THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE MISSIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAST TEN YEARS: A SURVEY

II. IN JAPAN

By GALEN M. FISHER

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

THE Japanese State burst its chrysalis and entered into the world's life half a century ago ; but that revolution was the work of a limited number of statesmen and intellectuals. Only within the past four years have great numbers of the people become conscious of their power and striven to assert it. They have begun to claim rights as well as to acknowledge duties. It is a momentous period : it marks the emergence of the common man. Many influences have conduced to this result : universal education, the wide diffusion of Christian ideas of human worth, the propagation of Marxian socialism, the massing of men and women in industry, the parade of luxury by war profiteers heedless of the underpaid toiler, and the explosive effect of war-time ideals and events.

The International Review of Missions is published by the International Missionary Council, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

The ancient conflicts on the battlefield between feudal chieftains were displaced, with the granting of a parliament, by the contests between rival political parties; but yesterday, before their very eyes, the scene was strangely changed by the surging into the arena of the once submissive 'lower classes,' the hand workers, and the 'white-collared poor'—the low-paid clerks, officials and teachers. This emergence of the common people is one of the outstanding facts of the past ten years in Japan, and with it the Christian movement must reckon.

The proletarian movement has not yet become unified and articulate enough to count steadily in practical politics; but ever since 1919, when the labour movement struck hands with the intellectual liberals and unitedly demanded universal suffrage and industrial justice, it has required no prophet to foresee the day when politicians would court its favour. Even in foreign affairs the people are venturing to question the inspired wisdom and exclusive authority of the Elder Statesmen and the Privy Council. A genuine public opinion has at length begun to develop and to find voice in mass-meetings and popular protests as well as in the press and in chambers of commerce.

During the decade under review a dramatic though suppressed struggle has been taking place between the conservatives and the militarists on the one hand, and the progressive and civilian elements on the other, especially for the control of foreign policy. By muzzling the press the whole nation has been kept in the dark on important foreign policies, so that the real facts have often reached the people first by way of the American or European press. This occurred in the case of the Korean Uprising and of the twenty-one demands on China, and of the untoward events arising from the Japanese occupation of the Siberian littoral.

'Dual government,' as Professor Yoshino has called it, was purposely set up by the conservatives as a bulwark against popular government. There is no reason to question their motives. They are for the most part inspired by un-

selfish patriotism and by a not unfounded dread of 'irresponsible' party government. The line of battle has been clearly drawn for years past.

The first genuine party cabinet was that headed by the commoner, Mr Hara (1918-21); but although it partially curbed the militarists it did little to conciliate the Chinese people, or to give the urban brain and hand workers fair play as against the conservative country landlords who formed the bulwark of the government party. It appointed civilians for the first time as colonial governors and sent Baron Saito, a liberal-minded retired admiral, to temper the policy in Korea. Recent world events, such as the Washington Conference and the appointment of a progressive business man, Viscount Takahashi, to be premier, strengthen the hope but by no means guarantee that Japan has seen the last of the militaristic cabinets.

Meanwhile the tides of events have been working for Japanese liberalism. The defeat of Germany undermined the prestige of militarism. The Imperial Liberalism
versus Reaction Military Academy which, in 1905, had picked its students from among 5000 applicants, in 1919 could muster only 110 for its entering class, though the number sought was 200. In 1918 the Hon. Y. Ozaki, a parliamentary leader, published the volume since translated under the title *The Voice of Japanese Democracy*, a bold argument on behalf of a democratic monarchy for Japan akin to England's. In 1920 and 1921, he waged a platform campaign for disarmament which won extraordinary popular support. The genuineness of that support has been confirmed by the recent action of the Yuaikai, the largest labour union in the Empire, in demanding complete disarmament, although they were quite aware that 80,000 of their comrades in the ship-yards might thereby be thrown out of work.

An incessant campaign of education in internationalism and liberal foreign policy has been waged all through the last ten years, not only indirectly by pastors and missionaries but also by a few professors, journalists and members

of parliament, notably Christians such as Professors Yoshino and Oyama. At grave personal risk they have opposed every narrow and militaristic policy. Until very lately, however, their political influence has been negligible, for few of the intellectuals or proletariat have sufficient property to be entitled to vote, which requires the payment of a direct annual tax of \$1.50.

With the Armistice the liberal cause was perceptibly advanced. For instance, a year ago a scholarly advocate of Shinto as a potential universal religion, with the Emperor of Japan as its head, rented the public hall in Osaka for a lecture by himself in exposition of his doctrines. A paltry 200 turned out to hear him. A fortnight later, Professors Yoshino and Onodzuka of the Imperial University rented the same hall, and though they charged an admission fee, fully 5000 people crowded every available seat, and applauded their pleas for international goodwill and co-operation.

The reactionaries have never been idle. In 1910 and 1911, following the execution of the alleged conspirators against the life of the Emperor, free speech and 'dangerous thoughts' such as socialism were severely repressed. Then for a few years the rigour of the censorship was slightly relaxed; but in 1917, the wave of liberalism created by the entry of America into the war and by President Wilson's addresses, aroused the reactionaries and the police to renewed activity, for they identified 'democracy' with socialism and confounded socialism with Bolshevism. Several liberals and Christians were imprisoned. These repressive measures, however, have served to enhance the prestige of the victims and their views.

The manifestly liberalizing effects of the Crown Prince's visit to Europe in 1921 have been hailed by progressives as an augury of the waning influence of the conservatives. The Crown Prince upon his return broke all precedent by responding to the greetings of the populace and allowing them to throng into the palace enclosure. His appointment as regent last November was welcomed by all well-wishers of Japan.

During the first decade of this century, the socialist and labour movements in Japan were both driven underground by the unrelenting opposition of the authorities, but in August 1912 a Christian graduate of Tokyo Imperial University founded the Yuaikai, the Japanese equivalent for the pioneer English labour organization, the Labourers' Friendly Society. It was at first a mutual insurance and improvement society with no intention to resort to political or direct industrial action. Nevertheless, its local branches became the nuclei for strikes and its officers were called on to mediate in many disputes. The Yuaikai thus paved the way for that outburst of self-assertion and organization on the part of Japanese labourers which began with the rice riots in the summer of 1918. Those riots had no direct connexion with labour grievances, being a violent protest against the intolerable rise in the cost of food. The mobs vented their rage particularly on the new rich and war profiteers, destroying millions of yen worth of property. The privileged classes were for the moment almost panic-struck. The Emperor gave \$1,500,000 to start a huge relief fund. These events reacted immediately on the labour movement, by showing that even unarmed crowds of plebeians could wring concessions from their hereditary lords and masters.

The vast expansion of Japanese factories during the war yielded fabulous profits. Wages were in some cases voluntarily raised and little resistance to labour's demands was offered by employers. Then with the signing of the Armistice the bottom dropped out of war-time industries; wages fell and prices soared still further. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that labour unions sprang up and became increasingly belligerent. The story is partly told in the statistics of strikes: in 1914 there were 50; in 1916, 108; in 1918, 417; and in 1920, 497. Sabotage in the form of 'ca' canny' or 'go slow' was extensively practised, and occasionally it assumed violent forms, as at the Government Steel Works, where sixteen smelters were destroyed. Under

pressure, three hundred of the larger factories adopted the eight hour instead of the ten or twelve hour day. But the economic depression in 1920 produced widespread unemployment and took the wind out of the sails of the labour unions. The resulting idleness and want, however, provided fertile soil for revolutionary ideas. Socialism, communism and even anarchism have found ardent champions. Class consciousness and the spirit of revolt have been intensified.

Fortunately, the labour movement in Japan has been largely influenced by Christian men. The Rev. T. Kagawa, the brains of the Western Labour Federation, is a unique character. After graduating from the Presbyterian College in Tokyo, he studied at Princeton University and then returned to live and work with his wife in the worst slums of Kobe. He has written voluminously on social problems. Wherever he goes, students and labourers alike crowd the largest halls to hear him. It is indeed a wonderful providence that such men are counteracting self-seeking radicals and infusing the spirit of Christ among both labourers and employers.

At the time of the Korean Uprising in 1919, missionaries in Japan and individual Japanese Christians brought pressure to bear upon the Government to remedy the abuses. Societies inspired by Christians have done not a little to allay friction and suspicion between Japan and foreign nations, especially America. The exchange of deputations between America and Japan since the Japanese question in California became acute in 1913 has been of some value. It has been ably supplemented by the educational campaign carried on by the Federal Council of Churches in the United States and by the peace societies in Japan. But despite all these efforts, the tension between America and Japan was undeniably acute up to the very eve of the Washington Conference, and the Christian cause was seriously hindered. No amount of explanation or exhortation could undo the fact of America's great naval expansion or of Japan's interference in China and Siberia.

It is, therefore, with profound relief and gratitude that Christian workers in Japan and all right-minded Japanese behold the results achieved at the Washington Conference.

The Japanese have always been sensitive to the example as well as to the criticism of western peoples. They make a strong case for the claim that the building up of their army and their aggressive policy toward China and Siberia have been instigated by the aggression of European and American capitalism and imperialism, and that if they had not been able to defend themselves and to entrench themselves on the mainland, they would inevitably have been tied long since to the chariot wheels of western nations.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION

In Japan the Government brooks no rival in educational affairs. The state system of education is the chief bulwark of national patriotism and unity. The elementary school teachers in particular are pliant tools for promoting conformity to the policies of the nation's leaders and for stamping the thought of each generation with nationalistic ideals. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that despite the formal separation between education and religion, the conservative leaders make attempts every now and then to utilize the public schools to buttress Shinto. In 1911 the Department of Education enjoined common school teachers to encourage their pupils to pay homage at Shinto shrines. This aroused the opposition of both Buddhists and Christians and was never widely practised, although individual Christian children were discriminated against for non-conformity. More recently professors in Tokyo Imperial University have issued treatises intended to demonstrate the capacity of Shinto to become a scientifically sound, full-fledged religion. On the other hand, in 1912, when the late Premier Hara was Minister of Home Affairs, he and his associate, Mr Tokonami, summoned a conference of representatives of Buddhism, Shinto and Christianity.

This was the first public recognition of the equality of Christianity with the other religions. The addresses at this conference showed how anxious some of the thoughtful leaders were to enlist the aid of religion in stemming the immorality and unbelief which had swept the younger generation away from old moorings.

It is doubtless from somewhat similarly mixed motives that Mr Tokonami, now Minister of Home Affairs, has striven to strengthen and bind together the 30,000 young men's societies, composed for the most part of country youth and ex-soldiers under the leadership of local officials and retired army officers. In 1921, in connexion with the return of the Crown Prince, he summoned to Tokyo fifteen hundred representatives of these societies and proposed the erection of a magnificent young men's society headquarters at a cost of one million dollars.

In 1917, the Department of Education appointed a commission of eminent men to investigate the state of education and morals. Their report in 1919 glorified ancient beliefs and appeared oblivious of the new ambitions and perplexities which are surging among the Japanese people.

In 1899 an educational ordinance which prohibited schools having government recognition from making religious instruction or exercises a part of the curriculum created considerable difficulty for the Christian schools. Gradually, however, the ordinance was practically nullified by supplementary regulations. It was not until April 1, 1919, with the going into effect of the revised Ordinance on Universities that it became possible for Christian and other private institutions to become universities on an equal footing with the imperial universities. Dr Schneder makes the following comment regarding the ordinance :

It also has in it something of the cultural idea of educating man as man, though it remains to be seen to what extent the idea can be realized in practice. The revised system is slightly more flexible than the old. It is also freer and more democratic. . . . Altogether it marks a breaking up

of the old crusts and the inflow of a larger life and activity, and the various inconveniences of the system will be adjusted in time.

The shortage of higher schools and technical schools of all kinds has long been notorious. Finally, in 1919 the Emperor offered \$5,000,000 and the Diet voted \$22,000,000 for the establishment of thirty-three such schools—all of them for boys. This zeal for higher education was accompanied by a short-sighted skimping of the appropriations for elementary education by the Hara cabinet, apparently at the behest of the military expansionists, who were particularly clamorous early in 1921.

SHINTO AND BUDDHISM

The recrudescence of Shinto during the past decade indicates that it may for a time become a more serious

Shinto obstacle to Christianity even than Buddhism.

Numbers of offshoots have appeared which have appealed to the nationalism, superstition and worldly ambition of a multitude of devotees. Most noteworthy among them is Omoto Kyo, founded by an ignorant peasant woman in 1892. It came into prominence, however, only about 1915, when her son-in-law and a well-educated friend began to embellish its doctrines and push its propagation. It emphasizes nationalistic and chauvinist elements together with the practice of mesmerism. At present its star is rapidly falling under the united attack of government authorities and scholarly criticism.

Buddhism has continued to respond noticeably to the influence of Christian thought and activity. Popular

Buddhism Buddhism with its superstition and formalism

is losing its hold on youth, but the progressives in several sects are so modernizing doctrines and methods as to make an appeal even to educated men. It has been suggested that this process may issue in a modern Gnosticism. That these changes have been inspired chiefly by Christianity is strikingly evident, especially in the Sunday schools, the

Young Men's Buddhist Associations, and the preaching services. In 1920 a pamphlet regarding Buddhist Sunday schools claimed 6928 Buddhist Sunday schools, but investigation showed that many of them were either nominal or had been abandoned.

In 1916, 56 Buddhist sects and societies formed the Buddhist Association for the Protection of Japan, but it has made no stir. In the propagation of their faith among people of other races, Japanese Buddhists have done practically nothing, but they have been aggressive in holding to their faith the Japanese emigrants to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast. Unfortunately, their influence generally has been a hindrance to Americanization.

In the realm of social work Buddhists have long been fairly active, chiefly in the form of relief rather than of prevention or transformation. They report 160 relief and reformatory institutions, 70 homes for children, and 462 ex-convicts' homes. The total annual budgets for all these institutions is less than \$500,000, showing that the expenditure per capita is very small. Although there are some devoted workers in these Buddhist institutions, it is generally conceded by government investigators that the Christian institutions attain a far higher average of efficiency.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Speaking broadly, the Christian movement during the period under review has gone steadily forward. Among the outstanding advances were the three-year Development and Arrest United Evangelistic Campaign; the national 'Forward Movements'—evangelistic and financial—of the Japanese churches; the expansion of Christian schools, especially of the commercial departments of boys' schools and the higher departments of girls' schools; the development of Christian literature and newspaper evangelism; the expansion of Christian Association work among young men and women; the growth of Sunday schools; the arousing of

concern among Christians regarding social conditions among working people; and the activities of Christians on behalf of right international relations.

Among the points of retarded development or failure may be mentioned the following: the recruiting and training of Christian workers; the development of university grade education for men; the embodiment of the social concern in effective activities; the devolving of activities upon Japanese agencies by the Federated Missions; the development of an aggressive programme by the Japanese Church Federation; the creation by the churches and the missionary body of an effective national agency to embody the united strength of the Christian movement—which the Japan Continuation Committee as now constituted has not done.

The number of missionaries has been considerably increased. In 1910 there were 325 men, 289 married women, and 344 unmarried, making a total of 958. In 1920 the corresponding numbers were 410, 360 and 504, a total of 1274. The number of Japanese evangelistic workers has increased in about the same proportion. In 1910, there were 1148 men and 484 women; in 1920, 1586 men and 465 women. In the case of the missionaries, the increase has been mostly since 1915 and in the ranks of unmarried women, whereas in the case of the Japanese there has been a decrease in the number of women workers. In 1908, 70 per cent of the missionary body were located in the eight largest cities, but in 1912 the proportion had dropped to 60 per cent.

In 1911 the Federated Missions appointed a committee on survey and occupation which rendered notable service. The survey showed that 80 per cent of the population were unevangelized and that in some provinces this percentage ran as high as 98. These studies, and the agitation led by rural workers and by the *Japan Evangelist*, have resulted in the gradual increase of rural missionary workers. The Japanese Church, on the other hand, has expanded very slowly into the smaller towns, having found its resources

absorbed mainly in the more effective occupation of the expanding cities.

The membership of the evangelical churches has more than doubled during the decade. In 1905, the aggregate Church membership was 48,087; in 1910, 63,915; in Membership 1915, it was 97,350; and in 1920, it was 133,794. The Roman Catholic membership, according to Streit's *Atlas Hierarchicus*, was over 66,000 in 1913 and is returned as over 76,000 in 1920.

The influence of the United Evangelistic Campaign (1914-17) was far-reaching. No less stimulating have been the 'Forward Movements' conducted by the Methodist, Kumiai, and Nihon Kirisuto churches. A number of students were drawn into the churches through the evangelistic meetings addressed by Sherwood Eddy in 1911 and by Dr Mott in 1913. The deputations sent out after the World's Sunday School Convention also brought the Christian message to many. Among individual evangelists, the most remarkable results have followed the preaching of the Rev. Paul Kana-mori, especially during the latter half of the decade. He has co-operated closely with local churches.

The net growth in membership by decades is interesting. From 1899 to 1909 the growth was 23,567; from 1909 to 1919, it was 34,076. An analysis of the membership drawn from different classes, in the United Brethren Church, shows that 30 per cent were in commercial pursuits, 28 per cent students, 8 per cent government officials and soldiers, 6 per cent nurses and doctors, 3 per cent artists, and 28 per cent unclassified. These percentages would not hold for all the churches, some of which are much stronger in the number of business and professional men. In general, the backbone of the whole Church is composed of the educated classes in cities and towns. Farmers are comparatively few, and artisans and manual labourers barely represented.

The Christians of Japan are by no means all in the churches. One of the largest groups of unregistered believers has arisen from the work of Mr Kanzo Uchimura. He is a

Biblical teacher and writer of extraordinary power, but a pronounced independent, opposed to all religious organizations and rites, and to most missionaries. Mr Uchimura's followers include farmers and students, officials and teachers. Movements like this are symptomatic; they represent a considerable, perhaps growing, number of Christians and Nicodemuses who do not find satisfaction in the Church.

The amount raised by Japanese Christians for annual budgets has increased far more rapidly than church membership. Even after allowing for the lower purchasing power of money, the increase is striking. Finance In 1910, they raised \$150,000; in 1915, \$290,000, and in 1920, \$750,000. The larger amounts raised by various bodies in 1920 were as follows: Kumiai Church \$164,000, Methodist Church \$61,000, Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai \$124,000, Sei Ko Kai (Anglican) \$91,000, Salvation Army \$73,000, Baptist \$14,000, Young Men's Christian Associations \$148,000. The value of church property, including Christian Associations but not schools, increased from \$692,000 in 1910 to \$1,981,000 in 1915, and to \$3,518,000 in 1920.

Without belittling the importance of the missions, it is increasingly evident that the heart of the Christian movement in church and mission Japan is the self-supporting Japanese Church. The conflict between mission and church, so acute between 1890 and 1905, has been almost entirely absent during the last ten years. The reason is that the battle was won, and now that the Japanese Church has proved itself, there is no considerable body of missionaries to-day which does not heartily approve the placing of authority and responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of the Japanese. Notwithstanding the serious limitations under which they have struggled, the self-governing denominations have taken long strides forward, though limitations of space exclude an analysis of their work.

The Sunday school movement has grown nearly three-fold since 1905, when the enrolment was 64,910. In 1910 it had risen to 97,760; in 1915 to 148,333, and in 1920 to

177,154. The World's Convention was an historic event, not only for the Sunday school movement itself but for the whole Christian cause in Japan.

The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have made large gains. The combined membership is 18,000, which does not include the more than 10,000 students in their educational classes. Systematic physical education, which was introduced by the Young Men's Christian Association only in 1914, with the opening of the gymnasium in Tokyo, has taken firm root and has drawn within the circle of Christian influence many boys and men otherwise inaccessible. The beautiful summer conference grounds acquired in 1912 near Mount Fuji have provided a long desired training and recreation centre. The most significant achievement of the Christian Associations has been the finding of national secretaries of such calibre as Miss Kawai and Mr Soichi Saito.

One of the great disappointments of the period was the abortive effort to establish a Union Christian University.

The proposal received considerable encouragement from the mission boards in North America, but it proved impracticable to secure the financial and moral support needed in Japan, and in 1920 the effort was indefinitely abandoned. In face of this situation the immediate duty is well expressed by Dr Schneder in these words :

It is now incumbent on the existing schools with higher departments to establish universities of their own. It seems the only way of maintaining the prestige of these schools. There will be so much education of recognized university grade that unless an institution has the power to confer a *gakushi* (master's) degree, it has poor prospects of permanent standing and influence. Even then Christian institutions will have a hard struggle, because there will be a difference in prestige among the different universities, and of course the Christian institutions with their limited funds will have a hard time to prove themselves.

We used to prophesy that if a union institution were not established, the existing institutions would all want to become universities ; but the situation is now that they all have to become universities, if they are to have a future. But how some of them can accomplish it I cannot see.

The girls' schools are doing well. But if they are to hold the advantage

they now have in college grade education they must hurry. The Christian Woman's College must develop faster.

The gift by an alumnus of a building costing \$150,000 to Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo, and the munificent endowment by a Christian of the Ohara Institute for Social Research at Osaka are two recent events calculated to strengthen confidence in the possibility of securing large funds in Japan for Christian education.

The Christian hostels or homes for groups of students of government and other non-Christian colleges now number 30, of which half were opened during the period under review. Three principals or dormitory superintendents connected with imperial universities have invited short-term lay missionaries to live and work in or near their dormitories. Several missionaries have given courses of lectures on the Bible and Christianity in Kyoto Imperial University; a Christian business man has offered Tokyo Imperial University \$25,000 for the establishment of a chair of the Christian religion, to parallel the similar chairs for Buddhism and Shinto. One of the weak spots in the Christian program in Japan is the training of Christian workers. The enrolment in theological schools has fallen during the past decade from 635 in 1910 to 515 in 1920. Two independent seminaries have been established in close connexion with large city churches in Tokyo. The longest stride forward in women's education was the establishment in 1918 of the Tokyo Woman's Christian College by six American mission boards.

Women are being not only rapidly emancipated, but alarmingly industrialized. More than 600,000 of them are employed in factories, and the number of girls working for various government services and in commercial offices has steadily increased. The first breach of promise suit won by a Japanese woman was decided only a few years ago. Until 1921, women were not allowed to attend or participate in a political meeting, although not a few women have defied convention and electioneered

persuasively for their husbands. Only one imperial university, Tohoku, admits women students. But pressure is being brought to bear for the extension of the privilege. In many of the churches women have been ordained as elders.

All the seething influences of unrest and aspiration at work among women make more urgent the need for trained Christian women. Unfortunately, some of the leading champions of women's rights are inclined to discount religion and to imitate the more extreme western feminist leaders. But the new woman movement as a whole is exalting womanhood and thus raising morality at one of its lowest points. The last decade has seen several women of marked leadership emerge from Christian ranks, most of them the products of Christian schools.

Japanese presses turn out 35,000 volumes a year. The Christian publishing houses have found a demand for what-
Christian Literature ever living literature they have produced. The Christian Literature Society, established in 1912, during the first eight years of its operation made a creditable record. It published two million pages the first year, eight million the second and forty million the third year. The *Myojo* or *Morning Star*, a monthly paper started in 1912, which is distributed free to between 60,000 and 70,000 pupils in government schools and teachers in elementary schools in all parts of the Empire, with the permission of the principals, is a unique publication.

The demand for the Bible among all classes of Japanese seems well-nigh inexhaustible. It is safe to say that tens of thousands of men are reading the Bible privately who rarely if ever enter a Christian church. A revised translation of the New Testament was made possible by the Bible societies in 1918.

About ten years ago Japanese newspapers were first utilized for the presentation of Christian truth. This 'newspaper evangelism,' tested by the Rev. A. Pieters and others in inland cities and by the United Evangelistic

Campaign in Tokyo, was endorsed by the Federated Missions in 1918 and is now rooted in missionary policy. The growth of Christian publishing houses, bookshops and periodicals under Japanese management is one of the encouraging developments of recent years.

A romantic tale could be told of the heroic work accomplished by such men as Hara and Muramatsu for ex-convicts, and Yamamoro, Shimada, Masutomi, and a host of women, for the victims of impurity. Their efforts have been nobly seconded by missionary colleagues, as in the vigorous fight against the rebuilding of the fire-swept licensed quarters in Osaka in 1916. War-time prosperity aggravated vice. The number of geisha and licensed women is said to have increased three-fold. There has also been a shocking growth in juvenile delinquency. The police have seemed therefore to be unusually glad of the co-operation of Christian social workers. One of the most promising social enterprises has grown out of the prison visitation of Miss Caroline Macdonald. From the first remarkable conversions among hardened criminals and youthful offenders have occurred.¹

Before 1910 little had been done for the myriads of factory workers in the swollen industrial centres. About 1912 a Neighbourhood House was started by Mr Omori near Tokyo. In 1916 the first institutional church, Misaki Tabernacle, was opened in Tokyo. Three years ago Christian medical graduates of the Tokyo Imperial University started an independent health centre and hospital for women and children in the crowded East Side, and the Young Women's Christian Association opened a centre among factory girls and the Young Men's Christian Association a club house for working men. The last three enterprises are Japanese and locally financed.

Meanwhile the larger municipalities have fairly rushed forward with social enterprises, especially since the rice riots.²

¹ See book review, p. 306.

² Cf. 'Municipal and Secular Agencies for Social and Industrial Welfare,' by J. Merle Davis, *Christian Movement*, 1921, p. 218ff.

Cheap restaurants, day-nurseries, employment bureaus, model tenements, medical clinics and, in Osaka, a large working men's club have sprung into being. The temperance cause has also been strengthened by the formation of a federation of temperance societies.

At the beginning of the decade the Conference of Federated Missions had attained vigorous maturity, and the Japanese Church Federation, formed in 1911, gave promise of fostering united action by the Japanese denominations, since it included practically all but the Sei Ko Kai (Anglican). During the succeeding years the Federated Missions have gone from strength to strength. Their annual conference which used to be accommodated in a small room now attracts hundreds of missionaries. The annual review, *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa*, has maintained high excellence. The *Japan Evangelist* was adopted by the Federated Missions five years ago. The Japanese Church Federation, however, has experienced no such gratifying development. It has been hampered for lack of funds and has been thrown into the shadow by the concentration of the most aggressive leaders upon denominational expansion. It has initiated no large enterprise. It has, however, issued impressive pronouncements giving utterance to Christian conviction in connexion with national or international events. The Federation has also, with the assistance of the Japan Continuation Committee, published three editions of a Christian year-book.

Meanwhile, in 1913, the Continuation Committee conferences were held in Japan under the chairmanship of Dr Mott. They gave a powerful impetus to various phases of Christian activity and helped all Christian workers to see the whole task and more clearly to find their place in it. One outcome was the formation of the Japan Continuation Committee, composed in nearly equal numbers of Japanese and missionaries.

There has been a noticeable drift among missionaries in the direction of transferring to the Japanese Church even

the calling, allocation and work of missionaries and the disbursing of the evangelistic funds. The American Board Mission has made such an agreement with the Kumiai Churches, covering all the men in evangelistic work. The directing board is composed of fifteen Japanese and three missionaries. The same principle has been adopted by the Northern Baptist Mission and is being favourably considered by still other missions. The foreign secretaries in the Christian Associations, which are not exactly analogous to the missions, have demonstrated the advantage of committing administrative and financial authority to the Japanese and leaving themselves freer for productive activity.

The solution would appear to lie in neither missionary nor Japanese 'domination,' but in the leadership of the best men, in the authority of pre-eminent character and skill. The intensity of racial and national consciousness among the people at large may compel some deflection from this magnetic north, but assuredly the goal must be to give precedence to the 'gift' and not to the race of the bearer.

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