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the Church demanded it, as a necessary and desirable thing. Anyhow, the subject is worth more attention from our bishops than they have yet given to it, and certainly any dealing with the Pluralities Acts such as was reviewed in THE CHURCHMAN for March, must fail in its primary intention of setting free the now wasted clerical strength, unless it be accompanied by some measures for enlisting the services of educated laymen as a permanent diaconate. To quote again Canon Garbett: "It may be acknowledged that adaptations were more easily made when the Church was young, and not hampered by traditions, than in an historical Church, which has hardened with age into one shape. But are we prepared to admit that the Church has grown stiff with years, and sunk into the decrepitude of old age? A living Church must have powers of self-adaptation, or she ceases to live."

R. ALLEN.

ART. II.—CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

THREE hundred and thirty years ago, a Japanese of high rank, named Anjiro, who was condemned to death, escaped in a Portuguese vessel to Goa. There he met Francis Xavier, and presently embraced the new religion which the great Jesuit missionary had come to India to preach. Xavier asked him what prospects Christianity would have in Japan, and thus records his reply:—"His people, he said, would not immediately assent to what might be said to them, but they would investigate my religion by a multitude of questions, and above all, by observing whether my conduct agreed with my words. This done, the Daimios, the nobility, and the people would flock to Christ, being a nation which always follows reason as a guide."

How far have the Japanese justified the character thus given of them? Their inquisitiveness in religious matters is testified to by every missionary. In India, the difficulty is to induce the Brahmins and the Mohammedans to listen to the preacher of the Gospel at all. In China, he will have a crowd round him, but the Chinese as a nation are "of the earth, earthy," and religion is the last thing they will readily talk about. But in Japan, even if it be allowed—and it scarcely can be allowed—that conversions are not rapid, certainly "inquirers" are numerous. Speculative their questions are, no doubt. Few can be described as "asking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward." But interest of a kind, there manifestly is. Anjiro's prediction that "they would investigate the new religion with a multitude of questions," is true to-day.

So also is his second prediction, that they would judge Christianity by the conduct of Christians. "It is in vain," writes a young Japanese (quoted by an American writer), "that some really good Christians try to persuade the natives that Christianity is the true religion of God, while they are beset on all sides by these splendid specimens of nominal Christians. The conduct of foreigners, excepting some of the better class of missionaries and a few laymen, is a very shame to the name of Christianity and civilization." It is to be feared that the writer of these melancholy words was not speaking without book, when we hear of a merchant at a treaty-port having ten Japanese girls in his harem, and of the form of agreement required to be signed by English or American gentlemen engaged by the Japanese Government containing an undertaking that they would not get drunk. "I met scores of white men from Old and New England," says Mr. Griffis, the accomplished author of "The Mikado's Empire," "who had long since forgotten the difference between right and wrong." On the other hand, the influence of Christian men, mostly Americans, who, though not missionaries, have *lived the Gospel* in the official positions their scientific acquirements have gained them, has been remarkable. To the spread, by their instrumentality, among the governing and literary class, of correct views, at least, of the high character of the Christian religion, is unquestionably due the toleration that now prevails. Nor have more direct results been wanting. To give but one instance: Mr. Dening, one of the C. M. S. missionaries, visiting a Government Agricultural College in the interior of Yezo, in 1878, found that half the students—educated men, likely to occupy important positions—were earnest Christians, brought to the knowledge and confession of Christianity through the quiet influence and holy example of an American gentleman, who was Principal for only twelve months. "From the time of his arrival to the day of his departure, his daily life and conversation seem to have shown forth the praises of Him who had called him out of darkness into His marvellous light." Another, a Professor at the Imperial College at Tokio, held three Bible classes for students every Sunday, at his own house. "I confess," he wrote, "that when the feeling floods upon me, that *these* are souls for whom Christ died, and *mine* is the privilege to make the fact known to them, it breaks through all bounds of mere expediency, and forces me to speak the truth at all risks." No results would astonish us from such a spirit as this.

But if the Japanese are indeed so candid and reasonable a people, the question naturally arises: How is it that more than three centuries have elapsed since the first of them to make a profession of Christianity gave utterance to the sanguine expectation quoted above, and yet the work of evangelisation has

but just begun? A question this, to be well pondered by some who never tire of singing the praises of Roman Catholic missionaries, and of casting in our teeth not only their unquestioned zeal, but also their "brilliant successes."

The Jesuits had Japan to themselves as a mission field for three quarters of a century. They laboured there under every posssible advantage. They came with all the prestige of royal and official countenance from the then most powerful and enterprising nations of Europe. For half the period, they were openly favoured by the Shogûn and some of the leading Daimios. They had no need to rely on the intrinsic and unaided power of the Gospel message—even supposing they had delivered it. The secular arm was at their disposal. Some of the clans were ordered to embrace Christianity or go into exile. Let the Jesuit Charlevoix himself supply one illustration: "In 1577, the lord of the island of Amakusa issued his proclamation, requiring his subjects to turn Christians or to leave the country the very next day. They almost all submitted, and received baptism, so that in a short time there were more than twenty churches in that kingdom." "God," adds the narrator, "wrought miracles to confirm the faithful in their belief." Nor was banishment the worst penalty incurred by resistance. Numbers of Buddhist priests were tortured and put to death, and their monasteries burnt to the ground. After all, the "converts" had little to change in their religious customs and worship. Buddhism in Japan is no "pure atheistic humanitarianism," with its lofty moral code, and its melancholy view of life as a delusion, and of *nirvana* as the only goal of existence. It is emphaticaliy a popular and sensuous ritualism, with monks and nuns, shrines and relics, images and altars, vestments and candles, fastings and indulgences, pilgrimages and hermits, incense and holy water, rosaries and bells; and the transfer of all this paraphernalia from Buddhism to Romanism was as easy as the turning of a captured gun or a captured ship against the enemy. The images of Buddha, with a slight application of the chisel, served for images of Christ. Each Buddhist saint found his counterpart in Romish hagiology; and the roadside shrines of Kuanon, the goddess of mercy, became centres of Mariolatry.

And what was the result of this triumphant campaign? It cannot be better expressed than in the blasphemous edict which for two hundred and thirty years appeared on the public notice-boards, along with prohibitions against crimes and breaches of the law, at every roadside, at every city gate, in every village, throughout the empire:—

So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself,

or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.

Rome in Japan had taken the sword—and perished with the sword. The story has often been told, and need not now detain us. Let one fact only be recalled—that for the whole history of those ninety years, our authorities are Romish writers, confirmed by the Japanese historians themselves. No one can suggest that the narrative has been coloured by Protestant partisanship.

To Xavier himself, let all honour be given for his untiring and self-sacrificing labours—though, indeed, Japan had but a small share of them. With a generosity we can all appreciate, the present Bishop of Ossory, in his interesting little book lately published, "Heroes of the Mission Field," has included the great Jesuit in his roll of mighty men, and justly observes that "there is something heroic in the simple story of his privations and difficulties."[1] Nor can an equal meed of praise be refused to some of his less famous successors. But the edifice they reared had *both* of the fatal flaws against which St. Paul, and a greater than St. Paul, have warned us. Its materials were wood, hay, and stubble; and its foundation was the sand. The fires of persecution soon tried their work, of what sort it was; the floods of outraged and indignant patriotism beat upon it, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.

A melancholy commentary on its history is furnished by incidents that occurred long afterwards. The vessel which Charles II. sent to Japan, in hopes of re-opening the door which the reaction against priestly intrigue had then kept fast closed for forty years, was refused leave to trade, because the Japanese authorities had been informed by the Dutch that Charles had married a daughter of the Romanist King of Portugal. In 1695, a Chinese junk was sent away from Nagasaki, because a Chinese book on board was found to contain a description of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Peking. The envoy sent by Colbert with a similar purpose (but who never reached Japan) was instructed to explain that France had two religions—one the same as Spain, and the other the same as Holland—and that Le Grand Monarque, recognising the prejudice against one of them entertained in Japan, would command such of his subjects as might wish to trade thither to profess only the Dutch form. What opinion, by the way, the Japanese had of "the Dutch form" it is not easy to say, considering the utter absence of all religion in the little Dutch settlement of Deshima, the one wicket-gate

[1] The story of his work in Japan is well told in Henry Venn's admirable "Life of Xavier," a book to which attention may well be called just now, in connexion with the publication of its author's own Memoir.

through which, for two centuries and more, Europe could alone communicate with Japan. It is almost superfluous to recall the well-known story of the trader who, being taxed with his belief, pleaded that he was "not a Christian, but a Dutchman."

The memory of the Jesuit plots in Japan was like the memory of the Gunpowder Treason in England. But the search for gunpowder under the Houses of Parliament, made year after year till it became nothing but an amusing old ceremony, was paralleled in Japan by a scrutiny that never failed in its seriousness. In the districts where the Jesuits had gathered most adherents, annual reports were made to the police by the Buddhist priests; high rewards were offered to informers; suspected persons were compelled to trample on pictures or images of Christ; sometimes the whole population of a town would be subjected to this test. As late as 1829, six men and an old woman are said to have been crucified at Osaka on the mere suspicion of their being Christians. And when, only ten years ago, Sir Harry Parkes remonstrated with the authorities for deporting some obscure villagers in Kiushiu who were claimed by Romanist missionaries (admitted under the *ægis* of modern treaties) as a remnant of the Jesuit flock, the official reply justified the action on the ground of "the memory of the deplorable events connected with the introduction of Christianity some centuries ago." "Public opinion," it was significantly added, "even now demands that the same seeds of discord should be removed, which at that period so nearly succeeded in overthrowing the Government, and endangering the independence of the country."

Thus, when, through the clever diplomacy of Commodore Perry, on behalf of the United States, in 1854, and of Lord Elgin, on behalf of Great Britain, in 1858, Japan once more became a possible mission-field, it presented no *tabula rasa* for the Christian evangelist to write his message on. The remark has been made that one article in the average Englishman's creed consists of two words—"*No Popery.*" The Japanese creed had a similar article directed against the same system; only, in innocent unconsciousness of any flaw in the identification, it was thus expressed—"*No Christianity.*" Protestant missionaries found the ancient proclamation still on the notice-boards; and even after the Revolution of 1868, which abolished the Shogûnate and brought the Mikado forth from a seclusion in which his predecessors had reigned without ruling for seven centuries, the new Government, comprising enlightened men who had visited Europe and America, put forth a new edict, and published it throughout the empire—

The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given.

These notices were withdrawn in 1873; but others against "murder, arson, and robbery," were withdrawn at the same time, and officers were told off to warn the people that in neither case were the laws altered—only the methods of promulgating them. Gradually, however, a Gallio-like indifference (it is not more than this) has grown up, and toleration is now, in practice, virtually complete.

It is worth noting that among those who have reaped the advantage of this toleration is a strong French Roman Catholic Mission (Lazarists), consisting of three bishops, thirty priests, and a goodly contingent of nuns. It is not their fault, however, that reactionary tendencies have not, after all, won the day. Four years ago Sunday was adopted as an official seventh-day holiday, in lieu of the old *ichi-roku*, or fifth-day holiday. But this change, so helpful in many ways to missionary progress, was to have been made three years before, and the good intentions of the Government were only spoiled by a French priest, who spoke so imprudently to one of the ministers, that an alarm was raised, the measure was withdrawn, and not only so, but Christian scientific text-books were abolished from the schools, and the foreign instructors were ordered to teach on Sundays. To this the few French professors agreed, but the Americans and English refused; and though one, prominent for his Christian steadfastness, was dismissed, their firmness prevailed, and this was almost the last attempt at overt and official opposition to Christianity.

Under the peculiar circumstances which have thus been briefly summarized, it would have been no marvel if Protestant missionary enterprise had failed altogether in so short a time to make good its footing in Japan. That, notwithstanding such formidable obstacles, native Christian communities have risen within a dozen years in all the treaty ports and some other of the large cities, comprising (on the lowest estimate) 2,500 professed believers in Christ, and double that number of virtual adherents, is due, under God, to the singular wisdom with which the missionaries, American and English, acted from the first under conditions of great difficulty. And these converts, it should be remembered, have not been caught, as it were, with the large drag-net (*σαγήνη*) of our Lord's parable, "gathering of every kind," as lately in Tinnevelly. It may almost be said that for each individual has been cast the hand-net (Andrew and Peter's *ἀμφίβλησστρον*) of personal watching for souls. Moreover, although Mr. Fleming Stevenson, in the graphic account of his recent visit to Japan, published in *Good Words* last year, somewhat overstates the case when he speaks of "an educated Native Church, with only slight admixture of the unlearned, and with little grip as yet upon the lowlier ranks of the people,"

the proportion of educated men of good social standing who have embraced the Gospel in Japan is without doubt unusually large.

A brief retrospect of the work which has already produced these results may not be without interest. Under Commodore Perry's treaty the residence of Americans was only permitted at two small ports under vexatious restrictions. Lord Elgin's more comprehensive treaty, in 1858, first opened the door (though not avowedly) for the Gospel. The very next year, three American societies were in the field, the Protestant Episcopal Church leading the way, its missionaries, the Rev. C. M. (now Bishop) Williams and Mr. Liggins being the first Protestant preachers of the Gospel to enter Japan. The Presbyterian Board and the "Dutch Reformed" Church followed immediately, and the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Congregationalist) and other Societies of other denominations a little later. In the following year, Bishop Smith, of Victoria (Hong Kong), visited the country, and published his impressions in his very interesting book, "Ten Weeks in Japan." He found Mr. Williams, his host at Nagasaki, on excellent terms with the people of that city; but this hardly foreshadowed the circumstances under which the missionaries generally had to work for the next twelve years. Neither public preaching nor any other open evangelistic effort was possible; and the missionaries, partly to perfect themselves in the language, and partly in hopes of quietly gaining influence over individuals, engaged in secular teaching. "God led our men," said Dr. Ferris, of the "Dutch Reformed" Church, at the Mildmay Missionary Conference of 1878, "into the schools; and through the schools the Kingdom of Christ entered Japan."

In 1866, an address from "a little band of believers of various nationalities" residing at Yokohama, was issued "to God's people throughout the world." This address was duly received by the Church Missionary Society, and was published in its *Intelligencer* (June, 1866). A spirit of prayer was evoked by it in C.M.S. circles; and within twelve months one answer to the supplications offered came in the shape of an anonymous donation of £4,000 for Japan. In yet another twelve months the man also was given; and in the very year of the great Revolution, 1868, the Rev. George Ensor, B.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, was designated as the first missionary from Christian England to the newly opened empire. Mr. Ensor landed at Nagasaki, January 23rd, 1869, eighteen days after the young Mikado gave his first State reception at Tokio to the ministers of foreign nations. A few months later, Mr. Russell, of Ningpo (afterwards Bishop of North China, whose recent death so many are now deploring), made a journey of inquiry to Japan, and found Mr. Ensor's Japanese visitors "speaking with

much reserve till they ascertained he was not a Romanist, and then prosecuting religious conversation without hesitation." Nevertheless, no public work could be undertaken. The ten or twelve converts of the next three or four years were baptized secretly; and one of them was thrown into prison and kept there two years and a half.

In 1873, when the edicts against Christianity were removed from the notice boards, the Church Missionary Society took measures to enlarge its operations, and in the next two years four treaty ports besides Nagasaki were occupied—viz., Tokio (the capital), Osaka (the Venice of Japan), and Niigata, in the main island; and Hakodate in the remote northern island of Yezo. Nine men are now engaged in the work. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel followed, stationing two men at Tokio, and two at a sixth treaty port, Kobe. No other English society (we think) has established itself in Japan; but the Scottish United Presbyterians are represented, and the Edinburgh Medical Mission.

The C.M.S. Missions, especially at Nagasaki and Osaka, show sound and solid results, and hopeful prospects. At the first-named place, or in connection with it, there are more than 100 converts; twelve men are already under training for Missionary service; and the work has branched out into other parts of Kiushiu, the southern island, the population of which is peculiarly manly and independent. At one of its chief ports, Kagoshima, the place where Xavier landed in 1549, and the head quarters of the recent formidable Satsuma rebellion, thirty-seven persons have lately been baptized by Mr. Maundrell, the fruits entirely of evangelistic effort by native Christians. From Osaka, Mr. Warren's accounts of patient and persistent teaching, "precept upon precept, line upon line," have been deeply interesting. Here, too, the first converts themselves have been the most successful evangelists; and a Native Church Committee has already undertaken the management of local church affairs. Hakodate was occupied with especial view to the Aino aborigines, the remnant of whom are found scattered over the wild mountain country of Yezo. Mr. Dening has made long journeys on horseback to visit their villages, and believes them, like other uncivilized races in so many quarters of the globe, peculiarily open to the influences of Christian teaching.[1]

The S.P.G. Mission is likewise well worked by men to whose zeal and faithfulness the reports of the C.M.S. missionaries bear hearty testimony. Although the work of the Church of England

[1] I may be permitted to refer to a little book just published by the Church Missionary Society, "Japan and the Japan Mission," which contains full details of the C.M.S. Mission, and some account of other Missions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, together with a brief notice of Japanese history and of the recent changes.—E. S.

is even now on a comparatively small scale, episcopal supervision, closer than can be exercised by Bishop Burdon from Hong Kong, is already desired; and a wise selection of the first Bishop, with a judicious scheme for the direction and limits of his work, might be of the greatest advantage to the English Missions. But the work of our own Church is almost thrown into the shade by the extensive organization of the various American Societies. Of sixty or seventy ordained missionaries in Japan, three-fourths are from the United States, and these are accompanied by ten or twelve medical missionaries and other lay agents, and some forty ladies (not including the wives). Very able men, too, there are among them. The names of Dr. Hepburn, of the Presbyterian Board, and Mr. Verbeck, of the "Dutch Reformed" Mission (and it is almost invidious to mention these when there are so many others), would be an honour to the roll of any Society. Dr. Hepburn's Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary is the standard work on the language. To him and his brethren is mainly due the progress already made in the translation of the Bible. The New Testament has just been completed, and more than a hundred thousand copies of portions are in circulation; and at a conference of the representatives of eleven societies held at Tokio in 1878, arrangements were made for proceeding with the Old Testament without delay. Whatever may be the political and religious future of Japan, *that* work cannot die. If all the Protestant missionaries were expelled to-morrow, they would leave behind, as one fruit of twenty years' use of opportunities, the most essential parts of the written Word of God. Had the Jesuits so used their four times twenty years, the history of Christianity in Japan might have been very different. Another Madagascar might afterwards have been revealed to the astonished gaze of Christendom.

Nor is Japanese Christian literature confined to the Bible. A translation of the Prayer Book was finished last year, and has been accepted by the Episcopal Missions. Editions of a "Life of Christ," a translation of the "Peep of Day," and numerous other books and tracts, mostly by the American missionaries, are sold by thousands; and a Christian newspaper circulates widely throughout Japan. Some of the educated and influential adherents of the American Missions take an active part in these and other agencies for making known the Gospel. One in particular, the well known Joseph Niisima, who, sixteen years ago left Japan at the peril of his life (for the old laws were in force then), and went to America to "find God," is now the head of a Training College at Kioto, the old sacred capital, preparing a hundred Japanese Christians to labour among their countrymen.

While rejoicing, however, in these manifold evidences of

progress, we must not shut our eyes to the arduous character of the work before the Church of Christ. The two religions of Japan are not foes to be despised. Shintoism, indeed, though the Revolution was in one aspect a victory of its votaries over the Buddhists, and though for a time the official patronage it enjoyed gave it great power, will scarcely hold its own now that it, like its rival, is "disestablished and disendowed." A religion without a moral code—for its great modern revivalist, Motoöri, taught that "Japan needed no system of morals like immoral China, as every Japanese acted right if he only consulted his own heart"—without images or idols—and practically consisting in the worship of a Mikado who now wears a French military coat and travels by rail—cannot influence the people. But Buddhism, notwithstanding the secularisation of many of its temples, is a power still. The Shin-shiuists especially, the most active of its sects, who teach the doctrines of Buddha on their purest and most practical side, have been showing remarkable signs of vigour of late, building a great College for six hundred students at Kioto, and even contemplating a proselytizing mission to Europe and America. Western science and civilization indeed, are dealing deadly blows at these ancient faiths; but what is taking their place? The real danger to Japan, now, is from Socialism, Nihilism, and Atheism. "The aged, time-worn religions of old Japan," said a native Christian, Mr. F. T. Yamasaki, in an address lately delivered by him at the Kioto Training School, "are tottering to their fall, and their priests and believers are everywhere despised. The people are unsettled and dissatisfied. They are ready to reject every belief, however reasonable, if it be only old, and to embrace every doctrine, however absurd, if it be only new. The scepticism of Japan, though now confined to the educated few, is yet an undeveloped giant, and must either be crushed while young, or else it will crush us."

Everything Western, *except* Christianity, is being rapidly transplanted by the enthusiasm of Young Japan. Railways, though covering but short distances as yet, carry millions of passengers in a year; manufactories, with machinery from Manchester and Birmingham, are at work everywhere; lighthouses stand on all the promontories; the telegraph runs from end to end of the empire; Industrial Exhibitions are organized even within the sacred precincts of Kioto; in 1877, twenty-two millions of letters, six millions of post-cards, and seven millions of newspapers, passed through the 3,700 post-offices of the empire, and Japan being now in the Postal Union, a post-card can be sent thither for *2d.* The Education Department has established schools all over the country under Government inspection, and two millions of children are at school. But from

the English Bible, and from the God of the Bible, Japan still withholds her allegiance; and one of her acutest and most learned scholars, Nakamura, the translator of Mill's "Liberty" and Smiles's "Self Help," has the shrewdness to perceive, and the courage to affirm, that "without the religion of Christ, the Japanese are plucking only the showy leaves, while they neglect the root of the civilization of Christendom."

Nor is it merely neglect. With many it is deliberate rejection. An influential Japanese newspaper, the *Hochi Shimbun*, in a remarkable article some time ago, appealed to Christian foreigners to waste no more time and trouble in improving Japanese morality, which was as good as their own, but to devote the same time and trouble to imparting to Japan some of their undoubtedly superior intellectual power. At the same time, the writer made no attack upon Christianity itself. "We have no wish to obey it," he said, "nor have we any fear of being troubled by it. As we can enjoy sufficient happiness without any religion whatever, the question as to the merits or demerits of the different forms never enters our head. In fact, religion is nothing to us."

But the *Hochi Shimbun*, in this same article, did not deny the progress that Christianity was actually making in Japan. Its eyes were more open than those foreign merchants and others, who, like some Englishmen in India, doubt the very existence of Missions in the country, although they may be living literally next door to the mission churches and schools.

> The Christian religion [it confessed], seems to be extending by degrees throughout the country. At present, not only in the large cities and at the open ports, but even in small and distant villages, the believers seem to increase day by day. *If it should progress in the future as it does now, it is certain that the Christian religion will prevail all over our country.*

"A new sun," says Mr. Griffis, "is rising upon Japan. Gently, but resistlessly, Christianity is leavening the nation." "God's hand," says Dr. Ferris, "has been in the work day by day, is plainly in it now, and it may be that in the Land of the Rising Sun we may live to see a nation born in a day." Can words express the tremendous responsibility lying upon us Christians to lose not a moment while the opportunity is given us, and to support to the utmost of our power, and by our unceasing prayers, the agencies for revealing to Japan the Light of the World?

EUGENE STOCK.