909</sup>

Despite the success of the school, the foreign teachers were still threatened at times, and were required to have two guards as escorts if they left the school. In 1871, two European teachers from the school –who had left without guards and were "in the company of a native girl" –were murdered in the streets of Tokyo. Griffis also recalled that one time a man was "cut down by some sword-bearing ruffian" within a few yards of Verbeck's door, and that during this time Verbeck kept his Smith and Wesson revolver in his jacket pocket when he went outside the school grounds.<sup>910</sup> These conditions have often been used to portray Verbeck's courage and

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<sup>907</sup> In Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 187. This photograph is at the William Elliot Griffis Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University. Though it was taken while Verbeck was superintendent there, the teachers in the back are so small, it is hard to tell whether Verbeck is in the picture for sure.

<sup>908</sup> Schwantes, "American Influence," p. 36.

<sup>909</sup> Duke, 55. In 1872, the school was divided into eight grades with the students spending six months in each. The four American teachers taught the three highest classes completely in English with Verbeck teaching algebra and ethics. According to one source, Verbeck watched with joy as the Western education at the school progressed, writing that, "It is a real pleasure to hear a man say: 'I just read the first volume of "Buckle's *History of Civilization*" and am going to the second.'" Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 204.

<sup>910</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 237, 245, 248-250.



persistence in the face of difficult and hostile opposition both in the Western missionary literature and the Japanese literature.

Verbeck was respected not only by his samurai (or former-samurai) students, but by the nobility (*kazoku*) who had relatively few contacts with missionaries. In Nagasaki, he had taught the sons of Iwakura Tomomi, an influential noble in the Meiji Restoration. Though Verbeck did not teach in a school from 1873-1877, after his contract as a government advisor during these years ended, he accepted a short-term teaching assignment in 1877-1878 for the *Kazoku gakkō* (later, the *Gakushūin*) for the children of the nobility.<sup>911</sup> After this year, he resigned, but did not completely sever his ties with the *Gakushūin* and continued to give lectures there, mainly on ethics, several times a month, when he returned to Japan. The reasons for maintaining this connection Verbeck stated in a letter, ‘I said above that it would seem a pity to throw up the Nobles’ School too rashly, and this is chiefly because we cannot tell what this work may result in... The higher classes here are so very inaccessible to missionaries generally that it would seem a great pity to sever a tie of considerable confidence and intimacy...’<sup>912</sup>

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<sup>911</sup> He took this job after apparently refusing the initial offer to be the head teacher or superintendent of this institution. Verbeck initially took his removal as head of the *Daigaku Nankō* as a bit of an affront, “Never before in my life...have I been so at a loss to know clearly where the path of duty lay as since my return here....During my absence, it seems, that some of the narrow-minded officials of the educational department, hearing that Prussia and Switzerland were secularizing their school system, conceived of the grand idea of excluding all missionaries from their department.” However, the hiring of Professor Murray, whom he liked, and Verbeck’s being relieved of his duties as superintendent, as well as his five year contract as an advisor with “lighter duties and a smaller salary” were welcome changes. Letter from G. F. Verbeck 19 February, 1874, JMRCA. According to Verbeck’s letters, he split his time between the Gakushuin and the Union Theological School, founded by his colleague, Samuel R. Brown, where he continued his “lectures on the Christian evidences and homiletics.” Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 294. Though Verbeck terminated his teaching contract with the *Gakushūin*, he continued to associate with the institution, delivering periodic lectures at the school for years.

<sup>912</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 306. According to Verbeck, he declined the offer to be head teacher at the *Gakushuin*, wanting to return to full-time mission work.

According to Griffis, the *Gakushūin*, “under Mr. Verbeck’s magic name, had become the gateway through which not a few men had entered high government positions.”<sup>913</sup> Though no doubt exaggerating Verbeck’s role in the *Gakushūin*, it is nonetheless true that the school continued to foster its connection with Verbeck.

Verbeck’s role as a revered *sensei* had garnered him such respect that he was able to play a formative role in the development of education in the early Meiji years. Okuma Shigenobu said of him, ‘He practically established the American system of education in Japan, not only as the first director of the Imperial University, but as man-of-all-work to the then newly formed Japanese government. Education made New Japan; he should be remembered as its founder. He was the first great American I ever met in my life.’<sup>914</sup> Henry William Rankin, in 1907, alluded to his role as an inspiring and guiding teacher, writing that “In Japan, among the many foreign helpers, none ever did so much to inspire and guide her unexampled national transformation as the missionary Verbeck.”<sup>915</sup>

Though the Japanese have viewed Verbeck as a respected teacher of languages and Western studies, to Verbeck, the conversion of the Japanese to Christianity was arguably more important. Verbeck endeavored not only to assist the Japanese in interpreting what aspects of the West they should adopt, but also what the adoption of Christianity would mean for them. In 1868, he wrote hopefully that Ōkuma and Soejima, two of his most promising students, whom he calls “my friends and pupils,” would “work hard...if possible for universal toleration in the

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<sup>913</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 291, 302-303.

<sup>914</sup> Okuma, quoted in Gordon D. Laman, “Guido F. Verbeck: Pioneer Missionary to Japan,” *Historical Highlights* I, no. 4 (Fall 1980): 1-5, p. 5

<sup>915</sup> Henry William Rankin, p. 149.

empire... .”<sup>916</sup> He also reported that, “a little guiding touch here and there, led these men to the conclusion that at the bottom of the difference in civilization and power between their own country and such countries like ours and England, lay a difference of national religion....”<sup>917</sup>

Though Verbeck became somewhat disillusioned by the idea of Christianization through Western education, and by the late 1870s wanted to leave such “secular” education, the image of Verbeck as a revered *sensei* endured, even as he switched mainly to seminary teaching, translating, preaching, and lecturing in his last two decades. In an obituary by his colleague E. Rothesay Miller, he wrote “Among the Japanese, Dr. Verbeck will always be remembered as an educator,” whereas the foreign missionary community saw him primarily as “an eloquent and indefatigable worker and lecture” for the mission and the church.<sup>918</sup> Perhaps it is most telling, that after Verbeck’s death, almost 30 of his students from various institutions pooled funds and efforts to raise money to erect a monument on his grave.

Verbeck is arguably only one of many respected foreign *sensei* in the Meiji period, though he is one of the earliest and one of the most trusted. The respect he engendered from the Japanese can be seen in the way certain anecdotes about Verbeck have been interpreted. For example, in his later years in Japan, Verbeck was waiting for a train and a student (*shosei*) asked Verbeck when he had arrived in Japan. “Smiling, Verbeck replied, ‘Well, that would be (*degansu*’ in the Nagasaki dialect) when you were not even born.’ He laughed as the questioner

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<sup>916</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 174-175

<sup>917</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>918</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 183. However, this is not entirely true, for Uchimura saw him as a preacher and many Japanese pastors (some of whom took homiletics with Verbeck at the seminary) who went on preaching tours with him, saw him more as a preacher or evangelist.

stood there dumbfounded.”<sup>919</sup> Griffis interprets this somewhat critically as an example of Verbeck’s sometimes harsh, cutting wit, but Uchimura Kanzō focused on the disrespect of the student who displayed such ignorance for a revered figure who had lived for so long in Japan. Uemura Masahisa, in looking at this incident, highlighted the contrast between the Japanese student and the foreign teacher, observing that “Truly, Verbeck had more knowledge of Japan than many Japanese people.”<sup>920</sup> In other words, such a respected figure had much to teach the Japanese about the history of modern Japan.

### 3.2.4 Verbeck, the Revered *Hakushi* (“Doctor/Expert”)

By the end of his life, most of his former students and the people who wrote about him referred to him as *hakushi* or *hakase*, which means “doctor” and often has the connotation of “expert.” He did not earn a doctorate through study at a university, but received an honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Rutgers in 1874 for his work in Japan, just prior to his switch to working as a full-time advisor for the government.<sup>921</sup> Thus, this extra credential not only gained him more respect as an expert advisor (*komon*) for the government but most of the Japanese Christian and missionary sources refer to him as “Dr. Verbeck.” Even in later scholarship, this designation is frequently used. In Ogata Hiroyasu’s 1961 essay entitled, *Kindai nihon no kensetsu no chichi:*

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<sup>919</sup> Motono Moriyuki, “*Kugaku jidai no Morimichi: Furubekki no moto de*” [Morimichi’s Study with in a Period of Hardship: Beginning Under Verbeck] *Gaikō Fōramu (Gaikō Forum)* No. 62 (November, 1993): 86-93, p. 86.

<sup>920</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, in *Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 182. Quoted in Saba, Vol. 1, p. 307.

<sup>921</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 278.

*Furubekki hakushi* [Dr. Verbeck, a Founding Father of Modern Japan]. Ira Jery Burnstein wrote that “The staff of the Union Theological School [later combined with Meiji Gakuin] was bolstered by the addition of Dr. Guido Verbeck in 1877. He had served with distinction in Japan as an advisor to the Ministry of Education...thus his presence added significantly to the prestige of the school.”<sup>922</sup>

For many, however, his prior work as a teacher, translator and informal advisor had already given him the respect that the title simply reinforced. One source that reveals this was from the famous Meiji-era medical doctor, Baron Ishiguro Tadanori, who relates an anecdote that reveals the respect Verbeck had gained by the early 1870s:

In those times, Drs. Iwasa, Sagara, Hasegawa and I held the view that the science of medicine should be German. How we were ridiculed and criticized by the public! Dr. Verbeck was already in those times respected and believed in by the people. One day, Dr. Sagara got an interview with him, and talked about the necessity of enforcing our opinion about the science of medicine. With our view this American teacher expressed his sympathy. It was through his advice to the Government that German professors of this science came to be employed. The present prosperity of the science owes a great deal to the deceased Doctor.”<sup>923</sup>

The notion that Dr. Verbeck was “respected and believed in by the people,” such that his “expert” opinion on medicine—a field in which he was obviously not an expert—held enough weight to sway the government, reveals a depth of respect for Verbeck at this time.

It seemed that Verbeck was sought after not simply as an foreign expert, but as an individual who, in addition to his wide knowledge of the West, also respected Japan’s culture and people. Even in Nagasaki, Verbeck showed an interest in Japanese artistic traditions, and according to Joshua Fogel, Verbeck, “developed a keen interest in Nanga-style painting and

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<sup>922</sup> Burnstein, p. 44.

<sup>923</sup> Baron Ishiguro Tadanori from *Tenchijin*, quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, pp. 182-183.

often visited [Itsun] Kinoshita's school, met with his students, and asked numerous questions."

In fact, when a few of Kinoshita's students, wanted to study art in China, Verbeck helped them secure passage secretly (dressed as Chinese servants or monks) in a Western merchant ship.<sup>924</sup>

Another example of Verbeck as a learned scholar who respected Japan's traditions, can be found in a transcription of an interview purported to have taken place between Verbeck and a Japanese Shinto scholar Katō Daikan in 1870. Katō wanted to compare Shinto and Christianity, and ultimately to show the superiority of the former. The following is the beginning portion of his interview with Verbeck:

On the 27<sup>th</sup> day of the second month of the third year of Meiji (1870), together as a group, we were to interview for the first time the Nankō teacher Verbeck in a inn (*ryokan*), with a lively question and answer dialogue. Daikan wanted to meet Verbeck and talk about how in ancient times the "Imperial Way" of our Imperial Court has been transmitted orally as the teachings of Shinto (*kami no michi*)...and now your Western teachings are also here, and though I do not know a lot about Western theories and opinions, I think there are a lot of similarities. I would like to compare our (Japanese) teachings and your (Western) teachings, to keep the good and throw out the bad, and by doing that I think we will find that the global way to truth can be one.

In the room, Verbeck poured out two cups of green tea with sugar and put one cup in front of me and took one himself and we drank together. Verbeck rolled a cigarette, lit it, and inhaled. I took out my pipe and he gave me some tobacco and a light from his cigarette, and while thus smoking, I began to speak concerning the main Shinto principles of Chūjō, my master teacher—which in Chinese characters can be expressed as "this worldly" (*utsutsu* or *ken*) and "otherworldly" (*yū*)—by which he has taught people and which I understand well. We also view this way of understanding as difficult, but what do you think about it?

Verbeck, while he was speaking, got out a book and looked up the two characters, "*utsutsu/ken*" and "*yuu*," and put his finger on it and said, "So, they have this character," and wrote something down on a memo. Verbeck said that he has wanted to learn about Japanese Studies (*nihon gakumon*), but he has been so busy that he has not been able to do so.

Kato: I can give an overall summary of Japanese Studies, but I also want to hear step-by-step about the conditions of Western nations. For Japan, our conditions are based

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<sup>924</sup> Fogel, pp. 40-41.

upon a fundamental foundation of ancient laws which can be expressed in the Chinese characters “*kodōjunkō*” [“Ancient National Foundations”]. What do you think about this?

Verbeck replied that this discussion was new to him. In his country [the West?], the ways of God (*kami no michi*) and a nation’s laws are separate. God is “otherworldly” [*yū*]. National laws are “this worldly.”

Kato: If your God is “otherworldly,” he is intangible or without form, so how can you prove whether God is good or bad?<sup>925</sup>

As the interview continues, Katō’s explanations of Shinto beliefs become more protracted and Verbeck’s replies more perfunctory, such as “I see,” “That’s new to me....” Halfway through reading the transcript, I wondered whether this conversation was authentic and started asking a different question: Why did Katō choose Verbeck to be the person presented as being interested in “Japanese Studies,” and through whom he could argue for the superiority of Shinto? Though it is impossible to corroborate the authenticity of the transcript content, it is telling that Verbeck was chosen as the foreign expert with whom Katō tried to come to an understanding with on this nationalistic topic. It’s also hard to square the image of Verbeck presented here and the one in the missionary literature who, in 1869 asserted that “Shinto exerted little or no influence” on Japan.<sup>926</sup> Arguably, then, of all the foreigners then in Japan, Verbeck was a symbolic figure

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<sup>925</sup> “*Koyō montō sho*” [Imperial(Japan)-Western Dialogue]. In *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, Vol. 1, pp. 326-338 This source is based on a rather obscure discussion between a Shinto scholar whose question and answer formatted work was entitled, it was intended to show the truths of Shinto and spread admiration for its teachings. Saba Wataru wrote that he thought that in reality it was indirectly an attempt to criticize or get rid of Christianity. According to Saba, this source was discovered courtesy of the Imperial Tohoku University professor Muraoka Noritsuku (?). It is typeset on standard-sized paper and is 17 pages long, by Hirano Tekiichiro (?) and found in *Mu kai shozō*. Shinto scholar is named Katō Daikan, which, if the name is changed to Kato Daijō, is one of the titles of Katō Hiroyuki, the head of Tokyo University, but he was not a Shinto scholar, and Saba writes that it is hard to believe Katō Hiroyuki would express these kinds of opinions. One other unknown person is mentioned, a Nobuhiro sensei, who had promised beforehand to accompany Katō but supposedly he did not feel good and therefore Katō met Verbeck alone.

<sup>926</sup> Cited in Thomas, *Protestant Beginnings in Japan*, p. 49

who was sought out, not only by his former students and the new leaders of Japan, but by others who, like the Shinto scholar Katō, had much different motives.

If Verbeck was seen as an expert in anything by the time he received his honorary doctorate, it was his multi-lingual translation skills, something the Meiji government had utilized in enlisting his help to translate documents such as the *Code Napoleon*, various state constitutions, works on French banking and forestry laws, and European theories of law and government.<sup>927</sup> Obviously, his expertise in translation as well as his general knowledge in a variety of areas gained him great respect, but, particularly in his last two decades, his expertise in Japanese language was admired by both Western and Japanese observers.

Thus, in addition to his role as a beloved teacher, he was also important as an expert communicator and translator of ideas in Japanese, particularly of Christianity and Christian texts. Verbeck devoted much of his early years in Nagasaki to learning Japanese, and this was to pay off in his future career in Japan. In 1861, he wrote that he spent most of his days at home teaching English to a few students and studying Japanese through a tutor and using the available Dutch or German grammar books and dictionaries.<sup>928</sup> At one point, Verbeck complained of red

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<sup>927</sup> *Kōdo napoleon furoku noteru kisoku yakubun*. This handwritten document deals with the Napoleonic Code; *Hōgaku shishin* ["Guidelines for Law"], Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1877. This work translates parts of Louis Prosper Auguste Eschbach's *General Introduction to the Study of Law* (1856); *Fukkoku shinrin hō* [France's Forestry Laws], Genrōin, 1882. This work translates materials on France's forestry laws and their enforcement; *Furansu ginkō teiki*, n.d. This hand-written document deals with French ideas on banking and deposits; *Geruman giin no hō* ["German Parliamentary Law"], 1876. He translated portions of the Swiss jurist Johan Caspar Bluntschli's *Staatsrecht*; G. F. Verbeck, Eduard Laferriere and Anselme Polycarpe Batbie. *Ōshu kakkoku kenpō* ["Constitutions of Various European Countries"]. (Tokyo: Fukkokuban, 1888. Reprint, Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2001). See bibliography.

<sup>928</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, Annual Report for 1861, JMCA. Verbeck's Dutch and German language skills gave him a great advantage when it came to reading the few language books that were available for foreigners. Verbeck published an article in *Chrysanthemum* in 1882 about the Doeff-Halma *Waranji* (*Dutch-Japanese Dictionary*) which had been published in 1855 (though written earlier): "The 'Wa-ran-ji-i': A Dutch-Japanese Dictionary." *The Chrysanthemum*. 2 (1882): 485-490. Verbeck had earlier helped compile the *Satsuma Japanese-English Dictionary* and later also assisted with a French-Japanese



eyes with inflammation from pouring over Chinese and Japanese characters.<sup>929</sup> Learning Japanese in the 1860s was a much more difficult prospect than modern Japanese, with wide variations for *bungo* (literary Japanese) and *keigo* (formal Japanese), as well as various forms of colloquial Japanese. Thus, Verbeck's progress in such difficult circumstances was truly amazing. The purpose of language acquisition, for all of the early Protestant missionaries, was, first and foremost, to translate the Bible correctly (something Brown, Hepburn and others had already begun in the 1860s), and to prepare for the day when they would be able to openly preach and teach Christianity throughout Japan. In a story recounted in *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, there is an account of Verbeck giving advice to some of his students from Satsuma who were going to study in the West. The way in which this anecdote is narrated, emphasizes not only the mutual respect between Verbeck and his students from an early date, but also Verbeck's understanding of Japanese culture and language:

One day, there were four young men from Satsuma, who were about to leave to study in the West—one of whom was General (later Field Marshal) Ōyama Iwao who went to visit Verbeck to ask for advice. At this time, after talking about various subjects, Verbeck deliberately added at the end, “No matter how interesting or amusing the things are that you find abroad, you must not lose the spirit of Japan (*nihon damashii*). They replied, ‘We understand’, and someone sang the following:

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dictionary. Verbeck spent his early years revising some of these dictionaries and working with Brown and Hepburn on various language materials. See Ōhashi Akio and Hirano Hideo, 114-140. Unlike many of the other pioneer missionaries, however, he had no prior knowledge of the Chinese language, and the only Japanese he learned prior to his arrival was a smattering of words from Samuel R. Brown on the long voyage to Shanghai.

<sup>929</sup> Griffis, 210. It is difficult to assess Verbeck's writing skills in Japanese. From the few characters he scribbled in his datebook, it seems he knew them, but doesn't seem to have been as proficient in writing as in speaking.

*Japan's precious stone given by God/ We must polish until it shines.*

According to them, this poem was Verbeck's own work, and he expressly wrote it for them on a poem-card (*tanzaku*) because they wanted a piece of his handwriting.... they said it was very interesting and amazing...'<sup>930</sup>

The fact that it is a foreigner imploring them not to lose their Japanese spirit is remarkable enough, but to be capable of writing a poem after such a short time in Japan, seems highly unusual and unlikely. However, that the poem was attributed to Verbeck is significant, not only in that it seemed believable to the author, but that Verbeck, a foreigner, performed a very important Japanese cultural act (writing a poem on the occasion of someone leaving Japan). Being able to compose poetry in a language is an important indication of a deep understanding of that culture. Isaiah Berlin writes of the importance of poetry to understanding a particular culture: "the words [of poetry] belong to one particular language, spring from and convey one unique style of life and feeling, and speak directly only to those who are capable of thinking and feeling in that tongue, whether it is their native tongue or not...."<sup>931</sup> Ultimately we cannot know for sure whether Verbeck was capable of writing such a poem at such an early date, but what is telling is that, in a work compiled in the nationalistic late 1930s, Verbeck, a foreigner, is described in such a way.

In the initial years after his return to Japan in 1879, Verbeck used his language skills in various translation projects, with such short tracts as *Kirisutokyō Shōkoron* ["Essay on the Proofs of Christianity"], *Hito no kami o homubeki wake* [The Worship of God], and a Japanese

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<sup>930</sup> Saba's source is cited as "Dr Verbeck and the Spirit of Japan" by Yutani Saiichiro(?). Saba, *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, Vol. 1, p. 306.

<sup>931</sup> Isaiah Berlin, *The Sense of Reality: Studies on Ideas and their History* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1996), p. 250.

edition of W.A.P. Martin's *Tendō sōgen* [Evidences of Christianity].<sup>932</sup> Verbeck, like most of the pioneer missionaries, had always seen translation as central to missionary work, and, in the 1880s he was able to see the fruit of his language acquisition in his translation and editing work on the Bible, particularly in translating the Psalms.<sup>933</sup> The New Testament had already been completed and published by 1880, and the Old Testament was completed by 1887, with the American Bible Society's one-volume Bible translation published with great celebration on February 3, 1888.<sup>934</sup>

Verbeck's translation work on the Psalms was one of the most significant fruits of his expertise in Japanese. Griffis writes glowingly of this work in the context of Verbeck's linguistic expertise:

He developed in Japan the knowledge gained at Auburn Seminary, of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, so that his work in translating the Book of Psalms is a monument of industry, scholarship and spiritual insight. I have heard Japanese say that in quality and power, as compared with some other parts of the Bible in Japanese, it stands like a mountain above a plain.<sup>935</sup>

Japanese scholars have also commented on Verbeck's translation of the Psalms and its impact.

In their biography of Verbeck, Ōhashi and Hirano wrote, "His translation of the Psalms was

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<sup>932</sup> Ebisawa, *Nihon kiristuokyō shi kankei wakansho mokuroku*, 35.

<sup>933</sup> According to one source, Verbeck had also helped to compile the first hymnbook, which was translated mainly from American hymns and was largely the work of three Japanese pastors and Verbeck. See Yeonhyung Cho, *A Study of the Mission Strategies of the United States of America in Japan from 1859-1894*. Masters Thesis, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 2001, 58. Verbeck was very musically gifted, and in Nagasaki he sometimes played the organ for the Episcopal Church service held in the foreign concession there in the 1860s, had a fine singing voice, and according to Griffis, played the violin in his youth. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate more evidence of Verbeck's participation in the compilation of this hymnbook.

<sup>934</sup> Bernardin Schneider, "Bible Translations" in Mark R. Mullins ed. *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*. (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003), p. 211.

<sup>935</sup> William Elliot Griffis, "Guido Fridolin Verbeck, Pioneer Missionary in Japan. *The Auburn Seminary Record*, Vol. 5/No. 5 Nov. 10, 1909: pp. 358-365 p. 360-361

especially influential on modern Japanese literature. A number of modern poets gained poetical imagination from the model of its beautiful style of writing.”<sup>936</sup>

Recently, Junko Nakai Hirai Murayama has shed light on Verbeck’s biblical translation work based on newly-discovered Japanese sources and has concluded that Verbeck (with some assistance of C. M. Williams, the Episcopal missionary Verbeck had met in Nagasaki when he arrived in Japan) did the bulk of the translation work on the Psalms. In addition, certain native speakers, such as Uemura Masahisa, and particularly Matsuyama Takayoshi, were invaluable in assisting Verbeck in his translation. But, Murayama emphasizes the crucial role of Verbeck in the translation, asserting that, “The elegant style of the Psalms in Japanese echoes the elegant classical style mastered by Verbeck.”<sup>937</sup> This seems to corroborate Griffis’ image of Verbeck sitting on his porch or walking in his garden reading the words of the Confucian scholar and writer Kaibara Ekken

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<sup>936</sup> Ōhashi and Hirano, p. 11. Though they say Verbeck also translated Isaiah, I have found no evidence that Verbeck personally translated Isaiah, though he did edit the translation. There are several works on the history of the Japanese Bible, primarily in Japanese. In English, there is a summary of the translation of the Japanese Bible from the Missionary Conference in Tokyo in 1900 and summaries of the overall process can be found in many of the works on Meiji Protestantism. There are a few short works in English on the history of the Japanese Bible such as Karl Aurell’s *History of the Translation of the Bible in to Japanese and a Brief Account of the Japan Agency of the American Bible Society The Bible in Japan* (New York: American Bible Society, 1926) and James Caldwell Ferguson Robertson’s *The Bible in Japan* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1953). Also, more recently, Junko Nakai Hirai Murayama’s Ph.D. dissertation, “The Japanese Bible: a historical and analytical study of its development with particular focus on the period 1837-1888.” The American Bible Society has archives on the Bible translations in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan, and the detailed annual reports by various Bible Societies contain many facts on the translation and publication of Bibles but few details about Verbeck’s specifically. An important work by a Japanese scholar is Ebisawa Arimichi’s *Nihon no seisho wayaku no rekishi [The Japanese Bible: History of Japanese Translations]* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppankyoku, 1981).

<sup>937</sup> Junko Nakai Hirai Murayama. “The Japanese Bible: A Historical and Analytical Study of its Development with Particular Focus on the Period 1837-1888,” PhD Diss., University of Manchester, 2007, p. 250. Verbeck respected Williams, named his second son after him, and had Williams baptize his oldest children.

“again and again in order to master literary graces as well as lines of thought and argument.”<sup>938</sup>

Another Japanese author, Wakashiyama Daisaburō, has asserted that the text Verbeck created for the Psalms “is something far beyond the level even we Japanese could reach.”<sup>939</sup> Matsuyama Takayoshi, who worked with Verbeck in the translation of the Bible, wrote that their translation work on the Bible helped to create a new style of Japanese writing which aimed at the “middle-ground, that is, to create an ordinary style, yet, not uncultivated, and that, without losing reverent dignity through our efforts.”<sup>940</sup> The existence of various styles of Japanese writing was a challenge to the translators. “However,” asserts Murayama, “the translators, both the Western missionaries and the Japanese assistants, turned this disadvantage into an advantage by exploiting the potential of these styles and selecting and combining them to create a distinctive style unprecedented in the history of Japanese language and literature.”<sup>941</sup>

How did such language expertise contribute to Verbeck as a foreign hero? As Murayama and Wakayama have shown, Verbeck not only contributed to the development of the Japanese language, but he had an literary impact in Japan that transcended Christian circles. One of the types of nationalism that Brian McVeigh describes in *Nationalism in Japan* is “linguistic nationalism.” Though there are extreme versions of this linguistic nationalism in movements such as the Mahikari religious sect, McVeigh writes that “many Japanese assume that their own

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<sup>938</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 26.

<sup>939</sup> Quoted in Murayama, p. 250.

<sup>940</sup> Quoted in Murayama, p. 257.

<sup>941</sup> Murayama, 293. The translation Verbeck and his assistants created remained unrevised until 1955.

language, being unique and exceptionally difficult, is beyond the capabilities of non-Japanese to learn....This wall is made stronger by a general belief that things Japanese and non-Japanese do not mix.”<sup>942</sup> Japan’s “linguistic nationalism...dichotomizes the Japanese language into ‘ordinary Japanese’ (*nihongo*) and “very Japanese Japanese’ (*kokugo*)...*Kokugo*, or ‘national language,’ is *our* national language, the language of the endo-group, as opposed to the Japanese language for the exo-group (*nihongo*), and “it represents nothing that can ever be shared with foreigners.””<sup>943</sup> Verbeck not only challenges such “linguistic nationalism” but, as one who seemed to grasp the Japanese language as well as a native speaker, he also used this uncommon ability for the benefit of the Japanese nation and the language that he had acquired and adopted as his own.<sup>944</sup>

As a part-time teacher at theological school (which was eventually joined with Meiji Gakuin), beginning in the mid-1870s, Verbeck taught his classes entirely in Japanese, though all of the subjects he taught, except homiletics, could have been taught in English with a student interpreter, as most of the other foreign professors did at the time.<sup>945</sup> Thus, many of the early Japanese pastors learned how to preach from Verbeck. Verbeck had given his support for the founding of mission schools like Meiji Gakuin, and he also favored granting Japanese Christians

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<sup>942</sup> McVeigh, pp. 244-245.

<sup>943</sup> Roy A. Miller, *Japan’s Modern Myths* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982) in *Nationalisms in Japan*, p. 271. Quoted in McVeigh, p. 245.

<sup>944</sup> Verbeck was interested in linguistics in general, as his many publications on Japanese language reveal. When he was home in the U. S. for a year in 1878-1879, he wrote of his study of linguistics to try to look at Bible, and also to find “a new method of literary investigation, by which I shall be able to ascertain, more scientifically and positively...the real authorship of any composition.” Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 18 June 1879, JMRCA. However, as far as I can tell, he never returned to such an idea. According to one person who knew him, he loved to study and compare all of the references in Shakespeare the biblical language or allusions. In *Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 172.

<sup>945</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 333.

control over the school, one of the first mission schools to do so.<sup>946</sup> In 1886, Verbeck was one of the seven foreign members of the 14-person board of directors for Meiji Gakuin, and he continued to be involved in that institution throughout the rest of his life.<sup>947</sup> In a letter in 1891, he wrote that he gave four lectures a week there, which required about six hours preparation for each one.<sup>948</sup> At the time, he replaced the missionary James Amerman at Meiji Gakuin for health reasons, but wanted to resign his teaching position, desiring to spend more time in evangelism, writing, and other missionary work.<sup>949</sup> In this, he was supported by his colleague Martin Wyckoff, who wrote to the board on his behalf:

It does seem too bad that Dr. Verbeck should be confined to the school when he can do such splendid work in the field by visiting the churches to lecture and preach to them. There is no one equal in this work in Japan, and if another person came out to do this work today it would take him more than ten or a dozen years before he could do it satisfactorily, and even then he could not begin to do the work the Dr. Verbeck can now do.<sup>950</sup>

If Hepburn was famous for his dictionary, Verbeck was known for his unrivaled—in missionary circles at least—grasp of the Japanese language, particularly colloquial Japanese.

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<sup>946</sup> Verbeck was one of many missionaries who supported Christian mission schools, and between 1859-1905, there were at least 84 mission schools established (54 of them girls' schools) in Japan. Of these, 18 of them were colleges or universities, and one of the most important of these was the Presbyterian and Reformed Meiji Gakuin in Tokyo, which in 1886 merged four separate institutions into one. The four institutions were the Union Theological Seminary (1877), the Tsukiji University (1880), the Tokyo Union College (1883) and the Anglo-Japanese Preparation School (1884). Yamamoto Masaya, pp. 94-95, 148.

<sup>947</sup> William Elliot Griffis. Interview with Guido F. Verbeck, 1895, William Elliot Griffis Collection, Rutgers University.

<sup>948</sup> Quoted in John Theodore Mueller, *Great Missionaries to the Orient* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1948), p. 73.

<sup>949</sup> Also, Verbeck apparently felt he could no longer teach at Meiji Gakuin because of certain differences which he never fully specifies, but may have been doctrinal, ecclesiastical, or personality differences (or some combination). In a letter in 1895, he lists all of the courses he has taught, all in Japanese—Introduction to the Old Testament, Intro. to the New Testament, Old Testament Exegesis, Pastoral Theology, and Homiletics. Letter from G. F. Verbeck to H. N. Cobb, 4 June 1895, JMRCA.

<sup>950</sup> Quoted in Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 294.

In the 1880s, Verbeck published several works intended to help foreigners, especially missionaries, learn Japanese. In 1882, he wrote a short paper for a Missionary Conference in Tokyo entitled, “What is the Best Method of Acquiring the Japanese Language,” in which he exhorts his fellow missionaries to, “Remain 20 years in the country, mix much with the people, read and study much—and with the many helps you now possess, you are sure to make more and better progress than perhaps any one of us older ones have done.”<sup>951</sup> Thus, Verbeck was widely respected (and envied, perhaps) for his oral Japanese language skills.<sup>952</sup>

Even amongst the missionary pioneers, such language proficiency was rare. Uchimura Kanzō criticized missionaries who had “stayed in Japan twenty, thirty, or forty years, who yet are not able to speak respectable Japanese...No wonder they cannot understand us, and that after spending half their lifetime in this country, they still remain utter strangers to us.”<sup>953</sup> According to Ibuka Kajinosuke, one of the early converts and leaders of the Japanese church, Samuel R. Brown used mainly English in his teaching and James Ballagh’s explanations were often no better because of the incomprehensibility of his Japanese.<sup>954</sup> Verbeck’s colleague Divie B. McCartee, wrote that he had met Verbeck earlier

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<sup>951</sup> G. F. Verbeck, “What is the Best Method of Acquiring the Japanese Language,” Paper read before the Tokyo Missionary Conference (November, 1882): 22. He also wrote, “How to learn the Spoken Japanese.” *The Chrysanthemum* 2 (1882): 560-566, and a lengthy work on Japanese verbs entitled, “A Synopsis of All the Conjugations of the Japanese Verbs, with Explanatory Text and Application.” (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1887). Also in the 1880s, he helped write or revise some works for Japanese learners of English such as: *Eigo Hatsuon Hiketsu* [The Key to English Pronunciation]. Tokyo: Kikuchi Seigen 1886; Kuruta Jyotaro. *English Reader for Japanese Scholars*. Revised and edited by Guido F. Verbeck, 1887; Murakami, Y. N. *New Easy Conversations in English and Japanese, Adapted for Japanese Schools*. (Osaka: M. Sasuke, 1887). Revised by Guido F. Verbeck.

<sup>952</sup> This comes from Takahashi Korekiyo’s recollections, and I have found no other direct proof of such envy other than Takahashi’s statement. Smethurst, 316.

<sup>953</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, Vol. 22, p. 381.

<sup>954</sup> Cited in Ion, *American Missionaries*, p. 253.



in 1862, but when he came to teach at the *Daigaku Nankō* in the early 1870s, “I then began to know his great linguistic abilities....His fluency and eloquence in the Japanese spoken language, and what he has written upon the Japanese grammar and eminent ability....”<sup>955</sup> J. A. B. Scherer, a Lutheran missionary during Verbeck’s later years in Japan wrote, ‘The two things which most impressed me in this great man were his modesty and his wisdom...there was no finer linguist in the far East. Higher compliment could not be paid to his ability in Japanese than once fell to my hearing. A native teacher who heard him lecture in Saga said, ‘He knows more of the language than I do.’”<sup>956</sup>

Verbeck understood the nuances of the Japanese language, which he demonstrated in the way that he communicated, both through his speech and in non-verbal ways. In *Shinseiki* the editors wrote of Verbeck after his death: “It is widely known among the people that among foreigners he was the best speaker of the Japanese language. The thing that most impresses us as we remember him, is that he was very polite and gentle in his behaviour and adhered to those excellent virtues as a Christian until his end.”<sup>957</sup> One of his students from his Nagasaki days, commented on Verbeck’s abilities to communicate effectively, even grasping nuances of humor and the Nagasaki dialect:

The teacher was respectful of other people and showed great hospitality, with his ability to converse on a variety of topics, his occasional humor that could make people laugh (*ago o hodokashimuru*), his phenomenal memory like a living complete encyclopedia, and his knowledge of the Japanese language, which everyone knows he spoke so well, even grasping nuances of the language. He loved Nagasaki, which did not fear foreigners but greeting him warmly, and to the end of his life, one of his favorite

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<sup>955</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 189.

<sup>956</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 179.

<sup>957</sup> Quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 182.

phrases was the Nagasaki dialect “*degansu*” [an ending that is similar to “*desu*” or “*da*”].<sup>958</sup>

There are many examples of Verbeck’s “occasional sense of humor” referred to in the previous passage. For example, in the diary of Itō Jihei, a student of Verbeck’s from Saga in the 1860s, he jotted down that in a discussion about Christianity and God, Verbeck made a comment that contained a humorous pun between the word for God (*okamisama*) and the “missus” (*okamisan*) which made them all laugh.<sup>959</sup>

An anecdote by a missionary professor colleague, M. N. Wyckoff, illustrates the natural way in which he could communicate effectively in various contexts:

As to his mastery of fine distinctions of speech, I was much impressed in a call that we made together on an old official friend about a year before his death. The gentleman was not at home and it was necessary to leave a short message. I had often heard Dr. Verbeck in both discourse and conversation, but I was never so much impressed with the difference between his Japanese and that of the rest of us as on that occasion. It was an ordinary message that I could have easily delivered and I had no difficulty in understanding and appreciating his delivery of it, but it would have been utterly impossible for me to deliver it as he did.<sup>960</sup>

As a lecturer and preacher, he was, by most accounts, very popular and effective. J. A. B. Scherer, in describing Verbeck’s preaching, wrote, “I should say that his chief powers were the graphic vividness with which he could portray a scene, being richly gifted in voice and gesture; then the resistless logic with which he forced truth home. His sermons abounded in illustrations,

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<sup>958</sup> Motono, p. 86.

<sup>959</sup> Morita, p. 60. Verbeck also visited Saga at least twice, and when he did he would often relax and have tea with various scholars and high-ranking members of the domain government, including the Nabeshima daimyo, and by all accounts, impressed them with his social intercourse in such occasions.

<sup>960</sup> Wyckoff. “Guido F. Verbeck” Biographical Sketches Read at the Council of Missions in Tokyo, 1909, pp. 13-14.

and were the delight of Japanese audiences.”<sup>961</sup> According to Griffis, Verbeck was a very popular speaker:

When it came to his use of the Japanese language, such was his mastery of its inmost spirit, idioms, and its formal and colloquial expressions, that, if a Japanese, unable to see the speaker, were to hear Mr. Verbeck using the vernacular in another room, it could not be told whether a native or an alien was speaking. When the time came to preach publicly, whenever it was announced that Verbeck was to speak, the theatre or hall...would be crowded long before the time of service.<sup>962</sup>

Another anecdote by a younger missionary in the late 1880s or early 1890s reveals the great respect in which the Japanese people generally held Verbeck. This missionary attended a meeting with the students of the Imperial Tokyo University and happened to be seated next to Dr. Verbeck, whom he described as “the great Japanese preacher and orator.” Apparently the audience was very rude and several of the speakers were “howled down” from the stage. Dr. Verbeck turned to him and said,

“If they treat me like that I shall make my bow, leave the stage, and go home.” When his name was announced, he walked forward, mounted the platform amid a hush, then for perhaps 45 minutes made a strong plea for Christianity without a single note of disturbance, amid a silence that was almost sensational. And when he had finished his speech and retired, there was applause which made the very rafters of the building ring.<sup>963</sup>

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<sup>961</sup> Quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 180.

<sup>962</sup> William Elliot Griffis, “Guido Fridolin Verbeck, Pioneer Missionary,” pp. 360-361

<sup>963</sup> Jairus P. Moore. *Forty Years in Japan* (Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in the United States, 1925), 50. Verbeck did face hostile audiences, particularly in some of his evangelistic tours, but it was relatively rare. I could only find one anecdote by someone who was unimpressed. Nishida Kitaro, as a young student, attended a “speech meeting” in November 1891 at which there were three main speakers, Fukuchi Gen’ichiro, who according to Nishida, “spoke for about an hour, then left the stage accompanied by an incredible ovation from the audience.” Nishida then relates that “Next, a Frenchman [?] came out and preached Christianity. The audience booed and hooted. Because the uproar would not subside, he had to quit his talk in the middle and leave the stage. His name is Verbeck; he is apparently sixty-two years old and has lived in Japan for the last thirty years.” This was during a time of nationalist reaction, and it is obvious from the quote that there is some confusion as to who exactly Verbeck was for these young listeners. Quoted in Yusa Michiko. *Zen and Philosophy: An Intellectual Biography of Nishida Kitaro*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002) pp. 35-36.

H. N. Cobb, the secretary of the mission board to whom Verbeck addressed most of his correspondence during his latter years, depicts the joy Verbeck found in preaching during this time:

But the work in which he took most pleasure, especially of late years...was that of public address in lectures and evangelistic preaching. Such was his knowledge of the language, his conformity to Japanese custom and etiquette, his attractive personality and his wide reputation throughout the empire, that his presence was always hailed with pleasure, and welcomed with considerable and attentive audiences.<sup>964</sup>

This ability of Verbeck not only to communicate in Japanese, but to grasp the importance of Japanese manners and culture, set a standard of indigenization, not only for missionaries in Japan, but for other fields as well. In Edwin Munsell Bliss's *Encyclopedia of Missions*, published in 1891, in the entry about the Southern Presbyterian missionary M. T. Yates of China wrote: "He made himself such a master of the spoken Chinese language and so thoroughly learned the Chinese manners, modes of thought and customs that he was regarded by the Chinese—like Verbeck in Japan—as one of their own number."<sup>965</sup>

After his death, it was Verbeck's preaching and evangelism that was given some of the highest recognition in the press. According to the *Japan Daily Mail*, Verbeck acquired an admirable mastery of the Japanese language, written and spoken; a mastery so exceptional that he was able to preach fluently in the vernacular. Indeed, his

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<sup>964</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898: 176. Wyckoff writes that "The work that he [Verbeck] most enjoyed and to which he rightly believed himself to be best adapted was lecturing and preaching. He was most admirably fitted for this kind of service both by his natural and acquired gifts as a speaker and his wonderful mastery of the Japanese language. During his later years he was in great demand both in Tokyo and elsewhere...and he was never without invitations from various parts of the country." Wyckoff, p. 13. Though Verbeck did not write his speeches or sermons, several were made into tracts, and others have been transcribed and recorded in various sources, such as a speech in *Romaji Zasshi*, a speech to a Women's Christian Temperance Society meeting in *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, and a graduation speech from Aoyama Gakuin, a Methodist mission school, and another from Meiji Gakuin's Theological School, originally in *Romaji Zasshi*, but reprinted in *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, Vol. 3, pp. 475-482.

<sup>965</sup> Bliss, p. 796. Yates translated the New Testament into Shanghai dialect, and organized churches and schools.

capacity in this respect was almost without parallel, and considering his linguistic facility, his gift of oratory, his single-hearted devotion...and the fine example of his blameless life, he may be said to have contributed more to the spread of Christ's creed in Japan than perhaps any other....<sup>966</sup>

Almost 115 years after this eulogy to Verbeck, this image of Verbeck's linguistic expertise in Japanese is still strong. In his recent historical work on the Reformed Church in Japan, Gordon Laman writes, "It is possible that no other missionary has ever matched Verbeck's combination of facility in both oral and written Japanese, spiritual depth, and evangelistic persuasive power."<sup>967</sup>

### 3.2.5 Verbeck, A Devoted Life for Japan

Though many individuals—both inside Japan and outside Japan—have viewed Verbeck with respect for his teaching of Japanese students, his guiding of the Japanese government, and his translating and evangelizing for the Japanese church in Japan, the expressions concerning Verbeck often transcend simple gratitude. Thus, Verbeck not only represents a successful missionary and *oyatoi*, but a selfless figure who gave his utmost to promote Japan, showing respect and diligence for his adopted nation until his death. In many ways, Verbeck is seen as a figure to whom the Japanese owe a great debt for his work on behalf of Japan, and this is arguably where the "foreign hero" concept becomes most evident.

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<sup>966</sup> *The Japan Evangelist*, 180-181. .

<sup>967</sup> Laman, *Pioneers to Partners*, p. 294. Verbeck's writing skills are difficult to assess, since he did not write much down. Judging from *kanji* jotted down in his datebook, he could write Japanese, but was not as adept as he was in speaking.

Though the historiography of Meiji Protestantism tends to emphasize indigenous Japanese leadership, Verbeck is one exception to this rule, as one of the founders and influential figures of early Japanese Protestantism. One of the motifs of Protestantism—the attraction of Protestantism to the samurai class—may have been greatly influenced by Verbeck’s assertion that the educated “sword-bearing” classes were more open to Protestantism, by his interaction with his samurai students, and by the circulation of the remarkable story of the conversion of Murata Wakasa-no-kami.<sup>968</sup> Even in the postwar period, Verbeck’s inspiration and key inaugurating role is acknowledged. In a work published by Western missionaries shortly after WWII entitled, *Ten Against the Storm*, the authors focused on ten “outstanding” Japanese Christian leaders (mostly from the Meiji period). The first chapter, entitled “Great Beginnings,” narrated the conversion and baptism of Murata through Verbeck, the only story that featured a missionary.<sup>969</sup> Postwar Japanese Protestants have continued to recognize the importance of the early samurai converts in the early Meiji Period who were, as one scholar has written, “...inspired by the hope of becoming chosen people whose services as Christians would benefit Japan’s new nation building. Samurai feelings of superiority were replaced by a new sense of purpose.”<sup>970</sup>

Thus, Dr. Verbeck was a respected expert among the missionaries, and among Japanese Christians. Even when he was not technically a missionary, he was involved in the missionary community and his work for the government was presented as motivated by his Christianity.

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<sup>968</sup> See Yamaji, 33; Also see Scheiner.

<sup>969</sup> Prichard, pp. 1-7.

<sup>970</sup> Ichiro Yamauchi, “The Past and Present Situation of Christianity in Japan,” *Kwansei Gakuin University Annual Studies*, Vol. 37 (Dec. 1988): 5.

Otis Cary wrote that, “Dr. Verbeck organized the school that developed into the first Imperial University. He was for a long time the only foreign counsellor of the Government, and it meant not a little that the advice given in that formative period of the new nation came from one who was a conscientious and broad-minded Christian.”<sup>971</sup>

When it came to writing a historical overview of Protestant Missions in Japan for the 1883 Osaka Missionary Conference, the committee chose Verbeck, a candidate that all could trust, whose lengthy sketch was read at the outset of the conference and reprinted at the 1900 Conference (with an addendum for subsequent years). Verbeck’s careful work on these first decades has served as the basis for all subsequent historical writing on Protestant missions in Japan and has remained virtually unquestioned.<sup>972</sup>

Amidst the focus of the historiography of Japanese Protestantism on class analysis, indigenization, the quantity (or dearth) of conversions, and on the development of Christian institutions, what is sometimes lost is the fostering of personal relationships and bonds that are truly at the root of Verbeck’s effectiveness. The same can be said of some of Verbeck’s colleagues, and for other foreigners as well. For example, the young American, Clara Whitney and her family—who were technically not missionaries, but who thought of themselves as such—had a great impact through the fostering of friendships with various people in Meiji Japan, such as the families of Katsu Kaishū and Tsuda Sen.<sup>973</sup>

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<sup>971</sup> Otis Cary, p. 351.

<sup>972</sup> Guido F. Verbeck, “Protestant Missions in Japan.” *Proceedings of the 1883 Osaka Missionary Conference*. (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn and Co., 1883), 1-158. This work was recently translated in 1985 into Japanese by Igarashi Yoshikazu as *Nihon Purotesutanto Dendōshi, Meiji Shoki sho kyōha no ayumi* (Hakodate, Japan: 1985).

<sup>973</sup> Steele and Ichimata, *Clara’s Diary*. Though Clara mentions Verbeck in her diary, she interacts more with his eldest two children, William and Emma Verbeck and there is much more content about Verbeck in the unedited version of the diaries, which was published only in Japanese. Katsu Kaishu, often called

Verbeck's many years of devotion to the Japanese government as an *oyatoi* has also been presented as exceptional in some ways. Verbeck was a figure who could be depicted in Jones' designation of an *oyatoi* who was "emotionally committed to Japan's nation-building."<sup>974</sup> But, unlike E. H. House, who, according to Tokutomi Sohō, loved Japan "so much that it was embarrassing (*kimari ga waru hodo*), Verbeck's love for Japan and its people was more reserved, but nonetheless obvious.<sup>975</sup> As Sohō wrote of Verbeck after his death in the periodical he edited, *Kokumin no Tomo* [The Nation's Friend], "By the death of Dr. Verbeck, the Japanese people have lost a benefactor, teacher, and friend....The present civilization of Japan owes much to his services...It should be remembered by our people that this benefactor, teacher, and friend of Japan prayed for the welfare of this Empire until he breathed his last."<sup>976</sup>

Verbeck has been depicted as a most trusted advisor, who could be counted on to consider Japan's welfare first and foremost. One of the chief examples in this regard was his "Brief Sketch," an outline for an embassy to Europe and America that Verbeck entrusted to Ōkuma in 1869, and which became the blueprint for the Iwakura Embassy to the West (1871-1873). This large embassy has been seen as one of the most important formative events in the

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the "father of the Japanese navy" was a pivotal figure in the Tokugawa government during the Meiji Restoration. Tsuda Sen was a prominent agriculturalist and educator in the Meiji period and became a prominent Christian.

<sup>974</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 77. Hazel Jones writes that such advisers as Verbeck "made solid contributions to Japanese development because they assumed their duties in the same spirit as did their civil servants. They deferred to their superiors and co-operated to the extent of their abilities...." Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 98.

<sup>975</sup> Quoted in James L. Huffman, "Edward Howard House: In the Service of Meiji Japan" *Pacific Historical Review* 56, no. 2 (May 1987), p. 238.

<sup>976</sup> Quoted in Japan Evangelist June 1898, p. 182. *Kokumin no tomo* (The Nation's Friend) was published from Feb. 1887 to August 1898, set up under the auspices of the Minyūsha in which Tokutomi was a leading figure.



early Meiji period of nation-building.<sup>977</sup> Even in this case, he entrusted it to Ōkuma and waited two years for a response, which, came from Iwakura Tomomi in 1871. Although Verbeck replied to Iwakura humbly that “The times have changed, it might not be expedient now,” Iwakura responded with, “It is just the very thing now....please tell me all that you remember of it now.” As a result, Verbeck met with Iwakura several times to help him plan the embassy, though he had a “tacit understanding” with Iwakura to “leave the outward honor of initiating this embassy” to the Japanese.<sup>978</sup> Verbeck, then, was not one to force his opinion or to make demands, but according to one observer, “...during the whole of this time it might fairly be said that his influence was limited only by the restraints which he chose to put upon himself. Possibly he did not know the force he might have wielded; at any rate, he did not exert it, and in political affairs he took only the slightest, if any, share.”<sup>979</sup> One of his colleagues, E. Rothesay Miller, described Verbeck’s two most prominent traits as “modesty and unselfishness, or a fixed determination to give just as little trouble to any one as possible.”<sup>980</sup> Verbeck’s personal character contributed to his effectiveness in Japan, and after his death, *The Japan Times* wrote

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<sup>977</sup> The most specific work regarding Verbeck’s role is Altman. Also see, Marlene J. Mayo, “The Iwakura Embassy and the Unequal Treaties 1871-1873.” Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1961), provides an in-depth view of this official mission to the West. Also, more recently, see Ian Nish’s work on this topic. One of the chapters in Okubo Toshiaki’s *Iwakura shisetsu no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Shuko shokyoku, 1976) is specifically entitled “Okuma Shigenobu to Furubekki.”

<sup>978</sup> The original letter to Ōkuma has been lost, and Verbeck sent a copy of the “Brief Sketch” to the mission board, though he didn’t want the contents published so that he didn’t lose the trust of the leaders in Japan.. Marlene J. Mayo, “Rationality in the Meiji Restoration: The Iwakura Embassy” in *Modern Japanese Leadership: Transition and Change*, Eds. Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1966): pp. 323-370. P. 350

<sup>979</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 177.

<sup>980</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898. p. 185.

that Verbeck “enjoyed an unexampled degree of confidence, an esteem which has never been dimmed by distrust.”<sup>981</sup>

Verbeck’s political advice in the turbulent 1870s was also critical for the Meiji leaders. Though Verbeck admired America and used the U. S. Constitution in his teaching, he cautioned the Japanese government not to change their political system too quickly. He supported a representative system for Japan, but advised the government not to reform too hastily, stating that for Japan to move from “feudalism into republicanism is like trying to make a yard-fowl give birth at once to a living chicken.”<sup>982</sup> Thus, he was “one of the few Americans who counseled caution as impatient young Japanese sought quick results,” and he apparently did not assume automatically that Christianity and Westernization were synonymous.<sup>983</sup>

In addition to being a founder of Japanese Protestantism and a trusted advisor, the recognition of the Meiji Emperor that Verbeck received was certainly unique for a missionary. The mutual respect between the Meiji Emperor and Verbeck has been a prominent characteristic in descriptions of Verbeck both in Japanese and Western sources. Verbeck was honored by the Emperor with various *chokugo* (“rescripts”) from 1871, and on retiring from his *oyatoi* work, in November 1877, he was presented with the Third Order of Merit with the Middle Cordon of the Rising Sun and the words: “We highly praise you, on the occasion of the expiration of your term of office, for your meritorious services which you rendered immeasurably for years to our government in the matters of vital importance.”<sup>984</sup> At the same time, Verbeck received “such

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<sup>981</sup>Quoted in Welch, p. 203.

<sup>982</sup> Quoted in Treadgold, p. 12.

<sup>983</sup> Treadgold, p. 12.

<sup>984</sup> Tezuka, “Verbeck and Thompson,” pp. 6-7. He also writes that he was invited to an annual audience with the emperor as well as for other occasions.

tokens of esteem and admiration from all classes of the Japanese, as have rarely been accorded to any one in Japan.”<sup>985</sup> In his reply expressing gratitude for the audience and praise of the emperor, Verbeck was appropriately deferential, “What I have done is little indeed; and whatever it is, it has been amply rewarded by your majesty and your people’s very great kindness.”<sup>986</sup>

Though early missionaries like Verbeck acknowledged the hostility of some elements of Japanese society to Christianity, they did not necessarily view loyalty to the emperor as antithetical to Christianity.<sup>987</sup> Most missionaries, and Christian *oyatoi* like Griffis, saw the emperor as a symbol of the Japanese nation-state, but figured that the more visible the emperor became, the less “godlike” he would become to the Japanese people. Henry Stout, Verbeck’s missionary colleague observed the visit of the Emperor to Nagasaki in 1872 and described how the French-style uniforms and “foreign imitative tendencies” of the court bothered some of “the higher Japanese of the old school, that they declared since he despised his country, they would despise him, and so they did not go pay their respects.” Stout concludes his description of this imperial visit with the claim that “...the Mikado is a thing of the past.”<sup>988</sup>

After 1877, he continued to be invited annually to an audience with the emperor. In 1901, a few years after Verbeck’s death, the Reformed Church’s *Christian Intelligencer* reprinted a letter that referred to a photograph which Verbeck had sent to the board in 1873 that showed him bowing before the emperor with “no indications in the correspondence that Mr.

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<sup>985</sup> Frank Cary, p. 173.

<sup>986</sup> Quoted in Saba, *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, Vol. 1, p. 304.

<sup>987</sup> Though the early Meiji regime was just as hostile to Christianity as the *bakufu*, the bulk of their focus was on Roman Catholics and their missionaries who were openly flouting the laws regarding Christianity. Most of the Protestant missionaries like Verbeck, though appalled by the persecution, wanted to prove that they were respectful of the Japanese government and its laws.

<sup>988</sup> Letter from Henry Stout to J. M. Ferris, 14 Aug. 1872, JMRCA.

Verbeck had any fear of compromising himself, or the Christian religion which he represented, with Emperor worship.”<sup>989</sup> As respectful as he was, Verbeck was not naïve and he also acknowledged in his letters that the liberality of the Emperor was also limited. Though the Emperor’s Charter Oath in 1868 had declared that “base customs of the past shall be abolished” and declared the determination to “seek knowledge throughout the world,”<sup>990</sup> Verbeck realistically wrote that, on the face of it, this liberality was “not at all self-evident; for these very emperors claim...to be descendants of the gods and the supreme pontiffs of the empire.”<sup>991</sup> Despite such reservations, the image of Verbeck as honored by and honoring toward the Emperor is pervasive. One American writer in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century wrote of Verbeck:

In Japan, among foreign helpers, none ever did so much to inspire and guide her unexampled national transformation as the missionary Verbeck. No other foreign resident ever was so honored by the government of that land. The envoys of nations envied his opportunities, but no ambassador from America or Europe at the Mikado’s court ever sustained with that court relations of confidence so intimate as those of Dr. Guido Verbeck.<sup>992</sup>

It was appropriate then, that perhaps one of the last things Verbeck wrote in Japanese, was a formal letter to the Emperor Meiji to accompany the Japanese and English copies of the Bible that the leading missionaries wanted to present to the Emperor.

In addition to honors from the Emperor, Verbeck and his family were granted special passports in 1891 after Verbeck had become essentially stateless. In 1891, in response to Verbeck’s request, on behalf of the Imperial government, the Foreign Minister, Enomoto Takeaki, sent him his “special passport” with this note, “You have resided in our empire for

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<sup>989</sup> Cited in Ryder, p. 45. Letter in *Christian Intelligencer*, 9 December 1901.

<sup>990</sup> Quoted in Motoyama, p. 94.

<sup>991</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 138.

<sup>992</sup> Rankin, p. 149.

several tens of years, the ways which you have exerted yourself for the benefit of our empire are by no means few, and you have been always beloved and respected by our officials and people.”<sup>993</sup> With these passports, Verbeck could move about and reside anywhere in Japan, under the government’s protection. For the government of Japan the passport represented the service Verbeck had given to Japan, and he would be under the protection of Japanese law. But, to the foreign treaty port community, it represented something else. After Verbeck received these passports he had more freedom of travel than all the other foreigners, who were still limited by the “unequal treaties” until 1899. In addition, Verbeck gave up “extraterritoriality,” placing himself under the laws and jurisdiction of the Japanese government. One writer in the foreign press in Yokohama wrote that Verbeck’s act of quietly “submitting to Japanese jurisdiction...seems to us more eloquent than the talk of a hundred cavillers who raise a barrier of imaginary perils in the path of free intercourse.”<sup>994</sup> They also represented to some observers, the unique nature of Verbeck’s identification with Japan. A Japanese writer, Sakurai Ōson (1872-1929), in his travelogue of Europe wrote,

Guido Fridolin Verbeck of Japan’ came to our country before the Meiji Restoration and remained here for about forty years. He came before the treaty revisions, and among the foreigners, he alone maintained the special right to live freely on our soil. But he never wrote even one volume about Japan. When someone asked him the reason for this, he replied, ‘I have been living in Japan for too long, and I know Japan too well, so it has become impossible for me to put pen to paper. If one wants to write of the state of Japan and her customs, one must not stay longer than eight weeks.’<sup>995</sup>

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<sup>993</sup> Cited in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 329. The passports had to be renewed annually. An interesting side story is that Verbeck’s oldest son General William Verbeck, was superintendent at Manlius Military Academy for 30 years. Around 1912, they found out that he was not an American citizen and therefore the New York state legislature granted him citizenship.

<sup>994</sup> Speer. *Missions and Modern History*, p. 431.

<sup>995</sup> , Susanna Fessler, *Musashino in Tuscany: Japanese Overseas Travel Literature, 1860-1912*. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004). p. 45. Fessler writes that Sakurai was using Verbeck as an authority to try to legitimize his travelogue of Europe after only staying there seven months.

Finally, in many of the biographical sketches of Verbeck's life, the death and funeral of Verbeck is presented in exalted, heroic terms. The immediate response to Verbeck's death was great sadness, as described in an anecdote by James Ballagh, who, when he heard the news of Verbeck's death, was attending a five-day long series of evangelistic meetings. Ballagh relates the "ever memorable occasion" when the news of Verbeck's death reached them: "Appalling as it might be at any time, in a season like this it was truly awe-inspiring, and well-nigh overwhelming. Sobbing and weeping were heard all over the house, of the three hundred souls gathered together, under this solemn visitation."<sup>996</sup>

The funeral service of Verbeck was unprecedented both in the number of Japanese officials in the audience, as well as the alternation of Japanese and English languages in the service.<sup>997</sup> James Ballagh, his long-time missionary colleague, spoke in English, and Ibuka Kajinosuke, who was the president of Meiji Gakuin, spoke in Japanese. The Emperor gave 500 yen to his Verbeck's daughter, Emma, to help pay for the burial, and his casket was accompanied by a military escort. As one observer wrote, "He was the only foreigner then in Japan treated as a citizen...A company of soldiers escorted his body to the grave, and a perpetual lease was granted to his family by the City of Tokio, of the plot in which he lies."<sup>998</sup>

In the obituaries and editorials, individuals tried to express in words, the Japanese writers expressed gratitude and admiration for what Verbeck had done for Japan. Uchimura Kanzō

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<sup>996</sup> Ballagh, "Funeral Address." In the Japanese there are some works that discuss Verbeck as a missionary and his impact on Protestantism in Japan. One work is Saba Wataru's *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, Vol 3 (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1966).

<sup>997</sup> Memorial addresses by Meiji Gakuin president Kajinosuke Ibuka and then James H. Ballagh. In *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 191.

<sup>998</sup> Quoted in Speer, p. 86, p. 150. Verbeck's wife Maria, could not make it to Japan for the funeral, but after she died about 10 years later, she was buried next to him.

wrote that Verbeck spent “forty years of continued, unstinted service for the people not of one’s own race and nation....”<sup>999</sup> Uemura Masahisa wrote of Verbeck that, “....Much of the teacher’s life was expended (*tsuiyasare*) on behalf of Japan, and in friendship he was greatly concerned for its development—just as a father enjoys and glories in his descendants at the end of his life.”<sup>1000</sup> Okuma, in his proposal for raising funds to put a monument for Verbeck on his grave, lists his accomplishments, including his devotion to his evangelism, translation work and teaching, and wrote that “...There is no need to further eulogize on such matters. There is plenty of evidence throughout his career of his profound learning, gentle manner, and labor with which he gave his all on behalf of our nation...”<sup>1001</sup>

Similarly, the Western writers expressed how respected and significant he was for Japan. Though penned two decades earlier by Verbeck’s *oyatoi* colleague, E. H. House on the occasion of Verbeck’s departure from Japan in 1878, *The Japan Evangelist* reprinted the editorial as fitting also for his final departure. House wrote of Verbeck as a man,

who stands almost alone in the possession of an esteem which has never been dimmed by distrust and which the Japanese of all ranks and conditions have united in according to him with a singular abandonment of the reserve that commonly characterizes their closest association with strangers....His absence will be a real loss...one that will be lamented with a sense of obligation that words can only imperfectly acknowledge....The farewell ‘speeches’ addressed to him have gone quite beyond custom in the unrestrained frankness of their expressions of gratitude....and he has his reward in the highest appreciation of those he has labored to serve.”<sup>1002</sup>

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<sup>999</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 181-182.

<sup>1000</sup> Quoted in Motono, p. 86. The author’s great-grandfather Motono Morimichi went to study English under Verbeck beginning in 1862 at request of Lord Murata Wakasa. Motono describes Uemura Masahisa as a close friend (*shinkofukai*). Verbeck is depicted in many later historical accounts of spending or devoting his life (*tsukusu*) for Japan. The most recent biography of Verbeck by Itoh Noriko characterizes his life as one of “kokorozashi,” which she translates as a life of “determined obedience.”

<sup>1001</sup> In Ōhashi and Hirano, pp. 368-369.

<sup>1002</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, 289-290 and *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, pp. 177-178.

Likewise, his missionary colleague, D. B. McCartee wrote:

His conscientious and philanthropic and courteous deportment, as well as his learning, gave him the high respect and esteem of the Japanese government officials, who...conferred upon him appointments and honors higher than they have ever conferred upon any other private citizen of any western nation...and his quite self-denying labors could not help commanding the greatest respect of all who had the privilege to know him.<sup>1003</sup>

Even the obituaries written overseas pointed to Verbeck as a hero for Japan. For example, *The Independent* eulogized that, “Dr. Verbeck has impressed his stamp on the whole future history of renovated Japan. The country which will give impulse and direction to all Eastern Asia will feel his influence and will hold his name in reverence through all the centuries of its future history.”<sup>1004</sup>

It seems that Verbeck in his last decades felt more at home in Japan than anywhere else, though most of his family lived outside Japan by the mid-1880s.<sup>1005</sup> In a letter from San Francisco when he returned to America in 1878 he wrote, “What amidst all the novelty and advantages of this great city we miss most in our daily dealings are the docile and kind-hearted Japanese.”<sup>1006</sup> Hazel Jones writes that because of his long association with the Japanese, not only was he accused of being “too Japanese,” but that, “Verbeck lost his taste for the more prosaic ministry and life in the United States. In a sense he cut himself off from his own

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<sup>1003</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 189.

<sup>1004</sup> Quoted in *The Japan Evangelist*, June 1898, p. 179.

<sup>1005</sup> There were many reasons for this, but the most important was the education and support of his children, the lack of funds for travel, the tragic death of his 16-year old son Guido in 1885 and his wife's declining health. Such separation was not uncommon for missionaries at the time.

<sup>1006</sup> Quoted in Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 293. His wife, Marion, returned to the U.S. after the death of their son Guido at the age of 16 in 1885 in California, and she remained there for most of the rest of her life, looking after their remaining children (six survived into adulthood). Emma, their oldest daughter, married an Episcopal missionary and lived in Japan for years. Verbeck lived with her during his last years.



people.”<sup>1007</sup> Though Verbeck spent much of the last decades of his life away from many of his children and even his wife, he never seemed to waver in his commitment to his mission for the people of Japan.

Many of the writings on Verbeck both before and after his death, including Griffis’ biography, emphasized his lack of citizenship and cosmopolitan identity. Some early Christian converts, such as Uchimura Kanzō viewed stateless individuals like Verbeck as the most effective missionaries, asserting that “the best missionaries are those who have no nationalities to glory in.”<sup>1008</sup> However, for many of the Japanese, this lack of citizenship pointed to a figure whose unencumbered status freed him to become more Japanese, as evidenced by his mastering of Japanese. In an article on Verbeck in *Taiyō* in 1895, Togawa Zanka wrote of those who went as *rangaku* (Dutch Studies) scholars to study with Verbeck in Nagasaki: “Was Mr. Verbeck American, English, French, Italian, Austrian, or Spanish? When these people spent half a day with him, they would see the skillful way that he would play with the Japanese language, particularly in using a bit of the Nagasaki dialect.”<sup>1009</sup> The encomiums to Verbeck after his death expressed the view of Verbeck as a foreigner—however strange it sounded—who should be counted as as one of their own heroes because of what he did for Japan. The editor of the *Chugai Shogyō Shimpō* (Commercial Gazette) wrote:

The doctor’s life was a strange one. He lived [as] a vagabond under the sun...His loss of citizenship of Holland...not able to be naturalized in America; and died without going through the process of being naturalized in Japan. But God has always protected the citizenship of his soul (in heaven); and we the Japanese people shall safely guard the body he has left with us. There is a section in the Aoyama Cemetery where a few tens of tombstones of foreigners are seen. Now it has received the body of Dr. Verbeck,

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<sup>1007</sup> Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 98.

<sup>1008</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*, Vol. 15, p. 497.

<sup>1009</sup> Togawa, p. 157.

who was born as a foreigner and died as a Japanese; and the spot shall forever remind our countrymen of him who was a leader of New Civilization in our land.<sup>1010</sup>

Leila Winn, a missionary colleague of Verbeck's in the northern city of Aomori, wrote that after Verbeck came to their city on a preaching tour in 1897, one of her Japanese "Bible women," when asked what was on her mind one evening, replied, "I am thinking of that *great man*, Dr. Verbeck—and to think that after all he is human like the rest of us, and some day he will die and be buried just like any one else." Winn, who later advocated that the historiography of Japanese Christianity should emphasize *bonds* instead of *bands*, thus gave an example of these bonds that Verbeck made in his four decades in Japan. Whether as a revered *sensei*, a trusted *oyatoi*, or a missionary "living epistle," in the eyes of many Japanese and Western observers, Verbeck was a "foreign hero" for the nation and people of Japan. His ability to speak Japanese like a native speaker, his prudent guidance for the new Meiji government, his concern for the welfare of the Japanese church, his beautiful Japanese translation of the Psalms, and his eagerness to place himself under the protection of the Japanese government during his last years before his death and burial in Japan—all these factors, among others, have been emphasized in the views of Verbeck as a foreign hero for Japan. Though not the only foreign hero in Japanese history, he nonetheless makes a convincing case for the prominence of such figures in the narrative of modern Japan, introducing a category that complicates the story of Japanese nationalism as well as the notion of Japan as a "closed" society to foreigners.

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<sup>1010</sup>Printed in *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, pp. 180-181.

### 3.3 CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GUIDO F. VERBECK IN MODERN JAPAN AND WORLD HISTORY

*He gave his advice as a man of affairs and of this world, and in the sincere belief that he was doing the right thing in the sight of God, as well as for that which was ever his desire and end in view, the good of the Japanese people.*

—William Elliot Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*.<sup>1011</sup>

James Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, wrote, “Had his other friends been as diligent and ardent as I was, he might have been almost entirely preserved. As it is, I will venture to say that he will be seen in this work more completely than any man who has ever yet lived.”<sup>1012</sup> One wishes Verbeck had such a diligent friend, as Dr. Johnson did, to write his biography. Though Griffis’ biography of Verbeck has many faults, it is unfortunately the best, most complete account from one of his contemporaries. But, as the quote above reveals, Griffis’ view of Verbeck, though emphasizing his role in the wider missionary narrative, does not completely ignore his role as a key *oyatoi* and as a “foreign hero” for Japan. This dissertation has been an examination of these perceptions of Verbeck and the narratives that undergird them. By looking at Verbeck, whose life has been interpreted as enacting all of these narratives, we not

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<sup>1011</sup> Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 276.

<sup>1012</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). Originally published 1791), p. 22.

only can better understand Verbeck's life, but also why he has been perceived as a significant figure in modern Japan.

In many ways, the images of Verbeck in Japan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century are arguably more varied any other foreigner. Some of the visual images, from a silkscreen *kakejiku* (scroll) depiction of him in Japanese attire,<sup>1013</sup> to the photographs of him seated amongst his samurai students in the 1860s, are somewhat unusual for the time, but they are only a reflection of the multi-faceted depictions of Verbeck in the succeeding decades. In this work, I have demonstrated that in many ways Verbeck has embodied the ideal pioneer missionary, the trusted *oyatoi*, and the revered "foreign hero," and thus enacted the corresponding narratives of the global missionary movement, modernization, and Japanese nationalism. Though I have analyzed these in three separate sections, there is much overlap and, in fact, as in Griffis' quote above, some observers, though often emphasizing one of these, perceived all three of these parts of Verbeck's legacy and contributions.

Verbeck was unusual as a pioneer missionary because he was a key *oyatoi* as well. He was also unusual as an *oyatoi* because in many ways he considered himself a missionary during this time, as well. These dual identities and the timing of his residence in Nagasaki in the 1860s make him a unique figure. But, it seems to me the narrative of Verbeck as a "foreign hero" is broader and can incorporate the other two narratives with the nationalism associated in the Meiji period, the growth of Japanese Christianity, as well as Japan's spectacular modernization. One unifying aspect of Verbeck in all three of these narratives was his exceptional Japanese language

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<sup>1013</sup> This *kakejiku* is in the archives at Nagasaki Prefectural Library. One recent scholar, Matsuoka Satomi, who I talked with in 2012, had analyzed this work by Fuji Gazō and has concluded that it is a work that fits more with the conventions of Western ideals of *Japonisme* at the time, rather than a true portrayal of Verbeck.

skills. I have included many references to Verbeck's language skills, but will cite one more reference, this one from the North Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America, which acknowledged his inimitable linguistic skills but also presented these in heroic terms:

His choice language and marvelous mastery of the colloquial, acquired at a time when there were no such multiplied facilities as at the present exist, together with the amount of work he was able to do on his evangelistic tours, mark him as a missionary *sui generis*. We may envy his power, we may try to follow in his footsteps, but no one of us can hope to attain unto 'the chief of the mighty men.' (I Chronicles 11:10)<sup>1014</sup>

Unfortunately we are limited in fully grasping this aspect of Verbeck's life in that for his best skill—speaking and preaching—we have very few of his sermons or lectures. Even the ones that have been recorded were written down primarily by listeners who transcribed them. One can still get a glimpse of his use of imagery and examples, but a roughly transcribed speech is a poor substitute for a well-delivered speech.

Is there a right way to tell the story of Verbeck? Verbeck's life can be read and interpreted in a variety of ways. Some Western or Japanese Christians may be interested in him as an early missionary model for the challenging field of contemporary Japan. Many Japanese may view him as a successful figure who contributed to Japan's modernization at a critical time, or who had an impact on the lives of prominent historical figures in Japan. Others may interpret his life as part of a failed Protestant missionary movement, or, alternatively, as a vital part of the indigenization of Christianity in Japan. Thus, the story of Verbeck—his life, impact and legacy—can be told in a number of ways.

Perhaps, like many narratives from Homer's *Iliad* to Hugo's *Les Misérables*, the stories one tells inform as much about the person telling the story as the subject. Likewise, the various perspectives on Verbeck inform us about the narratives people prioritize, and why figures like

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<sup>1014</sup> In *The Japan Evangelist*, June, 1898, p. 183.

Verbeck are viewed as significant (or not). But, as A. Danto wrote, we should look for all the *right* stories, if we want to get a more complete picture of our subject. All of these three images of Verbeck—the pioneer missionary, the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, and the foreign hero—and the larger narratives they embody, got something right about Verbeck. To study Verbeck without seeing him as a pioneer missionary is to miss the sense of calling he had and the widespread prominence he was awarded as a figure in the global missionary movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. To neglect his role as an *oyatoi* would mean to omit his unusual role in Meiji Japan's modernization, as well as the spread of important aspects of modernity through such agents and interactions. To fail to recognize him as a foreign hero is to miss his identification with the Japanese people, as well as the attraction his life possessed and continues to possess, for the Japanese or for those who have loved or admired the nation of Japan.

Even in simply interpreting the famous photograph of Verbeck and his students one can do so through the lens of each of these narratives. One can view Verbeck as a pioneer American missionary surrounded by the Japanese samurai with whom he endeavored to share the gospel. Or, Verbeck can be seen as a Western *oyatoi* teacher surrounded by his young students who were interested in learning from the West at the “dawn” of modern Japan. Or, one can view him as a foreign hero who supported Japan and these prominent Meiji figures for forty years in their endeavors to make a strong and unified nation.

Are there any other narratives that the figure of Verbeck might fit in? Arguably, Verbeck could also be viewed as a figure who embodies a transnational narrative that would appeal to such scholars as Helen Hardacre, who wrote:

With the advance of ‘globalization,’ convergences between Japanese and Western society have become apparent....it is hardly to be expected that anyone could seriously entertain the idea of a monolithic national essence. National boundaries have become less relevant, and this means that it is more difficult to sustain thoroughgoing

distinctions of cultural boundaries, and that it is more appealing to place the study of Japan within global-comparative ...perspective.<sup>1015</sup>

Many aspects of Verbeck's life could be seen as supporting such a transnational narrative. Verbeck's cosmopolitan background, multilingual abilities, and stateless identity could be used to show the way that some individuals can transcend the boundaries of the nation-state. His identity as a missionary with ties to the Moravians and to the ideals of the Evangelical Alliance could be more emphasized. One could emphasize his interaction with people of various nationalities as an *oyatoi*, as well as his enthusiasm concerning "the sweet fraternal spirit" in an evangelistic meeting where, "dropping all [the] many distinctions of nationality and denomination," all the Christian leaders were able to work together.<sup>1016</sup> Also, his encouraging and enabling of many Japanese students to study abroad is another example of his promotion of transnational interactions. Even certain anecdotes might support such a transnational image. One of the observations of the Verbecks by Clara Whitney in her diary in the 1870s was a description of the three Christmas trees that the Verbecks put up in their home—one for their family, one for Japan, and one for all the foreigners in Japan.<sup>1017</sup> Though he lived during an era of growing nationalism, Verbeck was described by some of his contemporaries in transnational terms, such as Griffis' "Citizen of No Country," and Uemura Masahisa's *Sekai no shimin* ["Citizen of the World"]. Clearly, Verbeck is a figure who can be portrayed as transcending a unitary national identity.

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<sup>1015</sup> Helen Hardacre, ed. Introduction to *The Postwar Developments of Japanese Studies of the United States* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. xv-xvi.

<sup>1016</sup> Letter from G. F. Verbeck to J. M. Ferris, 11 March 1884, JMRCA.

<sup>1017</sup> Cited in Itoh, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 161. Unfortunately, this anecdote was not included in the English abridged edition of her diary.

Understanding the stories people tell of the world, its societies and their histories, may go a long way in explaining trends in collective memory and historiography, and it can reveal why certain people are included or excluded in these specific approaches. Hailed as one of the most significant Protestant missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century missionary literature, Verbeck, and Japan in general, has been neglected in much of the new literature on the history of missions in the past few decades. However, the fact remains that Japan was considered one of the most significant mission “fields” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite the subsequent lack of growth of Christianity in Japan. Though Japan has been compared in the modernization scholarship to other late-modernizing states such as Russia and Turkey, there is a need for more comparative work on figures like the *oyatoi*. These figures should be perceived in the light of similar employees, experts, and advisors throughout the world. In a recent work, Philip D. Curtin admits that Japan “stands in sharp contrast” to many relatively unsuccessful modernizing societies, but he also sees some “common threads” in Japan’s experience with others societies such as Buganda, Imerina, Hawaii, and Siam.”<sup>1018</sup> Curtin takes a cursory glance at these common threads, but his assertion invites more substantial comparative research. In addition, though the development of nation-states and the impact of nationalism throughout the world has been extensively studied, foreign heroes such as Verbeck, need to be a more significant category for modern Japan. Verbeck could also be compared to other similar figures such as David Livingstone in sub-Saharan Africa or T. E. Lawrence of Arabia, who can be portrayed as significant figures in the narrative of specific nations, and perhaps incorporated into the broad category of foreign heroes.

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<sup>1018</sup> Curtin, p. 171.



In examining the literature and scholarship regarding each of these enacted narratives for Verbeck's life, I have shown that looking at Verbeck reveals some shortcomings that should be addressed. First, the history of the modern missionary movement and Japan's place in it should not be ignored in the contemporary scholarship. Second, the *oyatoi gaikokujin* research should broaden its framework to incorporate and compare Japan to other societies that utilized such foreign experts and employees. Third, foreign heroes is a category that should be acknowledged in the study of modern Japanese nationalism. In the first, I am arguing the *Japan* be included once again, in the second, that the *rest of the world* be included along with Japan, and in the third, that the *category* be included in the discussion on nationalism and Japan.

I do not think there is a conspiracy to omit Japan from the current scholarship on the history of missions. Nor do I think that the *oyatoi* scholars made a conscious decision to exclude other societies in their analyses. I also do not think those who study or espouse Japanese nationalism intentionally ignore such admittedly rare "foreign heroes." But, as many social historians and scholars like M. William Steele have shown, the alternate narratives and the people and perspectives we exclude, often can enrich our understanding of the history. Not only that, but they reveal much about the narratives and interpretations that scholars want to emphasize at particular times—and perhaps which ones they want to dismiss or ignore. In addition, the new scholarship on the history of missions would enrich the study of Japan, and the literature on the *oyatoi* would enrich the literature on intercultural exchanges and mobility, and studies of foreign heroes would enrich nationalist narratives and perhaps lead to a more inclusive view of national identity, particularly for societies like Japan.

In many ways this dissertation has focused on the scale of the individual, but with the hope that the methods used and the narratives that have been analyzed can help in the formation

of a larger picture of Japan's place in the modern missionary movement, of the role of globe-trotting experts and advisers in modernization, and the contributions of foreign figures to nationalism in Japan and other societies. In one of the few transcribed speeches of Verbeck, which he delivered for a graduation speech at the theological school at Meiji Gakuin in 1886, Verbeck ends with a vivid image from his earlier days in Tokyo. He writes of a garden in the old Maeda *yashiki* (the Kaga domain's estate) near the school. While walking through this garden, it was hard to see any design or pattern to it, but when one walked up to the second story and looked down on it, one could see that that the garden formed an outline of Honshu and other islands that couldn't be seen without this larger view.<sup>1019</sup> Similarly, it has been my intention to start with Verbeck, but ultimately to move beyond Verbeck to reveal larger narratives and trends in scholarship. Thus, we can learn both *about* his life and *through* his life—about missionary movements, the dispersion of foreign experts, and the concept of a foreign hero. In doing so, perhaps it will contribute to the formation of a more complete view of these larger movements in world history and the importance of modern Japan in understanding them.

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<sup>1019</sup> Verbeck, however, used this garden analogy to challenge the theology students that if they wanted to understand (*satoru*) the larger perspective of the world, they should study the Bible. Saba, Vol. 3, pp. 482. This speech was originally printed in *Romaji zasshi*.

## APPENDIX A

### RESEARCH METHODS SUMMARY

In this three-part dissertation, I have read the literature and scholarship for three areas—the modern missionary movement, the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, and nationalism. For the overall framework of narratives and enacted narratives, I looked at the work on narratives in general from various writers such as A. Danto and Paul Ricoeur, as well as M. William Steele’s more specific work on narratives in this period in Japanese history.

For the literature on missions, particularly Protestant missions, I have examined the older literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as the more critical literature from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. I have also examined the recent more globalized literature on the history of the modern missionary movement and recent biographies of prominent early missionary figures. I have also thoroughly read much of the missionary correspondence and autobiographical literature from missionaries to Japan, particularly for Verbeck, his colleagues in the Reformed Church, and his contemporaries from other missionary societies. I also looked at the overall social and religious context for missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the use of the concept of “living epistles” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

For the *oyatoi* literature, in the prewar period I read the literature by Griffis and the other *oyatoi* who wrote about their experiences as well as some of the literature written by the few Japanese authors who mentioned the *oyatoi*. Then, I examined the bilingual literature in the postwar period, particularly focusing on the work of Hazel Jones and Umetani Noboru, as well as the two conferences dealing with the *oyatoi*, one in Rutgers and one in Fukui. I also looked at the modernization literature in the postwar period to situate the postwar study of the *oyatoi* within the narrative framework of modernization theory and the development of modern Japan. In addition, I expanded my approach to find comparable employees, experts, and advisers in other parts of the world to compare with Verbeck.

For the nationalist literature, I looked at recent approaches to nationalism and to modern Japanese nationalism. I also considered Furuya Yasuo's theory of alternating cycles of nationalism and internationalism for modern Japan. I took note of the lack of focus in the literature on the 1880s for both Japan's nationalist narratives, and in the literature on Verbeck. I then examined the scant literature on "foreign heroes," and searched for various figures that could be considered "foreign heroes" for Japan. Lastly, I looked at the biographical literature in both Japanese and English to find references and examples relating to the idea of Verbeck as a foreign hero for Japan.

Another important part of my research on Verbeck has been interacting with various scholars and individuals who have either written on Verbeck or are interested in his impact or legacy, in particular Murase Hisayo and Itoh Noriko in Japan and Verbeck's great-great grandson, Guido F. Verbeck IV, in the U. S.

## APPENDIX B

### ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

American Bible Society Archives, New York City. Their collection contains materials, manuscripts and annual reports of the American Bible Society. They also have a copy of Junko Nakai Hirai Murayama's recent study on the Japanese Bible, as well as an impressive collection of Biblical manuscripts and various editions of the Japanese Bible.

Doshisha University Library and Collections. Kyoto, Japan. Contains documents and sources related to the history of Meiji Christianity and particularly for the American Board of Commissioners on Foreign Missions. It also has a large collection on Niiijima Jō.

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts. Contains the papers and Correspondence of the Japan Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).

International Christian University. Tokyo, Japan. Their library contains many books on the history of Christianity, including some periodicals. Also, they have a special collection of books on Uchimura Kanzō.

Manlius Pebble Hill School (formerly Manlius Military Academy or Manlius School), Dewitt, New York. Their records include correspondence and articles on General William Verbeck, commandant of the school from 1888-1930, as well as other descendants of Verbeck.

Meiji Gakuin University. Tokyo, Japan. Contains materials and records on the history of Meiji Gakuin and various historical and educational publications. They also have many files on various missionaries, including the pioneers Hepburn, Brown, and Verbeck.

Nagasaki Prefectural Library (*Nagasaki Kenritsu Nagasaki Toshōkan*). Nagasaki, Japan. The library contains many works that have brief references to Verbeck, particularly in his decade in Nagasaki.

Nagasaki Museum Archives (*Nagasaki Rekishi Bunkan Hakubutsukan*). Nagasaki, Japan. The museum has some books that deal with foreigners like Verbeck and his interactions with his

students. They also have documents relating to the various schools Verbeck taught in and the students enrolled there. In addition, they have many rare photographs in their vaults of the 1860s as well as the rare silk *kakejiku* (scroll) of Verbeck.

National Archives. (*Dokuritsu Gyosei Hojin Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan*) Tokyo, Japan. Holds many government documents that refer to Verbeck's employment as an *oyatoi* teacher and advisor various departments in the government.

National Diet Library (*Kokuritsu kokkai toshōkan*) Tokyo, Japan. In their massive collection, they have many books and documents relating to Verbeck, including many small articles from Japanese periodicals or publications, as well as many of Verbeck's translation projects. Many of these have been made available online through their website.

Presbyterian Church Archives, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Contains the Japan Mission Correspondence (1859-1937) of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.: James C. Hepburn, David Thompson, Christopher Carrothers. Also, the correspondence and papers of Divie Bethune McCartee, missionary to China and Japan.

Reformed Church Archives. Gardner Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Contains the papers of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America (JMRCA): Letters of James H. Ballagh, Samuel R. Brown (Japan North Mission), Duane B. Simmons Henry Stout, and others. Records and letters of Guido F. Verbeck (1860-1880). The letters from 1859-1880 are in the archives of the Gardner Sage Library at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. I have not been able to locate the originals of the succeeding letters, but all of Verbeck's letters have been put on microfilm. Though he was supposed to send these letters on a monthly basis in his latter decades they were more sporadic. Verbeck claimed he was a poor letter writer, but his letters, particularly from the 1860s and early 1870s are a great resource on this time dynamic period. In the 1880s and 1890s, his letters are more narrowly focused on mission activities and personal matters. Since we do not have his journals, it is difficult to compare these letters with any other primary sources. The letters are also on microfilm and available at Princeton, Berkeley, and other institutions. These letters (and those of Samuel Brown and James Hepburn) have also been translated and published separate volumes by Michio Takaya. The vast majority of these letters were written to the heads of mission boards or seminary professors, such as John M. Ferris or Henry N. Cobb, but the archives also include some early annual reports from Verbeck as well as financial documents.

Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Contains materials relating to Auburn Seminary, where Verbeck attended from 1856-1859 in the Burke Library. These records also contain minutes from a club to promote missions, which Verbeck was a member of, as well as class notes from a student in Verbeck's class at Auburn.

Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia. Contains materials relating to John Liggins, Channing M. Williams and the Episcopal Japan Mission. The letters of Channing M. Williams have been compiled in Gene S. Lehman and Beverly D. Tucker, eds. *A History of Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University and Schools: Historical Documents Vol. IV: The Bishop Williams Letters Collection I*, 2000.

Waseda University Library and Archives, Tokyo, Japan. Though many libraries in Japan contain works by or about Verbeck, Waseda has the correspondence and papers of Okuma Shigenobu, Verbeck's most well-known student. This institution also has copies of many of Verbeck's government-related translations.

William Elliot Griffis Collection, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Contains a wide collection of materials relating to Japan. Some of Verbeck's personal letters, such as to William Eliott Griffis and to Verbeck's sister in the U. S., are also in this collection. This collection also contains additional materials on Verbeck's work in education, photographs of Verbeck, the original "passports" issued by the Meiji Emperor to Verbeck and his family in 1891, and Verbeck's datebook from 1892. William Elliott Griffis' journals and Margaret Clark Griffis's journals from their time in Japan are also in this collection, as well as some of correspondence of Guido Verbeck's eldest son, William Verbeck.

19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century periodicals on missions and Christianity in Japan:

*Christian Intelligencer* (weekly, from 1859-1931)

*The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire, including Korea & Formosa* (annually, 1903-1929)

*Chrysanthemum* (monthly, 1881-1883)

*Japan Evangelist* (monthly, 1893-then Japan Christian Quarterly)

*Japan Weekly Mail* (1870-1917)

*Spirit of Missions* (monthly, 1836-1939)

*The Missionary Herald* (1828-1934)

*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1872-

## APPENDIX C

### WORKS WRITTEN, REVISED, TRANSLATED OR INTRODUCED BY GUIDO F. VERBECK

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*Heidelberg Catechism or The Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity in English and Japanese Colloquial*. Trans. Ambrose D. Gring. Preface by Guido F. Verbeck. Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn and Tokyo: Kokubunsha., 1884.

Kuruta Jyotaro. *English Reader for Japanese Scholars*. Revised and edited by Guido F. Verbeck, 1887.

Murakami, Y. N. *New Easy Conversations in English and Japanese, Adapted for Japanese Schools*. Osaka: M. Sasuke, 1887. Revised by Guido F. Verbeck.

Verbeck, Guido F. *Book of Psalms in Japanese*. Yokohama, 1887.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Eigo Hatsuon Hiketsu* [The Key to English Pronunciation]. Tokyo: Kikuchi Seigen 1886.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Fukoku shinrin ho* [France's Forestry Laws]. *Genrōin*, 1882. This work translates materials on France's forestry laws and their enforcement.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Furansu ginkō teiki* [French Banking and Deposits]. n.d. This hand-written document deals with French ideas on banking and deposits.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geruman giin no ho* [German Parliamentary Law], 1876. This work translates sections of German jurist Franz von Holtzendorff's work.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Hito no kami ogamubeki riyu* [The Worship of God]. Tokyo: Kirisutokyō Shiryō Kaisha, 1896 (though first published in 1881).



\_\_\_\_\_. *Hogaku shishin* [Guidelines for Law]. Tokyo: Kinkōdo, 1877. This work translates parts of Louis Prosper Auguste Eschbach's *General Introduction to the Study of Law* (1856).

\_\_\_\_\_. "How to learn the Spoken Japanese." *The Chrysanthemum* 2 (1882): 560-566.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Keimo tendō sōgen*. Translation and revision of W.A.P. Martin's *Evidences of Christianity* (1885).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kiristokyō fuhaibutsu ron* [Essay on of the Depravity of Christianity]. Tokyo: Tokyo Seikyoshorui kaisha, 1888. This essay deals with debate concerning whether Christianity should or should not be discarded in Japan.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kirisutokyō ni kansuru gokai o henzu*. [Speech regarding the Misunderstandings of Christianity]. Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1896. This work deals with misunderstandings of Christianity.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kirisutokyō shōkōron* [Evidences of Christianity]. Tokyo: Wada shuho, 1877. This work deals with proofs of Christianity.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kōtonapoleon furoku noteru kisoku yakubun* [Translation of the Code Napoleon's Regulations and Appendices] This handwritten document deals with the Napoleonic Code.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kōkai giin senkyo ron* [Theory of Parliamentary Elections], 1879. This work translates portions of the Swiss jurist Johan Caspar Bluntschli's *Staatsrecht*.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "A Review of *Memoires de la Societe des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, Tartares et Indo-Chinoises*." *The Chrysanthemum* 1/1 (Jan. 1881): 25-30.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Synopsis of All the Conjugations of the Japanese Verbs, with Explanatory Text and Application." Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1887.

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\_\_\_\_\_. *The Young Debater and the Chairman's Assistant*. New York: Dick and Fitzgerald Publishers, 1869. Verbeck helped to translate this primer on parliamentary rules and procedures into Japanese in 1888.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Yasokyō Shōkōron* [Evidences of Christianity]. Tokyo: Wada shuho, 1885. This work deals with proofs of Christianity.

\_\_\_\_\_, James C., Hepburn, Philip K. Fyson, eds. *Holy Bible in Japanese*. Yokohama: National Bible Society of Scotland, 1887. This is the earliest entire Bible published in Japan,

and there are many subsequent publications of this Bible. The New Testament was revised in 1917, and the Old Testament was revised in 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Eduoard Laferriere and Anselme Polycarpe Batbie. *Ōshu kakkoku kenpo* [Constitutions of Various European Countries] Tokyo: Fukkokuban, 1888. Reprint, Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2001. In this work, Verbeck, Laferriere and Batbie helped Japanese scholars to translate various constitutions including those of Spain, Switzerland, Portugal, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany and Austria.

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