

**Re-Orientalizing Christianity:  
Shimizu Yasuzō and Japanese Protestants' North China Mission, 1919-1945**

by

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## **Abstract**

Japanese Protestant overseas missions were important parts of twentieth-century Protestant global missions. They have received little attention in the English-language scholarship on World Christianity because, in this scholarship, East Asian Protestants have been considered generally as converts, rather than missionaries. This dissertation attempts to rectify this distorted understanding through a close examination of the mission work that Japanese Protestants established in north China and their religious mindsets that had been transnationally formed, informed, and reformed within their mission field from 1919 to 1945. Centered on Shimizu Yasuzō, the first Japanese Congregational missionary settled in Beijing, and organizational cases related to him, this study shows that a small group of Japanese Protestants was influential in Sino-Japanese relations through upholding their Pan-Asian Protestantism in educational, intellectual, philanthropic, and commercial practices during the interwar and wartime period.

This study first sketches the general development of the Japanese Protestant overseas missionary movement over the first half of the twentieth century and reviews the historiography in Japanese related to the movement. Within the framework of transnational history intersecting World Christianity and Sino-Japanese Studies, the following chapters focus on Shimizu Yasuzō through a comprehensive re-interpretation of his religious mindset in light of his missionary experience in China and his dual identity as both a Japanese national and a Protestant international. Self-motivated to be a Protestant missionary in China within the historical context of

World War I, Shimizu cooperated with his wife, Yokota Miho and then Koizumi Ikuko, to establish, sustain, and expand the Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing for Chinese girls. Into the 1920s, he developed what he came to define as “Orientalized Christianity” in May-Fourth Beijing, interwar Oberlin, and early-Showa Kyoto. Following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, he came to be regarded as a Japanese Protestant savior of Chinese civilization, an image created by the interaction of war propaganda, the Japanese commercial press, and his autobiographical writings and trans-Pacific campaign tour. He also joined Japanese WCTU activists to establish the Airinkan settlement in Beijing, which became a symbol in Japanese circles of Japanese Christian motherly love toward the Chinese. As the final chapter shows, however, Shimizu and other Japanese Protestants occupied an ambivalent space in wartime Japan; they enjoyed prestige as civilizing agents of Japanese empire but were simultaneously suspected as friends and co-believers of American Christians. Their liminal flexibility in the context of wartime Beijing became politicalized eventually within one year after the Pearl Harbor Attacks.

Returning home after Japan’s defeat in World War II, Japanese Protestants of the pre-1945 north China mission were still proactive in making civilian communications between China and Japan. With a brief recount of their postwar paths, the Epilogue reflects on general issues about religionists’ role in war and peace and their transnational Pan-nationalism built on civilizational hierarchy, teleological history, and progressive modernity, which are still permeating today’s world in the creating of new variants of ethnic and gender bias.

## Acknowledgement

To complete a doctoral dissertation, one needs not only a growth in intelligence but also an enduring courage to confront unpredictable challenges. On this thorny road of mine, I am very pleased to have Dr. Ryan Dunch be my supervisor who has now become my life-long mentor and friend. I am grateful for the countless talks that we had over the past decade. His inspiring questions always enabled me to think deeper. When I was entangled in the toughest situation of my life, Ryan kept speaking to me that “I really want to see you complete your doctorate” and “I am sure I am not the only one.” These words were a lighthouse in darkness. I am also sincerely grateful to other professors in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, especially Professors Jennifer Jay, Beverly Lemire, and Andrew Gow. Their expertise sparked transborder perspectives of my historical thinking, which resulted in a wider scope of my research. They, together with Ryan, are role models for me as historians who are constantly filled with curiosity and passion.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my whole family. My parents, Chen Baoyu and Chen Shenbin, taught me optimism and how to embrace challenges of life with perseverance. My parents-in-law, Ma Huatu and Tong Zhifu, supported me unconditionally with their great help in my final stage of dissertation writing. My husband, Fei, shared with me every single feeling that a junior researcher could possibly have. As our doctoral programs go in parallel, we have learned from each other how to be positive and faithful. We hope that all our efforts could someday inspire our son, Kunyu, to live his life with resilience, persistence, and braveness.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
Shimizu Yasuzō and Lu Xun’s Gift .....	2
East Asian Protestants in Early-Twentieth-Century World Christianity .....	6
East Asian Religionists’ Transnational Activism and Their Pan-Asian Outlook ..	10
Reframing Japanese Protestant Mission in North China .....	19
Terminology and Methodological Issues .....	22
Overview of Chapters .....	25
<b>Chapter One: History and Historiography of Japanese Protestants’ Overseas</b>	
<b>Missions</b> .....	31
Japanese Protestants’ Overseas Missions before 1945 .....	34
To Make a History of and for <i>Us</i> : Primary and Secondary Sources in Japanese ..	50
Shimizu Yasuzō in Japanese Scholarship .....	62
Reconsidering Shimizu and Japanese Protestant Overseas Missionaries .....	67
<b>Chapter Two: The Formation of a Japanese Protestant Missionary in China ...</b>	70
Growing up in a Rising Japan .....	71
Converting to Christianity, Converting to Independence .....	73
Becoming a China Missionary in Japan during World War I .....	78
Opening Japanese Congregationalists’ Mission toward the Chinese Population ..	85
Tokutomi Sohō and the Foundation of Shimizu’s Chinese Evangelism .....	88
A Missionary’s Marriage .....	91

Relief Camp for Chinese Children during the 1920-1921 Famine .....	95
Conclusion: Duplicating the “White Man’s Burden” in China .....	99
<b>Chapter Three: The Three Shimizus and the Sūtei Gakuen in Republican</b>	
<b>Beijing</b> .....	101
The Establishment of the Sūtei Work-Study School for Chinese Girls in 1921 ..	102
Trading Embroidery to Maintaining the School .....	104
Transforming the School during Japan’s Growing Expansion in China.....	111
Koizumi Ikuko, A Newcomer .....	125
The Shimizu Couple and the Sūtei Gakuen’s Education in “Heart” at War .....	142
Conclusion: Sūtei Gakuen and the Three Shimizus’ Missionary Calling .....	148
<b>Chapter Four: Shimizu Yasuzō’s Approach to “Orientalized Christianity” ...</b>	151
The Début of a Missionary Journalist in Taisho Japan .....	153
Shimizu’s Journalistic Networks in May-Fourth Beijing .....	158
A Japanese Protestant’s Reflections on the Chinese New Culture .....	168
“Shina” as the Approach to “Orientalized Christianity” .....	174
Heading into War: Shimizu Yasuzō’s Dualistic Evolution .....	190
Conclusion: Establishing Japanese Protestants’ Morality towards “Shina” .....	195
<b>Chapter Five: The Making of a Protestant Savior at War, 1938-1940 .....</b>	197
Self-Portraying for the Japanese Public at War .....	200
The Making of the “Saint of Beijing”: War Propaganda and Mass Printing .....	209
Trans-Pacific Campaign for Chinese Girls in Japan’s Diasporic Empire .....	218

<i>Nippu Jiji</i> and Shimizu’s Wartime Opinion on the “Rape of Nanking” .....	226
Conclusion: The Dilemma of Shimizu’s Dual Identity at War .....	235
<b>Chapter Six: Gendering Christianity at War, 1938-1942</b> .....	239
The Japan WCTU in the World (1880s-1930s) .....	241
Settlement-Building: An Internationalized Machinery of Protestant Activism ....	247
The 1928 International Missionary Conference and JWCTU’s Rhetoric Shift ....	250
Serving the Chinese: Japanese Protestant Women’s Mission at War .....	253
The Establishment of Airinkan in Japanese Occupied Beijing .....	259
Imagining Christian Motherly Love towards the Chinese in Japan .....	270
Conclusion: The Protestant Women’s Power to be State-Owned in War.....	277
<b>Chapter Seven: Competing Empire and Protestant Friendship, 1942-1943</b> .....	281
Occupation Christianity in Wartime Beijing .....	282
Japanese Protestant Missionaries and the North China Christian Union .....	291
The North China Union Language School and Its First Japanese Student .....	297
The Establishment of a Japanese “YMCA of the World” in Wartime Beijing.....	306
Nara, Ikeda, and Hayes: Transnational Friendship built for Language School ....	311
American and Japanese YMCA Men’s Collaboration and Ikeda’s “Crime” .....	318
Conclusion: Protestants’ Dual Identity and War.....	324
<b>Epilogue</b> .....	326
War, Religion, and Macro-Nationalism .....	334
“Overcoming Modernity”?.....	343



<b>Bibliography</b> .....	347
<b>Appendix I: Japanese Protestant Missionaries in Wartime North China</b> .....	385
<b>Appendix II: Map of Japanese Protestants' Wartime Activism in North China</b> .....	388

## List of Illustrations

1. Lu Xun's Calligraphy Gift to Shimizu Yasuzō .....	5
2. Wooden Box storing Lu Xun's Calligraphy.....	5
3. Founding Members of the Ōmi Mission (1912).....	75
4. Shimizu Yasuzō in Fengtian.....	85
5. Yokota Miho.....	92
6. Chinese Children in Relief Camp run by Japanese .....	98
7. Ikuko and Yasuzō at Oberlin (1926) .....	132
8. Koizumi Ikuko.....	133
9. Front Cover of <i>Peoples of China</i> (1938).....	202
10. Front Cover of <i>Father and Mother of Chinese Girls</i> (1939).....	205
11. Front Cover of <i>Outside the Chaoyang Gate</i> (1939) .....	207
12. Shimizu Yasuzō and Biographers at the Central Park in Beijing (1938).....	213
13. Hayashi Utako and Gauntlett Tsuneko.....	246
14. Kubushiro Ochimi in the Japanese Delegation (Jerusalem, 1928).....	251
15. Toriumi Michiko and Ikenaga Eiko .....	264
16. The Opening Ceremony of Airinkan.....	272
17. A Chinese Girl in front of Airinkan .....	273
18. Special Issue of <i>Kingdom of God Weekly</i> .....	274
19. John Leighton Stuart and William Bacon Pettus in Beijing.....	300
20. Transfer of School Tablet at the Language School .....	312
21. Japanese Military Officers' Visit to the Language School (1939).....	314
22. The 1940 Tour in Japan (Nara and Hayes).....	315

## Note on Language

Names of Chinese and Japanese individuals are written with surnames first, followed by given names, except for Japanese or Chinese authors of secondary English sources whose given names are displayed first in their publications. For Chinese terms, romanizations are provided in contemporary Hanyu pinyin; for Japanese terms, romanizations are provided in the modified Hepburn (*hyōjun*) system, including macrons indicating long Japanese vowels. Exceptions are made for words and names of periods, places, persons, institutions, and newspapers that are familiarly used in English, such as the “Rape of Nanking,” Taisho, Showa, Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, Manchukuo, Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mei-ling, Yenching University, Fu Jen Catholic University, Kwantung Army, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

From 1928 to 1949, Beijing was called Beiping (Peiping). However, the literal meaning of Beijing – the northern “capital” – embedded the city’s rhetoric meaning for Japanese opinion makers’ civilizational imagination and for Japanese wartime government’s racist propaganda. For this particular reason and coherence, “Beijing” is used throughout this study.

## Introduction

On December 5, 2015, a Chinese calligraphic piece sold at an auction in Beijing for 3,047,500 *yuan*, a surprisingly high price beyond its actual value of calligraphic art, while reflecting the reputation of its author, Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936), one of the best known writers in twentieth-century China.<sup>1</sup> He had written it in about 1931 in Shanghai and sent it as a gift to his Japanese friend Shimizu Yasuzō 清水安三 (1891-1988).<sup>2</sup> The survival of this piece is a reminder of the importance and complexity of the intensified China-Japan connections, in which Shimizu Yasuzō, a Japanese Protestant missionary in China, played a critical role as a transnational network builder between Chinese and Japanese intellectuals.

My study focuses on Shimizu and a small group of Japanese Protestants connected to him, as well as the enterprises they developed in north China from the end of World War I to the end of World War II. My thesis argues that this specific community of Japanese Protestants established their ecclesiastical missions in north China through their involvements in education, intellectual communications, trade, social welfare establishment, and cross-cultural networking among Chinese, Japanese, and Americans from 1919 to 1945. Protestants were a small minority within Japan, and yet their overseas missions expanded across and beyond the Japanese colonial empire from the 1890s to the 1940s. However, the role of their missions in Sino-

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<sup>1</sup> China News Service Web 中国新闻网, “Mei zi shijiu wan, hanjian Lu Xun shufa zuopin yu sanbai wan yuan chengjiao 每字 19 万, 罕见鲁迅书法作品逾 300 万元成交” [190,000 yuan per character, rare calligraphy by Lu Xun being offered a buy at more than 3,000,000 yuan], last modified December 5, 2015, <http://www.chinanews.com/cul/2015/12-05/7657373.shtml>.

<sup>2</sup> Huang Qiaosheng 黄乔生, “Zhaohua xishi you shi jun: Qingshui Ansan cang Lu Xun shoushu foji 朝花夕拾又识君: 清水安三藏鲁迅手书佛偈 [Dawn blossoms plucked at dusk and I see you again: Lu Xun’s calligraphic Buddhist chants collected by Shimizu Yasuzō],” *Hainei yu Haiwai* 海内与海外 [At Home and Overseas] 3 (2016): 13-16.

Japanese relations prior to and during the war has been almost entirely ignored in the English-language scholarship.

In this history, Shimizu Yasuzō was a prominent figure. Not only was he dispatched as the first Congregational Japanese missionary to north China by the Congregational Church in Japan (*Nihon Kumiai Kirisuto Kyōkai* 日本組合基督教会), but he also went beyond the ecclesiastical setting and thus transcended the boundary between religious and secular spheres, reaching deeply into Chinese society, especially in cultural and intellectual realms. Through investigating his and other individual and organizational cases, my study demonstrates that Japanese Protestants played a significant role in shaping relations between the two nations, not only through building and maintaining cross-border religious networks and transnational humanitarian activism, but also through contributing to cross-cultural discourses about nation, religion, and gender in the Sino-Japanese public sphere. These discourses, combining Christian humanitarianism, progressive racial hierarchy, and Japanese paternalism in complex ways, converged into the interwar and wartime clusters of Pan-Asianism and turned out to serve as moral principles in religious practices that could entitle Japanese Protestants' moral equilibrium to counterbalance Japan's wartime aggression in China.

### **Shimizu Yasuzō and Lu Xun's Gift**

In Japan today, Shimizu Yasuzō is best known as the Christian educator who founded the Ōbirin School (*Ōbirin Gakuen* 桜美林学園) in Machida, Tokyo with his wife Ikuko 郁子 (1892-1964) in 1946.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the postwar years, they

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<sup>3</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ōbirin monogatari* 桜美林物語 [The story of Ōbirin] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 1976).

developed the private school to be a prosperous and inclusive educational institution, currently including a kindergarten (since 1968), junior and senior high schools (since 1947 and 1948 respectively), and a university providing undergraduate (since 1966) and graduate programs (since 1993).<sup>4</sup> These school units are all named after J. F. Oberlin (Johann Friedrich Oberlin, 1740-1826) because the Shimizu couple graduated from Oberlin College in the United States, and they both admired the Alsatian pastor and philanthropist for whom their alma mater was named at its founding in 1833.

For those who do not know of the Shimizu couple's prewar experiences in China, it would certainly be a surprise to learn that the J. F. Oberlin in Tokyo will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 2021.<sup>5</sup> Dating its establishment back to prewar history, Ōbirin School in Tokyo recognized itself with honor and pride as the successor of Sūtei School (*Sūtei Gakuen* 崇貞学園, 1921-1945) in Beijing, a private school Shimizu and his first wife Miho 美穂 (1895-1933) had established for impoverished Chinese girls in 1921. After transferring to Chinese in 1945, this school was renamed several times and is now called Beijing Chen Jing Lun High School (*Chen Jinglun Zhongxue* 陈经纶中学). On the back of its school gate at the main campus, today, "Chongzhen Xueyuan 崇貞學園," the traditional Chinese characters of Sūtei School in Japanese, are imprinted to commemorate the school's Japanese founders and its history in the early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> It, too, dates its foundation back to 1921, as does Ōbirin in Tokyo.

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<sup>4</sup> For a brief history of the Ōbirin School in Tokyo, see <https://www.obirin.ac.jp/en/about/history/>. In 2011, the school board established the Ōbirin Gakuen Foundation of America (OGFA) in the United States. See, <https://www.obirin-gakuen.org/>. Accessed September 16, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> For more about the school's 100th Anniversary Commemoration, see <https://www.obirin.jp/100th/>. Accessed September 16, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> For a brief history of the school, see the webpage (in Chinese), [http://www.bjcjl.net/xxgk\\_1294/xxjj/](http://www.bjcjl.net/xxgk_1294/xxjj/). Accessed September 16, 2019.

In both Japan and China, Shimizu has returned to the public spotlight gradually since the 2000s, especially since Yamazaki Tomoko published *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, a non-fiction work narrating how Shimizu and his two wives dedicated their lives to helping Chinese girls in Republican Beijing.<sup>7</sup> Yamazaki is a female Japanese writer who became well-known in both Japan and China for her pioneer non-fictional work on overseas Japanese prostitutes.<sup>8</sup> Her work about Shimizu, and many others published in both Japanese and Chinese after it, depict him as a sympathetic humanitarian and a friendship builder between the two peoples.<sup>9</sup> Like his friend Uchiyama Kanzō 内山完造 (1885-1959), who has been so widely known by ordinary Chinese as Lu Xun's closest Japanese friend, Shimizu has ever since been evaluated increasingly upon his intimate interactions with Lu Xun.<sup>10</sup>

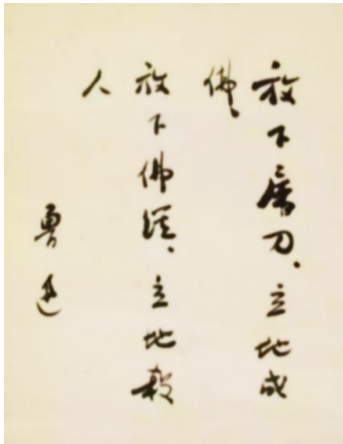
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<sup>7</sup> Yamazaki Tomoko 山崎朋子, *Chōyōmongai no niiji: Sūtei Jogakkō no hitobito* 朝陽門外の虹: 崇貞女学校の人びと [Outside the Chaoyang Gate: People of the Sūtei Girls' School] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan hachiban shōkan: teihen joseishi joshō* サンダカン八番娼館: 底辺女性史序章 [Sandakan Brothel No. 8: An Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women] (Tokyo: Chibuma Shobō, 1972). For two Chinese versions, see *Wangxiang* 望郷 (Taipei: Wanxiang, 1992); and *Wangxiang: diceng nüxingshi xuzhang* 望乡: 底层女性史序章 (Beijing: Zuoja Chubansha, 1997), translated by Chen Hui 陈晖, Lin Qi 林祁, and Lü Li 吕莉. See also the English version translated by Karen F. Colligan-Taylor, *Sandakan Brothel No. 8: An Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women* (New York: Routledge, 2015). The Japanese film *Sandakan No. 8* (Kumai Kei, 1974) was based on Yamazaki's book, and was released in China in 1978 while the Chinese society began to "opening-up."

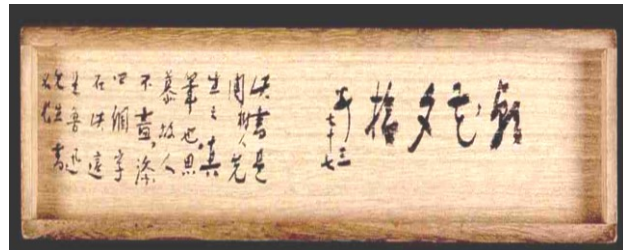
<sup>9</sup> For example, see Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦, "Han-tetsugaku no dokusho ron (roku) Chōyōmongai wa wa ga funbo no chi: Shimizu Yasuzō *Chōyōmongai*" 反哲学的読書論 (6) 朝陽門外は我が墳墓の地: 清水安三『朝陽門外』 [Theory of anti-philosophical readings (6), Bury me outside the Chaoyang Gate: Shimizu Yasuzō's *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*], *Kan: Rekishi, Kankyō, Bunmei* 環: 歴史・環境・文明 [Kan: History, Environment, Civilization] 24 (2006): 412-419. For another review article in Chinese, see Wang Zhongchen 王中忱, "Shangdi ernü de guoji: du Shanqi Pengzi zhu Chaoyangmen wai de caihong" 上帝儿女的国籍: 读山崎朋子著《朝阳门外的彩虹》 [The nationalities of God's sons and daughters: reading Yamazaki Tomoko's *The Rainbow outside the Chaoyang Gate*], *Shu Cheng* 书城 [Book Town] 9 (2004): 56-58.

<sup>10</sup> For the relationship between Uchiyama Kanzō and Lu Xun, see Christopher T. Keaveney, "The Hub: Uchiyama Kanzō's Shanghai Bookstore and Its Role in Sino-Japanese Literacy Relations," chapter one of his book *Beyond Brushtalk: Sino-Japanese Literacy Exchange in the Interwar Period* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 23-44.



This image of Shimizu as a Sino-Japanese friendship builder has been reinforced again by the 2015 auction of Lu Xun’s calligraphy (see photo at left). A pair of couplet sentences runs in this piece: “Drop the knife, become a Buddha; drop the sutra, become a killer.”<sup>11</sup> The first sentence is a commonly used Buddhist chant in Chinese, implying that a wrongdoer achieves salvation as soon as he/she gives up evil. The coupling sentence, however, was composed by Lu Xun himself. Without knowing the specific situation in which he created this content, the meaning of the object is indeed ambiguous. But, in this coupling sentences, religious belief and violence create a strong tension in a moment when Buddhism, or more generally a faith-bond morality, transforms the unstated human agent’s behavior. This intriguing facet of the piece of art leaves us with a fantastic question: why did Lu Xun write this exact content for Shimizu and send it to him in about 1931?

This calligraphic work is stored in a wooden box (see photo at right). Inside of its cover, Shimizu wrote with Chinese brush,



“Zhaohua xishi 朝花夕拾, Yasuzō, at seventy-seven.” He then added a note, explaining in thinner lines that “this calligraphy was ‘truly brushed’ (*zhenbi* 真笔) by Master Lu Xun. Yearning for my old friend endlessly, I note these four characters

<sup>11</sup> The original Chinese text is: “*fangxia tudao, lidi chengfo; fangxia fojing, lidi sharen* 放下屠刀，立地成佛；放下佛经，立地杀人。” Photos used in this and next page is from Huang Qiaosheng’s article, see note 2.



here, which is the title of [one of] Master Lu Xun's works."<sup>12</sup> According to this note, this work was still in Shimizu's hands in 1968 when he was seventy-seven years old.

We lack reliable evidence to estimate why and through whom this piece had undergone its journey to the auction.<sup>13</sup> However, what we can tell from it is that the interaction between religious identity and human behavior had probably once been a topic considered by both the Chinese giver and the Japanese receiver of the gift in a special period during which both of their nations dreamed of a new "Asia."<sup>14</sup> In this sense, Shimizu's religious identity brought special meaning to the calligraphy gift he received from Lu Xun. He was a baptized Protestant, like his Protestant friend Uchiyama Kanzō. More than that, he was a missionary and maintained a strong identity as a religionist throughout his life as a social activist, educator, and journalist. Examining Shimizu's life will shed new light on our understanding of how the Protestant faith led a special group of Japanese Protestants to work in the mission field in north China, and how their transnational missionary activities formed and reformed their dual identity as both Japanese nationals and Protestant internationals before and during World War II.

### **East Asian Protestants in Early-Twentieth-Century World Christianity**

In English, there has accumulated a long-standing and ever-expanding scholarship on western Protestant missionaries and their foreign missions in each East

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<sup>12</sup> Lu Xun, *Zhaohua Xishi* 朝花夕拾 [Dawn blossoms plucked at dusk] (Beijing: Weimingshe, 1928).

<sup>13</sup> Chen Zishan 陈子善, "Lu Xun shu zeng Qingshui Ansan zifu kaolue" 鲁迅书赠清水安三字幅考略 [An examination of Lu Xun's written calligraphy as a gift sent to Shimizu Yasuzō], *Dangdai Wentan* 当代文坛 [Contemporary Literary Criticism] 1 (2016): 4-7. This article mentions nothing about Shimizu's religious identity.

<sup>14</sup> For the interactive construction of interwar Asianism in Japan and China, see Torsten Weber, *Embracing "Asia" in China and Japan: Asianism Discourse and Contest for Hegemony, 1912-1933* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Asian society. After John K. Fairbank's call for missionary studies in his address to the American Historical Association in December 1968, this special field of missionary studies, which is found at an intersection between the Anglo-American mission history of Christianity and the Americanized area studies, has gone through remarkable paradigm shifts over the past half century.<sup>15</sup> This scholarship once interpreted missionaries in East Asia within the nation-centered framework that was considered to have been developed in the Anglo-American tradition of teleological history.<sup>16</sup> In this tradition, Protestant Christianity has been constructed as a White, Western, Anglo-American, masculinized, and progressive religion.<sup>17</sup> In this logic, those elements implicated in so-called "modernity," including capitalism, industrialization, individualism, a "civilized" life style, and civil society, among others, bolstered the concept of the "white man's burden" – a moral superiority based on racial differentiation/hierarchy.

Influenced by the paradigm transformation from the "impact-response" model to non-western-centered frameworks such as "the China-centered" view as Paul Cohen theorized in the mid-1980s, this scholarship shifted from an interpretative pattern of single-directional influence – from western missionaries to non-western converts – to a non-western-centered, "mutually-influenced" pattern used to reconsider the East-West encounters.<sup>18</sup> In this vein, not only were Western missionaries re-examined in

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<sup>15</sup> John K. Fairbank, "Assignment for the '70's," *American Historical Review (AHR)* 74 no. 3 (Feb. 1969): 861-879.

<sup>16</sup> For a general criticism on the nation-centered history and its origin in the Anglo-American intellectual tradition, see Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, revised 1920 edition, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> For some studies of this shifted pattern, see Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). On the China-centered framework, see Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

both their mission fields and their domestic spheres, but this change also gave voices to female missionaries and East Asian Christians.<sup>19</sup> Even so, this scholarship still carries a collective structure of East-West dichotomy built firmly on a nation-centered assumption, which was unable to interpret certain historic phenomena, such as the East-East links of Protestantism in East Asia.

East Asian Protestants came to the forefront in the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in which non-western “younger churches” had begun to shape a rising power within the global Protestant church setting.<sup>20</sup> One significant facet that indicated this rise, while yet to be fully noticed, was the emergence and growth of East Asian Protestants’ evangelical missions outside of their home countries. Korean Christians’ foreign missions drew more attention, largely because of the fascinating development of the Protestant church in Republic of Korea after the Korean War (1950-1953), and its impressive global expansion through Korean missionaries since 1979.<sup>21</sup> However, the involvement of Korean Protestant

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<sup>19</sup> On the influence of Protestant missionaries back at home, see Dana L. Robert, “The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home,” *Religion and American Culture* 12 no.1 (2002): 59-89. Also, see Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker eds., *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2003). For the missionary encounter in Japan, see Karen K. Seat, “*Providence Has Freed Our Hands*”: *Women’s Missions and the American Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008). For studies on Chinese Protestants, see Kwok Pui-lan, *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860-1927* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), and Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001). For the research on Japanese Christianity, see Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998). On individual Japanese Protestants, see, for instance, John F. Howes, *Japan’s Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzō, 1861-1930* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> W. H. T. Gairdner, “*Edinburgh 1910*”: *An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference* (Edinburgh and London: The Committee of the World Missionary Conference, 1910), 57-58. For a comprehensive examination of this conference, see Brain Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), specifically chapter five, “‘Give Us Friends!’ The Voice of the ‘Younger’ Churches,” 91-131.

<sup>21</sup> Steve Sang-Cheol Moon, “The Protestant Missionary Movement in Korea: Current Growth and Development,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 32 no. 2 (2008): 59-64.

missionaries in world missions was not simply a postwar phenomenon; rather, it can be dated back to the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> In 1903, the Methodist Church in Korea dispatched the first Korean missionary to Hawaii to serve Korean immigrants. In 1907, the Chosun Independent Presbytery sent the first missionary to Cheju Island (known as Quelpart at the time), which was considered Koreans' first cross-cultural missionary endeavor. In 1909, the same church sent its first missionary to Vladivostok, Siberia. In 1918, the Korean Presbyterian church established their mission field in China, targeting ethnic Chinese from 1912, soon after Japan's annexation of the Korean peninsula in 1910.<sup>23</sup>

Such intriguing histories about East Asian missionaries and their overseas endeavors during the first half of the twentieth century have largely been forgotten in the writing of global mission history in English. An apparent reason might be that their missions were not in a large number or a considerable enough scale, and accordingly could be estimated as not comparable to that of the Anglo-Americans around the globe from the 1880s. In a demographic sense, indeed, Protestant East Asians were, and still are, a minority group in the region. However, numbers do not necessarily indicate the actual appearance and significance in real history, and this applies appropriately to the case of East Asian Protestants. As many scholars have demonstrated, they were among the most significant and influential modernizers of East Asian societies and among the most enthusiastic builders of East Asian nation-

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<sup>22</sup> Byung Bae Hwang, "The Involvement of Korean Protestant Missionaries in World Missions: Historical Understanding and Mission Strategies for the Future," *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 69 no. 1 (2010): 185-204.

<sup>23</sup> G. S. McCune, "Korean Presbyterian Mission to China," *The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire* (renamed to *Japan Christian Year Book*) 22 (1918): 445-450.

states.<sup>24</sup> In this sense, the deep reason their overseas missionary activities have not been considered with full scholarly attention in English-language academia is more decisively that they have not been viewed as capable of *sending* the Christian gospel but have still only been considered on the *receiving* side of it, especially before the postcolonial age in the area of East Asia. Based on this assumption, East Asian Protestants were considered able to establish their own theology yet unable to build their own cross-cultural and cross-ethnic missiology under Euro-American hegemony in East Asian mission fields. At this special point, the “impact-response” paradigm still limits the range of our inquiries towards the actual position of East Asian Protestant missionaries in early-twentieth-century history.

### **East Asian Religionists’ Transnational Activism and Their Pan-Asian Outlook**

The transnational methodology developed in the discipline of history presents enormous potential to put the spotlight on this special group of non-western Protestants. From the 1990s on, leading historians like Akira Iriye and Ian Tyrrell began to call for studies out of the nation box within the organization of AHA.<sup>25</sup> Influenced partially by the interpretative paradigm of *longue-durée*, some historians tried to understand the “world system” or the earlier histories of globalization that challenge the teleological methods of periodization of modern and pre-modern

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<sup>24</sup> For case studies of Chinese Protestants, see John Barwick, *The Protestant Quest for Modernity in Republican China* (PhD dissertation submitted to University of Alberta, 2011). For other examples of East Asian Protestants, see Albert L. Park and David K. Yoo ed., *Encountering Modernity: Christianity in East Asia and Asian America* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2014).

<sup>25</sup> Akira Iriye, “The Internationalization of History,” *AHR* 94 (Feb. 1989): 1-10. Ian Tyrrell, “American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History,” *AHR* 96 (Oct. 1991): 1031-1055. Also see “Ian Tyrrell Responds,” *AHR* 96 (Oct. 1991): 1068-1072.

history.<sup>26</sup> Some others, influenced more by globalization theory in social sciences, focused on the most recent round of post-Cold-War globalization, in which transnational agencies spread throughout the globe, such as multi-national firms, international NGOs, and semi-political organizations of economic co-operation.<sup>27</sup> Scholars have paid fresh attention to individual and institutional religious actors in many recent studies, demonstrating that “the globalization and politicization of traditional religious identities is a historical phenomenon with deep roots in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”<sup>28</sup> In the examination of many cases around the globe of this age, the paradigm of “religious international (or internationalism)” could function well as an “overarching framework” for understanding the phenomenon of the modern rise of transnational religious actors.<sup>29</sup> In case of East Asia, Buddhist missionaries drew greater attention, especially Japanese Buddhists who shaped significant social and political influence alongside the rise and fall of the Japanese empire from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, not only within but also beyond their home islands and religious culture.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> For some of the representative studies, see Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Courtney Bender, Wendy Cagde, Peggy Levitt, and David Smilde eds., *Religion on the Edge: De-centering and Re-centering the Sociology of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>28</sup> Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene eds., *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene, “Introduction: Rethinking Religion and Globalization,” in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, 1-19.

<sup>30</sup> Vladimir Tikhonov, “The Japanese Missionaries and Their Impact on Korean Buddhist Developments (1876-1910),” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* February 4 (2004), 7-48. Adam Yuet Chau, “Transnational Buddhist Activists in the Era of Empires,” in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, 206-229. See also Hwansoo Ilmee Kim, *Empire of the Dharma: Korean and Japanese Buddhism, 1877–1912* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).

Among these studies in English, Japanese “Protestant internationals” were still not a primary scholarly focus.<sup>31</sup> To be strictly defined, only several studies about Japanese Protestant missionaries’ overseas enterprises have been published in English-speaking academia after Matsuo Takayoshi’s article, “The Japanese Protestants in Korea,” was translated into English in 1979.<sup>32</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, who continuously investigated the British and Canadian missionary movements in modern Japan, framed his research within the Japanese empire and thus, through Japanese sources, could consider Japanese Protestants’ overseas endeavors as collectively a special “means by which the Christian movement might enhance its prestige” at home.<sup>33</sup> In 2004, he defined the “Japanese Christian Overseas Missionary Movement” for the first time in English as a rewarding field of scholarly research.<sup>34</sup>

Based on Japanese and Korean sources, the English scholarship on Japanese Protestants’ activities in Korea (or towards Koreans in Japan) became notably plentiful in the 2010s. The most representative among them was Emily Anderson’s monograph published in 2014, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God*.<sup>35</sup> Displaying in “three distinct settings: the metropole, the colonies

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<sup>31</sup> Christopher Clark and Michael Ledger-Lomas, “The Protestant International,” in *Religious Internationals in the Modern World*, 23-52. In this article, “Protestant international” refers only to English-speaking Anglo-American Protestants who developed their international networks during the Anglophone globalization from 1790 to 1930.

<sup>32</sup> Matsuo Takayoshi, “The Japanese Protestants in Korea, Part One: The Missionary Activity of the Japanese Congregational Church in Korea” and “The Japanese Protestants in Korea, Part Two: The 1st March Movement and the Japanese Protestants,” *Modern Asian Studies* 13 no. 3 (1979): 401-429; 13 no. 4 (1979): 581-615.

<sup>33</sup> A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999). And his *Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990).

<sup>34</sup> A. Hamish Ion, “Japanese Christian Overseas Missionary Movement During the Meiji Period,” *Japanese Religions* 29 no. 1-2 (2004): 109-126.

<sup>35</sup> Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

and immigrant communities abroad, and rural Japan,” this work examined how Japanese Protestantism and imperialism had intertwined since the 1890s by tracing the divergent pathways of two eminent Congregationalist churchmen, Ebina Danjō 海老名弾正 (1856-1937) and Kashiwagi Gien 柏木義円 (1860-1938), to envision Japan as either an expanding empire or a small state. Impressively, her portrayal (in Chapter Five) of Japanese missionaries in Korea, Manchuria, and their interactions with the Korean Government-in-Exile based in Shanghai showcased the complexity of the trans-border networking of East Asian Protestants.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, the final chapter of her book, narrating Japanese Christian settlers in Manchukuo, enlarged this trans-border scope and uncovered more in detail the multiplier effect of Japanese Protestants’ overseas endeavors developed since the Meiji era.<sup>37</sup> Together with other recent studies, such as Hamish Ion’s case study on the overseas missions sent by the Anglican Episcopal Church in Japan (*Nippon Seikōkai* 日本聖公会) to Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria from 1895 to 1941, this line of scholarship brought more East Asian sources and scholarship into view in the English-language fields of East Asian Christianity and Japanese imperialism.<sup>38</sup>

Embedded within a broader scholarly map, these studies came out along with, and made significant contribution to, the intensified discussions recently about religion, religious practices, and religiosity in the modern East Asian context. These

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 5, “After the March First Movement: The ‘Korean Problem’ just Beyond the Empire’s Edge,” 159-184.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 7, “Following in Abraham’s Footsteps: Building an Imperial Christian Utopia in Manchukuo,” 217-238.

<sup>38</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, “Transnational Christian Activities in a Colonial Setting: A Case Study of the Overseas Missionary Work of the Nippon Seikōkai in the Japanese Empire, 1895-1941,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 30 (2017): 119-142. For other related studies, see for example Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus, “Assimilating Korea: Japanese Protestants, ‘East Asian Christianity’ and the Education of Koreans in Japan, 1905-1920,” *Paedagogica Historica* 52 no. 6 (2016): 614-628.



discussions, in the most fundamental level, challenged the universal usage of “religion” as an analytical tool in understanding the inter-connected philosophical, ethical, and intellectual maps of East Asian peoples in modern history. First and foremost, as Peter van der Veer, Thomas Davis DuBois, Jason Ananda Josephson, Kiri Paramore, Hans Martin Krämer, Isomae Jun’ichi and many others argued in different places, “religion” (*zongjiao* in Chinese, *shūkyō* in Japanese 宗教), as a discourse of modern invention created upon modern forms of Abrahamic religions (especially Protestant Christianity), was not originally used and did not prevail in East Asian societies as an intellectual or philosophical category, nor as a separate sphere unrelated to public, ritual, and political life.<sup>39</sup> Some of these scholars further demonstrated that, through making sense of the Christocentric definition of “religion” by Asians themselves, the religious landscape of these societies changed profoundly as a response to the modern age. In other words, like Thomas Jansen, Thoralf Klein and Christian Meyer put it, “the global expansion of European influence provided the historical backdrop against which the discursive construction and institutionalization

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<sup>39</sup> On how the notions of religion and secularity had been shaped interactively through a shared colonial experience, see Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001). For discussions about the making of spirituality and oriental religion, see chapters 2 and 3 in Peter van der Veer’s recent monograph, *The Modern Spirit of Asia: The Spiritual and the Secular in China and India* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014). For theoretical discussions through a regional perspective, see Thomas Davis DuBois, “Introduction: The Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia – Paradigmatic Change in Regional Perspective,” in *Casting Faith: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 1-19. On religions in Manchuria during the first half of the twentieth century that relates to both China and Japan, see Thomas Davis DuBois, *Empire and the Meaning of Religion in Manchuria, 1900-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). In Japan’s case, see Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Also see Hans Martin Krämer, “How ‘Religion’ came to be Translated as Shūkyō: Shimaji Mokurai and the Appropriation of Religion in Early Meiji Japan,” *Japan Review* 25 (2013): 89-111. See also Isomae Jun’ichi’s scholarship in Japanese. For an example in English, see his “State Shinto, Westernization, and the Concept of Religion in Japan,” in Timothy Fitzgerald ed., *Religion and the Secular: Historical and Colonial Formation* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2007), 93-101.

of religion(s) around the world took place, often but not always or exclusively in response to the Western challenge.”<sup>40</sup> The intra-East Asian inter-connected-ness of Protestantism and Protestant activism of the twentieth century could certainly have been considered a consequence of both the response to the Western challenge and the recreation of Eastern heritage.

In that this process of transformation unavoidably influenced the practices of ordinary life that have ever since been marked as “religious” in modern East Asia, the current scholarly discussions also have paid tentative attention to the multi-religious situations of the states-in-formation in this area from different perspectives. For example, the collective work presented by *Globalization and the Making of Religious Modernity in China* addressed the multi-religious landscape and interdependency in the modern transformation of China starting in 1800.<sup>41</sup> The anthology *Belief and Practice in Imperial Japan and Colonial Korea* brought the interactions of multiple religions that coexisted in imperial Japan and colonial Korea to the forefront.<sup>42</sup> *Casting Faith*, another example of collaborative scholarly discussions, adjusted our national and transnational scope to the regional horizon, spanning from East to Southeast Asia when reviewing multiple religions’ paths through modernity.<sup>43</sup>

This multi- or trans-religious framework has been applied to most collective works about the modern transformation of religions in East Asia. Together, these

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas Jansen, Thoralf Klein and Christian Meyer, “Introduction: Globalization and the Religious Field in China, 1800-present,” in *Globalization and the Making of Religious Modernity in China: Transnational Religions, Local Agents, and the study of Religion, 1800-present* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1-25.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas Jansen, Thoralf Klein and Christian Meyer eds., *Globalization and the Making of Religious Modernity in China: Transnational Religions, Local Agents, and the study of Religion, 1800-present* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Emily Anderson ed., *Belief and Practice in Imperial Japan and Colonial Korea* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017).

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Davis DuBois ed., *Casting Faith: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

works provide strong evidences that challenge the “universal,” “Christocentric,” “evangelical modernity” and the modernist “secularization theory.” Both of these models come from the post-Enlightenment heritages of the Christian West, but the former “retained racial and cultural trajectories of progress that ranked religions according to their degree of development,” while the latter emphasized the superiority of the West’s institutional rationalism in the building of modern states and the “spiritual principle” of the nation that had pushed religion “out of public life, and relegated it to the private spheres of the home, and individual conscience.”<sup>44</sup>

In fact, as most scholars of Asian religions would currently agree, not only did religion(s) play a central role in discourse-making, everyday life, and many other social and political realms in modern East Asian societies, but it was also demonstrably the central player in forming the Western scholarship on Oriental knowledges and in transforming it into the most recently established East Asian area studies. As Urs App argued persuasively in *The Birth of Orientalism*, Europeans’ “Bible-based worldview” underwent a gradual change through the imports of knowledge about “Asia’s non-Abrahamic religions” during the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> In the maturation and professionalization of the European Orientalism during the age of “high imperialism,” early scholars of East Asia, especially the first-generation Japanologists emerging from Sinology, also “positioned religion centrally.”<sup>46</sup> As Kiri Paramore demonstrated, along with the rise of Japan as an imperial power, elite Japanese scholars, who were mostly equipped with Western ideas of political

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<sup>44</sup> Thomas Davis DuBois, “Introduction,” in *Casting Faith*, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Urs App, “Preface” and “Introduction,” in *The Birth of Orientalism* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), xi-xviii, 1-14.

<sup>46</sup> On the central place of religious studies in the making of Western knowledge about Asia, see case studies in Kiri Paramore ed., *Religion and Orientalism in Asian Studies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016). For a summary of them, see Paramore’s “Introduction,” 1-12.

modernization and thus turned easily to accept the idea of separation of church and state, played a central role in shaping the divergent image of Japan and China in European knowledge by differentiating Japan from other nations of the Far East (especially China), describing it as uniquely progressive, enlightened, and secularist.<sup>47</sup> With religion as the central element of knowledge-making, these “imaginings of the cultural divisions between Japan and China” not only prevailed among Japanese nationalists before 1945, but also contributed to the building of the post-World War II American scholarship on Japan, and more generally on East Asian studies that triggered the postwar area studies.

This focus on the Japan-China relevance in the making of knowledge, idea, and discourse applied also to Paramore’s recent study on Japanese Confucianism.<sup>48</sup> This study not only considers Confucianism as historically constructed in plurality, but it also inspires my understanding on the important roles that “religion,” religious practices, and religious thoughts had played in forming and transforming Japan-China relations in the “secular” sphere. This is what has been relatively ignored in the mainstream scholarship on Pan-Asianism that pays more attention to the Pan-Asian outlook that had been politically, intellectually, and culturally defined from the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Within this Pan-Asian framework, in the current state,

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<sup>47</sup> Kiri Paramore, “Religion, Secularism and the Japanese Shaping of East Asian Studies,” in *Religion and Orientalism in Asian Studies*, 129-143.

<sup>48</sup> Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>49</sup> On Japanese Pan-Asianism, see Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931-1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Saaler and Koschmann eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007). On Japan-China relevance in Pan-Asianism, see Urs Matthias Zachmann, *China and Japan in the Late Meiji Period: China Policy and the Japanese Discourse on National Identity, 1895-1904* (New York: Routledge, 2009); and Weber’s *Embracing “Asia” in China and Japan* (see note 14). For the comparison between Pan-Asianism and Pan-Islamism, see Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Japanese Protestants are not commonly recognized because they have been considered largely within the church setting and confined by the interpretive framework of Japanese imperialism. Comparatively, in the same Pan-Asian scope, Muslim Asians and Japanese Buddhists have received more tentative attention.<sup>50</sup>

All together, these studies challenge the influential scholarship on Orientalism, secularism, and previous discussions about “imagined community.”<sup>51</sup> They join a grand scholarly introspection about the “resurgence of religion” around the globe.<sup>52</sup> This shared introspection became widespread enough in the English-language academic sphere that it pushed scholars to reconsider if there was truly a sphere of or discourse about “religion” before the modern age. For example, Carlin Barton and Daniel Boyarin demonstrated that there was “no religion” (of its modern sense) in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, even though they have been and are still being considered to have conceived a utilized, Western, Christian civilization.<sup>53</sup> In this trend of rethought with a de-westernized global view, Christian missionaries returned to the center of academic discussions not because of the religion they are attached to but, as Jon Davidann pointed out, “because of where their religion took them on the

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<sup>50</sup> See case studies in Urs Matthias Zachmann ed., *Asia after Versailles: Asian Perspectives on the Paris Peace Conference and the Interwar Order, 1919-33* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 144-174. For Japan’s wartime Islamic policy in China and Chinese Muslims in Japanese occupation, see Kelly Anne Hammond, “The Conundrum of Collaboration: Japanese Involvement with Muslims in North China, 1931-1945” (PhD dissertation submitted to Georgetown University, 2015).

<sup>51</sup> These scholarships include, but not limited to, Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, Revised edition, 1991).

<sup>52</sup> On the phenomenon of the “resurgence of religion,” see Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in the Modern World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993). For the criticism on the theory of secularism, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>53</sup> Carlin Barton and Daniel Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

globe and how it made them think about the world.”<sup>54</sup> In this sense, studies on Christian missionaries and their missions are now being challenged from inside the post-enlightenment Anglophone scholarly tradition towards its own formation of the secularist theory.

### **Reframing Japanese Protestant Mission in North China**

As a product of this scholarly introspection in a broader view, my study intends not only to enrich missionary studies empirically by adding case studies but also to further the discussion about the transnationality and liminality of the Christian missionary group in general in the modern intra-East Asian context. During the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese Protestant missionaries were a special mediatory group between the West and the East in the sense that they attached to and were influenced by a historically Occidentalized religion, while living in and being impacted by the mission fields of the historically (self-)Orientalized East. This position in between meant that their (dual) identity had to be shaped flexibly according to which side they are communicating with and how they negotiated their religious belief with their ethnic belonging as Japanese in both the empire’s metropole and their mission fields, which in different ways altered and transformed their cultural position in the multi-religious landscape of modern East Asia.

Specifically, this study adds to the emerging scholarship in English about Japanese Protestant overseas missions by expanding the discussion in five dimensions. First, it brings Japanese Protestants’ mission fields in north China into scope. Distinctively different from Japan’s colonies, north China had never been formally

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<sup>54</sup> Jon Davidann, review of *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* by Emily Anderson, *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 42 no. 2 (2016): 417.

colonized like Korea and Taiwan, or under direct and firm Japanese control like the puppet Manchukuo from 1932 to 1945. The case studies that this research examines allow us to observe how this changing, semi-colonial frontier transformed Japanese Protestants through their cross-cultural encounter with China's transformation from imperial- to nation-state.

Second, this study focuses on the time period from the end of World War I to the end of World War II, which previous studies have examined in less detail. While Anderson's study covered the period from the 1880s to the 1940s, her writing concentrated on several Meiji Japanese churchmen, and thus the research's generational focal point meant that the first two decades of the twentieth century were the primary focus of the discussion.<sup>55</sup> Ion's case study of overseas Japanese Anglicans covers the interwar and wartime periods. In examining the wartime condition, he concludes that "the transnational Christian activities of the pre-1937 era" were "trumped" by "*tennōsei* 天皇制 [ideology] and Japanese imperialism" from 1937 to 1945.<sup>56</sup> To dialogue with these studies, my research provides more details of the wartime enterprises that Japanese Protestants established in north China and more nuanced complexities of the formation and transformation of their religious identity in close regard to their national belonging from the interwar to the wartime periods.

Third, I examine Japanese missionaries within multi-directional relationships and include the perspective and influence of western missionaries and their enterprises in the scope of this research. In all East Asian areas, in fact, Japanese imperialism has co-existed with Western imperialisms, especially American

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<sup>55</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion mentioned this writing strategy in his review on Anderson's book, *Monumenta Nipponica* 71 no. 1 (2016): 211.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, "Transnational Christian Activities in a Colonial Setting," 140.

imperialism, from the First to the Second World War. Like DuBois mentioned in his review of Anderson's book, "Western missions remained a vital force in Japan throughout this period, and would certainly have been an important point of reference against which the Congregationalists would have defined themselves."<sup>57</sup> As will be seen, not only did Japanese missionaries position themselves in relation to their American counterparts at the beginning of their missions, but they also networked beyond single-layered Sino-Japanese interactions in and out of north China. This multi-layered, polyangular scope thus could bring new insights into our re-evaluation of the role this special group of Protestants played before 1945.

Fourth, this study describes not only male but also female Japanese missionaries' involvements in these missions and considers how gender had been applied by both female and male Protestants to make sense of their national and transnational identities. Female Japanese Protestants were involved deeply in their overseas mission field and in their Protestant communities at home. They were not only main promoters for and participants in Japanese Protestants' mission in China, but they also made use of gender politics to convey their Protestant ethic beyond their religious community. In the meantime, Shimizu's case allows us to observe closely how a male overseas Protestant missionary could have participated in the wartime gender politics in the imperial metropole.

Last, but indeed not least, this study goes beyond the church and clergy setting in understanding Japanese Protestants' overseas missions and uncovers their *secular* involvements in their mission fields. Collectively, the cases selected to present in this study allow us to see how Japanese Protestants – in and out of the Japanese empires –

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<sup>57</sup> Thomas DuBois, Review of *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* by Emily Anderson, *AHR* 121 no. 2 (2016): 549.



contributed to the realization of God’s Kingdom on Chinese lands beyond ecclesiastical missions through their involvement in education, intellectual communications, trading business, social welfare establishment, and cross-cultural networking among Chinese, Japanese, and Americans. Through these social interactions and activities both driven by God’s calling and for God, those Japanese Protestants planted in north China before the end of World War II could continuously build their activism beyond the church setting into the civil society of postwar Japan and reshape their transnational reputation beyond the Protestant community as friendship builders between Japanese and Chinese peoples.

### **Terminology and Methodological Issues**

By “Japanese Protestants,” in this study, generally I mean not ordinary churchgoers within or beyond the Japanese empire but those who went to overseas locations or worked in a cultural context other than their own to spread the Protestant gospel. There is very little difficulty in the English-language to define who are or who are not missionaries. In *Protestants Abroad*, for example, David A. Hollinger used “Protestants” to refer to American Protestant “missionaries, their children, and their closest associates.”<sup>58</sup> Those missionaries in his research, as in that of many others, were the generations of American youths who intended to run the “errand to the world” roughly from the 1880s.<sup>59</sup> The fields of work these men and women participated in were irrelevant – be they, for instance (but not limited to), physicians, nurses, school teachers, university professors, newspaper journalists, editors of

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<sup>58</sup> David A. Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1.

<sup>59</sup> William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

magazines, philanthropists, social activists, or simply church builders and evangelists. Instead, their belief in “the evangelization of the world in this generation” mattered as the central concern in minds of both foreign missionaries themselves and those who supported them back at home.

In the case of Japanese Protestant missionaries, as will be described in more details in chapter one, their self-driven motivation to serve God was to a great extent blurred and undermined in postwar scholarship by Christian scholars’ overall critical attitude towards Japanese imperialism. This moral stance has continuously been filled with their collective memory about Japanese Protestant church’s mainstream, collaborative stance in supporting the war and the wartime imperialistic ideology. To many Japanese Christian scholars, consciously or unconsciously, the definition of “overseas missionaries” before 1945 is largely confined within the evangelical missions. This usage formed a sharp contrast to the Anglo-American definition of missionary.

All the same, Japanese Protestants in north China were not different from their American counterparts in many ways, including their self-motivated intention with clear religious vision, their initial motivation of a civilizing mission in China built upon ethnic/racial superiority, their missiology established with the goal of spreading social gospel, the laymanship in mission work directly influenced by American missionaries, and the interwar Christian internationalism prevailing over the Anglo-American Protestant mission world. However, in an East Asian context, nowadays, Japanese Christians generally do not call those prewar Protestant internationals “missionaries” if they did not work in churches or mission stations. Thus, I use “Japanese Protestants” and “Japanese Protestant missionaries” interchangeably in my

narration. In the places that I do mean ordinary churchgoers, I will clarify or make the literary context clear enough for my argumentation.

Methodologically, as already mentioned, this thesis follows the case study pattern through which individuals are given comprehensive consideration. The case of Shimizu Yasuzō was not randomly selected. He played the central role in the Japanese Protestants' mission in north China as he not only established the social base for the mission but also supervised, contributed to, and interconnected with the wartime enterprises of other Japanese Protestant organizations in Beijing. Because Shimizu was a prolific journalist and writer, his social activities, religious and intellectual thoughts, and internal transformation of mentality can be traced closely through a considerable amount of published and unpublished Japanese sources written by either himself or others about him, both during and after the war. These sources then guided me in searching for other missionaries, whose names appeared in various documents about Shimizu. This roadmap of Shimizu-centered field research, then, provided other individual and institutional case studies that this research has selected to present. Collectively, as a result, they represent the rich complexity and diversity of Japanese Protestants' transnational networks developed in early-twentieth-century north China. To a large degree, the "interconnectedness" of cases provided this thesis with a theoretical framework of transnational/global history that tends to build our understanding of "a world connecting" in history by emphasizing cross-border movements and transnational interconnectedness.<sup>60</sup> And to a certain

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<sup>60</sup> Emily S. Rosenberg ed., *A World Connecting, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). For the methodology, limitations, and perspective of Global History, see also Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014); and Pamela Crossley, *What is Global History* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2008).

degree, it overcomes the potential problem of representativity that is often raised by case studies on less-noticed subjects. Overall, my study intends not to claim how representative Shimizu, the related individual cases, and their enterprises in north China were. Rather, it provides evidence to show the rich diversity within the group of overseas Japanese missionaries and the historical importance of the seemingly atypical ones. In doing so, I hope that this study will broaden our scope of inquiries to help create a more comprehensive understanding of East Asian Protestants and their role in Protestant value-based transnational activism in the global context.

### **Overview of Chapters**

My dissertation displays research findings in seven chapters. Chapter one sets up the historical and historiographical backgrounds for the case studies which will follow. Firstly, it offers an overview of Japanese sources and describes the development of Japanese scholarship on Japanese Protestants' overseas missionary movement, because these works were overlooked for decades in English academia. Japanese Protestants' narrations about their own or their elder generations' overseas missions have had a strong hand in building this body of scholarship, carrying a strong ethical commitment to be introspective of their involvement in the rise of Japanese imperialism from the 1890s to 1945. The major result of this introspective moral stance in this Japanese scholarship was a binary interpretation. It simplified Japanese Protestant overseas missionaries' interactions with the imperialistic *tennōsei* ideology as either collaboration or resistance. Moreover, this interpretation accordingly excluded those missionaries who had not developed their enterprises within the evangelical church setting. Next, I review Shimizu-centered Japanese and

Chinese scholarship with the binary problem in mind, arguing that Shimizu has been misunderstood by most of these studies in the way that his religious identity and national belonging have often been treated separately from and without decisive relation to his educational enterprise and journalistic career in China.

The next four chapters provide explanations to support this argument about the distortion of Shimizu's missionary identity. Chapter two clarifies Shimizu's motivation to become a missionary in China. We will see that his decision was fueled by enthusiasm to take up western Protestants' "white man's burden" in their East Asian mission fields against the background of World War I. Chapter three investigates how Shimizu and his two wives established and developed Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing. This discussion shows that Shimizu's role in school administration was not as central as previous studies had taken for granted, but rather that it was collaborative with the two missionary women he married. However, his Christian faith maintained his charismatic influence on his young female students and nurtured the liberal atmosphere on campus.

Chapter four focuses on Shimizu's Protestant faith and missionary identity by investigating how it had been cross-culturally transformed within both the intellectual context of the 1920s Beijing and the trans-Pacific context of interwar American Protestant internationalism. Through examining his social networking with the May-Fourth Chinese intellectuals and analyzing his journalistic writings on China, I will trace how Shimizu had adopted historical thinking and a root-seeking methodology in understanding China's modern transformation. This chapter will then clarify how, after being trained in Divinity at Oberlin College from 1924 to 1926, Shimizu continuously built parallels between Confucianist philology and Biblical criticism and

eventually conceptualized what he called “Orientalized Christianity” (*Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō* 東洋の基督教) in 1929. Shimizu argued that Christianity had been Occidentalized in the past and could only be restored by re-Orientalizing itself to be a “world” religion. Based on this concept, Shimizu started his life-long search for the components of Christian religiosity in premodern Japanese Confucianism, specifically in the thought of Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648), who was influenced by Neo-Confucianism of the Ming Dynasty. Therefore, I argue, his idea of “Orientalized Christianity” shaped the foundation of his religious mentality, which put national belonging at the center through the historical construction of a modern Japanese nationhood in light of the Protestant identity.

Chapter five traces how Shimizu’s Protestant nationalism had merged into and negotiated with wartime Japanese imperialistic propaganda. This chapter demonstrates that Shimizu was not a passive nationalist at war, but rather that he was a proactive patriot because of his strong belief in his ideal of Orientalized Christianity. Not only did he participate in the wartime image-building of himself as a “Saint of Beijing” via autobiographical writings meant for the Japanese readership within and beyond the empire: he also promoted in his trans-Pacific campaign tour for Chinese girls in 1940, maintaining that Japanese Protestants, according to his Orientalized Christianity, should be moral leaders to build an ideal new East Asia. Paradoxically, this patriotism for God ended with both success in mobilizing Japanese Americans, and punishments by the Japanese consulate (Hawaii) and the Japanese military authority (Beijing). Shimizu’s case represents a paradoxical situation that Japanese Protestants had found themselves in while trying to maintain their loyalty to both God and the nation.

The next two chapters concentrate on the same wartime period from 1937 to 1945 while moving the attention from Shimizu's transnational activities at war to other Japanese Protestants' activities in Japanese-occupied Beijing. Chapter six focuses on the establishment of the overseas settlement called "Hall of Neighborly Love" (*Airinkan* 愛隣館) in Beijing, and the social services it provided locally, from 1938 to 1945. Through analyzing the stories of Japanese WCTU organizers on the micro level – reflected in writings of Japanese Protestant women who planned, donated, dedicated their labor to, and campaigned for this overseas project – this chapter sets out to interpret the impact of their sex, their citizenship, and their religious belief on what they thought and did, both in working with ordinary women in their communities and in trying to influence Japanese state-building at war. To be symbolized as agents of Christian motherly love toward foreign people within and beyond the Japanese empire, *Airinkan's* meteoric fame at the zenith of the war not only feminized Japanese Christianity in nature, but it also helped female-led Japanese Protestant activists to enter the mainstream public sphere of state power, within which their identity of Japanese citizenry could be confirmed and celebrated.

The final chapter, at last, aims to recover the voice of Japanese Protestants in the multi-layered power relations within and beyond the transnational Protestant communities in the Japanese-occupied (while still cosmopolitan) Beijing at war by uncovering the property transfer of the North China Union Language School from American to Japanese YMCA workers in Beijing from April 1942 to April 1943. When Japan's attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 changed the war conditions suddenly in the Pacific region, Japanese Protestants' mission in north China entered a tricky stage because of their awkward position in between multiple

and interwoven relations in Beijing among Japanese military authorities, Japanese embassy and diplomatic authorities, the pro-Japanese Chinese government, Chinese Christians and church leaders, and American and European missionaries of other allied powers. Under Japan's policy regarding Protestant Christianity, Chinese Protestants were mobilized to establish an independent and unified church, in which the transfer of church properties from westerners to Chinese played out as a crucial process. Within this specific context, the transfer of the Language School represented a special layer of power relations composed not only of the wartime friendship built between Japanese and American YMCA workers amidst political instability in Beijing, but also of the negotiations and conflicts between Japanese Protestants and the Japanese local authorities. Exemplified by this special case against the background of the unification of the Chinese church in north China, Japanese missionaries were in the awkward position of playing unique mediatory roles as both authorizing agents for, and authorized objects of, the local Japanese authorities and the Japanese empire. Through their proactive participation in the "occupation Christianity" in-shaping and in-transition in north China, they also jointly paved the way for the postwar transformation of Chinese Christianity.

Japanese Protestants in China of the pre-1945 era were also a group of people worth consideration in the postwar inter-East Asian relations. In the Epilogue, I will briefly provide an overview of how the main figures examined in this study re-established their postwar enterprises for God in Japan. The north China experience shaped their lives to various degrees and in different ways. Conversely, their memories of China and the moral judgment they applied to their own activities in the field shaped how they thought about Christianity and Japan, how they represented



themselves to their fellow Japanese citizens, and why they were involved in their religious, educational, and social activities in postwar Japan. The time frame of this research does not exhaust their role in Japan's multi-religious landscape and intra-East Asian civil politics, because they were all passionate about educating younger generations in their Protestant values. I hope, at this moment when religious regionalism and Pan-nationalism (or "macro-nationalism") prevail around the globe, that my research can draw more scholarly attention to Japanese Protestant missionaries by showing how Protestantism – as an explanatory and causative agent in its own right – had once formed, informed, and transformed their national belonging, their transnational activism, and their role in building intra-East Asian community in the not-long-past history of the early-twentieth-century.

## *Chapter One*

### **History and Historiography of Japanese Protestants' Overseas Missions**

The Japanese Protestants' overseas missionary movement paralleled the militaristic expansion of the Japanese Empire from the 1890s and was abruptly suspended due to Japan's defeat in World War II. It tells a polyphonic story about how Christians' evangelizing missions, undertaken by a group of non-western Christians, could take shape in enriching ways alongside the rise and fall of their non-Christian empire. In this history, I argue, Shimizu Yasuzō's importance has not been fully recognized and critically interpreted because of the church/society (or spiritual/secular) barrier in the research field of Japanese Protestants' overseas missions as it has taken shape in Japan. This chapter aims to provide both a historical background and a historiographical examination for the contextualization of my analyses on his and other related case studies.

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Commanded by Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858), flagships of the United States Navy made the first visit to Japan in July 1853.<sup>1</sup> By signing the Convention of Kanagawa (1854) with Americans in the next year, the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo (present-day Tokyo) was forced to open the country to American and European

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Calbraith Perry, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, 1856* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856), 264-265.

imperial powers.<sup>2</sup> Although committing to modernizing the country, the authority of the Tokugawa shogunate was ended in 1868-69 with its military defeat in the Boshin War (1868-1869). The Meiji Emperor, supported by anti-shogunal domains, was then restored to ruling the new “Empire of Japan” in 1868.

Anglo-American Protestantism came to Japan’s main island in 1859 with the arrival of the first missionaries sent by several major denominations from the United States.<sup>3</sup> In the late Edo and early Meiji period, Protestant missionaries and lay Christians made tremendous efforts to spread their gospel and way of life in Japan through evangelization, education, and publication, among other means.<sup>4</sup> Their visibility in treaty ports and their clear intention to convert Japanese people also stirred anti-foreign sentiments. This sentiment strengthened further after the Japanese government signed The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation in 1894. It said, “The several foreign settlements in Japan shall be incorporated with Japanese communes, and shall thenceforth form part of the general municipal system of Japan.”<sup>5</sup> Within Japan, this new condition of “living-together” (*zakkyo* 雜居) led to heated discussions among Japanese politicians in the Home Ministry, the Ministry of

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<sup>2</sup> For more details about the opening of Japan and the end of the rule of Tokugawa shogunate, see Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002). Especially chapters 9 and 10, 257-332.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 21. British missionaries’ activities in the Ryūkyū islands could be dated back to 1845. For details, see chapter one, especially page 22.

<sup>4</sup> On the role of western missionaries and lay Protestants in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan, see Andrew Hamish Ion, *American Missionaries, Christian oyatoi, and Japan, 1859-73* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009). For the most widely used Protestant history in Japanese, see Dohi Akio’s 土肥昭夫 *Nihon Purotestanto Kisirutokyō shi* 日本プロテスタントキリスト教史 [History of Japanese Protestant Churches] (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 1980). For a general history of evangelicals in Japan, see Nakamura Satoshi 中村敏, *Nihon ni okeru Fukuinha no rekishi: mō hitotsu no Nihon Kirisutokyō shi* 日本における福音派の歴史: もう一つの日本キリスト教史 [History of Evangelicalism in Japan: another history of Japanese Christianity] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba Sha, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> “The New Treaty with Japan,” *The New York Times*, October 3, 1894: 4.

Education, and the Cabinet of the Prime Minister.<sup>6</sup> Those political leaders who rejected this policy, especially those who were against the presence of Christian missions and schools among ordinary Japanese people, argued that “there are no nationals” in the horizon of Christianity, and thus to be “enslaved to sectarianism [of Christianity] is to humiliate the spirit of our nation (*kokumin seishin* 国民精神).”<sup>7</sup>

These arguments implied, in a non-Christian empire, that Japanese Protestants’ religious identity was continuously under scrutiny from the broader society and the imperial state beyond their religious community. Their Protestant faith, either described as non-native and foreign or being connected to a universal, de-national (or anti-national) outlook, was considered subversive to the building of a unified ethnic nation-state that was then increasingly infused by the mythical origin of the Japanese ethnicity in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> In the Meiji period, at least, the tension between these two identities – Protestant and Japanese – was far from being calmed within (and standardized among) Japanese Protestants themselves, not to mention whether they became trusted by the state-in-building or came to be considered as responsible harmonizers in their relations with Buddhists and other religionists in the Japanese context.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ogawara Masamichi 小川原正道, *Nihon no sensō to shūkyō 1899-1945* 日本の戦争と宗教 1899-1945 [Wars and religions of Japan, 1899-1945] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2014), 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>8</sup> For the construction of imperial ideology in coping with the state-building in Meiji Japan, see Carol Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myth: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). On the role of history discipline in the making of national myths in Japan, see John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> For multi-religious relations in Japan before the Russo-Japanese War, especially that between Buddhism and Christianity, see Ogawara Masamichi, *Kindai Nihon no sensō to shūkyō* 近代日本の戦争と宗教 [Wars and religions of modern Japan] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2010). Japanese Protestants’ dual identity also related to their original social status. For the formation of the new middle-class in relation to Christianity during the late Meiji era, see David R. Ambaras, “Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 24 no. 1 (1998): 1-33.

Within only about forty years from the settlement of Protestantism in the country, Japanese Protestants began to adjust their evangelical position from the “receiving” end to the “sending” side. As Hamish Ion wrote, “where empires and missions joined, the missionaries were either nationals of the imperial power or working in territory belonging to an imperial power that was Christian,” while the Japanese empire, he pointed out, was “the only real exception.”<sup>10</sup> Japanese Protestant overseas missionaries were not nationals of a Christian empire, and in most cases, they did not work in a Christian empire. Living in overseas mission fields, they carried similar burden, brought about by their dual identity as both Japanese and Protestant. To cope with the dynamic domestic context, their dual identity was ever-changing in order to demonstrate that their universal, transcending outlook nurtured by Christian values and principles would not antagonize their ethnic identity: instead, the former was essential to build the latter. Regardless of denominational affiliations, they all lived their missionary lives as both God’s servants belonging to the transcendent global community of Protestants and simultaneously as a common citizen belonging to the Empire of Japan.

### **Japanese Protestants’ Overseas Missions before 1945**

Broadly known in Japanese scholarship, Norimatsu Masayasu 乘松雅休 (1863-1921) was the first Japanese Protestant missionary to go beyond the Japanese islands for Christian evangelization toward a people other than the Japanese. Born 1863 in Matsuyama Domain as the eldest son in the house of a domain retainer, Norimatsu

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<sup>10</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, “Missions and Empires: A Case Study of Canadians in the Japanese Empire, 1895-1941,” in Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott eds., *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 177-202.

graduated from the newly established secondary school in the domain. After that, he went to Tokyo for further education and secured a job in 1882 as an officer of the Kanagawa prefectural government. There, he resided in a rented room owned by an old Japanese woman who was a pious Christian frequently attending The Church of Christ in Japan in Yokohama (*Yokohama Kaigan Kyōkai* 横浜海岸教会), the first Protestant church established in Japan in 1872. After his conversion to Christianity there at 24, Norimatsu received training in theology at the Meiji Gakuin 明治学院, during which he turned to the Bible-centered belief of Plymouth Brethren that was brought to Japan by the English missionary Harverd George Brand (1863-?).<sup>11</sup>

While Norimatsu searched for his inner faith and began to practice his missiology in a village in Niigata Prefecture from 1894, Japan and China went to war because the two disputed Korea's status in the regional politics. At the war's end, the Qing regime ceded not only its tributary domination of Korea but also the empire's territory, including Taiwan and Penghu.<sup>12</sup> It was Japan's growing military control over the Korea peninsula, Taiwan, and its surrounding islands that triggered Japanese Protestants' evangelizing endeavors out of their home islands. To a very large degree, their enthusiastic expansion of overseas missions went side by side with Japan's imperialist wars from 1894 to 1945 which paved the way for the state's growth to be a militarily proactive empire.

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<sup>11</sup> For more details about Norimatsu, including primary and secondary sources, see Nakamura Satoshi, "Norimatsu Masayasu no Chōsen dendō 乗松雅休の朝鮮伝道 [Norimatsu Masayasu's missionary activities in Korea]," in his *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi: Norimatsu Masayasu kara genzai made* 日本プロテスタント海外宣教史: 乗松雅休から現在まで [History of Japanese Protestant overseas missions: from Norimatsu to the present] (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 2011), 12-28.

<sup>12</sup> On the First Sino-Japanese War, see S. C. M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

## The Beginning around the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)

Japanese Protestants' voices promoting overseas evangelization had already arisen before the First Sino-Japanese War. Largely, they intended to embed their Protestant value and identity into the Pan-Asianist discourses prevailing in Meiji Japan, which emphasized collectively that Japan held the special calling to liberate other Asians out of backwardness and stagnation toward the path of modernization. In his essay "Go Evangelize in Korea" published in 1892, a Japanese Presbyterian had once stated that "we [Japanese Protestants] carry the divine calling (*tenshoku* 天職) to evangelize other Oriental nations," because he believed, "our great Japan is the leader of the Orient (*Tōyō* 東洋)" and thus "we [Japanese] are responsible for leading other Oriental states."<sup>13</sup> During the war, therefore, most Japanese Protestants endorsed Japan's military actions with this confidence infused with civilizational superiority, as Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861-1930) expressed in his 1894 article "The Justification of the Korean War."<sup>14</sup> He wrote, "A smaller nation representing newer civilization lying near a larger nation representing an older civilization, was there ever such a situation in History without the two at last coming to life-and-death struggle with each other?" Because Japan represented the "newer" and "smaller" nation "in the upward progress of the human race," Uchimura justified, "The Korean war is to decide whether Progress shall be the law in the East."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 48-49.

<sup>14</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, "The Justification of the Korean War," *Kokumin no tomo* 国民の友 [Nation's Friend] August 23: 33-34.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of liberal expansionism as Uchimura expressed here, see Yosuke Nirei, "Globalism and Liberal Expansionism in Meiji Protestant Discourse," *Social Science Japan Journal* 15 no. 1 (2012): 75-92. For a comprehensive examination on Meiji Protestantism, especially leading Protestant thinkers' promotion of the discourses about reformism and progressivism, see the same author, "The Ethics of Empire: Protestant Thought, Moral Culture, and Imperialism in Meiji Japan" (PhD dissertation submitted to University of California, Berkeley, 2004).

Japan's victory in the First Sino-Japanese War echoed Uchimura's prediction and strengthened Japanese Protestants' sense of moral superiority, so that they began to take actions toward making their overseas missions possible in the following decade. In 1895, Japanese Presbyterians, in their national convention, called for the denomination's mission works in Taiwan, sending two missionaries respectively to Taipei in 1896 and Tainan in 1898.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, in 1896, Japanese Anglicans agreed in their fifth national assembly to launch their evangelizing mission in Taiwan, and they sent a bishop to Taipei that same year.<sup>17</sup> Notably, both denominations began their overseas mission among Japanese residents in Taiwan, then a population of more than 20,000.<sup>18</sup> Differing from Japanese Presbyterian and Anglican missionaries, Norimatsu targeted peoples other than overseas Japanese; in this sense, he was forever remembered as the *first* missionary in Japanese Protestants' "foreign missions."<sup>19</sup> During the First Sino-Japanese War, he learned from his Japanese and Korean friends that Korean people suffered painfully because their homeland became the actual battlefield. To let them "feel God's love," he departed for Korea in 1896 and commenced his mission work in 1897 based in Kyongsong (present Seoul).<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the evangelization in church settings toward overseas Japanese and Koreans, Japanese Protestants also initialized other kinds of civilizing projects around the same period. Targeting Koreans in particular, Protestant leaders of multiple denominations joined the organization of the Greater Japan Overseas Education Society (*Dai Nippon Kaigai Kyōikukai* 大日本海外教育会) from 1894. They stated,

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<sup>16</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 52-53.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, "Transnational Christian Activities in a Colonial Setting," 128. Also see Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 71.

<sup>18</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 71.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.



“though not an evangelizing mission, it is based on the same missiology. By inspiring Korean civilians with Christian doctrines, it aims at nurturing in their minds the admiration of Japan.”<sup>21</sup> Honda Yōichi 本多庸一 (also known as Honda Yōitsu, 1849-1912), the first episcopacy of the Japan Methodist Church, and Oshikawa Masayoshi 押川方義 (1852-1928), a dedicating Presbyterian educator, were two main administrators of the Society. In 1899, they recruited Watase Tsuneyoshi 渡瀬常吉 (1867-1944), then the Congregationalist pastor of Hongō Church in Tokyo, to run the Keijō Academy (*Keijō Gakudō* 京城学堂) in Kyongsong, which prepared him well before he took the lead a decade later at the Japanese Congregationalists’ formal mission in Korea.<sup>22</sup>

Taken together, Japanese Protestants’ overseas missions and relevant enterprises targeted two separate groups of people from the very beginning, categorizing Japanese overseas emigrants as the empire’s subjects and Asians of other ethnicities as being assimilated. Nonetheless, both categories carried God’s gospel with imperialistic impulsion and thus they complemented each other in supporting the imperialistic agenda. In this sense, the evangelization of the Japanese population abroad should also be considered an indispensable component of Japanese Protestant overseas missions before the ending of imperial Japan in 1945. Submitted in 1896, one mission report, discussing the need of evangelization in Taiwan, stated clearly the rationale of mission works among Japanese. The author of this report criticized that many Japanese residents in Taiwan were not behaving in a good manner as they did

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<sup>21</sup> Inaba Tsugio 稲葉継雄, “Keijō Gakudō ni tsuite: kyū Kanmatsu ‘nihongo gakkō’ no ichi jirei” 京城学堂について: 旧韓末「日語学校」の一事例 [On Keijō Academy: an example of ‘Japanese school’ in the late period of Yi Dynasty], *Nihon no Kyōiku Shigaku* 日本の教育史学 [Studies in the History of Education] Vol. 29 (1986): 76-94.

<sup>22</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 30.

in Japan, which gave local people a misunderstood image of Japan's colonial policy as unjustifiable without good intention.<sup>23</sup> For many of these Japanese Presbyterians, as one of their leaders Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 (1858-1925) argued in his 1896 essay, it was in harmonizing the relation between the colonizing and the colonized in Taiwan by evangelizing their fellowmen that Japanese Protestants could find their righteousness and value in “loving the nation and serving the public” (*aikoku hōkō* 愛国奉公).<sup>24</sup>

### The Rise from the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

The Russo-Japanese War broke out a decade later. It turned out to be a milestone for all Japanese Christians because they were, for the first time, involved in the allied civil force, joined together with other religious organizations in supporting the imperial state.<sup>25</sup> Confronting the Russian empire's rhetoric to declare war in the names of both the white race's supremacy and Christian God's utmost holiness, many Japanese Protestants tried hard to stick on Japan's ideology, emphasizing that the war was not between non-Christian Japanese and Orthodox Russians but between the civilized Japanese and barbarian Russians.<sup>26</sup> The Methodist leader Honda Yōichi, for example, justified in his *On Expedition of Russia* (*Sei Ro Ron* 征露論, 1904) that the relation between Japan and Manchuria of the Qing regime, as well as the Korea peninsula, was like “lip and teeth,” and thus to remove Russia's influence into these

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>24</sup> Uemura Masahisa, “Taiwan no dendō 台湾の伝道 [Evangelization in Taiwan],” *Fukuin Shinpō* 福音新報 May 29, 1896. Cited from Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 53-54.

<sup>25</sup> Ogawara Masamichi, “Nichi-Ro Sensō: rekkyō to no taiketsu to ‘danketsu’” 日露戦争：列強との対決と「団結」 [The Russo-Japanese War: confronting the western powers and the ‘unity’], in *Kindai Nihon no sensō to shūkyō*, 136-183.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-180.

areas was to protect “the independence of imperial Japan” (*kōkoku Nippon no zonritsu* 皇国日本の存立).<sup>27</sup> With such a self-sufficient logic that Japan was on the just side of the war, other major Protestant denominations in Japan passed resolutions to expand their missions abroad in Korea. In 1904, Japanese Presbyterians set their mission station in Pusan, and the Congregationalists and Methodists did so in Kyongsong.<sup>28</sup>

The end of the Russo-Japanese War by the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 resulted in the transfer to Japan of the south portion of Sakhalin Island, located between the Russian empire and Hokkaido of the Japanese empire. In 1907, the Meiji government established Karafuto Prefecture in South Sakhalin and set Toyohara (present-day Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk) as the capital. Invited by a small group of Japanese Anglicans living there, an Anglican missionary arrived that year to set up worship service and established the Karafuto church of the Anglican Episcopal Church in Japan in 1909.<sup>29</sup>

In Manchuria, Russia’s defeat brought about the transfer from Russians to Japanese of running the already underway construction of the Chinese Far Eastern Railway. In 1906, the southern part of the railway lines came under Japanese administration by the South Manchuria Railway Company (*Minami Manshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha* 南滿洲鐵道株式會社, referred to as Mantetsu), which brought not

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<sup>27</sup> Isaak Noguchi 野口 伐名, “Nihon no kokushi Honda Yōitsu ni oketu Meiji Nihon no kindai kōten kokka kokumin no keisei no mondai (I)” 日本の国士本多庸一における明治日本の近代皇天国家国民の形成の問題I [Youitsu Honda’s Views of the Nation Building for the Emperor System of Japan at the Meiji Period I], *Hirosaki Gakuin Daigaku Shakai Fukushi Gakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 弘前学院大学社会福祉学部研究紀要 [Hirosaki Gakuin University Bulletin of Faculty of Social Welfare] 11 (Mar. 2011): 18-19. Also, Ogawara Masamichi, *Kindai Nihon no sensō to shūkyō*, 177-178.

<sup>28</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 49-50.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, “Transnational Christian Activities in a Colonial Setting,” 129-130. Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 73.

only Japan's economic and political influence but also a considerable population of ethnic Japanese to the southern Manchurian region.<sup>30</sup> In 1907, the Presbyterian representative in Manchuria visited Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857-1929), the first director of the Mantetsu, who had once been involved in colonial administration in Taiwan as the first civilian governor in 1898.<sup>31</sup> Responding to Japanese Presbyterians' endeavors in "evangelizing Japanese" in both Taiwan and Manchuria, Gotō stated clearly, "we cannot govern the people only through coercion, but we need your religionists to pave the way through love to express our goodwill."<sup>32</sup> With ideological support through the governmental side, the Presbyterians' service for Japanese immigrants in Manchuria developed fast. By 1912, three churches and four mission stations were established by seven Japanese Presbyterian pastors and missionaries in southern Manchuria.<sup>33</sup> In 1914, Japanese Anglicans joined the mission field along the Mantetsu railway lines and later established their "Manshū Mission."<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, following Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, Japanese Protestant missions in Korea entered a new age during which their activities were promoted not only in the church setting by themselves in Japan and Korea but also by the imperial government through the sponsorship of the Governor-General of Korea. The Congregational Church benefited the most from Japan's colonial government in

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<sup>30</sup> For some recent studies on Mantetsu, see Bruce Elleman and Stephen Kotkin eds., *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History* (Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> For scholarly research on Gotō in English, see Yukiko Hayase, "The Career of Gotō Shinpei: Japan's Statesman of Research, 1857-1929" (PhD dissertation submitted to Florida State University, 1974).

<sup>32</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 56.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Andrew Hamish Ion, "Transnational Christian Activities in a Colonial Setting," 138-139.

Korea.<sup>35</sup> In 1911, Watase was recruited by the church formally as the Congregationalist missionary in Korea and began to station in both Kyongsong and Pyongyang. Receiving supporting funds from financial cliques in Japan as well as subsidies from the Governor General of Korea, the Japanese Congregational Church skyrocketed in size in the peninsula. According to the church's records, more than ten preexisting Korean churches joined the Japanese Congregationalists' organization that year. In only seven years, to 1918, there were 149 churches with 13,631 members under the umbrella of Japan's Congregational mission in Korea. In terms of its size, the mission was comparable to its home organization in Japan, which had grown slowly from 102 to 113 churches and from 16,630 to 20,427 members.<sup>36</sup> Though not targeting Koreans like the Congregationalists, Japanese Methodists also received funds from the Governor-General. In 1908, when they campaigned for a budget of 6,000 *yen* to establish their church hall in Pyongyang, the Governor General subsidized 5,000 *yen*.<sup>37</sup>

In the south, Japan's colonization of Taiwan had gone on for a decade by the end of the Russo-Japanese War and caused conflicts between the colonized locals and the colonizing Japanese. By 1903, about 1,900 Japanese had been killed in 1,132 incidents raised by aboriginal protectors; among them, the Atayal tribes were said to be "more uncivilized than any of the others," particularly because of their ferocious headhunting custom.<sup>38</sup> It was this specific colonial situation that gave birth to

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<sup>35</sup> For Japanese Congregationalists' missions in Korea, see Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 29-47. Refer also to Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*.

<sup>36</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 32-33.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Takekoshi Yosaburō 竹越與三郎, *Japanese Rule in Formosa* (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 219. Japanese records indicated that, from 1895 to 1934, 7,080 Taiwanese and Japanese were killed. See Hideo Naito, *Taiwan: A Unique Colonial Record*

Japanese Protestants' evangelization of the aboriginal non-Han peoples. In 1906, 36 Japanese were beheaded by the Taroko Atayal protectors, which became one of the most important incidents that led to the launch of the "Five Year Plan to Subdue the Barbarians" by the Japanese Governor General in 1910.<sup>39</sup> One of those beheaded was Inoue Yanosuke 井上彌之助, father of Inoue Inosuke 井上伊之助 (1882-1966) – then a 24-year-old theology student at the Kashiwagi Bible Institute of the Oriental Missionary Society (*Kashiwagi Seisho Gakuin* 柏木聖書学院). Believing in God's words "Love your enemies," the young Inoue began to pray for the Atayal people and decided to transform them into "kind people" through God's gospel. After he failed to gain the government's permission to conduct evangelizing activities among aboriginals, he began his mission in Taiwan from 1911 instead as an officer for the medical service in the colonial government.<sup>40</sup>

While all these Japanese Protestant endeavors progressed in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and South Sakhalin, Europeans went through the Great War from 1914 to 1918, which left significant consequences in East Asia, too. The Treaty of Versailles of 1919 endorsed the transfer to Japan of not only Germany's concessions in

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(Tokyo: Kokusai Nippon Kyōkai, 1938), 81. See also, Paul D. Barkley, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874-1945* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 106.

<sup>39</sup> Scott Simon, "Making Natives: Japanese Colonial Policy and the Creation of Formosan Indigeneity," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Japanese Studies Association of Canada in Kamloops, BC, Oct. 14, 2006, accessed July 28, 2019, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/129157559.pdf>, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 92-93. Though becoming eventually involved in formal mission works in Taiwan as an Anglican evangelist, Inoue's service for Atayal people lasting about 37 years until 1947 left a legend among not only Japanese but also Taiwanese churchmen and churchwomen. For his experience in Taiwan, see his *Seibanki* 生蕃記 [Aboriginals of Taiwan] (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1926), and *Taiwan sanchi dendōki* 台湾山地伝道記 [Tominun Utof! God Is Knitting] (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 1960). For scholarly research, see Nakamura Masanu 中村勝, "Aikoku" to "tasha": *Taiwan kōchi senjūmin no rekishi jinruigaku*, 2 「愛国」と「他者」: 台湾高地先住民の歴史人類学 2 ["Nation-loving" and the "other": the historical anthropology of aboriginals in Taiwan's mountains, 2] (Tokyo: Yuberu, 2006). For Western Christian missions among aboriginals in Taiwan, see Ralph R. Covell, *Pentecost of the Hills in Taiwan: The Christian Faith among the Original Inhabitants* (Pasadena, CA: Hope Publishing House, 1998).

Shandong, China, but also islands in the north Pacific Ocean previously belonging to the German New Guinea, where both Catholic and Protestant beliefs had settled deep among local islanders. Invited by the Imperial Navy of Japan, the Japan Congregational Church soon replaced the presence of Lutheran missionaries in the South Pacific Mandate that was given to Japan by the League of Nations in 1919. Instructed by Kozaki Hiromichi 小崎弘道 (1856-1938), several leading Congregationalists of the Reinanzaka Church (*Reinanzaka Kyōkai* 霊南坂教会) initialized the South Seas Mission (*Nanyō Dendō Dan* 南洋伝道団) and managed to send two missionary families to Pohnpei and Truk Island in 1920.<sup>41</sup>

Around the same time, in the late 1910s, the Japanese Protestant overseas missionary movement was joined by a group of enthusiastic newcomers from the Oriental Missionary Holiness Church (1917-1928), which was the Japanese split of the Oriental Missionary Society (1904-1917, known as OMS or OMS International, and currently named One Missionary Society), founded by American missionaries Charles and Lettie Cowman and Japanese pastor Nakada Jūji 中田重治 (1870-1939) in 1901 in Tokyo.<sup>42</sup> Led by Nakada, the Japanese split, renamed Japan Holiness Church (*Nihon Seikyōdan* 日本聖教団) in 1911, reached both sides of the Pacific during the 1910s and 1920s. In 1917, Japanese Holiness Church established their first overseas station in Fushun in Manchuria, which was becoming increasingly industrialized due to the coal mine run by Japanese government in the region. Later,

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<sup>41</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 109-110, 112, 118. For the recent studies on the South Seas Mission, see Lee Un Ja 李恩子, “Rethinking the Relationship between Christianity and Colonialism: *Nanyō Dendō Dan*, the Japanese Christian Mission to Micronesia from 1920 to 1942,” *Kwansei Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyō to Bunka Kenkyū* 関西学院大学キリスト教と文化研究 [Kwansei Gakuin University Journal of Studies on Christianity and Culture] 14 (2013): 123-132.

<sup>42</sup> For Holiness Church’s history, see John Jennings Merwin, “The Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church in Japan, 1901-1983” (Doctor of Missiology Thesis submitted to School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983).

the Holiness Church sent missionaries to Gwangju, Jinju, and Kyongsong in Korea from 1919 to 1925; to San Francisco, California in 1920; to Indonesia and Brazil in 1925; to Taiwan in 1926, and to Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin) in 1927.<sup>43</sup>

### The Integration into the United Church in the “Fifteen Years’ War”

Entering into what the Japanese called the “Fifteen Years’ War,” beginning with the Manchuria Incident on September 18, 1931, Japanese military forces invaded the continental mainland of China through engaging in all sorts of conflicts and combats.<sup>44</sup> They paved the way for the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937 (which triggered full-scale war in China), and eventually the Attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.<sup>45</sup> For the Japanese, the intention of the 1941 attacks was to break out from what they called “ABCD line” encircled by the America (United States), Britain (United Kingdom), China, and Dutch (Netherlands), not only in political-economic terms but also regarding the

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<sup>43</sup> For more information about Holiness Church’s overseas missions, see Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 144-154. On the development of Japanese Evangelicalism, see his monograph *Nihon ni okeru Fukuinha no rekishi*. About Japanese missionaries in Indonesia, see Hara Makoto 原誠, “Ninon Kirisuto Kyōdan nanbō hakken senkyōshi to Indoneshia no kyōkai 日本基督教団南方派遣宣教師のインドネシアの教会 [Missionaries send by the United Church of Christ in Japan and Christian churches in Indonesia],” *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 基督教研究 [Studies in Christianity] 56 no. 1 (1994): 23-48.

<sup>44</sup> Many Japanese literatures use the periodization of the “Fifteen Years’ War.” See, for example, Fujiwara Akira 藤原彰 and Imai Seiichi 今井清一 eds., *Jūgonen sensōshi* 十五年戦争史 [History of the Fifteen Years’ War] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1988). In English scholarship like in Japanese, there are different ways of periodization of this war period. Rana Mitter defines China’s war with Japan from 1937 to 1945. S. C. M. Paine defines the Sino-Japanese War from 1931 to 1941 and calls the period from 1941 to 1945 “the General Asian War” in the World War II framework. See Rana Mitter, *China’s War with Japan: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013); S. C. M. Paine, *The Japanese Empire: Grand Strategy from the Meiji Restoration to the Pacific War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Eri Hotta discussed the scholarly reasons for naming the war in various ways, see “Introduction” in her book, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931-1945*, 1-6.

<sup>45</sup> For primary and secondary sources about the war, see Loyd E. Lee ed., *World War II in Asia and the Pacific and the War’s Aftermath, with General Themes: A Handbook of Literature and Research* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998).



territorial encirclement shaped by their overseas colonies in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.<sup>46</sup> Against this background, Japanese Protestants' overseas missions were growing proactively to be trans-denominationalized, and their enterprises became eventually institutionalized into the home United Church at the imperial metropole.

The establishment of the Manchuria Mission (*Manshū Dendōkai* 満州伝道会) in 1933 was a sign, indicating that Japanese Protestants were determined to launch an interdenominational expansion beyond Japan's formal empire.<sup>47</sup> After the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese Kwantung Army settled its military control over the three northeastern provinces in the Manchuria region and fostered the newly established puppet Manchukuo in 1932. Joined after January 1933 by the Province of Rehe (Jehol), north of the Great Wall located between the Manchurian and Mongolian areas, the territory of Manchukuo became secured for not only Japanese political interests, economic investments, and the need of emigration, but also missionary activities by Japanese religionists.<sup>48</sup>

In May 1933, Hibiki Nobusuke 日足信亮 (1858-1940) of the Presbyterian Church at Fujimichō in Tokyo blueprinted with the church's pastor, Mitsuyoshi Tsutomu 三吉務 (1878-1975), about the organization of mission works in Manchukuo. Hibiki was previously a major-general of the Imperial Army. As a

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<sup>46</sup> Of the considerations about the "ABCD encirclement" in Japan's strategic decision, see chapters 8-10 in Eri Hotta's *Japan 1941: Countdown to Infamy* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2013). On the origin of the war before 1941, see Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987).

<sup>47</sup> For the most detailed research on the Manchuria Mission, see Han Sokki 韓哲曦, *Nihon no Manshū shihai to Manshū Dendōkai* 日本の満州支配と満州伝道会 [Domination of Japan over Manchuria and the Manchuria Mission] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Shuppankyoku, 1999). By that time, Japan's formal empire included its home islands, Okinawa, Taiwan, South Sakhalin, Korea, the Kwantung area of the Liaodong peninsula in China, and the South Pacific Mandate.

<sup>48</sup> On history of Manchukuo, see Prasenjit Duara, "Manchukuo: A Historical Overview," in his *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 41-86.

Protestant military officer, he was involved actively in evangelical and educational activities in north China and Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>49</sup> Mitsuyoshi, too, had been working in the Japanese Church at Dalian for sixteen years before 1927.<sup>50</sup> They saw eye to eye and immediately created an evangelical plan targeting Manchurian people exclusively because, as they stated, “an essential element of any independent Christian church is its evangelization towards other nations.”<sup>51</sup> Because of Hibiki’s networking with the Kwantung Army, the Manchuria Mission’s development was remarkably fast. Its first mission station was established in Fengtian (present Shenyang) in August 1933 and, very soon, other stations came into being in Dalian and Xinjing (present Changchun), the capital of Manchukuo.<sup>52</sup> In 1935, the Mission also sent Fukui Jirō 福井二郎 (1899-1983) to the city of Rehe (presently the city of Chengde in Hebei Province). Based there, many younger Japanese missionaries pursued and prayed for Japanese evangelization in Mongolia during the war.<sup>53</sup>

Upon the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Manchuria Mission was renamed East Asia Mission (*Tōa Dendōkai* 東亜伝道会) and expanded its mission field gradually into Japanese-occupied areas in China thereafter.<sup>54</sup> When

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<sup>49</sup> For biographical information, see Ishii Denichi 石井伝一, *Ijin Hibiki Nobusuke* 偉人日足信亮 [The great man Hibiki Nobusuke] (Tokyo: Keiseisha, 1941).

<sup>50</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 127.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-129.

<sup>53</sup> Group of Rehe (*Nekkakai* 熱河会) was a small society that has been organized in postwar Japan by the group of Japanese missionaries who went to Rehe from 1935 and returned eventually to Japan from the end of 1940s to early 1950s. For their mission in Rehe and Mongolia, see Nekkakai ed., *Kōya o yuku: Nekka, Mōko senkyōshi* 荒野をゆく：熱河蒙古宣教史 [Into the Wild: History of Japanese Christian missions in Rehe and Mongolia] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1967). Inuma Jirō 飯沼二郎, *Nekka senkyō no kiroku* 熱河宣教の記録 [The records of mission in Rehe] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1965). For secondary research, see Watanabe Yūko 渡辺祐子, Zhang Hongbo 張宏波, and Warai Eiko 荒井英子, *Nihon no shokuminchi shihai to “Nekka senkyō”* 日本の植民地支配と「熱河宣教」 [Colonial domination of Japan and “evangelization in Rehe”] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba Sha, 2011).

<sup>54</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 129.

Hibiki passed away in 1940, his leadership transferred to the Christian politician Matsuyama Tsunejirō 松山常次郎 (1884-1961).<sup>55</sup> Under his leadership, the Mission began to receive a considerable amount of subsidy each year from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and then the Ministry of Greater East Asia (*Dai-Tōa shō* 大東亜省, 1942-1945), the wartime ministry administering Japan's overseas territory and coordinating the promotion of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai-Tōa Kyōeiken* 大東亜共栄圏).<sup>56</sup> Before the Pacific War, the East Asia Mission had organized four divisions in Manchuria, north China, central China, and south China, and established in these areas 79 church stations with 109 recruited pastors or missionaries.<sup>57</sup>

Another noteworthy overseas enterprise that Japanese Protestants were deeply involved in was the colonial settlement of Japanese Christian villages in Manchuria (*Manshū Kirisutokyō kaitaku mura* 満州基督教開拓村). It was proposed first in 1939 by Kagawa Toyohiko 賀川豊彦 (1888-1960), a preeminent Christian evangelist, author, and activist, and had been agreed to by the National Christian Council in Japan (*Nihon Kirisutokyō Renmei* 日本基督教連盟) in 1940.<sup>58</sup> In the next year, the first team of Japanese Christian villagers settled in Changlingzi. In March 1945, the second team moved to Taipingzhen near the border between Manchukuo and the

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<sup>55</sup> Matsuyama was one of main promoters for the wartime Protestant ideology “evangelization for the nation” (*dendō hōkoku* 伝道報国). Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 139.

<sup>56</sup> On “Japan’s Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” and related sources, see Joyce C. Lebra ed., *Japan’s Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II: Selected Readings and Documents* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975).

<sup>57</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 139.

<sup>58</sup> Mark Mullins, “Religious Minorities and the Public Sphere: Kagawa Toyohiko and Christian ‘Counter-Publics’ in Modern Japanese Society,” in Albert Welter and Jeffrey Newmark ed., *Religion, Culture, and the Public Sphere in China and Japan* (Singapore: Springer, 2017), 161-191. For more detailed analysis on Kagawa and Japanese Christian agricultural settlements, see Emily Anderson, “Building an Imperial Christian Utopia in Manchukuo,” chapter 7 of her *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, 225-237.

Soviet Union. In total, more than 200 Japanese participated in the settlement of these two Christian villages. While, after the war, only 102 were reported to have returned Japan at the end.<sup>59</sup>

The number of overseas Japanese Protestant missionaries increased notably from the mid-1930s on. Into the 1940s, their enterprises abroad were significantly institutionalized by the state power after the forced establishment of The United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan* 日本基督教団) in June 1941 in Tokyo.<sup>60</sup> From 1942 to 1943, the pre-existing overseas mission organizations and enterprises gradually merged into the United Church. Responding to the “Manifesto for Greater East Asian Cooperation” (*Dai-Tōa Kyōdō Sengen* 大東亜共同宣言), the joint declaration signed at the Greater East Asia Conference (*Dai-Tōa Kaigi* 大東亜会議) that was held on November 5-6, 1943, the United Church declared, about 20 days later, it would create the East Asia Bureau (*Tōa-kyoku* 東亜局), which then integrated all overseas Japanese mission enterprises, mainly those that were administered previously by the East Asia Mission, the South Seas Mission, and the Committee of Christian Villages in Manchuria under the Division of Rural

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<sup>59</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 196-197. For Japanese studies about the Japanese Christian villages in Manchuria, see Sugiura Hidenori 杉浦秀典 ed., *Manshū Kirisutokyō kaitaku mura to Kagawa Toyohiko* 満州基督教開拓村と賀川豊彦 [Japanese Christian villages in Manchuria and Kagawa Toyohiko] (Tokyo: Kagawa Toyohiko Kinen Matsuzawa Shiryōkan, 2006). For primary accounts, see Horii Junji 堀井純次, *Haisen zengo: Manshū Kirisutokyō kaitaku danchō no shuki* 敗戦前後: 満州キリスト教開拓団長の手記 [At the defeat: my account as the head of Japanese Christian settling villagers in Manchuria] (Tokyo: Seizansha, 1990). And, Enomoto Kazuko 榎本和子, *Erumu no kane: Manshū Kirisutokyō kaitaku mura o kaeri mite* エルムの鐘: 満州キリスト教開拓村をかえりみて [The bell of Elm: Looking back to my life in the Christian village in Manchuria] (Tokyo: Kurashi no Techō Sha, 2004.)

<sup>60</sup> For the establishment of the United Church of Christ in Japan during wartime, see Hara Makoto, *Kokka o koerare nakatta kyōkai: jūgonen sensōka no Nihon Purotestanto Kyōkai* 国家を超えられなかった教会: 十五年戦争下の日本プロテスタント教会 [The church that could not beyond the state: Japanese Protestant church during the fifteen year's war] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppankyoku, 2005). Especially chapter 3 “Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan to Fashizumu jidai 日本基督教団とファシズム時代 [The United Church of Christ in Japan and the era of Fascism],” 73-108.

Evangelism.<sup>61</sup> By 1944, the East Asia Bureau enlarged to become an umbrella organization in the United Church that took charge of not only all Japanese Protestant overseas enterprises, but also the instruction of foreign Asian students in Japan, the domestic propagation and mobilization of overseas missions, and all coordination-related affairs between mission fields and the united church at home. By the end of the war, the Japanese Protestant overseas missionary movement was completely institutionalized; upon the state's defeat, it dismantled at once.

### **To Make a History of and for Us: Primary and Secondary Sources in Japanese**

Though little has been mentioned in other languages, primary sources in Japanese were astonishingly ample about these Japanese overseas missionaries. They are held in governmental and church archives, published by Christian periodicals then and later, recorded in church histories and histories of Christian organizations, and documented by individual missionaries in published or unpublished forms of printing. On the governmental side, except for official reports by Japan's overseas embassies, Christian-related governmental correspondences are always categorized under cultural or educational affairs in the official documents produced by the wartime East Asia Development Board (*Kōain* 興亜院) and the wartime Ministry of Greater East Asia, which are archived currently under the category of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the National Archive of Japan.<sup>62</sup> Supplemented with archival materials

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<sup>61</sup> For a detailed examination on the wartime institutionalization of overseas missions in Japan, see Kozaki Makoto 小崎真, "Senjika ni okeru Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan no senkyō: 'Tōa-kyoku' o chūshin toshite (1), (2)" 戦時下における日本基督教団の宣教: 「東亜局」を中心として (1) と (2) [Evangelical works of the United Church of Christ in Japan during the war: centering on the "East Asia Bureau"], *Ōbirin Ronshū* 桜美林論集 [The Ōbirin Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities] 28 (2001): 29-49; 29 (2002): 55-79.

<sup>62</sup> They are searchable online through the database managed by the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR), see <https://www.jacar.go.jp/english/>.

from the church's side, especially those that have been documented by the United Church of Christ in Japan, one can obtain a relatively clear picture of the institutional rise of Protestants' overseas missions at war and its integration into state power.<sup>63</sup> This layer of church-state interactions could be further enriched by personal documents that were in the possession of significant Protestants who promoted the institutionalization of the overseas missions. For instance, the "Possession of Kozaki Michio 小崎道雄 (1888-1973)" preserved at the Dōshisha University collected a considerable number of documents about how Japanese Protestant overseas enterprises had been institutionalized into the United Church under the newly established East Asia Bureau.<sup>64</sup> Further, the Kagawa Archive and Resource Center possesses primary sources about Kagawa Toyohiko's involvement in sending Christian colonial settlers to Manchuria.<sup>65</sup>

These sources are undoubtedly significant in revealing the state-sponsored missionary movement, but they rarely present subjective and private voices by individual missionaries on sites. This information can instead be found in Christian periodicals in Japanese, which provided extensive space for individuals to report and provide feedback to domestic Christian communities. This group of sources, though scattered overall, is accessible throughout the microfilmed *Collection of Christian Newspapers in Modern Japan (Kindai Nihon Kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei 近代日本キ*

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<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho Shiryō Hensan Shitsu 日本基督教団宣教研究所史料編纂室 ed., *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdanshi shiryō shu* 日本基督教団史資料集 [Collection of primary sources for the history of the United Church of Christ in Japan] (Vol. 1-5) (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Senkyō Kenkyūsho, 1997, 1998, 2001).

<sup>64</sup> Hara Makoto, "'Kozaki Michio Shozō Shiryō' ni tsuite no shōgai to kaisetsu" 「小崎道雄所蔵資料」についての紹介と解説 [Introductory Remarks on the Documents in the Possession of Michio Kozaki], *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 基督教研究 [Studies in Christianity] 63 no. 1 (2001), 78-84. For the catalogue of this archive, see Dōshisha University School of Theology ed., *Kozaki Michio Shozō Shiryō mokuroku* 小崎道雄所蔵資料目録 [Catalogue of the Possession of Kozaki Michio] (Kyoto: Dōshisha University School of Theology, 2003).

<sup>65</sup> For the Center's downloadable English sources, see <http://zaidan.unchusha.com/e/index.html>.

リスト教新聞集成) that reprinted 49 periodicals (published from 1875 to 1945) systematically in the 1990s.<sup>66</sup> Not included in this collection, however, were still a great number of organizational periodicals and privately published newsletters. Some significant ones that will be used in this research include *Fujin Shinpō* (婦人新報), published by Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Japan (*Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai* 日本キリスト教婦人矯風会, referred to as Japan WCTU), *The Pioneer* (*Kaitakusha* 開拓者), published by the National Council of YMCAs of Japan (*Nihon YMCA Dōmei* 日本 YMCA 同盟, referred to as Japan YMCA), *Voice at the Lakeside* (*Kohan no koe* 湖畔の聲), published by the Ōmi Brotherhood (*Ōmi Kyōdaisha* 近江兄弟社), and *Friends of China* (*Shina no tomo* 支那の友), published by Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing. Beyond these periodical publications, missionaries' memoirs and numerous published and unpublished biographical and autobiographical writings also constitute a valuable group of primary sources because they depict most vividly the subjective complexity of the missionaries' national and religious identities and the multilayered details of their interactions within the local fabrics of their mission fields.<sup>67</sup>

Based on such rich sources, Japanese Protestants' overseas missions (*kaigai dendō* 海外伝道) gradually became an academic subfield over the past three decades in historical studies of Christianity in Japan. A major body of scholarly research in this growing field had been published in the journals *The Study of Christianity and Social Problems* (*Kirisutokyō Shakai Mondai Kenkyū* キリスト教社会問題研究) and *Studies in Christianity* (*Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 基督教研究), both published at

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<sup>66</sup> *Kindai Nihon Kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei* 近代日本キリスト教新聞集成 [Collection of Christian Newspapers in Modern Japan] (Period 1-3) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1992, 1993, 1995).

<sup>67</sup> For a list of Japanese missionaries worked in north China during wartime, see Appendix I.

Dōshisha University. At first, Japanese missionaries' works in Korea and the place of Christianity in Japan's colonial governance towards Koreans drew attention to Japanese scholars and Korean scholars in Japan. Their studies grew starting in the late 1980s, then came to be more extensive in denominational and individual case studies in the 1990s, and were echoed by and interacted with scholarly research in the Korean language with the same focus.<sup>68</sup> The geographical focus of this group of research, then, moved from Korea and Manchuria towards Taiwan and other colonies within the expanding Japanese empire from the 1890s to 1940s.<sup>69</sup> Because of the complexity and diversity of these differing colonial contexts and the scattered distribution of the primary sources, most scholars based their research on the given context of a certain colony and focused on either single (or a group of) missionaries or/and a specific missionary enterprise.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For studies in Korean, refer to a literature review by Lee Wonjung 李元重, "Shokuminchi Chōsen ni okeru Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai ni kansuru kenkyū" 植民地朝鮮における日本基督教会に関する研究 [A Research on the Church of Christ in Japan in Colonial Korea] (PhD Dissertation submitted to Dōshisha University, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> For studies focusing on Korea, see Iinuma Jirō and Han Sokki, *Nihon teikoku shugi ka no Chōsen dendō: Norimatsu Masayasu, Watase Tsunekichi, Oda Naraji, Nishida Shōichi* 日本帝国主義下の朝鮮伝道: 乗松雅休・渡瀬常吉・織田櫓次・西田昌一 [Mission in Korea under Japanese Imperialism: Norimatsu Masayasu, Watase Tsunekichi Ōda Nariji, Nishida Shōichi] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppanyoku, 1985). On Manchuria, see Han Sokki, *Nihon no Manshū shihai to Manshū Dendōkai*. Takai-Heller Yuki's 高井ヘラー由紀 studies, concentrating on Japanese Protestants and churches in Taiwan, have been published mostly in the 2000s. See, for example, Takai-Heller Yuki, "Nihon tōjika Taiwan ni okeru Nihonjin Purotestanto kyōkaishi kenkyū" 日本統治下台湾における日本人プロテスタント教会史研究(1895-1945年) [The Japanese protestant church in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945)] (PhD dissertation submitted to the International Christian University, 2004).

<sup>70</sup> For a recent case, see Kanemaru Eiko's 金丸英子 research on Baptist's mission in Manchuria, "Ameno Eizō ni yoru Seibu Kumiai no Manshū dendō to Manshū Dendōkai ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan kamō to no kanren kara" 天野栄造による西部組合の満州伝道と満州伝道会に関する一考察: 日本基督教団加盟との関連から [Amano Eizō and His Missionary Activities in Manchuria: Observation on West Japan Baptist Convention: Manchuria Mission from the Perspective of Baptist Participation in Japan's United Church of Christ], *Seinan Gakuin Daigaku Shingaku Ronshū* 西南学院大学神学論集 [The Seinan Theological Review] 71 no. 1 (2014): 43-68.



Among them, several scholars began to build a general narrative of the movement over the same period. For example, Han Sokki expanded his research from the focus of Japanese Christianity in colonial Korea in the 1980s to that of Manchuria through his completion of the dissertation “A Study of the History of Japanese Christians’ Overseas Missions” in 1995.<sup>71</sup> This study used “*kaigai dendō shi*” (海外伝道史 “history of overseas missions”) in Japanese for the first time to generalize the Protestant movement of overseas evangelization in the history of Christianity in Japan. The major additions that this dissertation made to Han’s previous scholarship can be found in particular in the chapter about South Seas Mission and its overseas enterprises.

Outside of Dōshisha University in Kyoto, the center of the emerging field, Rev. Nakamura Satoshi also began to study, write, and teach during those same decades about this “history of overseas missions.” In his view, the history spanned over the twentieth century until the present. Based on his teaching notes, he published a book in 1992 entitled *Japanese Path to Overseas Evangelization*, which, undergoing revisions and additions over twenty years, became in 2011 the first published general *History of Japanese Protestant Overseas Missions* in Japanese.<sup>72</sup> In many ways, this revised work is inclusive because it intended to cover the most comprehensive information and updated knowledge about the Movement. Geographically, it mentioned all colonies and areas of Japanese interests where Japanese Protestants had

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<sup>71</sup> Han Sokki (Han Sōk-hūi), “Nihon Kirisutokyō kaigai dendō shi no kenkyū” 日本キリスト教海外伝道史の研究 [A study of the history of Japanese Christians’ overseas missions] (PhD dissertation submitted to Dōshisha University, 1997).

<sup>72</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihonjin ni yoru kaigai senkyō no ayumi* 日本人による海外宣教の歩み [Japanese Path to Overseas Evangelization] (Tokyo: Japan Evangelical Association, 1995). For the revisions that he made, see “ato gaki あとがき [Afterword]” in his *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 294-296.

established mission works. In periodization, it spanned from 1896, when the first Japanese Protestant missionary left the home islands for the evangelization of Koreans, to the end of the twentieth century, when Japanese Protestants dispersed again for mission works over Asia, Europe, North and South America, and Africa, though in a small number of 250. Denominationally, it included not only major denominations like the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist churches, but also Holiness and other smaller communities, such as Free Methodists and the Nazarene, and interdenominational organizations and mission boards. In missiology, it described not only those “direct” evangelizing activities by Japanese missionaries, but also the “indirect” participation of the non-Church Protestants in overseas missions, as reflected specifically by the cases of Uchimura Kanzō and Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄 (1893-1961). Methodologically, it tried to balance case studies with narratives about denominations and interdenominational mission organizations.

Based on Japanese literature, Nakamura’s narrative is representative, comprehensive, and of great help in understanding the political background and the mainstream trends of Japanese Protestants’ overseas endeavors. A great portion of the secondary literature he used in building this history was written by Christian scholars and historians, whose argumentations were developed within a thematic framework on the relation between Christianity and the *tennōsei* 天皇制 ideology through political, sociological, and historical perspectives. To a large degree, this narrative about “mission and empire” is strong, especially when it depicts the mainstream “collaborative” inclination of the Movement toward Japan’s colonial agenda, as reflected by how Japanese Protestants legitimized their belief, practices, and social community by showing their usefulness and unique value not only in the moralization

and mobilization of overseas Japanese but also in the evangelization and civilization of the colonized peoples. However, it reveals to a lesser extent the internal complexity of the overseas missionary population because it simplifies the mission-empire relation into a binary mode.

Nakamura's history is of this binary typology. First, according to his categorization, Japanese missionaries' service for overseas Japanese residents and immigrants was counter-positioned to their service for other Asians in the empire. In other words, by evangelizing either the colonizer or the colonized, Japanese Protestants were considered of special use for the empire. Second, those missionaries who targeted the "foreign" population practiced generally two counter-positioned types of missiology. They were, as he defined, the "missiology of assimilation" (*dōkashugi-teki dendō* 同化主義的伝道), collaborating with the imperialistic policy and the counter-positioned missiology trying to spread God's Gospel "to Jewish people by being like Jews" (*Yudayajin ni wa Yudayajin no yō ni dendō suru* 「ユダヤ人にはユダヤ人のように」伝道する), which in most cases show a certain degree of resistance towards the colonial policy and authority.<sup>73</sup>

Problematically, however, this binary typology framed within the mission-and-empire paradigm was based on its presumption of the general failure of the pre-1945 overseas missionary movement. As Emily Anderson has pointed out precisely, Japanese scholars (especially Christians) "explicitly expressed [their] ethical stance towards the relationship between Christianity and empire."<sup>74</sup> Their assumption that "the two are irreconcilable" shaped the binary image of Japanese Christians at war in which those who "failed" because of their acceptance of Japanese imperialism

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<sup>73</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 275-276.

<sup>74</sup> Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, 10.

counter-positioned to those idealized “pacifists” (and the like) who were “opposed to imperial ideology.”<sup>75</sup> Under the umbrella of this framework that had been applied to most other Japanese studies on Japanese Christianity and Japanese Imperialism, this special line of scholarship also limited “the range and extent of inquiry” because the researchers’ ideological commitment caused essentialist arguments that profoundly simplified our understanding of Japanese missionaries and their enterprises, experiences, and the transformations undergone in their mission fields.

Notably, this polarization is multi-layered in Nakamura’s understanding of the overseas Japanese missionaries. The first layer can be seen in the clear cut between the collaborating and resisting groups of Japanese missionaries in Japan’s colonies. For example, the Japanese Congregationalists’ formal mission in Korea has been considered the “mission of collaborating” with the colonial agenda.<sup>76</sup> In sharp contrast to this stereotype, Norimatsu’s mission targeting Koreans and Inoue’s mission targeting the Atayal people in Taiwan were described generally as the “missions of resisting” the Japanese colonial authority.<sup>77</sup> Representing as such, a second layer of secular-spiritual binary emerges accordingly. That said, most missionaries of the collaborating type engaged in social involvements more actively in the colonies and came mostly from the background of major denominations, while other “special” cases of the resisting type embraced spirituality more intensely in evangelization and came mostly from smaller or minor denominations.<sup>78</sup> Eventually,

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<sup>75</sup> Though to a lesser extent, as Thomas DuBois pointed out, Emily Anderson’s study has also been limited by “a binary of supporting or resisting empire” in her understanding of the Congregational Japanese. See Thomas Dubois’s book review on *AHR* 121 no. 2 (2016): 548-549.

<sup>76</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 29-47.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-28, 92-107.

<sup>78</sup> Except for the abovementioned cases of resisting, see also the case of Oda Naraji. See Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihon Purotestanto kaigai senkyō shi*, 159-170.

readers could find that, in Nakamura's interpretation, "missionary activities" were strictly defined within the church setting through only "direct" evangelization or represented by missionaries who were particularly spiritual in pursuing their Christian faith. At this third and deepest layer, then, this history outlined the significant binary between "the religious" and "the secular," and marginalized not only Japanese missionaries' secular, yet-to-be-institutionalized activities but also any flexible transitions across the intercession of the church, the social sphere, and the state.

This multi-layered dichotomic framework shows explanatory weakness once it is tested by the real cases in history, even including those that Nakamura has selected to include in his history. First, as local situations in the mission field specified, missionaries' reactions could not be typified along denominational clusters. For instance, dispatched by the same home denomination in Japan and sponsored similarly by respective colonial authorities, the Congregationalist missionaries in Korea differed notably from those who went to the islands of the South Pacific Mandate, in dealing with specific colonial policies. Some of the latter group show "resisting" attitudes, and even some resigned from the missionary occupation to protect islanders' rights and expressed strong disagreements toward specific colonial policies.<sup>79</sup> Second, individual missionaries or missionary groups diversified because of their specific backgrounds. In one case, the Japanese missionaries in Rehe Province sent by the Manchuria Mission were conspicuously highly-educated and had shown special interest in spirituality as a way of evangelization, and thus their practices varied remarkably from other branches under the same organization that

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-123.

were obviously implicated more deeply in the imperialistic agenda in Manchukuo.<sup>80</sup> Third, those missionaries who collaborated/resisted a certain authority or certain policy did not always remain inflexible and stubborn in keeping their standpoint and, importantly, such collaboration/resistance was not necessarily attributed simply to their fundamental acceptance/rejection to the Japanese emperor, or to the wholesale imperialistic project as the way to modernize Asia and liberate Asians out from the dominance of Western colonial powers. For example, according to Nakamura's missiological typology, Norimatsu was a typical evangelizer towards Koreans through self-indigenization into Korean culture. After the March First Independence Movement in 1919, he claimed that Koreans should have obeyed Japanese authority and that the repression of the demonstration was not wrong.<sup>81</sup> Considering the deep trust that he earned among Koreans before and after 1919, such a "collaborating" attitude deserves more nuanced treatment than the relatively straightforward conclusion made by Nakamura that he, as "a Japanese of the Meiji era" living within the *tennosei* ideology, "has the natural limit" of overlooking Koreans' nationalistic emotion in the political ecology of the colony.<sup>82</sup>

Based on the multi-layered dichotomic framework, Nakamura not only divided the Japanese Protestant missionary movement into two periods at 1945, but also built the postwar movement firmly on the "failure" of the previous period. His retrospective attitude was but one example among Japanese Christian scholars and historians. For them, like Kozaki Makoto stated, to study the movement of Japanese

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-138. Sawazaki Kenzō 沢崎堅造 was an exceptional case in this group. For memories about Sawazaki, see Inuma Jirō ed., *Sawazaki Kenzō no shinkō to shōgai* 沢崎堅造の信仰と生涯 [Faith and life of Sawazaki Kenzō] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1974).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

overseas missions was first and foremost to criticize rather than to sympathetically understand it: “This criticism is self-criticism, self-inquiry and self-amendment, and bringing about the perspective of self-re-understanding.”<sup>83</sup> With deep Christian faith, they pressured themselves with heavy moral responsibility because they thought, “when we forget this [self-criticism], we would cognize the time in wrong way and pave our behavior through wrong path.”<sup>84</sup> And thus, to a very large degree, their narrations about Japanese Protestant overseas missions was not simply a recovery of the part of their own past that many Japanese Christians preferred to forget, but, more importantly, a harsh and enduring search *for* their own future in morality by criticizing the victim consciousness and bearing the victimizers’ “sin” of the Japanese collective past.<sup>85</sup>

The globalization of transnational scholarship has brought about transitions in this Japanese scholarship both through the actual interactions among scholars of Japan, China, and South Korea, and through the theoretical transformation that made the scholarship move out of the nation box toward the transnational scale.<sup>86</sup> In this

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<sup>83</sup> Kozaki Makoto, “Senjika ni okeru Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan no senkyō (2)” 戦時下における日本基督教団の宣教 2 [Wartime Evangelization of the United Church of Christ in Japan], 69. Kozaki Makoto is grandson of Kozaki Michio, the director of the wartime East Asian Bureau of the United Church of Christ in Japan.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion about the collective victim consciousness that had been constructed in postwar Japan, see James Joseph Orr, *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001).

<sup>86</sup> For the result of the interactions among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean scholars on the research of Christianity, see J. A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng, Chong Ku Paek, Scott Sunquist, and Yuko Watanabe eds., *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Peter Lang, 2009). The most representative studies on occupation Christianity in China have been presented in 2009 at the Sixth Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China under the theme “Chinese Church and the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945 抗日戰爭時期的中國教會 1937-1945.” See the program: [http://histweb.hkbu.edu.hk/con\\_pdf/20090612.pdf](http://histweb.hkbu.edu.hk/con_pdf/20090612.pdf). The most recent occasion of such intra-East Asian scholarly interactions was at the International Symposium on “Christian Churches under the Japanese Empire 日本帝國下的基督教會” held on March 2-3, 2018 at National Central University in Taoyuan. See the program: <http://140.115.103.215/word/%E8%AD%B0%E7%A8%B0227V4.pdf>.

vein, several Japanese scholars came to the forefront of the scholarship on Japanese Protestant transnational activism and accumulated a considerable amount of literature. For example, based on her study of Christianity in China, Watanabe Yūko established the Sino-Japanese framework in her studies and discussed Sino-Japanese interactions in Christianity during the war.<sup>87</sup> Another scholar, whose studies are of particular relevance to my research, is Rev. Matsutani Yōsuke. He has been concentrating on the independence and unification of the Chinese church under the occupation of Japan for many years.<sup>88</sup> From a Sino-Japanese perspective, he also looks closely at the interactions between Japanese and Chinese Christians in the war condition.<sup>89</sup> Through the rediscovery of primary sources in both Japanese and Chinese, these scholars have provided rich details about Japanese Protestants' overseas missions, while they still face a series of interpretative problems: could all Japanese Protestant overseas missionaries be understood well and fully within the framework of unidirectional domination of Japanese imperialism in other Asian countries? In this study, Shimizu's case offers an alternative answer.

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<sup>87</sup> See, for example, Watanabe Yūko 渡辺佑子, "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku Kirisutokyō shi kenkyū ni tsuite: Ni-Chū Sensōki o chūshin ni" 日本における中国キリスト教史研究について: 日中戦争期を中心に [Japanese Studies on Christian History in China, 1937-1945], *Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyō Kenkyūsho Kiyō* 明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要 [The Bulletin of Institute for Christian Studies, Meiji Gakuin University] 47 (2015): 307-325.

<sup>88</sup> Matsutani Yōsuke 松谷暁介, "Dai-Tōa Kyōeiken kensetsu to senryōka no Chūgoku kyōkai gōdō" 大東亜共栄圏と占領下の中国教会合同 [Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and the unification of Chinese Protestant church under Japanese occupation] (Master's thesis submitted to Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, 2006). And his "Chūgoku senryō chiiki ni taisuru Nihon no shūkyō seisaku: Kirusutokyō o chūshin toshita seisaku, soshiki, jinbutsu no kanrensei" 中国占領地域に対する日本の宗教政策: キリスト教を中心とした政策, 組織, 人物の連関性 [Religious policy in Japanese-occupied China: the relationship among Christian policy, institution, and individuals] (PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Kita-Kyūshū, 2013).

<sup>89</sup> Matsutani Yōsuke, "Yanaihara Tadao to Chūgoku: 'Kokka no Risō' kara Ō Meidō hōmon e" 矢内原忠雄と中国: 『国家の理想』から王明道訪問へ [Yanaihara Tadao and China: from his article 'The Ideal of the Nation' to the visit to Wang Mingdao], *Shakai Shisutemu Kenkyū* 社会システム研究 [Social Systems Studies] 25 (2012): 97-123.



## Shimizu Yasuzō in Japanese Scholarship

Unlike many other Japanese missionaries who worked in the church setting, Shimizu was less recognized as a missionary. It is partially because of the problematics emerging from the scholarship analyzed above, and partially because of his more apparent visibility in other social spheres, which overshadowed his missionary mentality. However, indeed, all studies mentioning or focusing on Shimizu point out that he went to China as a Congregationalist missionary. By the mid-1980s, when “overseas missions” had just emerged as a scholarly field in the history of Christianity in Japan, Shimizu’s autobiography *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* which was published in 1939 was considered an important primary biographical source.<sup>90</sup> In this specific field, the first analytical article about Shimizu was published in 1992, which considered Shimizu’s ideas about Christianity to be one of the major facets in understanding his activities in Beijing.<sup>91</sup>

The Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project at the J. F. Oberlin University has become the center of Shimizu-related research since the 1990s. It holds the most comprehensive collection of primary and secondary sources about not only Shimizu and his two wives, but also Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing and Ōbirin Gakuen in Tokyo. The Project organized study workshops, international conferences, and many other kinds of public and academic events; it has also published a large group of studies, particularly in the 2000s.<sup>92</sup> In the meantime, as mentioned above, it was Yamazaki

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<sup>90</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai* 朝陽門外 [Outside the Chaoyang Gate] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1939).

<sup>91</sup> Terasaki Susumu 寺崎暹, “Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku: *Kirisutokyō Sekai o mawatte*” 清水安三と中国: 「基督教世界」を廻って [Shimizu Yasuzo and China: an investigation based on *The Christian World*], *Kirisutokyō Shakai Mondai Kenkyū* キリスト教社会問題研究 [The Study of Christianity and Social Problems] 40 (1992): 136-187.

<sup>92</sup> The first collection of scholarly studies has been published by the Project in 2001. See Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Shimizu Yasuzō no shisō to kyōiku jissen: senzen, senchū o chūshin*

Tomoko's nonfiction that brought Shimizu to a broader readership in both Japan and China. After its publication in Japanese and Chinese in 2003 and 2007, the first monograph about Shimizu was published in Japanese in 2009.<sup>93</sup> The author Li Hongwei made a great effort to dig into not only Japanese but also Chinese sources, and this made her book the most comprehensive secondary source and guidebook about Shimizu and Shimizu-related studies at the time. This work fits Shimizu and his educational enterprise successfully into the framework of Sino-Japanese studies – specifically the educational facet of it, and thus it persuasively demonstrates his deep involvement in educational and social activism in Beijing.<sup>94</sup>

Entering this decade, Shimizu-centered scholarship shows a refreshed interpretation of his journalist career. From 2012, Shimizu's youngest son Shimizu Izō dedicated himself to reprinting and sorting out his father's published and unpublished writings.<sup>95</sup> One of the volumes of these reprints collects almost all Shimizu's journalistic writings on China during the 1920s.<sup>96</sup> In scholarship,

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*toshite* 清水安三の思想と教育実践：戦前・戦中を中心として [Shimizu Yasuzō's thought and educational practice: before and during the war] (Tokyo: J. F. Oberlin University, 2001). For one of the most important conference proceedings, see Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Nichi-Bei kōryū shi ni okeru Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko* 日米交流史における清水安三と郁子 [Yasuzō & Ikuko Shimizu in the history of the Japan-U.S. cultural exchange] (Tokyo: J. F. Oberlin University, 2005). From 2009, the Project began to publish *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 清水安三郁子研究 [Research on Shimizu Yasuzō and Ikuko], the annually periodical of studies on Shimizu Yasuzō and Ikuko.

<sup>93</sup> Li Hongwei 李紅衛, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen: kindai ni okeru Ni-Chū kyōiku bunka kōryūshi no ichi danmen* 清水安三と北京崇貞学園：近代における日中教育文化交流史の一断面 [Shimizu Yasuzō and Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing: one case of educational and cultural exchanges in modern Sino-Japanese history] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2009).

<sup>94</sup> Li clarified that her research has been framed within Japanese scholarship on the role of Japanese in the modernization of education in China from late imperial to republican period (see pages 1 to 15).

<sup>95</sup> Shimizu Izō 清水畏三 ed., *Shimizu Yasuzō sensei ibun shū* 清水安三先生遺文集 [Unpublished (and reprinted) articles by Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō] Vol. 1-5 (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 2012-2015). And he also edited *Shimizu Yasuzō sensei fusai no igyō* 清水安三先生夫妻の遺業 [Legacies of the Shimizu Couple] Vol. 1-6 (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 2013-2014).

<sup>96</sup> Shimizu Izō ed., *Nihon no tai Chūgoku seisaku o kireki hihan: jānarisuto katsudō, Goshi Undō kara kyūnenkan 1919-27* 日本の対中国政策を激烈批判：ジャーナリスト活動：「五四運動」から九年間 (1919-27) [Criticizing Japan's policy toward China: Shimizu Yasuzō's nine years as a journalist

Shimizu's networks with Chinese intellectuals and his "theory of China" (*Chūgoku-ron* 中国論) drew analytical attention, too. Thus, both primary and secondary sources contributed to the creation of a new group of literature that viewed Shimizu through an intellectual lens and re-considered him as an opinion maker on China in Taisho Japan. By far, Ōta Tetsuo and Takai Kiyoshi have contributed the most comprehensive and critical studies on Shimizu's "theory of China" by examining his journalistic writings produced in Beijing through his interactions with Chinese intellectuals, such as Lu Xun and Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1889-1927).<sup>97</sup> In addition, Ōki Yasumichi demonstrated that Shimizu's "theory" that viewed the Chinese May Fourth Movement to be a driving force upholding the enlightenment of the Chinese nation had been intricately woven into the liberal lineage of the intellectual pedigree of Taisho Japan through the political thinker Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 (1878-1933) and philosopher Tsuchida Kyōson 土田杏村 (1891-1934).<sup>98</sup>

In many ways, these studies are insightful and based on solid historical analysis, though they did not explain how Shimizu's experience as a reporter on the May-Fourth China could have possibly reformed and transformed his Protestant mentality as a missionary. Instead, it confirmed further that Shimizu was a social activist as

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from the May Fourth Movement, 1919-27], Volume 3 of *Shimizu Yasuzō sensei ibun shū* (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 2012).

<sup>97</sup> Ōta Tetsuo 太田哲男, "Jānarisuto toshite no Shimizu Yasuzō" ジャーナリストとしての清水安三 [Shimizu Yasuzō as a journalist], in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku* 清水安三と中国 [Shimizu Yasuzō and China] (Tokyo: Kadansha, 2011), 171-92. Takai Kiyoshi 高井潔司, "Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō no Chūgoku-ron to sono kyōteki igi" ジャーナリスト清水安三の中国論とその今日的意義 [Journalist Yasuzō Shimizu's theory of China and its significance today], *Ōbirin Ronkō Gengo Bunka Kenkyū* 桜美林論考. 言語文化研究 [The Journal of J. F. Oberlin University (Studies in Language and Culture)] 8 (Mar. 2017): 37-65.

<sup>98</sup> Ōki Yasumichi 大木康充, "Taishō-ki Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku nashonarizumu e no shiten: Tsuchida Kyōson, Yoshino Sakuzō, Shimizu Yasuzō" 大正期日本における中国ナショナリズムへの視点: 土田杏村・吉野作造・清水安三 [The viewpoints about Chinese nationalism in Taisho Japan: Tsuchida Kyōson, Yoshino Sakuzō, Shimizu Yasuzō], *Kokusai Hikaku Seiji Kenkyū* 国際比較政治研究 [International Comparative Political Studies] 18 (Mar. 2009): 52-75.

either educator or journalist in Beijing. In Ōta Tetsuo's interpretation, for example, Shimizu's article "The Promotion of Socialized Gospel" published in 1929 was a central piece in understanding Shimizu's Christian thought and his educational and social services in China. However, his longer article, "The Promotion of Orientalized Christianity," which was published in the same year, was considered "not much related to" his examination on Shimizu's Christian activism.<sup>99</sup>

This problem, raised by the single-facet concentration on only Shimizu's "social" activism in the public sphere, led to two major consequences. First, the majority of scholarly research about Shimizu does not provide a systematic explanation of his religious identity/thought with indispensable regard to his social activism. In fact, Shimizu Izō's philosophy of reprinting his father's writings, as the themes of different volumes show clearly enough, was not only to preserve an educator and school founder's records. When re-establishing his father as a journalist, he also intended to re-confirm his father's identity as a Protestant.<sup>100</sup> In 2009, he mentioned this problem in scholarship and insisted that this religious aspect of Shimizu's thought was the most understudied topic in the existing Shimizu-related scholarship.<sup>101</sup> He thought his father's religious framework was positioned precisely in between Christianity and Confucianism, referred to as "Japanized Christianity."<sup>102</sup> I will trace in chapter four

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<sup>99</sup> Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 233-234.

<sup>100</sup> Shimizu Izō, *Shiron Pekin ni okeru Shimizu Yasuzō sensei: bokushi, kyōikusha, jānarisuto* 私論北京における清水安三先生: 牧師, 教育者, ジャーナリスト [My view on Shimizu Yasuzō in Beijing: Pastor, Educator, and Journalist], Vol. 3 of *Shimizu Yasuzō sensei fusai no igyō* (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 2014).

<sup>101</sup> Shimizu Izō, "Yasuzō sensei ryū no Kōshi-ron: 'Shimizu Yasuzō shisō' no jūyō tokushoku" 安三先生流の孔子論: 「清水安三思想」の重要特色 [The Yasuzō-style thought on Confucianism: important characteristic of 'Shimizu Yasuzō's thought'], *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 清水安三と郁子研究 [Research on Shimizu Yasuzō and Ikuko] 1 (2009): 71.

<sup>102</sup> Shimizu Izō, "Kenshō: Yasuzō sensei no 'Nakae Tōju wa Kirishitan' ron: Jukyō, Katorikku aida no kyōzon, taiketsu, wakai" 検証: 安三先生の「中江藤樹は切支丹」論: 儒教-カトリック間の共存、対決、和解 [Examination of Shimizu Yasuzō's 'Nakae Tōju was a Hidden Christian': co-existence,

how this specific Christianity had already been formed and transformed during the 1920s.

Second, neglecting Shimizu's religious and missionary mentality as the central driving force of his social activism brought about another major problem in scholarship. It is the lack of explanation of Shimizu's religious rationale that both supported his wartime activism and overlapped with the prevailing wartime imperialistic ideology. Shimizu's wartime behavior and opinion were recorded clearly in his speeches and opinion pieces, especially those that spread broadly during his trans-Pacific campaign trip in 1940 at the peak of war. Among them, his columnist pieces that was published on the *Nippu Jiji* 日布時事 in Hawaii had largely been left out of scholarly discussion. George M. Ōshiro was the first scholar who treated this group of writings.<sup>103</sup> He explained that Shimizu's wartime speech that shows obvious ethnic superiority toward the Chinese was the result of an "unconscious," collective national mentality at war. This, he criticized, was the main cause of both Shimizu's own and the Japanese empire's tragedy leading to defeat. Recently, Takai challenged this interpretation. He wrote, "Shimizu was not a thinker or a political leader, but rather he acted as an educator and a journalist. To move [social] reform forward, he must have compromised to the reality [at war] while he

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counteracts, and harmonization between Confucianism and Catholicism], *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 清水安三と郁子研究 [Research on Shimizu Yasuzō and Ikuko] 1 (2009): 59-70.

<sup>103</sup> George M. Ōshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii: *Nippu Jiji* e no kikō o chūshin toshite" 清水安三とハワイ: 日布時事への寄稿を中心として [Shimizu Yasuzō and Hawaii: his columnist articles published on *The Nippu Jiji*], *Ōbirin Ronshū* 桜美林論集 [The Ōbirin Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities] 32 (2005): 157-166.

fought against it. We should not take only his compromise into account.”<sup>104</sup> I will demonstrate, in chapter five, that both these interpretations are not fully accurate.

### **Reconsidering Shimizu and Japanese Protestant Overseas Missionaries**

Shimizu-centered research is clearly separated from the studies on Japanese Protestants’ overseas missions in Japanese. In recent studies in the latter field, as summarized, Shimizu’s case was considered largely outside of the religious setting. For that reason, he is marginalized in historical writings about Japanese Protestant overseas missions. In his most recently published history of Japanese overseas missions, Nakamura did not even mention Shimizu. On the other side, the Ōbirin-centered study and civil groups do emphasize Shimizu’s Protestant humanitarianism and internationalism. However, in most scholarly research, his missionary Protestantism has been left unexplained. What was this specific Protestantism? How and in what context could it be formed? Did it undergo dramatic changes throughout his missionary experiences in China and thereafter? Fundamentally, we know little about the relation between Shimizu’s religious thought as a missionary and his behavior as a social activist.

To bridge this divide and more fully understand Japanese Protestants’ overseas missions, there is a need to reconsider Shimizu’s and other missionaries’ activities in north China in a broader framework. In “Hegemony, Imperialism, and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia,” Thomas DuBois concluded, “the global discourse [of religion] that emerged from [the European high] imperialism

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<sup>104</sup> Takai Kiyoshi, “Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō no Chūgoku-ron to sono kyōteki igi,” 61-62. Also, Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 368. Ōta clarified that he could not get access to this part of source.

cannot be understood simply as unidirectional domination, at least not along the simple lines of East and West.”<sup>105</sup> In the case of Protestant discourse and gospel that Japanese missionaries carried to other Asian nations, this conclusion is applicable, too. In fact, missionaries were living within what Mary Louise Pratt has defined as “the contact zone,” “[the] social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they lived out in many parts of the world today.”<sup>106</sup> Comparing to the mediatory role that western missionaries played, the in-between position that Japanese Protestant missionaries played was more obvious in our cases. Essentially, this liminality was more adaptable by Japanese in China because of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic affiliations between the two countries that had been developed in their premodern history. However, for that same reason of cultural closeness, the Japanese Protestants’ position was more complicated and flexible because it was shaped multi-directionally in multi-layered relations among and beyond Protestant groups of multi-nations.

Collectively, Japanese missionaries shared the same internal diversity “depending on their personalities, theology, circumstances, adaptability, and crucially, language facility,” as Ryan Dunch has described about western missionaries.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, Dunch’s suggestion to frame missionary movements more dynamically and interactively, by recognizing “multiple possibilities, fluid frontiers, and creative

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<sup>105</sup> Thomas David DuBois, “Hegemony, Imperialism, and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia,” *History and Theory* 44 (2005): 131.

<sup>106</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991): 33-40. See also her analysis on transculturation in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>107</sup> Ryan Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity,” *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 309.

potential in cultural interaction,” is of special importance and relevance to understanding Japanese Protestants, too, in the Sino-Japanese context in which global modernity had spread across the barriers of territorial nation-states and had been re-invented continuously during the twentieth century.<sup>108</sup> Going “beyond cultural imperialism,” I re-interpret Japanese Protestant missionaries as *both* receptors *and* transmitters of missionary encounters, as they positioned themselves fluidly across the West, the East, and the in-between.

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.



## *Chapter Two*

### **The Formation of a Japanese Protestant Missionary in China**

Shimizu Yasuzō was the first Japanese Congregational missionary working in north China, who established a transnational nexus space for Sino-Japanese interactions in Beijing during the interwar and wartime periods. This chapter explores how and why he grew to be such a missionary. My thesis argues that the formation of his outward-looking evangelism with the specific target at the Chinese people was founded firmly on his competing ambition toward, and with reference to, Western Protestant missionaries in the Chinese mission field. This ambition was formed intensively in Japan at the early stage of World War I in 1914 and 1915, during which Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations had been worsened by the Twenty-One Demands Japan sent to China. During his first ministry position in Fengtian from 1917 to 1919, Shimizu became more determined with his Chinese evangelism, particularly under the influence of the preeminent Protestant spokesman Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957), and he married Miho, a devout young Japanese Protestant woman. After moving to Beijing before the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the Shimizu couple established a relief camp for refugee children during the 1920-21 north China famine. This relief work became the first missionary enterprise the Shimizu couple realized in China, which signified the formation of Shimizu Yasuzō's missionary identity looking closely into the West, rather than China.

## Growing up in a Rising Japan

Shimizu Yasuzō was born on June 1, 1891 into a land-owning merchant family as the third and youngest son of Shimizu Yashichi 清水弥七 (?-1897) and Uta ウタ (?-1940) at a village called Shingi-mura in Takashima District (present-day Takashima city) of Shiga Prefecture. This area was called Ōmi Province (*Ōmi no kuni* 近江国) before the Meiji Restoration and has long been well known for its local merchants who contributed tremendously to the economic prosperity of the Kansai region from the Tokugawa to Meiji period.<sup>1</sup> The Shimizu clan benefited profoundly from trading business in the Ōmi region and Osaka up to the end of the 1890s. Like many other merchants in the area, they were heavily influenced by Neo-Confucian morality in the handling of their business.<sup>2</sup> They paid special respect to Nakae Tōju, a well-known Confucian philosopher who grew up in the Takashima District and has long been called “the Sage of Ōmi” by the Japanese. It has been said that one of the Shimizu ancestors had been instructed by Nakae Tōju’s son to study *Okina Mondō* 翁問答 (1640), one of Tōju’s ethical teachings that was considered to be influenced by the late-Ming Confucianism.<sup>3</sup> At the age of six, in 1897, Shimizu Yasuzō participated in the 250th anniversary celebration for Nakae Tōju held at the Tōju’s Academy

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<sup>1</sup> For the Role of Ōmi merchants in Japan’s modern history, see Okura Eiichirō 小倉栄一郎, *Ōmi shōnin no keifu: katsuyaku no butai to keiei no jitsuzō* 近江商人の系譜：活躍の舞台と経営の実像 [A genealogy of the Ōmi merchants: the stage of their activities and reality of their entrepreneurship] (Tokyo: Shakai Shisō Sha, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> For the Neo-Confucian virtue and morality nurtured by Japanese merchants in the Kansai region, see Najita Tetsuo, *Vision of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudo Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> For the discussion of Nakae Tōju’s thought, see Barry D. Steben, “Nakae Tōju and the Birth of Wang Yang-Ming Learning in Japan,” *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998): 233-263. On *Okina Mondō*, see Yamashita Ryūji 山下龍二, “Nakae Tōju’s *Okina Mondō* and Jitsugaku,” *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Ronshū, Tetsugaku* 名古屋大学文学部研究論集. 哲学 [Nagoya University Faculty of Literature Research (Philosophy)] 22 (1975): 21-39.

(*Tōju Shoin* 藤樹書院). This is where, in his memory, Shimizu “determined” enthusiastically to become a Confucian “sage.”<sup>4</sup>

Around that period, Japan was becoming a leading regional power after winning the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895.<sup>5</sup> After centuries of interactions between the two countries, especially from the Meiji Restoration, Japanese elites turned out to be superiorly confident toward the Chinese nation.<sup>6</sup> Such a confidence traveled thoroughly and extensively, down to the bottom of society. Shimizu remembered that when he was five years old, villagers had been lined up to parade one day in Shingimura, singing loudly for the glory of the Japanese empire. Riding on one of his sisters’ shoulders, he joined the excited crowd. After some forty years, in 1939, he could still remember the lyrics that the people had sung that day to eulogize the empire of Japan and to disparage the Qing dynasty.<sup>7</sup>

Soon, after a short decade, Japan won the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese empire’s successful confrontation with the Russian Empire – one of the Western imperial powers to be considered as a representative of the white race dominating the globe – stimulated a strong racialist confidence among the Japanese public. This simultaneously further enhanced the feeling of Japanese ethnic superiority toward the Chinese.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, however, the Shimizu household declined rapidly in the

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<sup>4</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai: Ōbirin Gakuen sōritsusha Shimizu Yasuzō ikōshū* 石ころの生涯: 桜美林学園創立者清水安三遺稿集 [My life as a pudding stone: writings of J. F. Oberlin’s founder Shimizu Yasuzō] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 5th edition, 2009), 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> For the War’s domestic impact on the shaping of the Japanese nationalism, see Makito Saya, *The Sino-Japanese War and the Birth of Japanese Nationalism*, translated by David Noble (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> For example, on the War’s influences in literary and artistic fields in Japan, see Donald Keene, “The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and Its Cultural Effects in Japan,” in *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, edited by Donald Shively (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 247-283.

<sup>7</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 46.

<sup>8</sup> On Japanese nationalist discourses developed during the decade after the First Sino-Japanese War, see Urs Matthias Zachmann, *China and Japan in the Late Meiji Period*.

same decade, because Shimizu Yasuzō's eldest brother Yatarō 弥太郎 proved incapable of preserving the family's prosperity after their father passed away in 1897. Sixteen years younger than Yatarō, Yasuzō then became his eldest brother's dependent.<sup>9</sup> He recalled that he received almost nothing from home, because the land that was presumably his portion of the Shimizu inheritance had been sold by his eldest brother when he was an elementary school boy. In about 1905, the young Shimizu Yasuzō moved to reside in the hostel Hiraokake, run by Yatarō and his mistress concubine in Ōtsu. Life had taken a turn for the worse and Shimizu believed that this caused his lack of self-esteem. Nonetheless, it also stimulated his longing for self-contained independence.

### **Converting to Christianity, Converting to Independence**

In such an environment, while Japan was in a rapid rise and his own house in a sudden fall, the teenaged Shimizu met the American missionary William Merrell Vories (1880-1964) for the first time. Vories went to Japan among thousands of young men and women recruited by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. He established himself as an entrepreneur, architect, educator, philanthropist, and lay Protestant evangelist.<sup>10</sup> The Japanese labelled him an “Ōmi merchant with blue eyes” because he established the Ōmi Mission, a “new and distinctive evangelical enterprise in rural modern Japan” in the 1910s.<sup>11</sup> Naturalized to be a Japanese citizen in 1941 by taking his wife's surname Hitotsuyanagi 一柳,

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<sup>9</sup> For Shimizu's memory about his eldest brother, see his *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 29-31.

<sup>10</sup> For the best account to W. M. Vories and the Ōmi Brotherhood, see Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed’: Evangelizing Modernity between the United States and Japan, 1905-1948” (PhD dissertation submitted to University of California, Los Angeles, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii. The Ōmi Mission renamed to Ōmi Brotherhood (*Ōmi Kyōdaisha* 近江兄弟社) in 1934.

Vories (Hitotsuyanagi Mereru 一柳米来留, since 1941) played an important mediatory role during the postwar occupation period between the Japanese government and the American-led authority in their negotiations on how to place the Japanese emperor appropriately in the US-dominated proposal for a new constitutional state.<sup>12</sup>

In February 1905, when Japan was still fighting with the Russian Empire, this Kansas-born, Colorado College graduate of architecture began his missionary career as an English teacher at Ōmi-hachiman, a rural region beside Lake Biwa in the Shiga prefecture.<sup>13</sup> Working as an English teacher in several secondary schools around Lake Biwa, he enjoyed the social company of his students and always invited many to his residence to play games, drink coffee, and talk about Jesus and the Bible. Yet, facing strong resistance from locals, especially the Association of Buddhist Youth, he was forced to leave his teaching position in March 1907. Still, by then his Bible class had already attracted about one hundred teenage boys, and at least nineteen among them had chosen to be baptized. Some of them, who called themselves “Vories’ boys,” collaborated with their American teacher in building the Ōmi Mission, a community united “to preach the gospel of Christ in the Province of Ōmi without reference to denominations,” and was “affiliated to the National Union of the YMCA [in Japan], but financially independent.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See William H. Lyon, “An American in Japan: William Merrell Vories (Hitotsuyanagi), 1905-1964,” *Dōshisha America Kenkyū* 同志社アメリカ研究 [Dōshisha American Studies] 39 (2003): 37-60; and Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson, *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 39-40. Also see William P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 257-259.

<sup>13</sup> For all biographical information described in this chapter about Vories, see Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “Introduction,” in “The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed,” 1-67.

<sup>14</sup> About the “Platform of Ōmi Mission,” see also Okumura Naohiko 奥村直彦, *Bōrizu hyōden: Nihon de rinjin-ai o jissen shita Amerikajin* ヴォーリス評伝: 日本で隣人愛を実践したアメリカ人 [Biography of Vories: An American practiced the neighborly love in Japan] (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobō,

Shimizu was one of these “boys.” When he met Vories for the first time in April 1906, he was close to fifteen years old and enrolled in the Second Middle School in Shiga Prefecture (renamed Zeze Middle School). Hearing that a foreigner “with blue eyes” would come, he stood at the entrance one day after school, waiting to have a look at Vories. “He touched my shoulder and said, ‘Come on, boy,’” Shimizu remembered, “I did not feel I wanted to escape from his touch, and then I followed him to a residential house nearby,” where more than ten students were waiting for Vories’ Bible class. Shimizu claimed that he participated in the classes every week since then and enjoyed the “charming” after-class ritual by having homemade cookies and coffee or tea.<sup>15</sup>



**Founding Members of the Ōmi Mission (1912)**

Shimizu (third from left) in Japanese clothing. Vories is on the far right.  
*Photo collected by Ōmi Brotherhood, see <http://vories.com/hitobito/02.php>.  
See also *Bōrizu hoyden*, 95.*

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2005), 93, 97.

<sup>15</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 24-25.

Even so, Shimizu's decision to be baptized was not made in Vories' Bible classes. After he was first exposed to Christianity through Vories, Shimizu began to attend church activities frequently and experienced the charisma of Japanese Protestants face-to-face in the local Congregational Church at Ōtsu. A notable example is, in 1908, the Japanese Congregationalists promoted a traveling evangelization program (*shūchū dendō* 集中伝道) centered at the Ōtsu Church. Leading Japanese Congregational preachers visited the church frequently and baptized 27 locals in total by the end of year.<sup>16</sup> Shimizu was among them. He attended many events from this program during that year and he recalled that he admired those preachers deeply for the eloquence of their speeches. Particularly, he recalled, Kimura Akimatsu's 木村清松 (1874-1958) sermon played a decisive role in making his final decision for baptism, though he did not describe in detail what Kimura preached.<sup>17</sup>

Yet, another speech so impressed Shimizu that he could remember it for a lifetime. On September 28, 1908, he remembered, Pastor Makino Toraji 牧野虎次 (1871-1964) of the Yojō Church in Kyoto preached a sermon, in which he said, "Mr. Niijima Jō 新島襄 (1843-1890) [the founder of the Dōshisha University] always told us that 'God raised him up from even a pebble stone rolling in the campus of Dōshisha.'" This was, as Shimizu considered, a reminder of the verse about stone in the Gospel according to Matthew. It states, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" (Matthew 3:9).<sup>18</sup> Then, importantly, he "applied" this verse

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<sup>16</sup> Most of these preachers were liberal Christians and some of them related closely to Shimizu in his later life. They included Makino Toraji from the Heian Church (Kyoto), Kimura Akimatsu from the Rakuyō Church (Kyoto), and Ebina Danjō from the Hongō Church (Tokyo). See Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 27-28, 33. Also see Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 35.

<sup>17</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 28.

<sup>18</sup> At this point, Shimizu could only read the Meiji version of Japanese Bible (*Meiji Motoyaku Seisho*

to himself and thought, “God would raise me, this pebble-like loser Shimizu Yasuzō, up to become someone like Niijima Jō, the founder of Dōshisha.” In this way, Makino’s talk about “the rolling pebble” at Dōshisha spoke very deeply to Shimizu’s feeling of inferiority. In Shimizu’s own words, he then became consciously ready to be useful for God by calling himself *Joseki* (如石), a pseudonym which literally means “like a pebble stone,” that he used as his pen name frequently in later years.<sup>19</sup> It was also since then that Pastor Makino, a Yale graduate in Theology who served as the president of the Dōshisha University during the Second Sino-Japanese War, became a significant mentor in shaping Shimizu’s decision to be a missionary in China.

Some fifteen years later when he studied in the United States, Shimizu looked back to his conversion to Christianity and claimed,

I had thought the ideal vision of humanity lay within the teachings of Confucius, but I myself was not able, was inadequate, to attain such a humanity. And whilst Buddhism seemed uninterested in my internal struggles, once I started going to the Christian church, I realized anew that the Lord Jesus was guiding me towards a strong faith, through the blessings that come from a belief that salvation is promised by the Christian faith.<sup>20</sup>

It seemed, after experiencing the decline in his family’s fortunes, the young Shimizu turned from a plain admiration for Confucian teachings, which might have been of

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明治元訳聖書), which had consulted the King James version of Bible in English during its translation. Thus, the citation here is from *Holy Bible: King James Version* (Collins, printed by Authority in 1991), 877.

<sup>19</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 33-34.

<sup>20</sup> The quotation used here is translated by Li Hongwei in her English article. See Li Hongwei, “Yasuzō Shimizu and Beijing’s Sūtei Gakuen: In View of Modern Educational Cultural Exchange between China and Japan,” in *Proceedings: Kakusa Senshitibuna Ningen Hattatsu Kagaku no Sōsei* 格差センシティブな人間発達科学の創成 [Proceedings (of the program) Science of Human Development for Restructuring the “Gap Widening Society”] 01 (March 2008): 45.



less practical meaning for a teenager at a low point in his life, to Christianity, a faith that promises “salvation.” Not only did he find from this faith the potential to be saved spiritually, but he also saw a full image of hope in it, the ability to escape from the declining old house and to establish himself anew as an independent adult.

### **Becoming a China Missionary in Japan during World War I**

In 1910, Shimizu entered Dōshisha University, the central institute of the Japanese Congregationalists’ theological education, then under the leadership of those affiliated with the Kumamoto Band.<sup>21</sup> Because of financial deficiency and the lack of academic competence to be admitted by other schools with a tuition waiver, Shimizu chose to enroll in the preparatory program in Theology at the Dōshisha University. At the time, it required neither payments of tuition nor strong academic records of previous studies. Even so, Shimizu had to earn money to cover his living expenses by tutoring several middle-school students for the first year and half.<sup>22</sup> After that, he received a monthly subsidy of 8 *yen* from the Ōmi Mission at a time when 4.8 *yen* was quite enough for the cost of regular meals per month.<sup>23</sup> During his study in Kyoto with this subsidy, Shimizu was assigned by the Mission regular “field trips” to nearby villages and towns for evangelization during most weekends.<sup>24</sup> The financial

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<sup>21</sup> On Kumamoto Band, see Shuma Iwai, “Syncretism of Christian *samurai* at the Kumamoto Band in Japan: Fulfillment of Confucianism in Christianity,” in Afe Adogame and Shobana Shankar eds., *Religion on the Move! New Dynamics of Religious Expansion in a Globalizing World* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 113-132.

<sup>22</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 34-37.

<sup>23</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “ichi Shina dendōsha no shuki (2)” 一支那伝道者の手記 (二) [Journal of a Missionary in China (2)], *Kohan no koe* 湖畔の聲 [Voice at the Lakeside] July (1933): 22. Also, Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 36, 43.

<sup>24</sup> Okumura Naohiko, *Bōrizu hyōden*, 91-92.

support awarded to Shimizu was based profoundly on the “Platform of Omi-Mission,” in which a crucial article was “To seek, enlist and train leaders and workers.”<sup>25</sup>

At Dōshisha, Shimizu underwent a significant transformation in his religious outlook as a Christian through his reorientation from rural Japan to the outside world. From 1910 to 1915, he took preparatory courses for two years and university courses for three years, during which about 200 talks and speeches were given by Congregational Church-related visitors both from within and outside of Japan.<sup>26</sup> A considerable number of them were invited from the United States, such as Henry Churchill King (1858–1934), the president of Oberlin College at the time, and Francis Greenwood Peabody (1847-1936), professor of the Harvard Divinity School who promoted social ethics and public service. As Ōta Tetsuo stated, it remains unknown to what extent and in what ways these visitors influenced Shimizu when he was a student at Dōshisha. While Shimizu himself admitted once that he felt it was boring to read Peabody’s *Jesus Christ and the Social Questions* (1900) when he was in college years. However, about ten years later in the late 1920s, he became truly interested in the social gospel that these American theologians, such as Peabody, had introduced to Japan in the early 1910s.<sup>27</sup>

It was during the final year of his study, from April 1914 to March 1915, that Shimizu became interested in China and Chinese civilization. In Shimizu’s autobiography published in 1939, he emphasized two specific stories that motivated him to be a China missionary. The first was about the Tang dynasty monk Jianzhen

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Also see Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed,” 60.

<sup>26</sup> Ōta Tetsuo described the academic context of Dōshisha University and its relation to Shimizu’s study from 1910 to 1915. For details cited in this paragraph, see *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*. 43-45.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 44. This statement was published in *Kirisutokyō Sekai* on November 10, 1927.

鑑真 (Ganjin in Japanese, 688-763).<sup>28</sup> One Saturday in his fifth year in 1914, he went for a day trip with his classmates to the Tōshōdai-ji Temple in Nara, a Buddhist temple established by Jianzhen in 759. There, he learned from a monk about the ordeals that Jianzhen had experienced in his five attempts to sail east to Japan. Upon reading biographies after the trip about Chinese scholars and monks who had sailed to and stayed in Japan, Shimizu was surprised how much they had “contributed to the development of Japanese civilization.” Furthermore, he insisted, “it was the charismatic story of Jianzhen that fueled my motivation” to “live a life of paying this debt of gratitude [back to China].”<sup>29</sup>

Another story was about the Yale-graduated American missionary Horace Tracy Pitkin (1869–1900), who was sent to China in 1896 as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and was beheaded by Chinese Boxers at Baoding in Hebei Province in 1900.<sup>30</sup> Shimizu recalled in 1939 that he heard about the martyrdom of Pitkin from Pastor Makino’s speech addressed in the evening of January 3, 1915 at Heian Church in Kyoto. That speech was under the theme “love beyond nation (*kokusai-ai* 国際愛).” Makino, one of the 1902 graduating class from Yale, was an alma mater of Pitkin, and thus his narration about Pitkin was emotional. It left a strong impression on Shimizu, who remembered clearly that Makino described the content of Pitkin’s letter written before he was killed. In it, he left words to his fellowmen at Yale, willing them not only to bring up his baby son, but

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<sup>28</sup> For premodern Buddhist networks between Japan and China, see Pei-ying Lin, “The Rebirth Legend of Prince Shōtoku: Buddhist Networks in Ninth Century China and Japan,” in Ann Heirman, Carmen Meinert, and Christoph Anderl eds., *Buddhist Encounters and Identities Across East Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 301-319.

<sup>29</sup> For Shimizu’s wartime narration about this trip and his reflection on it, see his *Chōyōmongai*, 61-65.

<sup>30</sup> See George Sherwood Eddy, *Horace Tracy Pitkin, Missionary, Advocate, and Martyr* (New Heaven: n.p., 1901). And, Robert E. Speer, *A Memorial of Horace Tracy Pitkin* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1903).

also to dispatch his son back to Baoding at the age of twenty-five. This, as Makino stated, influenced the founding of the Yale China Mission and the religious atmosphere within which he was trained in Divinity. Inspired by this talk, Shimizu decided “deeply inside” to go to China.<sup>31</sup> It seemed, at this moment, he imagined “China” as not only an advanced pre-modern civilization – to which he wanted to return kindness as a Japanese citizen – but also a special land waiting to be fertilized by God’s gospel which he wished to bring, as Pitkin had committed himself by sacrificing even his blood and life.

Fueled by these narratives about Buddhist and Christian missionaries, Shimizu mentioned the World-War-I background in which he spoke aloud for the first time his intention to be a missionary in China. In February 1915, he attended a receptive gathering of the 1915 graduating class in Theology held at the residence of Harada Tasaku 原田 助 (1863-1940), the President of the Dōshisha University at the time. Harada talked about China because he had just returned from a journey to the country. Unexpectedly, during the event, a postman delivered to the house a special issue of a periodical. One of Shimizu’s classmates read aloud a report published in it, which described a battlefield story in the Siege of Qingdao about a young Japanese soldier. By coincidence, this soldier was Shimizu’s close friend during his middle-school years. Then the classmate shouted, “anybody want to go to Qingdao for evangelization?” Shimizu recounted that he raised his right hand immediately. Although his classmates did not take this informal conversation seriously, Shimizu confirmed to President Harada the next day his determination to be dispatched by the church as a missionary to serve the Chinese people. In response, he received firm

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<sup>31</sup> For Shimizu’s wartime recount about Makino’s preach on Pitkin and the Yale China Mission and his own reflection on it, see his *Chōyōmongai*, 65-67.

encouragement, and yet learned from the president also that the Congregational Church could only afford to send experienced religionists to serve Japanese residents in China.<sup>32</sup>

Shimizu's idea about the China mission took shape gradually in the several months before his graduation from Dōshisha in March 1915. This was a crucial period for the Japan-China relationship during World War I. Based upon its allied relationship with the United Kingdom since 1902, Japan declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary in August 1914. The Imperial Japanese Navy surrounded the German port of Qingdao in Shandong, China and controlled the city in November. In the time between Japan's declaration of war and the Siege of Qingdao, Shimizu acquired much learning by himself at Dōshisha about Jianzhen and other Chinese inhabitants in premodern Japan, that shaped his initial image of Chinese civilization. With the European powers bogged down in trench warfare far to the west, Japan in the east exposed fully its expansionist ambition in China by sending the Chinese government twenty-one articles, demanding greater control of Manchuria and Japan's economic interests in China. After negotiations in April and May between the two countries, the Chinese government accepted most of these demands, which ignited a nationwide anti-Japanese sentiment and was proved to be a defining moment for the emerging Chinese nationalism.<sup>33</sup> In roughly these months, Shimizu had completed his thesis, received his bachelor's degree, and, most importantly, became determined to be a missionary in China and openly expressed it in the Congregationalist community

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<sup>32</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 67-70.

<sup>33</sup> For more details on The Twenty-One Demands and its influences on China's reactions to World War I, see Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For the Japan-US negotiations toward China during World War I, see Noriko Kawamura, *Turbulence in Pacific: Japanese-U.S. Relations during World War I* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2000).

at Dōshisha, when the Congregational Church in Japan had been increasingly deeply involved in its overseas evangelical expansion in Korea and Manchuria. That said, it was in the tense Sino-Japanese relationship during World War I that Shimizu became motivated to be a missionary in China.

Upon graduation, in 1915, what Shimizu had to face more urgently was whether he should respond to Vories' expectation by returning to Ōmi-hachiman to work for the Ōmi Mission. In the fifth year of his college study, the Ōmi Mission had suspended its financial support to Shimizu, as he later confirmed.<sup>34</sup> So far, there is no evidence to prove if this suspension was caused by, or one of the reasons for, Shimizu's growing inclination to evangelize in China. However, he recorded that he felt like an outsider being dismissed by the Mission. Ultimately, the 24-year-old Shimizu did not return to the Ōmi Mission, but he secured a job at Osaka, starting in April 1915, as an editorial staff for the Japan Congregational Church's organ periodical, *The Christian World* (*Kirisutokyō Sekai* 基督教世界). To maintain military service like other Japanese males, he enlisted in the Ninth Infantry Regiment at Ōtsu in December of the same year.<sup>35</sup> During his military service, he recalled, Vories visited him twice, trying to persuade him "with tears" to return to the Ōmi Mission.<sup>36</sup> Also, hearing that Shimizu was offered opportunities to work in Christian missions at other locations, Vories once responded unhappily that "he [Shimizu] was one of the Ōmi Mission."<sup>37</sup> Though not feeling like he belonged to the Ōmi Mission community, Shimizu still wondered if he should decline Vories' expectation and guidance. Pastor Takeda Inohei 武田猪平, one with whom Shimizu discussed this

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<sup>34</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no Shōgai*, 43.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-72.

<sup>37</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "ichi Shina dendōsha no shuki (2)," *Kohan no koe* July (1933): 22.

confusion, shared the following critique: “The Ōmi Mission belongs not only to Mr. Vories.”<sup>38</sup> Impressed by this feedback, Shimizu thought, Vories could not decide for him what he should do for God, even though he was one of “Vories’ boys.”

An ultimate resolution came in 1917 through a message sent from Pastor Makino, notifying Shimizu of the Congregational Church’s decision to consider him the finalist for the role of the first Congregational missionary to China.<sup>39</sup> The Congregational church leaders hosted a farewell party for Shimizu at the Nakanoshima Hotel in Osaka on May 29, 1917.<sup>40</sup> Shimizu recorded that, during the event, Miyakawa Tsuneteru 宮川経輝 (1857-1936), one of the three leading Congregationalist elders of the Kumamoto Band, told why he had won the competition and had stood out from the other candidates. Miyakawa said that, after investigations into Shimizu’s performance during his military service, Congregational leaders agreed that “If he [Shimizu] could be a loyal soldier in the imperial army, he will be no doubt a loyal soldier for Jesus Christ, too.”<sup>41</sup> Notably, unlike other Congregationalist missionaries in Korea who received large amounts of financial support from the General-Governor of Korea, Shimizu’s missionary post was funded by the donations of six Christian businessmen in Osaka.<sup>42</sup>

On June 1, 1917, Shimizu arrived in China. He said, “June 1 was my birthday. It was the day I arrived at the *Shina* continent. I was 26 years old, as old as the first Protestant missionary Robert Morrison when he came to China.”<sup>43</sup> He soon received a long letter from Vories. “Even if you went to China, there are still so many

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>39</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 70

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.

<sup>41</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 45-46.

<sup>42</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 78.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

unconverted [people in your hometown Ōmi],” wrote Vories. “I was who I am,” Shimizu recounted in 1933, because he replied his American teacher in a challenging tone: “there were [also] so many unconverted at your homeland America, but still, you came to Japan.” He then answered Vories with a sincere question: “How different is your commission to Japan from my commission to China?”<sup>44</sup> Later in his life, Shimizu always remembered that Vories called him a “rebel (*hangyakusha* 叛逆者)” because he left the Ōmi Mission behind and became a missionary in China.<sup>45</sup> At that point, Shimizu’s evangelical philosophy was still to be formed and his idea about China was still largely imaginative. Above all, to be an overseas missionary, Shimizu achieved independence from the Ōmi Mission and Vories, whom he had respected for a lifetime; it was not a manner of unthinking obedience.

### Opening Japanese Congregationalists’ Mission toward the Chinese Population

Fengtian (Mukden in Manchurian, present-day Shenyang), the capital of the Fengtian Province (renamed to Liaoning Province from 1929), was the largest city in Northeast China at the time by urban population. Shimizu’s missionary post there was assigned according to the Japanese Congregational Church’s expansionist evangelical policy, which, at that moment, had been targeting Chinese people in Manchuria. To open this mission, several



**Shimizu Yasuzō in Fengtian**  
Photo published in *Ishikoro no shōgai*.

<sup>44</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “ichi Shina dendōsha no shuki (2),” *Kohan no koe* July (1933): 23.

<sup>45</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 43. See also his *Chōyōmongai*, 72.



prominent Congregationalist ministers visited the city in June 1917. Makino Toraji arrived in Dalian first, and he was then joined by Shimizu to go together to Fengtian. Next, Ebina Danjō and Watase Tsuneyoshi participated in the team, respectively from Japan and Korea.<sup>46</sup> Provinces of northeastern China was firmly controlled by the warlord Zhang Zuolin 张作霖 (1875-1928). Thus, the team visited him first, intending to achieve his support to build a church. They then organized a public gathering to promote the Church's mission work. In both occasions, Shimizu remembered, he was introduced by Ebina as "the bride that Japan offers China."<sup>47</sup> The young Shimizu's ambition at this initial stage of missionary work fit well with Ebina Danjō's utopian ideal: "Manchuria is much better prepared for planting a new civilization than Korea."<sup>48</sup>

As a missionary freshman, Shimizu could talk for only five minutes in that gathering.<sup>49</sup> However, that was enough for him to touch on Ebina's idea of civilizational hierarchy. After the war, he recounted what he had spoken in his debut speech in China:

Chinese, Manchurians, Chōsenese (Koreans), Russians, and Japanese are living in Manchuria, [just like] Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and indigenous Americans are living in North America. [Therefore,] Manchuria should be established to be a nation like the United States of America. Our fellow Japanese here [in Manchuria] should play the same leadership as that of Protestants' [in America] during the foundation of the United States. We Japanese in Manchuria should love this land more deeply than our homeland. And, if needed, we should even fight against our home country Japan [for Manchuria].<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 79.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>48</sup> Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, 170.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 47-48.

Like Ebina, Shimizu was dreaming of the “creation” of a new “nation” with multiethnic culture, instead of the “spread” of the Japanese culture. Within this logic, he even continued to express his suspicion regarding whether the Yamato race has a unique origin. He claimed, “It remains unclear if our ancestors came from [continental] *Shina* or the South Seas (*Nanyō* 南洋).”<sup>51</sup> Even so, he thought, Japanese people should be allowed to know and continue to seek the likely hybrid origin of the Japanese nation. These ideas were based primarily on the racial discourse of civilization that, to a certain degree, challenges the special national identity founded on the single-ethnic myth of the Japanese nation. This was very likely the point that “can be misunderstood” by Japanese audiences of Shimizu’s speech – as Watase pointed out to him.<sup>52</sup> As the leading minister of the Japanese Congregational Church’s mission in Korea, Watase’s agenda was more nationalistic than racially civilizational. His aim as a Japanese missionary was to “civilize Koreans to be Japan’s citizens (*kokumin* 国民)” – not like European and American missionaries, whose duty was “the civilization of Koreans as human beings [in general].”<sup>53</sup>

From the perspective of the Congregational Church, Shimizu’s mission at Fengtian was not a success. After the opening of the ministry in June 1917, Pastor Makino leased from Mantetsu a piece of land by promising to build a church in a two-year term until June 1919. Throughout those two years, however, Shimizu and Makino were unable to collect enough donations for the construction. On the other hand, as Emily Anderson has described, the Japanese Congregationalists’ Manchuria policy “underwent a dramatic shift following the March First Movement [of 1919] in

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Nakamura Satoshi, *Nihonjin ni yoru kaigai senkyō no ayumi*, 10-13.

colonial Korea.” Church elders in Japan made the decision to turn their target of evangelism from the Chinese to the Japanese in Manchuria because “that would also conduct Korean evangelism,” as Congregationalist elder Kimura Seimatsu claimed. In the latter’s eyes, the Fengtian church under Shimizu’s ministry was “humble.” Upon Kimura’s arrival in May 1919, there were about 30 members, and yet they all left after knowing his plan for re-building the church for Japanese people.<sup>54</sup>

When the Fengtian church was about to be re-founded due to the “Korean problem” after Kimura’s arrival in May 1919, Shimizu had moved to Beijing because he had become more determined and committed to his Chinese evangelism during his time living in Fengtian. His narration of this period gave little information about his church workload. From his writings, we know only that, in 1918, he managed to run a playground at his rented residence, opening for children during the day. Later in his life, he considered it to be the predecessor of the Sūtei Gakuen he established in Beijing.<sup>55</sup>

### **Tokutomi Sohō and the Foundation of Shimizu’s Chinese Evangelism**

Aside from his missionary enterprise, Shimizu acquired much from his living experience during his less than two years in Fengtian by learning about the Chinese people, and their language and customs. Importantly, he continued to read about China. The most important book that strengthened his missionary aspiration was Tokutomi Sohō’s *Journey to China* (*Shina manyūki* 支那漫遊記), published in 1918.<sup>56</sup> Tokutomi was among the most influential spokesmen in modern Japan and a

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<sup>54</sup> Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan*, 171-172.

<sup>55</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 82.

<sup>56</sup> Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富猪一郎 (Sohō), *Shina manyūki* 支那漫遊記 [*Journey to China*] (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1918).

leading journalist over the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa years. Having studied Western Studies as a Congregationalist of the Kumamoto Band, he promoted the total Westernization of Japanese society based on liberal-democratic principles in the 1890s and transformed from there until the 1910s along a more conservative and nationalist line of ideas.<sup>57</sup>

Tokutomi traveled around China in 1906 and 1917 and published two travelogues. On December 2, 1917, almost at the end of his second journey to China in Jinan of Shandong Province, he visited Cheeloo University 齐鲁大学, which was cofounded by multiple American, English, and Canadian Protestant agencies, and the affiliated museum, the Academy of Broad Knowledge (*Guangzhi Yuan* 广智院), which was originally established by the British Baptist missionary John Sutherland Whitewright (1858-1926).<sup>58</sup> Moved by these missionaries' contributions to this enterprise in China, Tokutomi recorded this visit after returning to a hotel that day and entitled the piece "Devout Hard-Workers (*kenshin-teki doryokusha* 献身的努力者)." He ended in a short session called "stars at dawn" by saying,

I carefully considered: are there any Japanese missionaries of all religions who have devoted a lifetime to China, or [even] determined to it? Those [Japanese] who join the good deeds of the devoted, hard-working English and American Christian missionaries in China are [so sparse] like the stars at dawn. And yet, [as long as there are], their lights deserve to be recognized.<sup>59</sup>

This passage spoke so deeply to Shimizu that he mentioned or quoted it word for word almost every time later in his life when he recounted how he became more

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<sup>57</sup> For a comprehensive study on Tokutomi in English, see John D. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō: A Journalist for Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

<sup>58</sup> Tokutomi Iichirō, *Shina manyūki* (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1918), 335-339.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

determined and stick to his Chinese evangelism. In Shimizu's autobiography of 1939, this paragraph was described as "life-changing" because he could not go along with Tokutomi's judgement on how rare devout Japanese religionists were in China. "What," he said, "[it reads like] no religionist of our country can do it!"<sup>60</sup> As in 1939, he became confident enough to say that he was the kind of Japanese missionary that Tokutomi had called for more than twenty years beforehand.

Noteworthy, Shimizu misremembered that he had read Tokutomi's *Journey to China* during the fourth year of his study at Dōshisha from 1913 to 1914.<sup>61</sup> He might have read another travelogue about China by Tokutomi published in 1906, and it may be one of the reasons for this misremembering. In any case, it was in Shimizu's Fengtian years that Tokutomi's descriptions about Anglo-American missionaries in China and their enterprises, which had been written in November 1917 and published in June 1918, had left a profound impact on him and strengthened his motivation not only to be a missionary serving the Chinese people in China, but more importantly, a *Japanese* missionary who is not unlike his Western counterparts. In other words, when the evangelical target shifted from Chinese to Japanese in the Fengtian church, Shimizu had already in mind to leave to implement his missionary idealism. Later in his life, Shimizu did not specifically mention the Congregational Church's policy transformation undertaken in Fengtian. In the 1939 autobiography, he only recorded that Beijing was the "mountaintop" where he could gain more hope to realize his dream, and that, whatever he decided to do for it, "language study is the first priority."<sup>62</sup> The inspiration Shimizu gained from Tokutomi implies that his "dream"

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<sup>60</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 58-59.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

had gone beyond a youth's personal independence and ambitions. Now he perceived himself as a sacrificing missionary, and yet this identity could only be developed through his reflection on his Western counterparts.

### **A Missionary's Marriage**

Fortunately, Shimizu's ambition and dream of Chinese evangelism was shared and supported by his wife Miho, a young Japanese Protestant woman.<sup>63</sup> Their marriage was another life-changing event in Shimizu's Fengtian period. Miho was surnamed Yokota 横田 before marriage. She was born in 1895 as the eldest daughter in her family in Hikone of Shiga Prefecture, located on the east side of Lake Biwa. Both her parents were of samurai lineages that had worked generation after generation during the Tokugawa era for *daimyōs* of the Ii 伊井 clan in the Hikone Domain within the old Ōmi Province. Notably, her grandmother on her father's side was born into the household of the top-ranking samurai official. Even so, the Yokota clan underwent dramatic transformation forced by the dismantling of the samurai class in the early Meiji period. In addition to this decline in living and social status, when Miho was two years old, her birth mother left the Yokota family by divorce and remarried overseas in Manila. Thus, Miho was brought up by her grandmother and stepmother. The relatively complicated family relation, especially with her birth mother, shaped Miho's personality during her teenage years. It was during this time

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<sup>63</sup> For scholarly research about Miho, see Kozaki Makoto, "Shimizu (Yokota) Miho no shinkō to ikikata: jikomuka-teki shinkō no kyojitsu-teki igi 清水(横田)美穂の信仰と生き方:自己無化的信仰の今日的意義 [Shimizu (Yokota) Miho's faith and way of living: a self-emptying belief and its meaning in present]," in Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Sōritsusha tachi no shinkō to ikikata* 創立者たちの信仰と生き方 [The founders' belief and ways of living] (Tokyo: J. F. Oberlin University, 2007), 15-36. Biographical details used in this session, except for those with footnotes, are cited from Kozaki Makoto's article, see especially pages 17-24.

that she began to attend the Hikone Church and learn about Christianity. In November 1912, she was baptized by Pastor Takeda Inohei, who had ministered at the church since 1911. As Shimizu remembered, he met Miho for the first time in the summer of 1912, when he worked at the Hikone Church as an intern pastor.<sup>64</sup> They did not communicate frequently at that time, but Pastor Takeda became an important mentor who encouraged Shimizu to leave rural Ōmi.

In 1913, Miho enrolled in the Dōshisha Girls' School (*Dōshisha Jogakkō* 同志社女学校) and, in 1918, she graduated from the Department of Home Economics. During those five years, she immersed herself deeply in the religious campus life and became involved in the community of Protestant women in Kyoto. Miho was especially thankful for Miss Mary Florence Denton (1857-1947), a missionary teacher in Home Economics, because the latter had personally offered her financial support to help her complete her study. Influenced by Denton and other female Japanese Protestants, Miho contributed much to the establishment of the WCTU branch at her hometown.<sup>65</sup> In the spring before Miho's graduation in 1918, Shimizu returned to Japan from Fengtian in search of a partner who could help with his evangelical career in China. Miho was not the one whom Shimizu considered as the most suitable wife, and thus they did not become engaged to be married immediately. Upon graduation in March, Miho sent Shimizu a short



**Yokota Miho**  
Photo of graduation (1918)  
Published in *Tairiku no Seijo* (1940).

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<sup>64</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 217.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 228-229.

letter, expressing her desire to contribute to his evangelism in China as an assistant. Arranged by Shimizu, she arrived on May 28, 1918 at Dalian. That day, they had their wedding at the local Japanese Church.<sup>66</sup>

Very little has been preserved in Miho's own words. She has been either memorialized through her husband as a dedicated missionary wife or mythicized as a "female saint of the continent" in the propagandic promotion during the Second Sino-Japanese War.<sup>67</sup> However, in the beginning of her new life as a missionary wife, she did confess that "The more I think about our [missionary] works [in China], the tougher I feel it will be and the longer that I feel it will last. But [we are] being comforted and rewarded everyday living the life with our faith." Shimizu must have told his bride how he had committed to his Chinese evangelism, because Miho also claimed, "We want to do something to raise *Shina* [China], like those [Chinese] Buddhists and literati who spread Buddhism and Confucianism in our country one thousand years ago."<sup>68</sup>

In November 1918, Miho recorded that they had already been asked to move to Beijing for the study of the Chinese language, which means, at that point with no "Korean problem" yet raised, the Congregational Church in Japan was still intending to establish their overseas mission toward the Chinese population. Knowing this decision, Miho showed no less courage and determination than her husband. She sent a message back to females studying at Dōshisha, telling them that "We determined to devote our lives, and that of our children's and grandchildren's, to this country, even

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 242-247.

<sup>67</sup> Matsumoto Keiko 松本恵子, *Tairiku no seijo* 大陸の聖女 [Female saint of the continent] (Tokyo: Rinyūsha, 1940).

<sup>68</sup> Shimizu Miho, *Dōshisha Jogakkō Kihō* 同志社女學校期報 [Alumni Newsletter of Dōshisha Girls' School] 43 (January 25, 1919): 64-65.



by becoming one of them [Chinese].” To be equipped with solid learning about China, she then added, their vision was “to raise even one more great person” for the Republic of China, which was in urgent need of “mighty fighters for humanitarianism and principles of democracy beyond personal fame and wealth.”<sup>69</sup>

However, Miho could not go to Beijing with Shimizu because of the financial deficiency of the household. It has been said that Shimizu’s monthly pay decreased significantly, from 60 *yen* to 10 *yen*.<sup>70</sup> In January 1919, the president of Dōshisha Harada Tasuku resigned from his position because of the critiques raised inside of the university toward his activities and liberal inclinations.<sup>71</sup> One of the side effects of this event was that five of the six donors for Shimizu’s missionary position suspended their monthly payment to the church.<sup>72</sup>

In this situation, where the Shimizu couple had already decided to move to Beijing but lost financial supports, Miho eventually managed to be hired as a Japanese teacher by a Chinese named “Wang Tongyi” who lived in Kyoto.<sup>73</sup> As she could reside in the Wang house, Miho planned to send all her wages to Shimizu in China.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, when Shimizu went to Beijing in early 1919, Miho returned to

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 156.

<sup>71</sup> Ōta Masao 太田雅夫, “Harada Tasuko to Hawai Daigaku” 原田助とハワイ大学 [University of Hawaii and Harada Tasuko], *Kirisutokyō Shakai Mondai Kenkyū* キリスト教社会問題研究 [The Study of Christianity and Social Problems] 46 (1998): 188.

<sup>72</sup> Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 156.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 157. Matsumoto Keiko wrote that Wang Tongyi was in exile in Japan. If this detail was factual, the Chinese surnamed Wang should have been the Chinese revolutionary Wang Tong 王统 (1884-1957), who was the first member participating in the Chinese Revolutionary Party that had been established by Sun Yat-sen in Japan. “Wang Tongyi 王统一” was the name he used often in the negotiations of the so-called Zhongri Mengyue 中日盟约 [Sino-Japanese Treaty] in 1915 between Sun Yat-sen and the Japanese government. See Wang Gang 王刚 and Zhao Zhengchao 赵正超, “Sun Zhongshan yu ‘Zhongri Mengyue’ xinzheng” 孙中山与‘中日盟约’新证 [Shedding Critically New Light on the Secret 1915 ‘Sino-Japanese Treaty’ Involving Sun Yat-sen], *Shilin* 史林 [Historical Review] 1 (2018): 122-138.

<sup>74</sup> Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 157-158.

Japan.<sup>75</sup> In this sense, she was truly a Dōshisha woman being trained in the way of “Always rising to a new challenge,” and was capable of problem-solving independently as a missionary wife. Shimizu made such a good decision in his marriage in Fengtian. As the coming years demonstrate, he could never have become the Shimizu we know today without Miho’s determination, dedication, and sacrifice.

### **Relief Camp for Chinese Children during the 1920-1921 Famine**

In spring 1919, Shimizu enrolled in the Chinese language school run by the Greater Japanese Co-Study Association of Chinese Language Studies (*Dai Nihon Shinago Dōgakukai* 大日本支那語同学会).<sup>76</sup> As chapter four will discuss in detail, his remarkable journalist career was about to start at this time in Beijing – the cultural and intellectual center of the Chinese New Culture Movement. In January of that year, representatives of 32 countries had been in Paris when the Versailles Conference opened to negotiate a post-World-War-I order of international peace. The Chinese delegation attended the conference as one of the victorious nations in World War I. However, the resulting Treaty of Versailles neglected the Chinese stand, as it allowed Japan to keep territories in Shandong Province that had been surrendered by Germany after the Siege of Qingdao in 1914. Soon, a nationwide sentiment of humiliation was developing in China accordingly in response to news from Paris. On May 4th, 1919, college students led street demonstrations in Beijing to protest Japanese and Western

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<sup>75</sup> Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 79, 80; 82-83. In *Chōyōmongai*, Shimizu remembered that he arrived at Beijing in May, while in his postwar writing, he stated it was January. According to Shimizu’s message published in *Kirisutokyō Sekai* on May 22, 1919, most scholars (such as Ōta and Takai) agreed that Shimizu arrived in Beijing in the end of March in 1919. See Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 95; and his *Pekin Seitan* 北京清譚 [Commentaries on Beijing] (Tokyo: Kyōiku Shuppan PalBooks, 1975), 119. Either in January or in March, Shimizu moved to Beijing before the student demonstrations happened on May 4, 1919.

<sup>76</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 94-100.

imperialism in China and to promote territorial sovereignty and national independence.<sup>77</sup> Entering the cultural and political world of Beijing at such a time period, Shimizu's ability to communicate in Chinese improved rapidly in the coming year. He remembered with pride that "after two months, I could handle a table speech, and after one year, I was able to give a short address at the Dengshikou Church."<sup>78</sup>

In the same year, Shimizu experienced not only political unrest but also natural disasters in Beijing. Starting in the summer of 1919, no rain fell for more than a year in most places in north China. By fall 1920, it developed to be the most severe drought in the area since the 1880s. According to the statistic by the Beijing International Famine Relief Commission, more than 300 counties were affected and an estimated population of 20 million fell victim. In September 1919, news about the condition of the drought and relief work began to appear in most nationwide commercial newspapers, such as *Shenbao* 申報 and *Dagongbao* 大公報. Notably, many field reports described the miserable situation in which children and teenage victims were either sold at surprisingly low prices or abandoned alone at home or on the road by their parents fleeing from famine.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> For a historical narrative about the May Fourth Movement from the Chinese perspective, see Hu Sheng, *From the Opium War to the May 4th Movement* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991). For the development, influence, and consequences of the Movement in political, cultural and intellectual realms, see Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986); Edmund S. K. Fung, *The Intellectual Foundation of Chinese Modernity: Cultural and Political Thought in the Republican Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Ya-pei Kuo, *Debating Culture in Interwar China* (London: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>78</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 49.

<sup>79</sup> For a detailed research about the 1920 drought, see Chen Ling 陈凌, "1920-nian Huabei wusheng hanzai yu zhenwu yanjiu" 1920年华北五省旱灾与赈务研究 [Study on Drought and Relief in Five Provinces of North China in 1920] (Master's Thesis submitted to Shandong Normal University, 2006).

Inspired by western missionaries and their transnational relief organizations in Beijing, Shimizu decided to participate in the relief work for children in the midst of anti-Japanese sentiment.<sup>80</sup> After participating in other Japanese organizations' relief works, such as distributing cotton winter coats, he embarked on his own to establish a temporary camp for refugee children.<sup>81</sup> Like some other social workers, Shimizu was worried about whether the relief funds donated by Japanese people would successfully make it to Chinese victims. His concern was not groundless. In fact, the Zhili-Anhui War between warlords of the two cliques had happened in July 1920 in which they competed for the control of the Beiyang government. Both the military preparation for the war and the corruption within the government after the war worsened the condition of famine that was caused initially by the drought.<sup>82</sup> Relief funds collected in Japan were mostly brought into north China through the warlord's government and, as Shimizu recounted, it raised public critiques; for example, someone said, "the money may go out [from those warlords' and governors' hands] for opium."<sup>83</sup> In this context, in which the provincial government was not strong and efficient enough in the face of such a severe natural disaster, non-governmental, social, and international relief projects were soon burgeoning accordingly.<sup>84</sup> Without prior personal connections, Shimizu sent a letter to Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一 (1840-1931) and received support immediately from the newly established Japan-

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<sup>80</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 103.

<sup>81</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Pekin Seitan*, 123-125.

<sup>82</sup> See Chen Ling, "1920-nian Huabei wusheng hanzai yu zhenwu yanjiu."

<sup>83</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Pekin Seitan*, 125-126.

<sup>84</sup> For relief works of the 1920 drought, see Pierre Emery Fuller, "Struggling with Famine in Warlord China: Social Networks, Achievements, and Limitations, 1920-21" (PhD dissertation submitted to University of California, Irvine, 2011). Also, his "North China Famine Revisited: Unsung Native Relief in the Warlord Era, 1920-1921," *Modern Asian Studies* 47 no. 3 (2013): 820-850.

China Business Association (*Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai* 日華実業協会) under his leadership.<sup>85</sup>

In the mid-1970s, Shimizu recounted in detail how the relief camp had been organized. First, he was given free access to the barn outside Chaoyang Gate through the help of another Japanese resident in Beijing who was hired as a consultant by the



**Chinese Children in Relief Camp run by Japanese**  
Photo published in  
*Hoku-Shina kansai kyūsai jigyo hōkoku* (1921).

Ministry of Transportation for the Chinese government. Then, Shimizu recalled with pride that, in only one day, he managed to hire a group of necessary staff: one churchman and one churchwoman of the Dengshikou Congregational Church, three female teachers introduced by the churchwoman, and one doctor and two nurses from the Dōjinkai 同仁会 Hospital. Shimizu himself took on the duty of gathering refugee children. In about November 1920, he went to Baoding by train and rented several horse carriages there. He then started the journey to the villages he had visited when distributing relief supplies in Raoyang and Daming counties along the Tianjin-Pukou Railway – these were said to be some of the most famine-stricken areas. In about one week, he saved several hundred Chinese children and transported them all to the relief camp in Beijing, where they were offered shelter, food, clothes, and literacy lessons.<sup>86</sup>

By the next spring, the famine was significantly eased by both the rainfall and the relief works conducted by governmental and non-governmental organizations. It

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<sup>85</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 104. For information about the relief camp, see also Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai ed., *Hoku-Shina kansai kyūsai jigyo hōkoku* 北支那旱災救濟事業報告 [Report of Relief Work in North China] (Tokyo: Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai, 1921).

<sup>86</sup> Details described in Shimizu Yasuzō, *Pekin Seitan*, 125-129.

was during this time when Shimizu began to accompany these children back to their villages, and he distributed Bibles to the villagers. He remembered clearly in 1975, when the relief camp for children was formally dismantled on May 1, 1921, it had saved 799 children and most of them were reunited with their families.<sup>87</sup> Those who could not were children whose parents were not found for unknown reasons.<sup>88</sup> In the end, Shimizu managed to bring some of them into apprenticeship at craft stores in Tokyo.<sup>89</sup> The others, he said, were sent to Work-Study School for Orphans in Beijing (*Beijing Gu'er Gongduyuan* 北京孤儿工读园), run by Chen Yuan 陈垣 (1880-1971), a historian who had converted to Christianity in 1919.<sup>90</sup> For the success of this relief work, Shimizu received an honor award from the Beiyang Government.<sup>91</sup> More importantly, he saved about 510 yen from this enterprise, including the reward he gained by the sponsor in Japan.<sup>92</sup> This fund turned out to be the major initiative source to build his missionary enterprise in Beijing.

### **Conclusion: Duplicating the “White Man’s Burden” in China**

Shimizu Yasuzō went to China in response to God’s calling. This calling had begun to form at the end of his college years at the small campus of Dōshisha in Kyoto. In the global context of World War I, in which China became the battlefield of not only territorial conflicts but also spiritual dominance between Japan and the West,

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 128-129. In this postwar account, Shimizu remembered that one girl died for lung disease.

<sup>88</sup> In Shimizu’s 1939 autobiography *Chōyōmongai*, the number of children who could not return home was recorded as “more than forty,” while in *Pekin Seidan*, the number is “seventeen.” See his *Chōyōmongai*, 111-112; and *Pekin Seidan*, 129.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* The number of these children brought to Tokyo numbered “eleven” in *Chōyōmongai*, and “seventeen” in *Pekin Seidan*.

<sup>90</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 111-112. For Chen Yuan’s Christian belief, see Liu Xian 刘贤, “Chen Yuan Jidujiao xinyang kao” 陈垣基督教信仰考 [On Chen Yuan’s Christian Faith], *Shixue Yuekan* 史学月刊 [Journal of Historical Science] 10 (2006): 83-91.

<sup>91</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 111.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

Shimizu made his life choice to become a Protestant missionary. By reading Tokutomi's China travelogue, experiencing the Fengtian period, and participating independently in the 1920 relief work in Beijing, he became more determined than ever toward his China mission as not only a Protestant, but more importantly, a Japanese with the reference of Anglo-American Protestants in mind. This specific missionary perspective looked closely into the West, through the self-perception as an equally authenticated servant for God as Anglo-American missionaries in China. However, it ignored the national perspective and stand of the Chinese people, though in the meantime, saved their lives in the 1920-21 famine. In other words, Shimizu was self-motivated by the aim of subverting the "White Man's Burden" as a Japanese but repeated it in China through the same humanitarian activism as his White Protestant counterparts did in the same mission field in China. In this particular sense, Shimizu was not dissimilar to those Japanese politicians and diplomats who argued for Japan's "right" in China with the West in the name of racial equality at the Versailles Peace Conference. It was in this global backdrop of the post-Versailles world order that Shimizu established himself to be a Japanese servant for God in China.

### *Chapter Three*

#### **The Three Shimizus and the Sūtei Gakuen in Republican Beijing**

Based on primary and secondary sources, this chapter reinterprets the roles that Shimizu Yasuzō, his first wife Miho, and his second wife Ikuko played – as missionary man and women – in founding and developing the Sūten Gakuen in Republican Beijing from 1921 to 1945.<sup>1</sup> My thesis argues that this school was a base and platform for, rather than the end of, the three Shimizus' pursuits in fulfilling God's calling in China alongside the growing turbulence between the two countries from relative peace to war. Founded in 1921, the Sūtei School transformed from offering free, work-study, female, primary education and, importantly, needlework training for impoverished Chinese girls during the 1920s, to providing full-time tuition-paid academic program as a vassal branch of the Ōmi Mission, under the latter's trading and evangelizing expansion in Manchuria and north China since the early 1930s. Eventually, the school developed into an academic-merit-based co-educational primary and secondary academy in 1938 after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident as increasingly a quasi-government-supported educational institution, functioning also as a cultural diplomatic agency by recruiting and educating not only Chinese, but also Japanese and Korean students. In this transformative development, the three Shimizus played similarly important albeit different roles through their collaborations and gendered labor divisions. In it, Shimizu Yasuzō was not crucial because of his daily involvement in school administration and management, but because of his supporting role as a fund-raiser and money maker. With his

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<sup>1</sup> For clarity, their given names are frequently used in this single chapter.



charismatic impact, the school turned out to be a bridging sphere between a missionary family's domesticity and its growing publicity in transnational trading and cultural diplomacy. I argue, it was in this liminal space between the school's moral construction as a Christian-values-based institution and the three Shimizus' commercial, social, and political involvements in Sino-Japanese relations that the school was capable of performing multi-functionality as a contact zone at war.

### **The Establishment of the Sūtei Work-Study School for Chinese Girls in 1921**

In 1920, Miho returned from Japan and worked in the relief camp with Yasuzō. Upon dismantling it, the couple decided to establish a work-study school for local Chinese girls outside Chaoyang Gate.<sup>2</sup> Today, this area in east Beijing is the most prosperous and modernized region of the capital city, crowded with the highest skyscrapers and the richest Chinese consumers in high-end flagship stores. It is where the headquarters of the Foreign Ministry of China and most foreign embassies are located. In the Yuan Dynasty, Chaoyang Gate was named Qihua Gate 齐化门, which connected the city to the north end of the Grand Canal through the Tonghui River. Once grain transported from the south via the Canal reached the capital, laborers carted them to barns near the gate.<sup>3</sup> In the Qing Dynasty, the garrison of the Manchu Bordered White Banner was stationed within the Chaoyang Gate, and five of the eight barns storing grain supplies for the five Manchu Banners were located inside

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<sup>2</sup> For the Shimizu couple's consideration in building a school for Chinese girls, see Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 166-173; and Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 113-115.

<sup>3</sup> On the Grand Canal transportation, see Zheng Minde 郑民德, "Ming-Qing Jinghang Yunhe yanxian caoyun cangchu xitong yanjiu" 明清京杭运河沿线漕运仓储系统研究 [The Jing-Hang Grand Canal along the transport storage system research in the Ming and Qing Dynasties] (PhD dissertation submitted to Nankai University, 2013).

and outside Chaoyang Gate.<sup>4</sup> During early Republican period, the whole region outside Chaoyang Gate was filled with plebeians, many of whom were descendants of the Grand Canal transport laborers, or else came from Manchu banner soldiers' families who had lost their special rights due to the end of the Qing regime.

During their relief work outside Chaoyang Gate in 1920 and 1921, the Shimizu couple observed that many young girls were rented as temporary wives or concubines or sold cheaply by their family into prostitution. They thought that, by acquiring necessary skills, these girls could earn a living and maintain their chastity. For this specific aim, the couple began to recruit girl students by distributing and posting handwritten advertisements in the region. In the meantime, they started to seek out an appropriate property for the schoolhouse. They leased a Chinese courtyard with a price that was surprisingly lower than the regular rent of nearby properties, because it was rumored to be haunted as the site of a murder with six deaths. It was Miho who insisted they lease the house. Shimizu expressed with pride that Miho made the right decision because she “never believed in the existence of ghosts.”<sup>5</sup> When the home school began its first classes on May 28, 1921, 24 female students enrolled. The Shimizu couple named the school as *Sūtei Work-Study School for Girls* (*Sūtei Kōdoku Jogakkō* in Japanese, *Chongzhen Gongdu Nüxuexiao* in Chinese 崇貞工讀女学校). Yasuzō confirmed, among many meanings attached to the school name, the most original was “upholding chastity,” as the couple hoped that Chinese girls at the

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<sup>4</sup> Wang Wei 王薇, “Qingdai Tonghuihe wuzhi jingguan de yanbian chutan” 清代通惠河物质景观的演变初探 [On the evolution of Tonghui River's material landscape in the Qing Dynasty], *Beijing Ligong Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)* 北京理工大学学报 (社会科学版) [Journal of Beijing Institute of Technology (Social Science Edition)] 10 no. 4 (August 2008): 41-45.

<sup>5</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 117-118.

school would be enabled to uphold their chastity by developing life and wage-earning skills.<sup>6</sup>

### **Trading Embroidery to Maintaining the School**

During the first decade or so, Yasuzō and Miho contributed to the school in tremendously different ways. Yasuzō began his career as a China reporter in 1919. Before going to the United States in 1924, he had concentrated on writing column pieces and reporting on China-related affairs for Japanese magazines and newspapers. In this process, he became deeply involved in Sino-Japanese networking and related activities in the intellectual world of early 1920s' Beijing. After studying at the Oberlin College from 1924 to 1926, he continued this journalist career and became an active China correspondent during Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition in 1926 and 1927. From 1928 to 1932, he was hired by Dōshisha University and the affiliated secondary school to teach Chinese history and related courses.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, from 1921 to 1932, Yasuzō was mostly busy either interviewing, travelling, and writing in China, or studying and teaching in the US and Japan.<sup>8</sup> The Congregational Church in Japan did not finance the couple's life and their enterprise. In addition, the school provided free education with no tuition revenue. Therefore, Yasuzō's career in writing and teaching was a crucial part of the financial resources required to keep running both his home and the school. Unfortunately, few school records have been

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<sup>6</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 147-149. The Shimizu couple's rationale presented in both *Chōyōmongai* and Miho's biography – both targeted Japanese readers in wartime Japan.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter four for a detailed analysis on Shimizu Yasuzō's interwar journalism on China regarding his transformation in thinking about Christianity.

<sup>8</sup> For a biographical summary of Shimizu Yasuzō's life, see Li Hongwei, "Shimizu Yasuzō ryaku nenpu" 清水安三略年譜 [Appendix I: Chronology of Shimizu Yasuzō], in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 254-261.

preserved from this period, such that we are unable to estimate what percentage of this stream of earnings contributed to the school and his family expenditures in both China and Japan.

On the other hand, most of the time, Miho had primary responsibility for running the school, in addition to her work in their home. From 1921 to 1924, she took charge of the school as principal. In addition to this large duty, she gave birth to her eldest son and daughter in July 1921 and October 1922 respectively. In July 1924, she traveled to the United States with Yasuzō and then returned to the school duties in Beijing during the summer of 1926. When her husband was in a season of intensive writing and traveling in China, publishing 1-2 pieces every week from November 1926 to June 1927, Miho was approaching the end of her third pregnancy, and gave birth to their second son in January 1927; in the meantime, she took care of the school administration with the support of Chinese staff.<sup>9</sup> During the following years in which her husband taught at Dōshisha in Kyoto from 1928 to 1932, she became a frequent commuter between China and Japan for selling embroidery pieces made by Chinese girls in Beijing. It was this cooperative small business that largely supported the school until 1932, in addition to Yasuzō's other income and limited donations from Japan. This collaboration bridged the gendered division of labor between Yasuzō and Miho in upholding their missionary idealism during the interwar years.

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<sup>9</sup> For the birth dates of the three children, see "A Chronology of the Life of Shimizu Yasuzō," in The Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Yasuzo Shimizu and Ikuko in the History of the Japan-U.S. Cultural Exchange* 日米交流史における清水安三と郁子 (in both English and Japanese, Tokyo: Ōbirin University, 2005), 93-99.

### Needlework Training on Campus

By calling it “Work-Study,” the Shimizu couple had a clear goal in founding the school for impoverished Chinese girls. It was to teach them not only how to read and write but more importantly how to live their lives on their own. Among skills that were relatively easy to be acquired by illiterate girls and women, needlework was a natural choice. For Miho, a graduate in Home Economics, this seemed an easy startup. Both before and during the years at Dōshisha, she had been trained in female handicrafts.<sup>10</sup> More than that, she was good at knitting, sewing, and tailoring. Based on these skills, she taught her Chinese students to make handkerchiefs, knitted socks, and to make towels by machines. However, the couple found that producing these pieces was either taking too much time or making too small a profit in Beijing’s handcraft market. Eventually, they turned to embroidery.<sup>11</sup>

In her book *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family*, Susan Mann described how fine embroidery pieces handmade by cultivated women of an intellectual elite family would uphold their household from time to time in economic hardship during the High Qing period.<sup>12</sup> In fact, making fancy embroidery and embroidered paintings has a long history in China as a “womanly work.” As demonstrated, embroidered pieces were not simply artistic handicrafts but also trading products during the late Ming period.<sup>13</sup> It was during the late-Qing years that they turned from luxury high-end goods traded with elite connoisseurship to consumer goods popularized in the

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<sup>10</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 118.

<sup>11</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 152-154.

<sup>12</sup> Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Huang I-Fen, “Gender, Technical Innovation, and Gu Family Embroidery in Late-Ming Shanghai,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* no. 36 (2012): 77-129.

mass market.<sup>14</sup> As some scholars pointed out, it related both to governmental and social efforts to provide assistance to prostitutes or relief work targeting the female population during natural disasters, as well as to skill training program integrated into the curricula of Christian mission schools.<sup>15</sup>

The Shimizu couple believed that they could find an instructor of needlework through church connections. They contacted many who they knew of in the Catholic Church and the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Beijing. However, no one was introduced to them. According to Yasuzō's wartime autobiography, a Chinese Catholic woman materialized in the midst of this urgent need like a miracle – after he prayed to God that he would find such an instructor. He recounted that, one day, a woman peddler came to his home. She tried to sell them handmade pieces that were called “Chinese linens” by westerners, as the lady said. “The embroidered patterns were so beautiful that Miho could not help but purchase” as she wanted to show to her students. Then she made tea for the peddling woman and they talked. The Shimizu couple learned from the conversation that this woman, surnamed Yuan, was a widow working as a street vendor to raise her two daughters. Yuan was born into a Chinese Catholic family and became an orphan during the Boxer Uprising. Having been raised in primary and secondary schools run by the Catholic Church, she had learned not only how to read and write but also how to make these embroidered

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<sup>14</sup> Susan Mann, “Women’s Work in the Ningbo Area, 1900-1936,” in Thomas G. Rawski and Lillian M. Li eds., *Chinese History in Economic Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 258-260.

<sup>15</sup> For a case of needlework training and mission economic in China, see Cai Xiangyu, “Chapter Seven: Missions, the Needlework and Gender,” in her “Christianity and Gender in South-East China: The Chaozhou Missions, 1849-1949” (PhD dissertation submitted to Leiden University, 2012), 137-173. For the discussions about the skill training in terms of prostitution and natural disasters, see, for example, Ren Yunlan 任云兰, “Jindai huabei ziran zaihai qijian jingjin cishan jigou dui funü ertong de shehui jiuzhu” 近代华北自然灾害期间京津慈善机构对妇女儿童的社会救助 [Social assistance to women and children in natural disasters of north China during Republican period], *Tianjin Shehui Kexue* 天津社会科学 [Tianjin Social Sciences] no. 5 (2006): 141-144.

“Chinese linens.” The Shimizu couple was told that these pieces were very popular among westerners in Beijing. Almost immediately, they decided to hire Yuan to teach needlework skills to their girl students every afternoon on school days.<sup>16</sup>

After several tries with different raw materials, including threads with colored dye and embroidering cotton and linen cloths, the Shimizu couple found a workable match of high quality, which ensured that the girls could make profitable pieces in their free time after school.<sup>17</sup> Miho was dedicated to training herself in this skill. It has been said that she traveled to Qingdao to learn skill and continued to upgrade her expertise in it. When the couple went to the United States in 1924, she did not continue with her husband to Oberlin. Instead, she stayed in San Francisco for a short period and enrolled in a college to study dressmaking and handicraft before joining her husband in Oberlin. In a word, she played a central role on campus as both an instructor of needlework training and an organizer of embroidery production by Chinese girls.<sup>18</sup>

### Peddling Off-Campus

Outside of the campus where embroidery pieces were sewed, Yasuzō tried to sell them. He targeted only western consumers not only because they were fond of “Chinese linens” but also because, very likely, they would sympathize and thus want to support the Chinese girls who embroidered the linens. Since October 1922, Yasuzō brought samples of embroidered tablecloths or guest towels with him whenever going back to Japan. By displaying and distributing them to Japanese patrons and friends,

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<sup>16</sup> For Shimizu Yasuzō’s narration about woman Yuan’s visit, see his *Chōyōmongai*, 118-120.

<sup>17</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 157.

<sup>18</sup> For Miho’s contribution to the needlework training, see Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 118-119. Refer also to Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 236.

he was able to show that the Chinese girls were learning how to live their lives at the Sūtei campus. The embroidered pieces were evidence that the Shimizu couple's mission in China had been realized. In return, those Japanese recipients showed interest in the pieces, which encouraged Yasuzō's ambition to commercialize the production.<sup>19</sup>

Soon, Yasuzō intensified his peddling trips to cities and towns where more westerners accumulated in both China and Japan. All these places were accessible through railway lines, such as Beijing, Tianjin, and Beidaihe in north China, and Lake Nojiri and Karuizawa in Nagano Prefecture in Japan. In particular, he spent much time during summers in Karuizawa where Vories' architect office was located. By using its lobby as a base for the sales, Yasuzō said, he could make a profit of about 5500 *yen* in a single summer in the small resort town filled with westerners. Thanks to Vories' help, he never paid for using the space. He even received payments that reimbursed his return trip by giving talks at the summer events organized by the local church. In these occasions, he had the opportunity to tell about China and his girl students to church men and women. In fact, many of the purchasers might have bought what he sold because of his involvement in the church community – especially when they were told, “all your money goes to the school fund for Chinese [girls].” In this way, Yasuzō saved tax on importing handicrafts from China to Japan, which could be counted at about ten percent of the trading price.<sup>20</sup>

When the Shimizu couple was living in the United States from August 1924 to May 1926, they could not continue to maintain their labor in production and sales. Even so, they had saved for the school fund and never skipped any payroll to the

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<sup>19</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 157-158.

<sup>20</sup> For Shimizu's summer peddling and Vories' supports, see *Chōyōmongai*, 159-161.



Chinese employees and teachers who oversaw the school during those two years.<sup>21</sup> In 1928, Yasuzō secured a teaching position at Dōshisha and lectured there until 1932. He was also hired as the chief editor of *The Christian World* for several months in 1929. In the meantime, he became an active pastor in church communities in Kyoto.<sup>22</sup> In most of these years, Miho replaced her husband in the role of carrying goods from China to Japan and bringing back funds from Japan to China. She also peddled, as her biography described, and Yasuzō shared the peddling in Japan whenever he was available.

Soon after Yasuzō had been hired by the Dōshisha University, his long-time supporter Ebina Danjō resigned from the position of president in 1928. Ebina was replaced by the agronomist Taikubara Kintaro 大工原銀太郎 (1868-1934). Yasuzō remembered that Taikubara had met him by accident when he peddled in front of his stall among other vendors at the lakeside at Kojiri Lake.<sup>23</sup> He thought that this might have not left a good impression with the president. On March 24, 1932, Yasuzō was called to the president's office and was fired from the teaching position.<sup>24</sup> In his autobiography, many issues were mentioned about why this occurred, but the conversation with the president on that day was a strong memory for him. "Taikubara blamed [me by saying] that 'you are a businessman, not suitable to be an educator,'" remembered Yasuzō.<sup>25</sup> So was the end of his teaching at Dōshisha.

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<sup>21</sup> Matsumoto Keiko, *Tairiku no seijo*, 232.

<sup>22</sup> For a brief description of his life from 1928 to 1932, see Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 169-170.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 170-173.

<sup>24</sup> For his resignation from Dōshisha, see Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 170-173; 266-269.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

## **Transforming the School during Japan's Growing Expansion in China**

From the financial perspective, Yasuzō's teaching career and the profit earned from the embroidery business from 1928 to 1932 saved the girls' school in Beijing during a period when the Japanese empire itself was undergoing the Showa Depression.<sup>26</sup> The transition of the school started in March 1932, when Yasuzō began to search for another revenue source to maintain both his household and the school after leaving Dōshisha. The school, as well as Yasuzō's and Miho's family life, were transformed in substantial ways by the rising tensions between China and Japan, due to Japan's growing military aggression in China.

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese Kwantung Army secretly bombed a small section of the Japanese-owned railway line near Fengtian (Mukden).<sup>27</sup> Accusing that it had been detonated by Chinese soldiers, the Japanese launched a military campaign step by step in northeast China. In 1932, the Japanese Army attacked Shanghai in January and proclaimed the establishment of Manchukuo in February. By May 31, 1933, the Kwantung Army realized its firm control of Jilin, Liaoning, Heilongjiang, and Rehe, establishing a puppet state spanning from the Sino-Soviet border in the north, the Sino-Mongolian border in the west, and the Great Wall in the south.<sup>28</sup> The Japanese militarists' aggressive actions in China were not fully endorsed initially by the Japanese party-cabinet in Tokyo, but the assassination of the Prime Minister

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<sup>26</sup> On Showa Depression, see Takafusa Nakamura, "Depression, Recovery, and War, 1920-1945," chapter three in Kozo Yamamura ed., *The Economic Emergence of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 116-158.

<sup>27</sup> From April 1929 to September 1931, Fengtian was called Shenyang. In English, Mukden was used for most of the first half of twentieth century. For coherence, Fengtian is used throughout this study.

<sup>28</sup> See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), especially Part II, "The Manchurian Incident and the New Military Imperialism, 1931-1933," 55-182. Refer also to Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*.

Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855-1932) on May 15, 1932 by Japanese Navy officers significantly empowered the military sections in the national government and dramatically shifted the political agenda in the center of the Japanese empire.<sup>29</sup> In August 1932, then Japanese Foreign Minister Uchida Kōsai 内田康哉 (1865-1936) declared Japan's recognition of Manchukuo and gradually transformed Japan's foreign policy from the interwar "cooperative diplomacy" to an "autonomous diplomacy," which paved the way for Japan's international isolation.<sup>30</sup>

Within this critical period from 1931 to 1933, Yasuzō returned to his mission field in China. In his 1939 autobiography, he narrated how he could have possibly done this in detail and with a tone of gratitude for God's grace. Leaving the president's office at Dōshisha, on March 24, 1932, he wandered outside on the streets of Kyoto until late in the night. Miho waited until he came back home. "After listening [to me describe] what had happened during daytime, Miho took a hymn book down from the second floor and began to sing," so described Yasuzō. He recorded the full lyrics of the hymn Miho sung. It was the Japanese version of "The Lord will Provide" written by Martha Anne Cook (1806-1874), which had been widely spread among Japanese Christians since the Meiji era. Yasuzō remembered that he joined Miho in the last section, and they sang together:

March on then right boldly: the sea shall divide;  
The pathway made glorious,  
With shoutings victorious,  
We'll join in the chorus,

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<sup>29</sup> About the May Fifteen Incident and the rise of militarism in Japan, see Albert Axelbank, *Black Star over Japan: Rising Forces of Militarism* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1972), 26-27, 93.

<sup>30</sup> For Japan's diplomacy from 1931 to 1933, see Rustin Gates, "Meiji Diplomacy in the Early 1930s: Uchida Kōsai, Manchuria, and Post-withdrawal Foreign Policy," in Masato Kimura and Tosh Minohara eds., *Tumultuous Decade: Empire, Society, and Diplomacy in 1930s Japan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 189-214.

“The Lord will provide.”

With tears, Yasuzō continued to pray, “Since we established our family, there was no one day that we have not been given food. We know you must have helped us. Even though the Dōshisha discarded us, you, my Lord, please do not leave us.”

After having a warm breakfast prepared by Miho, Yasuzō left home for Tokyo the next morning, on March 25, seeking a new job. He remembered that Miho said at the door, “take the job immediately with gratitude if you can find one, no need to tell me first.” Then he recounted, “I might have missed the express bus, and so took a regular one that stopped at each station.” This bus line went through the Ōmi-hachiman; when stopped there, Yasuzō decided to get off to visit Yoshida Etsuzō 吉田悦蔵 (1890-1942), his “old playmate during childhood” (*chikuba no tomo* 竹馬の友). Yoshida was another “Vories’ boy.” More than that, he cofounded the Ōmi Mission with his American teacher. On the day that Yasuzō visited, the first thing Yoshida told to him was that “we just decided yesterday to dispatch you to Beijing [on behalf of the Ōmi Sales].” This decision must have been made before Yasuzō prayed the night before, and thus he told his Japanese readers it was “the blessing that God provided before prayer.” From that day, he became a representative for the Ōmi Mission in Beijing.<sup>31</sup>

However, getting this new job was not as miraculous as Yasuzō described. What he had not mentioned to his Japanese readers at war was that he had already been collaborating with Yoshida to set up an agency in Beijing in March 1931, one year before he was laid off from Dōshisha.<sup>32</sup> Against the broader background of the Sino-

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<sup>31</sup> For more details on what had happened on March 24 and 25, 1932, see *Chōyōmongai*, 269-274.

<sup>32</sup> Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed’,” 369.

Japanese dynamics, this position was created at the time of the Ōmi Mission's expansion in and beyond Japan's formal empire across Korea, Manchuria, and, eventually, China.

### The Ōmi Mission's Expansion in China

The Ōmi Mission's commercial business for Christian evangelization in Japan originated from the architectural design works led by Vories.<sup>33</sup> In 1907, Vories was dismissed from his teaching position. Trying to stay in Japan for evangelization, he picked up his profession again as an architect. In 1908, he began this career by taking an on-site duty in the construction of the Kyoto YMCA building. Over the next forty years, he was invited to be part of the design and consulting services for more than 1500 architectural works, including 146 works in Korea, 37 in China, and 8 in Taiwan.<sup>34</sup> Appreciated very much for his debut design works in 1911 and 1912 for the buildings of the Chinese YMCA and Korean YMCA in Tokyo, Vories received invitations for mission-related assignments from both China and Korea immediately. In 1914, he traveled around several cities in the Lower Yangzi region in China. This

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<sup>33</sup> For Vories' architectural works in East Asia, see Chung Changwon 鄭昶源 and Yamagata Masaaki 山形政昭, "Higashi-Ajia ni okeru Vōrizu no kenchiku katsudō ni kansuru kenkyū: so no ichi, Kankoku (Chōsen hando) ni keikaku sareta genzon zumen no seiri bunseki o chūshin ni; so no ni, Chūgoku kanren no genzon seikei zumen no seiri bunseki o chūshin ni" 東アジアにおけるヴォーリス(W. M. Vories)の建築活動に関する研究: その1 韓国(朝鮮半島)に計画された現存図面の整理分析を中心に; その2 中国関連の現存設計図面の整理分析を中心に [A Study on the Architectural Works of W. M. Vories in East Asia: Part 1, Focused on the Archives of His Drawings in Korea; Part 2, Focused on the Archives of His Drawings in China], 日本建築学会計画系論文集 *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 72 no. 611 (2007): 195-201; 72 no. 618 (2007): 143-148.

<sup>34</sup> Chung Changwon and Yamagata Masaaki, "A Study on the Architectural Works of W. M. Vories in East Asia: Part 1, Focused on the Archives of His Drawings in Korea," 95.

trip resulted fruitfully in five assignments, including the multi-year adjusting design for the College Chapel of the Hangchow Presbyterian College.<sup>35</sup>

The expansion of Vories' architectural company in China differed in many ways from its expansion in Korea. Firstly, the office in Japan continued contracting projects in Korea from the mid-1910s to the early 1940s, covering almost the entire colonial history of Korea. In China, on the contrary, the team withdrew entirely during the 1920s and did not return to the market until the early 1930s. Secondly, Japanese staff held paramount power in completing the design of the assignments in Korea, as shown by the preserved sketch records. In China, however, Vories' team was less powerful and was more often assigned co-design projects, especially when invited by mission-affiliated works.<sup>36</sup> A third difference is that the percentage of Christian mission-related contracts assigned from Korea was apparently higher than that from China. This was because most project assignments received in the Manchurian region in the 1930s were factories, office buildings, and facilities for Japanese companies with no affiliation to any religious organizations or funds.<sup>37</sup> These three major differences imply that Ōmi Mission's expansion of architectural business in East Asia paralleled, and structurally benefited from, Japan's military expansion across the Sea of Japan in which economic colonization is an un-ignorable component. In this sense, even under the leadership of an American, Vories'

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<sup>35</sup> Chung Changwon and Yamagata Masaaki, "A Study on the Architectural Works of W. M. Vories in East Asia: Part 2, Focused on the Archives of His Drawings in China," 145.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-147. For example, the design of the Myung Sin School project (1931) was co-signed by Vories' architectural company in Japan and the Wickson & Gregg Architects in Toronto, Canada. In another case, in the design work for the College Chapel of the Hangchow Presbyterian College, the Vories-led team's labor was not even documented in the school archives, though many sketches had been preserved in his archive in Japan.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-148.

architecture team was “Japanized” as its commercial expansion was synchronous with the empire’s colonial policy towards Korea and China.

Based upon the transnational web developed alongside their architectural projects, Vories’ company developed another major field of business: the sale and production of Mentholatum ointment. Mentholatum was originally an American brand of non-prescription family health care products established in 1889, benefiting from the profit earned by the well-known “Mentholatum Ointment.”<sup>38</sup> The founder Albert Alexander Hyde (1848-1935) was a pious Protestant. As both were Kansas Americans and devout Christians, Hyde supported Vories’ Christian evangelization in Japan by donating jars of ointment.<sup>39</sup> In 1913, Vories acquired the permission to sell the ointment products in Japan. In 1920, he initialized a new company called “The Ōmi Sales Company (Ōmi Sales)” with his Christian Japanese brothers, and they began to import and sell the ointment products under the name “Menturm.” The sales of Menturm ointment so boomed in Japan during the 1920s that a local department of production could be launched smoothly at the end of the decade. In September 1931, a new factory for the production of Menturm was fully equipped and ready for use. The Ōmi Sales generated enough revenue to finance the Ōmi Mission’s medical, educational, and evangelistic enterprises, including the Omi Sanatorium and Hospital (1918-), and the Seiyuen Kindergarten and the Ōmi Brotherhood Schools (1922-), among others. At the end of 1937, the Mentholatum products made in Japan achieved a new sales record and the company was in urgent need of a new factory to be constructed in Fengtian to provide products for markets in Manchukuo and China.

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<sup>38</sup> Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “‘The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed’,” 287-289.

<sup>39</sup> On how Mentholatum took the Ōmi Mission to the Japanese formal empire, see Gregory Allen Vanderbilt, “‘The Kingdom of God is Like a Mustard Seed’,” especially chapter four, “Everyday Empire: Missionary Knowledge, Architecture, and Movement,” 323-387.

Before setting up its first Mentholatum shop in Fengtian in April 1929, leaders of Ōmi Sales visited Korea, Manchuria, and north China at least twice to estimate the potential markets for Ōmi Sales' products. Vories and Yoshida went for an investigative journey that lasted nearly one month in October 1928, during which they visited Tianjin and Beijing in north China.<sup>40</sup> Yasuzō was teaching at Dōshisha in Kyoto, and his school in Beijing was not noted by Vories in his report about this journey. However, notably, the Ōmi team visited Zhang Boling 张伯苓 (1876-1951), the president of Naikai University in Tianjin, and was accommodated at the hostel run by the North China Union Language School in Beijing.<sup>41</sup> Both became closely connected to Yasuzō in the 1930s.

It remains unknown if Yasuzō knew about the trip beforehand or not, or if he was consulted by the Ōmi team. Regardless, he soon returned to the stage of the Ōmi Mission, as reflected by the frequency at which he published his writings in the Mission's organ monthly starting in March 1929. Among these writings, the first article was about the "Orientalized Christianity," which will be analyzed in the next chapter.<sup>42</sup> In many ways, his idea drafted in this article – to uphold a de-Westernized Christianity in East Asia – was not unlike what the leaders of the Ōmi Mission promoted.<sup>43</sup> For instance, a photo taken of a group of Japanese people in front of the Zhao Mausoleum in Fengtian was published in *Voice at the Lakeside* on the back cover of the March 1928 issue. These Japanese were visiting Manchuria on behalf of

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<sup>40</sup> W. M. Vories, "Man Sen Hoku-Shina ryokōki" 滿鮮北支那旅行記 [My Travel Journal in Manchuria, Korea and north China], *Kohan no koe* December 1928: 21.

<sup>41</sup> W. M. Vories, "Man Sen Hoku-Shina ryokōki, san" 滿鮮北支那旅行記 (三) [My Travel Journal in Manchuria, Korea and north China (3)], *Kohan no koe* February 1929: 24-27.

<sup>42</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teichō 東洋的基督教の提唱 [The Promotion of Orientalized Christianity]," *Kohan no koe* March 1929: 15-20. This article includes 10 installments and published monthly from March to December. See chapter four for a critical examination of it.

<sup>43</sup> On the conceptualization of Shimizu's idea about the Orientalized Christianity, see next chapter.



the Ōmi Mission. Under the photo, the editor wrote, "... while broadening the sales of Mentholatum, ... our Ōmi Mission would bring **real** Christianity to China through more **Orientalized** Japanese, instead of **foreign** [Western], missionaries."<sup>44</sup> In this sense, Yasuzō was a true fit to their image of "the Orientalized Japanese missionary."

In March 1931, Yasuzō joined the Yoshida-led team of the Ōmi Sales in Fengtian and accompanied them to travel across Manchuria and north China as "Professor Shimizu."<sup>45</sup> This trip built the Ōmi Sales trading network in Beijing, which could be considered a major reason that he earned his salesmanship in the company in 1932. From June 1933, Yasuzō's "Journal of a Missionary in China" began to be published in the *Voice at the Lakeside*.<sup>46</sup> In it, he narrated his path departing from the Mission some fifteen years ago and referred to himself now as "an Ōmi brother in Beiping."<sup>47</sup> Based upon Shimizu's marketing network developed in China from 1932, Ōmi Sales opened its head office in north China at the Shimizu residence in Beijing. In 1938, he had been re-introduced to the Mission in their organ monthly as an "old" Ōmi brother whose "special brotherhood relation" with the mission was "re-installed" "when the Manchukuo was established."<sup>48</sup> From 1938 to the end of 1944, the Ōmi Sales-hired population increased from 558 to 757, including staff in Korea, Manchuria, and north China.<sup>49</sup> The Beijing office was small, hiring only about 7 Chinese.<sup>50</sup> However, the living subsidy it paid to Yasuzō starting in

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<sup>44</sup> *Kohan no koe* March 1928: back cover.

<sup>45</sup> Yoshida Etsuzō, "Shina nikki 2" 支那日記(二) [Diary in China (2)], *Kohan no koe* May (1931): 42.

<sup>46</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "ichi Shina dendōsha no shuki (1)" 一支那伝道者の手記(一) [Journal of a Missionary in China (1)], *Kohan no koe* June (1933): 26-27.

<sup>47</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Beiping ni okeru Ōmi no kyōdai: ichi Shina dendōsha no shuki (3)" 北平における近江の兄弟: 一支那伝道者の手記(三) [An Ōmi brother in Beiping: journal of a missionary in China (3)], *Kohan no koe* August (1933): 20.

<sup>48</sup> *Kohan no koe* May (1938): 28-29.

<sup>49</sup> Okumura Naohiko, "A Chronicle of Vories," in *Bōrizu Hyōden*, 10-12.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

1933 was crucial; it amounted to 2740.00 *yen* in 1933, 2840.00 *yen* in both 1934 and 1935, and 2640.00 *yen* annually from 1936 to 1938.<sup>51</sup> The purpose of this wage offered by the Ōmi Mission was two-fold. It supported not only the expansion of the Ōmi Sales' business but also the spread of the Ōmi Mission's gospel in north China through Yasuzō.

### The Infusion of the Governmental Aids from 1933

Aside from receiving a stipend from Ōmi Sales continuously from 1933 on, Yasuzō began to receive annual subsidies on behalf of the Sūtei Girls' School from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan beginning that same year. In 1933 and 1934, the school received 600 *yen* respectively for developing the program of Japanese language education. In 1935, it received 1000 *yen* as a reimbursement of a part of the fees that the school had paid to purchase books for its library, and equipment and samples for class use.<sup>52</sup> These payments were recorded in materials that were publicized after the war. The archive shows that, by providing these subsidies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered the school's development as a special achievement of the "cultural affairs towards China" (*taishi bunka jigyo* 対支文化事業). It also endorsed Yasuzō's contribution "for fifteen years" to the education of Chinese citizens as "meaningful."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Li Hongwei, "Sūtei Gakuen no enkaku" 崇貞学園の沿革 [The History of Sūtei School], *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 52-55.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> "Sūtei Jogakkō ni taisuru josei" 崇貞女学校ニ対スル助成 [Financial assistance to Chongzheng Girls' School], November 1932; MS no. H-6-2-0-1\_002, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Tokyo, accessed through *Ajia rekishi shiryō sentā* アジア歴史資料センター (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, JACAR), Reference Code: B02030010900 (2<sup>nd</sup> picture).

In fact, it was Yasuzō who first asked for help from the government. He had already considered transforming the school in 1932, as reflected in his application for governmental aid that was submitted to the Bureau of China Affairs (対支文化事業局 *taishi bunka jigyo kyoku*) in November of that year. In it, he described how hard the school runners had worked to enable the institute to survive independently over the past years. He expressed, “in response to the current situation, it is time to make [the school] a big advancement.” This “current situation,” in his words, was the “recent political situation of Japan and China.” Without a doubt, this referred to what had arisen between the two countries due to the Japanese Army’s occupation of Manchuria and other parts of China in 1931 and 1932. Against this background, Yasuzō reported that “many schools in Beiping had abolished teaching the Japanese language.” Thus, he hoped, by developing a well-rounded program of Japanese language, the Sūtei School in Beijing “could cultivate the [female Chinese] students into becoming those who can understand the Japanese people and recognize the [leading] place of Japan in East Asia.”<sup>54</sup> In other words, Yasuzō paid close attention to the political dynamics and reacted swiftly with carefully considered actions to develop his enterprise.

The governmental supports that the Sūtei school received from 1933 on did not just result from external tension and Yasuzō’s active response to it. Proactively and continuously, he nurtured his relations with both non-governmental and governmental contacts he had developed through participating in the relief work in 1920-21 in north China. According to the documents preserved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, (3<sup>rd</sup> picture).

first application for subsidy submitted on behalf of the Sūtei school was dated 1923.<sup>55</sup> The submitter was Satō Sadakichi 佐藤定吉 (1887-1960), then a professor working at Tohoku University in Sendai.<sup>56</sup> Except for a cover letter handwritten by Satō, the only other attachment is an annual report for the school for the year 1921-22. Satō was baptized by Ebina Danjō at the Hongō Church in Tokyo in 1910, and he might have learned of Yasuzō and his enterprise in Beijing from him, too. It remains unknown whether Yasuzō asked Satō to submit this application for him or not. However, the annual report expressed with gratitude clearly that the school could not have been established without the support of Japanese governors in Beijing.<sup>57</sup>

Indeed, Yasuzō's 1932 application for governmental aid confirmed the financial independency of the school up until then. However, as an individual journalist and Japanese Protestant in China, Yasuzō did receive payments from the government to proceed with other assignments unrelated to the school running. In February 1927, he

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<sup>55</sup> “Zai Pekin Shina Sūtei Gakkō fujohō no ken” 在北京支那崇貞学校補助方ノ件 [Subsidiaries for China Chongzheng School in Beijing], March 1923; MS no. H-4-3-0-12\_001, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015394200.

<sup>56</sup> Satō became an independent evangelist from March 1924. He established an institute for scientific research in applied chemistry and an independent Christian society called “Society for Servants of Jesus” (*Iesu no Shimobe Kai* イエスの僕会). The Society promoted a nationalistic type of Christianity and had renamed to Society of Imperial Christianity (*Kōko Kirisutokai* 皇国基督会) during the war. For Satō's religious thought, see Iwase Makoto 岩瀬誠, “Nihon no Kirisutokyō shidōsha Satō Sadakichi no Shindō rikai” 日本的キリスト教指導者佐藤定吉の神道理解 [The understanding of Shintoism by Satō Sadakichi, leader of the Japanized Christianity], *Kokugakuin Zasshi* 国学院雑誌 93 no. 1 (1992): 14-30. Satō's daughter and son-in-law had long been working in Sūtei Gakuen and Ōbirin Gakuen. His grandson, Satō Tōyōshi 佐藤東洋士, is the current chancellor of the J. F. Oberlin University. See Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gaken*, note 10, 121. Noteworthy, Satō Sadakichi's Christian thought had profoundly influenced Ōhira Masayoshi 大平正芳 (1910-1980), the 43th (and the sixth Christian) prime minister of modern Japan, who had been baptized in 1929. Ōhira went to Zhangjiakou (Kalgan, located at the border of north China and Inner Mongolia) in 1938 as a governmental officer, became influential in the postwar Japanese government in the reestablishment of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relation in early 1970s, and became a strong supporter to Deng Xiaoping's economic policy from then on.

<sup>57</sup> JACAR, Reference Code: B05015394200 (pictures 5-6).

had applied for 1000 *yuan* for his reporting trip in China.<sup>58</sup> According to the application file, he planned to attend the upcoming national assembly of the Central Committee of the Republican Party of China that would be held in Wuhan in March of that year, then travel around Christian missions in China to do field research on the anti-Christian movement. In the recorded correspondences in deciding this application, both the diplomat of Japan in Beijing and the governor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned that Yasuzō had made a special contribution to a nationwide statistical investigation on the “Anti-Christian Movement and Mission Schools [in China],” which was a secret order assigned directly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1926 to Japan’s diplomatic branches in China.<sup>59</sup> For this project, Yasuzō submitted his report “The Research on the Anti-Christian Movement in China” which was completed in January 1927.<sup>60</sup> It was attached as a special issue to the main body of statistics submitting to the Foreign Minister. By accomplishing this assignment, Yasuzō was personally rewarded 100 *yuan*.<sup>61</sup> In many ways, therefore, when Yasuzō went back to Beijing in 1932, he was already an old hand at approaching

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<sup>58</sup> “Sūtei Jogakkōchō Shimizu Yasuzō” 崇貞女学校長 清水安三 [Shimizu Yasuzo, Principal of Chongzhen Girls’ School], February 1927; MS no. H-6-1-0-3\_1\_001, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015661300. The subtitle of the archive is “Shina shisatsu shinsei” 支那視察申請 [Application for field investigation in China].

<sup>59</sup> For the investigation reports resulted from this order, see “Han-Kirisutokyō Undō oyobi ‘mishon sukūru’ genkyō bunkatsu 1-4” 反基督運動及「ミッションスクール」現況分割 1-4 [Present situation of anti-Christianism movement and mission schools, Part 1 to 4], created respectively on April 28, 1927; December 25, 1926; January 19, 1927; and January 7, 1927; MS no. H-7-1-0-4\_2\_006, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Codes: B05016101500; B05016101600; B05016101700; B05016101800.

<sup>60</sup> “Han-Kirisutokyō Undō oyobi ‘mishon sukūru’ genkyō bunkatsu tsu 2” 反基督運動及「ミッションスクール」現況分割 2 [Present situation of Anti-Christianism movement and Mission School Part 2], December 25, 1926; MS no. H-7-1-0-4\_2\_006, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05016101600. This archive includes only the cover page of Shimizu’s report entitled “Shina ni okeru han-Kirisutokyō Undō no chōsa kenkyū” 支那に於ける反基督教運動の調査研究 [The research on the anti-Christian movement in China], see picture 103.

<sup>61</sup> JACAR, Reference Code: B05016101500, (3<sup>rd</sup> picture, H-0863 0009).

governmental interactions. Due to his efforts, the governmental aid for the school fund in Beijing continued, providing about 600 *yen* each in 1933 and 1934, about 1500 *yen* in 1935, and about 1000 *yen* in 1936.<sup>62</sup>

### The End of the Embroidery Production on Campus and Miho's Death

Put together, from 1932 to 1933, the school finances were stabilized gradually by securing diversified external sources, including mainly the Ōmi Mission and its sales and the governmental aid. Other than these, in 1932, the school charged tuition and fees to students for the first time and transformed from a work-study program to full-day schooling.<sup>63</sup> All this evidence indicates that the Shimizu couple had taken actions to reform the school not only according to the regular criteria of the educational system in China but also corresponding with the political currents of the time. Although the school continuously promoted the “work-study” philosophy in its curriculum and extracurricular activities, its half-day needlework workshop every afternoon was formally put to an end. This led to a significant drop in the profit that had been earned from the school-based embroidery business. In 1932, this profit amounted to 1508 *yen*, comprising 60 percent of the school's total revenue. In 1933, it decreased to 553 *yen*. After increasing to 820 *yen* in 1934, it decreased again to 600 *yen* in 1936.<sup>64</sup>

The leave of Miho was another significant reason for the notable drop of the embroidery business in 1933. She went back to Kyoto in March 1933, accompanying

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<sup>62</sup> For a summary of the increase of the governmental aids, see Li Hongwei, “Sūtei Gakuen no enkaku,” *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 52-55.

<sup>63</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 117. Also refer to her, “Sūtei Gakuen no enkaku,” *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 42.

<sup>64</sup> Li Hongwei, “Sūtei Gakuen no enkaku,” *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 53.

two Chinese students who were enrolling in schools in April, the beginning of the school year in Japan.<sup>65</sup> She stayed in Kyoto, taking care of three children aged 12, 11, and 6 years old, and could not return to the Beijing campus from this point on. In late autumn of that year, Yasuzō received a letter from his daughter, telling him that Miho was already too ill to write.<sup>66</sup> He then rushed back to Kyoto on November 17. One month later, on December 19, Miho died of tuberculous peritonitis and pleurisy in hospital. Before passing away, Yasuzō remembered, she was surrounded by family and friends, who sang “The Lord will Provide” for her one last time. Then she could not speak at all. After listening to Yasuzō’s solo of the last section of the hymn, she wrote down on paper, “Farewell, all of you. I leave everything in your hands.” And, to Yasuzō specifically, her last words were, “Papa, be firm please!”<sup>67</sup>

In accordance with Miho’s will, her remains were brought back to China and buried on the Beijing campus.<sup>68</sup> She loved her Chinese students and colleagues. When the Manchurian Incident of September 1931 restricted regular trips from Japan to China, she became so worried about the school. According to Yasuzō’s memory, she tried to persuade the ticket officer to sell her a ticket to Beijing by saying that “[my] daughters are still in China.”<sup>69</sup> In response, Chinese students and colleagues respected her, too. Learning about her death, they organized a funeral and mourned her for one month by wearing black armbands. One of Miho’s favorite students, Ma Shuxiu, composed the epitaph for her in Chinese:

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<sup>65</sup> Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Yasuzō ryaku nenpu,” in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 259.

<sup>66</sup> For the death of Miho remembered by Shimizu Yasuzō, see *Chōyōmongai*, 276-291.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 284-286.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-289.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-265.

Shimizu Miho (1895-1933)  
Did not pursue a comfortable and easy life  
Dedicated one third of her life to her school  
One third to her husband  
One third to her children  
In her whole life, she wore nothing luxury  
But those that were gifted by friends  
Dying so young, she willed,  
“Bury my remains in China,  
[They are] the last I dedicated to her [China].”<sup>70</sup>

As Miho wished, Yasuzō stayed strong. He secured the school finances through both the Ōmi Mission and the Japanese government in the coming two years. Then, he handed the school smoothly over to Ikuko, his second wife.

### **Koizumi Ikuko, A Newcomer**

In the years when Yasuzō was increasingly involved physically in Ōmi Mission’s expansion and the school affairs in Beijing, Koizumi Ikuko 小泉郁子 had published three monographs in Tokyo. They are *Theory of Coeducation* (1931), *Female Education for Tomorrow* (1933), and *Women Move Forward* (1935).<sup>71</sup> In September 1934, she received Yasuzō’s letter, asking her to think about marrying him and joining his missionary enterprise in Beijing.<sup>72</sup> By then, Ikuko was already a specialist in education, a professor of the Aoyama Gakuin 青山学院 in Tokyo, and a rising star at center stage of the movement of Japanese feminism. However, in merely

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-290.

<sup>71</sup> Koizumi Ikuko, *Danjo kyōgaku ron* 男女共学論 [Theory of Coeducation] (Tokyo: Shin Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1931); *Asu no josei kyōiku* 明日の女性教育 [Female Education for Tomorrow] (Tokyo: Nankōsha, 1933); *Josei wa ugoku* 女性は動く [Women Move Forward] (Tokyo: Nankōsha, 1935).

<sup>72</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 333-335.



two months, she accepted his proposal and transplanted her educational career from Japan to China.<sup>73</sup> What had led her on the path to this point?

### Life before going to Beijing

In September 1892, Ikuko was born as the fourth daughter in the Koizumi family in a village called Tsuda-mura of the Shimane Prefecture.<sup>74</sup> Both her parents were from warrior clans. Specifically, her father was very educated and rigorous in both study and life. He could not only read traditional Chinese canons but also teach the English language. Nonetheless, Ikuko and her parents were not intimate enough because she had been adopted for four years. Upon returning to her own home, she was only eight years old. Ikuko recounted that, while so young a girl she was during those four years, she had labored, sometimes heavily, for the fisherman family that had adopted her in a seaside village. Later in her life, she could remember that she had been praised always for being indomitable in labor, but she never felt happy. It seemed that this experience was influential in making her an introvert who could bear the challenge of life with some inner strength.

After going back home at the age of eight, Ikuko returned to an intellectual, middle-class environment.<sup>75</sup> She so much admired her eldest sister Chiyo, who was ten years older. Chiyo was a talented young schoolteacher, who unfortunately died early in 1906. Determined to grow up to be like her sister, Ikuko was very self-disciplined and self-motivated in study – always among the top of the class in her primary to secondary school years. Like her sister, Ikuko also passed the entrance

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 338.

<sup>74</sup> For Ikuko's family and her life before eight, see Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū* 小泉郁子の研究 [A Study on Koizumi Ikuko] (Tokyo: Gakubunsha, 2000), 1-20.

<sup>75</sup> For Ikuko's life experience after adoption, see Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 21-35.

examination to the Tokyo Higher Normal School 東京女子高等師範学校. Not exactly what she wished, however, it was the Department of Education in History and Geography that offered Ikuko an admission. Her first choice had been the education of the “national language” (*kokugo* 国語) as her sister had majored. Yet, Ikuko remembered that her father had encouraged her at this point. He said, “Geography and history are disciplines that can help you know the world. To uphold Japan to [perform well at] the international stage, [we] must learn the [social] studies that are based upon geography and history.”<sup>76</sup> With great efforts and remarkable capability, Ikuko graduated not only with the top grade of her class in her major, but she also achieved certification in teaching the Japanese language.

In March 1915, when Yasuzō finished his college study in Kyoto, Ikuko received her degree in Tokyo. Like Yasuzō, Ikuko also underwent a life-changing transformation during her college years in Taisho Japan. They both turned to the pursuit of individualistic independence, one from being a “Vories’ boy,” who had been supported – albeit in a limited way – by the Ōmi Mission, and one from being a female who had been protected though marginalized by the patriarchal society. Eventually, the former became a China missionary, while the latter became a feminist. From about 1912, Ikuko became an active supporter to the movement of Japanese feminism that had been initiated by the all-female Bluestocking Society (*Seitōsha* 青鞞社). Like many Chinese and Japanese women of the time, Ikuko was strongly influenced by Henrik Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* and believed that she was, “before everything else,” a human being. Once, for a period in college, she even

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

skipped the labor that she considered “woman’s work,” such as cleaning and mending clothes, to concentrate on her “study to become a human being.”<sup>77</sup>

Shortly after graduation, Ikuko progressed on her career path as a teacher in female secondary schools. From 1916 to 1922, she took two teaching positions. The first was in teaching the national language at the Nagasaki Prefectural Female Senior High School 長崎県立長崎高等女学校 from January 1916 to March 1918, and the second, in geography and history at the Akashi Female Normal School 明石女子師範学校 in the Hyōgo Prefecture from April 1918 to April 1922. Comparatively, the second position was more challenging for Ikuko. This was because that she had taken on a heavier workload, taking charge of four different grade groups as well as other assignments in alumni relationships. During this time, Ikuko became more sophisticated and expert in both secondary education and feminist activism through a variety of opportunities. For example, she was invited by the school principal to give a school-wide speech on the Russian Revolution, which turned out to be so successful that it spurred her to become more confident. She was also assigned the duty of visiting alumni students, through which she learned firsthand the roadmaps of female graduates, which related broadly to other social issues in which Japanese women were involved. In 1919, she became a proactive attendee of women’s conferences held in the Kansai region. In many occasions, she promoted that, before everything else, women needed as equally high-qualified an education as men received. In the meantime, through attending these activities, she became more and more unsatisfied with the participants’ “attitude of research.” She said, “Indeed all [female participants] are passionate. But some of them have no individual thoughts on the

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-42.

issues that have been discussed, and some just repeat ideas and agree with the resolutions.” Obviously, she did not think that most Japanese women she met in those events had the same trained original and critical thinking that men did.<sup>78</sup>

Another noteworthy development in Ikuko’s mind during her second teaching position was her gradual awakening of an inner faith in Christianity. Ikuko was first exposed to Christianity during the Russo-Japanese War when she was twelve years old in late 1904. Introduced to her by her Christian classmate, she began to attend the Sunday school at the Matsue Christ Church of the Anglican denomination.<sup>79</sup> Years later, she recounted that church attendance had enriched her life in that period, at which time her home was “clouded with [my sister’s] illness in the middle of the Russo-Japanese War.”<sup>80</sup> Even so, she did not convert to Christianity until January 1915, two months before graduating from the Tokyo Higher Normal School.<sup>81</sup> Although church life was prevailing among young men and women in Tokyo, Ikuko’s reason for baptism was very personal and specific. She had long recognized her own introverted personality. To challenge herself toward “becoming magnanimous,” she even tried the training of diaphragmatic breathing and Zen meditation. However, “in the end, it was the inner strength of [Christian] faith that succeeded.”<sup>82</sup> As a regular church goer after becoming a secondary school teacher, Ikuko’s spiritual life seemed not as central to her identity as her educational and feminist activism. However, in the winter of December 1919, a strong influenza virus attacked her. Recovering from this until May 1920, she felt a tremendous joy “like one who lost sight and could see the

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<sup>78</sup> For Ikuko’s teaching career described in this paragraph, see *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 46-58.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

world again.” She said, from physical toughness and the miracle of reviving from it, she experienced a spiritual revival, too, and became willing to spread the divine love that she had felt and had been immersed in during that recovery process.<sup>83</sup>

Eventually, the intellectual, social, and spiritual growth during Ikuko’s second teaching job pushed her to the life-changing decision to pursue a more advanced training in education. In April 1922, she resigned from the teaching job in Akashi and went to Tokyo without notifying her parents.<sup>84</sup> She registered in her home college. While working as a supply teacher for some income, she applied to become an auditor student at the Tokyo Imperial University in order to attend the courses “Experimental Psychology,” “Educational Psychology,” and “Sociology.”<sup>85</sup> Although this life experience lasted only several months, it was of vital importance for Ikuko, as she continuously developed a broadening academic horizon and grew in critical thinking on Japanese feminism.

More importantly, Ikuko developed in these several months a deeper understanding of religious love and found its importance in the education of human beings. For her, the milestone event was attending The Salvation Army Japan, which was founded by Yamamuro Gunpei 山室軍平 (1872-1940) in 1895.<sup>86</sup> She recalled that she was strongly awakened by Yamamuro’s preaching about “love” from the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. “I decided,” she said, “I will root my study [of education] on the basis of belief in God which I now feel anew.”

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-54.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 58, 63.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 64. For details described in this paragraph, as well as Kurematsu’s analysis on Ikuko’s transformation in educational philosophy during this period, see pages 63-66. On Yamamuro Gunpei and the Salvation Army in Japan, see David R. Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai: Gunpei Yamamuro and the Rise of the Salvation Army in Japan* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1997).

She then asserted that “the woman question cannot be resolved simply by science, sociology, and psychology,” and “the essential problem that I found in the female education of this country is the ignorance of religion [’s role in it].” In other words, she found that, without a deep caring and loving attitude towards others and society in general, women could not establish themselves, in the universal sense, as a human being, even if they were trained as equally scholarly as men. Since this point, Ikuko’s educational philosophy changed from a focus on advancing females’ “intelligence” to the emphasis on shaping universal “love” in supporting the education of human beings – women included indeed. She claimed, “My theory of coeducation has burgeoned in several months of the eleventh year of the Taisho period during which I was an auditor student of the Department of Literature at the Tokyo Imperial University.” This is evident in that she, in that exact period, turned to a Christian-morality-based world view from simply the promotion of women’s right to receive equal education.

On October 31, 1922, Ikuko went abroad to the United States at thirty years old.<sup>87</sup> Supported by Yamamuro and the Japanese networks of the Salvation Army in the US, Ikuko studied in the Salvation Army’s College of Officers’ Training and worked in California for “special Japanese work” as a Captain. Yet, little has been recorded about Ikuko’s personal and evangelical life during this short period. Then, from February 1924 to May 1927, she was registered at Oberlin College in the program of Divinity for a bachelor’s degree. There, she met Yasuzō for the first time and they both took the courses “Religious Education” and “New Testament.” They did not have much contact in both that period and after, though they seemed to

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-74.

maintain the common classmate relationship. For Ikuko, the three years in Oberlin were challenging, but extremely rewarding. Upon graduation, she was awarded a merit-based scholarship that



**Ikuko** (middle, 2nd row) and **Yasuzō** (far right, 3rd row) at Oberlin  
*The Hi-O-Hi*, Vol. XXXVI, 109.  
(Published by the Class 1926, Oberlin College.)

was only granted to those who graduated with the top grade. She had also been selected as the student speaker for the graduation reception of that year.<sup>88</sup>

By that time, Ikuko had already set her career plan back to Japan, as reflected by the letter of application for the Master's program in Education at Michigan University. She "count[ed] three reasons" for the further study there. They were, first, "As the supplementary study for the religious education;" second, "For the special study of American system of school education for the benefit of my future works in Japan;" and third, "For getting a degree" because the Japanese society "requires it for executing my plan."<sup>89</sup> She also expressed to the Dean of the School of Education at Michigan University that she wanted to "start a new Christian school of college standard" back in Japan after graduation, and that she was interested in investigating "the American system of co-education which has not ever been tried regularly in Japan."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-80.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-83.

In Michigan, Ikuko became more passionate about religious education. One of the reasons for this was that she did not feel the same religious atmosphere and the intimate interactive relationship between students and instructors as she had when immersed in Oberlin. In her letter sent back to Oberlin, Ikuko confirmed that her “most fascinating subject” was religion, such that she “became unable to get use to the study and life in an unreligious space [as in Michigan].”<sup>91</sup>

And yet, she completed her master’s degree in one year, and then “decided to stay for one more year” to “study some more about the psychological aspect of instruction and school administration” which she had touched little. Supported by one of The Barbour Scholarships, she then enrolled in the doctoral program in Education at Michigan.<sup>92</sup> Upon receiving her candidacy by passing the exam in November 1929 on her dissertation project entitled “The American Influence on Female Education in Japan,” Ikuko went back to Japan for field research in April 1930.<sup>93</sup> Returning to Japanese society after eight years, Ikuko found not only that her research data was not easy to collect, but also that the degrees she earned in America were not as useful in paving the way for a good job as she thought. Nonetheless, through great effort, she secured a professorship in the



**Koizumi Ikuko**  
Received Master’s degree  
Photo published in  
*Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 85.

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 89, 91.



Specialty Division for Girls in the Aoyama Gakuin, and then decided to suspend her doctoral study in the US.<sup>94</sup>

Without experiencing most of the 1920s in Japan, Ikuko went directly into a feminist scholar's life in 1930s' Tokyo. She soon became a notable opinion writer on education and women issues.<sup>95</sup> Her first book on coeducation turned out to be a widely read and critically discussed book against a social background in which gender specific education was still broadly accepted. Even so, her theory of coeducation was women centered. As the historian Kanō Mikiyo pointed out, Ikuko's feminism was similar in many ways with the second-wave feminism spread in the Western world.<sup>96</sup> It promoted not only the economic and legal independence of women, but also the full recognition of their whole being. That said, Ikuko stood out among most Japanese feminists of her age in the sense that her ideas went beyond suffrage and gender-equality, which is what the first-wave feminists generally concentrated on. Unlike those who emphasized "women's role" as assisting men and the nation, Ikuko's theory aimed at cultivating the kind of females who were capable of collaboration instead of assistance. Her ultimate goal, as she said, was to build a "new society."<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 96-97.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>96</sup> Kanō Mikiyo 加納実紀代, "Nihon Feminisumu shi ni okeru Koizumi Ikuko" 日本フェミニズム史における小泉郁子 [Koizumi Ikuko in the history of Japanese feminism], in Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen* 清水郁子の思想と教育実践 [Shimizu Ikuko's Thought and Educational Practice] (Tokyo: J. F. Oberlin University, 2004), 7-24.

<sup>97</sup> For a more comprehensive analysis on Ikuko's feminism, see Kanō Mikiyo, "Koizumi Ikuko to 'teikoku no feminizumu'" 小泉郁子と「帝国のフェミニズム」 [Koizumi Ikuko and 'imperialist feminism'], in Tomisaka Christian Center ed., *Josei Kirisutosha to sensō* 女性キリスト者と戦争 [Female Christians and war] (Ōtsu: Kōrosha, 2002), 241-291.

An important characteristic of Ikuko's feminism was the Christian belief and value embedded within.<sup>98</sup> For her, an inner faith in religion empowered women to develop as human beings with “dreams,” “imagination,” and “idealism.” Furthermore, the philosophical thinking of religion was essential in female education for the nurturing of a “life in creation” that was, from her perspective, higher than the life of repetitive and meaningless human labor. She claimed that she did not consider the “religion” narrowly to be only Christianity, but in her mind, “modern Christianity” had an utmost transcending power based on the idea that “God, who gives revelation by Jesus, makes no difference between men and women.” She believed that “the foundation of all women's movements is the equality of individual persons and of races.” Thus, she insisted, “nowadays, no one could deny that Christianity [among all religions] has provided the most powerful support to the promotion of the women's movement globally.”

In 1934, Ikuko had been selected as one of two Japanese female delegates to attend The Third Pan-Pacific Women's Conference held in Honolulu.<sup>99</sup> At the conference, she encountered many female delegates from other Asian countries. Among them, the Korean delegates impressed her, but not in a good way. Ikuko recalled, “they disrupted every discussion with their self-centered attitude.”<sup>100</sup> Then

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<sup>98</sup> Quotations used in this paragraph are cited from Kanō Mikiyo, “Koizumi Ikuko to ‘teikoku no feminizumu,’” 261-264. Ikuko's statements on the role of Christian ethic in education are included in both her books and her opinion articles. For a list of her publications, see “chosaku mokuroko” 著作目録 [List of Publications] compiled by Kurematsu Kaoru in *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 212-228.

<sup>99</sup> The other formal delegate was Gauntlett Tsuneko, who was the leader of the Japan WCTU. The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference was organized by the Pan-Pacific Women Association (renamed to The Pan-Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association, PPSEAWA) from 1928 as a transnational assembly of females. For a comprehensive research on the Association and its role in the Pan-Pacific relations, see Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009).

<sup>100</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, “Koizumi Ikuko to ‘teikoku no feminizumu,’” 268. See pages 268-271 for other facts described in this paragraph. Refer also to Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku” 清水郁子と中国

she exemplified, “when discussing the problem of alcohol,” they brought up state “national independence,” and they questioned the conference by saying, “how could it be called an international conference when it has no capacity to support us who belong to a nation that has yet to become independent?” In the same conference, Chinese delegates delivered a similarly rejecting attitude toward Japan. After a failed negotiation, in which Ikuko was involved, Chinese women gave the only negative vote in the election of Gauntlett Tsuneko ガントレット 恒子 (1873-1953) to be the next president of the association. Ikuko thought that their strong attitude was caused by a deep misunderstanding of Japan and that she needed to take action to amend it. Obviously, she could not view Japan’s colonial agenda from the perspective of the colonized people or of those who resisted it. At the critical time, Yasuzō’s letter of proposal came to her.

#### Marriage before God for Chinese Girls

Yasuzō and Ikuko married according to God’s calling. After Miho died in the end of 1933, Yasuzō became the main administrator of the School in Beijing and, in the meantime, busy taking care of both the Ōmi Sales’ business and his three children. Overwhelmed by it all, he soon considered having a partner who could take over Miho’s duty.<sup>101</sup> He thought of Ikuko even before she attended the Pan-Pacific Women’s Conference, and he wrote his letter down on September 9, 1934, while Ikuko was on board a ship returning to Japan from Hawaii. He was extremely honest with Ikuko, telling her, “you are the most educated woman among all females I know,

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[Shimizu Ikuko and China], in Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 79-80.

<sup>101</sup> On why Shimizu considered to have a partner soon after Miho’s death, see *Chōyōmongai*, 327-332.

thus I consider you as the first candidate [of my partner].” He clarified, “if you do not dislike me, [I think] a natural love could be nurtured as long as we get to know each other better by lettering. ... as we are both turning old ... [I suppose] we shall communicate like middle-aged adults.” Ikuko was similarly honest and straightforward. Upon receiving Yasuzō’s letter, she responded immediately to approve more letter writing because she, since attending the Women’s Conference, willingly wanted to learn more about and do more for China.<sup>102</sup>

Similar to what motivated Yasuzō to be a missionary in China, what eventually pushed Ikuko to become a missionary wife was the deeply impactful and inspirational dedication of Western missionaries to Japan. On November 16, 1934, the Aoyama Gakuin celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its female division. In the program of the celebration, there was a pageant presenting how the Methodist Episcopal missionary Dora E. Schoonmaker (1851-1934) had undergone tremendous hardship in founding the Girls’ Elementary School in Tokyo. Ikuko was moved to tears by the show. Indeed, it was a reminder of Yasuzō’s mission school in Beijing. Further, Ikuko might have been putting herself in the shoes of Schoonmaker or of a missionary wife to imagine the same hardship and establish the same hope for Chinese girls. In any case, she went to the post office nearby immediately after watching the performance. In the telegram she sent to Yasuzō that day, she wrote: “God gave this incompetent me a sign, thus I shall [join to] help you, fulfil my call, and handle housework.” However, knowing what real life in China was like, Yasuzō encouraged Ikuko to wait before committing to this work, suggesting she look at the school on site first.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> For details on their correspondence, see *Chōyōmongai*, 333-336.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 337-338.

From March 31 to May 18, 1935, Ikuko traveled around many places in Korea, Manchukuo, and China. After being notified by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that she had been granted financial aid, Ikuko resigned from her teaching job in the end of March.<sup>104</sup> During the trip, she visited Gyeongseong in Korea; Fengtian, Xijiang, Dalian, and Lüshun in Manchukuo; Beijing and Tianjin in north China, and Nanjing and Shanghai near the end.<sup>105</sup> This trip heightened her patriotism and her enthusiasm for developing the school in Beijing. According to what she saw in China, Ikuko concluded that, except for rare cases, “ordinary Chinese women were stagnant in the old world.”<sup>106</sup> For this reason, they were to be civilized to uphold China in the modern world. Furthermore, she felt, as the only progressively modernized nation among the Asians, Japan was therefore responsible for fulfilling its role as a civilizer. In summary, Ikuko found the opportunity to realize her dream of making a school by herself, which had been her vision since her master’s studies in the United States. Although the school was not for Japanese girls, it turned out to be more meaningful for her to go beyond not only gender barriers but also national boundaries.

Compared to the Aoyama Gakuin where Ikuko worked – not to mention Oberlin or Michigan where she studied – the Sūtei Girls’ School was as small and shabby as she could have imagined. On the positive side, it thus left ample room for development. In fact, Ikuko had created a blueprint for building a new female school in Manchukuo after her initial trip in China.<sup>107</sup> Though it failed in the application for

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<sup>104</sup> “Aoyama Gakuin kyōin Koizumi Iku” 青山学院教員小泉イク [Koizumi Iku, Teacher of Aoyama Gakuin], March 1, 1935; MS no. H-6-1-0-3\_2\_001, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015674700.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, (pictures 7-8).

<sup>106</sup> Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku,” in *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 81.

<sup>107</sup> “Koizumi Iku Hōten ni jogakkō shinsetsu hojo shinsei” 小泉イク奉天ニ女学校新設補助申請 [Application for financial aids to establishment of a new girls’ school in Mukden (Fengtian) by

governmental aid, her goal “in Manchukuo and north China” was clearly expressed as “to educate middle-class and elite females to become leaders of the Chinese female world.” In addition, she believed that such an education could help Chinese women “build a correct notion of the current international order,” letting them recognize the necessity of collaborating with Japan – “the guardian and maintainer of peace and civilization in the Orient.”<sup>108</sup>

In other words, Ikuko and Yasuzō was on the same page at this critical transitional moment in the mid-1930s, regarding both the leadership of Japan in Sino-Japanese relations and the educational philosophy that emphasized the cultivation of this notion within the Chinese population through school education. In July 1935, Ikuko came to Beijing, and on June 1, 1936, the day Yasuzō turned forty-three, Ikuko married him at forty-one.<sup>109</sup> It has been said that they were in endless arguments throughout their married life, but they respected each other’s personality.<sup>110</sup> The reason lies in that their marriage followed the utmost calling of God, and yet, more importantly, when heading to the war, it was built on a shared belief in Japan’s irreplaceable moral responsibility to lead and help China, for which purpose Ikuko and Yasuzō were partners before God.

### Ikuko’s Wartime Activism in Beijing and Imperialist Feminism

Ikuko and Yasuzō’s shared idealism about cultivating a Japan-China friendship through education shaped the foundation upon which the school developed quickly

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Koizumi Iku], June 1935; MS no. H-6-2-0-2\_003, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015863800.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* Refer also to Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 135.

<sup>109</sup> Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 137.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

after 1935. Because Ikuko was trained in education and school administration, she could take charge of many issues on campus soon after her arrival.<sup>111</sup> In addition to learning about China and the Chinese language, she also became involved immediately in all kinds of social activities beyond the school campus against the more and more tensioned political background. In December 1935, she reported on her interview with the wife of Yin Rugeng 殷汝耕 (1883-1947).<sup>112</sup> On January 3, 1936, she brought several Japanese visitors to Hu Shi's 胡适 (1891-1962) house in Beijing.<sup>113</sup> Hu Shi was a leading Chinese intellectual who had long been connected to Yasuzō.<sup>114</sup> After the visit of Japanese led by Ikuko, Hu Shi recorded in his diary that “while Mrs. Shimizu translated, I saw tears in her eyes” when they discussed the tension between China and Japan.<sup>115</sup> In his eyes, Ikuko was a keen and sympathetic Japanese woman like her husband, although he could not accept her advocacy to avoid the war.

In March 1937, Ikuko managed to achieve a precious opportunity to visit Soong Mei-ling – Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the generalissimo of the National Government of the Republic of China.<sup>116</sup> In the Xi'an Incident that had just occurred in December 1936, Soong had played a key role to negotiating between the Republican and Communist leaders. After the Incident, both parties promoted the alliance in shaping The Second United Front (1937-1941) against Japan. It was in this

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<sup>111</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 124.

<sup>112</sup> Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 140. Kanō Mikiyo, “Koizumi Ikuko to ‘teikoku no feminizumu,’” 273. Yin Rugeng proclaimed the pro-Japanese, anti-Communist East Hebei Autonomous Government (*Jidong Fanggong Zizhi Zhengfu* 冀东防共自治政府) on November 15, 1935.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> For Shimizu's connections with Chinese intellectuals in Beijing from early 1920s, see chapter four.

<sup>115</sup> Hu Shi, *Hu Shi riji quanbian* 胡适日记全编 [Complete collection of Hu Shi diary] (Hefei: Anhui Jiaoyu Chubansha, 2001), Volume 6, 633.

<sup>116</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 13-15. Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 140-141.

collaborative mobilization of a nation-wide anti-Japanese resistance in China that Ikuko interviewed Madame Chiang at her house in Nanjing through the introduction by a Chinese woman she met in the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference.<sup>117</sup> Representing the Union Association of Tokyo Women and the women's magazine *Fujin Kōron* (婦人公論), Ikuko delivered the message on behalf of Japanese women trying to seek support from Madame Chiang in avoiding the war. The fact that both women were Christians was of vital significance in their talk at this critical point in time. In Ikuko's article that reported on this interview, she described how Madame Chiang had gone beyond hatred to be able to "pray for Japanese." She wrote that Madame Chiang said, "I do not think that everything about Japan or all Japanese people are bad. There is no doubt that, in Japan, there are so many people like Mr. Kagawa [Toyohiko]." However, in responding to Ikuko's "sincerity" in building a China-Japan friendship and "mutual understanding" between the two populations, Madame Chiang asked Ikuko to send back a message to Japanese women: "We must think of the other side's goodness by seeing from the other side's viewpoint."<sup>118</sup>

There is no doubt that, to a certain degree, Ikuko was critical about how Japan had dealt with China-related issues. One year after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, she said, "the so-called pro-English or pro-American attitude [prevailing in China now] exists because these foreign countries have served China sincerely [for so long]; if Japan did the same in China for many decades like how it now begins to, this war

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<sup>117</sup> According to Shimizu Yasuzō, this Chinese woman was Zhang Weizhen 张维桢 (1898-1997), who was graduated from the Michigan University and had also been awarded the Barbour Scholarship as Ikuko. Zhang later married Luo Jialun 罗家伦 (1897-1969), who had been a student leader in the May Fourth Movement and became the first president of the National Tsing Hua University. See *Chōyōmongai*, 14.

<sup>118</sup> Ikuko's report on this interview was published in the May issue of *Fujin Kōron*. See Kanō Mikiyo, "Koizumi Ikuko to 'teikoku no feminizumu,'" 273.



could have possibly never happened.”<sup>119</sup> This was a critique regarding *how* to realize Japanese leadership in China, not about the authenticity and legitimacy of Japan’s leadership in China. Nevertheless, it was truly hard for Ikuko to see from the Chinese perspective at that moment because, as Kanō Mikiyo pointed out insightfully, her superior feeling as a Japanese citizen had been built firmly on her belief in what Max Weber had called “the Protestant ethic.”<sup>120</sup> Her basic motivation to be a missionary in China came out of the Euro-American-centered, White, middle-class feminism that had been burgeoning alongside the rise of expansionist imperialism around the globe. Like Kanō criticized, Ikuko’s feminism was a typical “imperialist feminism.” Therefore, when the Japanese Army occupied the capital city Nanjing in December 1937, Ikuko expressed her opinion in quite a triumphant tone: “if the Chiang couple were real Christians, they should have understood Japan’s standpoint on the current situation of overpopulation, and [they would have] collaborated with Japan in the continent.”<sup>121</sup>

### **The Shimizu Couple and the Sūtei Gakuen’s Education in “Heart” at War**

In early 1937, the Sūtei school established its school board. Zhang Boling, a preeminent Chinese Christian who was then the president of the Nankai University in Tianjin, was invited to be the first chair of the school board.<sup>122</sup> In January 1938,

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<sup>119</sup> Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku,” in *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 82.

<sup>120</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, “Koizumi Ikuko to ‘teikoku no feminizumu,’” 285.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-278.

<sup>122</sup> About Zhang Boling, see John Barwick, “Chapter 6: Zhang Boling, the YMCA, and the New Chinese Citizen,” in his dissertation “The Protestant Quest for Modernity in Republican China,” 395-511. After Zhang left Beijing in summer of 1937, the school invited Qian Taosun 钱韬孙, then president of the National Peking University, to be the second chair of school board. See Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 130.

Ikuko formally took over all school-related administrative and academic affairs.<sup>123</sup> Yasuzō minimized his role in the school to being only an instructor. His long-term living experience in China made him an important figure not only in Protestant communities but also in diplomatic contexts and social connections between Chinese and Japanese in wartime Beijing. His wartime activism gone far beyond the Sūtei campus, even to the other side of the Pacific.<sup>124</sup> In 1938, he became passionately involved in the establishment of a social settlement in Beijing by closely coordinating with the Japanese WCTU. In the same year, he also took a minister position, becoming in charge of the preaching service for the Japanese at the Chongde Church 崇徳教会 in Beijing.<sup>125</sup> He was also an important and active consultant for Japanese diplomatic authorities dealing with Christian-related affairs. In May 1943, he was selected to be the prolocutor of the Regional Council in North China of the United Church of Christ in Japan.<sup>126</sup>

Ikuko also benefited from not only Yasuzō's transnational social network but also Japan's military control of north China. She was an energetic female activist in Beijing among women in both Japanese and Chinese communities. Like Yasuzō said, "Shimizu Ikuko was really lucky, taking charge of the school by herself." He believed that if Ikuko was still a professor at the Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo, she could not have become as influential a woman activist as she was able to become in Beijing. "When

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<sup>123</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 124. Refer to *Shina no tomo* 28 (Jan. 1938).

<sup>124</sup> See chapters five and six for Shimizu's wartime activism.

<sup>125</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō's clergy work in the Chongde Church has yet been noted in previous scholarship. Several newsletters published by the Church are collected in "Possession of Kozaki Michio" at the Dōshisha University. For some details recorded by other younger missionaries, see Itō Eiichi 伊藤栄一, *Shu wa ikite orareru: dendō shōgai rokujūnen no megumi* 主は生きておられる：伝道生涯六十年の恵み [Because He Lives: God's Grace in sixty years of my missionary life] (Yoshinogawa: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Yoshinogawa Kyōdai Kyōkai, 1987).

<sup>126</sup> Li Hongwei, "Sūtei Gakuen ryaku nenpu" 崇貞学園略年譜 [Brief Chronology of Sūtei School], in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 281.

going to the International Association of Women, she represents Japan among women of 29 countries; when going to build the settlement in Tianqiao, she can easily take the lead; when working with the idea of building friendship between Japanese and Chinese women, she can smoothly organize the Friendship Association of Japanese and Chinese Women.” It was in Beijing that Ikuko had the opportunity to do all these things, Yasuzō commented.<sup>127</sup>

Comparatively speaking, Ikuko spent much more time physically supervising the school than could Yasuzō from 1938 to 1945. However, it was through their cooperative efforts that the school funds became increasingly abundant starting in 1935. Financially, the governmental subsidy that the Foreign Ministry of Japan granted to the school had skyrocketed suddenly in 1937 to 5000 yen, and since then it stably increased every year.<sup>128</sup> More importantly, though, both Ikuko and Yasuzō wrote diligently in order to spread and built the school’s reputation among Japanese readers. In August 1935, Ikuko began to publish articles about Sūtei Gakuen in Japanese newspapers and women’s magazines. At the same time, she edited and wrote many pieces for the school newsletter *Friends of China* that was distributed to relevant Japanese individuals and especially patrons of the school’s development.<sup>129</sup>

Based on the strong support from both governmental and non-governmental sources, the school rapidly developed in both its facility building and curriculum. In October 1936, the construction of a new two-story school building and an equipped classroom attached to it for laboratory sciences were completed on the new campus site. At the same time, the name of the school was changed to Sūtei Gakuen, in

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<sup>127</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 365-366.

<sup>128</sup> Li Hongwei, “Sūtei Gakuen no enkaku,” *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 53.

<sup>129</sup> *The Friends of China* (Shina no tomo) was published from December 1934 to April 1944. See Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 138-139.

preparation for recruiting male students in order to develop a coeducational system.<sup>130</sup> By 1938, the school had already advanced greatly. A new library had been established through the support of several well-known Japanese writers.<sup>131</sup> Students began to be selected annually, starting in 1938, to study in Japan. A Japanese house was prepared in March of that year, for these students to reside in during their study in Tokyo; many of them joined Sūtei's teaching team after graduation.<sup>132</sup>

By 1938, a new anthem in both Chinese and Japanese was composed and a new school flag was also designed.<sup>133</sup> The mark on the school flag was a triangle shaped with three "H"s, meaning Head, Heart, and Hand. The "Head" indicated intelligence. As Ikuko wished, the school curriculum was advanced for academic training. The "Hand" indicated life skills. Because of the school tradition in work-study training, it continuously promoted education in labor and handcrafts. What stood out was Sūtei's education in "Heart." Most fundamentally, it meant the nurturing of a selfhood in the faith and in the ethical and moral values of liberal Protestantism, which, however, not necessarily resulted in conversion to Christianity.

The education of "Heart" was reflected straightforwardly in the religious atmosphere that was infused in the campus. As some students of the wartime Sūtei Gakuen recalled, they were exposed to Christian education and rituals. First, the study of the Bible was embedded in the school curriculum. As recorded in the course lists of both the Chinese and Japanese departments in 1939, Bible study occupied 1-2 hours per week in the curriculum of all three grades of the middle school.<sup>134</sup> In

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-127.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-169.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 162-166.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-138.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

addition to this, there were morning meetings and chapel time, during which Japanese and Chinese students would gather to listen to preaching and sing hymns.<sup>135</sup> One Chinese student, Pan Ji 潘基, recalled that campus life during the war left her with fresh memories of Bible talks as well as the splendid Chinese literature traditions that Mr. Shimizu delivered in classes. Unlike students attending many other schools in occupied Beijing, she had no memory of having ever paid respect in front of The Imperial Rescript on Education or bowing to the portrait of the Japanese emperor.<sup>136</sup>

Except for religious education, the Shimizu couple maintained the campus as a space that allowed the freedom of speech and conflicting opinions, probably to the greatest extent in wartime Beijing. One Japanese student remembered that, although hard to fully understand at her age, she learned from Ikuko that “Japan’s political approach is imperialistic and militaristic, America is democratic, China follows Sun Yat-sen’s Three People’s Principles, and the Soviet Union is Communist and Socialist.”<sup>137</sup> After studying in another Japanese school in China, she felt that the Sūtei Gakuen had offered a more “liberal” education. In addition, teaching staff could openly express their anti-Japanese opinions in and after classes on campus.<sup>138</sup>

Most notably, the Sūtei Gakuen promoted national thinking in this liberal atmosphere, which was based first and foremost on the teaching of national languages. Korean students might be of the most qualified in reflecting on the learning of national languages. In occupied Beijing, their identity was as Japanese

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<sup>135</sup> Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku,” in *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 108.

<sup>136</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 149, and note 36 on page 171. On The Imperial Rescript on Education and its role in moral education in modern Japan, see Mark E. Lincicome, “Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58 no. 2 (1999): 338-360.

<sup>137</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 148.

<sup>138</sup> Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku,” in *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 109.

citizens and their first language was Japanese. Either enrolling in the Japanese or, in some rare cases, in Chinese division of the Sūten Gakuen, they could not learn the Korean language on campus.<sup>139</sup> However, some Korean students remembered that Yasuzō had brought them regularly to the Korean church in Beijing to study Korean.<sup>140</sup> Some remembered also that he had taught Korean traditions in the course Oriental History and told them *Chunhyangjeon*, a folk tale of Korea.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, some provided details about how Yasuzō had introduced to them the Crown Prince of Korea, Yi Un, when he visited Beijing.<sup>142</sup> Even further, one student claimed that Yasuzō was connected to Korean independent activists and Japanese leftists who supported the Korean independent movement.<sup>143</sup> All these Korean students were grateful for the enlightening “national education” they had received at the Sūtei campus in wartime Beijing.<sup>144</sup> They believed Mr. Shimizu did all these things because of his faith in that “all nations are equally God’s descendants.”<sup>145</sup> However, ironically, it was the Shimizu couple’s Japanese identity that protected their Protestant missionary enterprise, allowing it to maintain its religious, liberal, and inter-nationalist education in Japanese-occupied Beijing.

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<sup>139</sup> For Korean students’ memories about Shimizu and their study experiences at the Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing, see Ōbirin Gakuen ed., *Mukuge no Hana ga saku goro: Sūtei Gakuen no Shimizu Yasuzō sensei* 木槿の花が咲く頃：崇貞学園の清水安三先生 [When Hibiscus Bloomed: Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō of Sūtei Gakuen] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 2001), 9-45.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, 15.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 13, 39.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13, 22.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, 35-37.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

## **Conclusion: Sūtei Gakuen and the Three Shimizus' Missionary Calling**

After the defeat of Japan in August 1945, the Sūtei Gakuen was handed over to the Bureau of Education in Beijing in November 1945. The Shimizu couple tried to transfer the school board to be under the leadership of Zhang Boling, but eventually failed because the school had received financial aid from the wartime Japanese government and thus it was no doubt the property of the enemy.<sup>146</sup> On December 10, Chinese officers took over administration of the school. By that time, the Sūtei Gakuen's property included 22 buildings and the land of its campus, which was said to have been the second largest property handed by Japanese residents in Beijing over to the Chinese government, next to the Beijing Hotel.<sup>147</sup> At the end of January 1946, the primary and secondary schools were reorganized into two separate schools and renamed respectively to Fangcaodi Primary School 芳草地小学 and The Fourth Female Middle School in Beijing 北京四女中.<sup>148</sup> In March 1946, the Shimizu couple returned to Japan. They did not, and were not allowed, to bring much back to Japan.

In the face of all of this, Yasuzō and Ikuko reacted differently. On August 15, 1945, they learned of the defeat of Japan in Beijing through the broadcast of the emperor's voice. Yasuzō remembered that he led Japanese students to apologize to Korean students on that day. He then enclosed himself in the room where Kagawa Toyohiko had been accommodated during his trips to Beijing. Yasuzō spent five days in meditation, prayer, and the reading of the Bible. When emerging from this retreat, he told Ikuko, "I want to go back to Japan ... to build schools, hospitals, churches, and orphanages in rural areas." Knowing not what to expect, Ikuko responded

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<sup>146</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 187-190.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 281. Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 156.

<sup>148</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 188.

angrily: “I will go to heaven from here – outside Chaoyang Gate; you can return as you like.” At the end of the argument, Yasuzō insisted, “you stay alone then, I go back.”<sup>149</sup>

Ikuko spent ten years nurturing her love of China and the Chinese people.<sup>150</sup> Unlike Yasuzō, her knowledge of China and the Chinese had been shaped only within the occupational framework in which she, as a Japanese citizen, was one of the occupiers. In a casual talk in 1940, Ikuko said that “I intended to work for Japan, but it seems now I have turned to working for China.”<sup>151</sup> Responding to Ikuko, Yasuzō made the reverse expression: “I intended to work for China, but now, it seems I am turning to work for Japan!” The recorder of this talk was Ikeda Arata 池田鮮, a Japanese youth came to Beijing in 1938 who had co-established the Japanese YMCA in Beijing during the war.<sup>152</sup> In knowing the Shimizu couple’s opposite responses, he seemed unable to answer the question that had confused him: whom should I serve first and whom I should serve in the end, Chinese or Japanese? This question might have confused some (or many) Japanese Protestants working in China during the war. For Yasuzō, though, it was not a problem. Although he became well-known for his dedication to the girls’ school in Beijing, being an educator or a school runner was not what he had aimed for.<sup>153</sup> He told one who interviewed him in May 1938, “I am a

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<sup>149</sup> For Shimizu’s narration about his activities on August 15, 1945, see Shimizu, Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu: zoku Chōyōmongai 希望を失わず: 統朝陽門外* [Do not Lose Hope: A Sequel of Outside the Chaoyang Gate] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Shuppanbu, revised version, 1951), 3-6.

<sup>150</sup> For Ikuko’s feeling about China and Chinese, see Li Hongwei, “Shimizu Ikuko to Chūgoku,” in *Shimizu Ikuko no shisō to kyōiku jissen*, 81-82.

<sup>151</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumorihibi no niji: Shanhai Nihonjin YMCA yonjūnen shi 曇り日々の虹: 上海日本人 YMCA 四十年史* [Rainbow in the Rainy Days: 40 Years of the Japanese YMCA in Shanghai] (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1995), 317-318.

<sup>152</sup> About Ikeda Arata and the establishment of the Japanese YMCA in Beijing, see chapter seven.

<sup>153</sup> See chapter five for more detailed analysis on Shimizu Yasuzō’s fame built from 1938 to 1940.



Christian aiming to spread God's gospel. I am not in a place to comment about education, because it is [not my goal] but my method."<sup>154</sup>

This chapter shows that Yasuzō told the truth in the sense that he had taken less responsibility than Miho and Ikuko in organizing and administrating the school. For the school running, he was mainly a fundraiser. For his students, he was an open-minded instructor. For himself, he was a missionary. In his mind, all he delivered to his students through education, including importantly his emphasis on *both* national *and* inter-national thinking, was based on his Christian belief. His two wives, Miho and Ikuko, were very different in their temperament, personality, education, transnational experience, and importantly, their educational philosophy and methodology: emphasizing respectively the skill training for impoverished Chinese girls and the academic advancement and the training of liberal critical thinking for cultivating Chinese woman leaders. The three Shimizus all made their specific contributions to maintain and develop the Sūtei school in Republican Beijing. However, they were highly unanimous on believing in their calling from God, which was to save and civilize China and the Chinese people.

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<sup>154</sup> ZY, "Shimizu Yasuzō shi o toburau" 清水安三氏を訪ふ [Interview Shimizu Yasuzō], *Fukuin Shinpō* 福音新報 May 19, 1938: 7.

## Chapter Four

### Shimizu Yasuzō's Approach to "Orientalized Christianity"

As discussed in chapter three, Shimizu Yasuzō's belief in Christianity was of central importance in maintaining his motivation to build and keep the Sūtei Gakuen in Republican Beijing. This chapter analyzes what formed this specific belief. Based on a close reading of his interwar writings, I argue that Shimizu's Protestant thought took shape cross-culturally in China, the United States, and Japan from 1919 to 1930. In this process, "China" (*Shina* 支那) shifted from being a fixed entity in his early 1920s' journalistic writings to an "approach" in his late 1920s' scholarly pieces in the construction of what he called "Orientalized Christianity" (*Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō* 東洋の基督教). In conceptualizing this idea, Shimizu essentialized the Occident-Orient dichotomy: not only by parallelizing the Anglo-American Biblical criticism and the Chinese Confucian philology, but also by historicizing Jesus Christ as an Oriental human being and hypothesizing the Japanese Confucianist Nakae Tōju as a hidden Christian in Japan. Facilitated by this approach of historization for civilizational essentialization, Shimizu tended to argue for a place for Oriental "revolutionary thought" within *the* progressive, evolutionary, and, mostly importantly, Protestant History, with his aim being to re-Orientalize (or de-Occidentalize) Christianity.

As Shimizu's youngest son, Izō, has insisted in 2009, the religious aspect of his father's mentality has been the most understudied topic in the existing Shimizu-related scholarship; and he referred to it as a "Japanized Christianity" set between Confucianism and Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Almost a decade later, there is still little study on the

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<sup>1</sup> Shimizu Izō, "Kenshō: Yasuzō sensei no 'Nakae Tōju wa Kirishitan' ron," and "Yasuzō sensei ryū no Kōshi-ron," *Shimizu Yasuzō to Ikuko Kenkyū* 1 (2009): 59-70, 71.

historical formation of Shimizu Yasuzō's religious thought with contextual consideration and critical analysis. However, instead of interpreting him as only a transnational educator, scholars have begun to pay separate attention to the intellectual components of his thought. Some of them have tended to enter this subfield through his "theory of China" which he directly presented in his journalistic writings on China.<sup>2</sup> These studies highlighted Shimizu's role as a civilian network builder within the Sino-Japanese intellectual communities in Beijing during the early Republican period. However, such a "Japan-China" vantage point runs the risk of detaching what he thought about China from what he thought about himself. The latter, in fact, was a more inner layer of Shimizu's mindset, where his faith in God was planted in his teens and then transformed through reacting to world events over the twentieth century. That said, to overlook the role of his religious selfhood in the making of his understanding of China, or vice versa, leads to the essentialization and ahistorization of both.

This chapter perceives Shimizu's writings on both China and Christianity to be organically integrated. Entangled with inner logic, they were his developing reflections on how he identified himself as both Japanese and Protestant during his missionary life and study experiences in China and the United States in the 1920s. The first two parts of this chapter examine how Shimizu went down the journalist path and how he developed his social connections within the intellectual communities in Beijing during the May Fourth Movement. Based on this, the third part takes a close look at Shimizu's writings published up to 1924, which represent his reflection

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<sup>2</sup> For the most recent studies, see, for example, Takai Kiyoshi, "Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō no Chūgoku-ron to sono kyōteki igi"; Ōki Yasumichi, "Taishōki Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku nashonarizumu e no shiten"; and Ōta Tetsuo, "Jānarisuto toshite no Shimizu Yasuzō," in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*. Refer to "Shimizu Yasuzō in Japanese Scholarship" in chapter one.

on the Chinese New Culture Movement in Beijing through adapting the root-seeking methodology in tracing the origin of the Chinese revolutionary thought. After investigating his cross-cultural encounter with the Americanized Christian Internationalism during the mid-1920s, the next part will uncover how Shimizu developed his revolutionary history of China in 1927 after his intensive reporting on Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition and the Anti-Christian Movement in China. Then, I will analyze Shimizu's writings published from late 1927 to 1930 after he retreated to Japan, during which his version of "Orientalized Christianity" took shape upon his inward turn to internalize the interwar American Christian Internationalism in his rethinking of the social role of Christianity in Japan by using the root-seeking method he adopted in May Fourth Beijing.

### **The Début of a Missionary Journalist in Taisho Japan**

After his Fengtian mission, Shimizu became a prolific reporter on China and a successful web-weaver among Chinese and Japanese during the initial interwar years in Beijing. Such a bridging position had been carried out initially through the Japanese Congregationalist associates to the journalism industry in the Kansai region. In 1915, Shimizu earned his bachelor's degree upon submitting a thesis entitled "The Inner life of Tolstoy" (*Torusutoi no naimen seikatsu* トルストイの内面生活). We do not know if creating this piece enabled him to recognize his ability in writing, though we do know that, after graduation, he chose not to go back to the Ōmi Mission, but to work in Osaka for *The Christian World*, the weekly publication of the Japanese Congregational Church, from April to November in 1915.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Shimizu Izō compiled, "Yasuzō sensei kiji" 安三先生記事 [Chronological records of Mr. Yasuzō], in *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 457. Also see, Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 62-63.

In 1917, Shimizu was selected by Congregational church leaders to be the first Japanese missionary in China.<sup>4</sup> This could not be achieved without the financial support of six Osaka-based Christian entrepreneurs who each donated ten *yen* per month to support Shimizu's evangelical activities in Fengtian.<sup>5</sup> One of the donors supporting Shimizu's China mission was Takaki Sadae 高木貞衛 (1857-1940), who in 1890 had founded *Mannensha* (萬年社), the first advertising agency in Japan.<sup>6</sup> Guided by Takaki, Shimizu visited the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (大阪毎日新聞) and *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* (大阪朝日新聞) – two of *Mannensha*'s major clients – at the end of May 1917 right before his departure for China.<sup>7</sup> At the head office of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, the 26-year-old youth was received by Hasegawa Nyozeikan 長谷川如是閑 (1875-1969), then a leading news editor with the newspaper who later became one of the most-cited leftist political critics supporting liberalism and democracy during the Taisho years.<sup>8</sup> To promote social democracy and political reform, he co-founded an opinion magazine called *Warera* (“Us” 我等) with Ōyama Ikuo 大山郁夫 (1880-1955) in 1919.<sup>9</sup> It was through this magazine that Shimizu débuted as a Japanese reporter on contemporary China.

After the war, Shimizu recalled that his first article about China had been written in Fengtian and was based upon his readings of Chinese studies in the library of the

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<sup>4</sup> See chapter two for details.

<sup>5</sup> Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 63-64.

<sup>6</sup> *Mannensha* Collection Archiving & Research Project, “History and Outline,” in the guidebook of the *Mannensha* Collection (<http://ucrc.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/mannensha/docs/en.pdf>), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Ōta Tatsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 63-64. The total circulation of the two newspapers achieved about 400,000 in 1904.

<sup>8</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 46-47. About this meeting, see also Takai Kiyoshi, “Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō no Chūgoku-ron to sono kyōteki igi,” 45.

<sup>9</sup> For more details about the magazine, see Hasegawa Nyozeikan and others, “Taishō demokurashii to bungaku (zadankai): zasshi *Warera* no goro” 大正デモクラシーと文学(座談会): 雑誌「我等」のころ [The Taisho democracy and literature (roundtable): the period during publication of *Warera*], *Bungaku* 文学 [Literature] 32 no. 11 (1964): 1270-1285.

South Manchuria Railway Company. He sent this piece to *Warera*'s Tokyo office from Beijing. Prudently, he marked it “from Beijing, Shimizu Yasuzō” because he thought the article would draw higher attention if it was written by someone who had observed the situation closely in the capital city rather than from a distance in Fengtian. As he expected, the editors of *Warera* accepted his article and published it in the issue of May 1919 under the name “The Critique of Chinese Life” (*Shina seikatsu no hihan* 支那生活の批判). Shimizu recalled that he began thereafter to submit one of his writings each month to the magazine.<sup>10</sup>

To be better-prepared for the evangelization of the Chinese people, Shimizu moved to Beijing at the end of March 1919 and enrolled in the Chinese language school run by the Greater Japanese Co-Study Association of Chinese Language Studies.<sup>11</sup> The school offered high-quality language training, specifically in classical Chinese, as a tool for the study of *Kangaku* (Han Studies 漢学, equivalent to European Sinology).<sup>12</sup> Almost immediately, Shimizu came to recognize his lack of educational background in the “old” Japanese *Kangaku*; nonetheless, he immersed

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<sup>10</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “mae zuke” 前付 [front matter], in *Ōbirin monogatari* 桜美林物語 [The Story of Ōbirin School] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, 1962), 3-4. See also Takai Kiyoshi, “Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō no Chūgoku-ron to sono kyōteki igi,” 45. According to Shimizu, the magazine accepted all he sent “without a single exception.”

<sup>11</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 94-100. Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 82-83.

<sup>12</sup> Huang Hanqing 黄汉清, “Shinago Kenkyūsha no hensen oyobi sono jittai: Shinago Kenkyūsha kara Pekin Dōgakukai Gogakkō made o chūshin toshite” 支那語研究會の変遷及びその実態: 支那語研究會から北京同学会語学校までを中心として [The development and circumstances of Shinago Kenkyūsha: from Shinago Kenkyūsha to Peking Dōgakukai Language School], *Gengo, Bunka, Komunikeishon* 言語・文化・コミュニケーション 39 (2007): 163-179. The *Shinago Kenkyūsha* 支那語研究會 (Association of Chinese Language) was established in 1903 in Beijing. In 1905, it was renamed *Seigo Dōgakukai* 清語同学会 (Co-Study Association of Qing's Language), in 1913, *Dai Nippon Shinago Dōgakukai* 大日本支那語同学会 (Greater Japanese Co-Study Association of Chinese Language Studies), and in 1925, *Pekin Dōgakukai Gogakkō* 北京同学会語学校 (Language School of Alumni Association in Beijing). In 1939, it was renamed again to *Pekin Kōa Gakuin* 北京興亜学院 (Rising Asia Institute in Beijing) and merged into *Tōa Dōbunkai* 東亜同文会 (East Asia Common Culture Association). In 1944, it was restructured to *Pekin Keizai Senmon Gakkō* 北京經濟專門学校 (College of Economics in Beijing).

himself enthusiastically in the Association's atmosphere of intensive learning. He soon turned to the study of "contemporary Chinese thought" by "reading literary criticism by Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879-1942) and Hu Shi, essays by Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967), and short stories by Lu Xun."<sup>13</sup> These readings constructed the initial base of knowledge for his journalistic interviewing and reporting. In turn, his first-hand observation of the May Fourth Movement in Beijing soon attracted Japanese readers.

One of his readers was Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 (1878-1933). As a Protestant, Yoshino was then already one of the most important political thinkers in Taisho Japan. He lived in China from 1906 to 1909 as the private tutor for the son of Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859-1916) and then studied in Germany, England, and the United States from 1910 to 1913.<sup>14</sup> Upon returning to Japan, he became a professor in Political Science at the Tokyo Imperial University. By promoting what was called *Minponshugi* 民本主義, the "politics of the people," he argued that "democracy" could be compatible with the emperor's sovereignty in creating a modern statehood in Japan.<sup>15</sup> As a reference, China had always drawn his attention in the shaping of his political theory about Japan. In one of his opinion articles about the students' social movement in China published in February 1920, Yoshino noted that he "appreciated" and "learned much from" Shimizu's analyses.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 101.

<sup>14</sup> For a comprehensive review of Yoshino Sakuzō and his political thought, see Jung-sun N. Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity: Yoshino Sakuzō and a New Liberal Order in East Asia, 1905-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013). On Yuan Shikai, see Patrick Fuliang Shan, *Yuan Shikai: A Reappraisal* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> For details on Yoshino's expertise on China and its role in the shaping of his thought about the "Taisho democracy," see Jung-sun Han's article "Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia: Yoshino Sakuzō in Taisho Japan," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 33 no. 2 (2007): 357-382.

<sup>16</sup> Ōta Tetsuo, "Yoshino Sakuzō to Shimizu Yasuzō 2" 吉野作造と清水安三(二) [Yoshino Sakuzō and Shimizu Yasuzō 2], *Mirai* 未来 538 (2011): 18-21. And, Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 171-172.

One of the “analyses” referred to was “Dissecting anti-Japanese sentiment” [in China] (*Hainichi no kaibō* 排日の解剖), one of Shimizu’s articles that had been published in *Taisho Daily News* (*Taishō Nichinichi Shinbun* 大正日日新聞) in January 1920.<sup>17</sup> From November 1919 to June 1920, this newspaper was published by a special group of Japanese reporters who had worked at the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* with Hasegawa and Ōyama, the two founders of *Warera*. Led by Hasegawa, they had reported on and made strongly opinionated claims in August 1918 in *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* about the dispatch of soldiers to Siberia and the Rice Riots in Japan, and thus the newspaper was increasingly pressured by government censorship. In October, these outspoken men all resigned from the newspaper to protest for the freedom of press, which was later called the White Rainbow Incident (*Hakkō Jiken* 白虹事件).

In 1919, the journalists who came out of the White Rainbow Incident moved quickly to action to create new platforms for free speech and press, including *Warera* and *Taisho Daily News*. In addition to Hasegawa and Ōyama of *Warera*, Maruyama Kanji 丸山幹治 (1880-1955) of *Taisho Daily News* was also among those who were of central importance for Shimizu’s progression toward becoming a proactive reporter on the May Fourth China.<sup>18</sup> It remains unknown if he had supported the decision to publish Shimizu’s article in January 1920, but he must have read Shimizu’s articles published in *Warera* and/or *Taisho Daily News*. In June 1920, the *Taisho Daily News* was purchased by the Ōmoto-kyō 大本教 (literally “religion of great source”), a new Japanese religion that had originated from Shinto and was

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<sup>17</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Hainichi no kaibō” 排日の解剖 [Dissecting the Anti-Japanese Sentiment], *Taishō Nichinichi Shinbun* 大正日日新聞, January 13, 15, 19, 20, 1920.

<sup>18</sup> On Shimizu’s connection with Maruyama through Hasegawa Nyozeikan, see Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 141-142.



founded in 1892. After that, Maruyama joined *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞 and served there up until 1928. He then began to assign reporting tasks to Shimizu in Beijing. From December 28, 1921, to June 2, 1923, Shimizu contributed 75 entries to *Yomiuri Shimbun* under either his birth name or the pen name “Joseki-sei” – the “person like a pebble.”<sup>19</sup> In this way, Shimizu was endorsed from the very beginning of his journalist career by a special group of liberal editors and had readers among the most influential opinion makers in early 1920s’ Japan who, including both non-Christians and Christians, had shaped what later came to be called the Taisho democracy.

### **Shimizu’s Journalistic Networks in May-Fourth Beijing**

Across the Sea of Japan, Beijing was a cosmopolitan capital city in the New Culture Movement from the mid-1910s to the 1920s. In the rising nationalistic sentiment among ordinary Chinese, “an intellectual-moral paradox” had resonated within the Chinese intelligentsia in this era as an internal mentality in the shaping of the Chinese New Culture practitioners’ reactions toward both the Chinese culture and the outside world. This paradox, according to Xu Xiaoqun, was namely “a tension between cosmopolitanism as a cultural longing and nationalism as a political imperative.”<sup>20</sup> The “deep ambivalence” that this paradox caused was represented in the Chinese intellectuals’ varied reflections on the ideas and theories that foreign visitors carried around China. Among the most noted visitors by Chinese intellectuals

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<sup>19</sup> The pen name was used for the two columns “Tōdai Shina jinbutsu” 当代支那人物 [Influential figures in contemporary China] and “Shina no shinjin” 支那の新人 [New people of China], and for the interview of Wu Peifu 吴佩孚 (1874-1939) published from May 25 to June 2, 1922 on pages 2 or 3 in *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

<sup>20</sup> Xu Xiaoqun, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China: The Chenbao Fukan and the New Culture Era, 1918-1928* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 53.

were American philosopher John Dewey (1859-1952), British philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), Indian writer Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and Russian anarchist and Esperanto teacher Vasili Eroshenko (1890-1952).<sup>21</sup> They all visited China and gave lectures sometime between May 1919 and May 1924. This period overlapped with Shimizu's presence in Beijing, before his departure for the United States. It is in this special time period and space that his journalist networks in China could have taken shape.

At the beginning, Maruyama Kōichirō 丸山幸一郎 (1895-1924) was Shimizu's key to unlocking the doors of the intellectual courtyards in Beijing.<sup>22</sup> Maruyama was then a reporter working for *New China Weekly* (*Shūkan Shin Shina* 週刊新支那), a Japanese weekly published from 1911 to 1919 by Japanese journalist Fujiwara Kamae 藤原鎌兄 (1878-1953), who stayed in Beijing starting in 1911.<sup>23</sup> According to Shimizu, he visited Zhou Zuoren and Li Dazhao "in the company of" Maruyama, who was "the first person [from Japan] to approach the Chinese thinkers and scholars

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<sup>21</sup> John Dewey stayed in China from May 1919 to July 1921. For Dewey and China, see Jessica Ching-Sze Wang, *John Dewey in China: To Teach and to Learn* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007). Bertrand Russell visited China from October 1920 to July 1921 and published *The Problem of China* (New York: The Century Co., 1922). For recent scholarship on Russell in China, see, for example, Charles Argon, "The Problem of China: Orientalism, 'Young China,' and Russell's Western Audience," *Russell: The Journal of Bertrand Russell's Studies* 35 issue 2 (2015): 97-192. Tagore visited China twice. For the first time, he had a short lecture tour from April 12 to May 29. See Harsha Dutt, "Rabindranath Tagore and China," *Indian Literature* 55 no. 3 (2011): 216-222. See also Xu Xiaoqun, "Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Colonial Hierarchy: Chinese Responses to Russell, Eroshenko, and Tagore," in his *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China*, 53-88.

<sup>22</sup> Maruyama Konmei 丸山昏迷 was the pen name of Maruyama Kōichirō. For more details about his intensive involvement in the Sino-Japanese intellectual communities, see Yamashita Tsuneo 山下恒夫, "Hakkō no senkusha: Maruyama Konmei 1-4" 薄幸の先駆者: 丸山昏迷 1-4 [Unlucky pioneer: Maruyama Konmei (1)-(4)], *Shisō no Kagaku* 思想の科学 [The Science of Thought] 81 (Sept. 1986): 81-90; 82 (Oct. 1986): 81-90; 83 (Nov. 1986): 114-122; 84 (Dec. 1986): 123-133.

<sup>23</sup> For the development of the magazine and its founder, see Kojima Reiitsu 小島麗逸, "'Pekin Shūhō' (1922 nen 1 gatsu kara 1930 nen 9 gatsu made) to Fujiwara Kamae" 「北京週報」(1922年1月-1930年9月)と藤原鎌兄 [*Pekin Shūhō* (Jan. 1922-Sept. 1930) and Fujiwara Kamae], in *Ajia Keizai* アジア経済 [Economy of Asia] 13 (Dec. 1972): 25-48.

of Beijing.”<sup>24</sup> “Maruyama had little money,” Shimizu explained years after, “so when he guided Japanese scholars or entrepreneurs to Chinese intellectuals, he obtained the opportunity to join their meals or other activities for free.” “In fact,” Shimizu admitted, “it was I who slipped into the networks that he had pioneered.”<sup>25</sup> To be a China reporter like Maruyama, Shimizu recognized the similar mediatory role he would play in these intellectual networks. As he later noted, “I would only knock on their [prominent Chinese intellectuals’] doors when I accompanied [equally] famous Japanese (and western) visitors.”<sup>26</sup> By connecting Japanese and Chinese intellectuals in this way, he turned out to be a skilled networker, closely plugged in to the intellectual center of Beijing.

Through Maruyama, Shimizu connected to Zhou Zuoren first. Zhou was a talented scholar, a prolific essayist and translator, and a key figure of the May Fourth Movement to promote vernacular Chinese. During his study in Japan from 1906 to 1911, he learned Ancient Greek, intending to translate the Gospels into classical Chinese. In 1917, he became a professor at Peking University and continuously paid attention to Christian texts, particularly the Mandarin Union Version of the Bible published in 1919. In December 1920, he delivered a speech entitled “The Bible and Chinese Literature.”<sup>27</sup> In it, he made a typological comparison between *The Old Testament* and the Confucian Five Classics and found that *The Song of Songs*,

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<sup>24</sup> Ishikawa Yoshihiro, *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party*, translated by Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 36.

<sup>25</sup> Takai Kiyoshi, “Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō,” 50.

<sup>26</sup> Shimizu remembered that he guided Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1872-1930), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892-1927), Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-1951), Katagami Noboru 片上伸 (1884-1928) to the Zhou house; and Fukuda Tokuzō 福田徳三 (1874-1930), Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉 (1867-1939), Tsurumi Yūsuke 鶴見祐輔 (1885-1973), Hasegawa Nyozeikan 長谷川如是閑, Kagawa Toyohiko 賀川豊彦, and Margaret Sanger to Hu Shi’s home. See Shimizu Yasuzō, “Kaioku Ro Jin” 回憶魯迅 [Memorizing Lu Xun], in *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 220-221.

<sup>27</sup> Zhou Zuoren, “Shengshu yu Zhongguo wenxue” 圣书与中国文学 [The Bible and Chinese Literature], *Xiaoshuo Yuebao* 小说月报 [The Short Story Magazine] 12 no. 1 (1921): 7-13.

comparable to *Shijing* (The Book of Songs 诗经), was greatly artistic. Based on this, he argued that the reformation (or modernization) of Chinese literature needed to take inspiration from other literatures of the world, like Hebrew and Greek literatures.<sup>28</sup>

As Zhou Zuoren recorded in his diary, Shimizu visited him for the first time on March 8, 1922.<sup>29</sup> Their connection was strengthened due specifically to a reporting task assigned to Shimizu in March 1922 by *Yomiuri Shimbun* about Vasili Eroshenko who was then residing in the courtyard where Zhou Zuoren and his elder brother Lu Xun lived together.<sup>30</sup> Becoming blind from measles at the age of four, Eroshenko attended educational institutes for the blind in Moscow, Britain, and Japan from 1899 to 1916, during which he became a violinist and acquired fluency in English, Esperanto, and Japanese.<sup>31</sup> He published his first novel in Japanese and then traveled in Siam, India, and Burma to organize local schools for blind children. Failing several times to return to Russia after the 1917 Revolution because of house arrests by the English authorities in India, he escaped to Japan in 1919, became a member of the Japan Socialist League, and was eventually deported from the country in 1921. From 1921 to 1923, Eroshenko had lived and worked in Harbin, Shanghai, and Beijing.

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<sup>28</sup> For more detailed discussion on the Bible's influence on modern Chinese literature, see Marián Gálík, "The Song of Songs' and a New Vision of Love in Modern Chinese Literature: An Essay in Hebrew-Chinese Interliterary Process," *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali*, Nuova Serie 78 (2007): 47-59.

<sup>29</sup> Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on March 8, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji* 周作人日记 [Diary of Zhou Zuoren], Vol. 2, 230. In Zhou Zuoren's diary, Shimizu appeared for 16 times in 1922. Refer also to Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 148.

<sup>30</sup> Shimizu's interview of Eroshenko was published as a part of his article "Pekin Daigaku ni manekareta Eroshenko-kun o Shū Sakujin shi hō ni toburau" 北京大学に招かれたエロシェンコ君を周作人氏ほうに訪う [The visit to Mr. Eroshenko who was invited by the Peking University at Zhou Zuoren's place], *Yomiuri Shimbun* March 27, 1922: 7. On Eroshenko's interactions with Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, see Xu Xiaoqun, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China*, 62-84. On Shimizu's relationship with both Eroshenko and Lu Xun, see Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 141-170.

<sup>31</sup> For biographical information of Eroshenko and his connections in Japan and China, see Fujii Shōzō 藤井省三, *Eroshenko no toshi monogatari: 1920 nendai, Tokyō, Shanhai, Pekin* エロシェンコの都市物語: 1920年代, 東京・上海・北京 [Eroshenko's cosmopolitan stories: the 1920s, Tokyo, Shanghai, Beijing] (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1989).

Zhou Zuoren's diary shows that Shimizu had been closely connected to Eroshenko in Beijing after March 1922.<sup>32</sup> Before Eroshenko departed for Helsinki from Beijing to attend the World Esperanto Congress that was held in August 1922, Shimizu helped him get his passport signed by the minister of the Japanese legation in Beijing. It has been said that the signature helped Eroshenko in his trip to pass through Dalian and Changchun, although he was still watched closely by the Japanese government.<sup>33</sup> Zhou Zuoren also recorded that Shimizu had stayed at the Zhou house on the night of July 1 and had accompanied Eroshenko to the train station on both July 2 and 3.<sup>34</sup> Because of these interactions with Eroshenko, Shimizu communicated with Zhou Zuoren more frequently, too. On November 1, Zhou wrote, Shimizu helped bring to his house the payment for Eroshenko's manuscripts published in Japan.<sup>35</sup> On November 17, he visited Shimizu's residence for lunch, staying to talk for the whole afternoon "until 5 pm."<sup>36</sup>

Because of his interview of Eroshenko at the Zhou house, Shimizu also made acquaintance with Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren's eldest brother whose birth name was Zhou Shuren 周树人. After studying in Japan from 1902 to 1909, Lu Xun took several unsatisfying positions in teaching and school administration in Hangzhou and Shaoxing. In 1912, he gained a job serving at the Ministry of Education in the national government of the newly founded Republic of China. In 1918, his first short story written in vernacular Chinese, *Diary of the Madman* (*Kuangren Riji* 狂人日记),

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<sup>32</sup> Zhou Zuoren recorded Shimizu sometimes as "Ero's friend." See Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on July 1, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji*, Vol. 2, 245.

<sup>33</sup> For more details on the passport issue, see Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 161.

<sup>34</sup> Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on July 2 and 3, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji*, Vol. 2, 246. Zhou did not mention if Shimizu accompanied Eroshenko throughout the trip crossing Dalian and Changchun.

<sup>35</sup> Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on November 1, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji*, Vol. 2, 264.

<sup>36</sup> Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on November 17, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji*, Vol. 2, 265.

was published in *New Youth* (*Xin Qingnian* 新青年), and thereafter he became a central figure of the New Culture Movement. From 1920, he lectured in several universities in Beijing, including Peking University, teaching the history of Chinese fiction.

In Shimizu's memory, Lu Xun was more easy-going than Zhou Zuoren. When he visited the Zhou house to interview Eroshenko, it was Lu Xun who received him politely.<sup>37</sup> Shimizu remembered clearly, as it had been told to others, that Lu Xun had criticized his craft of creating traditional Chinese poems and his translating skills.<sup>38</sup> Even so, the two worked together to translate Lu Xun's short stories and had them published in 1923 in *Peking Weekly* (*Pekin Shūhō* 北京週報).<sup>39</sup> Published from 1922 to 1930, this weekly succeeded the *New China Weekly* with the same chief-editor and reporting team, while it was more independent in financial regards.<sup>40</sup> In the beginning, the new magazine targeted mostly Japanese residents in Beijing and estimated the circulation at about 1000 copies.<sup>41</sup> Because mainly of Maruyama's and Shimizu's networking among Chinese intellectuals, it could manage to publish a considerable number of translated works written by Chinese authors, and thus it attracted increasing attention from educated audiences in Japan. Soon, its circulation increased to about 10,000 copies.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 221.

<sup>38</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 226.

<sup>39</sup> I translate "Pekin" into "Peking" in English to avoid confusion, as there is another more widely known "Beijing Zhoubao" 北京週報 [Beijing Review] published in Chinese from 1953.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* For a detailed estimation of the co-working relationship between Lu Xun and Shimizu, see Ōta Tetsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 152-154. See also Zhang Jie 张杰, *Lu Xun: yuwai de jiejin yu jieshou* 鲁迅：域外的接近与接受 [Lu Xun: approached and accepted abroad] (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2002), 32-33.

<sup>41</sup> Zhang Jie, *Lu Xun: yuwai de jiejin yu jieshou*, 33.

<sup>42</sup> Kojima Reiitsu, "'Pekin Shūhō' to Fujiwara Kamae," 33. See also, Takai Kiyoshi, "Jānarisuto Shimizu Yasuzō," 51-52.

Meanwhile, both Maruyama and Shimizu contributed to the weekly frequently.<sup>43</sup> Their articles were read by the Zhou brothers, too.<sup>44</sup> In 1927, for example, Zhou Zuoren wrote to responding one of Shimizu's articles that had been published in *Peking Weekly*. He criticized Shimizu for arbitrarily claiming that the "characteristic of the Chinese" was being self-superior, and said he used the Japanese word "*Jidai shugi*" (事大主義 serving-the-Great-ism) incorrectly to describe this "supremacism" (*zida zhuyi* 自大主义).<sup>45</sup> As such, *Peking Weekly* provided not only a conduit for Japanese readers to learn about contemporary China, but also a space for dialogue to encourage transnational interactions and scholarly discussions between Japanese and Chinese authors.

Beyond the platform of *Peking Weekly*, Shimizu also accomplished his columnist duty for *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1922 and 1923, and thus he became a

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<sup>43</sup> Fujiwara Kamae worked as the chief editor for the *Peking Weekly* from 1922 to 1927, during which Shimizu was one of the most prolific reporters. See Kojima Reiitsu, "'Pekin Shūhō' to Fujiwara Kamae." Kojima estimated that Fujiwara had contributed about 400 to 450 articles to the weekly, Shimizu contributed 77 and Maruyama, 24 pieces. Refer also to Tang Tao 唐駉, "Shucheng lueying" 书城掠影 [A glimpse at the book city], in *Tang Tao Shuhua* 唐駉书话 [Tang Tao and books] (Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe, 1996), 333. According to the most updated list of Shimizu's works, he published 93 pieces in *Peking Weekly* from January 29, 1922 to July 31, 1927. See Li Hongwei, "Shimizu Yasuzō chosaku mokuroku" 清水安三著作目録 [List of Shimizu Yasuzō's publications], in *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 267-271.

<sup>44</sup> For example, Maruyama sent the weekly to Zhou's house regularly, even before their works were translated and published in it. Refer to Zhou Zuoren, diary entries on January 26, 1922, *Zhou Zuoren riji*, Vol. 2, 224.

<sup>45</sup> Qiming 启明, "Zhinatong zhi butong" 中国通之不通 [The handy misunderstandings by 'Chinese hands'], *Yusi* 语丝 [Threads of Talk] 143 (Aug. 6, 1927): 2-3. The article criticized by Zhou Zuoren was published in No. 265 of *Peking Weekly* in July 1927, entitled "Sanmin Shugi no kenkyū oyobi hihan" 三民主義の研究及び批判 [Study and criticism on the Three Principles of the People]. See Li Jingpei 李京珮, "Lun Zhou Zuoren ershi niandai zhongqi de Riben guan" 論周作人 20 年代中期的日本觀 [Zhou Zuoren's view on Japan during the 1920s], *Minguo wenxue yu wenhua yanjiu* 民国文学与文化研究 [Studies of Republican Literature and Culture] 1 (Dec. 2015): 137-138. For more detailed discussion on Zhou Zuoren's view on the Japanese "Chinese hands," see Zhao Jinghua 趙京華, "Shū Sakujin Nihon-kan no ichi danmen: tairiku rōnin to Shina-tsū ni taisuru hihan o megutte" 周作人日本觀の一断面: 大陸浪人と支那通に対する批判をめぐって [Zhou Zuoren, the aspect of his views on Japan: concerning his criticism, opinions and ideas of "Japanese master less samurai" and "old China hand"], *Hitotsubashi Kenkyū* 一橋研究 [Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Sciences] 19, no. 4 (May 1995): 87-103.

Japanese pioneer by reporting on China's New Culture Movement. In November 1922, he published "The Three Zhou Brothers" in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. It is considered to be one of the earliest introductions to ordinary Japanese readers of Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren as the leading figures of the Chinese New Culture Movement.<sup>46</sup> In this piece, Shimizu mentioned in detail what he saw and felt in the Zhou house, including the cat and ducks they raised. This indicates that he was developing a close personal relationship with the Zhou brothers. According to Shimizu, when the Zhou brothers split in July 1923 for unpublicized reasons, it was he who helped arrange a vehicle for Lu Xun to move out of the Zhou residence.<sup>47</sup> Upon learning that Lu Xun would move to Shanghai in 1927, Shimizu also introduced him to one of his Protestant acquaintances, Uchiyama Kanzō, who owned a bookstore in Shanghai.<sup>48</sup> Shimizu and Uchiyama were both closely connected to the Congregational community in Kyoto. Before Shimizu, in 1913, Uchiyama went to Shanghai as a traveling salesman. He and his wife opened the Uchiyama Bookstore as a secondary business, seeking initially to circulate Christian publications in Japanese.<sup>49</sup> From the 1920s onward, Shimizu and Uchiyama strengthened their relationships in China by introducing all kinds of Chinese and Japanese visitors to each other's local networks: those who visited Beijing from Shanghai often brought

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<sup>46</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Shū sannin" 周三人 [The Three Zhou Brothers], *Yomiuri Shimbun* November 25, 1922, 3. Shimizu evaluated both Zhou Zuoren and Lu Xun highly in this piece. His description of Lu Xun's role in the reform of Chinese literature came essentially from Eroshenko.

<sup>47</sup> Tang Tao, "Qingshui Ansan huijian ji" 清水安三会见记 [Visiting Shimizu Yasuzō], in *Tantao jinzuo* 唐弢近作 [Recent works by Tang Tao] (Chongqing: Sichuan Wenyi Chubanshe, 1982), 207-208. On the split of the Zhou Brothers, see Sun Saiyin, *Beyond the Iron House: Lu Xun and the Modern Chinese Literary Field* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), especially chapter two, "Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren," 29-60.

<sup>48</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 200, 222.

<sup>49</sup> For more details, see Naoko Katō, "Through the Kaleidoscope: Uchiyama Bookstore and Sino-Japanese Visionaries in War and Peace" (PhD dissertation submitted to University of Texas at Austin, 2013), 13-29, 82-83.



Uchiyama's name cards to Shimizu's residence, and in turn, Shimizu wrote introductory notes to Uchiyama for others visiting Shanghai.<sup>50</sup> When Lu Xun visited Uchiyama through Shimizu's introduction two days after his arrival in Shanghai, the bookstore had already broadened the inventory to include a wide range of Japanese books. Later, it came to function for Lu Xun as his postal address, where he could receive his mail and manuscript fees, as well as a study room where he worked almost every afternoon or received visitors in secret from time to time.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to introducing Chinese May-Fourth figures to Japanese people in his network, Shimizu was also an important conduit for bringing them information, knowledge, and new theories from Japan. In this regard, the Marxist Li Dazhao was a direct beneficiary. Li, who was considered one of the theoretical founders of the Chinese Communist Party, had studied at the Waseda University in Tokyo from 1913 to 1916. According to Shimizu, they met each other for the first time in the dormitory of the Chinese YMCA in Tokyo when Li Dazhao stayed there.<sup>52</sup> Because of Maruyama Kōichirō and Shimizu's own journalistic activities, the two became closer beginning in 1919. Shimizu did his Chinese friend a great favor by purchasing the socialist newspaper *The Commoner's News* (*Heimin Shinbun* 平民新聞) from Japan. Later, when studying in the United States, he again helped Li Dazhao collect some pamphlets about Communism through a Japanese acquaintance who had turned from Protestantism to Communism. Remembering this, Shimizu said, "I went to the US to

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<sup>50</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 222.

<sup>51</sup> Naoko Katō, "Through the Kaleidoscope," 82-83.

<sup>52</sup> Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-Chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 15. According to Shimizu, the dormitory where he met Li Dazhao was called *Maruyama Gakuryō* 丸山学寮 [Maruyama students' residence], a residential house built by Maruyama Dentarō 丸山伝太郎, a Congregational Protestant who went to north China and stayed in Tianjin in early 1900s. See Shimizu Yasuzō, "Ri Taishō sensei no omoide" 李大釗先生の思い出 [Memories about Mr. Li Dazhao], in *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 227-234.

study Theology, but did this inappropriate favor [for my Communist friend].”<sup>53</sup>

Apparently, his friendship with Li Dazhao sometimes crossed a line in how he perceived himself as a Protestant.

However, Shimizu had no concern for his Christian identity when making Chinese friends and making appropriate use of his journalistic connections. His ties to Li Dazhao deepened into mutual trust when the two dealt with the case of Sano Manabu 佐野学 (1892-1953). Sano was a leader of the Japanese Communist Party who was forced to leave Japan in 1923.<sup>54</sup> Upon reading one of Shimizu’s articles that had been published in *Warera* about the revolution of Chinese literature, he decided to visit the author after he escaped to Beijing.<sup>55</sup> In order to keep Sano’s presence in Beijing a secret, Shimizu arranged for him to stay temporarily with Nakae Ushikichi 中江丑吉 (1889-1942), because the latter was seen “as an oddball and had no contact with Japanese society in Peking.”<sup>56</sup> Shortly afterward, Shimizu visited Li Dazhao and entrusted him with Sano’s protection.<sup>57</sup> Eventually, Li arranged Sano’s escape to the Soviet Union via Tianjin.<sup>58</sup> As a result of this incident, Nakae’s home in Beijing became “a Mecca thereafter for visiting left-wing Japanese following in Sano’s footsteps.”<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 229-232.

<sup>54</sup> On Sano Manabu and Marxism in Japan, see Germaine A. Hoston, “Emperor, Nation, and the Transformation of Marxism to National Socialism in prewar Japan: The Case of Sano Manabu,” *Studies in Comparative Communism* 18 issue 1 (1985): 25-47. See also, Jeffrey Paul Wagner, “Sano Manabu and the Japanese Adaptation of Socialism” (PhD dissertation submitted to The University of Arizona, 1978).

<sup>55</sup> Itō Takeo, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway: The Memoirs of Ito Takeo*, translated by Joshua A. Fogel (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1988), 65-66.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 66. On Nakae Ushikichi and his Japanese friends in Beijing, see Joshua A. Fogel, *Nakae Ushikichi in China: The Mourning of Spirit* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989), 43-44.

<sup>57</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō introduced both Sano and Nakae to Li Dazhao. Refer to *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 221.

<sup>58</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ishikoro no shōgai*, 193-194, 231. Refer also to his *Pekin seitai*, 95-98.

<sup>59</sup> Itō Takeo, *Life Along the South Manchurian Railway*, 67.

## A Japanese Protestant's Reflections on the Chinese New Culture

Shimizu's network broadened fast in the early 1920s in Beijing, as reflected in his gradually intensified connections with Zhou Zuoren, Eroshenko, Lu Xun, Uchiyama Kanzō, Li Dazhao, Sano Manabu, and many other Chinese and Japanese intellectuals, political activists, and Christian fellows. Undoubtedly, Shimizu's journalism on China burgeoned from all those interactions. His writings flourished from 1920 to 1923, during which he was also busy founding, financing, and running his school in Beijing. These writings offer us a window into not only the external world of knowledge production across Japan and China but, more relevant to this chapter, the internal world of Shimizu's mentality in which his religious and national identities were mutually constructed.

Owing to his unique mission in China, which he held to be God's calling, Shimizu was both a careful observer of China's dynamics and, as he himself noted, an active participant in China's modern transformation. In 1924, his writings were collected to be published as two Japanese anthologies. He said, these books summarized his seven years of learning about China at a good point right before his "missionary sabbatical leave."<sup>60</sup> One of the books was *Contemporary Chinese Celebrities: the Old and the New* (referred to as *Contemporary Chinese*), a collection of his columns about influential Chinese politicians, warlords, and intellectuals that had been published mainly in *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1922 and in *Peking Weekly* in 1923 and 1924.<sup>61</sup> The other book, called *Chinese New People and the Enlightenment*

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<sup>60</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Jijo" 自序 [author's preface], in *Shina tōdai shin jinbutsu: kyūjin to shinjin* 支那当代新人物: 旧人と新人 [Contemporary Chinese celebrities: the old and the new] (Tokyo: Ōsakayagō Shoten, 1924), 6.

<sup>61</sup> Ōta Tatsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 177-78. The celebrities included are, in sequence, the Emperor Xuantong 宣统帝 (Puyi 溥仪, 1906-1967), Li Yuanhong 黎元洪 (1864-1928), Cao Kun 曹錕 (1862-1938), Zhang Zuolin 张作霖 (1875-1928), Wu Peifu 吴佩孚 (1874-1939), Feng Yuxiang 冯玉

*Movement: New Confucianism, New Literature, New Movements* (referred to as *The Enlightenment Movement*), was a collection of Shimizu's opinion pieces and comments on social and intellectual trends in China; most of these had been published in *Peking Weekly* in 1923.<sup>62</sup>

These books drew special attention from certain groups of Japanese scholars. For example, Japanese thinker Tsuchida Kyōson 土田杏村 (1891-1934) had “profited greatly from” Shimizu's two books because he used them as his main reference in writing up *Contemporary Thought of Japan and China*, which was a philosophical survey in English written for the western audience and published in 1927 in the Library of Contemporary Thought serial edited by the philosopher W. Tudor Jones (1865-1946).<sup>63</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō also composed a preface happily for Shimizu as his “close friend (*shinyū* 親友),” although he used to reject such invitations of preface-writing for others. He said, “nobody can be more fair-and-square than Shimizu” on current China-related issues, “since he was the only [Japanese] person making the impossible possible” who “can build trust with, and understand, those Chinese ‘new people’ in reality” against the anti-Japanese sentiment in China.<sup>64</sup>

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祥 (1882-1948), Yan Huiqing 颜惠庆 (1877-1950), Wang Zhengting 王正廷 (1882-1961), Gu Weijun 顾维钧 (1888-1985), Wang Chonghui 王宠惠 (1881-1958), Wang Rongbao 汪荣宝 (1878-1933), Gu Hongming 辜鸿铭 (1857-1928), Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞 (1850-1933), Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927), Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), Hu Shi, “the three Zhous” including Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, and Zhou Jianren 周建人 (1888-1984), 陈独秀 (1879-1942), Li Dazhao, Li Shizeng 李石曾 (1881-1973), Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (1883-1954), Sun Wen 孙文 (Sun Yat-sen, 1866-1925), and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940).

<sup>62</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō: shin Jukyō, shin bungaku, shin undō* 支那新人与黎明运动: 新儒教, 新文学, 新运动 [*Chinese new people and the Enlightenment Movement: new Confucianism, new literature, new movements*] (Tokyo: Ōsakayagō Shoten, 1924). See also Ōta Tatsuo, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Chūgoku*, 176-177.

<sup>63</sup> Kyōson Tsuchida, *Contemporary Thought of Japan and China* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1927), ix. See also Ōki Yasumichi, “Taishō-ki Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku nashonarizumu e no shiten.”

<sup>64</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, Preface with no title, in Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina tōdai shin jinbutsu* and *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 1-4.

These two volumes summarized Shimizu's early writings well, in which "Shina," a nation or nation-state as merely the subject-matter-of-study, had yet to turn inwardly to become an approach shaping Shimizu's view on Christianity tied to his sense of national belonging. However, he had already self-consciously positioned this group of writings within the scholarly context of *Tōyō-shigaku* ("Oriental History" 東洋史学).<sup>65</sup> *Tōyō-shigaku* was a discipline developed in Meiji Japan from the 1890s, which attempted to search for a "history of the Orient" differing from the history of the Occident. As a discipline, it aimed to re-orient Japan's place in Asia as a leading modernizer in succession to *Shina*'s centrality in Asia before the modern age.<sup>66</sup> It also tended to frame Japan in the world as an equivalently modernized, yet simultaneously Oriental nation in competition with those Occidental nation-states that had presumably been developed along a linear, progressive history.

In January 1924 on the way to the United States, Shimizu composed the six-page author's preface for the publication of these two volumes. In it, he stated unequivocally that his writings on China were inspired much by Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原鷺藏 (1871-1931), one of the founding historians of the Kyoto school of *Tōyō-shigaku*. Very unusually, he used half of that space to quote one part of Kuwabara's 1917 article "Mission of the students of the Chinese Studies," which informed Japanese readers how westerners had contributed to the scholarship on China.<sup>67</sup> In fact, Shimizu's friend Hu Shi had read this article in 1917. Hu commented in his diary, "this article promoted scientific methodology in the study of China, which is

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<sup>65</sup> For an examination of the making of *Tōyō-shigaku* in English, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* Particularly refer to chapter 3, "Shina: The Separation of Japan from China," 115-152.

<sup>67</sup> Kuwabara Jitsuzō, "Shina-gaku kenkyūsha no ninmu" 支那学研究者の任務 [Mission of the students of the Chinese], *The Taiyō* 太陽 23 no. 3 (1917): 97-107.

perfectly right.”<sup>68</sup> It is not known whether Shimizu learned about this article from Hu Shi or not. Either way, in this unusual way to quote this article as one half of a preface for his published book, Shimizu expressed his tremendous eagerness and ambition to be not only a China reporter but also a scholar of “*Shina-gaku*” (China Studies 支那学) by following those specialists in *Tōyō-shigaku* who contributed to the “revival” of modernized scientific learning about China.<sup>69</sup>

However, Shimizu also admitted honestly that his writing style was not scholarly, but rather straightforward and accessible to readers.<sup>70</sup> Many of his reports on China were based largely on the biographical narration of, and commentary about, individual Chinese citizens, because he was attempting to grasp the characteristics of the Chinese nation as a whole.<sup>71</sup> As the subtitle of *Contemporary Chinese* indicates, his case studies covered a wide range of Chinese people. They included not only the New Culture practitioners, but also “the old” intellectuals, like Ke Shaomin and Gu Hongming, who were trained more traditionally. This inclusiveness was mostly Shimizu’s own choice: he viewed the current movements of Chinese thought and political dynamics not as a fundamental break from longstanding tradition, but instead, as the specific product of a long-running tension between the promotion of Europeanization and the preservation of traditional Chinese culture.

This tension, described by Shimizu as “Europeanization and its counter-reaction” (*Ōka to sono handō* 欧化とその反動), could be dated back to Xu

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<sup>68</sup> Hu Shi, diary entry on July 6, 1917, *Hu Shi riji quanbian* 胡适日记全编 [Complete diary of Hu Shi] (Hefei: Anhui Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001), Vol. 2, 614. The full original text in Chinese is: “又有日本人桑原鹭藏博士之《中国学研究者之任务》一文，其大旨以为治中国学宜采用科学的方法，其言极是。”

<sup>69</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina tōdai shin jinbutsu*, 2-4.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina no jinbutsu” 支那の人物 [Chinese figures], in *Shina tōdai shin jinbutsu*, 289-298.

Guangqi's 徐光启 (1562-1633) introduction of European sciences and technology to the Ming court.<sup>72</sup> With this “impact-response” pattern of historical cycles in mind, Shimizu defined the ongoing May Fourth Movement not simply as a political incident but a whole developing combination of profound changes. He used the phrase “*reimei undō*” (Enlightenment Movement 黎明運動), which in a Japanese context was the description of the social movement promoted by the *Reimei-kai* 黎明会 (Society for Enlightenment, 1918-1920).<sup>73</sup> In his interpretation, the street demonstrations that occurred on May 4th, 1919 in Beijing clearly awakened the Chinese to the possibilities of more subversive political and cultural reform after the Chinese Revolution of 1911. “The [Chinese people’s] anti-Japanese sentiment stimulated their patriotic feeling that further called for a ‘reform of China’.”<sup>74</sup> Therefore, “the [political] May-Fourth Movement (*goshi undō* 五四運動), which began simply as an anti-Japanese movement (*hainichi undō* 排日運動), came to be an Enlightenment movement (*reimei undō* 黎明運動) that transformed into a cultural movement (*bunka undō* 文化運動),” which eventually shaped Chinese nationalism and the pursuit of political independence.<sup>75</sup>

In his observation of the “revolution of thought” (*shisō kakumei* 思想革命) in modern China and the search for its origin in traditional Chinese thoughts, Shimizu developed his historical thinking. From his perspective, China needed an

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<sup>72</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undo*, 1-4.

<sup>73</sup> *Remeikai* was an “educational society” founded by Yoshino Sakuzō and Fukuda Tokuzō to sponsor public lectures in propagating ideas of democracy. On the founding of *Remeikai*, see Nakamura Katsunori 中村勝範, “*Reimei-kai sōritsu ni okeru Taishō demokurashii no hitokoma*” 黎明会創立における大正デモクラシーの一餉 [A reflection on the Taisho democracy: the case study of Remeikai], *Hōritsu Kenkyū: Kōritsu, Seiji, Shakai* 法律研究：法律・政治・社会 [Journal of Law, Politics, and Sociology] 58 no. 2 (Feb. 1985): 7-23.

<sup>74</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 173.

<sup>75</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 183. For the terminological (trans-)formation of “*Xin Wenhua Yundong*” in the early-1920s Chinese context, see Ya-pei Kuo, “The Making of The New Culture Movement: A Discursive History,” *Twentieth-Century China* 42, no. 1 (2017): 52-71.

intellectual/ethical foundation in order to be united and to transform into an independent, modernized nation-state. Thus, he looked carefully at how Confucianism, which had historically shaped and reshaped the core values and ethics of Chinese tradition, had been reformed (or rejected) in the early twentieth century in order to cope with the dynamically changing world.<sup>76</sup> Like his friend Hu Shi who considered that “the ‘new’ had to be somehow grounded in the ‘old,’” Shimizu adapted the framework of Chinese philology that was a subject of heated discussion among the May-Fourth intellectuals.<sup>77</sup> He traced the modern transformation of Chinese thought, especially Kang Youwei’s reformist re-making of Confucianism, through the concept of “great unity” (*Datong* 大同), back to the traditional Confucian scholarship of new text school (*Jinwen jingxue* 今文经学).<sup>78</sup>

And, not dissimilar to Zhou Zuoren who had recently compared Confucian classics with *The Old Testament*, Shimizu established the parallels between the Western Biblical criticism and Chinese philology very naturally in his discussions on the origin of revolutionary thinking in Chinese history.<sup>79</sup> When commenting on Chen Duxiu’s anti-Confucianism, for example, he pointed out firstly that its inclination was “highly comparable to” the skepticism of biblical authority and the quest for Jesus in history, which prevailed in the earliest stage of Biblical textualism during the Enlightenment age in the West.<sup>80</sup> Thus, Shimizu asserted that he “shared common

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<sup>76</sup> See, particularly, Shimizu Yasuzō’s “Kōkyō kaikaku to shin Jukyō” 孔教改革と新儒教 [Reforming Confucius’ religion and the new Confucianism] and “Shisō kakumei to shin kenpō” 思想革命と新憲法 [Revolutionary thoughts and the new Constitution], in *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 21-73.

<sup>77</sup> For the transformation of Chinese philology during the May Fourth period, see Ori Sela, “Conclusion: The Consequences of the Eighteenth-Century Intellectual Transformations,” in his *China’s Philological Turn: Scholars, Textualism, and the Dao in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 179-193.

<sup>78</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 29-31.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-23, 28, 45.

<sup>80</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shisō kakumei to shin kenpō,” in *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 45.



feelings” with Liang Qichao in tracing the changes of Chinese thought back to traditional Confucian scholarship.<sup>81</sup> He also claimed that Chinese “revolutionary thought” had evolved earlier from within and could be dated back to Gu Yanwu’s 顾炎武 (1613-1682) critiques of the Neo-Confucianism of the Ming Dynasty, which could be traced further back to Song Neo-Confucianism, Han Confucianism, and even to the studies of Confucius’ original texts.<sup>82</sup> Within Shimizu’s interpretative framework, therefore, the ideas of “democracy and science” promoted by the Chinese “new youths” could be understood as an extreme pattern of thought resulting from the long-standing debate over whether the Chinese literati should embrace not only European sciences and technologies but also European thoughts. As such, it was a product of the repeated historic cycles of “Europeanization and its counter-reaction.”

### **“Shina” as the Approach to “Orientalized Christianity”**

#### Rethinking Japan and China in the Interwar Internationalism in America, 1924-1926

For Shimizu, 1924 was such a memorable year not merely because he published his first two books; it was also the year he began his studies at the Oberlin College in the United States. As a prospective Japanese student who was planning his study in America, Shimizu paid specific attention to the Immigration Act of 1924 issued by the US government, which banned further immigration from Japan. His essay “The Japan-US relation as seen from a Chinese point of view” responded to the heated discussions and the complaints raised among Japanese about the Act. Shimizu’s main point in this piece was to remind Japanese people that the Japan-US relation in general, as reflected by the issue of immigration, should be reconsidered critically

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<sup>81</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 24.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-24.

within the multilateral framework of trans-Pacific affairs, in which China could be considered a significant reference. Regarding disputes of immigration specifically, he claimed, Chinese Americans' painful resistance for "more than twenty years" can be arguably consulted when the Japanese population faced similar exclusivist policies. Rather than simply complaining about the US's imperialistic policy to exclude Japanese immigrants on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, Shimizu advised his fellow Japanese people to rethink the government's treatment of the Chinese first by paralleling it to the US government's treatment of the Japanese. "[The government of] Japan uses the same policy to exclude Chinese people from Japan, just like [now] the US [government] excludes the Japanese from the US." Then he made the metaphor, "when you [Japan] correct your friend [US], you [Japan] should stop behaving like him [US] first." To conclude, he strongly believed that Japan could not maintain its stance logically in an argument with the US on the issue of immigration, precisely because the Japanese "adopted the [same] imperialism of 'the white race' to deal with [their] yellow neighbors," of "the same color and the same race."<sup>83</sup>

The argument by analogy, examining the China-Japan and Japan-US interactions side by side, was not new in Shimizu's way of thinking. It originated when his China evangelism was developing. To compete with American Protestants' evangelization – with Vories as an example in his mind, he practiced similar independent mission activities in China to legitimized himself to be God's Japanese worker by civilizing or "saving" the Chinese. What the 1924 article indicated, however, is neither the making of Shimizu's triangular viewpoint nor any significant change in his critical attitude toward Westerners – particularly American Protestant missionaries. Instead, it

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<sup>83</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Shina yori mitaru Nichi-Bei mondai" 支那より見たる日米問題 [The Japan-US relation as seen from a Chinese point of view], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* August 14, 1924: 5.

signified the blooming of a reflective mode of thinking within Shimizu's mindset, in which China began to function as the central reference for his broader worldview being shaped in between the East and the West.

For Shimizu, the forthcoming study at the Oberlin College strengthened this mode of introspection regarding Japan, which reframed his own understanding of nation and religion.<sup>84</sup> With a bachelor's degree in Theology from Dōshisha University, and being ordained as a minister shortly before leaving for the US, Shimizu chose to gain more thorough training by taking another Bachelor in Divinity degree at the Oberlin College.<sup>85</sup> From 1924 to 1926, he studied in the Graduate School of Theology, in which "the issues of class, race, and social justice ... were openly discussed," and the "liberal tendencies" and "cosmopolitan" nature of the "non-sectarian and inter-denominational" education were strongly supported and proudly valued.<sup>86</sup>

He lived and studied in a multi-racial environment in Oberlin. As of 1930, the Oberlin town's total population stood at 4292; among them 22.4% were "dark-skinned" minorities, including both Chinese and Japanese, among others. This racial diversity coupled with a gender division of more women (55%) than men (45%).<sup>87</sup> On campus, Shimizu's class comprised a small number of only seventeen students, of which two were Japanese and five were African Americans.<sup>88</sup> Japanese students were

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<sup>84</sup> Roland M. Baumann, "Reconstructing Memory and Place: Yasuzo Shimizu and Oberlin, 1924-1926," in Shimizu Yasuzō Memorial Project ed., *Yasuzo and Ikuko Shimizu in the History of the Japan-U.S. Cultural Exchange* (Tokyo: J. F. Oberlin University, 2005), 9-53. For the discussion of the multi-culturalist atmosphere on campus, see 28-31.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. According to College files, Shimizu received this BA degree from the Graduate School of Theology, which awarded both BA and MA degrees in Divinity. Shimizu chose the BA stream of classes that took less time of study. Refer to Baumann's description on page 23.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 17-23.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

warmly accepted by the College and the Graduate School of Theology, and the latter “served as a center for the Japanese students in Oberlin.”<sup>89</sup> Many Oberlinians, including missionary alumni and faculty members, had experienced Japanese culture first-hand.<sup>90</sup> Like Shimizu, many Japanese students in Divinity benefited from these connections built within Japan, such as Dōshisha University’s links with the ABCFM.<sup>91</sup> Around the time when Shimizu was about to arrive, issues in Japan attracted widespread attention due to the 1923 earthquake and the 1924 Immigration Act. Oberlinians donated generously to earthquake relief and actively resisted the Act.<sup>92</sup>

As an Oberlinian, most importantly, Shimizu witnessed the development of Christian internationalism on campus during its “most optimistic phase,” as “the internationalist agenda of pacifism and international unity created a new rationale for missionary commitment that seemed progressive and modern” in the Anglo-American Protestant mission fields of the post-World War I period.<sup>93</sup> Against the backdrop in which the “younger churches” of non-Western nations were growing fast from the 1910s on, the Christian movement of internationalism helped shape the vision that all mankind could be “in one fellowship worshipping God.”<sup>94</sup> Many internationalist Anglo-American missionaries and mission leaders so enthusiastically promoted the indigenization of Christian expression in national and local cultures that they even faced resistance from second or third generation native Christians – many

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-34.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>93</sup> Dana L. Robert, “The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement Between the World Wars,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26 (2002): 50-66.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

of whom assumed that indigenous literature, culture, and art were non-Christian and pagan.<sup>95</sup>

### Reflections on the Northern Expedition and the Anti-Christian Movement, 1927

In fall 1926, Shimizu returned to Beijing. What awaited him was news of ongoing clashes in the military campaign launched by the Chinese Nationalist Party which aimed to overthrow the Beiyang Government and warlord groups in order to reunify China. The nationalist government collaborated initially with the Chinese Communists under the support of Soviet advisors of Communist International, and appointed Chiang Kai-shek to be the commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA).<sup>96</sup> After entering into the city of Nanjing, on March 24, 1927, part of uniformed soldiers of the NRA and Chinese resistance attacked British, American and Japanese consulates, resulting in six foreigners being killed; which intensified the already nationwide anti-Christian movement for the ideological cause of anti-imperialism. By early 1928, more than half of the missionaries who had been serving in China had left for temporary retreat.<sup>97</sup>

Upon moving back to Beijing after his time studying in America, Shimizu soon responded to what faced him in China by receiving a research project secretly ordered from the Japanese government to investigate the anti-Christian movement in China. In January 1927, he submitted his report to the Foreign Ministry through the embassy

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>96</sup> For the Northern Expedition in Republican China, see Donald A. Jorden, *The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926-1928* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1976).

<sup>97</sup> Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s," *Modern Asian Studies* 10 no. 3 (1976): 395-416. For the role of indigenous churches in the anti-Christian campaigns outside of the urban Protestant establishments in China, see Lian Xi, "The Search for Chinese Christianity in the Republican Period (1912-1949)," *Modern Asian Studies* 38 no. 4 (Oct. 2004): 851-898.

in Beijing.<sup>98</sup> Through the same route, in February, he submitted a special application for travel funds for a reporting trip, saying that his aim was “to attend the assembly of the nationalist party and to investigate the anti-Christian movement.”<sup>99</sup> Particularly because he had contributed to the previous governmental investigation of the Chinese anti-Christian movement, the Japanese ambassador supported his application. By mid-March, Shimizu was already on his way. On March 19, five days before the Nanking Incident of 1927, in which six foreigners were killed in rioting accompanying the advance of Nationalist armies into the city, he interviewed Chiang Kai-shek in his military camp located in Jiujiang.<sup>100</sup> This was an important stop in his trip across Shanghai, Jiujiang, Nanchang, Hankou, and Wuchang to report on the Northern Expedition.<sup>101</sup>

Against this background, Shimizu’s journalism on China rose to a second peak in 1927 after his intensive reporting in the early 1920s. From November 1926 to the end of 1927, he published 48 entries in *Peking Weekly* and 13 in *The Christian World*. By traveling through Christian churches, military camps, and political meetings and gatherings in China, he was pushed to rethink his views on the Chinese revolution and his Christian mission. In May, he wrote Japanese Christian readers a message, called “From the Turmoil of China,” to comment on both the Chinese revolution and the role of Chinese Christians in it. He pointed out that the Russian Revolution was

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<sup>98</sup> JACAR, Reference Code: B05016101600 (picture 103).

<sup>99</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina shisatsu shinsei” 支那視察申請 [Application for field investigation in China], JACAR, Reference Code: B05015661300.

<sup>100</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shō Kaiseki no shisō oyobi jibutsu” 蔣介石の思想及人物 [Chiang Kai-shek and his thought], in *Shina kakumei shiron* 支那革命史論 [The study of the history of Chinese revolution] (Dalian: Minami-Manchu Kyoikukai, 1929), 134-158. A report with the same title has been published in *Peking Weekly* on April 17, 1927.

<sup>101</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Dōran no Shina kara” 動乱の支那から [From the Turmoil of China], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* May 19, 1927: 3.

internationalist. Its revolutionary thought originated for the most part from the oppression of the old Orthodox Christianity. Compared to it, he thought, the Chinese revolution was just mimicking the Russian one. It was nationalist and thus was based on xenophobia. He suspected that leading Chinese Christians, especially those who were in the central committee of the Nationalist Party, had played a positive role in leading China from chauvinistic xenophobia to internationalist statehood.<sup>102</sup>

Leading up to the summer, he continued to think about the ongoing chaos in China. In July 1927, he wrote the article “Chinese Revolution and the Question of Missionaries” to discuss a complex question: Why do missionaries leave China? As a missionary himself, he said he had long been motivated by missionary martyrs, like Pitkin, who died in China for God. He recalled, though, that one professor had told him at Oberlin, “they did not die for Jesus, but they died for imperialism.” He explained then, “those roots that these martyrs planted in China turned out to be the root of the anti-Christian movement, rather than the root of God’s church.” Therefore, Shimizu said that he understood those Western missionaries who were leaving China, as they would have the same conclusion. At that moment, Shimizu was in Japan and he stated clearly that he had not returned home for the same reason. As a missionary himself, he believed firmly that he was responsible for knowing, studying, and thinking about Chinese revolution and its origin – and based only on this could he decide how to spread the gospel in amongst all the revolutionary thoughts that prevailed in China.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina kakumei to senkyōshi mondai” 支那革命と宣教師問題 [Chinese revolution and the question of missionaries], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* July 14, 1927: 2. For Western missionaries’ understanding and reflections on the anti-imperialist cause, especially in the context of Republican China, see Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

During that same summer, Shimizu was invited by the South Manchuria Education Association (*Minami-Manshū Kyōikukai* 南満州教育会) to give intensive talks for three days in Dalian.<sup>104</sup> The manuscript of these talks was edited in 1928 and then published on January 1, 1929 under the title “The Study of the History of the Chinese Revolution.” This book presented what he had continuously digested from his learning during the May-Fourth period in Beijing. First, the historical perspective on the Chinese Revolution was again firmly emphasized. He thought, “revolution” in general is a progression from the old to the new, and thus to understand what is new, one must first look back to what is old. By referring to scholarship created during the May Fourth period, he established a linear history of revolutionary thinking that evolved progressively from the early Qing period: from the revolution of the Confucian philology, to the Taiping leaders’ Christian thought, to Kang Youwei’s reinterpretation of Confucian canons, to Sun Yat-sen’s Three People’s Principles, and then to Chen Duxiu’s revolutionary thinking and Hu Shi’s promotion of literary revolution. After briefly reviewing all other major ideologies, such as Communism and anarchism, he ended the discussion with Chiang Kai-shek’s ideas about revolution. Very importantly, Shimizu used an East-West parallelism to frame Chinese revolutionary thought. To him, the fundamental force of revolution was the critical thinking towards the old authority, which could be found in both Confucian philology and Biblical criticism.<sup>105</sup> More than that, he noted, those revolutionary ideas in China demonstratively appeared earlier than the comparable ones in the

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<sup>104</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Jijo” 自序 [Author’s preface], in *Shina kakumei shiron*, 1.

<sup>105</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Kakumei shisō tangen” 革命思想探源 [Seeking origin of revolutionary thought], in *Shina kakumei shiron*, 16-19.



West.<sup>106</sup> That said, not only did the Chinese revolution have an evolutionary history as the Western revolutions did, but it had evolved earlier within Chinese culture.

Notably, Shimizu used one section to discuss the Taiping Rebellion.<sup>107</sup> In one of his 1924 books, he described the Rebellion in only one paragraph and framed it within a short section about missionary cases during the late Qing period.<sup>108</sup> In his 1927 summer lectures, however, Shimizu considered the Christian thought that was promoted by the Taiping leaders as an indispensable process in the evolution of Chinese revolutionary thought. He believed, although ending in paganism, that the Taiping movement's original thought had been built on a faithful understanding of Bible, especially the Messianism that points to the advent of a savior to liberate a group of people.<sup>109</sup> In Shimizu's interpretation, Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814-1864), the leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, perceived himself to be the savior of the Han Chinese by liberating them from the Manchurian authority. In this way, the old Christian belief was embedded in the evolution of a new China.

Based on this internationalized historization of the Chinese revolution from a missionary's perspective, Shimizu began to rethink the role of Christians in Japanese society. In November 1927, he wrote an article entitled "The Social Gospel." Instead of promoting a spiritual Christianity, he suggested Japanese Christians should practice what Washington Gladden called the "applied Christianity" because, he thought, Christianity was not yet rooted deeply enough in the social realm in Japan. In serving the society as individuals, he judged, the Christian gospel was profoundly

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Taihei Tenkoku no kakumei" 太平天国の革命 [The revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], in *Shina kakumei shiron*, 19-39.

<sup>108</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Shina Kirisutokyō hihan" 支那基督教批判 [Criticism on Chinese Christianity], in *Shina shinjin to Reimei Undō*, 376-377.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

essential. He cited the following quote from Harry F. Ward in *Social Evangelism*, “we need to tie the social program up to the eternities and fill it with the power of endless life.”<sup>110</sup>

To further explain how and why a Japanese Christian could serve the society at large, Shimizu turned inward to Japanese culture. His article entitled “To Build a Society with Greater Filial Piety,” published on January 1, 1928 in *The Christian World*, was of critical importance. In it, Shimizu began to apply Japanese Confucian thought in order to construct contemporary ethics for Japanese Christians. Here, “*kō* 孝 (filial piety, pronounced *xiao* in Chinese)” was his key concept. He said filial piety was not a Japanese concept existing since antiquity, but that it came from China. However, it was such a common component of morality in both the East and the West. As a Christian, he defined “*dai-kō* 大孝” to be the “greater” filial piety for God and “*sho-kō* 小孝” the “lesser” for parents. Jesus Christ, in his argumentation, was the one who demonstrated greater filial piety to the heavenly Father, instead of the lesser filial piety to his birth mother, and thus could realize his love for humankind as a whole. He ended the article by saying that to build God’s Kingdom on earth was to build “a society with greater filial piety” by Japanese Protestants.<sup>111</sup>

In this piece, Shimizu clarified that his usage of “*dai-kō*” and “*sho-kō*” came from the Japanese philosopher Nakae Tōju, “the Sage of Ōmi” whom Shimizu had admired since childhood. In Nakae’s original texts, as Shimizu cited, “*dai-kō*” meant the act of filial piety to “divine nature” (*tenchi shinmei* 天地神明, literally means heaven, earth, and gods), involving the notion that a human being’s parents are

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<sup>110</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shakai-teki fukuin” 社会的福音 [The Social Gospel], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* November 10, 1927: 6.

<sup>111</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Dai-kō shakai no kensetsu” 大孝社会の建設 [To Build a Society with Greater Filial Piety], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* January 1, 1928: 8.

themselves the children of divine parents. This religious aspect of Nakae's thought on filial piety had originally been influenced by Wang Yangming's 王阳明 (1472-1529) school of thought in Neo-Confucianism, developed during the Ming Dynasty. It was in this historical context of Japanese Confucianism that Shimizu transformed Nakae's "divine nature" to mean the Christian God.<sup>112</sup> From this point, he went on a journey to internalize what he had come to understand about the Chinese revolution – the root-seeking pattern of historical thinking – to build his own version of indigenized Christianity. This made him a non-Western member of the Anglo-American Christian Internationalism of the 1920s.

#### The Re-Orientalization of Christianity, 1929-1930

As Dana Robert pointed out, "a central feature" of the interwar promotion of Christian internationalism was the "indigenization of Christianity in each culture." The primary step that many Anglo-American mission leaders took, she elaborated, was "to separate Christ from Western culture," which would allow younger churches to look forward to building their own indigenous theologies.<sup>113</sup> So did Shimizu, too. Settling down at Dōshisha again to be an instructor in 1928, he experienced a precious time period in life to think about his religious identity. Retreating from China to Japan, he could also think more deeply about his social role as both a Japanese citizen and a Protestant Christian.

These introspections were inward-looking and blossomed in 1929 and 1930. In 1929, he concentrated on the writing of "The Promotion of the Orientalized

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<sup>112</sup> On the historical construction and transformation of Japanese Confucianism, see Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>113</sup> Dana L. Robert, "The First Globalization," 62-63.

Christianity” and “On the history of Christianity in China.”<sup>114</sup> The former was a series published in the Ōmi Mission’s organ monthly *Voice at the Lakeside* from March to December. The latter was also intended to be a long series but, for unknown reason, appeared only in the July and November issues of *Studies in Christianity*, which was published by Dōshisha University. In 1930, he continued to contribute series entries to these two journals. In *Voice at the Lakeside*, “The promotion of Orientalized Christianity” was followed by “The promotion of socialized Christianity,” published six times from January to October. To the *Studies of Christianity*, Shimizu submitted a research article entitled “A topic in the Kōsei-gaku: searching for the origin of Nakae Tōju Studies,” which was published in July.<sup>115</sup>

Scholars paying attention to Shimizu’s journalism on China do not usually consider his writings of these two years as “journalistic,” which is indeed correct. First, compared to his large amount of China-related reports, these writings were relatively minimal in quantity. Second, the audience of these writings was such a small group of people, limited either to the Ōmi Mission-related readers or to the communities of Christian scholars in Japan. However, to understand Shimizu’s religious thought, these writings are of vital significance, not only because they were the intellectual product of his decade-long study on China, but also because they

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<sup>114</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō” 東洋的基督教の提唱 [The promotion of the Orientalized Christianity], *Kohan no koe* 湖畔の聲 [Voice at the Lakeside], March 1929: 15-20; April 1929: 15-20; May 1929: 18-23; June 1929: 21-25; July 1929: 14-19; August 1929: 17-22; September 1929: 16-19; October 1929: 12-17; November 1929: 18-22; December 1929: 22-26; and “Shina Kirisutokyō shiron” 支那基督教史論 [On the history of Christianity in China], *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 基督教研究 [Studies in Christianity] 6 no. 3 (1929): 121-131; 7 no. 1 (1929): 101-108.

<sup>115</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shakai-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō” 社会的基督教の提唱 [The promotion of socialized Christianity], *Kohan no koe* 湖畔の聲 [Voice at the Lakeside], January 1930: 25-28; March 1930: 27-31; May 1930: 28-32; July 1930: 20-23; August 1930: 14-16; October 1930: 32-36; and “Kōsei-gaku ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Tōju-gaku tangen” 江西学に関する一考察: 藤樹学探源 [A Topic in the Kōseigaku: Searching for the Origin of Nakae Tōju studies; or “The Influence of Christian Ideas on Nakae Tōju” as the formal English title], *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 基督教研究 [Studies in Christianity] 7 no. 3 (1930): 68-88.

showcased the mental framework that he had applied to integrate Confucianism and Christianity inwardly.

At the very beginning of “The promotion of the Orientalized Christianity,” Shimizu emphasized that “there is nothing that is purely Japanese, or purely American or purely Chinese,” “everything is hybrid of mixed character.”<sup>116</sup> In the main body, he put Jesus Christ back in the “Oriental” context in history particularly by introducing the ideas and evidence described in *The Syrian Christ*, an intriguing work examining Jesus Christ’s Near Eastern origin, which was published in 1916 by the Lebanese Theologian Abraham Mitrie Rihbany (1869-1944).<sup>117</sup> Supplemented by other religious customs in especially Chinese and Japanese societies, he tried to persuade his readers to rebuild the so-called Orientalized Christianity. He believed that, along with history, the state of human being’s religions revolutionized progressively from the faith of clans, to that of nations, then to that of the world – like Buddhism and Christianity.<sup>118</sup> Thus, to be a world religion, Christianity, which had already been Occidentalized in the past, would need to transcend the limitation of national boundaries and revive itself by seeking its lost origins back in Oriental traditions. That said, what he wanted to promote was the re-Orientalization of Christianity; the key method he used to support this argument was the historization of Jesus Christ as a human being of the past in Orient.

Shimizu considered the history of Chinese Christianity during the several months he conceptualized this “Orientalized Christianity.” In “On the History of Christianity in China,” which was completed in exactly the same period, he began by

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<sup>116</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō,” *Kohan no koe* March 1929: 19.

<sup>117</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō,” *Kohan no koe* August. 1929: 17-22.

<sup>118</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō,” *Kohan no koe* July 1929: 14-19.

saying that “To study the history of Christianity in Japan, we must examine the history of Christianity in China first.”<sup>119</sup> For this reason, he reviewed in detail the research done by the Chinese historian Chen Yuan, which he had not mentioned in his books published in 1924.<sup>120</sup> Chen’s studies on western religions in Chinese history brought great attention to Chinese scholars from both the West and Japan. Kubawara Jitsuzō, the Orientalist historian whose article had been cited by Shimizu in his 1924 books, had reviewed Chen Yuan’s studies in Japanese.<sup>121</sup> As Shimizu indicated, Chen was also his old friend in China. In this piece about the history of Christianity in China, Shimizu tended to argue that the Christian religion had rooted in Chinese culture, and he consulted Chen’s study on the history of the Sino-Jewish religion *Yicileye* (Israelite 一賜乐业) in Kaifeng.<sup>122</sup> Based on this, Shimizu asserted, “one cannot deny the possibility that ancient Jews physically arrived in China upon their escape from Babylon.”<sup>123</sup> It seemed Shimizu wanted to go further to comment on the “Japanese-Jewish common ancestry theory” (*Nichi-Yu Dōsoron* 日ユ同祖論).<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina Kirisutokyō shiron,” *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 6, no. 3 (1929): 121.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-131.

<sup>121</sup> Kubawara Jitsuzō, “Chin En shi no *Gan saikijin kaka kō* o yomu” 陳垣氏の「元西域人華化考」を読む [Reading Chen Yuan’s “The Sinicization of the Western people during the Yuan], *Shirin* 史林 9 no. 4 (1924): 612-614. For Kubawara’s criticism on Chen Yuan’s scholarship, see Antonino Forte, “Kubawara’s Misleading Thesis on Bukhara and the Family Name An 安,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 no. 4 (1996): 645-652.

<sup>122</sup> Chen Yuan, “Kaifeng Yicileye jiao kao” 开封一賜乐业考 [Israelite Religion in Kaifeng], *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 [The Eastern Miscellany] 17 (1920) no. 2: 17-122; no. 6: 119-126; no. 7, 103-107. Shimizu also reviewed Chen Yuan’s “Monijiao ru Zhongguo kao” 摩尼教入中国考 [History of Manichaeism in China], *Guoxue jikan* 国学季刊 [National Learning Quarterly] 1 no. 1(1923): 203-239. See Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina Kirisutokyō shiron,” *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 7, no. 1 (1929): 101-108.

<sup>123</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shina Kirisutokyō shiron,” *Kirisutokyō Kenkyū* 6, no. 3 (1929): 131.

<sup>124</sup> The theory was promoted by some Japanese Christians, such as Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎, a Japanese Anglican scholar whose expertise was in Nestorianism in China, and Nakata Jūji 中田重治, the first bishop of the Japan Holiness Church. For one of the introductions of this Japanese “theory” into Jewish communities during the 1920s, see “Japanese Author Traces Nippon Origin to Hebrew Race,” *Jewish Daily Bulletin* August 15, 1929: 3-4. See also Tudor Parfitt, *The Lost Tribes of Israel: The History of a Myth* (London: Phoenix, 2003), especially chapter 10, “Our Own People of Joseph’s Seeds: Japan,” 176-192.

But, without the ending of the article, we cannot make a judgement about what exactly Shimizu wanted to argue.

However, we do know that Shimizu found his own way to link Japanese culture to Christianity by seeking Christian roots in Japanese thought. In the winter from 1927 to 1928, as mentioned above, Shimizu discussed the social gospel and Nakae Tōju's philosophical thought almost synchronically in his articles "The Social Gospel" and "To Build a Society with Greater Filial Piety."<sup>125</sup> This synchronicity of thinking both the social gospel and Nakae Tōju appeared again in 1930, as reflected in his "The promotion of socialized Christianity," published from January to June 1930, and his "A topic in the Kōsei-gaku," published in July 1930. It indicates that, in the end of the 1920s, Shimizu's social activism, empowered by his understanding of the social gospel of the Protestant West, was equally based on his re-discovering of Nakae Tōju's religious thought of the Japanese East.

The most important progress appeared in Shimizu's 1930 article about Nakae Tōju was that, instead of arguing only that Nakae's idea of "greater filial piety" could help Japanese Christians lead the building of contemporary Japanese ethics, he went further to demonstrate that Nakae, being considered for centuries as a Japanese Confucian philosopher, was actually a hidden Christian in Japan. Shimizu began this article by recalling that the first generation of evangelists of the Kumamoto Band he admired, like Ebina Danjō and Tokutomi Sohō, had always used Wang Yangming's words to explain Christian principles.<sup>126</sup> During the 1910s, Nakae Tōju's ideas were introduced by the Non-Church Movement leader Nakamura Kanzō to English readers

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<sup>125</sup> Both articles published in *Kirisutokyō Sekai*: on November 10, 1927, and January 1, 1928.

<sup>126</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Kōsei-gaku ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," 68-69.

as a thought of the East that was very close to Christian thought of the West.<sup>127</sup> Growing up in the same countryside community, Shimizu wanted to follow this line of scholarship and to discover whether Nakae Tōju was actually a Christian in history. He claimed that, as a historian, he “would not pre-assume a conclusion before doing research.”<sup>128</sup> However, considering the development of his ideas on both China and Christianity after his 1927 reporting on the Northern Expedition and Anti-Christian Movement in China, his 1930 research work on Nakae Tōju implies that he had internalized the Chinese May-Fourth scholarship, and it demonstrated his general intention to trace how Christian and Confucian thoughts had intermingled in the Japanese context. In this effort, we can observe both his application of the method that Liang Qichao had used to describe the lineage of the Qing philology and his adoption of Chen Yuan’s research on seeking preserved evidence to demonstrate the influence of foreign religions in Chinese culture. By using these methods that he learned from the “Orient,” Shimizu achieved simultaneously the goal of “cultural indigenization,” a core agenda of the Anglo-American interwar Christian internationalism. This “cultural” indigenization, for Shimizu, was the re-Orientalization of Christianity by way of Japanized Confucianism.

This article ended with a very brief discussion on Wang Yangming’s thought, as a source of Nakae Tōju’s ideas. Shimizu pointed out that some elements of Wang’s thought were similar to what Matteo Ricci described in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu shiyi* 天主实义, 1603). He then planned to do further close reading and research on both the original Chinese literatures by Wang Yangming and

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<sup>127</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, *Representative Men of Japan: Essays* (Tokyo: Keiseisha, the second edition 1908), especially the chapter “Nakae Tōju: A Village Teacher,” 139-178.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.



the scholarship of the Ming Confucianism, and even Korean and English studies on related topics.<sup>129</sup> Through this, he hoped that “in the future” he could clarify not only Nakae Tōju’s Christian thinking but also, eventually, his own Christian identity. Though not finished in argumentation, he had now completed the theoretical framework he could use to conceptualize his own “Orientalized Christianity” – with “historization” as his method, and Nakae Tōju as his evidence. In his blueprint of further research, once that Nakae Tōju could be proved a hidden Christian in Japan by scientific methodology of the modernized history discipline, he could go beyond the “cultural” influence of Christian thought in Japan by providing “historical” evidence to claim the transcendence of Christianity as a real “world” religion. That said, by this point, “China” had completely become an approach for Shimizu to integrate the Japanese Confucian ethics of the Orient into the Occidentalized Christian morality.

### **Heading into War: Shimizu Yasuzō’s Dualistic Evolution**

Transformed internally to be both a Japanese citizen and a Protestant Christian, Shimizu made a proactive response to the Manchurian Incident of 1931. From December 1931 to March 1932, Shimizu published five entries in *The Christian World* under the title “To Japanese and Chinese Christians on the Manchurian issue.”<sup>130</sup> In the first entry, he claimed, though the Chinese did not like being called “men of Shina” (*Shina-jin* 支那人) by the Japanese, he would continue to use it because this name “Shina” has its own history dating back to ancient time. He

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-88.

<sup>130</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Manshū mondai ni tsuite Ni-Shi ryōkoku no Kirisutosha e” 満州問題に就て日支兩國の基督者へ [To Japanese and Chinese Christians on the Manchurian issue], *Kirisutokyō Sekai* December 17, 1931: 2; January 1, 1932: 10; January 14, 1932: 4; January 21, 1932: 6; March 3, 1932: 2.

criticized that the usage of “Zhonghua 中华” by Chinese people themselves, meaning “a nation at the center that is culturally blossom,” represented a China-centered ideology and, thus, he suggested that China should become “culturally advanced first,” instead of emphasizing the “fame” of the central kingdom. He recommended the Chinese people understand the leading position of Japan, as he believed that Japan was the protector of Asian nations against Western powers. He added by saying, “A gate-keeping dog may bite his owner or make the house a mess, but he will definitely protect his owner by killing any who robs the house.” He also believed that Japan had an important role in the most recent history of Manchuria, and stressed, it was the Japanese who sacrificed to fight against Russians for China in the Russo-Japanese War.

In the second entry, Shimizu argued further regarding the Western powers that the so-called “international morality” or “international justice” had been built by the white race between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. It was not guided by “God’s morality,” he said. In terms of land, he stated, China was given more, and Japan was given less by God, and thus war occurred to make it fair. To realize God’s “fairness,” he said, China needed only to open its door to Japan to build “co-prosperity.” By taking Japan as an example, he suggested the Chinese cooperate with the Japanese, similar to the way the Japanese had cooperated with Westerners to achieve the Meiji Restoration.

In the third entry, Shimizu offered his advice to the Japanese readership. First, he thought that Japan’s agenda in Manchuria was failing in maintaining its rights. He described that, overseas, Japanese always lost their controlling power naturally because they always split into small opposing groups. In the fourth entry, he criticized

also that the Japanese had not made good use of their special right to rent properties and land, and thus could not help building a healthy social and economic order. Here, Shimizu took Daniel Norman, a Canadian Methodist missionary, and other western missionaries in Japan as examples. By buying or renting Japanese lands, he stated, these Westerners aimed at and did truly contribute to the development of local communities in Japan. At this point, Shimizu had already been involved in the Ōmi Mission's plan to expand their business for God in Manchuria and north China. Reasonably, what was in his mind when writing these words was how to make both the commercial and evangelical expansions for moral good, rather than to subvert the most fundamental rationale of Japan's expansionist imperialism.

The fifth (and last) entry was published on March 3, 1932, and it ended with "to be continued." In the end of this month, Shimizu became a representative of the Ōmi Sales in Beijing, and this might have been one of the reasons he could not continue writing this piece up to the end as he had planned. By far, what we can see by closely reading this piece was Shimizu's standpoint in ambiguous dilemma. On the one hand, facing the West, he recognized so clearly that the white peoples' morality had been standardized globally at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Therefore, he strongly criticized the "international justice" that had been built on the white race's universalized morality. Meanwhile, on the other hand, facing to China, he criticized with deep sincerity that, before promoting exclusivist nationalistic emotions against foreign (Western) powers, China should build first inside a modernized statehood and develop its bureaucratic, economic, and political order. Ironically, all these were essential components of the universalized Western statehood that he was against.

This mental dilemma was able to work without too much tension in Shimizu's intellectual framework because it was based on the theory of social-cultural evolution. In his criticism of China, as reflected typically in his entries published in *The Christian World* after the Manchurian Incident, Japan was an example of statehood modernization. He always compared Japan's modernization during the Meiji era from the late 1860s with that of China at about 1930, and he believed China should follow the Japanese case and pursue "self-strength" before fighting against the West. He said to Chinese and Japanese Christians, in the fifth entry of this article, "How many years do you think Japan spent to become such a civilized nation that could make Westerners to pay equal respect?" In other words, Shimizu put China and Japan in different stages of development, and, in his linear history of social evolution, China was less advanced than Japan in modernization – or, more precisely, in Westernization. Therefore, he felt China should be like Japan, remaining weak with tolerance in foreign affairs but becoming enduring and robust in building internal strength.

Shimizu commented directly on social evolution. In his 1930 article "The Promotion of Socialized Christianity," he used one instalment to discuss Marxism. He said, "Marx was one who based his theory on Darwin's theory of evolution." Thus, he criticized Darwinism: "Though struggles are probably one force in the biological world, mutual collaborations are also realities in maintaining the whole existence of [all] creatures." Besides "love of sacrifice [because of struggle]" (*gisei-ai* 犠牲愛), he believed that there was also "love of mutual help" (*gojo-ai* 互助愛). Therefore, Darwinism was itself "half-wrong." He then elaborated, "there are also cases here and there in [human] history that have been recorded." Among these cases, he said,

“nations have sometimes fought against and sometimes cooperated with each other.”<sup>131</sup> That said, Shimizu did not criticize social evolution, but he asserted that “struggle” was not the whole story of both biological and social evolutions.

Following this point, Shimizu criticized Marx’s argument about surplus value. He asked those who used “struggle” as the only method to reform society, “Before struggle [between capitalists and laborers], why not to return the surplus value to God?” Then he took the examples of “those who return this surplus value to God”: “the Rockefeller Foundation’s social enterprises, the [Andrew] Carnegie libraries, the photographer entrepreneur [George] Eastman’s contribution to [the] university [of Rochester], and [Albert] Hyde, the founder of Mentholatum, with his contribution to the Ōmi Mission.” In conclusion, he affirmed, “The surplus value shouldn’t go to capitalists, and shouldn’t go to laborers, but [it] should go back to God, the creator of wood [raw materials] and provider of the labor force.”<sup>132</sup> In the end, Shimizu found Protestant morality in an altruistic pathway of evolution for good, which goes side by side with inhumane “struggle” – a bloody, selfish pathway of evolution. In his logic, Protestantism had proved to be a driving force of social evolution.

It was in this framework of evolution, in which Protestant ethic created moral good, that Shimizu could justify Japanese Protestants’ leadership in China’s modernization. As we have seen, he mobilized Japanese Christians to reform Japan into an ideal society through promoting the “greater filial piety” in 1928. He historicized Jesus Christ to “re-Orientalize” Christianity, intending to revive it to a universal religion in 1929. He Japanized this “re-Orientalization” in Nakae Tōju’s Japanese Confucianism in 1930. Eventually, in his messages to both Chinese and

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<sup>131</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shakai-teki Kirisutokyō no teishō,” *Kohan no koe* March 1930: 27-31.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

Japanese Christians after the Manchuria Incident, he expanded this leadership of Japanese Christians in Japan naturally to that in China, because he believed that these two nations were culturally affiliated in a “same race.” In other words, Shimizu thought that Japan was not racially and culturally “foreign” to China, and yet Japan was more “civilized” than China. Based on this, the utmost importance of Japanese Christians in China was to maintain the moral good of Japan’s leadership *in* China against the foreign, Western, white race.

### **Conclusion: Establishing Japanese Protestants’ Morality towards “Shina”**

Through analyzing Shimizu’s interwar writings, this chapter demonstrated that, by 1930, he had already turned reflectively inward from China to Japan in his search for a coherent dual identity as both Japanese and Protestant within and beyond Japan’s formal empire. His motivation turned dramatically from “serving the Chinese to demonstrate his equal ability with Western missionaries” to “maintaining the Japanese nation’s morality in their leadership of China by serving the Chinese.” The base of this resulting evangelical framework was historical thinking: a linear, progressive, evolutionary, and teleological pattern of history, terminating at modernization of the Western kind. In building this, Shimizu’s dichotomic treatment of the “Orient” and the “Occident” in civilizational terms legitimized not only Japan’s leadership in China, but also Japanese Protestant missionaries’ moral value. It also manufactured the irreplaceable duty that Japanese Christians should carry to re-build the real “World” Christianity. This interwar transformation profoundly determined Shimizu’s self-justification in his reaction to the Kwantung Army’s invasion of Manchuria starting in September 1931. In this sense, Shimizu did not go beyond

Anglo-American Protestantism, but he built his own theory upon it. Ironically, however, the May-Fourth China and “new learnings” produced within it not only paved the way for his historical thinking in methodological terms, but they also became an enduring cultural source for constructing his dual identity as both a Japanese national and a Protestant missionary. This dual identity was going to be tested severely during the war in more dramatic ways.

## Chapter Five

### The Making of a Protestant Savior at War, 1938-1940

They call him the saviour of Peiping, Mr. Yasuzo – a modest Japanese Christian, a self-supporting missionary to the dwellers in the slums of the old capital of China. He had lived for 17 years in that city, fathering an orphanage, developing a girls' industrial school, loyal to his own country and also a true friend to the Chinese people. So, when a great crisis came, he was able to go between the two armies as the messenger of peace. Peiping was surrounded by a large Japanese army. The Chinese could not hold the city and they knew it. Rumors went around to the effect that the Chinese army would quietly slip out and rally their forces elsewhere, but that they had determined to destroy many of their famous old buildings and their contents to prevent their falling into the enemies' hands. Mr. Shimizu went to the Chinese headquarters and begged the officers who were known to him personally not to do it; - "If you destroy this ancient and beautiful buildings now, they can never be rebuilt," he said, "and these objects of art are priceless and could not be replaced. Most of all think of the misery which armed attack and resistance would bring upon the innocent citizens. Wait, and I will go to beg the Japanese armies to hold off for a while." The Chinese army leaders agreed to wait. Then Mr. Shimizu made his way to Japanese headquarters and pleaded with them to hold off their attack for a few days and to spare the city. At imminent risk of his life, he made several perilous visits to each camp, and because he was trusted by both sides he succeeded. Quietly the Chinese soldiers withdrew, and quietly the Japanese army occupied the city. The ancient treasures of art and architecture were not destroyed, and, yet more precious, the lives of the people of Peiping were saved from untold sufferings.<sup>1</sup>

So runs this passage entitled "Mr. Yasuzo Shimizu." It was published in *The Outlook of Missions* in November 1939, written for American church readers by Miss Mary E. Gerhard, a female American missionary working in Sendai, Japan.<sup>2</sup> At this point, Japan had occupied Beijing for more than two years, since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident which occurred near the city on July 7, 1937. At the end of that year, the

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<sup>1</sup> Mary E. Gerhard, "Mr. Yasuzo Shimizu," *The Outlook of Missions* 31 no. 10 (1939): 307.

<sup>2</sup> The theme of this November issue is "Have a Hear for China."



Imperial Japanese troops had captured Nanking, then the capital of the Republic of China. Over six weeks starting on December 13, thousands of Chinese women were raped and many thousands of Chinese civilians were slaughtered.<sup>3</sup> These atrocities, labeled as the “Rape of Nanking,” had been broadly reported in newspapers in the English-speaking world, including the United States.<sup>4</sup> Against this background, Miss Gerhard’s paragraph might have brought to its American church readers some hope, letting them recognize that there were also benevolent Japanese individuals in the battlefields in China.<sup>5</sup> However, what she narrated was a canonized version of Shimizu’s wartime activism as portrayed in Japanese wartime propaganda, considering him the “Saint of Beijing” (*Pekin no Seisha* 北京の聖者). This fame was dazzling enough to cross the Pacific during war, yet short-lived. By exploring why and how in this chapter, I argue, Shimizu was a proactive opinion maker and propagator for a God-centered, Protestant, civilizing expansionism in wartime China. Because of this Protestantism, he was neither collaborator nor resistant, but rather he tried to counterbalance Japan’s military aggression on Chinese soil by mobilizing ordinary Japanese and Japanese Americans to contribute to a Japanized Protestant moral benevolence toward Chinese girls and the Chinese poor.

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<sup>3</sup> The death toll of the Nanking Massacre is still a controversial issue. The Chinese government stated formally that the total death toll is exceeded 300,000. For more estimations and debates, see Masahiro Yamamoto, *Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2000), especially statistics compiled in Appendices B to D, 295-306. On history, memory, and historiography about the Nanking Massacre, see Joshua A. Fogel ed., *The Nanking Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> For Americans’ reporting on the killings of Chinese civilians in Nanking, see Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the “Rape of Nanking”: History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), especially chapter 3, “United States: the ‘Rape of Nanking,’” 37-42.

<sup>5</sup> Miss Gerhard informed American church readers about Shimizu’s enterprise in Beijing for the first time in May 1938. See Mary E. Gerhard, “A Labor of Love for Chinese People by Japanese Christians,” *The Outlook of Missions* 30 no. 5 (1938): 142. The editorial of this issue released John R. Mott’s “twelve principles” to “pray for both China and Japan.”

In Shimizu-related scholarship in Japanese, there is an obvious problem, which was a bifurcated interpretation of Shimizu's wartime opinions. Most scholars noted that Shimizu had promoted "the building of East Asia" at war, which strongly matched the rhetoric of Japan's wartime propaganda. However, they understood this as a "turn" of Shimizu's political stance that could only be forced to shape in the war situation in which Japanese Christians were being increasingly purged.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, they provided two polarized interpretations of this "turn." One was to consider Shimizu as a "reactive" activist, while the other was to criticize his "proactive" participation in the wartime propaganda.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter will demonstrate that neither of these understandings is fully accurate. As the previous chapter has examined, Shimizu had already "turned" inwardly to the conceptualization of his "Orientalized Christianity" before 1930. After the Manchurian Incident, he continued to develop the ideas that had preoccupied him during his stay in Japan from the end of 1927 to 1930. In the first two parts of this chapter, I will examine how Shimizu became a "Saint" after 1937 through both his own life-writing practice and war propaganda as well as the mass printing market. With his ideal of building Orientalized Christianity, his wartime writings were collectively autobiographical with the aim of integrating a benevolent morality in Japan's expansion in China, in which Japanese Protestants took the lead. In the third part, I trace Shimizu's trans-Pacific campaign trip for Chinese girls in 1940. As we will see, he used his Protestantism to mobilize Japanese Americans and to persuade white Americans toward his moral ends in China. Next, I will analyze Shimizu's column pieces published in the *Nippu Jiji* 日布時事 in 1940, trying to

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 68-70.

<sup>7</sup> For details, see chapter one.

answer why some of his opinions on the Nanking Massacre had irritated the emperor-centered wartime ultra-nationalism that had prevailed in Japanese communities along the west coast of North America. By ending this chapter with a description on how Shimizu was punished by the Japanese military authority in Beijing after the trip, I will conclude by explaining Shimizu's wartime activism in close relation to the ambiguity of his dual identity as both Japanese and Protestant.

### **Self-Portraying for the Japanese Public at War**

Shimizu's writings on China boomed for the third time after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. From 1938 to 1943, he published six books. Collectively, they constitute what fashioned his image in the public sphere as a savior in Beijing. *The Peoples of China* came out first, in June 1938.<sup>8</sup> It was followed by *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* and *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, published respectively in March and April 1939.<sup>9</sup> The latter soon became a best seller and made Shimizu broadly known among ordinary Japanese people in and out of the empire. In May 1940, a collection of Shimizu's wartime speeches was published. Entitled *The Spirit of Pioneers*, this anthology brought his trans-Pacific activism to a peak.<sup>10</sup> After that, he published in 1941 and 1943 another two books, called *The Heart of China* and

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<sup>8</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina no hitobito* 支那の人々 [The peoples of China] (Tokyo: Rinyūsha, 1938).

<sup>9</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Kūnyang no fubo: Sūtei rōmansu* 姑娘の父母：崇貞ロマンス [Father and mother of Chinese girls: romance of Sūtei] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1939); and *Chōyōmongai* 朝陽門外 [Outside the Chaoyang Gate] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1939).

<sup>10</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Kaitakusha no seishin* 開拓者の精神 [The spirit of pioneers] (Tokyo: Rinyūsha, 1940).

*Grasp the Chinese Soul*.<sup>11</sup> Both continued his discussion about the “characteristics of the Chinese” he had begun in *The Peoples of China*.

The previous chapter demonstrated that Shimizu’s writings transformed from being “journalistic” in the early 1920s to being “historic” in the late 1920s. In the first group of journalistic writings, he reported on contemporary Chinese and China-related issues and presented himself as a third-person commentator. In the second group of historic writings, he focused more on interpreting contemporary China through the lens of the history of ideas, and thus turned to perform as a historian seeking Christianity’s roots in Japan. In the third group – his wartime writings, Shimizu went on further to be a first-person storyteller. To establish a moral model for Japanese civilians, he presented not only his own missionary experience in China as a Japanese savior of Chinese girls, but also his paternalistic judgements on the so-called “national characteristics” (*kokuminsei* 国民性) of the Chinese. All these writings, being categorized as either autobiography or *taikendan* (体験談, description of, or opinion about, one’s experiences) about China, were the kind of life-writing that aims not only to influence the public by narrating one’s own private life, but also to establish the narrator’s subjectivity through achieving that public influence.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, Shimizu’s wartime writings stood out from all he created during the interwar years: he became an autobiographer, portraying a selfhood before both the Japanese public and his Christian God.

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<sup>11</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina no kokoro: zoku Shina no hitobito* 支那の心：続支那の人々 [The heart of China: a sequel of The Peoples of China] (Tokyo: Rinyūsha, 1941); and *Shinajin no tamashii o tsukamu* 支那人の魂を掴む [Grasp the Chinese soul] (Tokyo: Sōzōsha, 1943).

<sup>12</sup> For the need to pay more attention to non-Western auto/biographical texts from the perspective intersecting Postcolonial and Auto-biographical Studies, see Bar Moore-Gilbert, “Introduction” in *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics, and Self-Representation* (London: Routledge, 2009), xi-xxvi.

*The Peoples of China* (1938): “Upgrade Chinese Civilization”



*The Peoples of China* (1938)

The three books that Shimizu published in 1938 and 1939 are rich sources on the characteristics of his wartime writings. *The Peoples of China* was the first. At first glance, it is a collection of short passages which were not composed with a focused theme, or even for a specific audience. The shortest section consists of only one paragraph. As Shimizu said, many of these scattered pieces were produced through journal writing. He wrote on the road, when he “went for a comforting trip to the battlefield where the Imperial Army settled,” or when he “stayed overnight in an American missionary’s house.”<sup>13</sup>

However, with his Orientalized Christianity in mind, we can certainly find a coherent logic in these scattered opinions, ranging from seemingly trivial topics like “[The Chinese] Like Eating Sugar” to those grand issues like “The Integration of Oriental and Occidental Cultures.” The central argument in this logic is: the Japanese nation should lead Han Chinese in developing the “next civilization” (*tsugi no bunmei* 次の文明), namely a “new Oriental culture.” According to him, this new culture was supposed to be more advanced than Anglo-Saxon civilization, although he acknowledged that the latter was on the top of the hierarchy of nations and races around the globe at the time.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Jijo” 自序 [author’s preface], in *Shina no hitobito*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 205-206.

Shimizu considered Chinese civilization to be durable though stagnant, not systematically progressive. In one short piece, he made an interesting pair of metaphors in describing why it had been so long-lived. He asserted that Chinese civilization had not run itself like a clock because “a clock would not work even if a single gear was broken;” rather, it was like an earthworm – “after being cut into two parts, both could still live as before.”<sup>15</sup> Moreover, he believed that most Chinese people were not modernized enough to recognize their “national belonging.” He said, “On the day Nanjing became occupied, Chinese youths [in Beijing] were still skating on the lake of Beihai Park.” “There, looking at them, I thought, Chinese were still a people ‘under the heaven’ (*tianxia* 天下, “world” in ancient Chinese ideas). The word ‘Shina [China]’ is nothing else but a synonym of [this] ‘world’ [without nation].”<sup>16</sup> Most strikingly, he generalized the facial features of the Chinese people to be the representation of Chinese culture, in order to address that Chinese civilization had once been advanced but stagnated at its “young age.” In the piece called “Chinese are Civilized People,” he wrote his observation that Chinese adults looked uncivilized, and yet Chinese teenagers looked very “civilized” and smart. He believed that this is a “systematic issue” because the Chinese facial features represent Chinese civilization, which was splendid during the Sui, Tang, and Song dynasties.<sup>17</sup> Thus, he further explained, the faces of Chinese crystalized during their adolescence, instead of

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>17</sup> How to periodize Chinese (or Oriental) history was a central issue in the modern transformation of the discipline of history in both China and Japan. See, for example, Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Joshua Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naito Konan, 1866-1934* (New York: Columbia University, 1980); and Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*.

developing toward adulthood like white Westerners and, indeed, the modernized Japanese.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, Shimizu believed that the “spirit” of Chinese civilization was not alive in China but in Japan. He stated that the essence of Confucianism had been preserved in Japanese culture, and yet the “shell” of it, such as some inflexible rituals, has been inherited in Chinese culture.<sup>19</sup> With this logic, unsurprisingly, he trusted that the Japanese nation was able to absorb the essences of both Chinese and Western culture.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, he believed firmly that the Japanese nation could lead the Han Chinese in upgrading/modernizing its culture that had once been splendid during the dynasties of the ancient and middle ages. To strengthen this point, he referred to the French Sinologist Henri Maspero’s 马伯乐 (1883-1945) interpretation of Chinese culture. Shimizu said, Maspero had demonstrated that the Han Chinese proper had been conquered constantly by non-Han peoples throughout history, while the non-Han Chinese rulers had always been culturally conquered by Han-Chinese culture.<sup>21</sup> Upon inheriting the spirit of Han-Chinese culture, Shimizu believed that the Japanese nation could take the civilizational torch from Mongolians and Manchurians to absorb and upgrade Chinese culture. In this way, Shimizu expressed in readable short essays to Japanese readers his opinions on the leadership of the Japanese nation in developing the stagnant Chinese civilization.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-44.

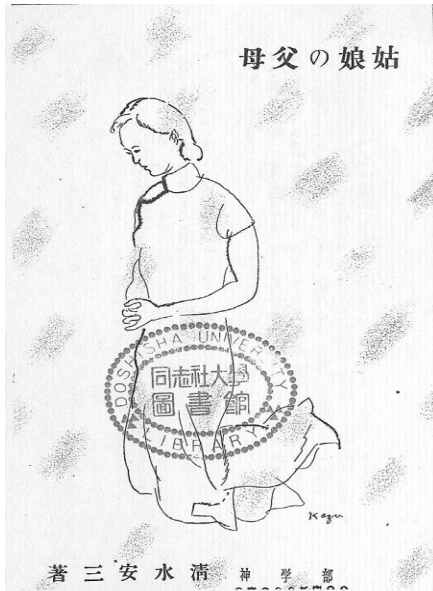
<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201. For Maspero’s scholarship, see *China in Antiquity* and his *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, both translated by Frank A. Kierman Jr. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978; 1981).

<sup>22</sup> To make a metaphor of “History” with a human being’s biological development was broadly used in the civilizational and racist hierarchical discourses, such as Hegel’s thesis on Asian civilization as the historic beginning of “the History of the World.” See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, translated by J. Sebree (New York: Colonial Press, revised edition, 1900), 103-110.

*Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* (1939): “Love Your Enemies”



*Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* (1939)

Next, Shimizu published another two books, which developed his ideas further, not in the way of scholarly argumentation, but through telling stories. First, *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* turned readers’ attention from judgements on and generalizations about Chinese culture to the miserable lives of Chinese girls. The book collected nine “stories” that were, according to Shimizu, “real stories” that combined “the experiences of girls whom I teach.”<sup>23</sup> Readers could hardly know to what extent these stories were factual, then and now. However, Shimizu told readers, “Those [in *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls*] are the kind [of stories] of which I can write many, because I heard more and more of such tales [in China].”<sup>24</sup>

That said, in telling how Chinese girls had been saved or civilized, Shimizu had consciously blurred the boundary of story and facts. The effect of such a treatment was that the first-person narrator “I” had been mythologized to a limited degree and thus pointed not only to Shimizu himself but also to a generalized male Japanese savior of Chinese girls. More importantly, this “savior” had been presented as one who followed God’s principle through his love for his enemies. Before telling the

<sup>23</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Jijo” 自序 [author’s preface], in *Kunyang no fubo*, 6. See also the book review of it written by Dofu Shirai, published in *Contemporary Japan: A Review of Far Eastern Affairs* 8 no. 4 (June 1939): 537-538.

<sup>24</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Jijo” 自序 [author’s preface], in *Chōyōmongai*, 2.



stories, Shimizu added in the beginning of the book citing passage from the Gospel according to Luke:

Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you. Give to everyone that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? For even sinners love those that love them. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? But love your enemies, and do *them* good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, [...]: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil. Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful.<sup>25</sup> (Luke 6:27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36.)

In this way, Shimizu empathetically overlapped the narrator “I” – “father of Chinese girls” in the stories – with God the Father, and thus fulfilled his missionary task by spreading the gospel of “love for [Chinese] enemies” to Japanese readers.

Notably, a 30-page essay written by Shimizu’s wife was published as an appendix to this book.<sup>26</sup> Ikuko stated that, one day after dinner, “he [Shimizu] came to me and had me write in one night about 40 to 50 pages on the topic ‘Shimizu Yasuzō in my eyes.’” She felt awkward and said, “you can write anything about a dead person, but not about a living one.” Shimizu replied, “I wrote about 100 pages about you last night,” and stubbornly insisted on having Ikuko write down something about him.<sup>27</sup> This episode indicates that Shimizu was consciously purposeful in building his own missionary image before the Japanese common readers.

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<sup>25</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Kunyang no fubo*, 2. Omissions were made in Shimizu’s quotations of the Gospel of Luke. They are “even sinners lend to sinners, to receive again as much” of Luke 6: 34, as well as “and ye shall be sons of the Most High” in Luke 6:35. The Taisho Revised Version of Bible (*Taishō Kaiyaku Seisho* 大正改訳聖書, 1917) had been widely used until the end of the 1940s, which was based on the English Revised Version of Holy Bible. Therefore, Bible quotations in this chapter are taken from the Revised Version (unless otherwise noted), *The Holy Bible* (1901 American Standard Version, printed in 1929, by International Council of Religious Education).

<sup>26</sup> Shimizu Ikuko, “Shimizu Yasuzō ron” 清水安三論 [About Shimizu Yasuzō], in *Kunyang no fubo*, 324-354.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-325.

Outside the Chaoyang Gate (1939)



*Outside the Chaoyang Gate* (1939)

Soon, Shimizu even felt a need to write about himself, which became his best-selling book, *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, published one month after *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls*. The book begins with one passage about Shimizu's dialogue with his Christian friend, the bookstore owner Uchiyama Kanzō, about the war in Shanghai. After several articles describing how he and his wife Ikuko had tried hard to avoid the war in 1936 by talking respectively with Hu Shi and Soong Mei-ling, he went on to tell what had happened on July 7 and what he had experienced thereafter in Beijing. After this 40-page section, Shimizu devoted next 170 pages developing a narrative of his own work, titled "The Story of Sūtei."<sup>28</sup> Then he described from his perspective the lives of his two wives Miho and Ikuko, titled respectively "A Living Sacrifice" and "The Right Person," in about 150 pages.<sup>29</sup>

In the form of first-person narratives, this book added factual details to the Japanese "savior" that Shimizu had represented in *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls*. In the author's preface, he said, his experiences presented in *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* were "the only" facts, comparing to the tales of the Chinese girls.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Sūtei Monogatari: Shimizu Yasuzō jiden" 崇貞物語：清水安三自傳 [The story of Sūtei: autobiography of Shimizu Yasuzō], *Chōyōmongai*, 43-214.

<sup>29</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Ikeru kyōbutsu: Shimizu Miho no shōgai" 活ける供物：清水美穂の生涯 [The living sacrifice: Shimizu Miho's life], and "Fusawashiki mono: Koizumi Ikuko no hansei" 相応しき者：小泉郁子の半生 [The right person: half of Koizumi Ikuko's life], in *Chōyōmongai*, 215-292; 293-367.

<sup>30</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Jijo," *Chōyōmongai*, 2.

He even metaphorized this book as the body of a girl, and the previous book as her hair. Then, he stated further, to help build the school in Beijing, he would like to sell both the “hair” and the precious “body.” This statement created an ironical tension in Shimizu’s telling of his own missionary story: the metaphorical girl’s body – Shimizu’s autobiographical representation of himself (and his two wives) – was to be sacrificed for surviving and developing the physical body of a small school in Beijing, established originally for saving Chinese girls’ “body” – their chastity. In this way, Shimizu feminized himself metaphorically through self-narrations in order to attract readers and spread gospel.

At the beginning of his own memoir, Shimizu presented how he had taken God’s calling to spread the gospel by using words from *Ephesians*: “Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery which for ages hath been hid in God who created all things” (Ephesians 3:8-9). Then, he used words from chapter two of *Ephesians* to claim his purpose:

... [For he...] break down the middle wall of partition, [...]; that he might create in himself of the two one new man, *so* making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby; and he came and preached peace to you that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh.<sup>31</sup> (Ephesians 2:15-17).

For Shimizu, his missionary enterprise of saving Chinese girls exemplified how Christians and non-Christians could be reconciled in one body, through which the Japanese and Chinese could “end their hostility,” like how the Jews and Gentiles had

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<sup>31</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 44. Shimizu omitted “having abolished in his flesh the enmity, *even* the law of commandments *contained* in ordinances” from his quotation of Ephesians 2:15.

been reconciled in one body to God through Paul's gospel. Shimizu established in this way his closeness with Paul. He ended his memoir by preaching that "without a doubt, I shall become soil outside the Chaoyang Gate. In and out of Chaoyang [Gate], my grave there will be, that is the home of my spirit. Oh God, give me [home] there, outside the Chaoyang Gate. Amen."<sup>32</sup> Unsurprisingly, Japanese readers were touched deeply by imagining that his body would one day be a sacrifice to God. Later, some even called him "Christ in the East."<sup>33</sup>

### **The Making of the "Saint of Beijing": War Propaganda and Mass Printing**

The contents of these three books made sense of why Shimizu had been noted and used by the wartime government and how he thus had been involved deeply and proactively in the making of himself to be a "Saint" after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. In mass media, such as *Yomiuri Shimbun* or *Asahi Shimbun*, Shimizu was not called a "Saint" until November 1938, but he had already been recognized as the "benevolent father of the Chinese plebeian" after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. In November 1937, two short pieces published in the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* mentioned Shimizu. One, titled "Benevolent Father of the Chinese Plebian," reported on his Chinese enterprise, and the other mentioned his coordinating work in establishing medical services in north China.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 213-214.

<sup>33</sup> "Pekin no Seisha Shimizu Yasuzō shi no denki eiyaku sekai ni shōkai, Shina nanmin o sukutte nijūnen, seigi Nihon no kō tenkei" 北京の聖者清水安三氏の伝記英訳世界に紹介、支那難民を救って廿年、正義日本の好典型 [Introducing to the world the Saint of Beijing by translating his biography, saving Chinese victims for twenty years, a good representative for justice of Japan], *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Evening Edition, second) February 22: 2.

<sup>34</sup> "Shina hinmin no jifu" 支那貧民の慈父 [benevolent father of Chinese plebeians], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (Morning Edition) November 21, 1937: 11; and "Hokushi e 'kyōmin no tomo' Wakita hakase no toushi kyūgohan" 北支へ'窮民の友'脇田博士の篤志救護班 [The 'friend of poor people' Dr. Wakita's team of philanthropic medical service departed for north China], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (Morning Edition) November 28, 1937: 10. For one study on Christian medical team dispatched to

During the first half of 1938, Chinese female students of Sūtei Gakuen gained positive attention in Japan as “the first group of [Chinese] students coming to Japan after the [Marco Polo Bridge] Incident.”<sup>35</sup> Therefore, Shimizu’s experience became also an attractive source for war propagandists and all kinds of sympathetic Japanese writers – in particular, females. For example, the female novelist Yoshiya Nobuko 吉屋信子 (1896-1973) contributed an essay about Shimizu in May 1938.<sup>36</sup> She was selected as one of 22 members of the “Pen Corps” (*Pen Butai* ペン部隊) and was dispatched to China in 1937.<sup>37</sup> Concentrating on women’s lives in China during war, she paid unsurprising attention to Shimizu and his school for Chinese girls.

Pieces like this made Shimizu increasingly known to readers of commercial magazines and newspapers. On June 9, 1938 in the *Asahi Shimbun*, Iwasaki Akira 岩崎昶 (1903-1981), a prominent left-wing film critic and producer, criticized the wartime genre of “continental films” produced in Japan. He suggested Japanese producers “take Shimizu Yasuzō’s story” as a source for film because “this real story is much better than promoting the clichéd ‘peace of the Orient.’”<sup>38</sup> The next day, on June 10, Shimizu’s *The Peoples of China* was published by *Rinyūsha*. Advertisements

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China during the war, see Harada Katsuhiro 原田勝広, “Shimura Usaburō kenkyū: Chūgoku nanmin o shien shita ‘NGO no paionia’” 志村卯三郎研究: 中国人難民を支援した「NGO のパイオニア」 [A Study of Shimura Usaburo: NGO Pioneer and Supporter of Chinese Refugees], *Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kyōyō Kyōiku Centā Kiyō* 明治学院大学教養教育センター紀要 [The MGU Journal of Liberal Arts Studies] 12 no. 1 (2018): 75-112.

<sup>35</sup> For one example, see “Reimei no shi josei: Pekin kara jihen go hajime no ryūgakusei” 黎明の4女性: 北京から事変後初の留学生 [Four enlightened females: the first team of Chinese students arrived Japan from Beijing after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (Morning Edition) January 16, 1938: 11.

<sup>36</sup> Yoshiya Nobuko 吉屋信子, “Pekin no Shimizu Yasuzō-shi” 北京の清水安三氏 [Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō in Beijing], *Kagaku Pen* 科学ペン [Scientific pen] 3 no.5 (1938).

<sup>37</sup> Yoshiya Nobuko, *Senka no hokushi Shankai o iku* 戦禍の北支上海を行く [My journey to war zones in north China and Shanghai] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1937).

<sup>38</sup> Iwasaki Akira, “Tairiku Eiga” 大陸映画 [Continental Films], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition] June 9, 1938: 7.

for this book appeared for the first time in the *Asahi Shimbun* on June 16 and in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* on June 25.<sup>39</sup>

In the meantime, Shimizu's negotiating work between Japanese and Chinese forces in July 1937 drew attention to the local Japanese authority in Beijing. On July 9, 1938, *Asahi Shimbun* published the contents of a roundtable meeting of a small group of Japanese governors and civilian leaders living in Beijing, recalling for a Japanese audience how military conflicts had been avoided in Beijing in July 1937.<sup>40</sup> In this piece, Takeda Hiroshi 武田熙 (1900-?) of the Department of Special Affairs in military authority in Beijing mentioned that Shimizu was one "religionist" among other scholars, activists, and reporters who had cooperated with the government to achieve this task.

Shimizu recorded in *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* that he played an important mediatory role in the negotiation.<sup>41</sup> He remembered that, one day around mid-July, Takeda Hiroshi visited him to discuss how to avoid military conflicts between the two armies within the old city.<sup>42</sup> Takeda told Shimizu that one colonel in Japan's military authority of The China Garrison Army (*Shina Chutongun* 支那駐屯軍, June 1, 1901-August 26, 1937) "did not want to make Beiping, the old capital, a battlefield."<sup>43</sup> They hoped that the Chinese army could withdraw from the city and move the battlefield southward. One method that Japanese military officers considered was to mobilize influential Chinese figures to bring a formal advice to Song Zheyuan 宋哲

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<sup>39</sup> See advertisements in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition] June 11, 1938: 1; and *Yomiuri Shimbun* [Morning Edition] June 25, 1938: 2.

<sup>40</sup> "Pekin rōjō zadankai" 北京籠城座談会 [Symposium on the Siege of Beijing], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Evening Edition] July 9, 1938: 3.

<sup>41</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 27-31.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

元 (1885-1940), the commander of the 29th Route Army of the Republic of China. Perhaps aware of Shimizu's social networks in Beijing, they invited him to persuade the Chinese to do so.

Shimizu agreed and immediately developed his mobilization work. He did not record who he visited, but it has been said that he had composed a petition letter and collected many signatures. Eventually, Shimizu found a special relation through the American YMCA missionary William Bacon Pettus (1880-1959), the Principal of the North China Union Language School in Beijing, because Pettus' wife was born in an American missionary family in Japan.<sup>44</sup> Pettus introduced Shimizu to the Chinese Pastor Liu Fang 刘芳, the person who had baptized Song Zheyuan as a Protestant.<sup>45</sup> On July 28, 1937, Shimizu wrote in *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, he went to visit Pastor Liu. At his house, Shimizu made a telephone call to Song directly, recommending that he save the civilians and not to make the city a battlefield.<sup>46</sup>

By July 1938, when the roundtable meeting about the negotiations in Beijing after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident had been published in the *Asahi Shimbun*, Shimizu had already become widely recognized by both civilians in Japan and the diplomatic authority in Tokyo. In the spring of 1938, Shimizu's "old friend," the female writer and translator Matsumoto Keiko 松本恵子 (1891-1976) went to Beijing and interviewed him about the school and Miho, Shimizu's first wife.<sup>47</sup> Then, in the summer, the playwright Kamiizumi Hedenobu 上泉秀信 (1897-1951) went to Beijing with the aim of composing Shimizu's biography. Though not a writer of the

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<sup>44</sup> Pettus and the North China Union Language School will be discussed in detail in chapter seven.

<sup>45</sup> Liu Fang was a Methodist pastor served at Chongwen Church 崇文门教会. He also baptized Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥 (1882-1948), a Protestant warlord leader known as "Christian General."

<sup>46</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 31.

<sup>47</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Jijo," *Chōyōmongai*, 1.

propagandist Pen Corps, Kamiizumi was politically active, and his book project about Shimizu was assigned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan.<sup>48</sup> After completing his biography, Kamiizumi soon became the vice director of the cultural department of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei Yokusankai* 大政翼賛会, 1940-1945), a wartime umbrella organization aimed at integrating all civilian, social, cultural, and political associations under imperial authority.<sup>49</sup> On December 22, 1938, *Yomiuri Shimbun* began to report on Shimizu by calling him “Saint at the Foot of Forbidden City.”<sup>50</sup>



**Shimizu Yasuzō and Biographers at the Central Park in Beijing (1938)**

Left to right: Ikeda Arata (YMCA), Matsumoto Keiko (biographer of Shimizu Miho), Shimizu Yasuzō, Shimizu Ikuko, Kamiizumi Hidenobu (biographer of Shimizu Yasuzō), Shirabe Masaji (Baptist missionary).

Collected by the Ikeda Family (See *Ikeda Arata and Michiko nenpu.*)

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* Also see, Ōta Masao 太田雅夫, “Shimizu Yasuzō to Sawazaki Kenzō” 清水安三と沢崎堅造 [Shimizu Yasuzō to Sawazaki Kenzō], *Asahi Jānaru* 朝日ジャーナル [Asahi Journal] 14 no. 26 (1972): 95.

<sup>49</sup> “Taisei Yokusankai yashokuin meibō” 大政翼賛会役職員名簿 [Name list of personnel of Imperial Rule Assistance Association], June 13, 1941; MS no. A-5-0-0-4\_001, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B02031301000. For more about Kamiizumi, see Nakayama Masahiro 中山雅弘, *Nōmin sakka Kamiizumi Hidenobu no shōgai* 農民作家上泉秀信の生涯 [Life of the peasant writer Kamiizumi Hidenobu] (Aizuwakamatsu: Rekishi Shunjūsha, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> “Shikinjō ka no seisha, Shimizu Yasuzō sensei” 紫禁城下の聖者清水安三先生 [Saint at the foot of Forbidden City, Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Evening Edition] December 22, 1938: 2.



Shimizu knew clearly that he was being used as a tool for the wartime propaganda. In the preface of *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, he wrote, “I was quite confused when the playwright Kamiizumi Hedenobu came to me to tell so easily that he was going to publish my biography in English as assigned by the intelligence agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” He continued by saying, “it is for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be a mannequin for the policy of state.”<sup>51</sup> However, knowing that he could not influence what the state would do, Shimizu expressed his regret only lightly. He also recognized that such state-sponsored broadcasting would bring him great fame and so he considered it to be not necessarily bad. “Nonetheless,” he said, “it is not the time for Sūtei Gakuen to pursue an empty reputation [with nothing concrete],” and thus he contributed his own writing about himself. In this sense, the publication of *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* intended to proclaim Shimizu’s own voice, showing his personal stance in response to state propaganda.

Shimizu’s reputation as a “Saint” thus came to be made by both the war propaganda and his own reaction to it. With the publications of both his biography and his own autobiographical writings, his fame rose rapidly in Japan from February to May in 1939. On February 22, 1939, both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* reported that the biography of “The Saint of Beijing” had been completed by Kamiizumi and had been published in both Japanese and English.<sup>52</sup> On March 20, one month later, Shimizu’s *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* was published by *Rinyūsha*, a Christian

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<sup>51</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Jijo,” *Chōyōmongai*, 1.

<sup>52</sup> “Pekin no Seisha den naru, kaigai e Shimizu shi o senyō” 「北京の聖者傳」成る海外へ清水氏を宣揚 [The biography of ‘Saint of Peking’ completed, propagating Shimizu abroad], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Evening Edition] February 22, 1939: 2. And, “Pekin no Seisha Shimizu Yasuzō shi no denki eiyaku sekai ni shōkai,” *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Evening Edition, second) February 22, 1939: 2.

publishing house. On April 20, another month later, *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* was published by the *Asahi Shinbunsha*, the *Asahi* newspaper's publisher. As shown in advertisements published in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Shimizu's *The Peoples of China* was also reprinted in April of that year.<sup>53</sup> On May 9, then, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to purchase 100 copies of Shimizu's *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* in order to distribute them to Japanese schools, embassies and consulates in Manchukuo and China to help "Manchurians and Chinese learn Japanese" and about the "Japanese-Chinese friendship."<sup>54</sup> By May 26, his book *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* had gone through its thirtieth reprint.<sup>55</sup>

Based on these written narratives, a troupe named Tōei-za 燈影座 produced a three-act play and had it ready for the stage at the end of May 1939.<sup>56</sup> This troupe was affiliated to the *Ittōen* society 一燈園 (The Community of One Lamp, or Garden of Light), an intentional utopian community located in southeast Kyoto under the spiritual leadership of Nishida Tenkō 西田天香 (1872-1968), who tried to combine

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<sup>53</sup> *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition, Advertisement] April 2, 1939: 1.

<sup>54</sup> "Shimizu Yasuzō cho *Kunyan no Fubo* kōsō no ken" 清水安三著 姑娘ノ父母購送ノ件 [Purchasing and sending *Daughter's Parents* by Shimizu Yasuzo], May 1939; MS no. H-6-2-0-26\_022, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05016052900.

<sup>55</sup> *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition, Advertisement] May 26, 1939: 1.

<sup>56</sup> "Chōyōmongai gekika" 「朝陽門外」劇化 [Outside the Chaoyang Gate ready for the stage], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Evening Edition] May 21, 1939: 3. Tōei-za was established on May 31, 1931 with its original name Suwaraji Gekidan すわらじ劇団 [Swarāj Troupe]. By taking the Indian term Swarāj, which means "self-rule" with its Sanskrit origin, meaning "self-luminous," the founder Nishida Tenkō wished for world peace by promoting religious and utopian self-governance. It has been recorded that the Troupe renamed to Tōei-za in June 1939. But as published in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, the troupe already called itself Tōei-za in the end of May 1939. Now, the troupe renamed back to Swarāj Troupe and still active on stage. About the Swarāj Troupe, see <https://www.swaraj.com/contents/category/suwarajigekien/> (Japanese only, accessed September 16, 2019). For the record of its wartime change of name, see Kokuritsu Gekijō Kindai Kabuki Nenkyō Henzanshitsu 国立劇場近代歌舞伎年表編纂室 ed., *Kindai Kabuki Nenhyō: Kyoto hen, daijukan* 近代歌舞伎年表: 京都篇, 第十卷 [Chronological table of modern Kabuki: Kyoto, Volume 10] (Tokyo: Yakishoten, 2004), 390-391.

Buddhism and Christianity spiritually.<sup>57</sup> Shimizu knew Nishida personally: as in *Outside the Chaoyang Gate*, he mentioned that he had accompanied Nishida and his wife in their journey visiting Manchuria and north China in the summer of 1938.<sup>58</sup> Under the name “Outside the Chaoyang Gate,” the Tōei Troupe staged the play on May 22 and 23, 1939 in the Hall of Soldiers in Tokyo.<sup>59</sup> The troupe then traveled around Okazawa, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kyoto and performed the play seven times from the end of May to the end of June.<sup>60</sup>

During the time of these theater performances, a 31-page biographical reader about Shimizu was published on June 20, 1939. It was entitled “Beijing, The First Half of Shimizu Yasuzō’s Life: Pioneer in the Continent, Father and Mother of Chinese Girls.”<sup>61</sup> In succession, *Asahi Shimbun* advertised on July 8 that Shimizu’s *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* had just gone through its fortieth reprint and had “received great popularity.”<sup>62</sup> In August, this bestseller was listed as one of the six books in the category of “history and biography” in the yearly published *Bibliography of Recommended Books*, which was compiled by The Greater Japan Federation of Youth Groups under the wartime Minister of Education.<sup>63</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>57</sup> For the study of Ittōen in English, see Winston Davis, “Ittōen: The Work Ethic of a Buddhist Utopia,” chapter 6 in his book *Japanese Religion and Society: Paradigms of Structure and Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 189-225. For the current condition of Ittōen, see the Ittōen official site: <https://www.ittoen.or.jp/english/> (accessed September 16, 2019). See also Whalen Lai and Michael von Brück, *Christianity and Buddhism: A Multicultural History of Their Dialogue*, translated by Phyllis Jestice (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001), 118.

<sup>58</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Chōyōmongai*, 312.

<sup>59</sup> “*Chōyōmongai* gekika,” *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Evening Edition] May 21, 1939: 3.

<sup>60</sup> Advertisement of *Chōyōmongai* published in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition, Advertisement] May 26, 1939: 1.

<sup>61</sup> Ōno Keiichi 大野圭一, *Pekin, Shimizu Yasuzō no hansei: tairiku no senkaku, kunyan no fubo* 北京＝清水安三の半生：大陸の先覚，姑娘の父母 [Beijing, the first half of Shimizu Yasuzō’s life: pioneer in the continent, father and mother of Chinese girls] (Tokyo: Tairiku Shoin, 1939).

<sup>62</sup> *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Morning Edition, Advertisement] July 8, 1939: 1.

<sup>63</sup> Dai Nippon Seinendan 大日本青年団 ed., *Suisen tosho mokuroku* 推薦図書目録 [Bibliography of Recommended Books], 20 (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Seinendan, 1939), Table of Content, 2.

when Miss Gerhard told American Protestants about Shimizu in November 1939, he had already been “canonized” in Japan through mass readership and the secondary education system as a remarkable symbol of moral benevolence to justify Japan’s war with China.

The intentions of state propaganda, mass media, and Shimizu himself overlapped in the promotion of the “Orientalized” Christian morality. In the 31-page biographical reader, the author Ōno Keiichi stated that Shimizu was “not merely a converted Christian or missionary” but “inclined to believe that Christianity should be the Orientals’ Christianity.”<sup>64</sup> He emphasized that Shimizu thought “it is necessary to consider from an Oriental’s perspective that Jesus Christ was initially an Oriental.” In another case, according to the recommenders who compiled the *Bibliography of Recommended Books*, Shimizu was a Christian “who does not resemble a Christian” because he said about an “Orientalized Christianity.”<sup>65</sup> And thus, in their opinion, Shimizu was precisely “the kind of person who was needed to undertake the great enterprise of upholding Asia.”

Because of this particular feature, Shimizu’s wartime writings stood out among publications about Japanese Protestants’ China missions which had also increased in the printing market after the outbreak of the war. Most of these works were full of hard data investigating the social and historical aspects of Christianity in China.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ōno Keiichi, *Pekin, Shimizu Yasuzō no hansei*, 3

<sup>65</sup> Dai Nippon Seinendan ed., *Suisen tosho mokuroku*, 17.

<sup>66</sup> For example, see Hiyane Antei 比屋根安定, *Shina Kirisutokyō shi* 支那基督教史 [History of Chinese Christianity] (Tokyo, Seikatsusha, 1940). About historical studies on Chinese Christianity during wartime, refer to Watanabe Yūko 渡辺裕子, “Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku Kirisutokyōshi kenkyū ni tsuite: Ni-Chū Sensō ki o chūshin ni” 日本における中国キリスト教史研究について：日中戦争期を中心に [Japanese Studies on Christian History in China: during the Sino-Japanese War], *Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyō Kenkyūsho Kiyō* 明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要 [The Bulletin of Institute for Christian Studies, Meiji Gakuin University] 47 (2015): 307-325.

Among a lesser number of individual missionary accounts, a well-known book was the travelogue written by the Free Methodist Tsuchiyama Tetsuji 土山鐵次 (1885-1946) about his missionary trips in China.<sup>67</sup> It also had a shortened English version, which was published in 1938 in the US, describing Tsuchiyama's first trip to China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.<sup>68</sup> The Japanese version, however, was published in March 1939 with more details and additional information about his second and third trips to China, and was reprinted in Japan four times from then to September 1939.<sup>69</sup> This book was also filled with soft, touching stories about wartime friendship between Chinese Christians and Japanese and American Free Methodist missionaries. However, it concentrated much more on the importance of Christian prayers and of the mutually supported Christian fellowship in building peace between the two countries. In this sense, the social influence of Shimizu's autobiographical writings went far beyond the Christian communities precisely because they, together with the wartime state propagandists, established the image of a Japanese savior who would be the moral leader to not only save but also civilize the Chinese nation.

### **Trans-Pacific Campaign for Chinese Girls in Japan's Diasporic Empire**

Shimizu was not satisfied to be marked as a "Saint." He was an active missionary, and thus forever on the road. "On January 1 of the 2600th year," Shimizu

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<sup>67</sup> Tsuchiyama Tetsuji, *Urami o kobotsu namida no akushu: jihenka tairiku imon dendōki* 怨を毀つ涙の握手: 事變下大陸慰問傳道記 [Victory of the Cross, or an Account of My Trip in China] (Ninon Jiyū Mesojisuto Kyōkai Shuppanbu, fifth edition, 1940).

<sup>68</sup> Tetsuji Tsuchiyama, *Victory of the Cross, or an Account of My Trip in China* (Winona Lanke, Indiana: Light and Life Press, 1938).

<sup>69</sup> Yamaguchi Yōichi 山口陽一, "Ajia Taiheyō Sensō ka no Chūgoku dendō: *Urami o kobotsu namida no akushu to sono jidai*" アジア太平洋戦争下の中国伝道: 『怨を毀つ涙の握手』とその時代 [China missions during the Asian Pacific War: about *Victory of the Cross* and the wartime], *Fukuin Shugi Shingaku* 福音主義神学 [Theology of Evangelicalism] 38 no. 2 (2007): 32-33.

wrote down the date by using the Japanese imperial year uncommonly to end his preface, titled “on the Pacific,” for the publication of *The Spirit of Pioneers*.<sup>70</sup> He was on board the Japanese liner *Tatsuta Maru*.<sup>71</sup> He said in the preface that he disliked being called either “Saint,” like Jephthah and David of the *Old Testament*, or “Sage” like Nakae Tōju.<sup>72</sup> He desired to be an apostle, like Pearl Buck’s missionary father in China, as he said: “The most appropriate, and my favorite title” was “Fighting Angel,” which was “how Pearl Buck entitled one of her novels with her father as the model.”<sup>73</sup> With strong determination, he wanted to inspire his readers with hope on that New Year’s Day of 1940. His destination was Honolulu, Hawaii, which was the first stop beyond Japan’s formal empire in his trans-Pacific campaign for his schoolgirls in Beijing.

Shimizu left Beijing on October 5, 1939.<sup>74</sup> Similar to when he established his school in Beijing, he wrote that he just knew it was the right time to act, so he set out without a fully-planned schedule.<sup>75</sup> He went from Beijing to Nanjing and Shanghai, and travelled around eight cities and towns in Taiwan, then headed back to Japan.<sup>76</sup> Before his arrival in Honolulu, Shimizu had given more than eighty speeches in Japan to different audiences in November and December 1939. When he arrived at Honolulu on January 5th, 1940, Shimizu’s plan was to “go through North America from the Hawaiian islands to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and other Pacific

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<sup>70</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shogen” 緒言 [author’s preface], in *Kaitakusha no seishin*, 3.

<sup>71</sup> “Shimizu ‘Seisen mokuteki tassei no tame futaiten no yūmōshin hitsuyō’” 清水「聖戦目的達成の為め不退転の勇猛心必要」 [Shimizu said, to achieve victory of the holy war, we need a brave heart], *Hawai Hōchi* ハワイ報知, January 5, 1940: 3.

<sup>72</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shogen,” in *Kaitakusha no seishin*, 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. Pearl Buck, *Fighting Angel: Portrait of A Soul* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936).

<sup>74</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu*, 29. This first edition was published in 1948.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-33.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30. According to the *Nippu Jiji*, Shimizu also went to Manchukuo. See *Nippu Jiji*, January 6, 1940: English page 1.

coast cities, as well as Eastern cities including New York, then return to Japan, and go to Beijing in the end.”<sup>77</sup> This plan changed along the way, as reflected by messages and reports about his journey published in multiple local Japanese newspapers in the US.<sup>78</sup> We know from these sources that the main stops of his North American journey included Honolulu and other islands in Hawaii from January to February, southern then northern California from March 5 to the end of April, Seattle from May 8 for the next three weeks, then Vancouver from May 29 for five days.<sup>79</sup> According to Shimizu himself, he went to three locations in Oregon before travelling around Washington State, stayed in Victoria before going to Vancouver, and from there he went east to Chicago, Oberlin in Ohio, major cities and university towns in New England (Boston, New York, etc.), and Washington D. C., before travelling back to Yokohama, Japan.<sup>80</sup>

Through public talks, Shimizu’s campaign in North America turned out to be very fruitful in these locations. Most of the events collected entrance fees or memberships as donations to Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, extra donations came from the audiences, the readers of his books, and those who learned his story from these sources. It turned out that Shimizu raised more money than he had

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<sup>77</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 6, 1940: English page 1.

<sup>78</sup> Mainly, they included the Honolulu-based *Nippu Jiji* 日布時事 (1906-1942) and *Hawai Hōchi* ハワイ報知 (1912-), the Wailuku-based *Maui Rekōdo* 馬哇レコード (Maui Record, 1916-), the San Francisco-based *Nichi-bei Shinbun* 日米新聞 (The Japanese-American News, 1899-) and *Shin Sekai Asahi Shinbun* 新世界朝日新聞 (The New World Sun, 1935-1941), the Los Angeles-based *Rafu Shinpō* 羅府新報 (1903-), the Seattle-based *Taihoku Nippō* 大北日報 (The Great Northern Daily News, 1910-), and the Vancouver-based *Tairiku Nippō* 大陸日報 (Continental Daily News, 1907-1941). Newspaper names are according to the database “Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection” managed by the Japanese Diaspora Initiative at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. See <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/?l=ja>.

<sup>79</sup> Reports about Shimizu’s schedule were published, for example, in *Nippu Jiji* on January 5, 1940; *Nichi-bei Shinbun* on March 10, 1940; and in *Tairiku Nippō* on May 28, 1940.

<sup>80</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu*, 38-48.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, *Nichi-bei Shinbun* April 12, 1940: 6.

expected by the end of the tour. His talks were not only popularized among ordinary Japanese immigrants but were also received warmly by Americans who cared about his enterprise in Beijing. In Hawaii, a *Nisei* (second-generation immigrant 二世) dressmaker was so touched by Shimizu's talk that she moved to Beijing and served in the Sūtei Gakuen until the end of the war.<sup>82</sup> In El Monte, California, a listener even put a pair of golden marriage rings in the donation box.<sup>83</sup>

Local Japanese newspapers contributed tremendously to the success of Shimizu's 1940 campaign in North America. Shimizu was himself a journalist, who knew well how to use mass media to benefit his campaign. Equally important was the ethnic and political outlook of those local Japanese newspapers. They were, and still are, one of the central platforms of mass communications that wove Japanese immigrants into the local societies as a minor ethnic community in North America.<sup>84</sup> Through broadcasting Shimizu's 1940 journey, reporting his missionary engagements in China, and publishing his writings, the papers expressed their various stances toward the multi-ethnic local societies on behalf of Japanese immigrants and the local Japanese communities. When Japan-US relations became increasingly intense and complicated during the war prior to the Pearl Harbor Attacks, there was also an urgent need for these Japanese newspapers to showcase their own ethnic identity toward the empire on behalf of overseas Japanese Americans and Canadians.

In general, these newspapers covered Japan-related news, such as the 2600 anniversary celebration of the Japanese Empire, the battlefield progress of the

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<sup>82</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu*, 38.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

<sup>84</sup> About Japanese newspapers in the US during wartime, refer to Mizuno Takeya 水野剛也, "Tekikokugo" *jānarisumu: Nichi-Bei kaisen to America no Nihongo shinbun* 「敵国語」ジャーナリズム: 日米開戦とアメリカの日本語新聞 [The "enemy language" press in wartime: The Pacific War and Japanese-language press in the United States] (Yokohama: Shunpusha Publishing, 2011).



Japanese imperial army in China, and political news on Japan-China relations – especially the creation of the pro-Japanese regime led by Wang Jingwei 汪精卫 (1883-1944). Each of them also reported on Shimizu’s campaign tour, albeit with different techniques and at different lengths. In Vancouver, for example, *Tairiku Nippō* chose to publish one of his serial writings about how he saved a blind Chinese girl from prostitution and guided her to gain the skill of embroidery for a living.<sup>85</sup> Supplementary to Shimizu-related reports, this piece presented a vivid picture of a Japanese Christian savior in China. It offered evidence for Japanese Canadian readers in British Columbia to justify Japan’s invasion of China and helped develop ethnic rhetoric of the Yamato race that had prevailed already in the newspaper since the 1920s.<sup>86</sup>

However, most profoundly, it was what Shimizu promoted that had earned him the great success in his trans-Pacific campaign. According to pre-event notices and post-event reports and reviews published in the local newspapers, his speeches were able to cover all aspects of his wartime writings through adapting and combining what he wrote to fit different lengths, occasions, and audiences. First, all the four sections of Shimizu’s *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* were frequently presented as the central narratives.<sup>87</sup> Next, the descriptions of the “national characteristics” of Chinese were sprinkled throughout the story-telling or as a separate topic based on the

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<sup>85</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “buhoa no kunyan” 補花の姑娘 [Daughters with embroidery skills], *Tairiku Nippō*, May 29-June 11, 1940: all on page 3.

<sup>86</sup> Aya Fujiwara, “The Myth of the Emperor and the Yamato Race: The Role of the Tairiku Nippō in the Promotion of Japanese-Canadian Transnational Ethnic Identity in the 1920s and the 1930s,” *Journal of the CHA 2010 Revue de la Shc New Series* 21 no. 1 (2010): 37-58.

<sup>87</sup> Almost all talks of this concentration were under the title “Chōyōmongai monogarati” 朝陽門外物語 [The story Outside the Chaoyang Gate]. For example, see *Shin Sekai Asahi Shinbun* March 27, 1940: 3; *Nippu Jiji*, January 16, 1940: 6.

location.<sup>88</sup> Relevant to this topic, Shimizu always openly discussed how to build a new East Asia, during which his opinion that Japan's war with China was a "holy" war was repeatedly mentioned.<sup>89</sup> Last, but definitely not least, he presented to most audiences within church settings his idea of the Orientalized Christianity, which he sometime titled "Christ from an Oriental perspective" (*Tōyōjin no mitaru Kirisuto* 東洋人の見たるキリスト) and, for others, simply "Christ, the Oriental" (*Tōyōjin Kirisuto* 東洋人キリスト).<sup>90</sup> As we saw in the previous section, these themes were inter-related through combining the Protestant humanitarian morality with a hierarchical understanding of China and Japan that was based firmly on what he conceptualized as the "Orientalized Christianity."

Not surprisingly, therefore, Shimizu's anthology *The Spirit of Pioneers* ended with two speeches titled "The Promotion of the Orientalized Christianity" and "The Ideal of Building New East Asia."<sup>91</sup> They can be considered to be the central pieces of Shimizu's Protestant manifesto at war, which had been so widely spread by not only writings but also public speeches and religious preaching on both sides of the Pacific. The 1940 version of "The Promotion of the Orientalized Christianity" was a piece shortened and revised from the longer 1929 essay. It repeated his central point regarding the need to re-establish the Orientalized Christian Theology (or to correct the current Occidentalized theology by recovering its Oriental elements).<sup>92</sup> It also

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<sup>88</sup> For example, the second great talk event in Honolulu was titled "Shina kokuminsei no tenbyō" 支那国民性の点描 [A description of the national characteristics of Chinese]. *Nippu Jiji*, January 15, 1940: 6.

<sup>89</sup> For example, one speech was called "Seisen to Tōa fukkō" 聖戦と東亜復興 [The Holy War and the revival of East Asia], *Nichi-bei Shinbun*, April 28, 1940: 5.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, *Nichi-bei Shinbun*, March 26, 1940: 3; April 7, 1940: 3.

<sup>91</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teshō" 東洋的基督教の提唱 [The promotion of Orientalized Christianity] and "Shin Tōa kensetsu no risō" 新東亜建設の理想 [The ideal of building new East Asia], in *Kaitakusha no seishin*, 253- 268, 269-298.

<sup>92</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Tōyō-teki Kirisutokyō no teshō," in *Kaitakusha no seishin*, 259-260.

stressed again that Jesus Christ was from the Orient.<sup>93</sup> Then it emphasized the particular case of the different ways of understanding the Crucifixion of Jesus in the East and the West.<sup>94</sup> Like the heroic deaths of many Chinese and Japanese in history, Shimizu told us, the death of Jesus was a type of quasi-suicidal behavior to be foreseen and fulfilled. It thus could be interpreted to be more manly, brave, and honorable in the Oriental way of thinking.

The concluding article “The Ideal of Building New East Asia” reveals Shimizu’s thought about war in more detail. It was the draft of a public speech that had earned great success at the YMCA Yokohama in November 1939.<sup>95</sup> To build up the new East Asia, Shimizu argued, Sino-Japanese collaboration was necessary, and Japan’s war with China aimed eventually to build such a partnership.<sup>96</sup> He believed that “Chinese are decidedly not inferior to Japanese,” but that, without the Japanese, the Han Chinese could not re-establish themselves because “they are short one thing.” He then explained: “They [the Chinese] do not have the vigor (*kihaku* 気魄) that the Japanese have. No passion (*netsu* 熱). No pride (*ikiji* 意氣地). No strength (*kiryoku* 氣力). No energy (*genki* 元氣). No liveliness (*seimei* 生命). Lack inner robustness (*seishinryoku* 精神力). Not enough hard work (*ganbari* 頑張). Not powerful (*kyōrokusei* 強力性). Not dynamic (*dainamikku* ダイナミック). Ultimately, soulless (*tamashii ga iki to ran*, 魂が生きとらん).”<sup>97</sup>

Thus, for Shimizu, the Japanese were capable of receiving the baton passed from the Manchurians and Mongolians to emancipate China and upgrade the Chinese

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 261-263.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 265-266.

<sup>95</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Shin Tōa kensetsu no risō,” in *Kaitakusha no seishin*, 269-298.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 278-279.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-287.

culture.<sup>98</sup> Because this historical progress was perceived as inevitable, he believed the Japanese must take it as “God’s calling.”<sup>99</sup> In this sense, he asserted, Japan’s war with China was a “Holy War,”<sup>100</sup> in which Japanese Protestant missionaries should take on the duty of pacifying Chinese:

... we should wipe up the blood filling the continent Shina [China], pacify the emotion of the Chinese, and let them know the real [good] intention of Japanese people. ... The *Yamatodamashii* 大和魂 (Japanese spirit) has had two sides since antiquity: one side is *ara-mitama* 荒魂 (a rugged and warlike spirit), and the other is *nigi-mitama* 和魂 (a kind and peaceful spirit). Following the *ara-mitama* that brave [Japanese] soldiers brought into the battlefield, there must be a stage for *nigi-mitama*, in which our Christians can play a central [pacifying] role.<sup>101</sup>

These wartime statements can only be understood in line with Shimizu’s continuing reflections about Orientalized Christianity which had taken shape in the 1920s based on his acceptance of Christian Internationalism that supported the indigenization of Christian worship and ethics. Remarkably, he reframed Japanese Protestants within the spiritual world of Japan’s tradition, which was familiar to Japanese audiences beyond the Christian communities. Facing the war condition, it was in this way that Shimizu reframed Japanese Protestant missionaries in the balance between the violent invasion and the benevolent pacification. It was this Japanized Christian benevolence that guided him when traveling during war around both sides of the Pacific to tell Japanese people (in most cases) about his “holy enterprise” for Chinese girls.

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<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 284-285.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 276-278.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

## ***Nippu Jiji* and Shimizu's Wartime Opinion on the "Rape of Nanking"**

Paradoxically, the patriot Shimizu Yasuzō encountered a trust crisis both in Honolulu during this tour and in Beijing after the tour – a trust crisis that all Japanese Protestants had to face eventually during the war. Among all Japanese newspapers that contributed to the success of Shimizu's 1940 campaign, Hawaii's *Nippu Jiji* was tied most intimately to him, because the paper's publisher Sōga Yasutarō 相賀安太郎 (1873-1957) knew him well as both an old friend and a fellow Protestant.<sup>102</sup> Sōga was born as the only child to a merchant family in Tokyo. He traveled to Hawaii in 1896, stayed there in search of work, and eventually became a newspaperman. In 1906, he purchased the local Japanese newspaper *Yamato Shinbun* やまと新聞 (1896-1906) and renamed it the *Nippu Jiji*. By the 1920s, it developed into one of the most influential Japanese papers with the largest circulation in Hawaii and, simultaneously, Sōga came to be recognized as a Japanese leader in the islands.

In 1924, Sōga made his first trip to Korea, Manchuria, and China from Japan. Before the trip, he learned about Shimizu from his fellow Protestants Harada Tasuku and Yoshida Etsuzō.<sup>103</sup> The former was a preeminent Congregational pastor and educator who attended the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, held the presidency at the Dōshisha University for thirteen years from 1907, and founded the Department of Asian Studies in the University of Hawaii in 1920.<sup>104</sup> Not only was Harada the president when Shimizu enrolled in the university, but he also supported Shimizu's China mission.<sup>105</sup> The latter, Yoshida, was the Japanese co-founder of the

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<sup>102</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii," *Ōbirin Ronshū* 32 (2005): 157-166.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 158-159.

<sup>104</sup> Masao Ota and George Oshiro, "Mediator between Cultures: Tasuku Harada and Hawaiian-Japanese Intercultural Relations in the 1920s," *The Hawaii Journal of History* 33 (1999): 171-201.

<sup>105</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii," 158. Refer also to chapter two for details.

Ōmi Mission who had known Shimizu since his teens.<sup>106</sup> Thus, when Sōga arrived in Beijing in May, he soon invited Shimizu to where he was staying.<sup>107</sup> Shimizu guided him over the next two weeks, not only sightseeing in the old capital but also visiting his school for Chinese girls in its third year of operation. A life-long connection between the two was formed at this time. They discovered that Shimizu's elder sister and Sōga's wife had been classmates in Japan. Whenever Shimizu visited Hawaii in the coming years, he was received warmly at Sōga's house, not only by the Sōga couple but also by Sōga's son and his wife Miya, the daughter of Harada Tasuku.<sup>108</sup> These connections resulted in Honolulu becoming the base for Shimizu's campaign trips for Sūtei Gakuen and Ōbirin Gakuen in 1940 and 1952 respectively.

The working relationship with the *Nippu Jiji* most profoundly shaped Shimizu's friendship with Sōga.<sup>109</sup> After graduation from Oberlin College, Shimizu worked for the newspaper for the first time in the summer of 1926 as a journalist and wrote articles on both his knowledge about China and his impressions of America.<sup>110</sup> Though having been mentioned in the newspaper, Shimizu was not yet broadly known in Hawaii for his missionary enterprise in Beijing. During his 1940 campaign trip fourteen years later, Shimizu visited Hawaii and worked for the newspaper for the second time as a columnist. By that time, he was riding on his fame as the "Saint of Beijing" and was extremely busy, giving over 50 campaign talks during the two-month stay traveling back and forth among Oahu, Maui, Kauai, and the Big Island of

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<sup>106</sup> Refer to chapter three for details.

<sup>107</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii," 158-159.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>109</sup> The *Nippu Jiji* began to publish Shimizu's works from 1924 and introduced him as a China specialist. See *Nippu Jiji*, August 22, 1924: 1; August 23, 1924: 2.

<sup>110</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii," 159-161.

Hawaii.<sup>111</sup> After the war, Shimizu went on another fundraising tour in North and South America on behalf of the Ōbirin School in Tokyo, a tour which lasted almost two years, from 1952 to 1953. He spent six months in Hawaii from April to September 1952 and was hired as a columnist again by Sōga's newspaper, which had been renamed the *Hawaii Times*. The circumstances had dramatically changed around this time due to the end of World War II and the occupation of Japan by the Americans, and thus Shimizu's writings and talks emphasized the "maintaining of hope."<sup>112</sup>

### Shimizu's Column in *Nippu Jiji*

It was in *Nippu Jiji* in 1940 that Shimizu published his most controversial piece of wartime writing, his column "Questions and Answers on The Sino-Japanese Incident" (*Shina Jihen mondō* 支那事变問答).<sup>113</sup> The column consisted of seventeen installments, published in both Japanese and English.<sup>114</sup> Shimizu clearly stated his aim in composing these pieces: "we must explain Japan's position clearly, hoping that those [Americans] who ask questions [about Japan's war with China] will sincerely understand and properly construe the position of the Japanese government."<sup>115</sup>

By taking on one "question" in China-Japan relations per installment, Shimizu expressed his wartime stance consistently through the writing of these "answers" in

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<sup>111</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, March 2, 1940: 2.

<sup>112</sup> George M. Oshiro, "Shimizu Yasuzō to Hawaii," 160-162.

<sup>113</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Shina Jihen mondō" 支那事变問答 [Questions and Answers on The Sino-Japanese Incident], *Nippu Jiji*, January 17-February 6, 1940: on page 2, 6 or 7.

<sup>114</sup> The English version of each article published two days later than the original Japanese ones. Shimizu Yasuzō, "Questions and Answers on The Sino-Japanese Incident," *Nippu Jiji*, January 19-February 8, 1940: all on English page 2. As the translation was almost word by word from Japanese to English, the quotations of this serial used in this chapter are all from the published English version.

<sup>115</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 19, 1940: English page 2.

order to justify Japan's invasion of China. One central theme in these answers concentrated on the anti-Japanese sentiment that had developed in China. Economically, he insisted that China's anti-Japanese boycotts that had already lasted for more than fifteen years, were "something much worse than war."<sup>116</sup> He blamed the role of Western missionaries in China, too, for this issue. He recounted in one article that, instead of telling Chinese students that "all races should love each other," "the [Western] missionaries in China stirred up [the] anti-Japanese feeling to no small extent" in 1919.<sup>117</sup> The western missionaries, he asserted, instead of claiming that the "final victory will be China's," should stop the current war and promote peaceful negotiations.

Targeted at Japanese immigrants in Hawaii, Shimizu's columns were peppered with judgmental descriptions of China and the Chinese people. Answering why the battlefield was in China rather than Japan, he stated that, "war cannot be conducted in such a small island [as Japan]," and added, "in the first place, China has nothing that could be called a navy."<sup>118</sup> In another piece, he pointed out that the Chinese would dislike the Japanese regardless of whether there were the Twenty-One Demands or not, saying, "Give them a little friendship and kindness and they become impudent and intolerable; that is the national characteristic of the Chinese."<sup>119</sup> One of Shimizu's talks mentioned the issue of opium sales in China, stirred up by the Chinese consul in Honolulu who "wrote an article to bring up an argument."<sup>120</sup> Shimizu refused to blame Korean and Japanese drug dealers in China and argued back strongly, "Who on

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 23, 1940: English page 2.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 26, 1940, English page 2.

<sup>120</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 31, 1940: English page 2.



earth are the ones that are buying opium? Aren't they the Chinese themselves?" "... as long as they are Japanese," he believed, "they would never buy or use opium." Although he expressed sympathy for the Chinese people in the article, he also wrote that one "cannot help but think what a pitiful race the Chinese people are." He reserved special contempt for Chinese statesmen, stating that "They teach the Chinese people about anti-Japanism, but they never teach them anything against opium."

These judgments about China reflected his self-assertion as a Japanese, superior in morality with Christian benevolence. In the specific answer to the question "What do you think about Christians in Japan," he repeated his theory on the bifurcation of the Japanese spirit *Yamatodamashii* with the "rugged and warlike spirit" on one side and the "kind and peaceful spirit" on the other.<sup>121</sup> "In such a manner," he said with patriotic emotion, "justice and mercy are administered by the Japanese soldiers and therefore the Japanese Christians can cooperate fully with the authorities in the administration of kindness which is one side of 'Yamato-damashii' or the Japanese spirit." "The work of the [Japanese] Christians," therefore, "lies on the constructive side and in showing kindness and good faith." Notably, Shimizu insisted that Japanese Christians "would bravely go to war when they receive their mobilization order... They do this not because they are Christians, but because they are Japanese ... Whether they like it or not, this is their duty as long as they are the people [citizens] of the country."

However patriotic Shimizu was to the Japanese nation as reflected in his column articles in the *Nippu Jiji*, he could not fully satisfy the wartime Japanese loyalism prevalent among Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. On January 27, 1940, the *Hawai*

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<sup>121</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, February 3, 1940: English page 2.

*Hōchi* published a short letter from a reader in reaction to Shimizu.<sup>122</sup> In it, the reader angrily asked “some newspaper” to “correct certain contents” written by Shimizu, because he/she “cannot keep silent if someone indignifies the Imperial Army publicly.” This letter sparked a heated discussion in the Japanese community in Hawaii.

### Shimizu’s Opinion on the Nanking Massacre

The “certain contents” that humiliated the Imperial Army of Japan, published on January 22, were part of installment five of Shimizu’s column in *Nippu Jiji*, answering the question “Why are Japanese so rough in China?”<sup>123</sup> He discussed the Japanese soldiers’ behavior in Nanjing, which was broadly reported as brutal and inhuman in both Chinese and English. The controversial part stated:

During the Japanese occupation of Nanking, foreign war correspondents were allowed to accompany the Japanese troops which occupied the city and all kinds of ugly reports were sent out to the rest of the world. Particularly such stories about Chinese women being ravished, just as though they were bitten by mad dogs, made even my blood boil. Those stories and reports have even been written into a book called “The Japanese Terror.” I read this book both in the English and the Chinese languages. The illustrations were so disgraceful and shameful, they were beyond endurance. What is the most regrettable is the part about the women, who were at a refuge under the protection of foreign missionaries, being ravished. The only nice part was that the foreign mission workers, who were with them, were perfectly safe and were not molested.

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<sup>122</sup> Kōkensei 鋼健生, “Shimizu Yasuzō shi ni teisu” 清水安三氏に呈す [A letter presenting to Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō], *Hawai Hōchi*, January 27, 1940: 6.

<sup>123</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, January 22, 1940: 2. The Japanese title was “tairiku ni ikeru Nihonjin ha, dōshite annani rafu nano deshō” 大陸行ける日本人は、どうしてあんなにラフなのでせう？ [Why are those Japanese, who could go to the continent, so rough in China?].

Apparently, the critical reader chose to focus only on these negative descriptions of Shimizu's feelings after reading the battlefield reports, which were not what the author wanted to emphasize. In the following passage, Shimizu described in similar length "the Nanking incident of February 1927 during the Chinese civil war," during which Chinese troops behaved brutally as well. "At that time," he wrote, "Japanese women in Nanking were ravished by the Chinese troops without exception. Even American women mission workers were molested by the Chinese troops." By making this comparison, in fact, Shimizu wanted to present a better image of the Japanese troops.

As a second example, Shimizu cited what his American missionary friend "Dr. H" told him about the European War, in which "the soldiers [were] molesting even the women of their allies." Then he deepened his reflection into the essence of war as "to kill and keep on killing," which was, compared to molesting women, the greatest crime "that can be committed by a human." To end the article he said,

Brutality and the animal spirit in man begin to show themselves on the battlefields where man is not sure whether he will still be alive on the next day. All morals and ethics are then disregarded. This seems to be the psychological behavior brought about by war and nothing can be done about it, it seems.

At first glance, it seems, Shimizu spoke of the truth of war and the brutality of human beings in war. Without historical context, it can be merely abstract, common ethical teachings. However, Shimizu did not say these things without context. Like he said, he read *Japanese Terror in China*, written by the Australian journalist Harold John Timperley and published in 1938.<sup>124</sup> The description in it of the brutality of Japanese

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<sup>124</sup> Harold John Timperley, *Japanese Terror in China* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938).

soldiers in Nanjing astonished English-speaking readers around the globe.<sup>125</sup> In this specific context, Shimizu ended his discussion by generalizing the Japanese troops' collective brutality as a universal vice of human beings, which was to understand this specific brutality of a certain group of Japanese soldiers to be unavoidable, inevitable, and thus forgivable behavior of all humankind. Most importantly, before the American audience (in Hawaii at least), this generalization became undoubtedly a further ethical justification of the Japanese army's collective aggression in China.

This attitude was reflected in his own words. A week or so after the publication of the letter attacking him, Shimizu defended himself through the *Nippu Jiji*.<sup>126</sup> He first distanced himself from the controversy by explaining, "I only mentioned the rumors and reports made by foreign missionaries and foreign correspondents in China. ... I never said that such things were something that I myself witnessed." Then he added the further justification:

When I think that the destiny of a nation depends on its people, I cannot help but speak out. And because of this I may be shouted down by the Americans who are sympathizers of China. But just because of this is no reason to remain quiet and I am only continuing my efforts by showing my patriotism.

By writing this message, Shimizu aimed not only to confess his own stance to his readers, but also tried to defend himself against the strong protests made by the current acting Japanese Consul General in Hawaii. He had been interrogated at the Consulate-General of Japan in Honolulu about his opinions towards the Japanese state and army which were published in *Nippu Jiji* and addressed in his public

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<sup>125</sup> Timperley was considered the first Western journalist who reported in the English-speaking world by citing the estimated number of deaths at 300,000. See Masahiro Yamamoto, *Anatomy of An Atrocity*, 168.

<sup>126</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, February 5, 1940: English page 2.

speeches. According to historian Yukiko Kimura's study, these opinions stirred up "a major incident involving the press and consular officials" due mainly to the growing independence of the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. Thus, she understood Shimizu's attitude to be simply, and inaccurately, a stance that defended China and criticized Japan.<sup>127</sup> In fact, as we have seen, Shimizu was involved in this "incident" not because of his defense of the Chinese, but of his critical *and* patriotic attitude toward Japan.

Because of Shimizu's patriotism, Sōga Yasutarō argued for him. On March 2, Sōga published an editorial, arguing that "compared to a large number of Japanese Americans who were mobilized [with patriotic emotion] by more than fifty talks [Shimizu made] and about twenty articles [he wrote], the controversial part of his talks [and writings] was trivial."<sup>128</sup> "In this decisive moment," he said indignantly, "it would be short-sighted to look too much at these trivial minor matters that could bury the real capable persons [like Shimizu]." Years later, Sōga was still angry with the Consul because of this incident, and accused him of acting "as if he were the incarnation of the Japanese military, meddling with our affairs."<sup>129</sup>

Remarkably, the *Hawai Hōchi*, which published the reader's letter attacking Shimizu on January 22, took the opposite stance in sharp contrast to Sōga's supporting attitude. After January 22, it muted all voices by and about Shimizu in the newspaper. As a replacement, it began to publish from January 24 onward a serial

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<sup>127</sup> Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 139-140.

<sup>128</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, Keihō 溪芳, "Shimizu Yasuzō shi no ue ni uri ga toshi meiwaku" 清水安三氏の上に振りがとし迷惑 [My thought about Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō's opinions], *Nippu Jiji*, March 2, 1940: 2.

<sup>129</sup> Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii*, 140.

written by a Sōtō 曹洞 Zen priest, recording his trip in Manchukuo and China.<sup>130</sup>

Ironically, however, both *Nippu Jiji* and *Hawai Hōchi* had the same goal of trying to mobilize ethnic Japanese in Hawaii and to promote their “patriotic” loyalty to the Japanese empire.

For Shimizu, this was a test of his faith in God. In the memoir he wrote in 1948, he recalled that he was not only criticized in the newspapers but also face to face by ethnic Japanese during his speeches. As a result, he was required by the Japanese consul to suspend his tour and return to Japan immediately. He wrote that, learning this, “I could do nothing. Night after night, at the Waikiki Beach, leaning against the coconut trees waving by the sea, I cried and prayed to God.”<sup>131</sup> Eventually, he decided to continue his trip because “this is the territory of America; even the [Japanese] consul cannot arrest me.” In the memoir, he recorded how, in the moment when he left Hawaii, he thought, “Abayo [goodbye], Aloha Hawaii. Lord, forgive my sins. Paul.” At that moment, it seems he prayed to God not through Paul, but as Paul. By that time, he had “sent 9500 [American] dollars back to the Beijing Sūtei Gakuen” from Hawaii.<sup>132</sup>

### **Conclusion: The Dilemma of Shimizu’s Dual Identity at War**

In contrast to Shimizu’s expectation, he was not arrested upon arriving in Yokohama on July 1, 1940 after his fundraising trip. However, right after he returned to Beijing, he was taken into custody by the Japanese Military Police (*Kenpeitai* 憲兵隊) and was required to report for questioning from 8 am to 4 pm for 30 continuous

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<sup>130</sup> Toda Yasuo 戸田泰雄, “Shina, Manshū imon tabi nikki” 支那滿州慰問旅日記 [Diary of comforting trip in China and Manchukuo], *Hawai Hōchi* January 24, 1940: 6.

<sup>131</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu*, 37.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 38

days.<sup>133</sup> During that month, his mother died, and he was neither allowed to visit her before that nor to attend her funeral.<sup>134</sup> During the period in which Shimizu was in America, his wife Ikuko had already been called in by the police several times and even been forced to stay for one night.<sup>135</sup> According to Ikuko, Shimizu had been suspected of being involved in the inappropriate buying and selling of American dollars during his trip. Finally, he was freed from the daily police attendance by agreeing to give up more than half of the funds he raised in the campaign tour. In total, he had raised about 170,000 *yen* when exchanged to Japanese currency. After the negotiations with the Japanese authority, he agreed to giving 30,000 *yen* to the imperial army authority and to setting up a pension fund, amounting to 70,000 *yen*, for the army's soldiers. The remaining 70,000 *yen* kept in the school fund for Sūtei Gakuen.<sup>136</sup> That being said, metaphorically, the Japanese state could reward to a patriotic Protestant's overseas mission work, under only the condition that he/she must have "paid" more "respect" to the state first.

Beyond Shimizu's case, this was a central paradox that Japanese Protestants faced in how to reconcile their national (or ethnic) and religious identities either in or beyond the boundary of the empire, especially during World War II. In Shimizu's case, it was his self-identified God-centered missionary patriotism, considering the spread of the gospel as the ultimate end, that alienated him from the Emperor-centered wartime Japanese nationalism. On May 19th, 1938, *Fukuin Shinpō* 福音新報 published a page-long interview with Shimizu. In it, he denied that his school in

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-50. Shimizu mentioned this negotiation in other memoirs and postwar writings, too. There were minor differences among these memories. This chapter takes *Nozomi o ushinawazi* as the primary source, which was the earliest account mentioning the negotiation.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-53.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-54.

Beijing was part of the state-sponsored enterprise, saying that “I am not educating Chinese for Japan, nor doing pacifying work (*senbu kōsaku* 宣撫工作) [for the state].”<sup>137</sup> By making this statement, he tried to criticize those who “did missionary work for goals other than the spreading of God’s gospel” and those who thought that “they could tolerate leaving Christ for the state.” Based on this stance, he continued to clarify by saying,

I think what I have done for Japan is [first and foremost] for Christ, and thus all I have done for Christ becomes what I do for Japan. I am spreading our Christian gospel. ... [in the sense that] I am a Japanese [myself, and] I am serving China to spread the gospel, you can say that what I have done in China for God becomes what I do for Japan.

The idea that “what is done for God all becomes what is done for Japan” can only be understood within his intellectual/theological framework of “Orientalized Christianity,” in which the “Oriental-ness” of Jesus Christ linked the universal Christian God to the Japanese nation of the Orient. This also explains his turn from “work for China” to “work for Japan,” which had been expressed in his conversation with Ikuko and Ikeda Arata in 1940. From his God-centered missionary point of view, this expression “for Japan” was not an assertion of Shimizu’s intention to work for the military state, but an indication of how profoundly he believed that his wartime actions and talks were all for God.

However, as showcased by the controversial ending of his trans-Pacific trip, Shimizu’s “Orientalized Christianity” faced its paradoxical fate during war. On the one hand, it emphasized the de-Occidentalization (or re-Orientalization) of

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<sup>137</sup> ZY, “Shimizu Yasuzō shi o toburau,” *Fukuin Shinpō*, May 19, 1938: 7.



Christianity that highly coincided with the Japanese state's racist wartime mobilization, while on the other hand, its God-centered missiology remained at odds with the core of that same racism – the Emperor-centered ethnic myth. In determining to be God's fighting disciple, Shimizu facilitated himself to be a "Saint of Beijing" with this specific Christian mindset and in following the steps of his Oriental Jesus Christ going around Japan's diasporic empire during the war between Japan and China. His Orientalized missiology legitimized his missionary humanitarianism as an indispensable side to Japan's militaristic violence. However, in the end, his idealism in desiring to be a Protestant Japanese citizen who did not support the Japanese Emperor as a higher being than the Christian God in this specific war was like a cherry blossom in spring, ephemerally beautiful but fatally un-survivable.

## Chapter Six

### Gendering Christianity at War, 1938-1942

Beyond the dense forest of Tiantan [the Temple of Heaven] across the road stands the ruins of the Yung-ting Gate [Yongding Gate], a relic of its former glory. The ground in the neighborhood is red, rough and barren with not a single green thing growing on it. But, there stands a two-storied structure with the flag of “Tienchau Neighborly Love Hall” flying from its roof-top. There lives a young couple who came from Japan with a determination to devote the rest of their lives to settlement work at the Tienchau Neighborly Love Hall. They have come to China with a glorious dream for the building up of the Kingdom of Love, just as Shimidzu [Shimizu] and his former wife came to Peking [Beijing] and started their work in the district outside the Chaoyang Gate.<sup>1</sup>

This passage runs at the end of Kamiizumi Hidenobu’s biography of Shimizu Yasuzō published in both Japanese and English.<sup>2</sup> When he wrote these sentences, Shimizu was helping establish the described “Tienchau Neighborly Love Hall” (*Airinkan* in Japanese, *Ailinguan* in Chinese 天橋愛隣館), a social settlement in the Tianqiao region at the south end of Beijing. Kamiizumi looked eagerly ahead to Shimizu’s future work in China and foresaw a promising picture of Japanese Christians’ dedication to the Chinese through this wartime humanitarian project. Not mentioned entirely in this account, however, was what Japanese Protestant women did collectively for this settlement project, although they contributed money, professional knowledge, and labor to build it with support from the nationwide network of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Japan (referred to as Japan WCTU or JWCTU). By re-interpreting their involvement in this transnational project, I argue

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<sup>1</sup> Kamiizumi Hidenobu, *A Japanese Pastor in Peking: A Story of the Reverend Yasuzo Shimidzu and His Mission School for Chinese Girls* (Tokyo: Hokuseidō Press, 1940), 222.

<sup>2</sup> See also the Japanese version, Kamiizumi Hidenobu 上泉秀信, *Ai no Kensetsusha 愛の建設者* [One who builds with love] (Tokyo: Hata Shoten, 1939).

that Japanese WCTU activists had contributed tremendously in making the settlement to become a symbol of Japanese Christians' motherly love toward the Chinese poor during its heyday from 1939 to 1942. In the domestic sphere, Airinkan's fleeting fame helped Japanese Protestant women *compete with* males through venturing into the public spheres of both the united Protestant Church and state power, within which they could celebrate both their Japanese citizenship and their Protestant and female identities. Meanwhile, it also helped them *collaborate with* male Protestants in fulfilling Japanese Protestants' imaginative and paternalist moral benevolence toward the Chinese people at the center of the Japanese empire.

Broadly reported by Japanese Christian newspapers from 1938, Airinkan's philanthropic activities in Beijing have attracted growing attention from scholars over the last two decades as Shimizu's secondary enterprise. Li Hongwei, for example, called the settlement "the second Sūtei Gakuen" because both offered similar training programs, such as needlework and literacy, to local Chinese people.<sup>3</sup> However, this interpretation emphasized the centrality of Shimizu's involvement more than Japanese Protestant women's collective engagements in it. In an earlier article, Izuoka Manabu contextualized Airinkan within Japanese empire's wartime expansionist agenda, which was shaped mostly by the paradigm of one-directional, center-to-periphery cultural imperialism.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it runs the risk of misunderstanding

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<sup>3</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*. See particularly chapter 8, "Pekin Airinkan no setsuritsu to unei: daini no Sūtei Gakuen" 北京愛隣館の設立と運営：第二の崇貞学園 [The establishment and running of the Beijing *Airinkan*: the second Sūten Gakuen], 199-212.

<sup>4</sup> Izuoka Manabu 出岡学, "Tairiku seisaku no naka no Pekin Airinkan" 大陸政策の中の北京愛隣館 [Japan's Continental Policy and the Beijing *Airinkan*], in Tomisaka Kirisutokyō Senta 富阪キリスト教センター ed., *Josei Kirisutokyōsha to sensō* 女性基督教者と戦争 [Christian Women and the war] (Tokyo: Kōrosha, 2002), 191-240.

Japanese female Protestants and their joint involvement in Airinkan as merely reactive and passive.

This chapter asks a reverse question: What did the Airinkan in Beijing mean to Japanese Protestants – both women and men – at home in Japan during the war? It places the settlement within the contexts of the cross-cultural Protestant movement of settlement-building and the transnational activism of Japanese Christian women. First, I will briefly recount the development of the Japan WCTU and its increasing presence inside and outside of the country from its beginning and into the 1920s. Within such a context, the building of Airinkan can be interpreted as a Japanized product of the internationalization of the Protestant movement of settlement-building that had expanded throughout the Anglo-American world from the 1880s. Using biographical, governmental, church, and newspaper sources, I will then investigate why and how the female activists of the Japan WCTU became involved in this overseas enterprise. As we will see, a strategy of self-gendering, which had been expertly crafted by Japanese Protestant women activists, empowered them in running the settlement financially and administratively from 1938 to 1942. After that, however, they were no longer needed from 1943 to visualize the already stabilized rhetorical meaning of Airinkan as a unique entity embedding the womanly, and simultaneously parental, Christian love that Japanese Protestants tended to give to the neighboring Chinese.

### **The Japan WCTU in the World (1880s-1930s)**

On December 6, 1886, a group of upper-middle-class Japanese Protestant men and women established the Tokyo Women's Custom Correcting Society (*Tokyo Fujin*

*Kyōfūkai* 東京婦人矯風会, Tokyo WCTU) formally at the Nihonbashi Church.<sup>5</sup>

Before its founding, there had already been a non-Christian reform society established with the similar name Moral Reform Society (*Kyōfūkai* 矯風会), which had been organized by male Japanese reformers.<sup>6</sup> However, the World WCTU's first round-the-world missionary Mary Clement Leavitt (1830-1912) still amazed Japanese locals with her public speeches throughout the country in 1886.<sup>7</sup> Her opinions about temperance, chastity, and concubinage, among other subjects, were considered “‘scientific’ and empirical rather than religious discourse,” and thus were highly accessible to educated Japanese people who pursued so urgently to improve the nation during the Meiji era.<sup>8</sup>

With 56 initial members, the Tokyo WCTU developed their activism promptly, intending to “reform the evil ways of society, cultivate morals, prohibit drinking and smoking, and promote women’s dignity” in its initial years from the 1880s to the 1890s.<sup>9</sup> Supported by American temperance workers in Japan, a nationwide WCTU organization, Japan Women’s Moral Reform Society (*Nihon Fujin Kyōfūkai* 日本婦人矯風会, Japan WCTU), came into being on April 3, 1893, after its first national convention held at Reinanzaka Church in Tokyo. Yajima Kajiko 矢島樺子 (1833-1925), a famous female activist who was highly respected by Japanese Protestant leaders, was elected during the event as the organization’s first president.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Woman’s Christ Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010), 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 25. For the decision of the organization’s name, see also pages 31-32.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-26.

<sup>8</sup> Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women’s Activism: The United States, Japan, and Japanese Immigrant Communities in California, 1859-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 2004). And, Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 25.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 32.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth D. Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 71-72. Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women’s Activism*, 77-83.

Unlike most other national WCTU branches which were administrated initially by Anglo-American missionary women, the Japanese WCTU was co-managed by Japanese woman Protestants from the very beginning. Frances Willard (1839-1898), the president of the American World WCTU from 1879, appointed her acquaintance Mary Denton, of the Dōshisha Girls' School in Kyoto, to be the WCTU representative in Japan. Denton's call for a national WCTU union of Western missionary women in Japan received positive feedback from an interdenominational group of Tokyo-Yokohama-based missionary women, who were, at the time, working with Japanese WCTU officers to build a rescue home for Japanese women. At the Ladies Christian Conference of Tokyo-Yokohama in 1895, this union was launched formally as "the Auxiliary WCTU of Japan," which shaped a power-sharing structure within the Japan WCTU in order to continue carrying out the authentic ideals of the World WCTU in Japanese society.<sup>11</sup>

The paralleled unions of Western women and Japanese women collaborated and competed with each other from the 1890s. Clara Parrish (1865-1947), the World WCTU's seventh around-the-world missionary, who worked in Japan from 1896 to 1898, introduced the American vision of the WCTU social gospel into Japan.<sup>12</sup> She translated Willard's *Do Everything: A Handbook for World White Ribboners*, intending to promote a "do everything" women's mass movement, as Willard said, "Temperance Reform should be in everything."<sup>13</sup> The Japanese women's union did not follow this line uncritically. Unlike their American sisters who saw the

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<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth D. Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 82-84. Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism*, 80-82.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth D. Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 84-92. Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism*, 83-89.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth D. Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 85-86. Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism*, 83-84.

temperance cause as the core of their gospel work, Japanese WCTU workers emphasized more secularly the whole package of women's social reform rather than the single aim of temperance work. As Yajima said, "Unless Japanese women's virtues and independence were developed first it would be virtually impossible to promote nondrinking." In such a context, the Foreign Auxiliary members turned to Japanese male Christians, and encouraged Japanese women to assist male temperance reformers by "using women's special ability and non-political influence," which, for the most part, was not the original intention of many Christian and non-Christian Japanese females, who were primarily eager to earn civil rights.<sup>14</sup>

During the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, the Japan WCTU transformed its purpose from the reform of Japanese society "in light of the American WCTU's vision," to the expansion of "Japanese churchwomen's influence in Japan and Japan's control over its neighbors." This transformation was presented, for example, by the successful comfort bag campaign that had been conducted by the Japanese WCTU churchwomen during the Russo-Japanese War, who sent temperance leaflets and gospels, sometimes Testaments, to soldiers of the empire through free transportation provided by the Department of War.<sup>15</sup>

As a result, the collaborative – albeit competitive – relationship between the American World WCTU and the Japan WCTU became more evident in the process of the latter's overseas expansion in both Korea and Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War. In Korea, the Japan WCTU tried to establish a local branch while the American WCTU workers did the same. After the emperor of Korea conceded his sovereignty to Japan in 1910, a WCTU branch was established in 1911 in Seoul among Anglo-

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<sup>14</sup> Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism*, 86-87.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-98.

American residents; then, a Japanese women's WCTU union and another Western women's union were formed in 1912 in Seoul and Chinnampo separately, while another local Korean women's union established later, in 1923.<sup>16</sup> In Manchuria, the Japan WCTU helped establish the Relief Society for Manchurian Women (*Manshū Fujin Kyūsaikai* 満州婦人救済会) in Dalian in 1906. Supervised by Masutomi Seisuke 益富政助 (1878-1976), the society tried to save both Japanese and Manchurian women.<sup>17</sup>

As such, American Protestant women and Japanese Protestant women developed an uneasy “win-win” relationship in spreading the World WCTU's domain in other East Asian countries during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Because of the loss during the Boxer Uprising in China, some American Protestants welcomed Japan's role in intervening in China's affairs in order to transform China into a modernized nation like Japan. Simultaneously, American churchwomen intended to expand the World WCTU's influence in East Asian societies, including Japan's colonies, and thus agreed to the Japan WCTU's institutional expansion in these regions.<sup>18</sup> In this process, Japanese churchwomen were thus continuously given the right to “Japanize” the Anglo-American Protestantism by embedding patriotic loyalty to the Japanese emperor into the American gospel of the World WCTU. Therefore, unsurprisingly, far beyond the non-political, assisting role expected by American

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>17</sup> Kurahashi Katsuhito 倉橋克人, “Manshū ni okeru karayuki kyūsai jigyo: Masutomi Seisuke to Manshū Fujin Kūsaikai o megutte” 「満州」における「からゆき」救済事業: 益富政助と満州婦人救済会をめぐって [Relief work of “Karayuki” in “Manshū” area], *Kirisutokyō Shakaimondai Kenkyū* 基督教社会問題研究, Part I, 58 (Jan. 2010): 21-52; Part II, 57 (Dec. 2008): 128-132. Later, the society became affiliated to the Japan Salvation Army and renamed Women's Home in Dalian (*Dairen Fujin Hōmu* 大連婦人ホーム). See also Japan WCTU ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai hyakunen shi* 日本キリスト教婦人矯風会百年史 [Hundred Year History of the Japan Woman's Christian Temperance Union] (Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1986), 226-231.

<sup>18</sup> Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women's Activism*, 100, 102-103.



missionaries, the Japan WCTU enthusiastically pursued the right to vote for Japanese women in the domestic sphere and seriously considered what to do for Japanese prostitutes in colonies and foreign lands.<sup>19</sup>

During the 1920s, the JWCTU leaders tried very hard to expand their organizational power through membership recruitment and the establishment of local branches. From 1924 to 1926, the Ten-Thousand Members Recruitment Movement (*Ichimannin kaiin undō* 一万人会員運動) promoted the collective social power of Japanese women. By 1926, over 2000 more Japanese women had joined the organization, and another 18 branches had been established.<sup>20</sup> In the meantime, the Japan WCTU leaders gradually increased their profile on the international stage as representatives of the Japanese nation. In 1928, for instance, the leading member Gauntlett Tsuneko ガントレット恒子 (1873-1953) traveled to Honolulu as the vice chair of the delegate group of Japanese women in the first Pan-Pacific Women's Conference.<sup>21</sup> In 1930, Hayashi Utako 林歌子 (1864-1946) and Gauntlett Tsuneko submitted the peace petition to the International Navy Conference in London on behalf of the Japan WCTU, which had collected the signatures of 180,000 Japanese women.<sup>22</sup>

In summary, what was reflected by the WCTU's involvement in these domestic and overseas activities in Japan



**Hayashi Utako (left) and Gauntlett Tsuneko**  
Submitting the signed petition to the  
International Navy Conference, London, 1930  
Photo printed in *Me de miru hyakunen shi*  
(1988).

<sup>19</sup> On nationalism, imperialism, and the WCTU movement in Japan, see Yasutake's book, 95-103.

<sup>20</sup> Japan WCTU ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai hyakunen shi*, 492-499.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 583-586.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 586-589.

and its colonies, as well as in Western countries, was its international, though inward-looking, perspective into the end of the 1920s. The primary target of its social services was Japanese women wherever they lived, and the central aim of its international involvement was to present and establish the image of Japanese women as equally modernized citizens compared to Japanese men and white women in the Western world.

### **Settlement-Building: An Internationalized Machinery of Protestant Activism**

During the 1880s, the Social Settlement Movement spread from England to America. Toynbee Hall in London and Hull House in Chicago, both founded in the 1880s, became the prototypes of social reform in Anglo-American Protestant world.<sup>23</sup> In the early history of the Japan WCTU, the Foreign Auxiliary was essential in transmitting the Settlement Movement into Japan.<sup>24</sup> Western missionary women of the Auxiliary initialized both Jiaikan 慈愛館 (Settlement of Charity Love) and Kōbōkan 興望館 (Settlement of the “Door of Hope”) in Tokyo. The former was a rescue home established during the Meiji era with the aim of rehabilitating destitute Japanese women and prostitutes during the anti-prostitution campaign of the 1890s. It was managed by Japanese members and supervised by the Foreign Auxiliary. The latter was a settlement house developed in Tokyo’s east side during the Taisho era,

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<sup>23</sup> For the social settlement movement in general, see Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967). For details about the Toynbee Hall, see Robert C. Reinders, “Toynbee Hall and the American Settlement Movement,” *Social Service Review*, 56 no. 1 (Mar. 1982): 39-54. For details about the Hull House in Chicago, see Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> Manako Ogawa, “American Women’s Destiny, Asian Women’s Dignity: Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1886-1945” (PhD dissertation submitted to University of Hawaii, 2004).

which mainly provided daycare services for the children of working women. It was initialized by North American missionary women in Japan, inspired by “the settlement movement in the United States represented by Jane Addams’s Hull-House” in Chicago.<sup>25</sup> As the historian Ogawa Manako argued, Kōbōkan had its “Japanese” nature in dealing with Tokyo’s rapid industrialization and urbanization during the Taisho years: just as the Hull House had its “American” characteristics due to its immigrant surrounding.<sup>26</sup>

Around the same period, leading Japanese Christians embarked on their own settlement projects. These settlements were interspersed in newly urbanized cities like Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe. They became both essential entities for dealing with all kinds of urban problems in Japan and symbols of a modernized civil society through which Western visitors were led to consider Japan as equal to Anglo-American countries with similar social problems, and, of course, similar advancements. For example, when the British economic historian Eileen Power (1889-1940) traveled throughout the world in 1920-21 with her Kahn Travelling Scholarship, one of her most impactful itineraries in Japan was her visit to the settlements built in the slums of Kobe and Osaka with their runner, Kagawa Toyohiko, as her guide. Such experiences successfully made Power think that Japan was already a modernized nation that was different from the un-modernized China, because the later left her

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-217. Refer also to Japan WCTU ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai hyakunen shi*, 96-110, 385, 428. About Kōbōkan, see also Manako Ogawa, “‘Hull-House’ in Downtown Tokyo: The Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women, 1919-194,” *Journal of World History* 15 no. 3 (2004): 359-387.

<sup>26</sup> Manako Ogawa, “‘Hull-House’ in Downtown Tokyo,” 385-387.

magnificent memories with “carved shop fronts, pink walls, shining yellow roofs, droves of packmules and camels along the roads” – “the idealization of the past.”<sup>27</sup>

Into the 1930s, the Japanese government actively participated in the promotion of building settlement projects. In the case of the Japan WCTU, in 1936, many facilities established by members of local branches were awarded the imperial prize and a variety of governmental subsidies for their social contributions. These included Kōbōkan, Women’s Homes (*Fujin Hōmu* 婦人ホーム) in Tokyo, Osaka, and Yokohama, and a medical facility in Kochi. Female contributors to the Japan WCTU at the women’s homes in Tokushima and Kobe, and from the Navy Soldiers’ Home, were also honored and awarded.<sup>28</sup> This indicates that, within the national WCTU network, Japanese Protestant women had been broadly involved in all kinds of settlement-building projects. Frances Willard’s vision of “do everything” for the temperance work had already been Japanized into a policy of “do everything” for anything that is needed in Japan’s context.<sup>29</sup> Additionally, all of the types of social services that the Beijing Airinkan offered to local Chinese people – including medical, educational, philanthropic, and evangelizing services – had been practiced in Japan by WCTU workers from the 1910s to the 1930s. Once Japanese WCTU leaders were given a chance to take these responsibilities beyond Japanese women, they were fully armed to pave the way for overseas enterprises beyond their national and ethnic borders.

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<sup>27</sup> Maxine Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 104-105. About Kagawa Toyohiko, see Robert D. Schildgen, *Toyohiko Kagawa: An Apostle of Love and Social Justice* (Berkeley: Centenary Books, 1988).

<sup>28</sup> *Fujin Shinpō* 婦人新報 (referred to as *FJSP* hereafter in footnotes) 468 (Mar. 1937): 20-21.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 20. For another detailed discussion on the local needs that the JWCTU faced in Meiji Japan and the Japanization of the “do everything” policy, see Rumi Yasutake, *Transnational Women’s Activism*, 91-95.

## **The 1928 International Missionary Conference and JWCTU's Rhetoric Shift**

Such a chance to look after other Asians beyond Japan came with the 1928 International Missionary Conference (IMC), the first enlarged meeting of the IMC which was held in Jerusalem, during which the relation between the younger and older churches and racial relations were central issues of discussion among delegates from around the world. The problem of the younger church became highlighted even before the meeting began, because the Nordic Missionary Council was opposed to the enlargement of the gathering through adding more delegates – most of whom came supposedly from the mission fields of non-white younger churches. Based upon the achieved agreement that “the task of Christian mission is a world-wide one,” the traditional concept of Christian missions as “the overseas endeavor of the Western churches was being increasingly called into questions” at the conference site in a “campground situation.” Regarding the racial tensions in Asia and Africa, the conference attendees seemed to come to the conclusion that “the missionary enterprise itself, as an instrument of God for bringing into being among all races the Church of Christ, has it in its power to be the most creative force working for world-wide inter-racial unity.”<sup>30</sup>

Kubushiro Ochimi 久布白落実 (1882-1972), the rising star in the Japan WCTU during the 1920s, attended the conference as the only Japanese female delegate. In her own words, this event was “an enlightening experience,” especially regarding “the racial problem.” She was shocked by the nationalistic protests that prevailed in

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<sup>30</sup> Jerald D. Gort, “Jerusalem 1928: Mission, Kingdom and Church,” *International Review of Mission* 267 (July 1978): 273-274, 282, 295. As that the planned house of the conference was damaged by an earthquake in 1927, the problem of delegate housing was resolved by erecting five temporary wooden barracks and 23 large tents. Gort believed that this situation contributed to “the removal of much suspicion among and misunderstanding between the delegates, and to the closing or at least bridging of the deep chasm dividing them along theological lines” (on page 273).

the discussions among non-white Protestants towards white colonizers, such as Indians and Southeastern Asians towards Europeans, or Japanese immigrants in the US towards Americans. Moreover, she was much more surprised by Western missionaries who chose not to stand up for their home government, but instead to criticize aggressive acts by Western imperialist powers in non-Western countries. For example, she mentioned a British woman working in China's mission field who said that "missionaries do not need to be protected militarily by their home countries at the risk of making the Chinese feel offended." Also, Kubushiro was profoundly impressed by a Korean woman delegate named Kim, who challenged Japanese Christians' silence about the Massacre of Koreans in 1923 after the Great Kanto Earthquake. This particular scene made her feel alienated from her neighboring peoples and feel guilty for having not paid closer attention to neighboring countries, such as Korea, China, and India.<sup>31</sup>

It was from attending the Jerusalem conference that Kubushiro began to consider the role of Japanese Protestant women in building grassroots, inter-personal, mutual trust between the Japanese and other Asians. Her reports about the conference were



**Kubushiro Ochimi in the Japanese Delegation**

Jerusalem, 1928

Photo published in *Haishō Hitosuji*.

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<sup>31</sup> Japan WCTU ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai hyakunen shi*, 579-581. Kubushiro Ochimi, *Haishō hitosuji* 廃娼ひとすじ [Towards the abolition of prostitution] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1982), 216.

thus a watershed in the pre-World War II history of the Japan WCTU, because since then, the racial problem became one of the most crucial topics, and Asian neighbors became a more critical consideration, among the Japan WCTU leaders. It shows that an outward-looking perspective began taking shape among these Japanese women who came to think about and plan for social services targeting “foreign people” – namely Asian students living in Japan and peoples of other Asian countries.<sup>32</sup> In other words, as a non-Western Protestant organization, the Japan WCTU shifted its concentration from “responding” to Euro-American counterparts to “impacting” Asian societies.

The Japan WCTU was not the only women’s organization that shifted its rhetoric on women’s roles in the Japanese empire. Ichikawa Fusae 市川房枝 (1893-1981), the feminist founder of the Women’s Suffrage League in Japan, also came to adopt in the 1930s the vision that Japanese women should act like mothers of the nation. Into the 1940s, she further accepted that to serve the state in wartime might be the only means through which women could achieve individual citizenship in Japan.<sup>33</sup> Compared to Ichikawa’s reason to assist the state at war, which was more politically strategic, the Japan WCTU leaders’ cause was attached to the morality of “Christian neighborly love.” Nevertheless, both became assistants of the imperial expansion.

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<sup>32</sup> For a detailed discussion about the JWCTU’s outward-looking transformation from the 1910s to the 1920s, see Hayakawa Noriyo 早川紀代, “Teikoku ishiki no seisei to tenkai: Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai no baai” 帝国意識の生成と展開: 日本基督教婦人矯風会の場合 [The origin and development of the imperialistic ideology: the case of the Japan WCTU], in *Josei Kirisutokyōsha to sensō* 女性基督教者と戦争 [Christian Women and the war], ed. Tomisaka Kirisutokyō Senta 富阪キリスト教センター (Tokyo: Kōrosha, 2002), 147-189.

<sup>33</sup> Barbara Molony, “From ‘Mothers of Humanity’ to ‘Assisting the Emperor’: Gendered Belonging in the Wartime Rhetoric of Japanese Feminist Ichikawa Fusae,” *Pacific Historical Review* 80 no. 1 (Feb. 2011): 1-27.

The former turned its feminist rhetoric inward as the “mothers of the nation,” while the latter turned outward as the “mothers of neighboring peoples.”

### **Serving the Chinese: Japanese Protestant Women’s Mission at War**

After the Manchurian Incident, the Japan WCTU published a statement, answering a telegraph sent by five Chinese women’s organizations in Shanghai. It claimed that Japan had not offended the treaties that set its “special interest” in Manchuria. As the author Kubushiro affirmed, Japan had only exercised the right of self-defense in order to keep benefits of its industrial investments, and to protect Japanese immigrants living in Manchuria, including 200,000 Japanese and 800,000 Koreans, who were both considered subjects of the Japanese empire.<sup>34</sup>

Japanese WCTU workers became very active in Manchuria then, developing social services with only minor obstacles due to Japan’s military occupation of the area. According to reports from the Manchurian branches, Japanese WCTU members were involved deeply during the 1930s in campaign activities for Koreans and Chinese in Manchuria, under the multi-ethnic ideology of “five races cooperating under one union” (*Gozoku-kyōwa* 五族共和). At the time, all Japanese women’s organizations in Manchuria were united under the Union of Woman Groups in Manchuria (*Zenman Fujin Rengōkai* 全滿婦人連合会) in Dalian and Fengtian. Japanese WCTU members contributed much to the Zenrin Gakuin 善隣学院 project, which had been developed by the Union and targeted only the Korean population in Fengtian, in establishing a settlement, a school, a kindergarten, and a training department.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Japan WCTU ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai hyakunen shi*, 623-625.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 627-629.



However, JWCTU leaders encountered harsh criticisms in other locations in China after the Manchurian Incident. For instance, Kubushiro and Hayashi Utako went to Shanghai and Nanjing in December 1931. They visited several Chinese women's societies and talked about the Sino-Japanese relationship with Chinese Protestant woman leaders, including Ding Shujing 丁淑静 (1890-1936), the secretary of the Chinese YWCA, and Wu Yifang 吴贻芳 (1893-1985), the president of the Jinling Women's College 金陵女子大学 (1913-1951). In facing Chinese women leaders' request, asking Japanese women to interfere directly in the Japanese government's decisions and military actions, Kubushiro stated, "we were not sent by the [Japanese] government [to visit China], and we had no suffrage like them [Chinese women]; we can only help shape the public opinion."<sup>36</sup>

This stalemate became further heated when both Japanese and Chinese women had to face the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937. Reacting promptly in August 1937 through the editorial preface of the *Fujin Shinpō*, the Japan WCTU's organ monthly, Kubushiro defended the Imperial Army of Japan, saying that "in theory, the Republic of China caused the conflict."<sup>37</sup> Then, right after the incident, a group of Japanese WCTU leaders visited several cities in China. As Kubushiro stated, the goals of this journey were, firstly, to spread the Japanese Christians' message calling for "the peace of the Orient" (*Tōyō heiwa* 東洋平和); secondly, to mobilize the national spirit; and thirdly, to bring greetings and gifts to Japanese soldiers.<sup>38</sup>

The JWCTU delegation departed from Tokyo in September 1937.<sup>39</sup> They received permission of travel in north China in Dalian and went directly to Beijing

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 629-630.

<sup>37</sup> *FJSP* 473 (Aug. 1937): 3.

<sup>38</sup> *FJSP* 476 (Nov. 1937): 4-5; 20-24.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

and other locations in north China, then traveled around northern Manchukuo and Korea. In each location, the delegate members and local Japanese WCTU workers visited the local garrison hospital and comforted injured soldiers. They prepared 1,000 banderols, 500 caramels, and 400 pamphlets written by Hayashi Utako about her experiences as a Christian for fifty years as the contents of comfort packages, in addition to consolation money. They also printed “comfort cards” – with a *waka* poem by the Meiji Emperor printed on the front, and the names of WCTU local branches on the reverse side – and “tried very hard to deliver them to every soldier they met.” In addition to garrison hospitals, the JWCTU group also visited Japanese embassies and enterprises administered by Japanese Protestants, such as Shimizu Yasuzō’s school in Beijing, the Rest Home (*Keinoie* 憩の家) for Japanese soldiers established by the National Christian Council of Japan (*Nihon Kirisutokyō Renmei* 日本基督教連盟) in Tianjin, and the Zenrin Gakuin in Fengtian. Through the trip, the JWCTU’s agenda in China became more clarified as a civilizing mission directed at the Chinese people, like Kubushiro summarized, “I came to feel the responsibility to civilize Chinese people. It has been white men’s work – at least during the last century. But now I am pleased to see that Japanese Christians, for example, I myself, are ready to take up this duty [from white men] to evangelize China.”<sup>40</sup>

Shimizu’s school in Beijing left a strong impression in Kubushiro’s mind.

“Although it is not a very big institute,” she reported, “the school gives us hope and an example of how to serve Chinese people.”<sup>41</sup> Kanemori Sumiko 金森すみこ (?-?), another member of the delegation, also mentioned that Shimizu’s wish to “establish ten educational institutes in the most severe anti-Japanese environment in Beijing”

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-23.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

powerfully impacted her and made her feel hope for “non-political, grass-roots Sino-Japanese diplomacy.”<sup>42</sup> These messages represent the admiration that Japanese WCTU leaders had for Shimizu’s missionary enterprise. Even before the trip, some of the JWCTU leaders knew Shimizu and his school well because they had a close relationship with Ikuko – Shimizu’s second wife. For instance, Gauntlett Tsuneko attended the third Pan-Pacific Women’s Conference in 1934 with Ikuko. She and her old friend Sōga Yasutarō were, in fact, two initiators of the matchmaking of Shimizu and Ikuko.<sup>43</sup> This personal connection shaped a strong mutual trust between the JWCTU in Tokyo and the Shimizu couple in Beijing, which created the precondition for their future working relationship in building the Airinkan settlement.

In the process of shaping the idea to build a settlement in Beijing, Shimizu played a similar role to that which John Marle Davis (1875-1960) had played in promoting the Kōbōkan settlement in Tokyo.<sup>44</sup> Davis was a YMCA man in Japan and was seen the “father” of the Kōbōkan settlement. His observation of social problems in Tokyo’s eastside (Honjo, Fukagawa, and Asakusa) convinced him of the value that would come from providing medical services and educational programs for local adults.<sup>45</sup> Some findings from his local investigation, such as that “one out of every three babies died down there,” deeply shocked Western missionaries of the Foreign Auxiliary of the WCTU in Japan and inspired them to undertake a new project.<sup>46</sup>

Like Davis, Shimizu was a careful observer of social problems in his mission field. He found that the region around Tianqiao near the Temple of Heaven at the

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>43</sup> Kurematsu Kaoru, *Koizumi Ikuko no kenkyū*, 127. Also, Shimizu Yasuzō, *Pekin seitan*, 154-156.

<sup>44</sup> See J. M. Davis, *John Marle Davis: An Autobiography* (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1960).

<sup>45</sup> Manako Ogawa, “‘Hull-House’ in Downtown Tokyo,” 359, 362.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* See, J. H. Covell et al., “Twenty Years in Tokyo’s East Side – The Kobokan,” *Japan Christian Quarterly* 14 (July 1939): 251.

south end of Beijing was a place for plebeian entertainment and thus had accumulated a large population of the urban poor, just like Coney Island in New York and Asakusa in Tokyo. When the JWCTU leaders traveled to Beijing in 1937, Shimizu decided immediately to guide them on a tour of this region. Hayashi Utako followed Shimizu to the slum region and took notes about her observations. She noticed that many locals looked dirty because of a shortage of clean water. She also found many of them could not mend holes on their clothes because they had no needlework skill. Shimizu and Hayashi then came to an agreement that medical services, sewing and literacy training, and clean water were the top three urgent needs in this area. Although the plan for building a permanent settlement was not clear at that moment, they decided to commence the medical services as soon as possible.<sup>47</sup>

Once they were back in Japan, Hayashi and Kubushiro rushed into the promotion of a medical rescue team for the Chinese. Their proposal was published in January 1938 in the *Fujin Shinpō*. It explained that, because Japanese Protestants had paid enough attention to the imperial army and built quite a few facilities for the soldiers in China, the JWCTU workers would do something else for the local Chinese instead, in order to present the pure love through Japanese Christians. The proposal set the budget at 10,000 *yen*, and Hayashi Utako took charge of the campaign for donations.<sup>48</sup> Her reports were published almost every month in *Fujin Shinpō* in the first half of 1938. In the first two months, Hayashi sent out about 600 New Year cards to church-related persons on behalf of the JWCTU, expressing the urgent need of

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<sup>47</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Pekin seitan*, 156-158.

<sup>48</sup> *FJSP* 478 (Jan. 1938): 20.

medical rescue services for their “continental neighbors” and asking for donations. Shortly, about 400 people responded with donations which totaled about 2,000 *yen*.<sup>49</sup>

After the success of fundraising, however, the rescue team and its activities in China turned out to be unsuccessful because they relied too much on local arrangements made by the National Christian Council of Japan, which did not intend particularly to serve Chinese people. Using the money, Shimizu and Kubushiro instructed two Japanese nurses to help with medical services in Shijiazhuang (Hebei Province) from March 1938 through Dōjinkai 同仁会, a Japanese rescue organization operating nationwide in China.<sup>50</sup> Although the Japan WCTU leaders highly praised these two women and claimed that the medical services they participated had “served for more than ten thousand people,” they did not mention whom they served.<sup>51</sup> In fact, as one nurse later recalled, they serviced only a small number of demilitarized Chinese who were forced to surrender, in addition to a large number of Japanese soldiers.<sup>52</sup>

Hayashi and Kubushiro might have realized this problem, because in the proposal submitted in November 1937 to the National Christian Council of Japan, they stated clearly the need to send medical teams to serve “ordinary Chinese people.”<sup>53</sup> On April 2, 1938, nine Japanese women joined together as the committee of the Airinkan project which was re-proposed to be a Japanese Protestant women-led permanent settlement for local Chinese people.<sup>54</sup> Four JWCTU female leaders,

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<sup>49</sup> *FJSP* 481 (Mar. 1938): 29.

<sup>50</sup> *FJSP* 489 (Dec. 1938): 26-27. For details about Dōjinkai, see Chieko Nakajima, “Medicine, Philanthropy, and Imperialism: The *Dōjinkai* in China, 1902-1945,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 17 (2010): 47-84 (<http://chinajapan.org/articles/17/6>).

<sup>51</sup> *FJSP* 484 (July 1938): 14.

<sup>52</sup> *FJSP* 489 (Dec. 1938): 26-27.

<sup>53</sup> *FJSP* 484 (July 1938): 14. Izuoka Manabu, “Tairiku seisaku no naka no Pekin Airinkan,” 204.

<sup>54</sup> Izuoka Manabu, “Tairiku seisaku no naka no Pekin Airinkan,” 209.

including Hayashi and Kubushiro, held seats on the committee board.<sup>55</sup> Several days later at the 47th national assembly meeting of the JWCTU, held April 6-8, 1938, the organization's leaders further clarified their intention to differentiate their women-led overseas activities from regular medical services in the battlefield by establishing the permanent settlement for the Chinese people.<sup>56</sup> With full passion, they were ready to take the lead in running their own program of overseas expansion.

### **The Establishment of Airinkan in Japanese-Occupied Beijing**

While the nine-women committee was being established in Japan, Shimizu was searching for a suitable place to start the settlement project. He recorded in his diary on April 27, 1938 that he found an ideal location, but the price of the land was too high to be covered by the Japan WCTU's budget set by Hayashi and Kubushiro. During the following week, Shimizu was invited to negotiate back and forth as a mediator between a Japanese man and a Chinese man who were involved in a love triangle with a Japanese woman. Shimizu recorded that, coincidentally, the Chinese man's mother was the owner of the exact land that he had viewed in the residential blocks in Tianqiao. Believing that Shimizu had successfully avoided a lawsuit against her son, the Chinese mother showed her gratitude by "renting" the land to him for charitable use. Shimizu was so pleased and recorded in his diary on May 6, 1938 that, "I was rewarded, for resolving this issue in only one or two days, with 500-*tsubo* land (1650 square meters)."<sup>57</sup> In this case, Shimizu's Japanese citizenship provided a tremendous convenience for his mediatory role played in the Japanese-occupied city.

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<sup>55</sup> *FJSP* 484 (July 1938): 14.

<sup>56</sup> *FJSP* 482 (May 1938): 16.

<sup>57</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina no tamashii o tsukamu* 支那人の魂を掴む [Grasp the Chinese' soul] (Tokyo: Sōzōsha, 1943), 185-187. Shimizu recorded that the Chinese man's father was the warlord

Informed of this exciting progress in Beijing, female Protestants in Japan embarked on their second fundraising promotion, this time to raise money for a permanent settlement. The Japan WCTU officers calculated the construction fee to be 7,000 *yen* and the first-year payment to a resident doctor at about 2,000 *yen*. By the end of June 1938, they had collected 6,500 *yen* and thus called for an additional 2,500 *yen* to complete their budget.<sup>58</sup> By October, the 9,000-*yen* budget was achieved, and they called again for another 7,440 *yen* for the settlement's initiative.<sup>59</sup>

Using part of the initial fund, Shimizu hired an American architect from the Presbyterian School of Technology in Beijing, who designed a two-story building with a gable roof.<sup>60</sup> As the design drawing shows, this building included a clinic room, a reception area, a general office, a servant room on the first floor, and a kitchen, a dining room, and two private rooms on the second floor. Shimizu then found a local Chinese construction team and hoped they could complete the work before the weather of winter in Beijing could postpone its completion and therefore its use.<sup>61</sup>

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Sun Chuanfang 孙传芳 (1885-1935), who had been dominant in the region of the Yangzi River during the early Republican years. However, according to the patrol report submitted to the Police Bureau of Beijing (*Beijing Jingchashu* 北京警察署) on January 9, 1939, the owner of land was recorded as Sun Dailin 孙戴霖, who was not the widow or son of Sun Chuanfang. See Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-19929. See also “Tenchiao Airinkan enkaku” 天橋愛隣館沿革 [Chronology of the Tianqiao Airinkan], in *Zaidan hōjin tenchiao Airinkan setsuritsu kyoka shinsei sho* 財団法人天橋愛隣館設立許可申請書 [Application for the permission to establish the juridical foundation for Airinkan in Tianqiao] submitted by Shimizu Yasuzō to Aoki Kazuo, the first Minister of Greater East Asia (Possession of Kozaki Michio, Department of Theology at Dōshisha University), 8.

<sup>58</sup> *FJSP* 484 (July 1938): 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> *FJSP* 487 (Oct. 1938): 14.

<sup>60</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 201.

<sup>61</sup> “Tianqiao xinjian Ailinguan hetong ji shuomingshu, tuzhi” 天橋新建愛隣館合同及说明书图纸 [Contract of constructing Ailinguan in Tianqiao, notes and sketches], accessed through Beijing Municipal Archive, J017-001-01737, 2-6. The construction team called “Beijing xiexing jianzhuchang (北京协兴建建筑厂)” and the lead technician was Li Shitai 李时泰.

In Tokyo, the JWCTU leaders did not waste time, either. They started looking for a coordinating administrator who could organize the local settlement operations and go back and forth in day-to-day correspondence between the Shimizu-led local office in Beijing and the supporting team in Japan. Undoubtedly, this logistical arrangement would not only strengthen the interactions between the co-working teams in Beijing and Tokyo, but it would also help maintain the Japanese Protestant womanpower in the daily running of the overseas settlement.

Toriumi Michiko 鳥海道子 (1916-2009), then a 22-year old female social worker, was offered this position after becoming a member of the Japan WCTU in Tokyo.<sup>62</sup> Born at Gunma prefecture in 1916 as the fourth child in the Toriumi family, Michiko received a high-quality education in the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 東洋英和女学院, a well-established institute for women's education founded in 1884 by Martha J. Cartmell (1846-1954) from the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. Michiko's father valued education highly and thus sent all his children to Christian mission institutes with his limited income until he died in 1933. That year, Michiko was a sophomore of Theology in the Aoyama Gakuin. Without enough money, she suspended her full-time college study and started working in a second-hand bookstore in central Tokyo. In 1936, she enrolled in the part-time night school program in the Social Policy Institute (*Shakai Seisaku Gakuin* 社会政策学院) and, upon graduation in 1937, was hired by the Federation of Nation's Purity (*Kokumin Junketsu Dōmei* 国民純潔同盟) as a professional social worker.

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<sup>62</sup> Ikeda Izumi 池田泉, "Haha no hachijūsan-nenkan o tadotte" 母の八十三年間をたどって [My mom's eighty-three years], in Ikeda Family ed., *Taishō, Shōwa, Heisei no jidai o ikita Ikeda Michiko* 大正・昭和・平成の時代を生きた池田道子 [Ikeda Michiko: a life over Taisho, Showa and Heisei] (privately published, 2010), 2-12. Biographical details described in this and the next two paragraphs are all recorded on page 2, except for those that are separately footnoted.



Raised in a Christian home and educated in a Christian school, Toriumi was baptized in 1931 at the Azabu Methodist Church near the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin. From that point on, she was deeply involved in social work as a volunteer in many local societies or Christian social enterprises in Tokyo. Later, she participated in the Tokyo YWCA and became the vice head of the Department of Youth in the Japan WCTU in 1937. During her early 20s, Toriumi was an ardent, ambitious, and capable young woman.<sup>63</sup> When she learned from Kubushiro about the plan of building a settlement in Beijing, she felt that it was just what she was looking for and thus responded, quickly albeit soundly, “I will go.” Kubushiro also did not hesitate to affirm this firmness of dedication and approved, in that very moment, Toriumi’s “application.”

Toriumi arrived in Beijing in May 1938. Without any knowledge of the Chinese language, she was settled first in Shimizu’s school as a librarian and spent time learning the language, sometimes among grade-one students on campus. In her initial several months in Beijing, she helped oversee the daily progress of the settlement construction on site. Although very busy doing these jobs, she also had many opportunities to become familiar with local groups of Christian and non-Christian Japanese people and to visit other cities. Beijing was a fantastic city that fulfilled the curiosity of this young Japanese social worker. There was, as she described, the picturesque and nostalgic beauty around the botanical garden in western Beijing where the imperial remains stood, while also unendurable miseries around the Chaoyang Gate, full of unhealthy food, non-potable water, and all kinds of diseases.

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<sup>63</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Michiko to tomo ni” 道子と共に [Together with Michiko], in Ikeda Family ed., *Taishō, Shōwa, Heisei no jidai o ikita Ikeda Michiko*, 2-3.

Shimizu's school was Toriumi's heaven and, once back there, its warmth and loveliness let her forget the tensioned chaos that existed just outside the campus.<sup>64</sup>

Five months later, in October 1938, the second resident Japanese staff came in, named Ikenaga Eiko 池永英子 (1907-?), who was preparing to be a doctor in the new settlement. Ikenaga was about ten years older than Toriumi.<sup>65</sup> Before going to Beijing, she was already an experienced female oculist and had worked in the Sumitomo Hospital in Osaka for a decade.<sup>66</sup> Born as the only child into the family of a businessman, Ikenaga received medical training at the Tokyo Women's Medical Professional School and graduated in 1928.<sup>67</sup> She and her father converted to Christianity under the influence of the Christian social activist Narazaki Itarō 榑崎猪太郎 (1865-1932), founder of the All Japan Seamen's Union (*Nihon Kaiin Kumiai* 日本海員組合).<sup>68</sup> Narazaki's wife became acquainted with Shimizu and introduced to him Ikenaga as the residential doctor upon learning of his settlement plan in Beijing.<sup>69</sup>

Ikenaga, however, was certainly not passively involved. Throughout the ten years of her medical practice from 1928 to 1937, she witnessed daily in her work place the patriotic involvement of the “continental affair” in China by her male colleagues. They “bravely responded to the [military] recruitments and stood for the nation,” she said. As a Japanese female longing to be similarly useful for the nation,

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<sup>64</sup> Toriumi Michiko, “Pekin tarori” 北京便り [Message from Beijing], *FJSP* 484 (July 1938): 34-35.

<sup>65</sup> Yamazaki Tomoko, *Chōyōmonkai no niiji*, 314. The biographical details of Ikenaga described in this paragraph are according to Yamazaki's interview to Ikenaga Sawako, who was adopted by Ikenaga Eiko and had been the resident nurse of the Airinkan settlement. See pages 314-317.

<sup>66</sup> Ikenaga Eiko, “Shuppatsu o mae ni shite” 出発を前にして [Before departure], *FJSP* 487 (Oct. 1938): 15-16.

<sup>67</sup> Yamazaki Tomoko, *Chōyōmonkai no niiji*, 315.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* For details about Narazaki Itarō, refer to his wartime biography by Yonekubo Mitsusuke 米窪満亮, *Umi no seisha: Narazaki Itarō den* 海の聖者：榑崎猪太郎傳 [Saint of the Sea: Biography of Narazaki Itarō] (Kobe: Nihon Kaiin Kumiai, 1939).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 315-316.

she “always imagined” if she could have been a man. Therefore, the Airinkan settlement was for her a dream enterprise. “Though without the formal command from his majesty [the Emperor],” she affirmed, “I will go with firm determination and courage, same as those males.”<sup>70</sup>

Considering she was an only child, Ikenaga was not sure if she could “live permanently there [in Beijing].” However, she saw the medical service for the Chinese people not only as necessary but also as a holy career:

I think, to build the settlement [for the Chinese poor] is very necessary for Japan now, and must be undertaken by our Japanese women. ... Though we pray that this war is for the forever peace of East Asia, there is still blood and death. If we do not present our **love** to our [Chinese] neighbor as such, they will not understand Japan’s real intention and the meaning of the holy war. ... <sup>71</sup>

This “love” that had to be presented by Japanese Protestant women represented not only Ikenaga’s self-perception of gender equality in the war efforts but also more generally these women’s joint appeal for a comparable citizenry to their male counterparts in both domestic and colonially occupied overseas spheres.<sup>72</sup> Realizing the Airinkan settlement, by contributing either money



**Toriumi Michiko** (left) and **Ikenaga Eiko** (middle)  
In front of the Airinkan building.  
Photo collected by Ikeda Family, printed in  
*Chōyōmongai no niji* (page 299).

<sup>70</sup> Ikenaga Eiko, “Shupatsu o mae ni shite,” *FJSP* 487 (Oct. 1938): 15.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Hayakawa Noriyo, “Teikoku ishiki no seisei to tenkai,” 164-165. See also her “Nationalism, Colonialism and Women: The Case of the World Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Japan,” in *Women’s Rights and Human Rights*, edited by Grimshaw P., Holmes K., Lake M. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 16-30.

or actual labor, was for them to establish their citizenship within Japan through self-gendering their role in supporting the war outside of Japan.

Upon completion of the settlement building at the end of December 1938, the Airinkan began to serve local Chinese people on January 10, 1939.<sup>73</sup> In Japan, it was affiliated with the National Christian Council and was the joint enterprise of Protestant women represented by the domestic committee consisting of nine Protestant female leaders.<sup>74</sup> Locally in Beijing, it operated under the North China Branch of the East Asia Development Board (*Kōain* 興亜院, referred to as *Kōain*) with a local committee composed of ten Christian women, of which seven were Japanese.<sup>75</sup> Shimizu's wife Ikuko chaired the local committee board, and Shimizu himself supervised its daily operations.<sup>76</sup> In fact, Shimizu refocused his attention on evangelical and social works when Ikuko replaced him in the administrative role at Sūtei Gakuen in about 1936.<sup>77</sup> Except for a limited teaching load and leading prayers every day on campus, he was more heavily involved in the clergy work of the Japanese Church in Beijing, and then, after the outbreak of war in 1937, participated actively in the Japanese Protestant missionary movement in north China.

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<sup>73</sup> *FJSP* 492 (Mar. 1939), 8. Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-19929.

<sup>74</sup> “Tokyo Rengō Fujinkai shuji Murakami Hideko soto kyūmei” 東京連合婦人会主事村上秀子外九名 [The Tokyo Ladies' Union Society, Director Murakami Hideko and 9 other members, May 1, 1939; MS no. H-6-1-0-3\_2\_012, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015706600 (on page H-0553, 0114).

<sup>75</sup> *Nihon Kirisutokyō Renmei Jikyoku Hōshi Iinkai Fujinbu* 日本基督教連盟時局奉仕委員会婦人部, *Hokushi iryō setsurumento tayori: kensetsu gō* 北支医療セツルメント便り: 建設号 [News of the medical settlement in north China: special issue of construction], 1938; MS no. H-6-1-0-3\_2\_012, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B05015706600 (on pages H-0553, 0118-0119).

<sup>76</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727. See also JACAR, Reference Code: B05015706600 (on pages H-0553, 0117-0118).

<sup>77</sup> See chapter three for details.

Supervised by Shimizu, the Airinkan began her philanthropy by distributing food.<sup>78</sup> Through the local police, the Japanese authority sent out food stamps to common female citizens, including those in the Tianqiao region. On January 14, 1939, close to 500 locals who had been given one of these stamps exchanged it at the Airinkan compound for a small bag of millet (approximately 1.5 kilograms) and some cash (3 *jiao*) sealed in a small envelope. On that day, the Airinkan building was decorated with flags in printed slogans such as “good will between Japan and China” (*Nikka shinzen* 日華親善) and “relief work for plebeians” (*hinmin kyūsai* 貧民救済). The Japanese news agency Dōmeisha 同盟社 sent a photographer to capture this scene. Not pictured in the resulting photographs were the two Chinese policemen who submitted the detailed patrol report and the head of the Japanese Military Police who assisted with maintaining order on site. Similar activities were organized around the same time on that day in four other locations, including Sūtei Gakuen and a social serving place operated by the Honganji 本願寺 section of Japanese Buddhism. Food distribution on such a scale was also conducted in 1941 by the Chinese and Japanese Women’s Association (*Chū-Nichi Fujinkai* 中日婦人會).<sup>79</sup>

In 1939, Airinkan effectively finalized its organizational development and fulfilled the top three local needs summarized in the investigative tour by Shimizu and Hayashi in 1937. First, the Department of Medical Service (*Iryōbu* 医療部) was initialized as the central department from the very beginning on January 10, 1939, under Ikenaga’s management. It provided clinic service and necessary medications and conducted simple surgeries for local people with cheap fares. More than half of

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<sup>78</sup> Details of the event described in this paragraph were recorded in the patrol report submitted to the Police Bureau of Beijing on January 14, 1939. See Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20296.

<sup>79</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-22026 (Feb. 16, 1941).

these patients came in for diseases related to the eyes and skin, presumably due to the unhygienic environment in the region. The total number of patients who visited the clinic office increased rapidly from 15,358 in 1939 to 23,209 in 1940, during which time Ikenaga oversaw the department. However, the number decreased to 18,933 in 1941, partially because in that year Ikenaga returned to Japan due to her own illness.<sup>80</sup>

Second, upon regularization of the medical service, Airinkan began to organize needlework training workshops starting on May 1, 1939. Like those organized for girl students in Shimizu's school during the early 1920s, the Department of Skill Training (*Jusanbu* 授産部) began with small classes of approximately ten Chinese women. Instructed by the director of the department, Guan Xijing 关锡敬, they were taught necessary skills for sewing, embroidery, Western and Chinese dressmaking, and the making of other household pieces.<sup>81</sup> Middle-class Japanese midwives who lived in Beijing contributed much to the development of skill training for Chinese women and were extremely active in participating in the department's activities. For example, Ozawa Sakura 小澤さくら (?), mother of the globally well-known conductor Ozawa Seiji 小澤征爾 (1935-), was a profound involver of Airinkan's skill training events, because she was not only a pious Christian but also a local committee member of the settlement.<sup>82</sup> She remembered, nostalgically, that going to Airinkan was her daily routine and she found great enjoyment in teaching Chinese women and girls how to make Japanese *yukata*, a casual style of summer *kimono*. Eventually, these summer

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<sup>80</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 201, 205.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 206-207.

<sup>82</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (1939), 2-7.

clothes made by Chinese women were taken north to the Beijing Hotel as sleepwear for the increasing number of Japanese guests accommodated there during the war.<sup>83</sup>

Third, around the same time, in the spring of 1939, the local team from Airinkan embarked on a well-digging project, intending to provide clean water to residents in the Tianqiao region for free.<sup>84</sup> As investigated by Shimizu and Hayashi, the shortage of water in Tianqiao resulted in the high price of potable water, which the local population could not possibly afford. Accessing spring water through digging a well was what they had planned since then. For the well-digging project, Shimizu and Toriumi used the funds that had been donated by the Western missionary faculty of and Japanese girl students from the Baikō Female Mission School (*Baikō Jogakuin* 梅光女学院) as well as by WCTU members in Shimonoseki.<sup>85</sup> The excavation for water turned out to be unexpectedly difficult.<sup>86</sup> It took more than five months and could not be completed without the extra 500 *yen* donated by an old Western pastor of the Anglican Church in Akita Prefecture in Japan during his visit to Airinkan that year.<sup>87</sup> Eventually, the water that sprung up from a depth of 70 meters underground excited everyone who prayed for it. Hayashi Utako even glorified it with her *tanka* poem, “Spring of love effused in north China, we give thanks as deeply from our hearts to the well of *Baikō*.”<sup>88</sup> The water that came out from “the well of *Baikō*,” symbolizing Japanese Christian women’s “deep” love for their Chinese neighbors, satisfied the criteria of potable water set by the Municipal Board of Health in Beijing

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<sup>83</sup> Ozawa Sakura, *Pekin no aoi sora: watashi no ikita Shōwa* 北京の青い空：わたしの生きた昭和 [Under the blue sky of Beijing: my life during the Showa years] (Tokyo: Nikki Shupan, 1991), 141-144.

<sup>84</sup> *FJSP* 500 (Nov. 1939): 37. Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 207.

<sup>85</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (1939), 2-7.

<sup>86</sup> *FJSP* 500 (Nov. 1939): 37.

<sup>87</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (1939), 2-7.

<sup>88</sup> *FJSP* 500 (Nov. 1939): 37.

in November 1939, and from then on significantly upgraded the safety of drinking water in the Tianqiao region.<sup>89</sup>

This news must have excited Shimizu, too, somewhere on the Asian coast during his trans-Pacific journey starting in October 1939. Before leaving Beijing, he had also helped prepare the “Thousand-Character School (*qianzi xuexiao* 千字学校) by introducing Zhu Zhenhua 朱振华, a Chinese pastor, to be the director of the Department of Education (*Gakkōbu* 学校部) and the principal of the school. Helped by Zhu and other Chinese staff, Toriumi managed to recruit pupils and opened the school on November 10, 1939, when Shimizu was not in Beijing.<sup>90</sup> The plebeian school set the maximum enrollment at 35 children per class. Its programs lasted for four months and provided a half-day curriculum. They used the four-volume literacy reader *A Thousand Characters for Citizens* (*Shimin qianzi ke* 市民千字课) as the textbook for language and character learning. Other than that, the school also offered lessons in arithmetic, Japanese, and Bible study. After ten months, in August 1940, the total enrollment reached 68 in three classes of various levels.<sup>91</sup>

The Department of Philanthropic Business (*Jishōbu* 慈商部) was the fourth and the last department that the general office of Airinkan established. Since March 1940, it managed all charitable activities and other uncategorized events that had already been in practice, like the distribution of food, the administration of providing clean water, and the organization of charitable sales of secondhand clothes.<sup>92</sup> There was also a special Department of Evangelization (*Dendōbu* 传道部) chaired by Toriumi. It dealt with the clergy needs for all organized events and activities, but, more

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<sup>89</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (1939), 2-7.

<sup>90</sup> Ikeda Arada, “Michiko to tomo ni,” 2.

<sup>91</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 205-206.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.



importantly, its foundation affirmed that it was the Christian value and belief that bolstered the Airinkan's transnational activism. By far, Japanese Protestant women's initial goal of building an overseas settlement for the Chinese poor was efficiently achieved in a single year through their collective womanpower and the collaboration of not only Protestant females but also males from the domestic and local teams in Japan and China.

### **Imagining Christian Motherly Love towards the Chinese in Japan**

In the transnational context of imperial colonialism and military occupation, Japanese Protestant activists contributed physically and materially to the improvement of the quality of life in a small community of Chinese people. Back at home, however, they were rewarded much more, politically and ideologically. Because of Shimizu's involvement, Airinkan could easily be represented as a holy enterprise in China made by Japanese Protestants in the public press in Japan.<sup>93</sup> If Shimizu was the father of Chinese girls, Airinkan's female Japanese runners were mothers of the Chinese poor. Together they helped support the justifiability of Japan's invasion of China, and within Christian communities in Japan, the discourse of a Christian "holy war."

Japanese Protestant women achieved an irreplaceable space in the male-centered propagation of the state's warfare through their own efforts. When trying hard to develop Airinkan's organization, they strived similarly to gain approval from state power. In the 47th National Convention of the Japan WCTU held in Kyūshū on April 4-5, 1938, women activists discussed the Airinkan project as a special enterprise in

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<sup>93</sup> Refer to chapter five.

the movement called Moral Civilization of East Asia (*Tōa Kyōfū Kyōka* 東亞矯風教化).<sup>94</sup> Right after that, Kubushiro began scheduling a delegation trip to Beijing and Tianjin, specifically for attending the opening ceremony of the Airinkan settlement.<sup>95</sup>

As the leader of the delegation team, she made a considerable effort in applying for travel funds from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She explained that the donations collected from Japanese women throughout the country was “clean money (*jōzai* 淨財)” and would only be used for building the settlement, and thus they did not intend to take any amount from it for their travel fund.<sup>96</sup> In saying this, she did not mean that the money from the government was “dirty.” Quite conversely, any financial aids from the government were, for her, a great honor as they indicated the state’s affirmative approbation of Japanese Protestant women’s dedication to the country during national crisis. In response to Kubushiro’s application for a subsidy of 4,076.32 *yen*, of which 10% was for socializing with Chinese individuals and organizations, the Bureau of Oriental Cultural Undertaking in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided 1,998 *yen* – about half of the budget.<sup>97</sup> Though not having been fully funded, Kubushiro and the other women of the team achieved their goal of reminding male governors to pay attention to Christian women’s labor and, through this, empowered themselves to engage in the state’s warfare.

The much more important meaning of Airinkan for Japanese Protestant women in Japan was reflected in how the opening ceremony was described and represented by them. The event was held in a spacious tent pitched on the open space neighboring

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<sup>94</sup> *FJSP* 494 (May 1939): 8-18.

<sup>95</sup> JACAR, Reference Code: B05015706600 (on pages H-0553, 0106-0107).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid* (on page H-0553, 0113).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, (on pages H-0553, 0116; 0124).

the Airinkan building at 2 pm on May 26, 1939.<sup>98</sup> The female delegation from Japan, including nine women who were themselves on the committee board or were the representatives of committee members, arrived two days earlier, networked with the local team, and formally visited the Chinese and Japanese authorities in Tianjin and Beijing.<sup>99</sup> Wearing chrysanthemum pins, these women attended the ceremony in the style of a church service.<sup>100</sup>

The Japan WCTU attendees then reported the ceremony back to their members and to the donors who contributed funds for the settlement.<sup>101</sup> In the published records in *Fujin Shinpō*, two points were noteworthy. One, they emphasized Airinkan's local influence, as many important Chinese governors were happy to attend the celebration.<sup>102</sup> Two, they stressed Airinkan's local contributions as, among the 500



**The Opening Celebration of Airinkan**  
Photo taken by Japanese correspondence  
on May 26, 1939.

North China Railway Archive  
(<http://codh.rois.ac.jp>,  
Photo ID: 3702-018109-0)

attendees, about 200 to 300 were patients of the settlement's clinic.<sup>103</sup> However, the description of the event in the Chinese police report represented the situation differently. It said, guarded by local policemen and plain-clothes police, the ceremony

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<sup>98</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (May 26, 1939).

<sup>99</sup> JACAR, Reference Code: B05015706600 (on pages H-0553, 0106-0107; 0114-0115; 0120-0121, 0128-0129).

<sup>100</sup> *FJSP* 496 (July 1939): 6. Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (May 26, 1939).

<sup>101</sup> Except for the descriptive report about the ceremony, the *Fujin Shinpō* published also the travelogue pieces written by Hayashi Utako, Kubushiro Ochimi, and Senbongi Michiko. See *FJSP* 496 (July 1939): 6-8; 9; 16-18; 26-28.

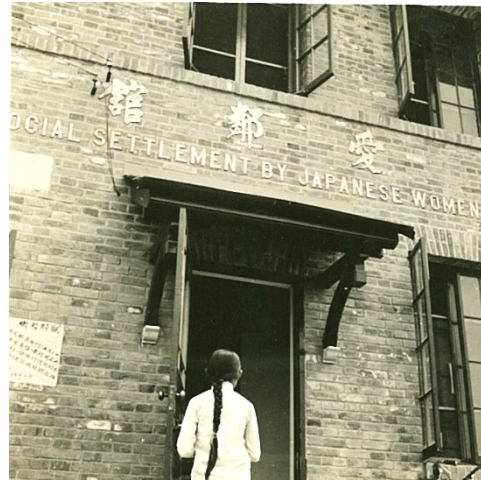
<sup>102</sup> *FJSP* 496 (July 1939): 7-8.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 9.

was attended by 280 guests. Among them 100 were Japanese, and 80 were students from the Sūtei Gakuen. The other 100 were residents of the community. Not indicating whether they were patients of the Airinkan clinic, the police officer recorded that each of them received a box of dim sum and a bag of biscuits for their presence at the event.<sup>104</sup>

The different representations of the factual details in the opening ceremony in Japanese and Chinese demonstrate how different the event's meaning was for Japanese Protestant women and the non-affiliated Chinese patrols. The former communicated to its female readers in Japan that Airinkan's social services successfully impacted to not only Chinese plebeians but also the Chinese authority. Thus, the Christian female readers could imagine that their love towards Chinese people was received with gratitude. In contrast, the latter recorded frankly that the ceremony was just a ceremony for the Japanese and implied that the Chinese people would not necessarily care about the event if they were not connected to the enterprise in some way or did not receive material benefits for their attendance.

Airinkan was crucial not only to Japanese Protestant women in Japan, but it was also meaningful domestically to Japanese Protestant males and the united church. Notably, the empire's 2600th Anniversary offered a precious opportunity for all



**A Chinese Girl in front of Airinkan**  
Photo taken by Japanese correspondence  
in May 1939.  
North China Railway Archive  
(<http://codh.rois.ac.jp>,  
Photo ID: 3702-018103-0)

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<sup>104</sup> Beijing Municipal Archive, J184-002-20727 (May 26, 1939).

Japanese Protestants to express their patriotism, in which Airinkan proved to be a particular enterprise in justifying their Christian nationalism.<sup>105</sup> For instance, the *Kingdom of God Weekly* published a full front-page report on November 6, 1940 about the national Christian assembly in celebration of the empire’s 2600th anniversary. Squared by this special full-page report, the title “Special Issue of Tianqiao Airinkan in Beijing” dazzled in the upper center of that page.<sup>106</sup> In the celebration called “The



*Kingdom of God Weekly*  
Special issue of the Tianqiao Airinkan.

National Assembly of Christians for the 2600<sup>th</sup> Anniversary” (*Nōki nisenroppyakunen hōshuku zenkoku Kirisutokyō shinto taikai* 皇紀二六〇〇年奉祝全国基督教信徒大会), which was held at the Aoyama Gakuin on October 17, 1940, the United Church of Christ in Japan emphasized the importance and urgent need of “evangelization of East Asia” (*tōa dendō* 東亜伝道) and mentioned, in particular, the Airinkan to be an exemplary enterprise of Japanese Protestants’ evangelization of Japan’s Asian neighbors.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> For the nationwide celebration of the Japanese empire’s 2600th anniversary, see Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2600th Anniversary* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010).

<sup>106</sup> “Tenchiao Airinkan tokushū ran gō” 天橋愛隣館特輯欄号 [Special issue of the Tianqiao Airinkan],” *Kami no Kuni Shinbun* 神の国新聞 [Kingdom of God Weekly] 1100 (Nov. 6, 1940): 1.

<sup>107</sup> *Nihon Kirisutokyō Renmei* 日本基督教連盟 ed., *Nōki nisenroppyakunen to kyōkai gōdō* 皇紀二千六百年と教会合同 [The celebration of the empire’s 2600th anniversary and the unification of the church] (Tokyo: Kirisutokyo Shuppansha, 1941), 49.

In this domestic context, Airinkan became a symbol of Christian neighborly love that, on the one hand, kindled the nationalistic fervor among Japanese Protestants within the community and, on the other, presented usefulness and the collective patriotic loyalty to the empire. Additionally, in public events and the press, the gendered nature of Airinkan was repeatedly emphasized by Protestants themselves by displaying the fact that it was funded and found by Japanese Protestant women, while both female and male Protestants benefited from it. Through exhibiting their self-feminized labor in building it, Protestant women intended to venture into the domestic center stage of the male-led political sphere of war. Through painting a picture of the feminized Christian neighborly love embedded in it, both Protestant women and men could proclaim that the whole Japanese Protestant community was irreplaceable in playing the soft, humanitarian, and thus feminine role in bringing up the hard, militarized, and masculine role in warfare to full strength in China.

Shimizu was undeniably essential in making the Airinkan into a symbolic institution of devotion of Japanese Protestants to the empire. His evangelical optimism did not cease even after experiencing the troubling issue in Hawaii in early 1940, and the one-month forced attendance to the Japanese Military Police in Beijing in mid-1940. On the contrary, he came to be more enthusiastic in propagating Airinkan's wartime humanitarianism. In the same issue of the *Kingdom of God Weekly*, he ignited the ongoing hope for all Japanese Protestants by visualizing "the Future of Tianqiao Airinkan" in his blueprint, saying,

... if we could obtain enough money, we need more doctors ... ophthalmologists, dermatologists, pediatricians, obstetricians, dentists. We need more trained nurses to help promote healthy living in the community. We want to cook cabbage soup in huge pots and let children from the slum streets come to drink.

We want a safe place for children to come talk freely. ... We want to teach the craft of carpentry, making chairs, tables, and toys. We want to set a shelter for Chinese and Korean prostitutes and opium addicts .... We will build a bathroom somewhere else, ... letting the Chinese poor come to have a bath each month – or at least to enjoy it once a lifetime. We want to build a co-operative, selling salt, corn, and vegetables at the lowest price. ...<sup>108</sup>

In a word, Shimizu wanted “to create a settlement in Beijing like Jane Addams’ Hull House in Chicago” because he found in it the manifestation of the social gospel based in his Orientalized Christianity. For him, Airinkan was not, like Li Hongwei had interpreted it, a place to escape from the external chaos of war in searching for inner spiritual peace through serving the Chinese poor as merely a compassionate Christian.<sup>109</sup> Instead, it was the entity that made his dream come true to embrace his Japanese identity for God through saving Chinese plebeians during a critical moment in shaping the future for the Japanese nation in which Japanese Protestants would presumably stand at the center.

The Emperor rewarded all these females and males who had built this “neighborly love” in China. On December 18, 1941, ten days after Japan’s military attacks on Pearl Harbor, Airinkan was awarded the Imperial Money Gift by the Imperial Household Department.<sup>110</sup> Riding the fame, Toriumi returned to Japan on February 27, 1942 and ambitiously started her fundraising trip for the further development of the settlement. In the coming three months, she intensively worked on the campaign, sometimes going to three different locations in a day to talk and propagandize.<sup>111</sup> Her fundraising target was 100,000 *yen* – over half of the amount

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<sup>108</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Tenchiao Airinkan no shōraisei” 天橋愛隣館の将来性 [The future of Airinkan], *Kami no Kuni Shinbun* 1100 (Nov. 6, 1940): 2

<sup>109</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizi Yasuzō to Pekin Sūtei Gakuen*, 210-211.

<sup>110</sup> “Pekin Tenchiao Airinkan yori onegai” 北京天橋愛隣館より御願い [Begging earnestly for your help], booklet for fundraising, March 1942, collected in the JWCTU, Tokyo.

<sup>111</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Michiko to tomo ni,” 3.

that Shimizu raised in North America in the first half year in 1940 for the Sūtei Gakuen.<sup>112</sup> It reflected an estimate that the Airinkan leaders had made about how supportive potential Japanese donors would be in their contribution to the enterprise during war. They wrote in the fundraising booklet,

Airinkan was built to send love to poor Chinese people through the hands of Japanese women. ... Our settlement is the **only** social relief facility in China that offers multiple services, such as medical care, education, skill training, evangelization, and charity, among others. With great honor, we were awarded the Imperial Money Gift on December 18, last year, during the initial stage of its development. We are all touched by the profound benevolence of His Majesty that spread to poor foreign people. ... [For this reason,] we will fight for the settlement to the end. ... following the imperial army, being the pioneer to construct a bright continent. ...<sup>113</sup>

Infused with the Japanese Emperor's benevolence in this way, the image of Airinkan in Beijing reached its shiniest climax at the center of the Japanese empire.

### **Conclusion: The Protestant Women's Power to be State-Owned in War**

Japanese Protestant builders of the Airinkan settlement were rewarded not only by the emperor's gift but also through the physical development of the facility to serve local Chinese people. After Ikenaga returned to Japan in October 1941, another female doctor, Uchida Toshiko 内田トシ子, came to replace her from February 1942.<sup>114</sup> In June, after the 1942 campaign trip in Japan, Toriumi married with Ikeda Arata, the younger co-founder of the Japanese YMCA in Beijing during wartime.<sup>115</sup> In April 1943, Ikeda was forced to leave Beijing in April 1943 because he showed a

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<sup>112</sup> "Pekin Tenchiao Airinkan yori onegai" (booklet for fundraising, March 1942).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> "Tianqiao Airinkan enkaku," 8.

<sup>115</sup> Ikeda Arata, "Michiko to tomo ni," 3.



resisting attitude toward the local Japanese authorities when the latter tried to occupy the Language School in Beijing that was supposed to be under the Japanese YMCA's guardianship.<sup>116</sup> Being pregnant, Toriumi was forced to leave, too, with her husband.<sup>117</sup> Her position in Airinkan soon passed to Shimizu's daughter in November 1943.<sup>118</sup>

After shifts in the logistics, Airinkan went further down the path of institutional nationalization alongside the transforming institutionalization of the Unified Church of Christ in Japan. At the end of 1943, it became formally affiliated with the Board of East Asian Missions of the United Church, which merged the East Asia Mission, the South Seas Mission, and all other previously established overseas enterprises run by Japanese Protestants.<sup>119</sup> Beginning in February 1944, the East Asian Board began creating an incorporated foundation in order to develop the Airinkan.<sup>120</sup> By July 1944, thirteen overseas enterprises were institutionalized under the Board. Among them, as shown in the Board's report, was established another Airinkan in Shanghai.<sup>121</sup>

Kubushiro and all the involved Japanese Protestant women felt accomplished overseeing all this progress because they now received full recognition not only

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<sup>116</sup> See chapter seven for details.

<sup>117</sup> Ikeda Arata, "Michiko to tomo ni," 4.

<sup>118</sup> "Tenchiao Airinkan enkaku," 9.

<sup>119</sup> "Kozaki Tōa-kyoku chō to uchiawase jikō" 小崎東亜局長と打合せ事項 [Issues to discuss with Kozaki the chair of the Board of East Asian Missions], memo handwritten in November (Possession of Kozaki Michio, Department of Theology at Dōshisha University), 3. And "Daiikkai Tōa-kyoku sanjikai" 第一回東亜局参事会 [The first meeting of the Board of East Asian Missions], handwritten memo of the meeting program, December 10, 1943, collected in the same archive.

<sup>120</sup> "Daisankai Tōa-kyoku sanjikai" 第三回東亜局参事会 [The third meeting of the Board of East Asian Missions], handwritten memo of the meeting program, February 18, 1944, Possession of Kozaki Michio, Department of Theology at Dōshisha University.

<sup>121</sup> "Daiikkai tairiku fukyō kyokuchō kaigi gijiroku" 第一回大陸布教局長会議議事録 [Memo notes of the first assembly meeting for continental missions (held on July 4-7, 1944 in Beijing)], Possession of Kozaki Michio, Department of Theology at Dōshisha University, 2-3.

within the church but throughout the political arena of the state as well.<sup>122</sup>

Paradoxically, however, they were in the meantime marginalized in a financial sense in supporting the settlement's development. In 1944, the annual operational budget of Airinkan was about 50,000 *yen*. Except for financial aid received from the Ministry of Greater East Asia, the local pro-Japanese government of Beijing also awarded about 180,000 *yen* to the settlement.<sup>123</sup> When Japanese women did their third nationwide campaign for Airinkan at the end of 1944, they only asked for about 6,000 *yen*. In other words, they were not again "needed" to fulfill the overwhelming majority of the yearly budget in order to run Airinkan's local affairs in Beijing that, initially, had signified the feminized power of Japanese Protestant transnational activism at the zenith of the war. In this sense, Toriumi's fundraising campaign launched in 1942 can be interpreted as the watershed of Japanese Protestant women's participation in the Airinkan settlement in Beijing. They dedicated themselves to establishing it but could not keep their power central in its development. Their wartime ups and downs in rising Protestant females' citizenry *within* Japan through embracing transnational activism in Beijing *beyond* the empire was a bittersweet story.

Most Japanese Protestant women and men, who supported Airinkan at home during the war, held the honest and straightforward wish for a peaceful, intimate, and collaborative relationship between Japan and China. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, such a wish for moral "good," though a product of history, blinded female Japanese Protestant activists to be uncritical to their home country's

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<sup>122</sup> Kubushiro Ochimi, "Airinkan no bokin ni tsuite" 愛隣館の募金について [About the fundraising for Airinkan], booklet for fundraising, December 1944, Possession of Kozaki Michio, Department of Theology at Dōshisha University. Data cited in this paragraph are from this source.

<sup>123</sup> See chapter seven for an analysis of the multi-layered and multi-directional power negotiations within and beyond the transnational Protestant community in the Japanese-occupied Beijing during wartime.

imperialistic expansion in China. They consciously blurred the fact that the existence of the Airinkan settlement was firmly guarded by the Imperial Japanese Army within the range of its military control. Together with their male Protestant collaborators, they did not reject this imperialistic protection; instead, they embraced it for God's sake by domesticating the self-gendered imagination of their Christian neighborly love to be "motherly" toward the Chinese poor. The Chinese government confiscated Airinkan as a property of its Japanese enemies in 1946.<sup>124</sup> Beyond the small community in Tianqiao region and the wartime period, most Chinese were not able to see it as a uniquely irreplaceable social facility, which was in sharp contrast to what its Japanese creators and sponsors had imagined it to be during the war.

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<sup>124</sup> Li Hongwei, *Shimizu Yasuzō to Peking Sūtei Gakuen*, 210.

## Chapter Seven

### Competing Empire and Protestant Friendship, 1942-1943

Throughout most of the interwar and wartime periods, the Shimizu family and other Japanese Protestants who came later occupied an ambivalent space within the north China mission field, between Western missions who had long dominated, and Chinese Protestants who were seeking greater independence from the missionary churches.<sup>1</sup> This balance, while challenged by changes in the political and economic climate, generally prevailed until the end of 1941, when the Japanese Forces' attacks on Pearl Harbor changed the trans-Pacific relations in World War II. This final chapter focuses on this specific transitional period of competing American and Japanese imperialisms in Beijing by investigating the complex ways in which Japanese Protestants established their interactions with American Protestants in their shared mission field in which Chinese Protestants were paving the way for an independent and united Chinese Protestant Church. It was against this "in-transition" backdrop, I argue, that Japanese missionaries played unique mediatory roles awkwardly as both agents for, and objects of, the Japanese colonial authorities in occupied Beijing.

To understand this fluid liminality that shaped Japanese missionaries' dual identity beyond the border of the Japanese empire, this chapter will examine a special case: the temporary property transfer of the North Union Language School (*huayu xuexiao* 华语学校, referred to as the Language School or "the School") from its

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<sup>1</sup> In early twentieth-century East Asia, the coexistence of Western missions and Japanese colonial rule was common in different areas, longer or shorter. Their changing interrelations were historically significant in the shaping of East Asian Protestants' national identities, though in variant and complicated ways. For example, on the dominance of Western missions in Korea in relation to Korean nationalism prior to the 1920s, see Matsutani Motokazu, "Church over Nation: Christian Missionaries and Korea Christians in Colonial Korea" (PhD dissertation submitted to Harvard University, 2012).

American administrators under the Young Men's Christian Association (referred to as YMCA) to Japanese YMCA workers in Beijing from April 1942 to April 1943.<sup>2</sup> It demonstrates that the transnational friendship between American and Japanese YMCA activists became a foundation for their wartime collaboration. Although the property handover turned out to be unsuccessful in the end, both American and Japanese YMCA workers were keenly active in trying to protect the Language School from regulatory intervention by the Japanese occupation authorities and from physical occupation by the Japanese Army. Occurring within the multi-layered wartime history of church unification/independence in north China, this case uncovers the transnational power that American and Japanese Protestants developed together in negotiating their individual and institutional rights collaboratively with the political (or diplomatic) and military authorities in wartime Beijing under Japanese occupation. More generally, it also represents how national belonging and transnational religious awareness were mutually constructed in making personal choices during the turbulence of war in the context of competing imperialisms.

### **Occupation Christianity in Wartime Beijing**

In his article "Toward Independence," published in 1996, Timothy Brook concluded that "the Chinese [Protestant] church would not have become substantially independent or united were it not for the Japanese invasion."<sup>3</sup> Except for this single

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<sup>2</sup> The school had been known in English as the North China Union Language School from 1913. It became affiliated with the Yenching University as the "College of Chinese Studies" from 1925 to 1928 and renamed eventually to the "California College in China" in 1929. In Chinese, however, it had always been called *huayu xuexiao*, and thus this chapter uses this most convenient abbreviation, "the Language School" in English.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China under the Japanese Occupation," in Daniel Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 337.

piece of scholarship, as Daniel Bays pointed out in 2012, there had been “almost no substantive research done on the church or the Christian movement during the wartime period” in English-language academia until then.<sup>4</sup> Over the last two decades, however, Chinese and Japanese historians have made significant contributions to this subfield of “wartime Christianity.”<sup>5</sup> Among these studies, a unique body of scholarship has paid attention to the influence and intervention of Japanese authorities in the establishment of the North China Christian Union (*Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan* 华北中华基督教团, referred to as NCCU) that was established in 1942 and was intended to be the leading institution of the united Chinese Protestant Church in the Japanese-occupied areas in north China.<sup>6</sup> Noticeably, within this wartime movement of church unification/independence in north China, Wang Miao recovered another layer of relationship by focusing on Anglo-American missionaries’ reactions

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<sup>4</sup> Daniel Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 142. Some important studies about wartime Christianity in China have been undertaken over the last decade in the English academy. For those have been published after 2012, see, for example, Diana Junio’s *Patriotic Cooperation: The Border Services of the Church of Christ in China and Chinese Church-State Relations, 1920s to 1950s* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> The most representative studies in Chinese were presented in 2009 at the Sixth Symposium on the History of Christianity in Modern China under the theme “The Chinese Church and the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945.” See the program of the symposium: [http://histweb.hkbu.edu.hk/con\\_pdf/20090612.pdf](http://histweb.hkbu.edu.hk/con_pdf/20090612.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> In Chinese, see Xing Fuzeng 邢福增, “Wang Mingdao he Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan: lunxianqu jiaohui renshi dikang yu hezuo de gean yanjiu” 王明道和 华北中华基督教团: 沦陷区教会人士抵抗与合作的个案研究 [Wang Mingdao and the North China Christian Union: Case Studies on Resistance and Collaboration of Churchmen in Occupied Regions], in *Chongtu yu ronghe: jindai Zhongguo Jidujiaoshi yanjiu lunji* 冲突与融合: 近代中国基督教史研究论集 [Conflict and coalition: anthology on the history of Christianity in modern China] (Taipei: Jidujiao Yuzhouguang Quanren Guanhuai Jigou, 2006), 103-173; Song Jun 宋军, “Cong kangzhan shiqi huabei rijun dui Jidujiao zhengce de yanbian kan Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan de chengli” 从抗战时期华北日军对基督教政策的演变看华北中华基督教团的成立 [The Establishment of the North China Christian Union and the Transformation of Japanese Army’s Policy on Christianity under Japanese Occupation], in Li Jinqiang 李金强 and Liu Yizhang 刘义章 ed., *Liehuo zhong de xili: kangri zhanzheng shiqi de Zhongguo jiaohui (1937-1945)* 烈火中的洗礼: 抗日战争时期的中国教会(1937-1945) [Baptism by fire: the Chinese church during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)] (Hong Kong: Xuandao Chubanshe, 2011), 197-220; and Hu Weiqing 胡卫清, “Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan yanjiu” 华北中华基督教团研究 [A Study of the North China Christian Union], in *Wen Shi Zhe* 文史哲 [Journal of Chinese Humanities] 5 (2014, serial no. 344), 115-131. For Matsutani’s scholarship, see page 63 in chapter one.

to Japan's intervention over the transfer of church properties in Beijing after Pearl Harbor.<sup>7</sup>

Put together, most of these studies represented the situation of Japanese occupation in north China as somewhat homogenized, in which the local Japanese colonial authorities and the puppet Chinese government they sponsored were supposed to be the controlling power, while individual Chinese Christians, Western missionaries, as well as denominational, non-denominational, and indigenous church organizations were reactive by either collaborating or resisting the political authorities. This particular understanding limited the so-called “occupation Christianity” in north China to the over-simplified, single-layered, bipolar relationship between “the occupier” – the Japanese and their agents – and “the occupied,” the Chinese Christians and, after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Anglo-American missionaries in China. This chapter, instead, presents a fuller picture of “occupation Christianity” in wartime Beijing beyond this “occupier-occupied” structure of interpretation by examining the significant role that Japanese Protestant missionaries played between Japanese authorities, American Protestant missionaries, and Chinese church leaders.

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<sup>7</sup> Wang Miao 王淼, “Zhenzhugang Shibian hou riwei dui Beijing yingmei jiaohui de zhengce” 珍珠港事变后日伪对北京英美教会的政策 [The puppet government's policy towards Anglo-American missions in Beijing after the Pearl Harbor Incident], *Lishi Jiaoxue Wenti* 历史教学问题 [History Teaching and Research] no. 2 (2013): 103-107. In this article, Wang assumed that Anglo-Americans were passive in giving properties and power up to the local Japanese Army and thus thought little about their individualized experiences and their political stances transformed from before to after the declaration of war between Japan and the United States. For his research on the Methodist Church in north China from 1937 to 1945, see “Huabei lunxianqu jidujiaohui yanjiu” 华北沦陷区基督教会研究 [The Study of Protestant Church in Occupied Area of North China during Sino-Japanese War] (PhD dissertation submitted to the Central China Normal University in 2013).

## Japan's Policy towards Chinese Christianity in North China

Before the Pacific War, Japan's policy towards Christianity and Western missionaries in the Japanese-occupied areas of north China was still confined by the treaties signed between Western countries and the Qing government in the 1840s. Christian missionaries' evangelization as well as their educational and medical services, among other activities, were "protected" and inspected under this framework. For example, the "Essentials for Adjusting Foreign Missions in North China," which had been issued in 1941 by the Japanese-sponsored Government Affairs Committee of North China, explicitly mentioned *The Treaty of Tianjin* (1858).<sup>8</sup>

By and large, from July 1937 to December 1941, various levels of local Japanese authorities in north China concentrated more on mobilizing Chinese Christians and maintaining a peaceful relationship with Western missionaries than on intervening in Chinese church affairs directly.<sup>9</sup> As a part of the "thought war" (*shisō sen* 思想戰), they began to emphasize the ideology of an "independent Chinese church" on the one hand, and to mobilize Japanese Protestant missionaries on the other to take over their Western counterparts' role in the mission field in north China. On September 1, 1940,

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<sup>8</sup> See the final part of *Huabei waiguo jiaohui tiaozheng yaoling* 华北外国教会调整要领 [Essentials for Adjusting Foreign Missions in North China] issued secretly by Home Affairs Department of Government Affairs Committee of North China in 1941, Qingdao Municipal Archive, Reference Code: A0023-001-02278-0401. Refer to Hu Weiqing, "Huabei zhonghua jidu jiaotuan yanjiu," 116-117. Government Affairs Committee of North China (*Huabei zhengwu weiyuan hui* 华北政务委员会) was the successor of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua minguo linshi zhengfu* 中华民国临时政府, 1937-1940). It merged in March 1940 with the Reformed Government of China (*Zhonghua minguo weixin zhengfu* 中华民国维新政府, 1938-1940) to be the reorganized National Government of the Republic of China in Nanjing (1940-1945), which was often referred to as the "Wang Jingwei Regime," opposed to the Nationalist Government led by Chiang Kaishek in Chongqing.

<sup>9</sup> For more details about Japan's policy towards Christianity in north China before the Pacific War, see the first half of Song Jun's "cong kangzhan shiqi huabei rijun dui Jidujiao zhengce de yanbian kan Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan de chengli."



the Japanese North China Area Army (referred to as “the Japanese Army” hereafter) issued the “Essentials for Guiding Religious Organizations in North China.” It outlined the means the Army would take to increase its control of the Christian church system in north China. First, it planned to establish unified Christian institutions (in Beijing) for both the denominations connected to Western countries and indigenous churches that were not tied to Western organizations financially. Second, it discussed how to strengthen the mediatory role of Japanese missionaries between the Army and the Chinese churches. Third, it prepared to invite Chinese and Western Christian leaders to visit and “understand” Japan.<sup>10</sup>

Before 1942, the unification of Protestant churches in north China had been ideologically planned within Japan’s imperialistic framework of building the “New Order of East Asia,” which emphasized both anti-Communism and de-Westernization in the Chinese context. In 1941, Japan’s East Asia Development Board’s 興亜院 (referred to as Kōain) Beijing office organized a series of lecture meetings to propagate Japan’s religious policies aimed at mobilizing Chinese Christian leaders.<sup>11</sup> The first meeting was held in the Zhongshan Park on January 13-14. The invited lecturers came from Chinese Protestant churches and organizations, governmental sectors, and Japanese-sponsored non-governmental groups, such as the New Citizen’s

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<sup>10</sup> “Hoku-Shina ni okeru shūkyō dantai shidō yōryō” 北支那ニ於ケル宗教団体指導要領 [Essentials for guiding religious organizations in north China], September 27, 1940; MS no. *Rikushimitsu Dainikki* 陸軍省-陸支密大日記 [Secret diaries of the army in mainland China] -S15-102-197 No. 35 2/2, 1940, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Ministry of Defense, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: C04122347000.

<sup>11</sup> Kōain was the central agency supplemented to the formal diplomatic authority of Japan that the Prime Minister Konoe authorized to establish on November 18, 1938 for the coordination of Japanese government’s China policy. Chinese Christianity-related affairs came to be handled directly by this agency’s branch offices in China since the end of 1938. About Kōain and Japanese officers in it who urged the independence for the Japanese-sponsored collaborationist government, see Timothy Brook, *Japanese Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Society and the North China Railway Company (*Kahoku kōtsū kabushiki kaisha* 華北交通株式会社). The titles of the talks indicated that the Sino-Japanese “cultural” communications and Japanese’ civilian supports were specifically being emphasized alongside Chinese Christians’ own intention to seek new opportunities for the Chinese church.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, Kōain also intensified its interactions with Western missionaries in Beijing. For example, alongside the first lecture gathering for Chinese pastors, it organized a grand reception on January 16, 1941, with about 130 attendants, inviting not only Chinese church leaders and Japanese missionaries but also Western missionaries from multiple denominations and organizations in Beijing.<sup>13</sup> These activities indicated that Kōain in Beijing attempted to pacify both Western (including American) and Chinese Christian leaders first and foremost through providing peaceful, collaborative resolutions – even that the signing of the Tripartite Pact in September 1940 had already confirmed the Germany-Italy-Japan alliance, directed primarily at the United States.

### The Establishment of the North China Christian Union

The Pearl Harbor Attacks fundamentally changed this “harmonic” relationship among Chinese, Anglo-American, and Japanese Protestants in Beijing, due to the shift in the Japanese government’s policy towards Western missionaries (excluding

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<sup>12</sup> NCCU ed., *Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance* 华北中华基督教团成立周年纪念册 [The first anniversary guidebook of the North China Christian Union] (Beijing: NCCU, 1943), 2. Similar contents were lectured in the second meeting that was held in October 1941.

<sup>13</sup> “Tai daisankoku kei shūkyō dantai kōsaku gaikyō” 对第三国系宗教团体工作概况 [Summary of works towards the third-country religious organizations], appendix affiliated to *Hoku-Shina ni okeru daisankoku kei shūkyō dantai shidō yōryō* 北支那ニ於ケル第三国系宗教団体指導要領 [Essentials for guiding the-third-country religious organizations] that had been submitted on January 20, 1941, in “Chūgoku ni okeru sho gaigoku no dendō oyobi kyōiku kankei satsuken” 中国ニ於ケル諸外国ノ伝道及教育関係雜件 [Miscellaneous documents relating to missionary work and education by various foreign countries in China], No. 14/15, 1941; MS no. I-2-3-0-1, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B04012580500.

Germans and Italians) from appeasement to expulsion. However, before replacing Westerners in their missions in north China, Chinese church leaders had already “emerged” themselves in discussing the Chinese church unification since the second lecture meeting that Kōain had held on October 27-28, 1941.<sup>14</sup> When war between Japan and the Allied Powers was declared, all church institutions in China affiliated with Western missions came to be defined by the Japanese authorities as the “enemies’ enterprises/properties” and thus could not serve the Christian public as usual. In reality, it turned out to be a good opportunity for Chinese Christians to take the lead in negotiations for the survival (or even the creation) of the real “Chinese” church.

Five days later after the outbreak of the Pacific War, on December 13, 1941, a preparatory meeting for church unification in north China was held in the Department of Home Affairs, and a temporary “Committee for Maintaining Christianity in Beijing” (*Beijing Jidujiao weichi hui* 北京基督教维持会, referred to as the Maintaining Committee) was created.<sup>15</sup> On December 18, the Maintaining Committee held its second preparatory meeting, during which Christian leaders decided to name their union the “League for the Promotion of Church Union in North China” (*huabei Jidujiao lianhe cujin hui* 华北基督教联合促进会, referred to as the League hereafter). Zhou Guanqing 周冠卿, the general secretary of the Chinese YMCA, was

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<sup>14</sup> Kang Dexin 康德馨, “Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan zhounian huigu” 华北中华基督教团周年回顾 [A review of the past year of NCCU], in NCCU ed., *Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance*, 2, 12-16. According to Kang’s recount on page 13, Chinese Christians began to prepare for the unification organization right after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, and those who in north China had established The Christian Council in North China (*Huabei Jidujiao xiejin hui* 华北基督教协进会) from 1940 to 1941, which promoted the unification of both church organizations and theological education.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* See also “yingmei xi jidujiaohui tiaozheng jingguo ji jianglai xiwang” 英美系基督教会调整经过及将来希望 [Arrangements for Anglo-American affiliated churches and the hope in future], *Xinminbao* 新民报, February 6, 1942: 3. Refer to Xing Fuzeng, “Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan,” 111.

elected acting director by representatives from 15 Protestant denominations. Another week later, after Christmas, the League called a third preparatory meeting on December 26 to finalize all paperwork that was needed to apply for official permission for church organizations and relevant activities.<sup>16</sup>

By March 14, 1942, most church properties under Western missions' administration had been transferred into the hands of Chinese Christians.<sup>17</sup> The new League was then permitted to be established by the Japanese-sponsored Chinese government on March 19, 1942.<sup>18</sup> The involved denominations and organizations celebrated its union one month later, on April 18, at the Dengshikou Congregational Church.<sup>19</sup> A half year later, in October 1942, the North China Christian Union was formally permitted to organize. It then celebrated its establishment during the afternoon of October 15 at the Huarentang Hall in the Zhongnanhai complex located west of the Forbidden City, which has forever been well-known for its political importance rather than for any religious function in central Beijing.<sup>20</sup> Jiang Changchuan 江长川 (Z. T. Kaung, 1884-1958), a leading Methodist bishop who had baptized Chiang Kai-shek, and Zhou Guanqing were appointed the director and vice director, respectively, of the Union's administrative committee.<sup>21</sup>

Undoubtedly, the Japanese Army was involved in the whole process, as it had carefully planned how to establish the Union in advance. The plan had been recorded in the "Guideline for Adjusting the Enemy-Countries-Connected Missions in North

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<sup>16</sup> Xing Fuzeng, "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan," 111. See also NCCU ed., *Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance*, 2.

<sup>17</sup> NCCU ed., *Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance*, 22. There was one exception as recorded: The Salvation Army was transferred later, on July 16, 1942.

<sup>18</sup> Song Jun, "Cong kangzhan shiqi huabei rijun dui Jidujiao zhengce de yanbian kan Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan de chengli," 220.

<sup>19</sup> NCCU ed., *Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

China” (referred to as the Guideline), which was issued on February 22, 1942, before the establishment of the Chinese League. According to the Guideline, the Japanese Army authority asserted that maintaining Christian belief and church activities were positive means to “pacify [the Christian] population [in north China]” and to “guide them to the [political] stance of anti-Communism.” It also stated that Western Protestant missionaries from US-allied countries were allowed to continue to evangelize only if they would “willingly” transfer the church properties and administration to their Chinese counterparts. Additionally, it emphasized from the perspective of the Army that the union should ideally be pushed forward as a “Chinese movement of their own,” so that the Japanese and Chinese Christians could “build an intimate relationship” “for the future.”<sup>22</sup>

The Guideline indicated clearly that, at this stage, the Japanese Army decided it was not appropriate to “appear” obviously in the process but should still play a “guiding” role, through both the Chinese puppet government and Japanese missionaries’ participation in the Chinese Union, as advisors. By emphasizing the discourse of “independent Chinese Church” and empowering Chinese Christians to control church properties and administration that had previously been controlled by Western missionaries, the Guideline primarily targeted anti-Communism and the expulsion of Western missionaries’ ideological control over the Chinese churches. Unsurprisingly, therefore, in theory, it legitimized the autonomy of indigenous

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<sup>22</sup> “Zai hokushi tekikoku kei kyōkai seiri keiei yōryō” 在北支敵国系教会整理經營要領 [Guideline for adjusting the enemy-countries-connected missions in north China], appendix 4 attached to “zai Man-Shi tekikoki zaisan kanri narabi keneki sesshū kankei” 在滿支敵国財産管理並權益接收關係 [Management of properties of enemy countries and takeover of interests in Manchuria and China], No. 5/26, Feb. 22, 1942; MS no. A-7-0-0-9\_17\_1\_002, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, accessed through JACAR, Reference Code: B02032847400. Catholic pastors were not included in this group because of Japan’s relation with the Roman Catholic authority. See term 3 of the Guideline. Refer also to Song Jun, “Cong kangzhan shiqi huabei rijun dui jidujiao zhengce de yanbian kan Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan de chengli,” 210-220.

Chinese churches with no necessity to join the NCCU – as long as they had no connection to the “enemy countries.”<sup>23</sup>

### **Japanese Protestant Missionaries and the North China Christian Union**

Evidently, the establishment of the NCCU was a pivotal process that contextually set the background for Chinese Protestants’ wartime choices – either for those who participated actively or for those who resisted persistently to be involved in it. Formed and continuously transformed within this context, the multi-layered, complex relationships among Chinese Protestants and church leaders, Anglo-American missionaries, Japanese missionaries, the local Japanese authorities, and the puppet Chinese government were, until now, far from comprehensively understood. The reason lies partly in the lack of non-governmental sources in Chinese and English, which led to the under-estimation of Protestants’ individualized experiences in the shaping of their personalized, transnational networks during war. This unavoidably caused the over-simplification of the multi-layered-ness of wartime Christianity in north China.

Nevertheless, publicized sources about the establishment of the NCCU and those involved – then and later – framed the tense negotiations among Japanese, American missionaries, and Chinese Protestants throughout the whole movement collectively. In an article then published in the Japanese-sponsored *Xinminbao* 新民报 (1938-

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<sup>23</sup> From my point of view, this was one of the undeniable reasons why Wang Mingdao 王明道 was able to argue with the Japanese authorities to achieve legal status for his Christian Tabernacle (*Jidutu huitang* 基督徒会堂) and continue to publish *The Spiritual Food Quarterly* (*Lingshi Jikan* 靈食季刊, 1927-1955) throughout the war. For Xing Fuzeng’s interpretation of Wang Mingdao’s resistance to be involved in the Union, see “Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan.” In this article, Xing did not consider that Wang’s success in resisting participation in the NCCU was partially because of the Japanese policy. But he believed that this is a debatable issue. See pages 161-162.

1944), for example, Chinese Christian leaders were depicted all together as faithful supporters of the church independence/unification movement in a meeting held by the Japanese Army authority on March 14, 1942 at the Beijing Hotel.<sup>24</sup> In *Darkness of the Sun* published in 1947, Richard T. Baker stated that American missionaries were forced to sign property transfers documents without any room for negotiation.<sup>25</sup> In Huo Peixiu's 霍培修 essay published in 1982, he defended the Chinese Protestant "collaborators" who were involved in establishing the NCCU, stating that they were patriotic promoters for a united national church and thus decided to take actions preemptively to resist Japanese authority's further intervention in church affairs.<sup>26</sup> In the meantime, Wang Mingdao 王明道 (1900-1991) narrated in his memoir an opposite, "non-collaborative" type of resistance to the local Japanese Army during the war.<sup>27</sup>

All these accounts were accurate to a certain degree from their own viewpoints, but no single piece can represent the full picture of wartime Christianity in north China, precisely because of the multi-faceted complexity of it. Moreover, to overestimate any one of them might lead to a misunderstanding or distortion of the other(s) due to the strong competitive-ness reflected in all these voices as either historical narratives during the war or polished memories after the war. Put together, however, these competing narratives, representing various national identities and differing political/religious stances, expose the most important fact: nobody involved

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<sup>24</sup> Xing Fuzeng, "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan," 113-114.

<sup>25</sup> Richard T. Baker, *Darkness of the Sun: The Story of Christianity in the Japanese Empire*, (New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), 201. Refer also to Xing Fuzeng, "Wang Mingdao yu Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan," 114.

<sup>26</sup> Huo Peixiu, "Lunxian shiqi de Huabei Jiaotuan" 沦陷时期的华北教团 [The Wartime North China Christian Union], in *Tianjin wenshi ziliao xuanji* 天津文史资料选辑 [Selections of historical documents of Tianjin] (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), 166.

<sup>27</sup> Wang Mingdao, *Wushi nian lai* 五十年来 [The Last Fifty Years] (Taipei: Longwen Chubanshe, 1993), 141-181.

in the wartime Chinese church movement was an absolute passive agent in the frontline of Protestants' "battlefield" in north China.

In the multi-layered relationships described in these historical texts in Chinese and English, Japanese missionaries' voices were the most muted, due first and foremost to their dual identity as both Japanese and Protestant. As a specific national group of Protestants in China, Japanese missionaries were not trusted much by Chinese and American Protestants, because their citizenship caused them to be considered collectively as watchdogs for the Japanese Army. At the same time, as a component of the Japanese population tied religiously to "the West," they were not trusted ideologically by the militaristic Japanese authorities in and beyond the empire, because their Protestant identity caused them to be considered collectively as faithful partners of Japan's Anglo-American enemies and, simultaneously, unfaithful subjects of the Japanese emperor.

In fact, however, Japanese missionaries in China were highly diverse in terms of their educational backgrounds, denominational affiliations, personal networks developed in China, and their differing feelings regarding the increasing tension between their national belonging and their own faith in God. Some Japanese missionaries, like Shimizu Yasuzō who had rich living experiences in China and in-depth connections with Chinese intellectuals and commoners, interacted well with and were even respected by Chinese Christians for specific reasons. For example, the Japanese Anglican missionary Hidaka Sakigake 日高魁 was intimately connected to the Chinese Anglican bishop Ling Xianyang 凌贤杨 and the Anglican community of Chinese graduates from Cambridge and Oxford. In a meeting of Chinese church leaders and some Japanese missionaries gathered by Jiang Changchuan, Hidaka



strongly disagreed with another Japanese missionary who supported the Army's proposal to "transfer all [church] properties for their own [the Army's] use." This heated argument ended dramatically when Oda Kaneo 織田金雄 (1901-1965), a Free Methodist missionary, who stood up suddenly, vociferated "Oh, God," and continued with loud prayers until the shocked Chinese Protestant leaders all joined him to pray. It became so well-known that it was later called "Oda's prayer" among leading Chinese Protestants.<sup>28</sup>

Oda was another important example worthy of attention, showing how a Japanese missionary could interact with Chinese Christians in the wartime church independence movement in north China. His name appeared in different types of historical sources. In the NCCU's documents, Oda was listed as one of the only two invited Japanese members of the lead administrative team recruited formally by the Chinese Union's Executive Committee.<sup>29</sup> Compared to Murakami Osamu 村上治, the other Japanese member who superintended the Japanese Church of Christ 日本基督教会 (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai*) in north China and focused on serving the Japanese population in China, Oda dedicated himself entirely to the evangelization of Chinese commoners and had established the *Fuyintang* church 福音堂, located west of central Beijing.<sup>30</sup> His name also appeared in non-governmental accounts. For example, Wang Mingdao remembered that Oda once had a serious yet informal long talk with him

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<sup>28</sup> Hidaka Sakigake, "jun shinkō ni ikita Oda" 純信仰に生きた織田 [Oda's live with pure faith], in Oda Family ed., *Ashiseki: Oda Kaneo omoide shū* 足蹟: 織田金雄思い出集 [Footmark: memorizing Oda Kaneo] (Osaka: Private Publication, 1969), 133-136.

<sup>29</sup> NCCU ed., "Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan benbu gexiang renyuan ji suoshu geji hui fuze renyuan biao" 华北中华基督教团本部各项人员及所属各级会负责人员表 [Chart of administrative staff of all levels in the headquarters office of the NCCU], in *Huabei Zhonghua Jidujiaotuan chengli zhounian jiniance*, 32.

<sup>30</sup> *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai* 日本基督教会, abbreviated *Nikki* 日基, is the pre-WWII name for the Japanese Presbyterian and Reformed Church that was established in 1890. It is also known as *Kyū Nikki* 旧日基. For Oda's evangelizing activities in China, see articles collected in part seven "Hokushi dendō jidai" 北支伝道時代 [The era of evangelization in north China] in *Ashiseki*, 99-145.

while they both attended a funeral in the Xicheng district, the area where Oda's church was located. Throughout the talk, which happened by chance on the day that the League celebrated its establishment (April 18, 1942), Oda invited Wang to be a member of it and said, "you are exactly the type of determined man whom the League is seeking now."<sup>31</sup> Although the conversation had no result, Wang's account shows that he did not consider Oda to be aligned with the Japanese Army in this interaction.<sup>32</sup>

Shimizu Yasuzō once nominated Oda to be the wartime leader for all Japanese church branches in China due precisely to his reputation in evangelizing Chinese commoners by using Mandarin.<sup>33</sup> Beyond that, however, Oda's importance in the wartime transnational Protestant community in north China is due more prominently to the multi-faceted mediatory role he played, not only between Japanese authorities and Chinese Christians but also in US-Japan and US-China mission relationships. Having become an enthusiastic Free Methodist youth in Japan, Oda went to the US in 1927 and earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1929 at the Seattle Pacific College, a Free Methodist institution. In 1931 and 1932, he received a Master's degree in Arts and a second Bachelor's degree in Divinity, respectively, at the San Francisco Theology Seminary. By the time he completed his coursework for a Doctoral degree in Theology at the same institute and was asked to return to the church in Osaka in 1933, he had been living in the US for six years.<sup>34</sup> As a professor in Osaka, he received the calling to the Chinese mission field from Toyama Tetsuji, his beloved

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<sup>31</sup> Wang Mingdao, *Wushi nian lai*, 162.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* For more details, see details on pages 160-163.

<sup>33</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, "Oda Kaneo sensei no omoide" 織田金雄先生の思い出 [Memorizing Mr. Oda Kaneo], in Oda Family ed., *Ashiseki*, 121-123.

<sup>34</sup> Oda Family ed., "Oda Kaneo nenpu" 織田金雄年譜 [Chronology of Oda Kaneo], in *Oda Kaneo sekkyō shū* 織田金雄説教集 [Oda Kaneo's Sermons] (Osaka: Seitōsha, 1979), 518-520.

teacher and the second generation of Japanese bishop of the Japanese Free Methodist Church, whose China mission trips during the war touched many.<sup>35</sup> Before his China mission, starting in 1939, Oda attended the General Conference of the Free Methodist Church in North America in April of the same year as a Japanese delegate.<sup>36</sup> When dispatched to Beijing in October, he was already an active Free Methodist evangelist and a capable church leader.<sup>37</sup> His networks had developed through his higher education in the US and the Free Methodist mission connections made between the two countries during the late 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>38</sup> Because of such connections, Oda could efficiently manage to collect American funds from Hawaii to enable him evangelize to Chinese commoners in Beijing after 1941 when the Free Methodist Church in Japan cut off its financial support of his China mission.<sup>39</sup> Ironically, he was also one of the top Japanese missionary advisors “guiding” Chinese Christians towards church independence and the cut-off from the West.

Together, the cases of Hidaka Sakigake and Oda Kaneo imply that there was still a sphere for Japanese Protestant missionaries to develop their activities and networks in their own ways, due specifically to the multi-faced liminal role they played against the wartime backdrop of the unification/independence of the Chinese Protestant church. With this wartime context in mind, we can now “zoom in” to analyze how Japanese Protestants participated with their American partners in the transfer of the Language School property in Beijing from April 1942 to April 1943.

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<sup>35</sup> See chapter five for more details of Toyama Tetsuji’s China travelogue as a comparative account to Shimizu Yasuzō’s wartime autobiographical writings.

<sup>36</sup> Oda Family ed., “Oda Kaneo nenpu,” in *Oda Kaneo sekkyō shū*, 520.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* Also see Oda Family ed., *Ashiseki*, 89-98.

<sup>38</sup> Oda Family ed., *Ashiseki*, 49-98.

<sup>39</sup> Oda Family ed., “Oda Kaneo nenpu,” in *Oda Kaneo sekkyō shū*, 520.

## The North China Union Language School and Its First Japanese Student

English readers might have learned about the “North China Union Language School” from *Stilwell and the American Experience in China*, Barbara W. Tuchman’s Pulitzer Prize-winning book published in 1972, in which she wrote several paragraphs describing Joseph Stilwell’s experience of learning Mandarin Chinese in the School from 1920 as a language officer sent by the US Army.<sup>40</sup> By taking a closer look at the name list of who had worked, taught, lectured, studied, and stayed in the School, one would be astonished by how important it was in the cultural spheres on both sides of the Pacific Ocean during the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>41</sup> This list includes, to name only a few of them, John L. Stuart, Pearl S. Buck, James M. Menzies, Hu Shi, Chen Yuan, and Feng Youlan.<sup>42</sup> These days, however, ordinary Beijingers know little about the old “*huayu xuexiao*,” such that even local journalists could refer to it inaccurately as the old American School in Beijing of the Republican period.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Barbara Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945* (New York: Random House, 2017), 84-85.

<sup>41</sup> Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy: An Early Model of Effective Cross-Cultural Post-Secondary Education – A Case Study of the College of Chinese Studies in Beijing and The California College in China Foundation in California” (PhD dissertation submitted to the Claremont Graduate University in 2004).

<sup>42</sup> John L. Stuart 司徒雷登 (1876-1962) was the first President of Yenching University and later the ambassador of the United States in China from 1946 to 1949. Pearl S. Buck was a Pulitzer Prize Winner in 1932 and became Nobel Laureate in 1938. James M. Menzies 明义士 (1885-1957) was a Canadian missionary well-known for collecting Bronze-age archeological materials in China, including oracle bones. Hu Shi was a well-known Chinese philosopher and one of the most influential leaders of the New Culture Movement. Chen Yuan was a Chinese historian expertized in Christianity and religious history in China. Feng Youlan 冯友兰 (1895-1990) was a leading Chinese philosopher of the twentieth century best-known for his *History of Chinese Philosophy*.

<sup>43</sup> Refer to “Lao Beijing de meiguo xuexiao” 老北京的美国学校 [American school in old Beijing] in the column of “Old Photos” 老照片, *Beijing Evening News* 北京晚报, June 19, 2008. The journalist was trying to find the old primary American School but located it to where the compound of North China Union Language School had been addressed (Dongsi shitiao hutong). One of the readers of the newspaper, Geng Qinghua, had been a librarian of the Language School and called the press to correct the information. This was reported in “Lao Beijing de huayu xuexiao” 老北京的华语学校 [*Huayu xuexiao* in Old Beijing], published in the same newspaper on July 10, 2008.

The Language School was initially founded in 1910 by a group of Protestant missionary leaders from the London Missionary Society in Beijing and accepted 26 students in its founding year. Like other small language schools that were started at mission sites and offered language courses to missionaries, it was initially established only for Western missionaries to learn the Chinese language as well as the country's history and customs, preparing them to work in their mission locations or organizations. In 1913, the local YMCA took over the School's administration. From the summer of 1916, William Bacon Pettus (1880-1959) was appointed the school director, working full-time there without other mission duties. As Pettus wrote in 1916, representatives from different mission boards in Beijing shared the teaching loads at the time, and missionary students studied and lived in rented classrooms and dormitories. The length of the program was planned to be five years at the longest, during which compulsory courses had to be taken in the first fifteen months.<sup>44</sup>

The School's unique pedagogy, emphasizing spoken rather than written Chinese, was attractive to not only Western missionaries but also businessmen, diplomats, and other foreigners, like Stillwell, who needed intensive and effective Mandarin training.<sup>45</sup> This "oral method" is demonstrated to have influenced the School's development crucially in the 1920s and 1930s. In its first five years, there were 857 students from 21 Western countries enrolled, of whom 674 were Americans, 129 were British, and 54 were from other nations.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the School was a major social site of

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<sup>44</sup> Zhang Weijiang, "Institutional Development and Legacy," 22-25. The founding year of the School was recorded as 1913 in Zuo Furon's 左芙蓉 *Jidujiao yu jinxindai Beijing shehui* 基督教与近现代北京社会 [Christianity and modern Beijing society] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2009), 63-65.

<sup>45</sup> To learn written Chinese through studying Chinese classics was a more traditional and widely used way of teaching and learning Chinese at the time. See Barbara Tuchman, *Stillwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*, 84-85.

<sup>46</sup> Zhang Weijiang, "Institutional Development and Legacy," 25.

Anglo-Americans in central Beijing from the start.

From 1916, Pettus made tremendous contributions to the School and developed it into a highly evaluated, graduate-school-level institute centering on China-related studies. He strengthened the oral-centered language teaching efficiently, broadened the curriculum by attracting intellectuals from both sides of the Pacific Ocean to offer talks and discussions, and negotiated and campaigned for funding resources through his networking in both China and the States.<sup>47</sup> In 1940, he went back to America seeking ways to protect the School, its staff, and its collections from Japan's invasion, then never returned to China.

A milestone of the School's organizational development was its collaboration with Yenching University. It "upgraded the College's [School's] teaching quality, enabled the College [School] to grant the master's degree in the Chinese language and culture, and increased its reputation and status as the center of the Chinese studies in the world."<sup>48</sup> Yenching University was a Christian institution established in 1916. John Leighton Stuart became the principal of the institution in 1919 and managed in the next two years to secure a new campus site located five miles to the northwest of Beijing, near the royal gardens of the Manchu emperors. The faculties of Yenching University moved to this new campus in 1926.<sup>49</sup> Before that, in the fall of 1925, the Language School under Pettus' supervision had already moved to its new compound in central Beijing, east of the Forbidden City, with "modern buildings, modern

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* See especially chapters four to six, 22-91.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>49</sup> Fan Shuhua, *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering: Remarking the Humanities in China, 1924-1951* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 1-35. The Yenching University was established through integrating three existing Christian colleges: the Peking University 汇文大学 (1889-), the North Union College in Tongzhou 潞河书院 (1867-), and the North China Union College for Women 华北协和女子大学 (1864-).

facilities, and a large library,” which was “the first and best of its kind among all facilities in Beijing.”<sup>50</sup>

In the 1920s, both Stuart and Pettus were seeking financial support for developing their institutions. Meanwhile, Harvard University was seeking potential collaborating institutions in China to apply for funds together from the Charles Martin Hall’s Grant for the establishment of the proposed “Institute of Oriental Education and Research,” because, according to Hall’s will in 1914, the Grant could not be used directly and solely by American institutions.<sup>51</sup> Knowing this, both Pettus and Stuart expressed their interest in



**John Leighton Stuart and William Bacon Pettus in Beijing (1917-1919)**  
Photo collected in “Sidney D. Gamble Photographs” at Duke University Libraries (ID: 310-1776).

collaboration, and, as a result, Langdon Warner (1881-1995) of Harvard University, who was also a graduate from the Language School in Beijing, went to China in 1924 for a formal inspection of the two institutions.<sup>52</sup> According to Warner’s letters to Arthur V. Davis (1867-1962) and to Edward Forbes (1873-1969) from Beijing in February 1925, he favored the Language School and the National Peking University rather than Yenching University. While considering the grant committee’s inclination to collaborate with Yenching, he suggested that Yenching University and the

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<sup>50</sup> Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy,” 49.

<sup>51</sup> Wallace Donham, “Institution of Oriental Education and Research,” 1925, Harvard-Yenching Institute Archives. Refer to Fan Shuhua, “Charles Martin Hall and the Origin of Harvard-Yenching Institute,” *The World History* 2 (1999): 77-81.

<sup>52</sup> Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy,” 52.

Language School could integrate in some way.<sup>53</sup> In light of this suggestion, the two institutions reached a temporary agreement in which the Language School was renamed the “Yenching School of Chinese Studies” as one of the two divisions of Yenching University’s School of Chinese Studies, accepting only “Occidental students.”<sup>54</sup>

However, this collaboration was terminated in about 1927, not only because “the sudden exodus of foreigners seriously affected the College’s [the School’s] enrollment and general work,” but also due to disputes regarding how to share the Hall Grant and a leadership conflict between Pettus and Stuart. Nevertheless, the collaborative relationship between the two institutes created a platform for sharing academic resources among the faculty members and provided the School with an advanced curriculum not only in language teaching but also in other scholarly fields related to China, including history, philosophy, literature, painting, performing, and fine arts.<sup>55</sup>

Becoming independent again after its affiliation with Yenching University, the Language School was so financially pressured that Pettus decided to campaign for the School in the United States starting at the end of 1928. His yearlong effort resulted in the establishment of the California College in China Foundation in 1929 under the Secretary of State of California, which promoted a campaign for an endowment for 600,000 dollars among Californians for the Language School in Beijing. More than 12 presidents and vice presidents of educational institutions in California were on the

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<sup>53</sup> Fan Shuhua, “Charles Martin Hall and the Origin of Harvard-Yenching Institute,” 80. See also “Chapter One: Creating a Transnational Institution (1924-1928)” in *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering*, 1-35.

<sup>54</sup> Another division accepted primarily Chinese students on Yenching University’s main campus in northwest Beijing. See Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy,” 52.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-64.



Board of Overseers of the Foundation, and it helped many Californian scholars and professors conduct research and field trips in China on the Seeley Mudd Visiting Professorships. Thus, the Language School came to be referred to as “the California College in China” in the press of California after the establishment of the funding support and the visiting professorship.<sup>56</sup> Because of this generous financial support, the geographical centrality of the School compound, the friendly and scholarly atmosphere, and the comfortable facilities similar to a Western lifestyle, the Language School in Beijing became a favorite social and study site for many well-known Western intellectuals. Into the 1930s, the scholarly atmosphere and the highly evaluated language teaching centering on spoken Chinese made the School exceed its original purpose of preparing missionaries in language training for their evangelical, social, educational, and medical work in the Chinese context. The pleasant and productive environment of the School for social networking and knowledge making was not affected in concrete ways by the Japanese occupation even after the attack on Pearl Harbor until the end of 1942.

In 1938, the School welcomed its first Japanese student, Ikeda Arata, one of the founders of the Japanese YMCA in Beijing. Born in Korea in 1912, Ikeda was given the name Arata 鮮, taking the second Japanese kanji character “sen” from the word “chōsen 朝鮮” (or *chaoxian* 朝鮮 in Chinese), meaning Korea. He was the fourth son of Ikeda Mitsuyoshi 池田三吉 (?-1914), who had been a captain in the Military Police of the Imperial Japanese Army in Korea and then a part-time superintendent of

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-83. The Board of Overseers of the Foundation included institute leaders from University of California, California Institute of Technology, Occidental College, University of Southern California, Whittier College, College of the Pacific, State College at Santa Barbara, Stanford University, Claremont Colleges, Pomona College, Scripps College at Claremont, University of California, Berkeley, Pacific School of Religion, and Mills College.

police under the Governor General of Korea, working from 1910 in the city of Jinju in South Gyeongsang Province. In 1912, Mitusyoshi was baptized at the Banchō Church in Tokyo. Arata's mother Shizu シズ (?) was also a Christian, having been a Quaker from her teens. After his father died in 1914, Arata moved back to Japan with his family and grew up in Hokkaido with his grandparents. Growing up in a Christian family, Arata was formally baptized in the Methodist Church in Osaka in 1930. After being the assistant to a Western missionary in Okayama for a short period, he started focusing on the study of the Old Testament in the Department of Theology at the Kansai Gakuin University 関西学院大学 in Kyōgo Prefecture from 1932 to 1935, and at the Aoyama Gakuin 青山学院 in Tokyo from 1935 to 1938.<sup>57</sup>

According to Ikeda, a letter sent from the National Nanking University to the Aoyama Gakuin in 1936 changed his life. The content explained that Japan profited as an opium dealer and forced the Chinese to cultivate opium in Manchukuo, which was unknown to ordinary Japanese people like Ikeda.<sup>58</sup> This was the first time that young Ikeda became confused about what Japan was doing in China. It was also the reason he shifted to an anti-war attitude consciously. As a third-year college student, he gave a presentation in his “Christian Ethics” class under the title “Non-War-ism and Anti-War-ism.” During the discussions later, no one had positive feedback.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> For Ikeda's biographical information, see Ikeda Arata and Michiko, *Ikeda Arata and Michiko nenpu* 池田鮮・道子年譜 [A Short Sketches of Our Lives] (unpublished pamphlet, printed in 2000 and updated by Ikeda Arata in 2010), 1-14.

<sup>58</sup> After the war, Ikeda estimated that the letter had been written by Eugene Barnett in China to Jorgenson in Tokyo and included a 21-page “Confidential Report of Visit to North China” of April 1936 produced by Professor Ma of National Nanking University and Professor Price of the Nanking (Jinling) Theological Seminary. Although Professors of the National Nanking University wondered in the letter whether Japanese Christians could do something to stop the situation, it was left without a response – as far as Ikeda knew. See note 1 on page 356 in Ikeda Arata's *Kumorihibi no niji*. About the opium production and market in Manchukuo, see Norman Smith, *Intoxicating Manchuria: Alcohol, Opium, and Culture in China's Northeast* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 301-302.

Ikeda remembered that he was quite confused by the external political atmosphere; to find an answer, he consulted a variety of ideas and attended quite a few lectures held by well-known Christians, such as Yanaihara Tadao.<sup>60</sup> Eventually, he concluded that he must go see what was happening in occupied China for himself, and then searched for means by which to compensate the ordinary Chinese people – “to wash the feet of the Chinese” with his own hands, as he said.<sup>61</sup>

Around this critical time, Shimizu Yasuzō gave speeches in Aoyama Gakuin in 1937, where Ikeda was introduced to him and discussed going to China. Like other occasions when Japanese Protestants asked for such opportunities, Shimizu always responded with his unique optimism. In the coming months, Ikeda canceled a marriage proposal, completed his bachelor’s thesis, and tried to negotiate a formal position as an overseas missionary in Beijing assigned by the Methodist Church, though in the end it was offered without financial support. After graduation, in early 1938, Ikeda went to Beijing and arranged with Shimizu a position working at the Sūtei Gakuen. Meanwhile, he taught Japanese part-time at the Peking School of Commerce and Finance affiliated with the Chinese YMCA in Beijing 北京基督教青年会财政商业专门学校 and the Seventh-day Adventist Secondary School 三育学园 in Beijing. Through such work and the Bible classes of the local YMCA, he became not only able to fund himself but also made many Chinese friends his age.<sup>62</sup>

Thanks again to Shimizu’s local networks in Beijing, Ikeda was introduced to

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 302-303. Yanaihara Tadao was an economist and well-known educator in Japan and was influenced by Uchimura Kanzō’s Non-Church Movement. In 1938, he translated Rev. Dugald Christie’s missionary record *Thirty Years in Moukden, 1883-1913* (London, Constable and company ltd., 1914) into Japanese. For the discussion on his thought, see Susan C. Townsend, *Yanaihara Tadao and Japanese Colonial Policy: Redeeming Empire* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 303-314.

Pettus and was accepted by the Language School as a special student on a tuition waiver. More than sixty years later, sitting in his kitchen at home in Kiyose, Ikeda was still profoundly proud of his experience in the Language School as the first and only Japanese student. Without describing much about how he learned Chinese there, Ikeda remembered more clearly the embarrassed feeling he had on campus because of his lack of knowledge of appropriate Western manners, such as dining etiquette and the ladies-first custom. After a short period of study in the School, he stopped full-time language learning and entered Fu Jen Catholic University as an auditing student in 1939 to study the “History of Oriental-Occidental Communication” lectured by Professor Zhang Xinglang, one of the founders of this field in Republican China. Ikeda decided, in addition to his scholarly training, he also wanted to know more about Chinese scholars and students, the major groups of the population who would shape China’s future.<sup>63</sup>

Compared to the connections with Westerners during this first period, Ikeda’s friendships with Chinese and Japanese in Beijing were described in a far more relaxed tone, such as how he enjoyed Chinese food with Chinese friends in restaurants around Wangfujing and how he had long talks with a Japanese friend in a European-style café in central Beijing about politics, friends, Christianity, and the current situation of China.<sup>64</sup> Being naturally outgoing, therefore, his rapidly-developed social networks among Chinese and Japanese youths turned out to be the

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-326. Also refer to the author’s interview with Ikeda Arata, June 27, 2010. Zhang Xinglang 张星烺 (1889-1951) was one of the founder scholars of the study field “History of Oriental-Occidental Communication 中西交通史” during the republican period. As to his contribution, see Wang Dongping 王东平, “Zhang Xinglang xiansheng dui zhongxi jiaotong shi yanjiu de xueshu gongxian 张星烺先生对中西交通史研究的学术贡献 [Zhang Xinglang’s Contribution to the Study of the History of Oriental-Occidental Communication],” *Shixueshi Yanjiu* 史学史研究 [Journal of Historiography] 107 (Mar. 2002): 9-15.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 312-313, 327.

crucial reason why he was selected by Nara Tsutae 奈良傳 (1898-1979), the representative secretary of the Japan YMCA sent to China, to be a co-founder of the Japanese YMCA in Beijing.<sup>65</sup> More importantly, he was also cherished by his Chinese YMCA counterparts so much that they even held a party for him, a risk within the context of anti-Japanese sentiment, when he received his enlistment letter. “I felt that though China was the enemy of Japan and the Chinese soldier is the enemy of the Japanese soldier,” he recorded in his diary, “our YMCA relationships were beyond that...” This handsome, proactive, and ardent young man was anxious about his motherland and “pessimistic about Japan’s fortunes” because he “did not believe the military reports.” Moreover, he sighed with a feeling of guilt, “To be a soldier was one thing, but how could I fight the Chinese?”<sup>66</sup>

### **The Establishment of a Japanese “YMCA of the World” in Wartime Beijing**

Like the Japan WCTU, the Japanese YMCA that Ikeda served his whole life was involved patriotically in the pacification work of the Imperial Japanese Army in north China right after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.<sup>67</sup> According to its monthly organ *The Pioneers*, the headquarters of the Japanese YMCA had sent three groups of delegates to north China in November 1937 and January and March of 1938

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<sup>65</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi: kahoku, Pekin, tairiku jigyo* 千里の道：華北・北京・大陸事業 [A journey of a thousand miles: north China, Beijing, continental affairs] (Osaka: Sōgensha, 2nd edition in Japanese, 1980), 132-133. See also the English version translated by Keiko Adachi Sellner, *A Journey of a Thousand Miles: Encounter of a Japanese Christian and An American Missionary in China during the War* (Tokyo: YMCA Press, 1979). Nara’s first name pronounced “den” in Japanese, but the English version of his memoir used the other pronunciation “tsutae.” For coherence with English secondary sources, this chapter uses Tsutae.

<sup>66</sup> Mary Alice Haddad, *Building Democracy in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 143-144. Also refer to Saito, F., Takaya, T., & Tanaka, Y., *The YMCA Movement in Japan 1880–2005*, trans. E. Baldwin & S. Leeper (Tokyo: National Council of YMCAs of Japan, 2006), 92.

<sup>67</sup> *Kaitakusha* 開拓者 [The Pioneers] Oct. 1935: 47-49. Before the Incident, the Japan YMCA and the Chinese YMCA (both Shanghai and Beijing) maintained close relations.

respectively.<sup>68</sup> In addition to the garrisons of the Japanese army, they visited both Chinese and Western YMCA leaders as much as possible. Nara Tsutae was in the second group of visitors, who went to Zhangjiakou, Datong, Suiyuan, Baotou, Beijing, Tongzhou, Tianjin, and Jinan.<sup>69</sup> He was born in 1898 at Ōmura in the Nagasaki Prefecture, an area well-known for its Christian history, and where the local lord became the first *daimyō* to convert to Christianity during the Senkoku era.<sup>70</sup> After moving to Sasebo with his family, Nara received a bible pamphlet from a female Baptist missionary by accident and connected with local Baptist churchmen through club activities.<sup>71</sup> At the end of 1917, Nara was baptized at the Osaka Church and became involved in the local YMCA where he became the vice general secretary in 1924.<sup>72</sup> When the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, Nara was already a middle-aged YMCA activist and the leader of the Kobe YMCA.

Having been introduced by Charlotte B. DeForest (1879-1973), sister of Pettus' wife and the president of Kobe College from 1915 to 1940, Nara visited Pettus and the Language School in Beijing during his second trip to China in March 1939.<sup>73</sup> At the end of the same year, Nara was assigned a long-term position as the Japan YMCA's overseas representative in Beijing.<sup>74</sup> In 1940, when Pettus returned to the United States, he handed the School temporarily over to the acting director – a

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<sup>68</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jan. 1938: 29; Feb. 1938: 24; Apr. 1938: 39; Jun. 1938: 32.

<sup>69</sup> *Kaitakusha* Feb. 1938: 24; Mar. 1938: 32-43.

<sup>70</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 132-133.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-149.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 153-158.

<sup>73</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 4. Nara's travel plan was also published on *Kaitakusha* Apr. 1939: 24. On DeForest, see "Charlotte Burgis DeForest Papers, 1903-1960," Sophia Smith Collection of the Five College Archives & Manuscripts, MS 44, <http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/sophiasmith/mnsss86.html>. See also, "Guide to the Charlotte DeForest Papers (RG 178)," the Yale University Divinity School Library. About Kobe College, see Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909* (London: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>74</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 4.

younger American named John D. Hayes (1888-1957), who was a second-generation missionary in China and served on the faculty and administration of the School from 1925.<sup>75</sup> It was during this period when he visited the School that Nara got to know Hayes.

This time, Nara came to Beijing with a proposal for establishing the local branch of the Japanese YMCA.<sup>76</sup> Until February 1940, he was quite busy collecting local information, socializing with relevant personnel, and searching for a suitable place to develop the YMCA's local activities.<sup>77</sup> Through communicating with Chinese YMCA counterparts, he eventually managed to rent the building of the Tsinghua Alumni Association, neighboring the Forbidden City to the east, which was a twenty-minute walk from the Language School.<sup>78</sup> The building was established in 1927 by the North China Branch of the Tsinghua Alumni Association.<sup>79</sup> It was quite a splendid building, with more than 60 rooms including three assembly rooms with individual occupancies of 100, 50, and 40 persons, a room for entertainment, a library, a cafeteria, a general office, a guest room, 11 hostel rooms, and so on. A budget (7,500 *yen*, 1942) was established to keep its regular operations going, while at the same

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<sup>75</sup> Refer to "Guide to the John David Hayes Papers (RG 127)," compiled by Martha L. Smalley, <http://ead-pdfs.library.yale.edu/77.pdf>, 4.

<sup>76</sup> Nara Tsutae and Suekane Toshio 末包敏夫 (1898-1991) were main promoters for establishing branches of Japanese YMCA in China. See Yamaguchi Kōsaku 山口光朔, "Jūgonen Sensō to Kobe YMCA" 十五年戦争と神戸 YMCA [the Fifteen Year's War and the Kobe YMCA], in *Kindai Nihon Kirisutokyō no hikaru to kage* 近代日本キリスト教の光と影 [The light and shadow of Christianity in modern Japan (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1988), 213-262.

<sup>77</sup> *Kaitakusha* Mar. 1940: 16-22. Simultaneously, the Japan YMCA also sent representatives to Nanjing and Guangzhou to build local branches. The Japanese YMCA in Nanking held the open ceremony on April 14, 1940. See, *Kaitakusha* May 1940: 50-51.

<sup>78</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 66. The building was formally rented from April 1940. The annual report of 1940 emphasized that it took 20 minutes from the Central Train Station and 10 minutes from the Chinese YMCA to the rented building by taking a rickshaw. See *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 68.

<sup>79</sup> About Tsinghua University and its relation to the YMCA movement in China, see Zhao Xiaoyang 赵晓阳, *Jidujiao Qingnianhui zai Zhongguo: bentu he xiandai de tansuo* 基督教青年会在中国：本土和现代的探索 [The YMCA in China: the quest of indigenization and modernization] (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2008), 89-90.

time potential earnings (5,000 *yen*) from renting hostel rooms and other activities were also recorded. On December 4, 1940, an opening ceremony of the new branch was held in this building with more than 130 attendants, including the General Secretary of the Japanese YMCA at the time, Saitō Sōichi 齊藤惣一 (1886-1960), as well as about 70 Japanese and 20 Chinese. Japanese missionaries in Beijing, such as Shimizu Yasuzō and Oda Kaneo, were appointed at the event as advisors.<sup>80</sup>

Very soon, a new bus stop was planned to be set up nearby to enable access to the building, and the location became more convenient for developing activities and local networks.<sup>81</sup> First, the three Japanese full-time workers of the Beijing branch, including Nara Tsutae, Ikeda Arata, and Watanabe Fujiko 渡辺富士子, were promptly involved in the promotion of local members. They divided members into two categories – regular members, with annual payments of twenty to thirty Chinese yuan, and “preservation members” who contributed fifty yuan per year.<sup>82</sup> Thanks to Japanese Protestants’ pre-existing networks, the membership campaign turned out to be successful. Within a short period, more than 170 members registered, of which at least 96 were reached through Shimizu Yasuzō’s local networks. Second, the newly established branch began to organize local activities, including a Y’s men’s club, a Chinese language night school, a cooking club, a research group on the Greek Bible, a research group on Chinese studies, and a Sino-Japanese forum (invited by the Chinese YMCA), among others. Many clubs of recreation and hobbies freely assembled, and some activities were planning to be co-sponsored as collaborations with the Chinese YMCA, such as a public exhibit of photos organized by the camera

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<sup>80</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 68-71. The floor plan was published on page 71.

<sup>81</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 74.

<sup>82</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 69.



club.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to setting the location, Japanese YMCA workers paid close attention in 1940 to outlining why such an overseas branch should be established and how it could interact with the American-involved Chinese YMCA in Beijing. According to the annual report submitted to the Japanese YMCA in Tokyo, a combined discourse was created by the organizers. On one hand, they situated this overseas enterprise within the domestic ideology of wartime Pan-Asianism as a representative “organization for the cooperation of East Asian youths” (*Tōa seinen kyōryoku jigyo* 東亜青年協力事業) and established their goal as “to enhance the friendly neighborhood between China and Japan.” On the other hand, they positioned their work in the local context through emphasizing the international and cosmopolitan nature of the organization and claimed, with a strong sense of YMCA’s internationalism, that “The cosmopolitan Beijing is under a totally new [political] order now, and so is the new YMCA. With such an opportunity, the organization [the Japanese YMCA in Beijing] should be institutionally renewed to take the stance of ‘YMCA of the world.’”<sup>84</sup>

Both Japanese authorities and American YMCA leaders in Beijing welcomed this internationalist ideology. As one of the most important Protestant organizations, the Japanese YMCA and its activities in Beijing were undoubtedly under close inspection by local Japanese governing authorities because it was categorized as one of the most well-known overseas cultural institution/affairs (*bunka jigyo* 文化事業). Based on the suggestion of its officer Takeda Hiroshi, Kōain’s Beijing office held a special reception meeting in the building of the Japanese YMCA on March 26, 1940,

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<sup>83</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 73-74.

<sup>84</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 68-71.

as an activity sponsored by the Federation of Religions in East Asia (*Tōa shūkyō renmei* 東亜宗教聯盟).<sup>85</sup> During that event, Nara remembered, about seven or eight Western missionaries gave warmhearted free talks that made the atmosphere remarkably friendly.<sup>86</sup> In other words, before the United States joined the war at the end of 1941, the American YMCA leaders in China were generally optimistic about, and supportive of, the Japanese YMCA's expansion in Beijing under the organizational philosophy of Y's men's internationalism.

This practice of the Japanese YMCA, promoting the combined ideology of both imperialistic patriotism and Americanized Protestant internationalism in a Chinese context, framed the liminality of Japanese YMCA workers in many occasions in wartime Beijing – not only as mediators between Japanese authorities and western missionaries but also as go-betweens from Japanese authorities to Chinese Christians. It was with this pre-existing condition that the transfer of the Language School, from American to Japanese Y's men, raised conflicts between Japanese YMCA staff and the Japanese authorities in Beijing.

### **Nara, Ikeda, and Hayes: Transnational Friendship built for Language School**

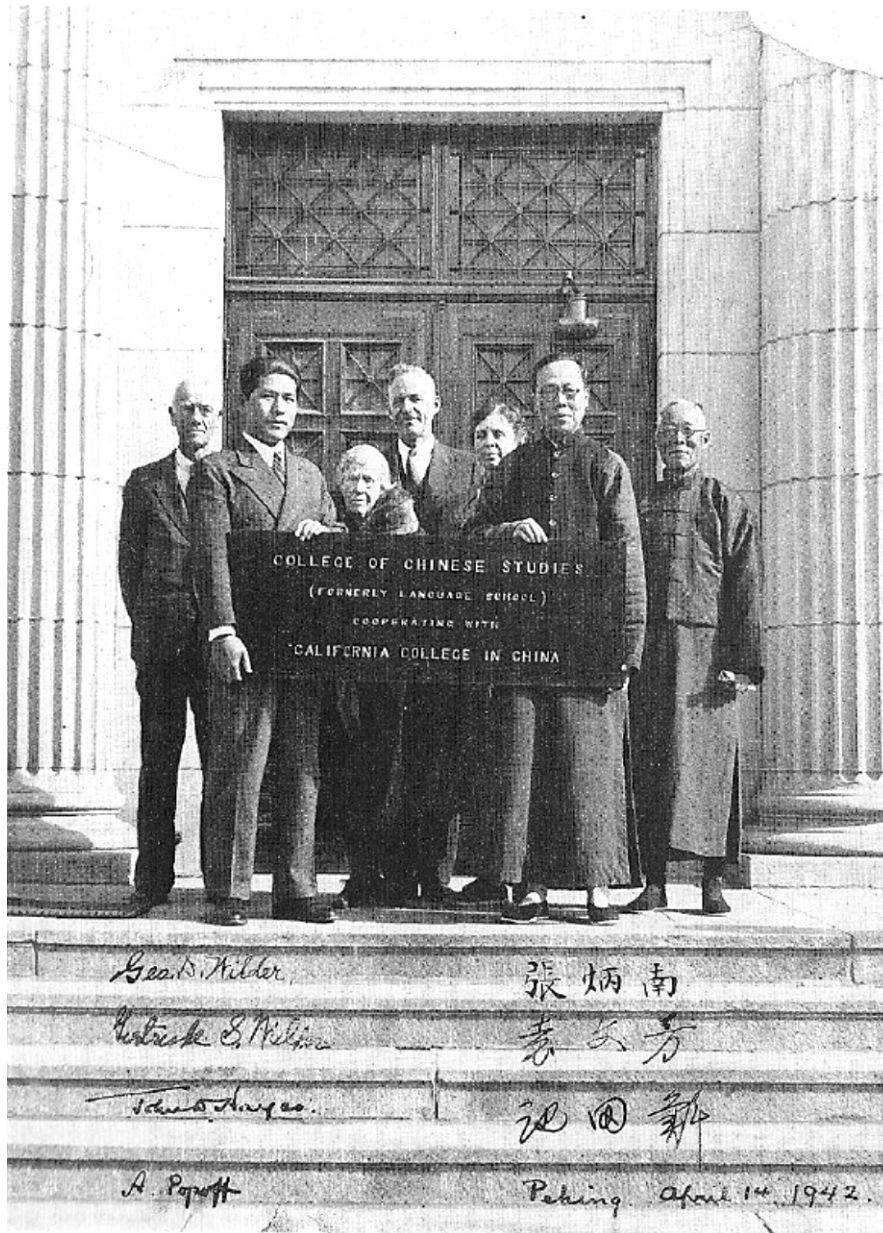
On April 14, 1942, the Language School was formally transferred from its original American administrators to the Japanese YMCA in Beijing. On that day, the transfer document was signed not only by Nara and Dr. Davis (president of the local committee of the school foundation), representing Japanese and American YMCAs respectively, but also by Kuboda Fujimaro 久保田藤磨 (1907-1993), the secretary of

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<sup>85</sup> *Kaitakusha* Jun. 1941: 72-73. Also see Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 14. Shimizu Izō mentioned in our discussion that Takeda was a Christian. However, I could not find other records or oral evidence about Takeda's Christian identity.

<sup>86</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 14.

Kōain, as a witness.<sup>87</sup> Also conducted on the same day was a ritualized transferring of the tablet of the School, which was engraved “College of Chinese Studies (formerly Language School), cooperating with California College in China.”<sup>88</sup>



**Transfer of School Tablet at the Language School**

Ikeda (left, wearing in Western style) and a Chinese administrator held the tablet.

Photo taken on April 14, 1942.

Published in *Kumorihibi no niiji*.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>88</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumorihibi no niiji*, 341-342.

To interpret why and how this transfer could be achieved in wartime Beijing as the previous sections have contextualized, one must understand to what extent the American and Japanese YMCA leaders could trust each other. On the institutional level, there were continuous formal relations among YMCAs throughout the world, so that when the general secretary of the Japanese YMCA visited Beijing to attend the opening ceremony of its new branch, he was received warmly at Hayes' house as a special guest.<sup>89</sup> However, what was more significant in shaping this specific collaboration was first and foremost the level of transnational interaction among individual Y's men beyond their nationhood and political stance. Like the mission historian Dana Roberts said, "One key that unlocks the history of missions from the 1910 World Missionary Conference to the mid-twentieth century is that of cross-cultural friendships."<sup>90</sup> In our case, the friendship between Ikeda, Nara, and Hayes formed during the war in Beijing is such a key that is too crucial to overlook when examining the School transfer.

John D. Hayes was born at Dengzhoufu (present Penglai) in Shandong Province in an American missionary family. His father, Watson McMillan Hayes (1857-1944), was a Presbyterian missionary educator who committed his entire life to developing modern education in north China. Having grown up fully bilingual in China, John Hayes received university education at Princeton University and Wooster College of Oxford University, as well as theological training at Princeton Theological Seminary. With the experience of serving the France YMCA from 1914 to 1915, he went back to China in 1917 as a Presbyterian missionary focusing on Christian works among

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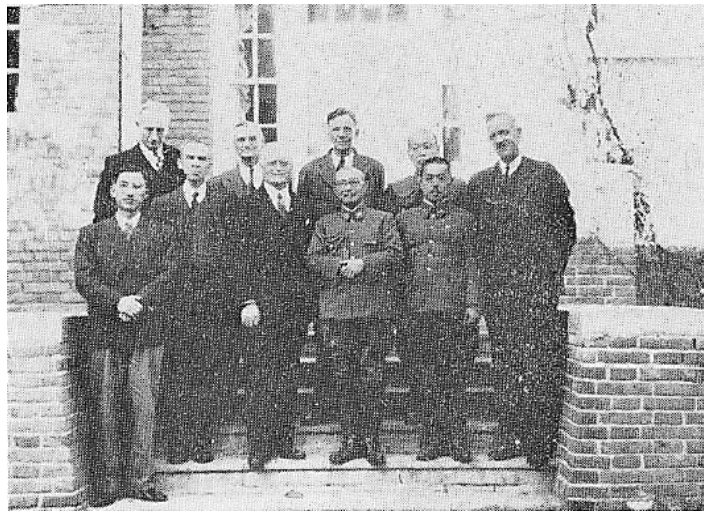
<sup>89</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 13.

<sup>90</sup> Dana L. Roberts, "Cross-Cultural Friendship in the Creation of Twentieth-Century Christianity," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35 (April 2011): 100.

Chinese students.<sup>91</sup> Differing from Pettus, the older school founder, Hayes was seen by Nara as a more open-minded person due to his relatively friendly attitude toward the Japanese:

Dr. Pettus, the past president, had been a stubborn old man and a first generation missionary. He did not compromise nor adjust to the presence of Japanese Occupation Forces. However, the acting president, Rev. Hayes, was different. He was the son of Rev. Watson MacMillan Hayes, a missionary from the Northern Presbyterian Church. It did not matter to him who governed China; his lifetime work was to bring Christianity to the Chinese people. In this mission, he found life worth living. From the very first, we were able to understand each other and to develop a warm friendship. Through this extraordinary person, I was able to meet missionaries of other denominations and to enlarge my group of acquaintances. It helped both of us.<sup>92</sup>

The two Protestant men developed their friendship through two trips in Japan in 1940 and 1941. According to Nara's narrations, they became closer in 1940 when Hayes asked him if there was a chance to visit Japan during his annual leave in August.<sup>93</sup> It turned out to be a joyful trip, though when they



**Japanese Military Officers' Visit to the Language School**

(Nara is on the far left and Hayes the far right)

Photo taken in November 1939, published in *Senri no michi*, the Japanese version, but not in the English version.

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<sup>91</sup> For other biographical details of John Hayes, see Martha Lund Smalley compiled, "Guide to the John David Hayes Papers," <http://drs.library.yale.edu:8083/fedora/get/divinity:127/PDF>, 3-4.

<sup>92</sup> Nara Tsutae, *A Journey of a Thousand Miles* (1979, English version), 5.

<sup>93</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 9.

arrived at Japan, Hayes and his daughter were brought “politely” to another destination – rather than Nagasaki as they planned – by some *Tokkō* 特高 policeman (*tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu* 特別高等警察, Special Higher Police) to avoid potential spy behaviors by Westerners in Japan.<sup>94</sup>

Without knowing why and what happened at the time, Nara recorded that the two joined his family after four days and had a trip to the hot springs in Beppu. They also went to Kobe and Tokyo and visited some Japanese Christians with family connections.<sup>95</sup>



**The 1940 Tour in Japan**

From left: Nara, Hayes, Mrs. Lyense, Barbara Hayes  
Photo published in *A Journey of a Thousand Miles*  
(English version).

Soon after this trip, Hayes asked Nara to go to Tokyo again in early 1941. This time, he made clear that he expected to visit and talk with some Japanese Christian leaders about the situation of Christians in north China under Japanese occupation and Nara’s company would undoubtedly be helpful. They went to Japan in February, and, after a short stay in Kyoto, they took the train to Tokyo. On the road, Nara remembered, Hayes suddenly expressed his intention to talk with some high-level governors or ambassadors in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to avoid the potential conflicts between the two countries and asked if Nara knew someone. Happily, Nara introduced him to Terasaki Tarō 寺崎太郎 (?-?), then the head of the American Bureau in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through Terasaki Hidenari 寺崎英成 (1900-1951), the officer’s younger brother working in Beijing as the secretary of the

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12.

Japanese Embassy who was Nara's table tennis partner. Nara assumed that Hayes must have been received well because their private meeting took a long time. After this visit, Hayes changed his travel schedule on the return trip and stopped at Pyongyang before returning to Beijing. Nara wondered if it had something to do with the Presbyterian resistance to worshipping in shrines (*jinja sanpai* 神社参拝) in Korea, but did not know the details.<sup>96</sup>

Compared to Nara, whose networks in Christian and non-Christian communities in Japan were already in use by Hayes for peacemaking works, Ikeda's interactions with Hayes and other American YMCA workers developed well primarily because of his involvement in the Language School life in Beijing. Though very young at the time, Ikeda's ability was viewed highly by Nara, his elder co-worker. In that stage, Nara was living a commuter life because he had to supervise the administration of the Kobe YMCA at the same time. In total, he traveled eight round trips between Kobe and Beijing by ferries and trains from 1939 to 1945.<sup>97</sup> During his absences, therefore, Ikeda took on the entire responsibility of the general affairs in Beijing, and earned Nara's sincere admiration, praising him by saying that his support was as durable and reliable as "ten-thousand soldiers."<sup>98</sup>

Having experienced Mandarin training in the Language School himself, Ikeda prepared to organize night school classes of the Chinese language in the Japanese YMCA building according to the particular needs of the increasing number of

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-16. Hayes did not record if this action was instructed by any religious or diplomatic agencies. But the time point he acted was sensitive. Also, Terasaki Hidenari, Nara's table tennis friend, was also a critical figure in the Japan-US relation. He was demonstrated by recently exposed FBI documents a master spy and double agent. For more details on Terasaki Hidenari, see Roger B. Jeans, *Terasaki, Pearl Harbor, and Occupied Japan: A Bridge to Reality* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

Japanese residents in Beijing. He invited Shimizu Yasuzō to be the principal of the school because they both agreed with the “oral method” that the Language School promoted. They also chose the textbook used by the Language School and copied the School’s pedagogy by recruiting popular instructors from it. The classes started on April 14, 1941 – exactly one year before the transfer of the Language School to the Japanese YMCA. In the beginning, it operated as a 2-year program with three lessons per week. Although there was yearly tuition (75 *yen*), the number of applicants immediately reached the limit of 50. Knowing this, Hayes wasn’t unhappy with the sharing of staff and even sent a Chinese-English dictionary to Ikeda as a celebratory gift. He wrote to Ikeda on the title page: “to our competitor school’s principal,” which, to be sure, was understood by the receiver as good humor.<sup>99</sup> However, it also indicated the competitive yet cooperative relationship not only between Japanese and American church workers but also between Japan’s and the US’s imperial power in China – whether or not it was the original meaning of Hayes’ note.

Even after the hand-over of the School, Ikeda cooperated with Hayes and other American YMCA administrators until they were forced to leave for the Weixian Internment Camp. For Ikeda, this was a memorable year full of love, joy, and warm friendship, because he married Toriumi Michiko, the Airinkan settlement’s coordinating administrator, and moved into Building No. 2 of the Language School as the temporary “custodian” of his alma mater. In the final stage of his life, Ikeda still remembered his wedding on June 2nd, 1942, as an event that represented both the broadness of his social networks in Beijing and the transnationality of the Protestant community in the “semi-colonial” context.<sup>100</sup> At 4 pm that day, the Christian

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<sup>99</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumorihibi no niiji*, 332-333.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 345-346.



ceremony was conducted in the Japanese Christian Church at the Dongtangzi Hutong and blessed by Japanese pastor Murakami Osamu.<sup>101</sup> Two hours later, a reception party followed in the atrium of the Japanese YMCA building during which a blessing was given by Dr. Nagai Hisomu 永井潜 (1876-1957), chair professor of the Medical School of the (wartime) National Peking University. The new couple invited not only Western and Japanese missionaries related to the Japanese YMCA, and Ikeda's American and European classmates in the Language School, but also their Christian and non-Christian Chinese friends. After the party, Hayes drove the new couple in his Ford Model T back to their new residence in the compound of the Language School, where a moving-in party was held after three days, on June 5.<sup>102</sup>

As such, in both Nara's and Ikeda's memories, their friendship with Hayes was positioned at the center of their lives in Beijing. Yet, Hayes' papers, which were donated by his family to the Yale Divinity Library, unfortunately leave an obvious gap regarding these personal connections developed from 1940 to 1942 in Beijing. For this particular study, Japanese sources about the three Protestants' cross-cultural friendship are preciously critical, because they demonstrate from the Japanese perspective that Hayes' decision to hand the School over to the Japanese during the war was based on his active networking with Japanese Protestants, and it was entirely not a choice "without choice" forced by local Japanese authority.

### **American and Japanese YMCA Men's Collaboration and Ikeda's "Crime"**

As it was impossible to interact with Japanese Y's men in Beijing by himself, Pettus kept in contact with Hayes during 1940 and 1941 when he left China for the

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<sup>101</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō's residence, as also the Ōmi Sales' branch office, was in the same community.

<sup>102</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumorihibi no niji*, 345-346. Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 31-32.

United States. The School ran as usual during these two years. For example, the Claremont Graduate School sent Professor Charles Burton Fahs to the School in 1940 and, as was routine, to purchase Chinese books using funds granted by the Rockefeller Foundation. Sr. Arthur W. Hummel was invited, too, to stay at the School during his visit to China in 1940.<sup>103</sup> In facing ever more severe war conditions, however, Pettus recognized that he should prepare his beloved School for the worst and started planning to move the School to California. This idea was spread by those who were closely connected to the School. For example, Pearl Buck sent a telegraph to John Marshall of the Rockefeller Foundation on August 29, 1941, emphasizing the urgent need to move the School to the States and offering the insight that “September may be [the] last opportunity for months to bring qualified teachers here.” She also wrote on October 13, 1941 to Mr. Keppel, the General Manager of the Carnegie Foundation, hoping that “the Carnegie Corporation will be able to give the rest of the aid needed [for moving the School back].” Pettus himself kept writing to the Rockefeller Foundation, the Luce Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the War Department, the Secretary of State, and even President Roosevelt for the same purpose until all these efforts came to an abrupt halt due to the Pearl Harbor Incident.<sup>104</sup>

Miles away, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, Hayes hoped for the best. He had taken action, too. One week before his first trip to Japan in August 1940 with Nara, he wrote to Pettus and confirmed that “We are on the best of terms with local authorities.”<sup>105</sup> In the coming year and a half, even after the Pearl Harbor Incident on

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<sup>103</sup> Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy,” 94-99.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-101.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 95. Hayes Letter to Pettus (July 24, 1940) is collected in the Archive of the California College in China foundation, Special Collections, Honnold Library, Claremont, California.

December 8, 1941, the School operated normally under his supervision.<sup>106</sup> As Nara was told later during the war, Hayes had visited the Philippines twice before February 1942, trying to find a temporary campus for the School. By that time, Hayes' wife and some instructors of the School had already moved to there.<sup>107</sup>

Upon hearing the news of the Pearl Harbor Incident, Ikeda was in the atrium of the Japanese YMCA building in Beijing, and Nara had just arrived at Kobe.<sup>108</sup> Because the School in Beijing was funded by the California College in China Foundation, it was unavoidably categorized by the Japanese local authority as an “enemy's property.” In this crisis, it was the American side that took action first to ask the Japanese YMCA in Beijing to be the temporary “custodian” of what had been left in the School's compound.<sup>109</sup>

The properties of the school and the right of administration could be smoothly transferred from Americans to Japanese YMCA workers in Beijing because the Japanese local diplomatic authority – the branch office of Kōain and the Japanese Embassy in Beijing – had given formal permission.<sup>110</sup> According to Ikeda, the permission was based on the condition that the School would be re-organized into a new institute called the Japanese and Chinese Learning School (*Nikkago gakkō* 日華語学校, *rihuayu xuexiao* in Chinese), with parallel Japanese and Chinese language departments. Although the number of Western students gradually decreased from that

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<sup>106</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumori hibi no niiji*, 341.

<sup>107</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 20.

<sup>108</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumori hibi no niiji*, 341; and Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 18.

<sup>109</sup> Nara and Ikeda's writings were slightly different on some details. For example, Ikeda did not remember that he was involved in the negotiation with Kōain about the permission of transfer before the signing of documents. However, both Nara and Ikeda asserted that American administrators of the School acted promptly in responding to the change of the US-Japan relation and considered the Japanese YMCA in Beijing as a reliable collaborator to assist them retreating the School from China to the US. See Ikeda Arata, *Kumori hibi no niiji*, 342; Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 32.

<sup>110</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 31-34. Ikeda Arata, *Kumori hibi no niiji*, 321-342.

point on, and the dormitory rooms became only permitted to accept Japanese residents, American staff and Japanese Y's men could still be neighboring in peace, as Ikeda's newly wedded life demonstrated.<sup>111</sup>

The real problem emerged from the negotiations between the Japanese YMCA in Beijing and the local Japanese authorities. Kōain began to intervene in the school's administration immediately after the hand-over by appointing Nakanome Akira 中目覺 (1874-1959), the first principal of the Osaka School of Foreign Studies, to be the principal of the reorganized Language School in Beijing.<sup>112</sup> Ikeda was given charge of the Chinese department only. However, having been so trusted by their American friends of the School, Nara and Ikeda expected to take full charge of the School, and thus they could hardly accept this decision. Nara thought, "in cosmopolitan Beijing, the potential principal [of the new school] should be an open-minded person who is able to represent Japan as one of the powerful modern states through his own work and his international horizon, rather than such a conservative old Japanese person."<sup>113</sup> Yet, with little time to negotiate on this issue further, Nara left for Kobe again.

As well, the Japanese YMCA in Beijing was pressured by the Japanese Military Police after Hayes and other Americans had been forced to leave Beijing for the Weixian Internment Camp in November 1942.<sup>114</sup> The Japanese Army delivered a notice, intending to use the buildings of the School as the Army's dormitories and

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<sup>111</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumori hibi no niji*, 321-342.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* Ikeda mentioned Nakanome's surname as 中ノ目. About this person, see Ishida Hiroshi 石田寛, "dainiji taisen makki Pekin ni okeru jinbun shakai keizai kei kōtō kyōiku oyobi nihongo kyōiku no tenkai katei: Nakanome Akira o chūshin ni" 第二次大戦末期北京における人文・社会経済系高等教育及び日本語教育の展開過程: 中目覺を中心に [Higher Education in Humanities, Social Sciences, and Economics and the Development of Japanese Education in Beijing: A Case Study about Nakanome Akira, *Fukuyama Daigaku Ningen Bunka Gakubu Kiyō* 福山大学人間文化学部紀要 [Bulletin of Humanities of Fukuyama University] 4 (2004): 99-126; 5 (2005), 71-128.

<sup>113</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 32-33.

<sup>114</sup> Ikeda Arata and Michiko, *Ikeda Arata and Michiko nenpu*, 3.

forced the residents to move out, including the Ikeda couple and other Japanese civilians. Having had some troubles in the negotiations with military staff on this issue, Ikeda and his wife had to move to the residence that belonged to the Oriental Missionary Society in Beijing, which was until then still in actual use by Chinese and Japanese missionaries.<sup>115</sup>

A more severe conflict occurred immediately after the Ikedas' move. As Nara heard from others, the couple moved out all possessions, such as things "from curtain to bubbles," which was considered a stance of profound resistance to the Japanese military authority and enraged the head military police officer.<sup>116</sup> Ikeda was then arrested by the military police of the Japanese Army for two weeks under the crime "Embezzlement of Enemy's Possessions" (*tekisan ōryō* 敵産横領), and almost all his belongings were confiscated.<sup>117</sup> Ikeda considered the crime as only a nonsensical excuse and asserted that he brought only private possessions, including those that had been given to him by previous residents (including Hayes), but not a single possession of the school.<sup>118</sup> During the arrest, he was repeatedly forced to answer a question: "You have done so much for the YMCA, but what have you done for His Majesty the Emperor?" Without thinking much, Ikeda chose to answer un-offensively, saying "what I have done for the YMCA was also for the Mikado." Apparently, he avoided mentioning God, and it eventually could not satisfy the police officer. In the end, the punishment for Ikeda's "crime" was settled by the highest level of the local military authority as to be "banished from occupied regions of the Japanese Northern China Area Army and forced to return to his home country [Japan] within four days

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<sup>115</sup> Ikeda Arata, *Kumorihibi no niiji*, 343-344.

<sup>116</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 33.

<sup>117</sup> Ikeda, *Kumorihibi no niiji*, 347.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 343.

from the date of release.”<sup>119</sup>

The School was, since then, entirely occupied by the Japanese Army. Ironically, while Hayes had been forced to stay in the Weixian Camp in north China, Ikeda Arata and his wife Michiko were forcibly deported out from north China at the end of April 1943 – exactly one year after the School was transferred to the Japanese YMCA. On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, Pettus and the members of the School Council in New York were furious about Hayes’ cooperation with the Japanese and criticized him, saying he “has not shown good judgment.”<sup>120</sup> However, he could not possibly have known the price Ikeda had paid for his effort of preserve the School in Beijing.

The critical proof that settled Ikeda’s “crime” was the objects that were considered to have belonged to Americans from the Language School, including what Hayes gave to Ikeda as well as the wedding gifts. From the perspective of the Japanese military police, these objects belonged to the empire rather than any individual subject of the empire. In fact, this case precisely reflected the negotiations between state power and individual civilian’s rights at the semi-colonial periphery of the Japanese Empire. As a Japanese Christian, the awkwardness of Ikeda’s behavior was due entirely to the in-between-ness of being simultaneously a Japanese “authority” towards the US-allied nationals in the occupied region and an authorized Christian “subject” towards the imperial state. The former identity empowered him to overestimate his power as a Japanese “custodian” in negotiating with the occupation authorities in the semi-colonial context, and yet the latter restricted him ironically from individual property rights and the freedom of believing in the Christian God

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<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

<sup>120</sup> Zhang Weijiang, “Institutional Development and Legacy,” 106. These words were written on April 6, 1943.

exclusively without paying preeminent spiritual respect to the God-Emperor of his own state. Therefore, looking back on the war, during which he was young and had been arrested by his compatriots in China, Ikeda was more inclined to summarize his role as a Protestant as in between “the authority” and “the subjugated [people],” without mentioning much about his national identity.<sup>121</sup>

### **Conclusion: Protestants’ Dual Identity and War**

In wartime Beijing, the Language School transferred successfully from American YMCA administrators to Japanese YMCA workers for only one year, from April 1942 – when the transfer ceremony was held – to April 1943, when Ikeda was forced to leave. This case showcases the dominant motivation of both sides to protect Protestant enterprises from the intervention of the Japanese diplomatic and military authorities in emergent situations of war. More generally speaking, it also exemplifies that Christian civilians could once shape transnational power to a degree that cannot be ignored in negotiating with national state power in the semi-colonial context of north China. For Hayes, Nara, and Ikeda, this was not the only issue that they intended to resolve in China after Japan and the United States declared war on each other and the Japanese authority began to take control of American-related Christian institutions, properties, and logistics. Two months after the transfer of the Language School in Beijing, Nara and Hayes traveled together by train through north China to visit churches, missionaries, and Christians, intending to deal with similar kinds of issues and to reestablish peace and trust between ordinary Westerners and Japanese people in China.<sup>122</sup> In this specific scene of competing imperialism in a semi-

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with Ikeda Arata, June 27, 2010.

<sup>122</sup> Nara Tsutae, *Senri no michi*, 21-30. They went to Jinan, Qingdao, Xuzhou, and Tengxian, where

colonialized context, we see that the “resistor” was not necessarily “the occupied” national – like Ikeda, and the “collaborator” was not necessarily the agent of “the occupier” – like Hayes.

The handover of the Language School in Beijing was a special case of church property transfer in wartime north China. Chinese Christians were not involved because the school was an educational/cultural enterprise under the YMCA, rather than a church organization that was supposed to be handed over to Chinese Christians according to Japan’s religious policy in China. However, it is still a significant case in examining how a Protestant could behave, live, and network with other nationals at war with his/her dual identity as both a citizen of one of the involved nation states and as a Protestant of a specific trans-national (or indigenous) religious community, especially alongside the wartime movements of the Chinese Protestant Church in north China. Therefore, it is also a reminder for Chinese Protestants to reflect on how and why they chose to be involved, or not involved, in the wartime Protestant church unification for personal, denominational, theological, political, economic, or other reasons. These individual choices, which were shaped at war within the shared transnational China-Japan-US(-allied) Protestant networks as this chapter represented, paved the way for Chinese Christianity after Japan’s defeat.<sup>123</sup> Their dual identity, mutually constructed by both national and inter-national awareness, could only be interpreted within the history of war.

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Hayes’ parents were living.

<sup>123</sup> For example, as Xing Fuzeng stated, Wang Mingdao’s success in resisting to be a member of the NCCU under Japan’s occupation influenced his decision on not joining the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, which resulted in his tensional relation with the Communist state-sponsored united church after 1945. See Xing Fuzeng, “Wang Mingdao he Huabei Zhonghua Jidu Jiaotuan.”



## Epilogue

Japanese Protestants' north China mission was an important part of the twentieth-century history of World Christianity developed through the non-western, cross-cultural interlinks of Protestantism between China and Japan within the global context from the end of World War I to the end of World War II. This research has demonstrated their mission's interconnectedness, liminality, and multifunctionality in Sino-Japanese relations during the first half of the twentieth century. In it, Shimizu Yasuzō played the central role as a “nexus” going beyond the evangelical and church settings to set roots in educational, journalistic, intellectual, philanthropic, political, and cross-cultural social spheres. This importance was maintained in post-1945 Japan.

On March 15, 1946, the Shimizu couple left China. They arrived in Japan on March 19 and set foot in Tokyo on March 22.<sup>1</sup> With Kagawa Toyohiko's help, they soon established a new school named Ōbirin, meaning “beautiful woods of cherry blossoms” in Japanese, and established the school using the royalties earned from publishing *Outside the Chaoyang Gate* and *Father and Mother of Chinese Girls* during the war.<sup>2</sup> The Ōbirin School developed to be a successful educational system, where the Shimizu couple continued to build God's Kingdom on Japanese land.

More importantly, Shimizu Yasuzō continued to promote his Orientalized Christianity by seeking the roots of Christian thought in Japanese Confucianism – specifically, through demonstrating Nakae Tōju's hidden Christian identity. From 1948 to 1967, he published four books investigating Nakae Tōju and his thought in

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<sup>1</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nozomi o ushinawazu*, 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-69.

the style and form of historical research. One of them was even entitled frankly with the central argument: “Nakae Tōju was A Hidden Christian.”<sup>3</sup> These works actualized his research plan that had been blueprinted in his 1930 article, the one in which he tried the same argument for the first time. The continuation of Shimizu’s Nakae Tōju scholarship indicates that the cultural assimilation of Christianity remained an essence in his religious mentality. In 1974, for instance, Shimizu delivered a speech called “To Japanize Christianity” before Christmas, praying that “To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews. (Corinthians I, 9:20)”<sup>4</sup> By explaining how Christmas and related customs had been settled in Western Christian culture and his own family, Shimizu tried to demonstrate that Christianity is capable of transcending barriers and thus adoptable in Japan. Then, he concluded, “To the Jews I became as a Jew, to the Japanese I became as a Japanese, in order to win Japanese.”<sup>5</sup> At this specific point, Shimizu did not change much with his goal to re-Orientalize Christianity since late 1920s in either wartime China or postwar Japan, once his religious framework had been formulated transnationally in China, US, and Japan during the interwar years.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Nakae Tōju no kenkyū* 中江藤樹の研究 [A Research on Nakae Tōju] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen Shuppanbu, 1948); *Nakae Tōju wa Kirishitan de atta: Nakae Tōju no shingaku* 中江藤樹はキリシタンであった: 中江藤樹の神学 [Nakae Tōju was a Hidden Christian: His Theology] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen Shuppanbu, 1959); *Shi-teki Nakae Tōju: Tōju Gakuha no teikō* 史的中江藤樹: 藤樹学派の抵抗 [Historize Nakae Tōju: the rebel of the Tōju school of thought]; (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen Shuppanbu, 1959); *Nakae Tōju* 中江藤樹 (Tokyo: Higashi Shuppan, 1967).

<sup>4</sup> The Japanese Colloquial of Bible (*Kōgoyaku Seisho* 口語訳聖書) has been used from the 1950s, which was based on Greek text and the English Revised Standard Version. Shimizu’s speech has been delivered in 1974, and thus the English verse cited here is from *Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1952), 193.

<sup>5</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, “Kirisutokyō o Japanaizu suru” キリスト教をジャッパナイズする [To Japanize Christianity], in *Senkata tsukuru tomo: Shimizu Yasuzō sensei sekkyō · kōwa shū* せん方尽くるとも: 清水安三先生説教・講話集 [Running out of all ways I could: Mr. Shimizu Yasuzō’s sermons and speeches] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen Dōsōkai, 2006), 94-99.

<sup>6</sup> Further studies are needed to examine if Shimizu’s civilizational theory in his Protestant Pan-Asianism was carried over to his postwar writings and religious thought, or significantly changed within the postwar intra-East Asian context.

This Japanized Protestant internationalism was and still is widely and warmly embraced by Ōbirinians in Tokyo and other places around the globe. Among the 102 registered Catholic and Protestant schools in Japan, the Ōbirin schools and university were among several uncommon cases that had been established after 1945.<sup>7</sup> Because of its special association with China, a branch called “Takashima Academy” (*Takashima Gakudō* 高島学堂), affiliated with the Confucius Institute of the J. F. Oberlin in Tokyo, was established in 2006 at Takashima, where Shimizu Yasuzō was born.<sup>8</sup> Through both school and civil education in this way, the Ōbirin schools inherited Shimizu’s legacy faithfully by emphasizing both Protestant internationalism and Japanese Confucianism.

In the intra-East Asian and Japan-US relations, Shimizu continued to work hard through his transnational Protestant activism. He campaigned for the Ōbirin school in Hawaii, and in North and South America from 1952 to 1953, and maintained a close tie with Oberlin College in Ohio.<sup>9</sup> While travelling to Seoul to attend lay Protestants’ activities, he reconnected with his Korean students in 1970.<sup>10</sup> Though he did not have the opportunity to go back to Beijing, he received many Chinese students and visitors warmly in Tokyo. Some Chinese individuals, like Tang Tao – a well-known specialist on Lu Xun’s literature and thought, visited him with special respect because he was

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<sup>7</sup> They are registered in the Association of Christian Schools in Japan (*Kirisutokyō Gakkō Kyōiku Dōmei* キリスト教学校教育同盟). See webpage of the Association: <http://www.k-doumei.or.jp/>, accessed September 16, 2019.

<sup>8</sup> About the Takashima Academy, see <https://www.obirin.ac.jp/kongzi/introduction/kzts/>. The Confucius Institute was established within the J. K. Oberlin University in 2006. See webpage of the Confucius Institute in J. F. Oberlin University: <https://www.obirin.ac.jp/kongzi/>. Accessed September 16, 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Shimizu Yasuzō, *Ōbirin monogatari* 桜美林物語 [Story of Ōbirin] (Tokyo: Ōbirin Gakuen, second edition, 1971), 114-156.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

one of few Japanese people who related to many May Fourth figures in Beijing and was still alive in the 1970s.<sup>11</sup>

Within Japan, Shimizu maintained his interactions with other Japanese Protestants who were involved in the wartime north China mission, such as the Ikeda couple. Though being forced to leave Beijing in April 1943, Ikeda Arata went back to China again during the war as the local correspondent of the Japanese YMCA in Shanghai from February 1944. Before that, he stayed shortly in Beijing and learned from Shimizu about the contents of the United Church of Christ in Japan's "Letter to Christians in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."<sup>12</sup> Ikeda might have misremembered the time period during which he read this letter, as it was published later, in November 1944. Alternatively, the contents of the Letter could have been spread among Christian leaders in and out of Japan before its release. Whichever the situation was, upon reading that Letter, Ikeda remembered that he was "angry, and tore and threw it away."<sup>13</sup> However, he did not say exactly what enraged him.

After working in Shanghai for one year, Ikeda was recruited to join the Japanese army in Nanjing in the last "local recruitment of soldiers" by the Imperial Japanese Army. On May 1, 1945, he left for Nanjing and served in the army until the end of the war. About sixty years later, he recounted details of his life in the army, as he felt a duty to tell younger Japanese people what a war could be like:

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<sup>11</sup> Tang Tao, "Qingshui Ansan huijian ji," in *Tang Tao jinzuo*, 207-208.

<sup>12</sup> Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan 日本基督教団 [United Church of Christian in Japan], *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan yori Dai-Tōa Kyōeiken ni aru Kisiruto kyōto ni okuru shokan* 日本基督教団より大東亜共栄圏に在る基督教徒に送る書翰 [Letter to Christians in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere from the United Church of Christian in Japan] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan, 1944). It can be accessed through National Diet Library Digital Collection at <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1093691>.

<sup>13</sup> "Ikeda Arata sensei no hyakunen no ayumi" 池田鮮先生 100年の歩み [Mr. Ikeda Arata's 100 years] (compiled by the Tokorozawa Y's Men's Club and posted in the Club's blog page on September 10, 2012), accessed September 16, 2019, <http://tokorozaways.blogspot.com/2012/09/100.html>.

My life as a soldier was short. Although I did not confront the [Chinese] “enemy” on the battlefield, I want to write down what the Japanese army life was like as I experienced it. There are many other stories of soldiers in wars that are more miserable, brutal, and inhuman. ... I cannot remain silent because, as a 92-year old, I have no time [to speak]. I do not want Japan [again] to be a state giving up peacebuilding in order to fight with neighboring countries with arms. After the [Second World] War, Japan aimed to be a state that would never go to a war, as indicated by Article Nine of the Constitution [of Japan]. ... Now, seeing what the American Army Force has done in Iraq, I recommend [Japan] thinks [of war] as if it were the victim Iraq. ... To be neither victimizer nor victim, but rather [I want Japan] to be a peace maker in the present world.<sup>14</sup>

In the postwar years, Ikeda Arata became an active promoter of peace-building until he passed away in 2012 at the age of 100.<sup>15</sup> As a leading YMCA activist in Japan, he connected closely with American YMCA activists and fellow Protestants and held the position of general secretary of the Japan YMCA from 1961 to 1972.<sup>16</sup> In the mid-1990s, he actively mobilized civilians of Kiyose – where he lived – to oppose the change of Japan’s pacifist constitution.<sup>17</sup> Later in his life, Ikeda was also passionate about the environmental movement.<sup>18</sup> While celebrating his 100th birthday

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<sup>14</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Watashi no sensō to hyōtai seikatsu o kataru” 私の戦争と兵隊生活を語る [My life as a soldier during the war], accessed July 28, 2011, <http://www.geocities.co.jp/HeartLand-Cosmos/2841/ikeda2.htm>.

<sup>15</sup> “Shōsoku 4831” 消息 4831 [Message no. 4831], *Kyōdan Shinpō* 教団新報 December 5, 2015, accessed September 16, 2019, <http://uccj.org/newaccount/23158.html>.

<sup>16</sup> For YMCA’s reflection on its wartime expansion in China during the 1960s and 1970s, see Endō Hiroshi 遠藤浩, “Senjika no Nihon YMCA ‘tairiku jigyō’ no hyōka ni tsuite: 1960 kara 70 nendai no gensetsu o chūshin ni” 戦時下の日本 YMCA 『大陸事業』の評価について: 1960-70 年代の言説を中心に [The reflections on the Japan YMCA’s ‘continental enterprise’: centering on the discourses raised from the 1960s to the 1970s], *Ajia, Kirisutokyō, Tagensei* アジア・キリスト教・多元性 [Asia, Christianity, Diversity] 13 (2015): 19-34.

<sup>17</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Watashi no sensō to hyōtai seikatsu o kataru.” For the grassroot peace movement in Japan, see Akihiro Ogawa, “Peace, a Contested Identity: Japan’s Constitutional Revision and Grassroots Peace Movements,” *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research* 36 issue 3 (July 2011): 373-399. About the role of Article 9 of the Constitution in this movement, see Daiki Shibuichi, “The Article 9 Association, Leftist Elites, and the Movement to save Article 9 of Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” *East Asia* 34 issue 2 (June 2017): 147-161.

<sup>18</sup> Ikeda had excitedly shown me the solar panel his house had installed when I visited him in 2010.

in 2012, he still paid much attention to the nuclear radiation problem that had been caused by the 2011 earthquake and tsunami.<sup>19</sup>

His wife Michiko, who ran the Airinkan in Beijing, could not return to the city from April 1943 on. In August, four months after returning to Japan, she gave birth to her eldest son, a lovely boy who was supposed to be born in Beijing. Her husband named him Kazuya 一亜, with the two characters literally meaning “one Asia” in both Japanese and Chinese, because the couple hoped that “Asia is one.”<sup>20</sup> Before her husband could return home in April 1946, Michiko stayed in Japan with her son. Once, for a period, they had been living with Ozawa Kaisaku and Sakura and their sons. Ozawa Kaisaku was a dentist, but he was also an enthusiastic Japanese social activist in Manchuria and north China.<sup>21</sup> His wife Sakura was a pious Christian and, as mentioned in chapter six, had attended the Airinkan’s activities almost every day. The Ozawa family thus befriended the Ikeda couple in Beijing and supported Michiko in Japan while she raised her son. After the war, Michiko continued her Christian activism as a WCTU social worker and assisted her husband in promoting their Christian values. She passed away at 93 in 2009.

Other Japanese Protestants who went to China during the war gradually re-established their ministry work in the postwar years under the United Church of Christ in Japan. Oda Kaneo, whose Chinese evangelism had earned the respect of

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<sup>19</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Hyakusai kara no messeiji” 百歳からのメッセージ [Message at 100 years old], accessed September 16, 2019, <http://ysmen.main.jp/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/058ae4c75ceea7203c3e8a7b3fc7e925.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Ikeda Arata, “Michiko to tomo ni,” 4.

<sup>21</sup> About Ozawa Kaisaku, see Matsumoto Kenichi 松本健一, “Ozawa Kaisaku no yume” 小澤開作の夢 [Ozawa Kaisaku’s dream], in *Shōwa ni shisu: Morisaki Minato to Ozawa Kaisaku* 昭和に死す: 森崎湊と小沢開作 [Dying alongside Showa: Morisaki Minato and Ozawa Kaisaku] (Shinchosha, 1988), 117-187. See also Tanaka Hideo 田中秀雄, *Ishiwara Kanji to Ozawa Kaisaku: minzoku kyōwa o motomete* 石原莞爾と小澤開作: 民族協和を求めて [Ishiwara Kanji and Ozawa Kaisaku: seeking for racial harmony] (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 2008).

Shimizu and Wang Mingdao, re-established the Free Methodist Church in Osaka, dedicated himself to church work, and contributed in particular to the spreading of the gospel among children through writing stories for them.<sup>22</sup> Because of his ability in communicating in the Chinese language, he became a delegate on behalf of the United Church to attend their first formal visit to Communist China in 1957, and he was able to go back to visit *Fuyintang*, where he worked for locals in Beijing before 1945.<sup>23</sup> Most Japanese Protestants, like Oda and others who developed mission work in China, experienced postwar hardships in the rebuilding of their Christian communities. However, as diverse as their thoughts were about their missions in China prior to and during the war, so was the case after the war as well – which deserves much more research into each case.

Nonetheless, the United Church issued a “Confession on the Responsibility during World War II” on behalf of all Japanese Protestants on Easter Sunday on March 26, 1967.<sup>24</sup> It is still displayed in a special column on the Church’s website, confessing,

We neglected to perform our mission as a ‘watchman.’ Now, with deep pain in our hearts, we confess our sin and ask the Lord for forgiveness. We also seek the forgiveness of the people of all nations, particularly in Asia, and of the churches therein and of our brothers and sisters in Christ throughout the world; as well as the forgiveness of the people in our own country.

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<sup>22</sup> Oda Family ed., *Ashiseki*, 145-272. Also see Oda Kaneo, *Nikago o katsuite* 荷籠をかついて [The little carrier boy]” (Osaka: Seitōsha, new edition, 1975).

<sup>23</sup> Oda Kaneo, *Oda Kaneo sekkyō shu*, 353-359.

<sup>24</sup> Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan, “Dainiji Taisenka ni okeru Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan no sekinin ni tsuite no kokuhaku” 第二次大戦における日本基督教団の責任についての告白 [Confession on the Responsibility during World War II], March 26, 1967 (English version revised on January 20, 1982), accessed September 16, 2019, <http://uccj-e.org/confession>.

This “confession” also includes Japanese Protestants’ self-criticism about their wartime patriotism. It says, “The church, as ‘the light of the world’ and as ‘the salt of the earth,’ should not have aligned itself with that war effort. Love of country should, rather, have led Christians to exercise a rightful judgment, based on Christian conscience, toward the course our nation pursued.” However, before and while the war progressed, many Japanese Protestants believed before God that they should take on the moral duty of guiding and caring for other Asians. As Shimizu’s wartime opinions showcased, this “imagined” Protestant leadership had once been a morality-based conscience with utmost sincerity, though the 1967 statement did not clarify why this was the case historically.

Moreover, the complexity of the wartime Japanese Protestant discourse of civilizational hierarchies, and its continuing ideological power, have not been recognized by many Japanese Protestants who are now working as religionists or religious workers in Japan. When I visited the WCTU in Tokyo in 2010, a female elder told me that the Airinkan settlement in Beijing “did only good” for the Chinese. This statement was not fully wrong, but not introspective in its tone of moral judgement, and in the civilizational rationale that had profoundly fortified this Protestant morality at war. Thus, to interpret the self-criticism that was implied in the Japanese Protestants’ collective “confession,” one needs to more fully understand how this Japanese Protestant “love of country” initially formed – not only based on collective ethical commitment to God, but also based on historical specifics regarding what Japanese Protestants thought and how they came to think that way in the war.



## War, Religion, and Macro-Nationalism

The examples traced in this study suggest new insights into our understanding of not only Protestants' global missions in the twentieth century but also the globalization of racism, (inter-)nationalism, and sexism that have been structurally interwoven with civilizational hierarchies and religious morality in the modern world. As shown in the chapters, I intended firstly to understand religion and religionists during wartime. In 1997, Brian Daizen Victoria examined in his influential book *Zen at War* how a seemingly peace-loving religion – Zen Buddhism – could have responded and contributed to the formation of the wartime Japanese imperialism.<sup>25</sup> The complex relation between religious thought and war mobilization, as this book described, matters not only to Japan and its neighboring countries but also to the rest of the peoples of the world who were involved in the Second World War. In this specific context, the wartime movements of the Japanese Protestant churches were comparable to that of the German Protestant churches in many ways.<sup>26</sup> However, Japanese Protestants were considered “foreign” to Japanese culture because they were affiliated with the “West,” while German Protestants were considered “native” even in the Nazi period. Japanese Muslims might have shared a similarly complex identity with Japanese Protestants during the war.<sup>27</sup> Particularly when compared to the Anglo-American Protestantism of the West, Islam was considered by the Japanese as more associating with the East – geographically and culturally.<sup>28</sup> Notably, in general,

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<sup>25</sup> Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (Boston: Weatherhill, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919-1945* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> For the influence of Islamic thoughts in modern Japan, see, for example, Selçuk Esenbel, *Japan, Turkey, and the World of Islam: The Writings of Selçuk Esenbel* (Folkestone: Brill Global Oriental, 2011).

<sup>28</sup> As an example of Japanese Muslims' thought about Oriental civilization, see the Japanese Muslim Tanaka Ippei's 田中逸平 (1882-1934) travelogue published in 1925, recording his pilgrimage from

through religionists who engaged with a great variety of ideas and social movements, all trends of religious thought in Japan engaged actively with the empire's colonial war. However, this "engagement" was not processed simply through "either-or" interactions with wartime Japanese ultra-nationalism, but it developed historically in complex ways, as reflected by Shimizu Yasuzō's thought, which developed cross-culturally in China, Japan, and the United States from the interwar years to wartime.

Secondly, this study considers religious nationalism as a historically constructed grassroots phenomenon. Six years before *Zen at War*, Gilles Kepel published his *La Revanche de Dieu*, which was then translated into English as *The Revenge of God*.<sup>29</sup> In an article published in 2011, Kepel pointed out that Samuel Huntington had distorted his position in creating the influential theory of "The Clash of Civilizations."<sup>30</sup> Kepel wrote that ordinary Muslims "find themselves, along with the whole of society, at a defining moment," but that "It has little to do with the grand schemes of the clash of civilizations, and far more with grass-roots issues." Japanese Protestants experienced a "defining moment," too, during the war. They were, like those "common" Muslims in Kepel's words, "divided along generational and ideological lines" and thus historically and locally specific. In these grassroots civil movements, "religion" was always a part of our social fabric globally throughout the

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China to Mecca in 1924, *Hakuun yūki* 白雲遊記 [Travelogue on white cloud] (reprinted by Ronsōsha, 2004). Tanaka had long years of overseas experiences in Taiwan and mainland China from 1900 and converted to Islam in China in 1924. See also Tanaka Ippei Kenkyūkai ed., *Kindai Nihon no Isurāmu ninshiki: Musurimu Tanaka Ippei no kiseki kara* 近代日本のイスラーム認識: ムスリム田中逸平の軌跡から [Reflections on Islamism in modern Japan: viewing from the Muslim Tanaka Ippei] (Tokyo: Jiyūsha, 2009).

<sup>29</sup> Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in the Modern World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

<sup>30</sup> Gilles Kepel, "Beyond the Clash of Civilizations," *The New York Times* March 11, 2011, accessed September 16, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/12/opinion/12iht-edkepel12.html>. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

twentieth century. As reflected in the cases in this study, the three Shimizus and the younger Ikeda couple had different motivations to be involved in the Chinese mission field, but all of them were enthusiastic in participating in the social, cultural, and commercial lives of the people and in the politics of nation-states. Through these cases, we observed that religionists and religions have not “vanished” in this modern “secular” world, but rather they became stronger when moving forward with their trans-national activism. As paradoxical as one might find it, the Christian God remained critically important in various ways in justifying these Japanese Protestants’ national belonging while they pursued a “modern” life – what for many is essentially considered a “secularized” life outside of the church realm. Along this path, most importantly, a regional “Asian” outlook became extremely remarkable and powerful not only in ideology-making but also in social practice.

A third contribution of this study has been to detail interconnectedness of China and Japan in the making of Pan-Asianism from prewar to wartime. It speaks to the prevailing phenomenon of the so-called “macro-nationalism” of today’s world, be it Pan-European, Pan-African, Pan-Islamic, Pan-Latin American, Pan-Asian, or otherwise defined. After the 2011 Norway attacks, the Norwegian scholar Thomas Hegghammer pointed out that, as the attacker Mr. Breivik’s “2083-A European Declaration of Independence” shows, a global rise of “macro-nationalism” has gradually taken form, which is “a variant of nationalism applied to clusters of nation-states held together by a notion of shared identity, like ‘the West’ or the ‘ummah.’”<sup>31</sup> This phenomenon, however, is not brand new. In part, it may have even been inspired

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<sup>31</sup> Thomas Hegghammer, “The Rise of the Macro-Nationalism,” *The New York Times* July 30, 2011, accessed September 16, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/31/opinion/sunday/the-rise-of-the-macro-nationalists.html>.

by such political discourses as “the clash of civilizations.” In history, as we have seen in this study, Japanese Protestants engaged themselves in an anti-Western civilizational war, proclaiming that Japan was leading the Chinese toward upgrading Oriental civilization and in protesting the West – in Shimizu’s words, through (re-)Orientalizing Christianity and historization of the “human” Jesus Christ. Regarding this Pan-Asianist goal, he was not unlike many radical Islamists of today fighting against the Euro-American West, though he took on a Protestant civilizing mission instead of an armed or violent approach to it.

Remarkably, Shimizu was not the only such case, but rather was among many other Japanese religionists – including Buddhists, Shintoists, and followers of new religions in Japan – who applied to their faith a moral duty to resist an abstract concept of a fundamentalist, essentialist West. They acted as various – albeit collectively powerful – undercurrents mixing in different prewar and wartime Pan-Asian ideologies from within Japan and beyond. In this sense, Eri Hotta offered this study an overarching contextual framework. She categorized Pan-Asianism into three clusters, be they more anti-colonial, as reflected in Okakura Tenshin’s 岡倉天心 (1862-1913) “Teaism,” more culture-emphasized, as reflected in Konoe Atsumaro’s 近衛篤磨 (1863-1904) emphasis on East Asia’s commonality, or more expansionist, as reflected in Ishiwara Kanji’s 石原莞爾 (1889-1949) “Meishuron” (Japan’s leadership in Asia, 盟主論).<sup>32</sup> This study demonstrates that Shimizu’s God-centered transnational nationalism intersected and engaged with each of these clusters. It was anti-colonial towards Western imperialism; it stressed the long-running cultural

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<sup>32</sup> Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931–1945*, especially chapter one, “Conceptual Roadmap: Tea, China, Leadership,” 19-52.

associations between Japan and China; and it believed in the superiority of Japanese Protestants in their ability to maintain moral order in Asia, and particularly in China.

The making of Shimizu's Protestant "macro-nationalism" in the interwar period could also be contextualized within the formation of interwar Pan-Asianism in China and Japan, as Trosten Weber examined. At the beginning of his study, Weber compared Tokutomi Sohō and Edward Said, as they both discussed the East/West or Orient/Occident binary in their writings, though about a century apart. He also cited Arif Dirlik's influential scholarship to point out the general phenomenon of self-Orientalization in Pan-Asianists' defining of "Asia."<sup>33</sup> As this study shows, Shimizu was influenced directly by Tokutomi's writing about China, especially because the latter – though less mentioned – had been a central figure of the Congregationalist Kumamoto Band. Meanwhile, the transformation of Shimizu's religious ideas in the interwar years clearly represents the process of "self-Orientalization" that "consolidates 'Western' ideological hegemony by internalizing the historical assumptions of Orientalism."<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, it was his immersion in the Chinese May-Fourth Culture that launched this process. More interestingly, it was the "historicization" rather than the "essentialization" of Jesus Christ that set the basis for Shimizu's national and transnational belonging – although the latter process of essentialization is considered more often as the central characteristic of self-Orientalization.

Both Hotta and Weber concentrated more on Pan-Asianism as an overarching ideology than as a practice. This might be a reason why Japanese religionists were

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<sup>33</sup> Torsten Weber, *Embracing "Asia" in China and Japan*, 10-13.

<sup>34</sup> Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," *History and Theory* 35 no. 4 (Dec. 1996): 104.

often found relatively far from the center of ideology making in political realms. Moreover, in the examination of influential ideology (or opinion) makers who attached to a certain faith, such as Tokutomi Sohō and Yoshino Sakuzō, their religious belongings and thoughts have not often been regarded as critical and central as their political ideas. In this study, we found powerful connections among these politically active Protestants whose opinions were in no way peripheral in the making of Pan-Asian ideas from prewar to wartime, and they indeed inherited the earlier Pan-Asian idealism that emerged from the Meiji era from both outside and within the Japanese Protestant church setting. One important method they applied, as presented by Shimizu's journalistic career, was that they participated deeply in the commercial publishing industry and through this they developed resilient journalistic voices in making public opinions.

All the cases of this study show that Japanese Protestants promoted their faith-embedded ideas through not only opinion making but also realistic social, educational, diplomatic, and even business engagements in their missions in north China. In his recently published work *Japanese Confucianism*, Kiri Paramore uncovered the disengagement of Confucianism from its social practices in the modern era in both Japan and China, which lay in sharp contrast to Buddhist social involvements and institutionalized organizations.<sup>35</sup> Relevant to this study, this insight reminds us of the inter-religious comparability and interactions between Japanese Protestant and Buddhist missionaries in overseas missions, and their roles in shaping cross-border Pan-Asianism. For example, Airinkan's wartime social activities, particularly the distribution of food to the Chinese, were mostly co-organized with

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<sup>35</sup> Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History*, 185-187.

other religious and civil organizations, such as the Buddhists' mission of Honganji in Beijing and the New Citizen's Society. It is also intriguing to note that Japanese religionists gradually built their inter-religious collaborations roughly from the time of the Russo-Japanese War and, in wartime China, these collaborations were realized within institutions such as the Federation of Religions in East Asia (*Tōa shūkyō renmei* 東亞宗教聯盟) or the Federation of Religions in Middle China (*Chū-Shi shūkyō daidō renmei* 中支宗教大同連盟). Thus, Japanese religionists' overseas activities, including cases examined in this specific study, are opening up for further investigations within a broader historical context.

In this context, notably, Pan-Asianism functioned in many religion-relevant cases as a coherent anti-Western ideological route, though it has been considered less attached to Protestantism. In Cemil Aydin's article "Beyond Civilization," he argued that "the concept of a single universal civilization – initially formulated to define the content and justify the politics of European hegemony in the world – was preserved by non-Western elites when they challenged the idea of the 'civilizing mission' contained in discourses of East-West 'civilizational' synthesis."<sup>36</sup> However, the elite non-Western preservers and synthesizers of the concept of "civilization" Aydin has referred to here are Islamic and Japanese intellectuals and non-Christian religionists who tried to form equal dialogues with Western intellectuals in the Christocentric traditions. For example, he states, "prominent Buddhist and Hindu intellectuals of Japan and India appeared at the Chicago World Parliament of Religions in 1893 to assert the equality and comparability of their religions to Christianity."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Cemil Aydin, "Beyond Civilization: Pan-Islamism, Pan-Asianism and the Revolt against the West," *Journal of Modern European History* 4 no. 2 (2006): 204.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

In Shimizu's case, however, we found another route of anti-Western argumentation, which not only preserved the civilizational concept of East-West dichotomy, but also internalized Christianity itself through the historicization of Jesus Christ. This idea relates to the Middle Eastern origin of Christianity and inherited the early Pan-Asianism developed in the 1890s, from which "the scope of Asian solidarity and identity was extended, first to India via Buddhist legacy arguments, and then to the whole of West Asia, including the Islamic world via a concept of the shared destiny of non-Western Asians."<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, it also linked tightly with the interwar Christian internationalism that had been found prevailing in the United States. In his recently published book *For God and Globe*, Michael Thompson found an American version of radically anti-imperialistic internationalism in the American YMCA missionary Kirby Page's thoughts during the 1920s. He said, in editing *The World Tomorrow*, Page "sought to juxtapose recent research into the historical Jesus with the problems of nationalism and imperialism in the American twentieth century."<sup>39</sup>

Shimizu's thoughts were also deeply rooted in the 1920s intellectual and social context of the globe. Aydin pointed out that civilization-related concepts survived in both Pan-Asianism and Pan-Islamism during the interwar period even when both encountered the new international conditions intertwining the Anglo-American Wilsonian internationalism and Soviet Bolshevik socialist alternative.<sup>40</sup> In this study, we found a concrete example in Shimizu's intellectual development, in which he did try to form a dialogue with Marxism through his digestion of the social gospel. Regarding this specific aspect, Shimizu's case is inspiring for rethinking how

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>39</sup> Michael G. Thompson, *For God and Globe: Christian Internationalism in the United States between the Great War and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 21.

<sup>40</sup> Cemil Aydin, "Beyond Civilization," 217-218.



Japanese Protestants constructed their relations with Japanese socialists in both their thoughts and their social movements. In this sense, Chinese Christians' involvements in and dialogues with the socialist movements in the 1920s were also of significant relevance within the interactive Sino-Japanese constructions of Pan-Asianism.

Last, but certainly not least, this study examined Japanese Protestants' profound involvements in gender politics in both their social engagements and the making of their Pan-Asian opinions. This is primarily discussed in chapters five and six by examining Shimizu's wartime involvements through both his own autobiographical propagations and his coordination with the Japan WCTU in building the female led Airinkan settlement in Beijing. On one hand, he wrote to establish himself as an apostle for God, to contend with the state-sponsored propagandic mobilization that promoted him as a "saint." This active stance contributed to the image-building itself mainly because of its Pan-Asianist rhetoric in establishing a Japanese "fatherhood" toward Chinese schoolgirls. On the other hand, Shimizu enthusiastically helped Japanese Protestant women in realizing their idealism in "serving the Chinese." At the peak of his fame being the "Saint of Beijing" in 1939 and 1940, the Japanese Protestant women's transnational activism supplemented the established narrative of Christian "fatherhood" by spreading "Christian motherly love" toward Chinese plebeians. This double narrative about "fatherhood" and "motherhood" mutually constructed a coherent and pervasive Japanese Protestant paternalism as both an ideology to uphold Japanese Protestants' participation in the empire's political life at the imperial metropole, and a moral principle to conduct religious practices in their mission works at the imperial periphery. It was in such complex constructions of gender-permeated wartime rhetoric that Shimizu's wartime thoughts and activism

could find internal mental consistency as well as political significance for the war propaganda.

### **“Overcoming Modernity”?**

In the end, this whole package of complexity – found in the case of Japanese Protestants in pre-1945 north China and indeed in many other relevant studies – was due fundamentally to the omnipotent problem of modernity. We can find in many early-twentieth-century Pan-Asian discourses a serious pursuit of “overcoming” the capitalist modernity of the Euro-American West. At the center, importantly, a social-Darwinism-driven teleological “world history” performed strong resilience and persistence.<sup>41</sup> It is in its special attachment to this omnipresent goal that we find the critical importance of Japanese Protestants, their overseas mission work, and their mission-related thoughts, because they collectively searched for how to “overcome” the westernized modernity from the perspective of religionists.

Shimizu’s case shows that Japanese Protestant activities and their thoughts formed within north China intersected closely with influential discourses of culture and civilization prevailing from interwar to wartime Japan. These clusters of civilizational discourses polarized the Orient and the Occident, and, more importantly, assumed a necessity for the former to “overcome” the latter. They also collectively contributed to the reconstruction of an East Asian roadmap towards “world history,” in which Japan was placed at the liminal position bridging the Orient

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<sup>41</sup> For one case of the enduring civilizational world history, see Cemil Aydin and Burhanettin Duran, “Arnold J. Toynbee and Islamism in Cold War-Era Turkey: Civilizationism in the Writings of Sezai Karakoç,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35 no. 2 (2015): 310-323. On Chinese nationalism informed and conceptualized through non-Euro-American-Japanese consciousness of globality, see Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).

to the top of the world civilizations – the “end” of universal history. Shimizu found Japanese Protestants bearing the burden of an upmost moral duty in this progressive line of linear history, not only by taking on but also upgrading the “white man’s burden” because they, unlike white Anglo-Americans towards indigenous peoples of the North American continent, carried both a Protestant “burden” to lead and a Japanese “debt” to “repay” to China.

In July 1942, a few months after Pearl Harbor, a symposium called “Overcoming Modernity” was organized by a group of preeminent Japanese thinkers.<sup>42</sup> These Japanese thinkers gathered to discuss both how to “overcome modernity” and the meaning of the war, not only to the Japanese nation but also to peoples of the “Oriental” civilization. As Harry D. Harootunian pointed out, “Because the war was global, its meaning for the country and its recent history of capitalist modernization could not be seen as merely a local experience but rather had to be considered within the broader context of a ‘world-historical’ mission and destiny.”<sup>43</sup>

Many attendees of the symposium considered the ongoing war as an inevitable way to seek “the medical treatment” for a spirit diseased by “modern civilization.”<sup>44</sup> In their discussions, religions of the East and West, religious thoughts, and even Christian theology found quite a central position.<sup>45</sup> However, all their arguments were

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<sup>42</sup> Richard F. Calichman, “Introduction: ‘Overcoming Modernity’: The Dissolution of Cultural Identity,” in *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1-41.

<sup>43</sup> Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 34.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> The most obvious example is Yoshimitsu Yoshihiko’s talk “The Theological Grounds of Overcoming Modernity: How Can Modern Man Find God?” in *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan*, 77-90.

built on an East-West dichotomy, through which the “civilization” concept had been even further entrenched. Shimizu thought about the same set of questions as all these Japanese thinkers. In his 1940 trip, he had already triumphantly proclaimed a “Holy War,” even before Japan’s temporary success over the US. Faithfully believing in his own “civilizing mission,” Shimizu was not intending to support the ultranationalist state, but he was trapped in his own Protestant Pan-Asianism established on civilizational hierarchy, teleological history, and progressive modernity. In fact, the strongest power found in the globalization of progressive modernity is its capabilities in structuring repeatable dichotomies, such as East versus West, non-Christian versus Christian, secular versus religious, public versus private, male versus female, nationalism versus internationalism, and countless others. It created rich historical variants, as this study exemplified, and it formed and is still casting our understanding of ourselves in relation to “others” at present.

In his gift to Shimizu, Lu Xun constructed such a “modern” dichotomic pairing with the ancient Buddhist chant: “Drop the knife, become a Buddha; drop the sutra, become a killer.” Endowing this gift with a particularly rich meaning, Shimizu continued his “civilizing mission” in China until the end of the war. He became a Christian savior by upholding his Bible and maintaining Japanese moral duty in China. To his Chinese friend, therefore, he had little to confess. Unfortunately, Lu Xun did not live to the end of the war. He died in October 1936, before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident that became an important episode of Shimizu’s legend as a benevolent Japanese Protestant humanitarian in wartime Beijing. One cannot help but wonder, if Lu Xun could have lived through the war, how would he have seen his Japanese friend Shimizu, the Saint of Beijing? However, despite the two men’s

deaths, Pan-Asian transnationality has endured in the twentieth century and beyond. As the gift reminds us, the complexities entailed in transnational “friendship” and “civilizing mission” remain profound and challenging in today’s world.

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## Appendix I: Japanese Protestant Missionaries in Wartime North China\*

City/Province	Home Church/Organization in Japan	Mission Station or Enterprise	Japanese Missionary
Beijing 北京	Congregational Church in Japan ( <i>Kumiai Kyōkai</i> 組合教会)	Church for Japanese in Beijing 北京日本人基督教会	<b>Shimizu Yasuzō</b> 清水安三 <b>Itō Eiichi</b> 伊藤栄一 <b>Ogawa Shūichi</b> 小川秀一 <b>Shirabe Masamichi</b> 調正路
	Holiness Church under Nakada Juji 中田重治 ( <i>Kiyome Kyōkai</i> きよめ教会)	Japanese Kiyome Church in Beijing 北京日本圣洁教会	Inada Hiroshi · Etsuko 稲田浩 · 悦子
	Presbyterian Church in Japan ( <i>Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai</i> 日本基督教会)	Japanese Presbyterian Church in Beijing 北京日本基督教会	Murakami Osamu 村上治 Kawamura Kenji 川村健爾
	Holiness Church ( <i>Nihon Seikyōkai</i> 日本聖教会)	Holiness Church in Beijing with Chinese Branch 北京圣教会及中国人传道所	Narisawa Bunju 成沢文寿 Nakajima Eibun 中島英文 Kanai Sōju 金井相寿
	Free Methodist Church in Japan ( <i>Nihon Jiyū Mesodisuto Kyōkai</i> 日本自由メソヂスト教会)	Chinese Mission of Free Methodist Church in Japan 日本自由美以美会	<b>Oda Kaneo</b> 織田金雄
	YMCA (Interdenominational)	Japanese YMCA in Beijing 北京日本基督教青年会	<b>Nara Den (Tsutae)</b> 奈良傳 <b>Ikeda Arata</b> 池田鮮
	Women's Board of the United Church of Christ in Japan ( <i>Nihon Kirusitokyō Fujin Renmei</i> 日本キリスト教婦人連盟)	Social Settlement by Japanese Christian Women in Tianqiao 北京天桥爱邻馆 ("Hall of Neighborly Love," Airinkan)	<b>Shimizu Yasuzō</b> Toriumi Michiko 鳥海道子 Ikunaga Eiko 池永英子
	Japan WCTU (Interdenominational)	Japan WCTU 日本基督教妇人矫风会	<b>Shimizu Ikuko</b> 清水郁子 Ōjima Chie 大島千恵
N/A	Sūtei Gakuen in Beijing 北京崇贞学园	<b>Shimizu Yasuzō</b> Shimizu Miho Shimizu Ikuko	

Tianjin 天津	Methodist Church in Japan ( <i>Nihon Mesodisuto Kyōkai</i> 日本メソヂスト教会)	Tianjin Church of the Methodist Church in Japan 日本美以美会天津教会	Inoue Kenjirō 井上健次郎
	Church of the Nazarene in Japan ( <i>Nazaren Kyōkai</i> ナザレン教会)	Church of the Nazarene in Tianjin 天津拿撒勒教会	<b>Kaku Kunio</b> 加来国生
	Congregational Church in Japan	Tianjin Church of Congregational Church in Japan 日本组合天津基督教会	Nakamura Saburō 中村三郎
	East Asia Mission ( <i>Tōa Dendōkai</i> 東亜伝道会)	Tianjin Church 天津教会	Inoue Kenjirō 井上健次郎
	?	?	Higashiyama Takeshi 東山 武
Hebei 河北省 (Shimen 石门)	East Asia Mission	Chinese Christian Church in Shimen 石门中国基督教会	Ōmori Saburō 大森三郎
	Congregational Church in Japan	Congregational Church 组合教会	Hirovani Hiroichi 廣谷廣一
	?	?	Kinuda Motoyoshi 絹田元吉
Chaha'er 察哈尔省 (Zhangjiakou 张家口)	Congregational Church in Japan	Church for Japanese 日本人教会	<b>Ogawa Shūichi</b> 小川秀一 <b>Itō Eiichi</b> 伊藤栄一
	East Asia Mission	Zhangjiakou Church of East Asia Mission 东亚传道会张家口教会	Nakagusuku Masao 中城雅雄
Qingdao 青島	Presbyterian Church in Japan	Qingdao Church of Presbyterian Church in Japan 青島日本基督教会	Shimamura Hokichi 島村穂吉 <b>Ido Seiichi</b> 井戸清市
	Congregational Church in Japan	Qingdao Church of Congregational Church in Japan 日本组合青島基督教会	<b>Yamamura Yoshimi</b> 山村好美
	Methodist Church in Japan	Methodist Church 美以美教会	Yoshizaki Tadao 吉崎忠雄
	?	?	Tateoka Hagane 館岡 鋼
Shandong 山东省 (Jinan 济南)	Holiness Church under Nakada Juji	Holiness Church in Jinan 济南基督教会	?
	Salvation Army in Japan ( <i>Nihon Kyūsegun</i> 日本救世軍)	Moving Tea House served by Salvation Army in Japan 救世军报国茶屋	Tagashira Teiichi 田頭定市
	East Asia Mission	Jinan Church of East Asia Mission 东亚传道会济南教会	Ishimura Takeji and wife 石村武治・夫人

	YMCA	YMCA outside Puli Gate 普利门外基督教青年会青年会	Mukai Yoshio 向井芳男
(Tai'an 泰安)	Independent	Orphanage at Dongguan 东关教养院	Ishide Anzō · Mazako 石出安藏 · 正子
(Dexian 德县)	?	Dexian Mission of Gospel affiliated to the Movement of Civilizing Chinese 大陆教化运动德县福音会	Ishimura Takeji 石村武治 Asamiya Ki-hwan 朝宫基焕
(Tengxian 滕县)	?	North China Theological Seminary in Tengxian 滕县华北神学院	Ōmori Saburō 大森三郎 Saji Ryōzō 佐治良三
Shanxi 山西省 (Taiyuan 太原)	East Asia Mission	Chinese Christian Church in Taiyuan 太原中国基督教会	Harada Ikuzō 原田育三
	?	Chinese Christian Church in Taiyuan 太原中国基督教会	Nakayama Shinkichi 中山信吉
(Datong 大同)	?	?	Shiotsuka Saburō 塩塚三郎

\* List based on *Hokushi ni okeru bunka no genjō* 北支に於ける文化の現状 [Cultural Affairs in North China] (Beijing: Cultural Office of the Japanese Embassy in Beijing, 1943), 205-208, modified with reference to archival records held by “Possession of Kozaki Michio” at Dōshisha University. Names in bold type have published their memoir about China in the postwar years. Please note that this appendix lists only Japanese Protestant missionaries, excluding both Korean and Chinese Protestants who worked in, or supervised, any Japanese mission stations in north China. Please also note that the border of Japanese-occupied “north China” kept moving before 1945. Supported by the Japanese North China Army, the Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established in December 1937 after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Its territory included mainly two special cities (Beijing and Tianjin) and four provinces (Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi, and Henan). From 1940 to 1945, north China was under the puppet Government Affairs Committee of North China, which was semi-autonomous from the Wang Jingwei-led government in Nanjing. During this period, “north China” covered three special cities (Beijing, Tianjin, Qingdao), three provinces (Hebei, Shandong, Shanxi), and a part of Henan province. Because of the easy access to Zhangjiakou (in Chaha’er province) through the Beijing-Zhangjiakou Railway, some Japanese missionaries were stationed first in Beijing and then moved to or spent time to stay in Zhangjiakou. For this reason, Japanese missions in Chaha’er are also listed in this appendix.

**Appendix II: Map of Japanese Protestants' Wartime Activism in North China**

