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HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY
Uchimura Kanzo’s Use of Japanese Thoughts and Ideas in his Faith

Michelle LA FAY

Abstract: Japanese individuals who became Protestant Christians during the Meiji era (1867–1912) did so at a time when their traditional lifestyle was undergoing a transition. The samurai background along with a quest for a new foundation for society and lifestyle was an important factor in the way that young Japanese assimilated Christianity and the Bible into their lives. I discuss Uchimura Kanzo and the way that he used Japanese thoughts and ideas in his faith. Looking at “how” Uchimura used Japanese thoughts and ideas in his faith will not only help us to understand some of Uchimura’s methods but will also allow us to identify some of the fundamental characteristics that formed the foundation of his faith and life. Many important key terms were discovered including sincerity, loyalty, obedience, virtue, morality, and independence. The key Christian word, love, was not often seen in this investigation of Uchimura’s integration of faith and culture. However, Uchimura may have seen the above key terms as being expressions of love.

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Introduction

Japanese individuals who became Protestant Christians during the Meiji era (1867–1912) did so at a time when their traditional lifestyle was undergoing a transition. The restructuring of the governmental system known as the Meiji Restoration (1868) meant that the samurai, who previously had been the group in power, were no longer in control. Many of the young Japanese that became Christians during this time were from this samurai background. The samurai background along with a quest for a new foundation for society and lifestyle was an important factor in the way that young Japanese assimilated Christianity and the Bible into their lives.

In this paper, I would like to discuss Uchimura Kanzo and the way that he used Japanese thoughts and ideas in his faith. I will limit the discussion in this paper to “how” he used these thoughts and ideas instead of “why.” Looking at “how” Uchimura used Japanese thoughts and ideas in his faith will, however, provide not only a look at how Uchimura integrated his culture with his faith but also at some of the fundamental characteristics that formed the foundation of his life. I would like to clarify here that Uchimura’s use of Japanese thoughts and ideas was not
a one-sided injection of these ideas into Christianity, rather it also included adapting Christian imagery into Japanese thoughts and ideas. I see these processes as two sides of the same coin.

Although I will not go into great detail about Uchimura’s life, I would like to explain about five important factors in the development of his faith along with some biographical information. Then I would like to show some specific examples of how Uchimura expresses Japanese thoughts and ideas in each of them. For this brief analysis, I have chosen to mainly use one of Uchimura’s English works; Japan and the Japanese (1894) which was later known as Representative Men of Japan. In this book, Uchimura chose five men from Japanese history and described their lives, deeds and personalities. Uchimura ostensibly states in the 1894 preface that his purpose for publishing this book is to “help somewhat the right appreciation of some of our chief national characters” and later in the 1908 reprint under the title Representative Men of Japan he restates that he “may still help to make the good qualities of my countrymen known to the outside world.” This would also be the reason that Uchimura wrote the book in English. Although Uchimura makes these statements, I would like to postulate he wrote about these men in order to show that they possessed nearly all of the qualities of Christianity that Uchimura used to define a good Christian. To use an extreme expression, he wanted to show that they were Christians minus only Christianity. I also believe that he made these arguments more to convince himself than to convince foreigners.

1. Samurai Background and Confucian Thought

First I will start with his samurai background and early training in Confucian thought. Uchimura was born in 1861 just a few years prior to the Meiji Restoration. His father was a samurai of the Takasaki feudal domain. Uchimura’s father instructed him in Confucian thought and until the age of twelve, Uchimura grew up in a traditional samurai family environment. Consequently I believe it is during these formative years that Uchimura picked up many of his ideas about Confucianism and Bushido. Uchimura himself recognizes that Bushido was part of the reason that he could accept the Christian faith.

The first example comes from Confucian thought, which is not originally Japanese, but was

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1 An investigation of “why” would require an in-depth look at indigenization of Christianity in Japan and also investigation of contemporaries such as Nitobe Inazo, who used similar imagery. However, a discussion of such proportions is far out of the scope of this brief paper.
3 The five men are Saigo Takamori, Uesugi Youzan, Ninomiya Kinjirou, Nakae Tojuu, and Nichiren.
5 ibid., 297.
6 ibid., 207. Here Uchimura states a similar thought when comparing Saigo’s greatness to Oliver Cromwell. “His (Saigo’s) was Cromwellian, and but for the lack of Puritanism, he too was not a Puritan, I think.” Although Uchimura’s English is convoluted, I think this thought can be simplified to “Saigo would have been Puritan if he had been exposed to Puritanism.”
7 I think that this time of his life is very influential in the development of his faith and deserves a much deeper investigation than I can give it in this paper.
deeply incorporated into the samurai mindset. The Confucian idea of the five relationships: master/servant, teacher/disciple, husband/wife, parent/child, and friend/friend is the basis for much of the samurai thinking. In “NAKAE TOJU.—A VILLAGE TEACHER” he stresses the importance of these relationships with the Christian term “trinity.” “Indeed, sensei [teacher], parents, and kimi (lord) constituted the Trinity of our worshipful regard; and the most vexing question for the Japanese youth was which he would save if the three of them were on the point of drowning [sic] at the same time, and he had ability to save but one.”8 Uchimura’s answer is that it is the highest virtue for the disciple to sacrifice his life for the teacher’s. Uchimura then states “It was this our idea of relationship between sensei and deshi [disciple] which made some of us to comprehend at once the intimate relation between the master and his disciples which we found in the Christian Bible.”10 Uchimura declares that it was almost instinctive for him to understand this relationship and that is one reason he was attracted to Christianity. “In it (Bushido), there are many precious teachings that are like Christianity. When we Japanese first come in contact with Christianity, that is one of the reasons that we are attracted to it so strongly. Christianity strongly speaks to the hearts of the Japanese. On many points, it is because we can see the disciples of Jesus as models of bushi.”11

If the similarities between Christianity and Bushido are the beginning point for Uchimura’s integration of the two, then for Uchimura, the end point is the combination of the two. Uchimura outlines the necessity for combining the two in the following way. The key words that are seen often in Uchimura’s works, such as sacrifice, loyalty, brave, obedience, courageous, and many others, are words that he attributes to men and women in both Japan and Western countries. For him, these are the characteristics of Bushido. However, in the end, for Uchimura the ultimate characteristic is “goodness” and this can be achieved only by Christianity. “Brave men, honest men, righteous men are not wanting in Heathendom, but I doubt whether good men, —by that I mean those men summed up in that one English word which has no equivalent in any other language: Gentleman, —I doubt whether such is possible without the religion of Jesus Christ to mould us.”12

Uchimura also defined the end that should be achieved by combining the two. Uchimura proclaimed that Bushido’s purpose was to help Japan save the world. “Bushido is the finest product of Japan. But Bushido by itself cannot save Japan. Christianity grafted upon Bushido will be the finest product of the world. It will save, not only Japan, but the whole world. Now that Christianity is dying in Europe, and America by its materialism cannot revive it, God is calling upon Japan to contribute its best to His service. There was a meaning in the history of Japan. For twenty centuries God has been perfecting Bushido with this very moment in view. Christianity grafted upon Bushido will yet save the world.”13

9 ibid., 252.
10 ibid.
11 idem, “Bushido to Kirisutokyou”「武士道と基督教」Zenshuu, 31:293.
13 idem, BUSHIDO AND CHRISTIANITY「武士道と基督教」Zenshuu, 22:161-162.
2. English Language Education

The second factor includes his education in the English language coupled with his first exposure to Bible stories and Christianity. Uchimura was 13 when he entered Arima Private School in Tokyo and Uchimura’s teacher used the Wilson Reader as the text. In the third book of the series there was a part called “Bible Stories.” This was most likely Uchimura’s first exposure to Christianity and significantly it was also part of his English education. Uchimura was a voracious reader and stated “I learnt all that was noble, useful, and uplifting through the vehicle of the English language.”

He often quotes or refers to foreign, most frequently American or British, historical figures or authors. In the chapter on Saigo Takamori, Uchimura informs the reader that Saigo’s ideal hero was George Washington and also that Saigo disliked Napoleon. He praises Usugi for introducing European medicine fifty years before Perry made his appearance in Tokyo Bay. He said that Ninomiya had “a tincture of Puritanic blood in him.” In his discussion of Nakae, he states that “our old-time teachers agreed with Socrates and Plato in their theory of education.”

Uchimura tells his readers that they cannot fail to be reminded of Luther when they think about Nichiren’s struggle to find an “authoritative Scripture.” Although he acknowledges that Luther had an easier time because he only had a single written work, the Bible, to rely on.

He often attributes Japanese characteristics to foreigners that he admires or respects. Uchimura talks about the life of Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke Women’s Seminary in the United States in his book The Greatest Legacy. He states “Mary Lyon’s life was like that of Japanese samurai; she was a courageous and high-minded woman.” He also gives Biblical figures samurai status. With regards to Paul, Uchimura says “I believe, I believe that when Jesus made Paul of Tarsus his disciple, that there has never been a more chivalrous disciple in the tradition of Japanese bushi than this disciple.”

As Japan and the Japanese is an English work, it seems reasonable that the above examples would probably be known by English-speaking readers. And obviously, thanks to his extensive reading, these historical figures are known to Uchimura. However, similar expressions can be seen in any of his works, including his Japanese works. Uchimura’s close disciples (deshi) were hand-picked and he expected them to be excellent students so they probably were able to understand his examples or at the very least, they were expected to look up anything they didn’t

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15 ibid., 38.
18 ibid., 221.
19 ibid., 234.
20 ibid., 251.
21 ibid., 276.
know. In the case of Uchimura’s larger lectures, often with audiences of 200 or 300 people, I am skeptical of how effective Uchimura’s use of these examples would have been. Regardless of the effectiveness of this method for Uchimura’s followers, it provides us with an indirect view of who Uchimura respects and for what qualities.

3. Natural Sciences and Conversion to Christianity

The third factor is his higher education in the natural sciences coupled with his conversion to Christianity. At the age of 16, Uchimura was admitted to Sapporo Agricultural College. As the name of the college denotes, the focus of education at Sapporo Agricultural College was in the natural sciences. Nature was an important theme throughout Uchimura’s works and without a doubt, his time at SAC strengthened his love of nature. In this book, however, I find his use of the terms Nature/Heaven to be forced and the meanings of these terms unclear in many cases.

Throughout *Japan and the Japanese*, Uchimura used the words “Nature” and “Heaven.” Uchimura refers frequently to how the men in this book followed the laws of or listened to “Nature” or “Heaven.” The first example makes this clear. In “SAIGO TAKAMORI AND NEW JAPAN I. The Japanese Revolution of 1868” Uchimura talks about his respect for Commodore Matthew Perry24. Uchimura states that he regards Perry’s mission of opening Japan as a “delicate one” and “the task of a true missionary, done by Heaven’s gracious help.”25 In this sentence, Uchimura refers to Perry as carrying out “the task of a true missionary” so it follows that “Heaven” in this citation would refer to the Christian “Heaven” which implies the Christian God. However Uchimura then makes this statement, “To a Christian admiral knocking from outside, there responded a brave upright general, a ‘reverer of Heaven and lover of mankind’ from within.”26 Uchimura does not give a name for this general but I would presume he is referring to the Shogun at the time, Tokugawa Iesada, instead of the signer of the Treaty of Kanagawa, Hayashi Fukusai. As the Japanese did not have the Christian concept of “Heaven,” it is unclear exactly what Uchimura is referring to in this example.

Uchimura asserted that Saigo heard a “voice direct from Heaven’s splendor” and had secret conversations with “one greater than himself and all universe.”27 Uchimura quotes some of Saigo’s words which sound very Christian-like, “Heaven loves all men alike. So we must love others with the love with which we love ourselves.”28 Uchimura then wrote “I believe that he (Saigo) heard these all directly from Heaven.”29 Uchimura does acknowledge that we have no means of ascertaining “What conceptions he had of Heaven; whether he took it to be a Force or a Person.”30

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24 Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent to Japan to open negotiations with Japan in July of 1853. He signed the Treaty of Kanagawa on March 31, 1854 on behalf of the United States.
26 ibid.
27 ibid., 189.
28 ibid., 190.
29 ibid.
30 ibid., 201.
Uchimura believed in approaching his studies, especially Biblical studies, with the proper attitude. In his statements about Nature and Heaven, the words “sincere” and “sincerity” frequently appear. As he writes about Saigo, he states that Saigo’s view of life was “Revere Heaven; love people.” Then he notes that “this Heaven was to be approached with all sincerity.” This sincerity that he speaks of not only includes having a pure heart but also an element of selflessness.

In the chapter on Uesugi, Uchimura tells the story of how Uesugi was despairing of a way to help his people. As Uesugi is thinking about this problem, he resuscitates some dying embers and after he did this, he said to himself, “May I not be able in the same way to resuscitate the land and the people that are under my care?” Uchimura attributes this seemingly logical conclusion to Heaven and Nature both, which implies that Uchimura thinks that they are one and the same. Uchimura tells Uesugi that this voice was from Heaven and that God used to speak to the prophets of old in a similar way. Uchimura then concludes that “Nature has voice if we but have ears to hear.” And he claims that Uesugi could hear this voice because he was “sincere.”

Uchimura claims that Ninomiya’s simple faith was that “the sincerity of a single soul is strong enough to move both heaven and earth.” And in the following description of Ninomiya’s dealings with his workers, it is evident that he was sincere and that he expected sincerity in return.

In these examples, the obvious key words are nature/heaven and sincerity. Uchimura wrote on the endpaper of one of his Bibles a short piece titled “There are Three Witnesses to the Truth.” The three witnesses are nature, man (sometimes he used history instead of man) and the Bible. Here the truth is the truth of God. So in the above examples, I believe that Uchimura’s use of Nature/Heaven implies that God was at work even with these men who were not Christian. These statements give his followers and the readers a lesson in how to properly approach our fellow man but also how to prepare our hearts to hear the truth.

4. Independence

In the fourth area, his experiences in Japan and the United States led to his strong desire for independence from any organization or organized church. After graduating from Sapporo Agricultural College, Uchimura eventually chose to go abroad. He states his purpose in the following way “To be a MAN first, and then a PATRIOT, was my aim in going abroad.” His second goal, “to become a patriot,” was ironically achieved by his disappointment in the United States. However, here I would like to discuss his emphasis on being a “man.” In the above example, Uchimura doesn’t explain what it means “to be a man.” I intend to show that being a “man” is an elemental part of his faith and would like to glean a definition of what he

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31 ibid.
32 ibid., 202.
33 ibid., 213.
34 ibid., 214.
35 ibid., 235.
36 idem, “There are Three Witnesses to the Truth,” Zenshuu, 40:3.
considered a man to be from the following examples. Although I will use the word “man” in the following discussion, Uchimura’s “men” are what he calls “true men,” in other words “gentlemen.”

In Uchimura’s descriptions of the five men, there are several characteristics that stand out. According to Uchimura, these men lived simple lives. Repeatedly he writes about their cotton clothes, their humble houses, their lack of materialistic desires and their willingness to take care of themselves and their family members. And all of this was regardless of the fact that some of these men had enough money to live in a more luxurious style. Uchimura may have also wanted to stress the virtuous idea of simple living since he was often on the edge of poverty.

Humility is an important element. Uchimura relates a story of how Saigo fixes the shoes of two younger samurai who do not realize that they are demanding such menial work from the “Great Saigo.” Uchimura concludes that “Saint Aquinas was not more humble than this our Saigo.” Uchimura claims that Nakae turned away from Buddhism because “His (Nakae) ideal was perfect humility, and Buddha was not such a man.” It is easy for the current reader, and I am sure for Uchimura as well, to relate these incidences to the humility shown by Jesus. Undoubtedly Uchimura thought highly of the quality of humility and although during his time at the Pennsylvania Training School for the Feeble-Minded, he achieved some satisfaction in working with the mentally and emotionally challenged children, humility is not one of the words that comes to mind immediately when I think of Uchimura.

On the other hand, a word that always comes to mind when discussing Uchimura is independence. Uchimura highly valued this quality in himself and others. He speaks of Ninomiya as being “Himself a wholly self-made man.” He reserves the highest praise for Nichiren “No more independent man can I think of among my countrymen. Indeed, he by his originality and independence made Buddhism a Japanese religion.” Uchimura not only entertained the same idea but indeed it was his purpose to make Christianity a Japanese religion. It is evident that Uchimura drew inspiration from Nichiren on this point. I think that the word “man” is nearly inseparable from the concept of independence in Uchimura’s thought. The men in Japan and the Japanese are all described as going against the societal currents of their time. These men try new ideas, attempts great feats, and are successful not because society at large appreciates their efforts but are successful due to their sincerity, their humility and their independence. Uchimura emphasizes this point with Saigo’s own words, “A man that seeks neither life, nor name, nor rank, nor money, is the hardest man to manage. But with only such life’s tribulations can be shared, and such only can bring great things to his country.”

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39 ibid., 199, 201, 214, 225, 262, 291.
40 ibid., 198.
41 ibid., 254.
42 ibid., 239.
43 ibid., 292.
44 ibid., 202.
5. Practical Christianity

Uchimura’s emphasis on practicality is a pervasive attitude throughout his faith but I think it has a clear beginning in his logic-based scientific background. Although Uchimura says that the purpose of his education was not for making a living but instead for becoming “true men,”45 his education at Sapporo Agricultural College was very practical since one of the main purposes of the college was to train students to further develop their country. Uchimura took this purpose to heart and since scientific thinking is goal-oriented, I think that he used his scientific training to try and achieve his goals. Another part comes from his education in English and his exposure to American culture and thought. At Sapporo Agricultural College, the teachers were from the U.S. and his education was conducted entirely in English. I believe at this time he was exposed to pragmatic thought, perhaps by his teachers but mostly likely through his reading of American books.

Uchimura’s experience in the States undoubtedly strengthened his practical tendencies. Furuya Jun makes the point that in the Meiji era, the Japanese who went to Europe were different than the group that went to the United States. He describes the Japanese who went to the States as “ambitious, but poorer, non-elite students and impoverished immigrants.” “Ardent Christians” were also part of that group. In addition, he states that “most of those (Japanese) who studied in the United States tended to be present-minded and engaged in practical and vocational pursuits rather than academic history.”46 Ambitious, poor, and ardent Christian are all words that describe Uchimura. After he returned from the U.S., he was involved in the practical work of trying to spread Christianity in Japan.

Looking at the five men in Japan and the Japanese, it is notable that they all worked towards some sort of practical goal: Saigo’s part in rebuilding of Japan, Uesugi’s goal to get his people out of debt, Ninomiya’s goal to increase the agricultural production of his lord’s land, Nakae’s small school, and Nichiren’s struggle to reconcile the many views of Buddhism, a goal that Uchimura relates to intimately as he tried to reconcile the many views of Christianity. Uchimura attributes their ability to achieve their goals to their sincerity and a willingness to take action where perhaps other men would not have acted. In other words, Uesugi succeeded because he “believed so, acted so, and made so.”47 In Uchimura’s thought, it seems that this quality of practicality almost needs no adaptation to or from one culture to another. He sees it as a human quality that can be used to achieve any goal.

45 ibid., 250.
46 Jun Furuya, “A New Perspective on American History from the Other Side of the Pacific” The Japanese Journal of American Studies, No. 18, 2007, 6. Copyright Jun Furuya. All rights reserved. This work may be used, with this notice included, for noncommercial purposes. No copies of this work may be distributed, electronically or otherwise, in whole or in part, without permission from the author. http://wwwsoc.nii.ac.jp/jjas/periodicals/JJAS/PDF/2007/No.18-059.pdf
Conclusion

In this paper, many key words have been identified: loyalty, obedience, nature, virtue, simplicity, humility, man, sincerity, independence, and practical. I believe that it is safe to assert that these are most of the fundamental building blocks of Uchimura’s faith. They, as have been shown, are also fundamental characteristics of the Japanese culture that Uchimura knew.

However, it is most interesting that the one characteristic that many Western Christians would rank as one of the most important Christian characteristics, namely, love, is not present in this list. That is not to imply that Uchimura did not see love as an important element of Christianity, but that the expression of Uchimura’s Christian love takes a slightly different form. In *Japan and the Japanese* the word love appears only in the Japanese term “jinjutsu (仁術)” which he translates as “art of love.”48 This term appears mainly in the section on Ninomiya, briefly in the section on Nakae and appears far less frequently than most of the other terms listed above. A closer reading shows that Uchimura sees the “art(s) of love” being practiced mainly through the actions associated with the above-mentioned terms.

In conjunction with the phrase “art(s) of love,” Uchimura also uses the words morals and virtue. His use of the words morality, virtue, and sincerity suggests a very intimate connection and the integration of Japanese and Western meanings within these words may have been one reason why Uchimura did not feel the need to use the word love. Another reason may have been that Uchimura sees the expression of love as moralistic behavior as in the following example. “Let the Government therefore apply ‘the arts of love’ upon them, comfort their widows, shelter their orphans, and make a virtuous people out of the present demoralized population.”49 Uchimura’s moralistic tendencies have been documented along with his opinions on love.50 There is no space to explore those opinions here but Uchimura’s thoughts on the “Christian love” that he saw in the Christians of his day are very clear. In an extreme example, he states “Christian morals can be summed up in one word, love, and the fault of Christian morals is also the fault of love” which leads him to the conclusion that Christian love makes people sissies.51 I can see how Uchimura’s difficulties in integrating the ideal of Christian love with his samurai background may have led him to rely on the stronger imagery that is common in his writings.

I have examined some of the ways in which Uchimura combines Japanese and Christian thoughts and ideas. He does this by emphasizing some key characteristics in both thought systems that may seem at first to be incompatible. At times, Uchimura deftly combines these characteristics as in how he relates the Confucian ideal of master/servant to the Christian idea of being the servant of the Lord. This example is easily understandable to members of either culture or any era. However, at times, his use of imagery is more forced, as in his use of the word Heaven in relation to his Japanese historical figures, which may leave Western readers wondering what he meant. In

48 ibid., 233.
49 ibid., 247.
50 A more detailed discussion on Uchimura’s moralistic tendencies can be found online in Kei Sasaki’s “How We Japanese Become Christians,” *Journal of the Graduate School of Letters*, vol. 2, March 2007, 31-45. http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/bulletin/let
the end, Uchimura distills the important concepts which may be the same underlying human values in Japanese culture and Christianity. I would like to add a note of caution before stating that they are the same values. I think an in-depth study of how he integrated the English and Japanese meaning of each word is necessary. Assessing whether the way in which he used these Japanese thoughts and ideas with his followers and readers was effective is difficult but I believe that I can say with certainty that this method was effective with Uchimura himself.

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