

戦間期における国際秩序構想と日本  
—太平洋問題調査会における論議を中心として—

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<はしがき>

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研究組織

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研究発表

(1)学会誌等 特になし

(2)口頭発表

布川 弘 新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦の平和運動—太平洋会議 1931年上海会議を中心として—  
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(3)出版物 特になし

研究成果

(1)研究の目的

平成12年度から平成14年度まで科学研究費補助金の交付を受け、研究課題「国際平和運動における新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦」(基盤研究(c)(2), 課題番号12610332)に取り組み、満州事変前後の緊迫した東アジア情勢の中における太平洋会議の議論を検討した。そして、太平洋会議とその母体である太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, 略称I.P.R.)

に関わった日本の知識人たちが、国際紛争の只中で構想していたインターナショナリズムのあり方を具体的に明らかにすることができた。

その成果をふまえ、今回は引き続き太平洋問題調査会の議論に焦点をあてながら、時代を少々遡って1920年代のいわゆる戦間期においてどのような東アジアの国際秩序が構想され、それに日本の国際主義者がどのように関わっていったのか、そして、それが現代の環太平洋地域における国際秩序のあり方と日本の関係にどのように引き継がれてきたのか、あるいは、引き継がれるべきなのかを考察した。

## (2) 研究の経過、ならびにその成果

ア、平成16年度 太平洋問題調査会(Institute of Pacific Relations, 略称 I.P.R.)の設立とその日本委員会結成の経緯、及び 1925 年に開催されたホノルル会議を中心とした活動状況を明らかにすることを目標とした。とりわけ、ホノルル会議の各セッションでの議論における争点を明らかにしながら、当該時期の環太平洋における国際秩序構想の可能性を探り、また、余裕があれば各国委員会の活動状況についても調査し、日本委員会における新渡戸らの活動と発言を明らかにしようとした。太平洋問題調査会の設立とホノルル会議を中心とした活動状況を物語る一次史料については、ハワイ大学図書館(University of Hawaii at Manoa Library, Hamilton Library)が包括的な一次史料を所蔵しているため、当該年度の海外史料調査はハワイ大学図書館の所蔵史料調査が主となるはずであったが、ハワイ大学図書館が事故で長期使用不可能の状態となり、太平洋問題調査会関係史料(Institute of Pacific Relations Records)の閲覧が不可能となった。そのため、研究計画におけるもう一つの重要な作業として位置づけていたヘレン・タッピング文書の調査に重点を移した。太平洋会議において重要な役割を果たした新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦の動向を詳しく物語るタッピング文書の閲覧は、東京都国立市在住の米沢和一郎氏が所蔵しているものを利用させていただいた。その結果、太平洋会議に関わる日中の関係者の動向を具に物語る文書群を収集することができた。

イ、平成17年度 太平洋問題調査会日本委員会において中心的な役割を果たした新渡戸稲造の国際秩序構想について明らかにするため、ジュネーブにある国際連合図書館(The Library of the United Nations Office at Geneva)の国際連盟アーカイブ(The Archives of the League of Nations)が所蔵する国際連盟事務局ファイル(The Secretariat of the League)の内、書記次長をつとめた新渡戸稲造のファイルを中心とした史料を閲覧し、ノートを作成した。また、京都会議を中心とした活動状況を物語る史料について、東京大学アメリカ太平洋地域研究センター所蔵の太平洋問題調査会関係

資料(高木八尺コレクション), 及び, さらに, 南イリノイ大学のヘレン・タッピング文書などの収集史料を整理してデジタル化し, データベース化の準備作業を行った。そうした作業によって, 新渡戸稲造や賀川豊彦が, 太平洋問題調査会上海会議の準備と平行して, アジア間の精神的な連帯のための組織作りに努力を傾注していたことが明らかになった。

ウ, 平成18年度 太平洋問題調査会の日本委員会において中心的な役割を果たした新渡戸稲造, および新渡戸と緊密な関係をもちつつ「神の国運動」を通じて中国のクリスチャンや欧米ミッションと深い関わりをもった賀川豊彦の思想と行動に焦点をあて, 戦間期における彼らの東アジア及び環太平洋における国際秩序構想を明らかにすることを大きな目標とした。その際, 新渡戸を中心とした国際連盟関係の人脈, 賀川を中心とした欧米人・中国人の人脈など, 人的交流のあり方を浮き彫りにし, そうした交流の中で育まれた具体的な秩序構想を明らかにしながら, 太平洋問題調査会が開催した太平洋会議という知的交流の場とそれとの関連を浮き彫りにし, ナショナルな問題との葛藤を組み込みながら, 秩序構想の動的な変遷をたどることに重点を置いた。

具体的な作業については, 海外史料として平成 17 年度に収集した南イリノイ大学が所蔵するヘレン・タッピング文書, 平成 18 年度に収集したジュネーブの国際連合国際連合図書館が所蔵する新渡戸稲造のファイル, 国内の史料として東京大学アメリカ太平洋地域研究センターの高木八尺コレクションなどの分析を中心に行い, 補足的な史料蒐集も行った。

### (3) 残された課題と今後の研究計画

本研究は, 戦間期における日本の国際主義者がどのような国際秩序構想を抱いたのかということ明らかにすることを目的とした。本研究によって, 国際主義者の代表である新渡戸稲造の構想した戦間期における国際秩序は, 汎太平洋国際連盟 (Pan Pacific League of Nations) であったことが明らかになった。そして, その母体が汎太平洋連合 (Pan Pacific Union) であり, さらに, 国家間関係のいわば潤滑油として, 民間団体である太平洋問題調査会 (Institute of Pacific Relations) を考えていた。そして, 国際連盟や太平洋問題調査会で新渡戸があえて触れることはなかったが, そうしたいわば表向きの団体を支える内面的, 精神的な保証として, クリスチャン・インターナショナルが位置づけられており, 日本においては, 新渡戸と賀川の連携こそが, その核となるべきものであった。本研究では, 新渡戸と賀川の連携の成立と, 日本友和会 (FOR) の活動を中心としたその具体的な運動を, まだ極めて不十分ではあるが素描できたと考えている。

その際, 本報告書の論文が最初に掲げた問題, 即ち新渡戸と賀川を主体とする平和運動

が、他の主体といかなる関係を構築し得たのかという問題が重要である。とりわけ、当該期の平和運動は中国の諸主体との関係が大きな鍵になるが、本研究では NCC-China と NCC-Japan の表面的な関係には言及できたものの、新渡戸と賀川の連携においては友和会が重要なポイントであり、中国における友和会の活動と日本との関係が明らかにされなければならない。これは今後の重要な研究課題である。

さらに、中国のクリスチャンが国民政府要路との結びつきをもち、中国の諸政策に影響力をもっていたことを若干確認できたが、この点についてもより具体的にしていく必要がある。そして、賀川の謝罪を基盤として、賀川らの平和運動に対する中国のクリスチャンの強い期待があったことも明らかにできた。一方、日本における新渡戸と賀川の平和運動が、当時の排外主義的な世論の中で厳しい状況におかれていたことが、史料によってうかがえるが、他方で中国との連帯を求めるクリスチャンの姿も明らかになった。それが当時の政権や世論にどのような形で影響したのかを測定する必要がある。この点も残された重要な研究課題である。

はじめに

15年戦争期の平和運動については、特定の価値規範からその思想的純粋性を極めて高く評価したり、一方で、その現実的影響力を極めて低く評価したりするなど、評価の振幅が非常に大きかった。今必要なことは、15年戦争期の平和運動や平和構想に対する過不足のない評価であると考えられる。その際の評価基準は、単に平和運動をリードする思想信条だけを問題とするのではなく、それが他の政治勢力や世論に与えた影響を含めて考慮すべきであり、いわば運動主体と他の主体とを同じ資格をもつ歴史主体としてとらえ、その主体の間の「間主観性」＝「関係性」の次元に置かれなければならない。

ここで注意しなければならないことは、「間主観性」の次元で評価した時に、単に他の主体には影響を与えていないという単純な結論に陥らないことである。例えば、他の主体を巻き込めなかったが故に意味のない運動であったという、いわば運動主体の側からのいわゆる「主体的」「実践的」な評価がなされがちであるが、ここで考えなければならないのは、マイナスの影響である。つまり、他の主体を巻き込めなかっただけでなく、運動主体の望む方向とは全く別の反動が起こっている場合も多くある。そこまで含めて考え、さらに、総体としてどの方向にベクトルが作用するのかを見極める必要がある。

また、ベクトルを見極めにおいても一つ重要な点は、歴史的に評価するという点である。つまり、運動主体の作用を長いスパンで考える必要があるという点である。具体的には、戦争を阻止し得なかったとして評価をそこで止めてしまうのではなく、戦後への影響力も含めて考えてみる必要があるということである。

筆者は、15年戦争期全体を俯瞰して日本における平和運動を考察したいと考えているが、とりあえず本報告書では満州事変前後という極めて限られた期間に絞って考察している。また、平和運動全般ではなく、新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦という二人の人物を平和運動の主体として措定し、彼らと他の諸主体との関係性に評価基準を置くことによって、当該期の平和運動の歴史的意義について考察している。分析の時期と対象とをこのように限定する理由は、第1に15年戦争の開始という画期的な事件のもつ意味をとらえるためである。筆者は、満州事変の勃発からアジア・太平洋戦争における日本の敗戦まで、日本の首尾一貫し

た中国侵略に焦点を当てる必要があると考えるので、あえて15年戦争という言葉をもちたい。もちろん、満州事変や日中戦争がそれぞれ違った歴史的意義を有することを重視する立場があり、筆者はそうした考え方を否定するものではない<sup>1</sup>。ただ、平和運動に焦点を当てたとき、山東出兵に対する反対運動が「対支非干渉運動」と呼ばれたように<sup>2</sup>、中国侵略への反対運動として軍事行動に対峙し、それを抑圧する形で戦争が押し進められていったのであって、そうした観点からすれば一貫した中国侵略戦争、すなわち15年戦争と位置づけて差し支えないように思われる。

理由の第2は、新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦は連携して中国との具体的な交流をすすめた人物たちなのであり、中国侵略に反対する最前線に立ち、満州事変の前後にその姿勢が明確に打ち出されて来るからである。新渡戸は1933（昭和8）年に亡くなっているのに、この二人の人物の具体的な連携は満州事変から間もなくの頃に終焉をむかえる。本報告は、この連携に重要な意味を見出しているのに、時期を絞らざるを得なかったわけである。

理由の第3は、二人の連携という問題とも深く関わるのであるが、二人を軸とした当該期の平和運動には、様々な主体が関与しており、それが極めて国際性に富んでいるからである。関与した人物の多くはクリスチャンであり、交流の鍵となる中国人はもちろんのこと、欧米のミッションに帰属するクリスチャンが数多く関与している。しかも、新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦を含めそれらのクリスチャンは、世論ないしは政治に大きな影響を与える力を有していた。したがって、二人の連携を軸とした当該期の平和運動を考察することは、単に平和運動をリードする思想信条だけを問題とするのではなく、それが他の政治勢力や世論に与えた影響を含めて考慮すべきであり、いわば運動主体と他の主体とを同じ資格をもつ歴史主体としてとらえ、その主体の間の「間主観性」＝「関係性」の次元に評価基準を置くという筆者の立場から見て、格好の素材を扱うことになる。

この二人を主体とした当該期の平和運動に関するこれまでの研究は、断片的な言及も含めて極めて少ない。まして二人の運動が、思想だけではなく実践的な意味で国際性をもっていて、大きな影響力をもっていたことを明らかにした研究は、皆無と言ってよかった。新渡戸稲造に関しては多数の評伝が刊行され、『新渡戸稲造研究』という学術雑誌すら発行

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<sup>1</sup> 小林啓治『国際秩序の形成と近代日本』（吉川弘文館、2002年）のとりわけ「第四章」は、東アジアの帝国主義体制の矛盾という観点から、満州事変の独自の意義を明らかにしている。

<sup>2</sup> 犬丸義一『日本人民戦線運動史』、青木書店、1978年。

されているにも関わらず<sup>3</sup>、日本国内では国際連盟時代も含めて新渡戸の国際的な平和運動に対する関わりを本格的に論じた文献は見当たらない<sup>4</sup>。新渡戸の太平洋問題調査会における役割に関しては、片桐庸夫が著書の中で触れているが、その評価は、行動力の欠如、閉鎖的なエリート主義、アリストクラティックな態度という極めてネガティブなものに終始している<sup>5</sup>。むしろ、日本の学会を基盤としない研究者の方が、新渡戸の国際的な平和運動のポジティブな側面について関心が高い<sup>6</sup>。とりわけ、新渡戸が設立と運営をリードした「国際知的協力委員会」に関しては、各国の指導的知識人の連帯と知的協力によって国際平和の実現をめざしたものとして注目されている<sup>7</sup>。さらに最近では、ジュネーブにある国際連合図書館（The Library of the United Nations Office at Geneva）の国際連盟アーカイブ（The Archives of the League of Nations）が所蔵する国際連盟事務局ファイル（The Secretariat of the League）の内、書記次長をつとめた新渡戸稲造のファイルに収められた一次史料を駆使した本格的な研究が登場するようになった<sup>8</sup>。このように、欧米では新渡戸の国際的な平和運動に対する関心が高まりつつあり、新渡戸の国際連盟における功績が今になって再認識されているようにも受け取れる。方や日本では、『武士道』ブームがおこってはいるが、新渡戸の国際的な平和運動に関しては見事に捨象されている現実がある。本報告がそうした現実に対して一石を投ずることができれば幸いだと思っている。

賀川豊彦の思想と運動についても、新渡戸の研究と同じように、世界的に高い評価と日本の評価とのズレがある<sup>9</sup>。しかし近年、米沢和一郎氏によって本格的な光があてられることになった。氏の20年以上に及ぶ調査と、それによって得られた膨大な書誌情報は、賀川

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<sup>3</sup> 『新渡戸稲造研究』は、盛岡市にある財団法人新渡戸基金が発行している。

<sup>4</sup> 小川智瑞恵「国際連盟時代の新渡戸稲造」（『東京女子大学比較文化研究所紀要』第68巻、2007年1月）は、当該期の新渡戸の平和運動について新たな側面を明らかにしている。

<sup>5</sup> 片桐庸夫『太平洋問題調査会の研究』、慶応大学出版会、2003年、p.141

<sup>6</sup> 管見の限りではあるが、ジョージ・M・オーシロ『新渡戸稲造—国際主義の開拓者—』（中央大学出版部、1992年）と、George Oshiro, *Nitobe Inazo at the League of Nations: 1919-1926*, edited by Teruhiko Nagao, *Nitobe Inazo From Bushido to the League of Nations*, Hokkaido University は、国際連盟時代の新渡戸稲造について最もまとまった叙述をしていると思われる。しかしながら、太平洋問題調査会における新渡戸の活動については、8ページ程度の叙述しかない。

<sup>7</sup> 入江昭『二十世紀の戦争と平和』、東京大学出版会、1986年、p.93-4。

<sup>8</sup> Nicolas Lanza, *Inazô Nitobe au Secrétariat de la Société des Nations*, 2003。この論文はジュネーブ大学に提出された博士論文である。筆者は幸いにも国際連盟アーカイブで閲覧の機会を与えられた。

<sup>9</sup> 米沢和一郎『賀川豊彦の欧米での評価』、賀川豊彦研究会、1995年。



研究の未来を大きく切り開くものとなっている<sup>10</sup>。また、氏は最近賀川の平和思想について注目すべき成果を発表しつつある<sup>11</sup>。この成果は、今後の平和思想と平和運動研究の導きの糸となるであろう。本報告書も米沢氏の蓄積された資料とその研究成果に大きく依存している。とりわけ、本報告書は新渡戸と賀川の連携を重視しているが、米沢氏の研究によって、新渡戸と賀川の接点が具体的に明らかになりつつある。他にも、賀川の国際協同組合の実現による世界平和という考え方と戦後の世界連邦建設運動に注目した研究や<sup>12</sup>、開戦前の日米交渉における賀川の役割を明らかにした研究など、注目すべき研究がある<sup>13</sup>。

本報告書は、こうした研究状況の中で、繰り返し述べるように新渡戸と賀川の連携を軸として、太平洋問題調査会とその周辺の人的関係に焦点を当てながら、当該期の国際的な平和運動の具体的な有様を明らかにしたい。前述したように片桐庸夫氏は、新渡戸を含む太平洋問題調査会に集う日本の知識人の行動力の欠如、閉鎖的なエリート主義、アリストクラティックな態度を指摘しているが<sup>14</sup>、果たしてそうした評価が当たっているのか、本報告書はさしあたってその点について考察していきたい。

## I 新渡戸と賀川の連携

### 1. 東洋キリスト教国際会議の構想と太平洋問題調査会第4回総会

新渡戸と賀川とが平和運動において連携していたということを、如実に物語る史料がある。

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<sup>10</sup> 米沢和一郎編『人物書誌大系 25 賀川豊彦』(日外アソシエーツ株式会社、1992年)、同『人物書誌大系 37 賀川豊彦』(日外アソシエーツ株式会社、2006年)。

<sup>11</sup> 米沢和一郎「Realistic Pacifist 賀川豊彦と中国」(『明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要』第38号、2006年2月)、同『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー7 賀川豊彦の海外資料—光と影の交錯を読み取るために—』(2006年3月)、同「Strong Nationalist 賀川豊彦の主張」(『明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要』第39号、2006年12月)、同『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー8 賀川豊彦の海外資料 II—その意図したものを読み解くために—』(2007年1月)。

<sup>12</sup> 松下泰雄「賀川豊彦の伝道と世界平和運動」、田畑忍編『近現代日本の平和思想』、ミネルヴァ書房、1993年。

<sup>13</sup> 黒川徳男「日米交渉と賀川豊彦」、安岡昭男編『近代日本の形成と展開』、巖南堂書店、1998年。

<sup>14</sup> 注5に同じ。

75 Kobinata Dai machi 1-chome

Koishikawa Tokyo Japan

February 16, 1931

Dear Dr. Cheng:

We are glad to have your letter and suggestion of an international conference of Oriental Christians, for the purpose of knowing each other better, and of exchange views and ideas. We have common problems to consider, - economic, political, traditional, and connected with the growth of our Christian movements.

In the new Christian International of Prayer and Friendship, we may have a vehicle for the linking of ourselves with one another in vital and creative fashion in a network of intercession which will be as you say the strongest thing to bind the world together in unity. But in order to give content and reality to this fellowship we need to have a face- to-face meeting at its outset, such as you have suggested in the Conference.

We should like to correspond further with you as to arrangements. It seems that since October 21 to November 4 are the dates of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which is to take place in some Chinese city, it might be wise to consider having the Christian Internationale conference immediately afterward, in some place that would be fairly convenient, to take advantage of the presence of delegates who might attend both conferences, as well as of the presence in China from India of Dr. Stanley Jones in November, and possibly of other Indian Christian Leaders.

We are with hearty Christian greetings, Yours sincerely

(signed) Inazo Nitobe

Toyohiko Kagawa<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> この書簡は、賀川豊彦の秘書であったヘレン・タッピング (Topping, Helen) の史料群 Helen Faville Topping, Family Paper (HFTFP と略) に入っている。この史料群は南イリノイ大学カーボンデール校モリス図書館 (Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Morris Library, Special Collection) にあるが、米沢和一郎氏が蒐集されたものを、氏のご好意で利用させていただいた。尚、この史料群については、米沢和一郎『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー7 賀川豊彦の海外資料—光と影の交錯を読み取るために—』(2006年3月) に詳しい説明が施されている。

この書簡は、1931年2月16日、新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦が連名で、中華全国基督教協進会（中華民国基督教連盟, the National Christian Council of China, 以下、NCC-China と略す）の総幹事であった誠静怡（C. Y. Cheng）に宛てたものである。新渡戸と賀川は、誠の東洋クリスチャン国際会議（an international conference of Oriental Christians, 以下、東洋会議と略す）開催の呼びかけにこたえ、同年10月21日から11月4日に杭州での開催が予定されていた太平洋問題調査会第4回総会にあわせ、その直後に国際会議を開催してはどうかと提案している。その大きな理由は、太平洋問題調査会に参加する予定の東洋各国のメンバーと、東洋会議に参加を呼びかけるメンバーが重なっていたためであった。誠はこの新渡戸と賀川の提案について、“I think your suggestion is an excellent one”と返信し<sup>16</sup>、積極的に受け止めている。東洋会議は、中国と日本を中心としたアジア諸国のクリスチャンが相互理解と意見交換をするために開催されるもので、「祈りと友愛のための新しいクリスチャンの国際連帯」（new Christian International of Prayer and Friendship, 以下、クリスチャン・インターナショナルと略す）を実現しようとする壮大な構想の一環であった。

ここで注目すべきなのは、太平洋問題調査会とクリスチャン・インターナショナルの関係である。この二つの組織が人的関係において重なっており、いわば表裏一体の関係にあったことが想像されるのである。例えば、1931年3月29日、やはり新渡戸稲造と賀川豊彦が連名で、誠静怡に宛てたものである書簡では、次のように述べている。

We shall be waiting to hear from you as to this suggestion, and ready to back you up in any way in our power. We know of half a dozen Japanese people who may be able to attend the Conference, since they will probably to delegates at the Institute of Pacific Relations: - Mr. Nagao Hampei, a leader in the Church Unity Movement in Japan, who heard of the international conference with great delight; Miss Michi Kawai; Mr. Soichi Saito; Dr. Takagi of the Imperial University. Including ourselves this makes six people, and we should like to include also Mr. and Mrs. Sakamoto of Shanghai, who may be able to be useful to you in the work of preparation<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Cheng to Nitobe and Kagawa, 1931.2.27., HFTFP.

<sup>17</sup> Kagawa and Nitobe to Cheng, 1931.3.29., HFTFP.

ここでは、太平洋問題日本委員会の代表として太平洋問題調査会第4回総会に参加するメンバーの中で、東洋会議に参加すると考えられる個人名があがっている。具体的には、統一教会運動の指導者である長尾半平、河井道、日本YMCA同盟総幹事の斎藤惣一、東京帝国大学教授の高木八尺、そして新渡戸稲造である。河井は北星女学校で新渡戸の教えを受け、高木は第一高等学校で新渡戸の教えを受けている。長尾は台湾時代から新渡戸との関係があり、斎藤も新渡戸との強い接点をもっている。したがって、ここで二つの会議に参加することが予定されていた人々は、明らかに新渡戸人脈によって構成されていたと言ってよい。賀川は東洋会議への出席が予定されているが、太平洋問題調査会の代表ではなかった。しかしながら、この書簡が発せされた東京小石川小日向台1丁目とは新渡戸の邸宅の住所であり、賀川の秘書であったヘレン・タッピングは、ここから書簡を送り、賀川の仕事をここで支えていたのである。したがって、新渡戸人脈と賀川人脈は大きく重なっていたと見てよい。

太平洋問題調査会は、各国の知識人が政治や経済などの具体的な問題について意見交換しながら国際平和を実現する役割をもっているものであり、クリスチャン・インターナショナルはその精神的な絆を形成するものというとならえ方が可能である。上記二通の書簡から、その二つの組織の中軸に新渡戸と賀川がいたことが確認できるのである。

## 2. 新渡戸と賀川の接点

それでは、新渡戸と賀川の接点は、いつどのように形成されたのであろうか。新渡戸と賀川との接点の形成、及び新渡戸の賀川に対する思想的影響について、米沢和一郎氏は極めて含蓄の深い指摘をしている<sup>18</sup>。ここでは、米沢氏の指摘に依拠しながら、新渡戸と賀川の出会いと思想的影響について考察したい。

米沢氏によれば、確認できる新渡戸と賀川の最初の出会いは、1925（大正14）年6月、当時国際連盟事務局次長であった新渡戸が、ジュネーブの私宅に渡欧中の賀川を招いて、歓迎午餐会を開催した時であった。この新渡戸が国際連盟に関わる人びとを招いて<sup>19</sup>、賀

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<sup>18</sup> 米沢和一郎『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー8 賀川豊彦の海外資料II—その意図したものを読み解くために—』（2007年1月）、p.14-25、同「“啐啄同時”のような二人」（『新渡戸稲造研究』第8号、1999年9月）、p.125-142。

<sup>19</sup> 出席者は、当時パリ在勤でありながら「国際連盟帝国事務局」次長として連盟総会や各

川のために歓迎午餐会を開催したということは、極めて注目すべきことである。これは私的な午餐会ではあるが、明らかに国際連盟事務局次長としての新渡戸が賀川を歓迎するセレモニーであった。

新渡戸がこうしたセレモニーをあえて開催した理由は、賀川の日本における社会改良家としての活動に対する欧米における高い評価があったと考えられる<sup>20</sup>。すでに、ロマン・ローランやジェーン・アダムスといった人々が、賀川の活動に注目しており、ガンディーやシュバイツァーと同列に賀川を評価する事例もあった<sup>21</sup>。賀川はこの年の3月、アメリカからイギリスに渡った<sup>22</sup>。その際、賀川はロンドンで強制徴兵制度に反対する識者の署名に参加した。その署名者の中には、ガンディー、タゴール、ノーマン・エンジェル、アインシュタインらの名前があった。賀川はこの時、のちにイギリス労働党の党首となるジョージ・ランズベリー (George Lansbury) と行動を共にしたと述べている<sup>23</sup>。ランズベリーは、愛を教えの基本とし、「キリスト教の教理の適用が労働者階級と世界を救うという強い宗教的信念」をもっており<sup>24</sup>、賀川の平和思想と大きな共通項をもっていたと考えられる。また、ランズベリーと深い関係にあった「国際戦争反対者同盟」(War Register's International, 以下、WRI と略す) や、それと連帯していた「国際友和会」(The International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 以下、IFOR と略す) と、この時点で賀川が接触していた可能性が高く、おそらく賀川自身が既に加入していた可能性がある<sup>25</sup>。

新渡戸は強制徴兵制度反対の署名には加わっていない。おそらく、国際連盟事務局次長としての立場があったのだと考えられる。しかしながら、後述する動向から考えて、新渡戸が是等の組織と何らかの関係をもっていた、あるいは少なくともこれらの組織に対して強い関心をもっていたことは疑いない。これはあくまでも仮定であるが、1925 (大正 14)

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種の委員会に参加していた杉村陽太郎、国際連盟事務局職員で新渡戸の秘書官であった原田健、国際労働事務局 (ILO) 職員の鮎沢巖らであった (米沢前掲書、p.15)。

<sup>20</sup> 高い評価をしめす事実の概略は、拙稿「1930年代における賀川豊彦の平和運動」(『日本史研究』424号、1997年12月、p.56-57)を参照。

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Saunders, *Whither Asia? - A Study of Three Leaders-*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

<sup>22</sup> 賀川の行動に関しては、米沢和一郎編『人物書誌大系 37 賀川豊彦』(日外アソシエーツ株式会社、2006年)の「年譜」に詳しい。

<sup>23</sup> 「雲水遍路」大正15年4月20日、『賀川豊彦全集』23巻、p.42。

<sup>24</sup> ウィリアム・ウッドラフ『平和主義と戦争のはざまで一統・社会史の証人一』(ミネルヴァ書房、1997年)、p.128。

<sup>25</sup> 賀川がメンバーであった点については、米沢和一郎『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー7 賀川豊彦の海外資料—光と影の交錯を読み取るために—』(2006年3月)、p.41-48を参照。

年6月、ジュネーブの新渡戸邸（レザマンドリエ）における賀川豊彦歓迎午餐会こそは、平和運動における新渡戸と賀川との連携が成立した証として位置づけてみたい。午餐会に参会した人物の回想からは、その場で平和運動についての会話が合ったことは確認できない。したがって、より限定的に述べるとするならば、平和機構である国際連盟といういわば外面において新渡戸と賀川の連携が成立したというべきかもしれない。内面における連携は、翌1926年に明確に姿をあらわす。

## II 日本友和会と中国

### 1. 新渡戸と太平洋問題調査会

新渡戸稲造は、国際連盟の事務局次長の職を退いたあと、太平洋問題調査会日本委員会の代表に就任した。新渡戸にとって、国際連盟と太平洋問題調査会とは深く結びついていた。新渡戸は国際連盟事務総長ドラumontに次のように述べている。

There are indications, however, that the P. P. U. is launching on a more ambitious enterprise. Encouraged evidently by its success in tackling with some legal problems connected with the conservation of fish in the Pacific area, the Union is looking forward to cope with legal questions of wider reach. It has now in prospect the convocation of two conferences; one on the legal questions affecting the countries bordering the Pacific and the other on "International Cooperation, there is lurking in his hand a desire of sounding the opinions of Pacific powers as to the feasibility of starting a "Pan Pacific League of Nations" separate from the World League. It has been my constant belief that a regional union of nations will be more practical and useful in many ways than the universal League, provided it moves strictly within the orbit of the latter. Only with this provide, I should like to see the P. P. U. take what steps it can towards the formation of a Pan Pacific League, and hence when the projected meeting should take place, it seems not only advisable but important that the League of Nations should closely follow its proceedings.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Nitobe to Drummond, 1927. 10.25. この書簡は、国際連合図書館（The Library of the

〔拙訳〕しかし、「汎太平洋連合」(Pan Pacific Union, 以下, PPU と略す)は, より意欲的な企てとして始まったように見える。太平洋地域における漁獲に関する話し合いに関わる法的な問題への取り組みが成功したことに勇気付けられて, PPU はより広範囲な法律問題に対処することを期待している。現在, 二つの会議を招集することが予定されている。一つは太平洋で国境を接する国々に影響する法的な諸問題に関するもので, もう一つは, 世界連盟から分かれた汎太平洋国際連盟 (Pan Pacific League of Nations) を発足させることの実行可能性について, 太平洋諸国の意見を広めようとする意図をもった国際共同体に関してである。多くの点において, 世界的な連盟の範囲内で厳格に動くのであれば, それよりも地域的な諸国の連合体の方が実際的で役に立つのではと, 私は常に考えてきた。こうした考え方にに基づき, PPU が汎太平洋国際連盟を結成する方向へ手立てを講ずることを, 好ましく思う。そしてそれ故に, しかるべき会合が開かれる際に, 国際連盟が親しくその段取りを見守ることが望ましいだけでなく, 重要である。

ここで注目すべきことは, 新渡戸が国際連盟という世界規模の国家の連合体よりも, 地域的な国家の連合体の方が実際的であると考えており, 国際連盟の太平洋地域版として, 汎太平洋国際連盟 (Pan Pacific League of Nations) を構想していたことである。

In order to avoid any confusion likely to arise between two organizations of somewhat similar names and objects, let it be stated at the outset that the Institute of Pacific Relations (I. P. R.) with which the present correspondence deals, is an entirely private body, whereas the Pan-Pacific Union (P. P. U.) though also private is subsidized by the U. S. Government and by the prominent citizens of Hawaii. Both are active in their lines. The I. P. R. was originally started by the Y. M. C. A. in 1919 but has since become an autonomous organization. Largely because of the participation in the beginning of religious people and the meeting being conducted in an unbiased spirit, the Institute has been successful as a field for the frank but

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United Nations Office at Geneva) の国際連盟アーカイブ (The Archives of the League of Nations) が所蔵する国際連盟事務局ファイル (The Secretariat of the League) におさめられている。

congenial exchange of opinions, and some governments, e. g. Japan, have helped the attendance of their nationals in a semi-official capacity. Such delegates were, I think, never officially reccredited, and hence they could speak the more freely. That explains the success of the “Round Talk”, as Mr. Duncan Hall says. The Institute has now become a permanent Organization to hold a meeting every other year; it has now assumed the form very much like the Institute of Political Affairs in Williamstown.<sup>27</sup>

〔拙訳〕若干似たような名前と目的をもった二つの組織の間におこりそうな悶着を避けるため、太平洋問題調査会（IPR）は、文書上は完全な民間団体であり、一方、汎太平洋連合（PPU）は、民間団体ではあるけれども、アメリカ政府とハワイの名士の補助を受けている、ということをやめ述べさせてもらう。双方の団体とも、それぞれの分野で活発に活動している。IPRは、本来1919年にYMCAによって創設されたが、次第に自律的な組織になってきた。主として、当初は信心深い人々が参加し、偏見にとらわれない精神によって会議が運営されたため、IPRは率直だが気心の知れた意見交換ができる場としてうまくいき、日本のように、いくつかの政府は、半ば公式な権限をもった同国人が参加することを援助してきた。（しかし）そうした代表は決して公式な委任を受けているわけではなく、それ故、より自由に意見が表明できると私は思う。ダンカン・ホール氏が言うところの、「円卓」の成功と言える。現在、IPRは二年に一度総会を開催する恒久的な組織になっていて、ウィリアムスタウンの政治問題研究所と非常に良く似た形態をとっている。

新渡戸はPPUを太平洋国際連盟の前提となる政府間組織として位置づけ、一方、IPRはあくまでも民間団体であり、「円卓」会議における自由闊達な意見交換が信条だと考えていた。しかし、この文章から即断するのは危険かもしれないが、新渡戸は両者を無関係なものとして考えていたのではなく、あえていえば、国際連盟と知的協力委員会の関係のように、PPUのレベルで太平洋の国際関係が円滑に進むためには、即ち、太平洋の国際平和が実現するためには、IPRのような自由闊達な意見交換のできる民間団体が不可欠だと考えていたのではないであろうか。でなければ、新渡戸があえて太平洋問題調査会の日本委員

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<sup>27</sup> 同前。



会の代表になるはずがないと考えられる。したがって、新渡戸においては、国際連盟事務局次長の役職と太平洋問題調査会の役職はしっかり結びついており、ともに、国際平和の実現という点で共通の目標を担っていたのである。

## 2. 日本友和会の結成

筆者は、1925年に賀川がIFORの会員になっていた可能性を指摘した。IFORは、第一次世界大戦に際し、イギリスの絶対平和論を唱えるキリスト教徒たちが1915年の初めにケンブリッジのトリニティ・ホールで結成した組織で、大戦中に支部を世界各国に広げ、1920年にはオランダのビルトホーベンで第一回国際大会を開催している。

そして、新渡戸と賀川の連携が成立した年の翌年、1926（大正15）年2月23、24日の両日、鎌倉の松岡旅館での会合があり、それを受けて、同年3月29日に東京小石川の新渡戸邸で日本友和会（FOR 日本支部、以下、友和会と略す）が結成された<sup>28</sup>。友和会の運動に関わった高良とみは次のように回想している。

1926（大正15）年2月に、私を含めた日本のクリスチャンは、新渡戸稲造氏や賀川豊彦氏に呼びかけられ、鎌倉の新渡戸氏の別邸（松岡旅館のことか—筆者註）で、「日本友和会」という組織を作りました。（中略）組織はFOR（Fellowship of Reconciliation）というキリスト教徒による平和団体の日本支部という形をとりました。FORとは、自ら戦争を拒否するだけでなく、お互いに憎しみあっている敵同士を和解させようという絶対平和の思想を意味し、この団体はヨーロッパやアメリカを根拠地として活動していました。第一次世界大戦前後に良心的兵役拒否や、孤児救済など多彩な活動で注目をあび、当時日本にもFOR関係の外人宣教師ギルバート・ボーレスやウォルサーらが数多く来ていたのです。私ども日本のクリスチャンも時どき彼らと集会を持っていましたが、ぜひともこれらの活動に加わる必要を感じ、「日本友和会」の設立に至りました。会長は小崎道雄氏に決まり、私は書記長をつとめることになりました<sup>29</sup>。

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<sup>28</sup> 友和会『友和会パンフレット（二） 友和会とは何か』、1929年。

<sup>29</sup> 高良とみ『非戦を生きる 高良とみ自伝』、ドメス出版、1983年、p.67。

高良によれば、友和会の結成を呼びかけたのは新渡戸と賀川であった。とするならば、この友和会こそは、新渡戸と賀川との内面における連携の産物であった。友和会結成時、新渡戸はジュネーブにいて、国際連盟事務局次長としての仕事にきりをつけようとしていたが、英文の日記では日本友和会の結成について「盛会を聞き及んだ」と記しているように<sup>30</sup>、結成には大きな役割を果たしたことがうかがえる。また、高良の回想には、友和会の平和運動の基本的な考え方が述べられており、大変興味深い。キーワードは「友和」＝Reconciliationである。対するもの敵同士の和解をどのように実現していくのかという問題意識の中には、例えば対立する国家におけるナショナリズムを前提としてかのような趣がある。

### 3. 中国との関係

#### ①ホッジキン博士の来日

友和会との直接的な関係は不明であるが、賀川が最初に本格的な平和運動に取り組んだのは、1928（昭和3）年の山東出兵に対する反対運動であったと考えられる。この年の夏、NCC-Chinaの英国人書記であったホッジキン博士が来日している。

During the summer Dr. Hodgkin visited Japan at the invitation of missionaries and Japanese Christians there. He participated in four conferences: three in Karuizawa – one for missionaries, chiefly on the Jerusalem findings; one of a more general character on the spiritual life, and one with Mr. Kagawa for a more detailed discussion of social, economic and international questions. In Nojiri the fourth conference was held with Mr. Kagawa on lines similar to the last named. Dr. Hodgkin also addressed various meetings, including a conference of Methodists in Tokyo which was called to consider the possibility of drawing up a social creed for the churches in Japan.

During this visit Dr. Hodgkin had opportunities of meeting with the National Christian Council and with other Japanese especially interested in the relationships of China and Japan.

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<sup>30</sup> 米沢和一郎『MICS オケイジョナル・ペーパー8 賀川豊彦の海外資料 II—その意図したものを読み解くために—』（2007年1月），p.22。

It was able to emphasize the Chinese point of view in regard to such matters as the Tsinan incident, the Manchurian question and the Sino-Japanese treaty, but his chief emphasis was laid upon the fundamental question of securing, through a developing public opinion, real understanding between the two countries. He found individual Japanese and groups in Japan keenly alive to the dangers in the present situation and eager to find how it might be improved. The National Christian Council in Japan feels less able to express itself on public affairs than can similar Councils in other countries, and while eager to understand the position of Chinese Christian leaders, did not hold out any expectation that they would be able to do much in a public way in regard to these questions. They did feel, however, that the Council could call Christians in Japan to earnest prayer and could take steps within the Christian movement to secure a fuller understanding of the Chinese point of view. They were extremely anxious that fraternal delegates from China and Japan should visit the annual meetings held by the Councils in these two countries, and were considering the possibility of altering the date of their annual meeting so as to avoid the clashing which seemed to be almost inevitable<sup>31</sup>.

この史料は、NCC-Chinaの機関紙に掲載された記事であるが、ホッジキン来日の目的が具体的に書かれている。ホッジキン博士は来日して、4つの会議に参加している。その内、3つは軽井沢で開催され、1つは野尻で開催されている。軽井沢における三つの会議のそれぞれの議題は、①エルサレム宣教会議の決議をうけた宣教師のあり方について、②精神生活のより一般的なあり方について、③社会的、経済的、国際的な諸問題について賀川との討論であった。野尻では、賀川とともに会議を開催し、軽井沢における最後の議題が引き続き討論された。

注目すべき点は、ホッジキン博士が、NCC-Japan及びとりわけ日中関係に強い関心を抱いている人々と会合の機会をもったことである。そこにおいて、ホッジキン博士は済南事件、満州問題および日清条約に関する中国人の立場を強調したが、特に世論を通じて日中間の真の相互理解を築き上げるという基本的な問題を主として強調したのである。当時、NCC-Japanは中国のクリスチャンの指導者たちの立場を理解したいと強く思っているが、他の国の同様の組織に比べ公の問題について意見表明しにくく、日中間の重要な諸問題に

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<sup>31</sup> THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.30, November 1928, HFTP.

ついて公式に多くのことをなし得るという期待を示しえなかった。しかし、NCC-Japan のメンバーたちは、NCC-Japan が日本の全てのクリスチャンに真剣な祈りを呼びかけ、クリスチャンの運動の範囲内で中国人の立場を完全に理解するための手立てをほどこすことができるのではないかと感じていた。日本の山東出兵、そして、その最中におこった済南事件という軍事衝突、そして、そのような状況下で中国のクリスチャンの立場を理解したいと思いながら、なかなか明確な意見表明のできない NCC-Japan の状況をふまえた上で、ホッジキン博士はあえて世論を通じた相互理解の重要性を強調したのである。

## ②全国非戦同盟と「神の国運動」

このホッジキン博士の来日、そして軽井沢と野尻における賀川との話し合いは、具体的な平和運動として結実することになった。次の史料は、そのことを物語っている。

Kagawa was also the founder of the National Anti-War League at the time when the Tanaka Cabinet was planning to send an army into Tsinan, China, in 1928. Supported in this by the left-wing political parties, he courageously led the movement in spite of the misunderstanding and oppression of the Government. Before the meeting of this league in Tokyo, bills urging an attack upon his life were circulated, and during the course of the meeting he was placed under arrest to prevent his assassination. The league is still continuing its work but mainly through the platform of proletarian party and the Kagawa evangelistic program<sup>32</sup>.

1928（昭和3）年10月15日、全国非戦同盟（the National Anti-War League）が結成された<sup>33</sup>。上記の史料は、竹中勝男が満州事変後に寄稿した記事の一部であるが、それによれば、全国非戦同盟の創設者は賀川であり、賀川は左翼政党に支援されて、政府の無理解と弾圧がありながらも、勇敢に運動を指導したと述べられている。とりわけ、全国非戦同盟の東京での会合の前に、賀川の命を奪うという趣旨のビラがまかれ、会合の間に、賀川の暗殺を予防するというので賀川が拘束されるというような事件も起こった。

従来、山東出兵に反対するいわゆる「対支非干渉運動」については研究が蓄積されてお

<sup>32</sup> Katsuo Takenaka, Kagawa As a Pacifist, The World Tomorrow, December, 1931.

<sup>33</sup> 同『人物書誌大系 37 賀川豊彦』（日外アソシエーツ株式会社、2006年）、「年譜」。

り、とりわけ、労働農民党や日本労農党などの無産政党中央とした運動として評価されてきた。しかし、クリスチャンの関わりや全国非戦同盟についての言及は皆無といってよい<sup>34</sup>。特にホッジキン博士を媒介として、クリスチャンの全国組織である日中両国のNCCが世論を通じた相互理解を実現しようとする運動に着手したことは、極めて注目すべきである。しかも、前述した竹中勝男の記事によれば、全国非戦同盟は1931（昭和6年）12月時点、即ち満州事変後にも活動を続けていた。そして、その活動は、無産政党的演説会や賀川の福音伝道計画を通じて、活動を継続していたのである。むろん、日本友和会の活動も考えられるが、残念ながらそれを物語る具体的な史料がない。

竹中の言う賀川の福音伝道計画とは何か。1929（昭和4）年7月に行われた国際伝道会議の委員会（International Missionary Council Committee Meeting）で、中国の「五カ年運動」（Five Year Movement）と日本における伝道の努力（the evangelistic effort）が並んで取り上げられている<sup>35</sup>。このthe evangelistic effortこそが、「神の国」運動であった。

Dr. Wm. Axling, Secretary of the National Christian Council of Japan, writes:

“The Kingdom of God Campaign is still in the preparatory stage. The next step is to mobilize the pastors and church members and get this campaign into their hearts, prayers and programs of activity. As a means to that end and 10,000 copies of Japanese and 4,000 in English have been printed and are being distributed among pastors, key laymen and missionaries. One million handbills will also be broadcasted across Japan some time this Fall, challenging the attention of every Christian and interested person in the Empire, and appealing for their cooperation.

There is also a plan to hold in the near future a National Conference on Evangelism for the purpose of kindling the fires of evangelistic fervor, creating a spirit of cooperation and training lay preachers. Mr. Kagawa has set the goal of securing 5,000 lay preachers who in every section of Japan will give freely of their time to evangelize their friends and fellow townspeople.

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<sup>34</sup> 中村政則『昭和の歴史2 昭和の恐慌』（小学館、1982年）は、一般向けの概説書であるが、「対支非干渉運動」について丁寧な叙述がなされており、1928年の三・一五事件による左翼政党弾圧後も、「国際反帝同盟」の活動があったという注目すべき指摘がある。しかしながら、全国非戦同盟についての言及はない。

<sup>35</sup> International Missionary Council Committee Meeting, 1929.7., The Bulletin, No.34.

The celebration of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Opening of Protestant Missions in Japan will be held in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Council in November. Missionaries and Japanese pastors who have served for fifty years or more will be given special recognition. It is hoped to make this anniversary occasion evangelistic in spirit and influence and to make it contribute mightily to furthering the work of the Kingdom of God Campaign.”

In view of the Five Year Movement in China, this prospectus of what Christian friends in Japan are planning will doubtless be of interest to many in China and is given here in full.<sup>36</sup>

この史料は、1929（昭和4）年11月、NCC-Japanの書記であったアキスリング博士が、1930年から31年のかけての「神の国」運動（The Kingdom of God Campaign）についての計画を、NCC-Chinaの機関紙に書いたものである。それによれば、「神の国」運動は準備段階にあるが、次の段階では牧師や教会のメンバーを結集し、この運動をそれぞれの心、祈り、そして行動計画にしっかり位置づける。この運動の意味を記したものが和文1万部、英文4千部印刷され、牧師、中軸となる平信徒、宣教師たちに配布されつつある。また、福音伝道の情熱に火をともし、協同の精神を創造し、平信徒を訓練する目的で、近い将来福音伝道の全国会議を開催する計画がある。賀川は、日本のあらゆる地区で、友達や仲間伝道する時間を惜しみなく捧げることのできる5,000人の平信徒を確保することを目標とした。11月のNCC年次総会に合わせて、プロテスタント伝道団の日本での伝道開始70周年の祝賀会が開催される予定である。その席で、50年以上奉仕してきた宣教師と日本人牧師は、特別に表彰されることになっている。この記念すべき出来事が、福音主義的な精神とその影響力を強め、「神の国運動」の働きかけをより発展させることに貢献できる契機となることが期待されている。中国における「五ヵ年運動」の観点から、日本のクリスチャンの友人たちが計画しているこの目論見が、疑いなく中国の多くの人々の関心と呼ぶであらう。

このアキスリング博士の説明から、「神の国運動」が思い切った伝道運動であり、多くの信徒を獲得しようとしていたことが理解できる。また、それは中国で進められていた「五ヵ年運動」とほぼ同様の趣旨をもっていた。したがって、日中両国のNCCは、ホッジキン博士の来日をも一つの契機として、強力な伝道運動を展開しはじめ、そして、おそらくそ

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<sup>36</sup> THE KINGDOM OF GOD CAMPAIGN IN JAPAN 1930-1932, THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.34, November 1929

の運動は日中の相互理解を進めるための運動として位置付けられていたと考えられる。さらに繰り返し述べるが、全国非戦同盟が the evangelistic effort を通して継続しているという竹中の指摘を考えたとき、この「神の国運動」こそが全国非戦同盟の趣旨と深く結びついていたと言うことも可能なのではあるまいか。

### ③賀川の謝罪と日中交流—1931年

賀川は1931（昭和6）年初頭、中国を訪問した。それに関して、次のような極めて注目すべき記事がある。

Last winter Kagawa conducted a series of meeting in China, in which he lectured on his experiences in applying the Gospel to social conditions. First of all, however, he sought to make his position clear regarding the situation between two countries. The following sentence is from a sermon to Shanghai college students: “What we have to learn about Christ is the spirit of forgiveness. And in that spirit I ask your pardon to me to Japan. Many of you might think Japan is a terrible country, but I ask you consider that the fault of Japan is the fault of the leaders of the military party. I am not a militarist nor majority of our people”<sup>37</sup>

上記の史料は、前述した竹中勝男の記事の一部である。賀川は1931年初頭、中国で一連の会合を実施し、その会合において、自分の経験に照らし、福音を社会問題に適用することについて講演を行った。しかし、山東出兵、済南事件を踏まえて、彼は最初に日中両国関係に関する自分の立場を明らかにしようとした。そして、上海の大学生に対する説教の中で、次のようなことを述べた。「私たちがキリストについて学ばなければならないことは、許すという精神です。そして、その精神に照らして、私は、私と日本に対して許しを乞いたいのです。あなた方の中の多くの人々は、日本が恐ろしい国だと思っているかもしれませんが、しかし、日本の過ちは軍部の指導者の過ちであると考えていただきたいのです。私も、多くの日本人も、軍国主義者ではありません。」

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<sup>37</sup> Katsuo Takenaka, Kagawa As a Pacifist, The World Tomorrow, December, 1931.

ここには、賀川が中国のクリスチャンに対して、明確に謝罪したことが述べられているのである。

Dear Brothers and Sisters: I want ask your pardon for my nation. Because of what are doing, I cannot preach in the Name of Christ... I ask your attention to this fact, however, that even in Japan at least the majority of the Japanese people were against sending any kind of troops to your province of Shantung. And we Christians were bitterly opposed to it. Therefore pardon us, pardon me especially, because our Christian forces were not strong enough to get the victory over militarists. But the day will come when we shall be strong enough to do so, and when both nations will be harmonious and peaceful in the Name of Christ...

We Japanese love China. Do you know the origin of the city of Kyoto? There was a colony of Chinese farmers who possessed the villages on the site of modern Kyoto. And because they had the highest culture then known, the Japanese Imperial Household moved to that section. As the city of Kyoto grew up eighty percent of its many noble families came to be of Chinese descent. Among the immigrant strains is Japan, from the Southern Seas, from Korea, from Siberia, from Mongolia, the one which has contributed the dominant factor to Japanese civilization is from China. Therefore we love China.

But unless we become more religious in both Japan and China, we shall never have permanent peace... Sometimes we are very selfish and do not see the need of praying... It is quite true, when you are contented, and have no holy ambition to build up the nation, you may have no desire to pray... But can you forget the misery of the nation, and of the poor? If you are contented with the sort of world we have at present, there is no use of praying. But if we want real peace, and real humanity, there are many problems for the solution of which we must pray. We must pray for each of the nations, for Africa, for India, and for our countries of China and Japan. We must pray for world peace, for the uplifting of the poor, for the desert to be made green, for the New Age, for the New Society. We must pray for Science to be controlled by Conscience...

If you pray, world peace will be realized; the poor will be emancipated. Abraham Lincoln prayed through the night before he wrote his emancipation proclamation. Do you consider that kind of prayer superstitious? Nevertheless I believe it was because he prayed that the four



millions of poor slaves were emancipated.<sup>38</sup>

〔拙訳〕親愛なる兄弟姉妹。私はあなた方に私の国民に対する許しを乞いたい。日本が行ったことのために、私はキリストの名で説教することは出来ない。しかし、少なくとも日本人の多くが山東地方にいかなる軍隊を派遣することにも反対していたことに注目してほしい。そして、私たちクリスチャンは激しくそれに反対をした。だから、私たちクリスチャンの力が、軍国主義者に対して勝利を得るための十分な強さをもたなかったのだから、私たち、特に私を許して欲しい。しかし、軍国主義者に勝利を得るための十分な力を得、両国の国民が、キリストの名の下に仲良く平和である日が、必ず来る。

私たち日本人は中国を愛している。あなたたちは京都という都市の源流をご存知だろうか。いまの京都がある場所には、そこに村落を所有していた中国の農民の植民地があった。そして、彼らは当時最も水準の高い文化をもっていたので、日本の宮廷はその場に移動してきたのである。(中略)

しかし、日中双方で私たちがより信心深くない限り、私たちは恒久平和を得ることができない。時々私たちは自分勝手になって、祈りの必要性を考えなくなる。満ち足りているとき、国を造り上げようとする神聖な意志のないとき、祈りを全く求めなくなるのは、全くの真実だ。しかし、国民と貧しい人々の悲惨さを忘れることができるだろうか。もし今の様な世界に満足するのであれば、祈る必要はない。しかし、本当の平和、本当の人間性を欲するならば、その解決のために祈らなければならない沢山の問題がある。私たちは、アフリカの、インドの、中国の、日本の国民のために祈らなければならない。私たちは、世界平和のために、貧しい人々の生活向上のために、沙漠を緑にするために、新しい世代のために、新しい社会のために祈らなければならない。科学が良心によって管理されるように祈らなければならない。

祈れば、世界平和が現実のものなるであろう。貧しい人々は解放されるであろう。エイブラハム・リンカーンは、奴隷解放宣言を書く前に、夜通し祈り続けた。そうした祈りを迷信的だと思うだろうか。それでも、私はリンカーンが400万人の貧しい奴隷が解放されることを祈ったから解放されたのだと信じる。

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<sup>38</sup> Friends of Jesus, Vol. IV, No.3, Tsinan Number, December 1931.

ここに見られる賀川の謝罪は、極めて主体的なものである。つまり、自分が軍国主義者に勝つことができなかつたことについて、中国の民衆に許しを乞うているのである。誰の責任でもない、私自身の責任だと。軍国主義者の責任を転嫁していない点で、戦前戦後を通して稀有な例と言ってよいのではないだろうか。

それでは、この賀川の行動に対する中国側の反応はどうであったのか。当時 NCC-China の総幹事であった誠静怡 (C. Y. Cheng) は、賀川の訪中について次のように述べている。

For a number of years it has been my deep desire and prayer that God will lead us closer together, that Oriental people should get to know each other better. There are so many similarities along economic, political and traditional lines in our different countries, that need to be taken into account in considering the growth of the Christian movement. The coming of Dr. Kagawa to China may be the means of bringing about some closer relationship. I do not mean to exclude the Westerner, but here we are facing different set of problems, and by coming together to know each other better we can better solve them. The idea of a Christian Internationale of Prayer and Friendship therefore appeals to me very strongly. I think the relationship between the younger and older churches could be nothing better than such a fellowship of intercession, sharing our greatest problems. I hope it may shape out for Oriental Christian leaders to exchange views and ideas in a conference, which would at least form a beginning for such a continuing fellowship.

What I am keen about is that the movement should, from the start, be the result of a definite and positive spiritual awaking among God's people in these countries. I hope that in the not distant future China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines Islands, Siam, India, and other Oriental countries may form a spiritual link and periodically get together to consider the common problems. Such a network of intercession will be the strongest thing that binds the world together in unity.

We are indeed very thankful for Dr. Kagawa's visit to China, and are looking forward to seeing him in our midst again to help us in the spiritual welfare of the Christian Church in China. We shall not cease to pray for him and his associates, that he may be spared for many years to come to carry on the great work that God has been pleased to place upon his

shoulders.<sup>39</sup>

〔拙訳〕何年もの間、神が私たちを近しいものになるように導き、東洋の人々がよりお互いを知るようになるということが、私の深い希望であり祈りであった。私たちのそれぞれ異なる国において、クリスチャンの運動の大きな発展が考えられるような、経済的、政治的、伝統的な面での沢山の類似性がある。賀川博士の訪中は、より親密な関係をもたらす意味があるかもしれない。私は西洋人を排除するということを言っているわけではないが、私たちは西洋とは異なる一連の問題に直面しており、お互いをよりよく知るために集まることによって、それらの問題をよりうまく解決できる。それ故、クリスチャン・インターナショナル (Christian Internationale of Prayer and Friendship) という考えは、私に強く訴えかけるのである。私は、新しい教会と古い教会の間の関係というは、私たちの最も大きな問題を共有する、仲裁のための関係にしなければならないと思う。私は、クリスチャン・インターナショナルが、東洋のクリスチャンの指導者たちにとって、少なくとも継続的な仲間関係の始まりとなるような会議で、お互いの意見や考え方を交換できるように具体化することを希望する。私が熱望しているのは、私たちの国々において、神の子である人々の間で、この運動が初めから明白かつ積極的な精神的覚醒という結果になるべきだということである。私は、遠くない将来、中国、朝鮮、日本、フィリピン諸島、シヤム、インド、そして他の東洋の国々が精神的な連帯を形成し、日常の諸問題を検討できる画期的な集まりを願っている。そのような仲立ちのネットワークは、世界を一つに結びつける最も強いネットワークになるであろう。私たちは実際に賀川博士の訪中にとっても感謝しており、中国キリスト教会の精神的な幸福という点で私たちを助けてくれるために、私たちの真ん中に彼を再び見ることが期待している。神が彼の肩に乗られることをお慶びになっているような偉大な仕事を行うため、多くの歳月をそれに充てられるように、私たちは彼と彼の仲間のために祈ることを止めない。

また、誠静怡は次のようにも述べている。

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<sup>39</sup> C. Y. Cheng, On the Christian International, Friends of Jesus, Vol.IV, No.2, February-April, 1931.

The visit to China of Dr. Kagawa, of Japan, has been an event full of interest and promise. For more than twenty years this man of God has been working among the slums of Kobe and has devoted his talents and resources to helping of the poor and the unfortunate. He is the friend of proletariat. He has demonstrated to the world the possibility of applying the Christian religion to practical life. At the same time he is a man of personal devotion and a man of faith in God and Jesus Christ, a combination of personal religion and social passion. In reality the two aspects of the Christian Gospel cannot be separated. To Dr. Kagawa the Cross of Jesus Christ is the center of the Christian religion, which is the expression of the love of God for humanity. This Christian saint of the Orient was in our midst in Hangchow last summer and again in Shanghai, Shoochow, Tsinan, Weihsien and Tsingtao this spring. Conferences and retreats were arranged for him by the Church of Christ in China, and he was given opportunity to speak to selected groups of Christian leaders of various denominations. To behold the countenance of this "Friend of Jesus" and to listen to his words of wisdom was indeed a great spiritual treat to most, if not all, who attended these meetings. Further plans are being made to invite Kagawa to come over to help us again next year.<sup>40</sup>

日本の賀川博士が中国を訪問されたことは、関心と約束に満ちた出来事であった。20年以上、神の人である賀川は、神戸のスラムで活動し、自分の能力と持てる物を、貧しく不幸な人々に与えてきた。彼は無産者の友である。彼は基督教を實際生活に応用する可能性を、世界に示してきた。同時に、彼は献身の人であり、神とキリストに誠実な人であり、個人的な宗教心と社会的な情熱とが結合した人である。実際に、福音のこの二つの側面は、分かちがたいものである。賀川にとって、十字架上のイエスはキリスト教の核心であり、神の人類に対する愛を表したものである。この東洋のキリスト教の聖人は、昨年夏杭州で私たちの只中にあり、そしてこの春再び訪中し、上海、蘇州、済南、濰坊、青島をまわった。NCC-Chinaは彼のために会議と静修を企画し、選ばれた様々な宗派の指導者のグループと話をする機会を彼に与えた。この「イエスの友」の表情を見守り、彼の賢者の言葉を聞くと、これらの会合に参加した全てではないにせよ、ほとんどの人々にとって、本当に偉大な精神的慰めであった。来

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<sup>40</sup> A letter from Dr. Cheng, Religion and Politics in China, THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, June 4, 1931

年は、再び私たちを助けに来るように、賀川を招待する計画がある。

誠静怡は賀川を「東洋のクリスチャンの聖人」(This Christian saint of the Orient) とまで呼んでいる。極めて高い評価と言わざるを得ない。こうした賀川に対する高い評価の背景には、誠静怡が直接言及しているわけではないが、賀川の謝罪があったと考えられる。

#### 4. 協同組合の構想と平和

賀川は、協同組合の結成こそが、平和を実現するための重要な手段であると考えていた。例えば次のような解説は、それを良く示している。

For a decade Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa has been proclaiming that co-operative societies on the Rochdale pattern were the master-key to vexing problem of applying Christian principles to the world's economic life, and the surest road to international peace<sup>41</sup>.

これによれば、賀川は、ロッチデール型の協同組合が、クリスチャンの信条を世界の経済生活に適用し、国際平和を確実に実現するという困難な課題を解決する鍵だと訴えていた。

また、賀川自身は、次のように述べている。

If we could have one and a half million yen to invest as a fund in the Cooperative Movement, it could be used for Sick Insurance for Christian brothers and sisters, for starting an Educational Union, for Unemployment Insurance, and for many other needed varieties of Cooperatives. Later this Cooperative system could be extended to China, Korea, India, and population of Africa, as an organized Christian Cooperative Internationale. This would serve as a great advancement to Kingdom of God Movement.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Galen M. Fisher, Kagawa and co-operative societies as an economic panacea, *International Review of Missions*.

<sup>42</sup> Toyohiko Kagawa, *Evangelism, Education, and Social organization, a working program for this Kingdom of God movement*, Friends of Jesus, Vol.III, No.1, April, 1930.

〔拙訳〕もし、協同組合運動の基金として投資するため150万円もっていたら、クリスチャンの兄弟姉妹のための医療保険、教育組合の立ち上げ、失業保険、その他様々な協同組合が必要とするものに使うことができる。最近、この協同組合の制度が、一つの組織されたクリスチャン・コーポラティブ・インターナショナルとして、中国、朝鮮、印度、そしてアフリカにまで拡大している。これは、「神の国運動」の大きな前進として、目的にかなったものである。

つまり、賀川は協同組合運動と「神の国運動」を一体のものとしてとらえていたのである。したがって、賀川の構想する平和運動は、中国の「五ヵ年運動」と日本の「神の国運動」という伝道運動、それと結びついたクリスチャン・インターナショナルの結成、そして、協同組合運動とが一体となったものであり、精神運動と社会運動が一体となったものであった。

1930年、賀川は東京医療組合の結成をリードし、組合長に新渡戸稲造をすえた。これは、それだけ切り出してみると、協同組合運動の出来事としてしか見えないが、賀川の構想、そしておそらく新渡戸の構想でもあったと考えられるが、平和運動の重要な柱として東京医療組合の結成をとらえなおすことができるのである。

### III 満州事変と平和運動

#### 1. 満州事変の勃発と賀川への期待

最初に述べたように、1931（昭和6）年の春、新渡戸と賀川、そして誠静怡（C. Y. Cheng）の間で、クリスチャン・インターナショナルの結成を目指して東洋会議の開催が計画されており、同年10月21日から11月4日に杭州で開催される太平洋問題調査会第4回総会にあわせて開催する案が具体化しつつあった。

ところが、太平洋問題調査会の総会が開催される直前に、9月18日に満州事変が勃発したのである。当然のことであるが、この事件によって日中関係は一気に冷却した。この事件について、NCC-ChinaとNCC-Japanとの間で次のようなやりとりがあった。

先般九州へ出張中の海老沢亮総幹事は、今回の満州事件に対して同氏の知己多き中華民国基督教連盟に向って、基督者としての所見を表明すべく、同氏個人として左の如き電文を打電した。

「満州事件の勃発を遺憾とす 熱心平和的解決を祈る 貴政府委員が水難の救護を拒絶されしを聞き悲しむ 吾等は両国民間の連鎖として民族超越の基督教的協同奉仕を希望す」

◇中華民国基督教連盟総幹事誠静怡博士より海老沢幹事宛（九月二十九日上海発電）

御通電を深く感謝す。支那領土を侵し国際的紛議を定むるに武力を用いられたるを痛く悲しむ。重大なる結果を恐れ公正にして平和なる解決のため日本の基督教が最善なる努力を献げられん事を請う<sup>43</sup>。

NCC-Japan の総幹事海老沢亮（えびさわ あきら）は、NCC-China の総幹事誠静怡宛に電報をうち、「民族超越の基督教的共同奉仕」の精神を確認しようとした。ところが、誠静怡からの返電は、満州事変をあきらかな武力侵略であるとして、その解決のためのクリスチャンの努力を乞うたのである。当然のことながら、誠静怡の返電の方が格段に厳しいニュアンスをもっている。

満州事変勃発当時、賀川はアメリカにいた。NCC-China のケプラーはタッピングに宛てた手紙の中で次のように述べている。

When do you expect Dr. Kagawa back from America? We in China wish he were in the Orient now. We would like to hear his voice and message in view of the present critical situation. I am writing to convince my Chinese friends that there is no doubt what the nature of that message would be<sup>44</sup>.

〔拙訳〕賀川博士は何時アメリカから帰るのでしょうか。中国にいる私たちは、今こそ彼が東洋にいてほしい。今の危機的な状況について、賀川の声やメッセージが聞きたいと思っています。私は、きっとそのメッセージに本質があることを、中国の友人たちを納得させるために書いています。

<sup>43</sup> 『神の国新聞』第 667 号，昭和 6 年 10 月 14 日。

<sup>44</sup> Kepler to Topping, 1931.10.21. HFTFP.

満州事変によって日中の関係が危機的な状態に陥った際に、NCC-Chinaの人々は賀川のメッセージに期待したのである。

このケプラーの手紙に対するタッピングの返信は、以下の通りであった。

As to what we are feeling and how we are praying at this time of the Hankow disaster and the Manchurian trouble on top of it, a words are so inadequate that it is hard to use them. Public opinion against war seems to be a stronger than ever before in Japan, in spite of censorship of the newspapers. We pray that God will cause even the wrath of man to praise Him, and so focus the thoughts of the world on this part of it through this occasion, that world public opinion and the prayers of untold millions may bring about a better situation.

It is significant that the young militarists in Manchuria felt desperately in need of striking now or never, - before disarmament. They felt their day was wanting and that it was their last chance. It may be true. Christian Century editorial on The Manchurian Muddle (Oct. 7) and paragraphs in the issue a week earlier is expressed that the military will lose influence through this occasion. Certainly the various groups in Japan do not think alike, and the peace elements are gaining over the militarist and imperialists. Perhaps Kagawa will be the saving factor in mobilizing for peace. Anyway we shall keep on praying<sup>45</sup>.

漢口の水害と、その上に満州問題が重なったこの時、私たちが何を感じどう祈るのかということについて、言葉は相応しくないので、言葉を用いることは難しいと思います。新聞の検閲制度があるにも関わらず、戦争に反対する世論は、日本で今まで以上に強いようです。私たちは、神が人々の怒りでさえ神への賛美に変え、そしてこうした悲劇的な出来事を通じて世界の人々の思考を満州と中国に向けさせ、世界の世論と何百万という人々の祈りがより良い状況を生み出すことを祈ります。

満州の若い軍国主義者たちは、軍縮以前に、今こそ戦う絶好の機会だと思っていることは明らかです。彼らは今こそ求めている時期であり、最後の機会だと思っています。10月7日付の『クリスチャン・センチュリー (Christian Century)』では、この事

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<sup>45</sup> Topping to Kepler, 1931.10.26., HFTFP.



件によって軍部が影響力を失うであろうと述べられています。確かに、日本の様々なグループが同じように考えているわけではないし、平和を求める人々が軍国主義者と帝国主義者に勝りつつあります。たぶん、賀川は平和へ人々を結集する救済因子になるでしょう。

タッピングは、日本において戦争反対の世論が強いという見方をしている。そして、賀川が世論全体を平和に導く救済因子 (the saving factor in mobilizing for peace) になると延べている。これは、ケプラーと同様、平和運動における賀川の役割を非常に高く評価するものである。

## 2. 太平洋問題調査会上海会議

太平洋問題調査会第4回総会は、中国の杭州を舞台にして開会される予定であったが、満州事変の勃発によって、開会の危機に陥った。特に、満州事変を契機に中国全土で抗日運動が盛んになるとともに、日本も加わっている太平洋問題調査会を敵視する世論さえあらわれるようになっていた。

その開会の危機を救ったのが、蒋介石をはじめとする国民政府の要人であった。

Speaking at the headquarters of the Central Kuomintang, at Nanking, September 14, General Chiang Kai-shek bitterly scored certain Kuomintang branches in China which, he said, were strongly opposing the coming conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Hangchow.

General Chiang definitely announced that the Conference would be held next month in Hangchow upon the invitation of the National Government.

“I have learned,” said President Chiang, “that some members of the Kuomintang bitterly oppose the coming Conference on the ground that it is the tool of Imperialistic Powers. This is mere childishness. We have a wrong way of judging foreigners. Before the Boxer Rebellion Chinese viewed with contempt all foreigners, after the Boxer troubles Chinese viewed them with fear. While we should oppose those governments which have Imperialistic designs, we must co-operate with those governments and people who are friendly towards China.

“While the plan to hold the coming Conference in China was initiated by a number of

Chinese Y.M.C.A. members, the actual invitations were sent by the National Government.<sup>46</sup>

〔拙訳〕南京の国民党中央の代表によると、9月14日、蒋介石將軍は、来るべき杭州での太平洋問題調査会総会の開会に強く反対している国民党支部を強く非難した。蔣將軍は、太平洋問題調査会総会は国民政府の招待の下に、来月杭州で開催されると言明した。蔣將軍は、次のように述べた。

「私は、国民党の何人かの黨員が、太平洋問題調査会は帝国主義国家の道具であるとして、会議の開催に強く反対していることを知っている。しかし、それは全く子供じみた行為である。私たちは外国人を見分けるのに、間違った見方をしている。義和団事件以前には、中国人は全ての外国人を軽蔑の眼差しで見ている。しかし、義和団事件後は、彼らを恐れて見るようになった。私たちは帝国主義的な意図をもった外国政府に反対すべきであるが、一方で、中国に友好的な政府や人々とは協力しなければならない。

来るべき会議の開催計画は、中国のYMCAのメンバーが首唱したものであるが、実際の招待は国民政府が行う。」

太平洋問題調査会に対する反発が、中国国民党にもあったことがわかる。しかし、国民党の指導者である蒋介石はその反対を厳しく非難し、杭州における太平洋問題調査会を、国民政府がバックアップすると言明したのである。そうした立場を明確にした理由は、中国に友好的な政府や人々との協力が必要だという認識があった。おそらく、蒋介石は日本と欧米列強を帝国主義列強と見てはいるが、国際世論の果す役割、あるいは国際的な公共性というものの意味を理解していたと考えられる。太平洋問題調査会総会の成功は国民政府が保証し、蒋介石をはじめ、張学良、王正廷、宋美齡、宋慶齡、朱子文、蔡延幹、周作民などの要人がサポートすることになった。

### 3. 上海事変と平和連合

1932（昭和7）年1月、第1次上海事変が勃発して、日本租界をはじめ外国人租界が集

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<sup>46</sup> *Ching Kai-shek Backs Pacific Institute*, China Weekly Review, Sep 19, 1931.

中する上海で戦闘が始まった。新渡戸は同年2月4日、愛媛県松山市での講演を終え、新聞記者の前で、オフレコの約束で軍部を批判する発言をした。それが、オフレコの約束を知らなかったある記者によって新聞に発表されると、猛然と新渡戸批判が湧き起こった。右翼団体をはじめ、新渡戸に謝罪と発現撤回を求める意見が公然と発表された。これがいわゆる「松山事件」である。

こうした排外主義的な世論の盛り上がりの中で、遂にFORが行動を起こした。次に掲げる史料は、賀川の秘書であるヘレン・タッピングが、1932（昭和7）年3月8日付で、アイダ・ベル・ルイスに宛てた書簡である。また、その次の史料は、『クリスチャン・ワールド』紙の同年3月10日号に載った記事である。

There is much more to be said. On March 6<sup>th</sup> the peace federation was at least started here in Tokyo, and Dr. Bowles who brings these bulletins will tell you, for he was the only foreigner present, that it began, in the fashion which has now taken place in many other places, at the Friends Meeting House. Takahashi San is one of the members of its executive, and Mrs. (Dr.) Kohra, who was recently in Shanghai, is another, the secretary of the Friends Meeting a third, and Mr. Hirose its fourth member. The latter has just been to see me asking help in translating. He says the purpose of the movement is to face the international crisis caused by the Manchuria and Shanghai incidents and meet it with an adequate peace movement, with the following items of activity:

1. A petition to the government to stop hostilities. This was signed and sent to the Premier by all present Sunday, who all became committee members, - about a dozen - and will be signed by many others.
2. To interpret the situation to the Japanese people in general.
3. To inform friends abroad of the peace movement, and that not all the Japanese have gone insane (!) but that there are many working for peace.
4. Education - through Christian churches, YMCA, YWCA, League of Nations Association and all available groups to promote a unified program of education.

Mr. Hirose went on to say that Japanese army is pushing this conflict not merely for imperialistic profit in China, but as a means of establishing the army in control of Japanese government in a fascist regime worse than that of Mussolini in that it would aim to go to war

with foreign countries. They want to isolate Asiatic economies from the rest of the world, have an Asiatic Monroe doctrine, over China, Manchuria and probably Indochina. There is a great conflict at this point between the Japanese financiers and the army, between imperialism due to capital, and imperialism due to the old feudalistic spirit yet remaining in the army. It looks like the death throes of the idea of violence, desperately fighting for its place in the sun at the time of the disarmament conference.

Unofficially two of members of the executive of this new peace federation are preparing a report attempting to make this inner aspect of the war movement clearer both to the Japanese people and to friends abroad.

Meanwhile Dr. Kagawa and his colleague in rural work, Mr. Sugiyama, have been preaching every evening in Osaka, in the election campaign which elected the latter on February 20<sup>th</sup>, very strongly and openly against war and for peace.

When I asked Dr. Kagawa how it was that he was still at large when Dr. Nitobe has been forced to apologize to the military, and threatened with assassination for similar lectures on the island of Shikoku, he explained that so many of the laborers are of a common mind about peace, and that he explains the connection between peace and economics in his lecture, - so that nobody can attack the position. Surrounded by their large party, Sugiyama and Dr. Kagawa are safe so far, through very vocal on the subject.

A week ago Sunday Dr. Kagawa preached at his community church eight miles out of Tokyo, with three detectives present, a peace sermon on the prophet Daniel. He applied the 'Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin to Japan at the present moment, and warned his hearers that all the people would be in the midst of a terrible financial depression or panic by this coming August, because of the present militaristic effort.

Before he left on the night of March 3<sup>rd</sup> for a month's campaign in Formosa and Loo Choo Islands, Dr. Kagawa signed the petition to the Premier above mentioned.

Michio Kozaki, my chairman, is another signer, and a member of the peace committee formed on Sunday, as are Miss Michi Kawai, formerly YWCA national secretary, and Mme. Motoko Hani, both prominent principals of girls schools maintaining a very progressive type of education. There is a professor from Waseda, another from Aoyama, another from the St. Paul's University of the Episcopalians, and there will be many pastors on the Committee.

All this detail may weary you, but we want you to know that Japanese Christians are getting really started in the positive peace work which we believe will turn the tide.

In Dr. Kepler's absence I must write you also about the sad data he sent in his last letter. This arrived safely, I want his office to know, and will write him separately. I am making copies of the facts he sent for Dr. Bowles and the members of the Commission, hoping they may be able to do something effective.

The Christian women of Tokyo are praying as never before, and we are praying in two groups of women missionaries, in a new, deep, way. All we can do is to assure you of our prayers<sup>47</sup>.

〔拙訳〕言わなければならぬことが沢山あります。3月6日、平和連盟（the peace federation）がここ東京でともかく発足し、ボールズ博士はそれに参加した唯一の外国人でしたので、彼はこの機関誌を携えて行ってあなたにお話しすると思いますが、他の場所で開催するという形をとって、フレンズ・ミーティング・ハウスで始まりました。高橋さんは幹部の一人であり、最近上海にいた高良さんがフレンズ・ミーティングの書記でもうひとりの幹部であり三番のメンバー、そして、広瀬氏が4番目のメンバーです。広瀬さんは、私の翻訳の面倒をみてくれています。彼の言うところによると、運動の目標が満州事変と上海事変によって国際的な危機に直面しており、次の行動目標によって、正当な平和運動にしていくということです。

1. 政府に対して敵対行動を停止する請願。これに署名して、署名した全員で日曜日に首相に提出し、署名したメンバーは委員会のメンバーとなった（12人）。他の多くの人々が署名するであろう。
2. 一般の日本の人々に状況を説明すること。
3. 外国にいる友達に平和運動のことで、全ての日本人が狂気にはしているわけではなく、多くは平和のために行動していることを知らせること。
4. キリスト教会、YMCA、YWCA、国際連盟協会、そしてまとまりのある教育計画を進めることできるすべての役立つ団体による教育。

広瀬氏は、日本軍が単に中国における帝国主義的利益のために攻撃をしかけている

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<sup>47</sup> Topping to Ida Belle Lewis, 1932. 3.8., HFTFP.

わけではなく、対外戦争に向かうことを目的としたムッソリーニのファシスト体制より悪いファシスト体制の下で、日本政府を統制できる軍部の構築をねらっているのだと言う。彼らはアジア経済の他の世界から分離し、アジアモンロー主義を、中国、満州、そしてたぶんインドシナまで広げることを欲している。こうした点で、日本の財政当局と陸軍との間、そして、資本主義的な帝国主義と、いまだに陸軍に残る古い封建的な精神に基づく帝国主義との間に、大きな闘争がある。軍縮会議が開かれている時点で、暴力と言う考え方が断末魔を迎える中で、日の当る場所を求めて必死で戦っているかのように見える。

この新しい平和連合の二人の幹部は、非公式に、日本人と海外の友人の双方に、戦争の動きの内面を明らかにすること企て、報告書を準備している。

少なくとも、賀川博士と、農村で共に働く仲間である杉山氏は、2月20日杉山氏を選挙した選挙運動で、公に戦争を批判し平和を求めて、大阪で毎晩伝道してきた。

新渡戸博士が軍部に謝罪を強要され、四国の講演で暗殺の脅迫にさらされたとき、私は賀川博士に、賀川博士がこのまま自由でいられでしょうかと聞いたときに、彼は、実に多くの労働者が平常心では平和を求めており、講演の中で平和と経済の関係を説明しているので、誰も攻撃することはできないと言いました。杉山氏と賀川博士は、その問題について発言することによって、今は安全です。

Upon the return of Mr. Kagawa to Japan after his visit to America last October the police suppressed and confiscated an entire edition of a magazine in which both Mr. and Mrs. Kagawa had appealed to a higher ethic than that war solution of Manchurian problems. The Government was especially solicitous in protecting Mr. Kagawa's life from the assaults which might have resulted from any attempt on his part to check the war psychology of the moment. Kagawa has, however, engaged the services of Motoichiro Takahashi as a full-time peace worker and has announced world peace as another of the definite goals of his "Friends of Jesus" and the Kingdom of God movement.<sup>48</sup>

昨年10月、賀川氏がアメリカ訪問を終えて日本に帰国したとき、警察は、賀川夫妻

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<sup>48</sup> Kagawa and Manchuria, The Christian World, March 10, 1932.

が満州問題の解決のために戦争よりもより高い倫理の必要性を表明していた雑誌を発禁にし、全ての版を没収した。政府は、賀川氏が現在の戦争心理を抑えようとするのに対して生じる可能性のある攻撃から、賀川氏の生命を守るということを特に重視した。しかし、賀川は、フルタイムの平和活動家としての高橋元一郎を雇い、「イエスの友」と「神の国運動」のもう一つの明確な目標として、世界平和を提唱している。

これらの史料は、次の和文の史料と重ね合わせてみると、その事実関係が良く理解できる。

「全国千七百六十の教会、十七万のクリスチャン団結せよ、平和のために。」というスローガン掲げて、クリスチャン平和連盟の私案を天下に発表した。

A 軍縮      B 日華親交      C 国際連盟支持

顧問に尾崎行雄、新渡戸稲造、田川大吉郎、安部磯雄、吉野作造の名があげられ、委員長には賀川豊彦、副委員長には杉山元治郎、小崎道雄、久布白楽実の名が掲げられていた。(中略)

「三月の初めに、賀川先生や帆足先生、林歌子さん、市川房枝さん、高良富子さんたちを動かして犬養首相に平和請願書を提出してきました。最近『平和の種子』というパンフレットを発行して居ります。」<sup>49</sup>

ここで言うクリスチャン平和連盟とは、the peace federation を指すと思われる。政府に対して平和請願書を提出したという記事は一致する。タッピングの書簡では、ボールズが参加したということ、運動の中心メンバーが、高橋元一郎、高良富子、広瀬庫太郎らであることが記され、広瀬の軍部に対する興味深い認識も触れられている。そして、『クリスチャン・ワールド』の記事によれば、高橋元一郎は賀川が雇ったことになっている。また、賀川と杉山元治郎が、伝道活動の傍ら平和を呼びかけたことが記されている。

一方、和文史料では平和連盟の委員長として賀川豊彦、副委員長として杉山元治郎、小崎道雄、久布白楽実の名前があがっており、さらに、顧問に尾崎行雄、新渡戸稲造、田川大吉郎、吉野作造など錚々たるメンバーが名を連ねている。二つの史料をつき合せて見る

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<sup>49</sup> 本田清一『街頭の聖者 高橋元一郎』、関谷書店、昭和11年。

と、運動の実働部隊は高橋，高良，広瀬といった人々が担い，賀川と杉山がリーダーになっていると考えて間違いないと思われる。顧問となっている人々が運動の表舞台に立つことはなかったと想像されるが，新渡戸については，タッピングの書簡を見ても分かるように，「松山事件」の衝撃があり，表に立てない事情があったものと想像される。しかし，明らかに新渡戸と賀川の連携，および FOR が運動に大きく関わっていたと見てよいのではないであろうか。

二つの史料があげている政府に提出した署名については，次の史料がより詳しい事実を示してくれる。

#### 平和を呼ぶ 基督者有志の結成

日華紛争の時局を憂ふる基督者によって，左の如き「平和請願書」が犬養首相に提出せられた。

なほ，左の有志たちは，さらに結成を堅うして，必要に応じて平和促進のために具体的運動をもなす筈である。

#### 平和請願書

我等は現時日華間の紛争，特に上海事件の一日も早く平和に解決することを熱望し，政府が迅速に国際協調の精神を以て平和的解決の道を進まれんことを請願す。

昭和七年三月六日

#### 署名発起人（ABC 順）

林歌子	広瀬庫太郎
帆足理一郎	市川房枝
賀川豊彦	柏木義円
菊地酉治	小崎道雄
高良富子	木村米太郎
河井道子	加藤高子
丸山伝太郎	親泊康永
鈴木安邦	高橋元一郎
竹村豊太郎	田島進
竹中繁子	矢部喜好



これは「神の国運動」の機関紙であった『神の国新聞』の記事であるが、タッピングの書簡で12名程度となっていた署名者が20名に増え、前掲の和文史料で名前があがっていた帆足理一郎、林歌子、市川房枝らが加わっている。小崎、高良といったFORの中心メンバーが加わっている点も注目すべきであろう。

平和連盟の活動は署名にとどまらず、タッピングの書簡にあった他の3つの活動計画もそれぞれ具体化していった。さらに、4つの活動計画には入っていなかったが、中華民国基督教青年会(YMCA-China)を訪問して、上海事変を詫びている<sup>51</sup>。

#### 4 日中における Christian Internationale の運動

タッピングの書簡に対して、アイダ・ベル・ルイス (Ida Belle Lewis) は、次のように返信している。

Thank you very much for your wonderful letter. I have circulated it among a number of like-thinking and like-praying friends. We are more thankful than we can say for the stand of Dr. Kagawa. We know that it is costing him heavily. You will notice that although many of our Christian groups have suffered terribly, loss of friends and loved ones as well as of property, yet there is surprisingly little bitterness, and again and again they reiterate the necessity of forgiveness and they pin their hope to people like Dr. Kagawa who is building a new world order on love. We are thankful that there is even this margin of meeting between the two peoples at this time.

Although I did not see the Japanese delegation who came from the Christian Council, yet we believe that their visit was a benefit. The Chinese Christians were sorry they did not express themselves more strongly, and yet we feel that probably this was impossible. The tales that are told to the two groups are so very different. We shall continue to do what we can by prayer and by correspondence. Although we may differ because of certain experience, yet our foundation

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<sup>50</sup> 『神の国新聞』第689号, 1932.3.16.。

<sup>51</sup> A Letter from Shanghai, Reconciliation V.12, No6, June 1934

remains the same, and we shall seek to bring about understanding and love, without which the Kingdom of God cannot come. I had a beautiful time with Bishop Roots recently and gave him your letter before I had read it myself. You can be assured of many friends here.<sup>52</sup>

〔拙訳〕あなたの素晴らしいお手紙，大変ありがとうございます。私はこの手紙を同じように考え祈っている沢山の友達に回覧しました。私たちは，私たちが賀川博士の立場について説明することより以上に感謝しています。私たちは，賀川博士が酷い目にあっていることを知っています。私たちクリスチャンのグループが恐ろしく損害を被り，財産同様，友達と愛するものを失っていることはご存知でしょう。しかし，驚くほど苦しさもなく，彼らは何度も何度も許しが必要だと繰り返し，愛の上に新しい世界秩序を築きつつある賀川博士のような人々にかけているのです。

NCC-Japan から来た代表には会っていませんが，彼らの訪中は有益だと思います。中国のクリスチャンは，自分たちの思いをより強く表明しないことを悲しみますが，私たちは多分それは不可能だと感じています。二つのグループに対して語られる話が，あまりにも違っています。私たちは，祈りと文通によって私たちができることを続けるつもりです。私たちはある種の経験のために考え方が違うかもしれませんが，私たちの基盤は同じであり，「神の国」が訪れないことはなく，相互理解と愛を実現する道がさすでしょう。私は，最近ルート司教とともに素晴らしい時間を過ごし，私自身が読む前にあなたの手紙を彼に渡しました。

賀川博士のような人々にかけている，という表現は，賀川の運動に対する全幅の信頼に基づくものであろう。また，日本と同じように，中国のクリスチャンもなかなか自由な意見表明ができないという状況の中で，両国クリスチャンの相互理解を求めていこうとする真摯な意志が伝わってくる。

次の史料は，アメリカにおける日本の平和運動に対する期待を述べたものである。

Although Japan's militarists have swept the nation into the enthusiasm of war psychology, recent information shows that a saving "remnant" has not bowed the knees to Mars. A "Who's

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<sup>52</sup> Ida Belle Lewis to Topping, 1932.3.22., HFTFP.

Who” of the peace movement, just received, gives the names of twenty-one valiant men and women, of whom Toyohiko Kagawa and Dr. Inazo Nitobe are the best known in the United States. The list includes many other leaders well known in Japan, such as Rev. Michio Kozaki, pastor of one of the largest churches in Tokyo, several other pastors and Christian social workers, Miss Takako Kato, general secretary of the Tokyo Young Women's Christian Association, Miss Fusae Ichikawa, “the Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of Japan,” and a number of professors in college and universities.<sup>53</sup>

〔拙訳〕日本の軍国主義者は、国民を戦争心理の熱狂へぐいぐい動かしているが、最近の情報は、残った救済者は、軍神マルスに膝を屈していない。平和運動の人名録は、今受け取ったところによると、21人のすばらしい男女である。その中には、アメリカ合衆国で最もよく知られた賀川豊彦と新渡戸稲造がいる。人名録には沢山の著名な指導者がふくまれており、例えば東京で最も大きな協会の一つで牧師をしている小崎道雄師、他に幾人かの牧師と社会事業家、東京 YWCA の総主事である加藤高子女史、日本のキャリー・チャップマン・キャットと言われる市川房枝女史、そして多数の大学教授などがいる。

アメリカ側から見ると、運動の中心は賀川と新渡戸ということになる。新渡戸と賀川の連携が重要であるという本報告書の趣旨に照らせば、極めて明快にそのことを示してくれているのだが、この記事でも述べているように、二人がアメリカで最も著名だということが背景にあると考えられる。また、小崎、加藤、市川ら、政府に提出した平和請願書に署名した人名が現れることから、アメリカにクリスチャン平和連盟の決動が伝えられていたことを示している。

## 5 中国における反応

次の史料は、1932（昭和7）年3月10日に『クリスチャン・ワールド』紙に掲載された記事の一部である。

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<sup>53</sup> The Voice of Peace Heard in Japan, FEDERAL COUNCIL BULLETIN, May 1932.

“Our national calamities, ” writes David Yui, General Secretary of the Chinese National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, in a letter dated February 16, to the World Committee of Y. M. C. A. s in Geneva, “are driving some of our leaders and many of our people to their knees before God who rules over the nations of the earth. Mrs. Yui and I made a brief visit to Nanking not long ago and at the urgent request of President and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek we helped to organize a praying group of Christian men and women who meet every afternoon at five o'clock earnestly to pray to God. This group is still very active and faithful. Dr. C. T. Wang, until recently the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that China could be saved only through Christianity. A number of other leaders, many even non-Christians, have arrived at the same conclusion. A wave of religious yearning is now sweeping among the students and young men of this land. We are conducting evangelistic campaigns in cities in different parts of China. Our old friend, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, plays a most important part. Hundreds of young people have decided to lead a Christian life and many more decided to make a serious study of the Christian religion. Powerful Chinese evangelists are conducting several meetings among Christians in different cities. God is making wonderful use of them and the results are astonishingly great. If such unprecedented national catastrophes failed to stir up the very depths of the religion life of our people and to challenge the Christian to their sacred duty thereby leading them to prostrate before the Throne of God and to praise His Holy Name, what hope is there for China? I am most profoundly thankful for this wave of religious awakening sweeping across this country and for the spirit of revival in our Christian Movement today which will not only save China, but also build a new and progressive China altogether pleasing to Him.”

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“Let no one suppose for a moment,” writes Rev. R. Haigh Fisher, correspondent in Yokohama, to The Baptist (Chicago), “that Japan is unitedly in favour of this latest exhibition of imperialism; there are a goodly number who are thinking independently and who are deeply concerned regarding the relations with China in the long future as well as in the immediate present.” To illustrate this contention Mr. Fisher sends the replies of distinguished Japanese Christian, a Baptist, to the questionnaire on nationalism that was circulated last December by

the Baptist World Alliance. "These replies," says Mr. Fisher, "are quite representative of the feeling of dissatisfaction and even humiliation in the hearts of many Christians here. Still others would go farther, even condemning the whole procedure of the militarists in no uncertain terms. They must, of course, be very guarded in giving expression to their feelings and ideas, for the authorities are exceedingly strict. This is not to say," Mr. Fisher adds, "that all are against what is going on in China; there are some in the churches who are through victims of the newspaper propaganda which whitewashes everything under the guise of self-protection from banditry, and who regard any criticism of the official course as a breach of loyalty." One of the replies by leading Japanese Baptist to the questionnaire says; "Christian in Japan are beginning to recognize the conflict between imperialism and Christian principles, and are trying to live up to the latter ideal. They are taking in international peace work through such organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the League of Nations Association of Japan. But Christian churches as a whole, though sympathetic, have done little for the promotion of international peace."

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"For sheer righteous daring" (says Zion's Herald) "nothing in recent years goes beyond Kagawa's message sent to the Chinese Christians at Tsinan a few weeks ago, which appears in the latest issue of a little monthly publication sponsored by him in Japan, called Friends of Jesus. He said;

Dear Brothers and Sisters, —I want to ask your pardon for my nation. Because of what we are doing, I cannot preach in the name of Christ. . . . I ask your attention to this fact, however, that even in Japan at least the majority of the Japanese people against sending any troops to your province of Shantung. And we Christians were bitterly opposed to it. Therefore pardon us, pardon me especially, because our Christian forces were not strong enough to get the victory over the militarists. But the day will come when we shall be strong enough to do so, and when both nations will be harmonious and peaceful in the name of Christ. . . .We Japanese love China.

Is there a parallel to this in all history?"<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Japanese and Chinese Christians, How They Regard The War, The Christian World, March 10,

〔拙訳〕 YMCA 中国全国委員会の総主事であった余日章 (David Yui, Yu Rizhang) の、2月16日付ジュネーブの YMCA 世界委員会宛の手紙によれば、「わが国民の苦難は、私たちの指導者の幾人かとわが人民の多くを、地球上の諸国民の境を越えて支配する神の前に跪かせつつある。妻と私は少し以前に南京を短時間訪問し、蒋介石総司令と夫人の緊急な求めに応じて、クリスチャンの男女からなる祈りのためのグループを組織することをお手伝いし、毎日午後5時に参会して神に熱心に祈った。このグループは、依然として活動的で、誠実である。最近まで国民政府の外交部長であった王正廷博士 (Dr. C. T. Wang) は、中国はキリスト教によってのみ救われると言った。他の多くの指導者たち、クリスチャンではない多くの人々でさえ、同様の結論に達している。宗教的な憧れの波が、今、この国の学生や若者の間を吹き抜けつつある。私たちは、中国の異なる州の諸都市で、伝道運動を行っている。私たちの古い友人であるシャーウッド・エディ博士は、最も重要な役割を果たしている。数百人の若者が、クリスチャンの生活を送ることを決意し、さらに多くの若者が、キリスト教を真剣に勉強することを決意した。有力な伝道者たちは、いろいろな都市でクリスチャンと会合を開いている。神は彼らを見事にお使いになり、その効果は驚くほど大きい。このような過去になかった国家的な破局が、わが人民の宗教生活のまさに深淵を揺り動かし、クリスチャンを、神の王冠の前にひれ伏し、神の神聖な御名を賞揚するように彼らを導くという神聖な義務に挑戦するように仕向けるまでに深刻になっているのであれば、中国には如何なる希望があるのだろうか。私はこうした宗教的覚醒の波がこの国を吹き抜け、神の喜びの下に、中国を救うのみならず、新しく進歩的な中国を建設する今日のクリスチャンの運動というあり方を示す復活の精神に、最も深く感謝したい。」

横浜の通信員である R・ヘイ・フィッシャー師は、シカゴの『バプティスト』誌に次のように書いている。「日本が最近の帝国主義の発露をこぞって喜んでいて、ちょっとでも思うのは止めよう。独自にものと考え、目前のことと同様に遠い将来の中国との関係について、深く悩んでいる多くの人々がいる。この意味を説明するため、フィッシャー氏は、この前の12月にバプティスト世界連盟が配布したナショナリズムについてのアンケートに対して、きわだった日本人のクリスチャン (バプティスト) の

回答を送る。フィッシャー氏が曰く、「これらの回答は、日本の多くのクリスチャンの心の中にある不満と屈辱の感情を端的に代表するものである。なおかつ、他の人々はよりもっと先に行っており、軍国主義者のやり方をはっきりと力強く批判するものさえある。もちろん、権力は極めて厳しいので、彼らは自分の感情や考えを表明する上で抑えなければならぬ」。フィッシャー氏はさらに付け加えて、「全員が中国で起こっていることに反対しているということを言うわけにはいかない。無法者に対する自衛という体裁をとりながら上辺を飾る新聞の犠牲となる教会や、忠誠義務に違反したとする公式な批判を考慮する教会などもある」。アンケートに対する指導的な日本人バプティストの一つの回答は、「日本のクリスチャンは、帝国主義とクリスチャンの原則との衝突を認識し始めており、後者の理想に恥じぬ生き方をしようとしている。彼らは、女性キリスト教禁酒同盟、日本友和会、日本国際連盟協会のような組織を通して、国際平和のための活動をしている。しかし、キリスト教会全体としては、同情的ではあるが、国際平和を進めるためにほとんど何もしていない。

『シオン・ヘラルド』は、次のように述べている。「まったくの清廉な勇気という意味で、近年、賀川が済南で数週間前に中国のクリスチャンに送ったメッセージ以上のものはない。そのメッセージは、『イエスの友』という、日本で賀川が発行している小冊子の最新号に載っている。賀川は言う。「私は、私の国に対してあなたがたの許しを乞いたい。私たちがしていることのために、私はキリストの名で説教することができます。しかし、日本でも、少なくとも日本人の多数が、あなたがたの領土である山東に出兵することに反対しているということに目を向けてください。そして、私たちクリスチャンが特に強くそれに反対しているのです。それ故、私たちクリスチャンが軍国主義者に勝てるほど強くなかったのも、私たちが許してください、特に私を許してください。しかし、私たちが軍国主義者に勝てるくらい強くなり、双方の国民が仲良く平和に、キリストの名の下にいる日が来ます。私たち日本人は中国を愛してします。こうした事は、史上に類があるでしょうか。」

この史料でとりわけ注目したいのは、YMCA 中国全国委員会の総主事であった余日章 (David Yui, Yu Rizhang) の手紙である。それによれば、中国では蒋介石と夫人の宋美齡をはじめとして、国家の指導者が「キリスト教の教えこそ中国を救う」と言う認識を持ち始めていた。その認識が、国民政府の外交部長をつとめた王正廷の発言に基づいているので、

重要な意味をもっていると考えられる。

一方、横浜にいたフィッシャー牧師の口を通じて、日本のクリスチャンが難しい状況に立たされていることが述べられている。内心では軍部に強い反発を抱きながらも、なかなか官憲の取締りが厳しく自由に意見表明できない。その中で、日本友和会をはじめとするいくつかの団体が、国際平和のための活動をしていることが述べられている。

そして最後に、『シオン・ヘラルド』に掲載された賀川の謝罪が取り上げられている。これは、山東出兵と済南事件に際して、中国人民に向けて行われた謝罪であるが、あえてこれを取り上げることによって、賀川への強い期待を表明したものと受け取ることが可能で半ないだろうか。

次に掲げる史料は、メソヂスト派の神学者で、インドにおける伝道で著名なスタンレー・ジョーンズが、『クリスチャン・ワールド』紙に寄稿した文章の一部である。

I recognize that the Government of Manchuria was bad. But two wrongs never had made one right. They do not do so in this case. I recognize that all Japanese do not agree with this policy of aggression on another nation. I could speak of Kagawa of Japan in China, and the Chinese responded with affection and respect.<sup>55</sup>

【拙訳】私は、満州国政府が醜悪なものであると考える。しかし、二つの間違いは、決して一つの正しさを生み出さない。彼らは、この場合、そうはしない。私は、全ての日本人が、他の国を攻撃する政策に賛成しているのではないと思う。私は日本の賀川が中国で何を言ったか語る事ができるし、中国人はそれに愛情と尊敬の心で応えたのである。

スタンレー・ジョーンズは、おそらく中国での賀川の謝罪を知っていた。そして、賀川こそが中国と日本との平和の架け橋を作ることのできる人物だと認識していたのである。

おわりに

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<sup>55</sup> E. Stanly Jones, What I Saw in Manchuria, The Christian World, November 3, 1932.



新渡戸の構想した戦間期における国際秩序構想は、汎太平洋国際連盟 (Pan Pacific League of Nations) と言い換えてもよい。その母体が汎太平洋連合 (Pan Pacific Union) であり、さらに、国家間関係のいわば潤滑油として、民間団体である太平洋問題調査会 (Institute of Pacific Relations) と考えていた。そして、国際連盟や太平洋問題調査会で新渡戸があえて触れることはなかったが、そうしたいわば表向きの団体を支える内面的、精神的な保証として、クリスチャン・インターナショナルが位置づけられており、日本においては、新渡戸と賀川の連携こそが、その核となるべきものであった。本報告書では、新渡戸と賀川の連携の成立と、日本友和会 (FOR) の活動を中心としたその具体的な運動を、まだ極めて不十分ではあるが素描できたと考えている。

その際、本報告書が最初に掲げた問題、即ち新渡戸と賀川を主体とする平和運動が、他の主体といかなる関係を構築し得たのかという問題が重要である。とりわけ、当該期の平和運動は中国の諸主体との関係が大きな鍵になるが、本報告書では NCC-China と NCC-Japan の表面的な関係には言及できたものの、新渡戸と賀川の連携においては友和会が重要なポイントであり、中国における友和会の活動と日本との関係が明らかにされなければならない。これは今後の重要な研究課題である。

さらに、中国のクリスチャンが国民政府要路との結びつきをもち、中国の諸政策に影響をもっていたことを若干確認できたが、この点についてもより具体的にしていく必要がある。そして、賀川の謝罪を基盤として、賀川らの平和運動に対する中国のクリスチャンの期待も確認できた。一方、日本における新渡戸と賀川の平和運動が、当時の排外主義的な世論の中で厳しい状況におかれていたことが確認できたが、他方で中国との連帯を求めるクリスチャンの姿も明らかになった。それが当時の政権や世論にどのような形で影響したのかを測定する必要がある。この点も残された重要な研究課題である。

## APPENDIX

### Helen Fabille Topping Family Paper Extract November 1, 1928-January 22, 1931

#### 1. MOVEMENTS AND PLANS OF SECRETARIES

As will be seen by perusal of the report of Commission I and the report of the Annual Meeting, it was decided that the Council should try to serve the churches through a considerable amount of deputation work undertaken by secretaries, Council members and others during the ensuing year. It is believed that there is a wide-open door for such work. So far as the secretaries themselves are involved therein, the following plans may be mentioned, some of which are only tentative and may have to be changed if circumstances alter.

*Dr. C. Y. Cheng.* Dr. Cheng is paying a visit to Japan for the National Christian Council there which is holding its Annual Meeting November 1 and 2. During November and December he is visiting Central China, going to Hangkow and Changsha and several smaller centers in the two provinces. During September of 1928 Dr. Cheng paid a flying visit to Manchuria attending a conference in Mukden for five days and at that time received very warm invitations for a return visit when a number of other centers could be visited in a more leisurely way. Dr. Cheng is hoping to be able to fall in with this suggestion, and to visit Manchuria again in the early part of next year.

(THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.30, November 1928)

#### 2. VISIT TO JAPAN

During the summer Dr. Hodgkin visited Japan at the invitation of missionaries and Japanese Christians there. He participated in four conferences: three in Karuizawa – one for missionaries, chiefly on the Jerusalem findings; one of a more general character on the spiritual life, and one with Mr. Kagawa for a more detailed discussion of social, economic and international questions. In Nojiri the fourth conference was held with Mr. Kagawa on lines similar to the last named. Dr. Hodgkin also addressed various meetings, including a conference of Methodists in Tokyo which was called to consider the possibility of drawing up a social creed for the churches in Japan.

During this visit Dr. Hodgkin had opportunities of meeting with the National Christian Council and with other Japanese especially interested in the relationships of China and Japan. It was able to emphasize the Chinese point of view in regard to such matters as the Tsinan incident, the Manchurian question and the Sino-Japanese treaty, but his chief emphasis was laid upon the fundamental question of securing, through a developing public opinion, real understanding between the two countries. He found individual Japanese and groups in Japan keenly alive to the dangers in the present situation and eager to find how it might be improved. The National Christian Council in

Japan feels less able to express itself on public affairs than can similar Councils in other countries, and while eager to understand the position of Chinese Christian leaders, did not hold out any expectation that they would be able to do much in a public way in regard to these questions. They did feel, however, that the Council could call Christians in Japan to earnest prayer and could take steps within the Christian movement to secure a fuller understanding of the Chinese point of view. They were extremely anxious that fraternal delegates from China and Japan should visit the annual meetings held by the Councils in these two countries, and were considering the possibility of altering the date of their annual meeting so as to avoid the clashing which seemed to be almost inevitable.

In regard to the social questions which were freely discussed by various groups during Dr. Hodgkin's visit to Japan, it appears that the Christian forces are beginning to feel a much deeper interest in such matters largely on account of the growing strength of communism in some parts of Japan and the feeling that there is a distinct challenge to the Christian church in this movement. Mr. Kagawa in particular has keenly realized that unless the Christian church has a progressive and fearless outlook and policy in relation to industrial conditions it will be judged wanting by the people of Japan in general and by the laboring community in particular. The consideration of the Jerusalem findings has done much to quicken interest in this subject and to direct attention towards to the constructive proposals.

A further result of the Jerusalem conference which may have even more far-reaching effects in Japan is the inauguration of a forward evangelistic movement, a committee of fifteen having been appointed to give consideration to this matter. It is hoped that this movement may work in with the so-called Million Souls Campaign which Mr. Kagawa has been prosecuting for some time past. The ideas connected with this movement may be said to be twofold.

First: that a truly indigenous church in Japan can only be created if there is a much larger Christian community. If the Christian community were greatly increased it would be able to take its own line much more strongly and clearly in the development of the life of the nation and would become a factor of much greater significance in the developing life of Japan.

Second: The urgent need at the present time is for clear thinking on what Christianity means in relation to the actual problems which Japan is now facing, and the idea of the movement is to combine a call to the individual with practical help thinking out this question of the application of Christianity to the whole of life. That is to say, it would be a call to men and women to identify themselves with a great crusade for the making of a Christlike nation, as well as a call to men to turn away from selfishness and ease in their own lives and devoted themselves with faith and love to Jesus Christ.

At various gatherings connected with the conferences referred to above this program was discussed and certain aspects of it emphasized. The contacts made during this visit have proved very valuable to Dr. and Mrs. Hodgkin and through them it is hoped that they will be also of value in the deepening of an understanding between Christian people in the two countries.

(THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.30, November 1928)

### **3. KAGAWA HONORED BY JAPANESE GOVERNMENT**

Toyohiko Kagawa, the outstanding Christian in Japan, if not of whole continent of Asia, has lately been appointed Honorary Advisor to the Social Bureau of the Government of Tokio. A few years ago, Kagawa was being viewed with grave suspicion by the Japanese Government because of his views on social questions, but now he is considered one of the bulwarks of the Empire against communism.

Often described as the modern St. Francis, Kagawa is known in Christian circles throughout the world for his sacrificial labors in behalf of the poorest classes of Japan. He has been the leader in the development both of the labor movement in Japan and also of the peasants' unions, as well as in the organizing of social settlements.

Combined with this great interest in social welfare is an intense passion for evangelism. At present time, Kagawa is leading the "One Million Souls" movement, a remarkable effort to build up the Church of Christ in Japan.

(THE MISSIONARY HERALD, JANUARY 1929)

### **4. China Today-Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin's Impressions**

Dr. Hodgkin, until recently the English Secretary of the National Christian Council of China at Shanghai, addressing a meeting at the Friends House, London, on "China Today," said that while feeling great hesitation as to prophesying for the future, he believed that some clue could be gained from a consideration of the circumstances which led to the present situation. There were five factors he wished to deal with in the development of China of recent times.

#### **Five Factors**

The first was the feudal chiefs or warlords who were the dominant factors in China during a considerable part of the sixteen or seventeen years since the Republic was nominally inaugurated in 1911, when the Manchu dynasty finally collapsed. During this period the Republic was in no sense truly a republic, for soon it became evident that the break-up of the dynasty was simply opening the door to those who could seize and hold military ascendancy – to men of ambition who could dominate the situation.

It was clear that if the present group broke up, and if some form at least of constitutional and settled government gave way, the door would be opened again to the war-lords. Sun-yat-sen, the leader and creator of the Kuomintang, or Republican party was in danger of collapse through internal dissension and inertia, Sun-yat-sen turned for help to Great Britain and America. Not finding it he turned to Russia, who responded. But this opened the door to Communism. Shortly after that he died, and by his death he set his seal upon that tremendous work, and called up the passionate devotion of the people. He became the great patriot of China. He had held consistently to one idea; he was undoubtedly the friend of the people; he had ideas which were conceived in the interests of China and not in personal ambition. As a living leader Dr. Sun could not have done for China what as a dead man he did through the devotion of the people.

The third factor was the common people in China. It was necessary to get behind the comparatively small group of

educated Chinese to the mass of the people. Dr. Sun had so stimulated the Labor Movement and the Peasants Movement in Southern China, that these movements became a very big factor in the Nationalist Movement. The Communist influence was most felt there. It might have been the influence of Russia that led Dr. Sun to place such importance in the people's movement, but the ideas – class distinction, class antagonism, class strife – were foreign to China. In the development of China the class idea had not been emphasized, indeed hardly felt.

The people's movement had been an extremely important factor in the advance of the Nationalist armies. It was by the offering to the people of greater possibilities of development, and so by opening up hopes to the people as a whole, that the Nationalist Movement went forward. Some of these hopes were realizable; some were not. When the Nationalist Movement swept up from the South its way was prepared by successful propaganda in the armies opposed to it, so that in only two or three clashes in the long series of encounters were there anything like pitched battles. It was due very largely to the fact that the ground was prepared by this wide propaganda among the people, who were persuaded that there was now to be a government which cared for them and believed in the rights of the ordinary man. To a certain extent these hopes proved unrealizable. There was great disappointment, but nevertheless the attitude of the common people was still significant, because at last there was great disappointment, but nevertheless the attitude of the common people was still significant, because at last there was growing up a political and economic consciousness. There was an incipient labor organization which would grow steadily and would conserve the labor elements. Still the development of China was not in the main a democratic one.

#### Foreign Relations.

Although what China has suffered at the hand of foreign nations had been, in Dr. Hodgkin's opinion, greatly exaggerated, nevertheless the anti foreigner movement had been of considerable importance in welding together the nation as a whole. The great problem of China still was how to get the people as a whole so united that they would care more for their country than for their family or city or province. The influence of Russia at the moment had been discredited in China, and the Communist movement, as such, had been driven underground since the incident in Canton a year ago. The door was no longer open to the Soviet, but there was a great deal of Chinese Communism, and this group formed the extreme left of the Kuomintang.

#### The Hope for the Future

The hopes for the future of China, Dr. Hodgkin considered, lay chiefly in two things. Firstly in the alliance of Chiang-Kai-shek, the military genius, who led the campaigns of the Nationalists north, and who is now President of the Council, and Feng-Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general.

“Are these two going to work together, and are they going to for a genuine civil government, or for a military government which shall dominate the civil power?” he asked. “They each have a very large following, and they are at present intimate. If that intimacy can be maintained it is a most hopeful thing for China.

“Secondly, what is the authority of the central government at Nankin? The impact of foreign nations forced China to have some competent central authority, but China herself does not yet recognize the tremendous importance of this central authority in other matters, such as disarmament, opium, finance, and so on.”

Dr. Hodgkin was of the opinion that a considerable amount of provincial authority was the right thing for China,

but the way to that authority was the assumption of a great many functions now confined to the provincial authorities by the central authority.

“The present group,” Dr. Hodgkin went on, “are by no means perfect. But I do not believe that it is at all likely in the near future that any other combination can be found which will be as hopeful for China as the present one.”

Dr. Hodgkin was full of hope for the future. An attitude of loyalty to the present group seemed to be growing up among the people, which was willing to give the government a fair chance. The period of reconstruction had set in.

(THE NEW CHRONICLE, MARCH 7, 1929)

## **5. ONE MILLION SOULS FOR CHRIST IN JAPAN-BY CHARLES BURNELL OLDS**

TOYOHICO KAGAWA, Japan's greatest modern prophet, sees things in the large, with a vision broad enough to include the nation, and he is able to inspire in others the faith that he can realize his vision. Into the “One Million Souls Movement,” as he calls it, he is throwing himself heart and soul, making his main task at the present time the bringing of the Gospel to the multitudes, with appeal for decision. For he has become convinced by his efforts for social reconstruction that unless some such great mass movement be organized now, the swiftly advancing tide of Marxism will not only overwhelm the Christian enterprise in Japan but will end in disaster for spiritual idealism of every kind. He is on fire with passion to make society Christian.

### **SET APART FOR THE TASK**

The audiences that he is able to reach and command are of enormous size. No one in Japan can come anywhere near him in this respect. His hearers at any one meeting frequently number thousands and those who register decision for the Christian life, hundreds. Devoting most of his energies to this wider platform work, however, precludes his giving himself to the business of writing which alone makes it possible for his social service work to go on.

His friends feel that this man who has in the providence of God been raised up at this time of crisis should be dedicated to the great national campaign which has as its immediate and ultimate aim nothing less than the Christianizing of the entire social order of Japan, and should be released from the necessity of money-making. As one means of financing the enterprise they are securing subscriptions at a dollar each to a magazine published in English called The Friends of Jesus, that serves admirably to keep the world in touch with the movement, at the same time providing an outlook on life and on the world of human need that is an inspiration to all its readers.

What are the social service undertakings these friends are trying to secure financial support for so that he may be set apart for his greater task?

### **HIS SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS**

In the slums of Kobe, in his first great efforts to win the down and outs for Christ by a life lived among them, were born his great vision and his great passion. Some of that vision and passion went into his compelling story Beyond the Deathline which was read by hundreds of thousands and as a result of which a national interest began to develop. Capitalizing that interest, using the money from the sale of his book, he began to organize Christian

reclamation work on a large scale. Thus grew up the Shinkawa Social Settlement, the headworker in which now not only directs immediate neighborhood relief work, community educational and religious work, but organizes influences that reach out far beyond the confines of the city. A thriving free clinic for the people of another poor section of the city developed under the expert (434) direction of his wife's sister who was trained as a doctor through his efforts.

The Tokyo settlement, begun after the great earthquake of 1923, was organized as an industrial Y. M. C. A. It is housed in a small and inexpensive building that serves as church, executive office, auditorium and clubroom; adjoining it two smaller structures are used for the Cooperative store and the Credit Cooperative Pawn Shop which, with its 2% interest rate as over against the usual 30%, has already proved a tremendous boon to the poor.

The Shikanjima Settlement in Osaka is designed to be effective in meeting the needs of labor where it is concentrated in an industrial center. Some of its activities are: a Gospel School, held annually for four days with a daily attendance of about a hundred; lectures for the neighborhood by Mr. Kagawa and others; the Nurses' Mission of the Friends of Jesus; trade union activities of the Toyo Spinning Company, the Metal Workers' Union, the Trade Union of the Koreans of the district; a day nursery called Angels' Nursery School, with fifty children daily; a Boys' Crusaders organization, etc.

## **6. SETTING A GOAL OF ONE MILLION CHRISTIANS**

### **I. The Establishment of the Kingdom of God in Japan**

Japan the land of the gods, God's country! This is our prayer, our slogan, and our goal. Our Japan is in distress. Our Japan has lost her way. Man's distress however is God's opportunity. Man's perplexity is God's challenge.

Distressed Japan is a humble Japan. Perplexed Japan is a changeable Japan. Self-satisfaction and pride are swiftly disappearing. The sound of the breaking away of the husks of the nation's thinking and of its life echoes gloomily far and near.

The birth-pangs of a new Japan! The violent birth-quickening of the Kingdom of God in Japan is on. The time is at hand. The Kingdom of God is near. The time has come for repentance and for consecration to the task of spreading the Gospel.

### **II. The Why of a Million Souls Campaign**

The thought life, life as a whole, politics, education, industry, everything in Japan must be brought under God's direct control. Through Christlike Japanese a Christlike Japan must be brought to the birth. To transform this vision into reality we must increase the present two hundred and fifty thousand Christians to a round million. Numerals are void of power but there is strength in numbers. The mustard seed becomes a tree. And unless it becomes a tree it cannot shelter the birds of the air.

We believe that one million Christians will make possible the Christianization of Japan's public opinion and conscience and realize through the Church a really Christianized Japan.

Every Christian a soul winner, winning one soul a year and thus in three years quadrupling the number of

Christians, this is the program of the Million Souls Campaign. It goes without saying that God's plans differ from men's thoughts, yet is our faith so small that we would spurn this as a goal and characterize it as an empty dream? Has our courage fallen into decay? Our prayer should be "Increase our faith." Anew we need to hear the voice from on high, "Fear not, little flock: for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

### III. God's Grace and His Call

Even though our faith be small and our courage fail us, God's wisdom is great. God's grace is sufficient for us. Behold! See the evangelistic net spread clear across the nation. No other organization, no matter how vast it may be, has a chain of nets comparable with that of the Church.

Furthermore, there is the skill and sacrifice of our Christian colleagues who all over the land are guarding the meshes of this net. Behold this host of noble evangelists who for ten or twenty years burying themselves in out-of-the-way and isolated place with local conditions and local psychology – an adjustment which it takes five or ten years to make. Here is an agency so unique and valuable that no other organization has anything to parallel it. Moreover behold the evangelistic agencies which the various denominations have built up! Our evangelism does not consist merely in a proclamation of words. It is expressed in the growth of the Church as the body of Christ. Is this not a line of dynamics laid down by God Himself against such a day as this! Each denomination through the development of its own particular gifts has produced an evangelistic asset. For this we should not only be grateful but it should stimulate our faith toward God.

In addition to this we have reason for thanksgiving and source for courage in the fact that there are workers with special gifts whom God has raised up among the various denominations. Among them are figures so outstanding that when the people hear their names they are immediately reminded of Christianity. These stand as our representatives before the unsaved masses. They are the connecting link between us and the people. For this reason they are invaluable instruments placed at our disposal.

However, "one thing then lackest." Although we are in possession of all these splendid instruments and resources, not one among us is satisfied with the results of the work which is being done. Is not cooperation and concerted action the one thing lacking among us?

When the Church throughout Japan prays with one heart, when outstanding workers throughout the entire Church with one voice proclaim the Gospel to the people, when the different denominations develop suitable means for the guidance and nurture of enquirers, and when supplementary and efficiently directed activity shall conserve the results of the fruitful evangelism of the various Churches and denominations, then will not "the spirit of unity" – the Holy Spirit – working freely among us, let us behold God's glory far beyond our expectations?"

### IV. The Plan of the Kingdom of God Campaign

God has already set this campaign in motion. The All Japan Christian Conference which met in Tokyo in the Spring of 1928 was stirred by the need of such a campaign. It set up a committee which carried on a nationwide evangelistic effort that has achieved conspicuous results. Moreover, requests have come from many quarters asking that this campaign be not only continued but extended in its scope.

Furthermore in conferences which have been held during the year, as well as by the Executive Committee of the



National Christian Council, actions have been taken stressing the need of such a campaign.

Believing that the hand of God is moving in this general tendency. We have as a result of prayer and conference set up the Kingdom of God Campaign. This is to be a three year evangelistic effort and in carrying it out we seek the cooperation of our brothers and sisters in Christ throughout the land.

Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa has already offered his full time and his utmost efforts for this movement. This has been a tremendous encouragement to our committee. We propose to enlist other outstanding workers and pitch a cooperative decisive evangelistic battle which shall be nation-wide in its reach.

However, this is not an evangelistic campaign in which the Central Committee shall impose guidance upon other areas. This is a campaign on which the Christians throughout the nation shall mobilize and move forward in response to requests from any area.

The command shall rest in the hands of him who has overcome and is overcoming the world, Jesus Christ our Lord. Our committee is anxious to give itself with all its strength diligently to this piece of service.

1930, the year in which it is proposed to begin this campaign, commemorates the twentieth century period since Christ began his public ministry. We believe that it is most fitting for us Christians to follow in the footsteps of our Lord, and for three years give ourselves as he did for a similar period to aggressive evangelism.

Therefore, in order to establish in our beloved Japan God's Kingdom centered in Christ, through prayer, through offerings, and through work, we desire to push forward this campaign.

#### V. The Central Committee of the Kingdom of God Campaign

(Here follows a list of names)

#### VI. Preparatory Work for the Kingdom of God Campaign

It is said that nine parts of the success of any campaign lies in the preparation. Therefore our committee appeals to our brothers and sisters in Christ to give themselves at once both as individuals and as groups, to the following lines of preparation: -

1. To engage in prayer for this campaign for at least two minutes each day at the noon hour. For the convenience of those desiring it, we suggest following prayer:

“All-powerful God, our Father, we praise thee that thou hast summoned us to make our beloved Japan a land in which the Kingdom of God through Christ shall be realized. Grant to pour out on our work the guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit. Enable us, we pray thee, through prayer, through offerings, and through work, to taste the joy of those whose lives are hid in Christ, and to lead men and women into thy salvation. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.”

2. Offerings for the Kingdom of God Campaign.

Each person is asked to contribute as liberally as possible. The committee desires to carry on a campaign which will call for an expenditure of at least 20,000.00 yen a year. In order to secure this amount we appeal to all Christians, old and young, rich and poor, to cooperate and take at least one share. We ask that each member of a family take shares in their own name.

3. That each Christian endeavor each year to win one person for Christ. If every one of the present Christian each

year wins one person, in three years the goal of one million Christians will be realized. Kindly therefore immediately select three persons whom you propose to lead to Christ, and begin to pray and work in their behalf. Remember that this is the very heart of this Kingdom of God Campaign.

As a Church: -

1. Prayer for the Christianization of Japan and for the Kingdom of God Campaign. Let there be prayers for this campaign in the regular services of worship and in the prayer meetings of every church. We profoundly believe that the Church's most effective cooperation will be rendered in this way, and we earnestly pray that through the sympathy of those responsible in each church this will be carried out.

2. In connection with your neighboring churches set up a plan of campaign for your district and begin consultations speedily with our Central Committee.

As has already been indicated, in this campaign the local communities are to be autonomous and the main factor. Therefore kindly confer with the churches in your neighborhood, outline the main features of your campaign, and give us an opportunity to cooperate in any way that we can.

3. Set up a committee which shall establish relations with the treasurers of the Kingdom of God Campaign. If each church will undertake the task of securing funds for this campaign it will help tremendously. Kindly inform the treasurers of our committee of the name and address of the person or persons who will serve in your community in this matter of securing finances for the campaign.

For the sake of the building of the Kingdom of God in Japan kindly accede to the above requests.

#### VII. Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa's Plan for the Kingdom of God Campaign

The following is the suggested plan of the Million Souls Campaign which Mr. Kagawa has submitted to conferences recently held in various areas. We pass this on with the hope that after a study of this plan it will be put into effect.

##### (1) Organization of a Network of Prayer.

Weekly early morning prayer meetings in every church and in every city to pray for a revival of faith.

Prayer with a new spirit in the 1800 churches of the land for a revival of faith.

Monthly united prayer meetings of all churches in each city.

An annual national conference of lay men, lay women, and all interested, for special prayer and preparation of the above purpose.

##### (2) Organization of the Propaganda.

###### A. Different Phases of Evangelism.

District evangelism; evangelism focused in certain centers and areas; Personal evangelism; Evangelism through literature; Educational evangelism; Evangelism through service.

###### B. The Opening Up of Unoccupied Areas.

Rural evangelization; Evangelizing the fishing folk; Evangelism in mining camps; Evangelizing the laboring class.

###### C. The Training of Lay Evangelists.

Paid workers alone will not suffice for this great work. We must speedily produce a great number of lay promoters and organizers of the Kingdom of God. 5000 lay preachers should be enlisted, trained and released at once.

1. District Evangelism.

Organize touring evangelistic bands, or carry on interrelated cooperative evangelistic work throughout the following 10 areas: -

Kwanto (Tokyo District), Chu Nihon Chiho (Central Japan), Kinki (Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe), Shikoku Chugoku, Kyushu (Kiu Chiu), Hokuriku Chiho, Tohoku Chiho, Hokkaido (Saghalien), Korea and Manchuria.

2. Personal Work.

Every Christian to resolve to pray and make special effort to lead at least several persons to Christ every year.

We should all offer our own homes to be used as churches.

We should use our homes for Sunday Schools.

3. Evangelism Through Literature.

The organization of a closer relationship between the present existing plans of evangelism through literature.

The creation of cheap editions of good Christian books.

The mass publication of leaflets and pamphlets.

A more effective working of the plan for newspaper evangelism.

4. Educational Evangelism.

The establishment of more Sunday Schools.

The training of each Christian as a Sunday School teacher and the using of the home for Sunday School purposes.

Churches of all denominations or churches specially interested, in each city, to cooperate in the conduct of Gospel Schools.

Of this campaign Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa writes as follows:-

“Japan is waiting for Christ, and Christ will win in Japan. Almost all the denominational churches are combining their forces to launch a campaign to win a million souls for Christ. They are planning to start the first of January, 1930. Committees are appointed, and we are cooperating with them as “service men.” We have never known such an unanimous action on the part of the churches since the great religious movement of 1900.

“There are millions of people in the rural districts of Japan who have never heard the Gospel. We are now planning to publish cheap editions of standard Christian books to be distributed among the young men and women in the poverty-stricken villages. There are 2,800,000 young men and 2,300,000 young women in the local young men’s, and young women’s, associations in the thirteen thousand villages of Japan. They want to hear the Gospel. Fortunately Dr. Walne has kindly wanted to help me publish a cheap edition of my latest book, “New Life through God.” He will be able to sell its 220 pages for ten sen, because of printing a million copies in one edition. We are preparing to put forty thousand copies on the market immediately.”

(THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.34, November 1929)

## **7. THE KINGDOM OF GOD CAMPAIGN IN JAPAN 1930-1932**

Dr. Wm. Axling, Secretary of the National Christian Council of Japan, writes:

“The Kingdom of God Campaign is still in the preparatory stage. The next step is to mobilize the pastors and church members and get this campaign into their hearts, prayers and programs of activity. As a means to that end and 10,000 copies of Japanese and 4,000 in English have been printed and are being distributed among pastors, key laymen and missionaries. One million handbills will also be broadcasted across Japan some time this Fall, challenging the attention of every Christian and interested person in the Empire, and appealing for their cooperation.

There is also a plan to hold in the near future a National Conference on Evangelism for the purpose of kindling the fires of evangelistic fervor, creating a spirit of cooperation and training lay preachers. Mr. Kagawa has set the goal of securing 5,000 lay preachers who in every section of Japan will give freely of their time to evangelize their friends and fellow townspeople.

The celebration of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Opening of Protestant Missions in Japan will be held in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Council in November. Missionaries and Japanese pastors who have served for fifty years or more will be given special recognition. It is hoped to make this anniversary occasion evangelistic in spirit and influence and to make it contribute mightily to furthering the work of the Kingdom of God Campaign.”

In view of the Five Year Movement in China, this prospectus of what Christian friends in Japan are planning will doubtless be of interest to many in China and is given here in full.

(THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, No.34, November 1929)

## **8. A LIVELY AND PROFITABLE DISCUSSION**

“The inimitable Kagawa San” (now Dr. Kagawa) struck one of the high notes at the annual meeting of the Federations of Christian Mission in Karuizawa, July 31 to August 4, when, in discussing the topic of industry, he dwelt at length on the penetration of Christian ideals, keeping in mind that the constant factor must be eternally LOVE. The American Board Japan Mission was represented at its annual meeting by Rev. Henry J. Bennett of Tottori, Rev. Horatio B. Newell of Seoul, Korea, Rev. and Mrs. Charles M. Warren of Miyazaki and Mrs. Hilton Pedley of Kyoto. The general topic of the conference was “The Penetration of Japanese Life and Thought by Christian Ideals,” and different sections touched on this “penetration” in education, industry, rural life and religious life and thought. Dr. Charlotte B. Deforest of Kobe College took the subject of education; Dr. Kagawa of industry; Mr. M. Sugiyama of rural life, and Dr. I. Nitobe became a spell binder on the topic of religious life and thought. Other sessions equally impressive and helpful were enjoyed by the eighty-five delegates present. In reporting this annual meeting, the American Board’s Japan Mission Bulletin says, “Federated Missions never had a livelier or more profitable discussion.”

## 9. HANGCHOW NUMBER

FRIENDS OF JESUS is an occasional, not monthly, publication which came into being in response to the need for an interpretation in the English language of Dr. Kagawa's message and its implications. The title is taken from the name of inner circle of Dr. Kagawa's disciples, of whom there are about thirteen hundred, men and women, members of Christian churches of all denominations. These 'Friends of Jesus' are banded together for the deepening of their spiritual lives and for social service. Loyalty to the Church and love to of the poor are their main tenets.

### WHY ORGANIZED

"Because we have had so much denominationalism and haven't had the Brotherhood Movement", was the way Dr. Kagawa recently explained why he had organized this society. He continued, "So we have piety and Bible Study with social practice, in our Order of the Friends of Jesus. It is based on

Francisca love of the poor, Dominion fire for preaching, Jesuit obedience to the Church, Salvation Army and Francke and Spener pietism, with the Brotherhood of Common Life of Thomas a Kempis in the Rhine district, and the aim to love the Church, not as it is, the Church of the status quo, but the Church of the Cross, the Church of Love, which has come from St. Paul and Wesley down to us. It is mostly for young people, with a tinge of Christian socialism – dangerous thought! We don't add many members, for if one member suffers, everybody must share. Growing is not the need of it. Service is the centre of it. The thing that is spreading is rather the Kingdom of God Movement. The Kingdom of God Movement was really started by the Friends of Jesus, but the Church is so afraid of the Friends of Jesus. So they, being a service band, are willing to make their number small and serve for the sake of the whole".

Published by one of the members of the Order, Helen F. Topping, 475, 2-chome Kamikitazawa, Setagaya, Tokyo, Japan.

The United Church of Christ in China has a membership of Approximately 200,000 and is the product of fourteen cooperating missionary bodies, widely scattered over a vast area. For its 1930 General Workers Conference, a fuller account of which is given on another page, Dr. Kagawa was invited to be the chief speaker.

'Five hours on the Foundations of Christianity and five on its Applications' was the way Dr. Kagawa described his plan for his addresses at Hangchow, China. Those included in this issue are the five on the Foundations of Christianity. It is with considerable reluctance that we postpone those on the Applications to a later issue.

### CHRIST THE SOURCE OF LIFE

By Toyohiko Kagawa Central Workers Conference, Hangchow July 26/30.

Since you have united your forces, those of many denominations in China, it is a great pleasure for me to be with

you. As a little disciple of Jesus Christ I want to give testimony that Christ is living, even to this day.

Christ is the source of our life. Japan has experienced this fact for more than 250 years. I shall not attempt to show how Christ changed the history of the world. But I want simply to give testimony to you of how Christ has changed Japan, because it will inspire you to believe that He is still living. He is adding, every day, experiences to Japan's history. You know that Francis Xavier came to the Orient after the Reformation. He touched southern China and came to Japan and remained there only one and one-half years. But he left a great influence and 15,000 Christians who later increased to half a million.

In those days we had the feudal system and many of the feudal lords believed in Christianity. In the great persecution later many were crucified, and the five hundred thousand Christians disappeared, so that it was thought that Christianity had been stamped out. But fifty years ago when Ambassador Parkes from Great Britain asked the Japanese government to proclaim religious freedom, on the day that religious liberty was assured, 25,000 Christian appeared around Nagasaki. For 250 years there they had preserved the Christian faith!

Protestant Christianity came later, about 70 years ago, from America. But in Japan we do not make much difference as to whether a person is a protestant or a catholic. If he will live as a Christian, we like him. The first protestant missionaries had the spirit of generosity and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, who was president when they came. So after protestant Christianity came to Japan, things began to change. The spirit of democracy, the spirit of religious worship, and especially these five things: Piety, Labor, Purity, Peace and Service, began to come into Japan. Before the Christianity came to Japan we had many religious, many gods, many idols and images. But when Christianity came, religion became very sacred and sincere. Without sincerity Christ cannot be worshipped. The Japanese rulers protected Buddhism. But the Buddhist priests degraded themselves. So the Buddhists mocked at their own priests. Shintoists also lost their piety, - and their priests lived most licentiously. Sixty-three years ago we had the reformation, which we call the Meiji Restoration. And they thought that there is no use of religious, because Buddhism and Shintoism were so corrupt. So many Buddhist temples were torn down. But then Christianity came and Christ gave stimuli to the revival of Buddhism and Shintoism. It is very interesting to note that Buddhists by themselves did not know that they had some worthwhile elements of religion. Christianity taught them.

I wish you would make distinctions. Christ is not for doctrines only.

#### I. Christ stands for piety.

Whether we are Fundamentalists or Modernists, let us stand for piety in Christ. Let us live in God. Christ lived in God and God lived in Christ. Piety was there. Without piety our life is vain; our social movement is vain; our economic project is vain. God stands above all. In America they talk about the Social Gospel. I don't like that word. God is greater than Society. God is greater than simply a social teaching. God stands above all. But some consider their own religion as evangelical and preach only, and hesitate to practice, the love of Christ. That is not being evangelical. True evangelism is piety toward God and pious living toward human beings. Many talk about the experience of the Holy Spirit. But to them it means only that a person is a cleansed individual. The sanctification of the Holy Spirit is not only the sanctification of the individual, but of society. We must experience the Holy Spirit

not only in our own souls but in the bigger heart, our down trodden proletarian heart. Everywhere we must find the Holy Spirit. You remember Mathew 25<sup>th</sup> Chapter, how Christ describes those poor naked people, in the passage beginning 'Inasmuch' where they are saved, He says, there is the Spirit of Christ. The Holy Spirit is there everywhere in the human heart. Piety does not mean to close our doors. Not so! We must live holy lives everywhere in society. You remember St. Paul describes how the Holy Spirit is suffering. (Roman 8:26) The Holy Spirit is suffering wherever the poor live a miserable life in the slums.

I do the Social Movement, not because I am a socialist, nor a communist, but because I am a Christian, because I feel that the Holy Spirit is suffering. You remember the great Pietist movement in Germany, how they toiled, how they came together in Herrnhut, and how only 600 brothers sent forth 200 missionaries. That is our example, piety, and the social movement combined. And we experience the Holy Spirit not only in our own souls but even in society.

II. Christ the Source of Labor. In Japan people don't like to work, because we consider labor very tiresome. About ten years ago when I wrote an essay to a magazine I was called to court. The judge told me I was fined. I had to pay ¥100, because I wrote: "There is no difference between a king and laborer." Many of you remember that in Roman history the slaves worked and the free citizens did not like to work. Christ Himself made labor sacred. In Japan when Christianity came people began to consider that life is a joy and labor is to be honored. Without Christ, the Labor Movement is a terrible thing of class struggle.

III. Christ the Source of Purity in Japan. For thousands of years we had the system of concubinage. We kept many wives. But after Christ (266) came to Japan that system died out. We had the system of licensed prostitution, but after Christ came the Christian fought against it. Fifty years ago we had many divorces, 430 in a 1000 marriages; now there are only 107 in a 1000. Because Christ came the divorce rate of Japan decreased. Christ taught us divorce is wrong. Christ gave us purity.

IV. Christ as the Source of Peace. He gave us peace in our hearts, and peace in society. We used to have the caste system. There were four castes: (1) The knights; (2) the farmers; (3) the shopkeepers; (4) the industrial workers. And besides these there were millions looked down on as outcastes. When Christ came, everything of the caste system was broken down. A peace movement, especially an anti-war movement developed among Christian believers. When General Tanaka, the late premier of Japan, sent troops to Shantung, many Christian and labor leaders who were Christians were opposed to it and we had a great mass meeting to protest. We stand for peace, - for international peace, for peace in society, for peace in the heart.

V. Christ the Source of the Spirit of Service. From Christ people got the spirit of service, the spirit of sacrifice, and the spirit of the Cross. People were willing to serve the poor, and willing to let their own children do such service, e.g. as nurses. Sixty years ago, when Buddhism had forgotten how to serve in charity work, Christian began charity work in Japan. In the slums philanthropic work is being done by Christians. I can tell you many wonderful stories of how Christians dared to serve the poor. That sort of example gave credit to Christianity was a genuine religion. If it had been simply preaching, people would not have followed, but because Christians were eager to serve, those who appreciated this spirit of service followed Christ.

Christ is the Source of Life, and you as the representatives of Christ will do a great work in China, because you are his followers. Christ gave us power, Life. I respect Confucius and I respect Buddha, but they lack life-power. When Christ came to me I was revived. I got new life. And when I consider the moral deficiency of Buddhism and Confucianism, and the difference between their position and that of Christ, it is very easy for me to preach His teachings. Without God I was suffering. I was weeping. But when the power of God came to me, everything became very easy. Christ is the Source of Life and I can give testimony to you that Christ has changed Japan. Whether Japan as a whole will become a Christian nation or not, Japan considers Christianity commonsense today. During the last two and one-half years I have been going around Japan preaching, probably to more than 600,000 people. Out of these 600,000 in my audiences I received about 40,000 cards of those who signed confessing that they want to become Christians.

One of my latest books on religion sold 250,000 in six months. The Japanese people welcome Christianity, not because they expect to become Christians, all of them, but because they consider Christianity to be a vital thing. All women's magazines write something every month about Christianity. Newspapers, too, - there are two big dailies in Osaka with more than a million of circulation, which willing publish my articles every day. When I wrote for 53 days in succession they published. In Tokyo the Yomiuri Newspaper published my articles for 200 days in succession, though the manager of that paper is a Buddhist.

Fifty year ago the Japanese government was very much opposed to religion, as the Nanking government is in China today. But now the Japanese government has repented, for the experiment of 50 years has taught them that if we do not teach religion, especially Christianity, the basis of morality is weak. For in spite of progress in civilization in Japan the rate of crimes has increased. Murders have increased four times over the rate of 50 years ago. Juvenile delinquency has so much increased that in Osaka 15,000 boys and girls are arrested every year. In Tokyo the number is 9,200 a year. Therefore the educators have come to the conclusion that without religious teaching, and the teaching of Christianity, we cannot have a genuine national morality.

The Japanese government is much afraid of the materialistic and atheistic teaching of Karl Marx. They are afraid of the degradation of morality through Marxian teaching. It is this moral effect of which they are afraid, not of the upset to the property system. Fifty years ago, 360 war lords gave up all their property and their private ownership – gave it back voluntarily to the Emperor. So probably the Japanese government is not afraid of the abolition of private ownership of property. But it is afraid of the breaking down of morals. The Japanese National Education Association asked me to come back and teach the primary and middle school teachers the essence of religion in relation to education. So I must hurry back to Japan. That education association is a very large, semi-government body, and I shall teach them the necessity of religion as a foundation for education... We have ten million children attending school. We have 220, 000 teachers, and most of them incline to the idealistic movement. While those teachers remain idealistic, attached to the idealistic basis of philosophy, the nation is very strong. We must teach Christ. Christ is the Source of Life.

I studied many systems of philosophy in the Orient, but I came to the conclusion that only Christ is the Source of Life. Not only a Source of Life. He is everything. He is the Son of God. In Him the Image of God is revealed.



Unless we live in Him we have no meaning in life. May God bless you and may the Christ of China, the Christ of the World, reveal to you new Life!

Dr. Kagawa was received with uniform kindness for which he is grateful to Dr. Kepler, the general secretary, as well as to the members of the conference. At its close they took occasion to make substantial expression of their appreciation for his visit. "Not in thirty years have I seen any speaker so grip a Chinese audience," was the verdict of Dr. Kepler.

Hangchow Conference, July 30, 1930, Toyohiko Kagawa, Luke 22:24-30

#### THE SECRET OF JESUS

There were two critical periods in the life of Christ. The first was when John the Baptist was arrested. Then it was that Christ started his mission and began to preach the Gospel. (Mark 1:4).

The second critical period in the life of Christ was when John the Baptist was killed. In John 6:15 we read that at that time thousands of people wanted to make Jesus Christ their King. That is the meaning of the gathering together of the five thousand at that time, (Mark 6:44) and of the four thousand soon afterward. (Mark 8:9) These masses were for revolution. They wanted revenge against Herod Antipas because he had killed John the Baptist; and probably they wanted also to rebel against the Roman Empire.

But when the five thousand tried to force this issue upon him, Jesus just withdrew himself from the crowd-pressure, and took a journey abroad to foreign countries. After a while he came back again to the Sea of Galilee and found four thousand people gathered together again – or still. Therefore he started off again on another tour of foreign districts.

It was at this time that during this journey he asked the twelve. What do you think about me? And Peter confessed that he believed him to be the Christ. But then, as you know, Christ forbade him to say openly that he was the Christ. This we call the Secret of Jesus.

Why did Jesus not want to be called the Christ? Because he wanted to be a true Christ, not a secular Christ; not a King but a Servant.

From that time on Jesus told his disciples, "I shall be mistreated, and crucified; and shall rise up again after three days." The disciples did not understand that mystery, which mystery leads up to the inner soul of Jesus Christ. From that period Christ determined to be crucified, and repeatedly prophesied his crucifixion.

And by this time the opposing forces were very angry with him. From that time onward they said he must be killed. At last the Sanhedrin, the national assembly of seventy-two persons, decided him to be a dangerous man. They determined, therefore, to capture him, commit him to prison, and give him the capital penalty. Thus the three factors necessary to such a consummation: - the social Movement, the Consciousness of Jesus, and the Government Authority, met in one event. That was the death of Jesus Christ.

The Revolutionary State Ideal of the Twelve vs the State of God Ideal of Jesus

But to the disciples' mind, Jesus Christ was not a man to be crucified. They wanted him to be a king. He deserved

to be called 'King,' they knew. And when they were on the way back to Capernaum (Mark 9:34) they were discussing nothing but the Kingship of Christ, and its corollary for themselves, the desideratum, that they would be made great men, cabinet ministers.

Again when Jesus Christ determined to go to Jerusalem by way of Samaria, you remember that the sons of Zebedee came and asked to be made ministers. And even to the day when Christ was to bid them farewell, because he was to be killed on the next day, - even at that last moment the disciples would discuss their relative positions in the great chairs of the future ministerships. (Luke 22:24-30).

From these points we can see that the nature of the Social Movement for which Jesus was looking, and the nature of the state toward which the disciples were looking, were fundamentally different. The State of God toward which Jesus was moving was the ideal state; and the state toward which the disciples were aiming was a revolutionary state in which they themselves were to be made great.

Modern Illustration of the same Antithesis

Here is the temptation for you and for us in Japan, also. When we had the Meiji Reformation in Japan, many men of Japan were made great. At that time many leaders of Japanese churches were invited to become Cabinet Ministers. Dr. Nijima, the founder of Doshisha University, was asked to be one of the ministers; but he declined this offer, simply because he wanted to be one of the little disciples of Jesus Christ. Many Japanese graduates of American universities came back to Japan and were asked to be ministers of the government; but they declined for the same reason. If they had wanted to be made great, they would have had an opportunity. But they did not like to be great. They wanted to be smaller.

I have had such temptations also in my own life. Even today if I wanted to be the leader or vice-president of the Labor Party, I still have the chance. But I am looking for the eternal society, the eternal state, not for temporary great fame or name in Japan. To be known in some temporary state is an easy thing; but I choose rather to be a small man in the most difficult eternal society.

When Dr. Mott was asked to be Ambassador (from the United States to China), he refused this position without hesitation. He knew he must be a small man in the eternal state. Why so?

In the City of God, the greatest man of this world is small, and cannot count at all.

Ancient Chinese Illustrations

You had thousands of ministers and great men at the time of Confucius. Where are those ministers now? But Confucius did not want to be a great minister and after fourteen years as minister in the State of , he became a mere teacher. You know the famous teaching of Confucius, 'The Way of a King and the Way of Warlords.' So far as I understand it, the Way of the King is the Way of service and lovingkindness. Similarly, because Jesus Christ wanted to be a king, he wanted to be a servant. I think that many people do not understand Confucius very well. Many people are following the steps of the secular world, and simply want to be great in it. But the Way of Mencius was the same as that of Confucius and of Jesus Christ. The teaching of Mencius was simply kindness and the duty to love one another.

How to Arrive at Permanent Stability in Society

The Way of Jesus was simply the Way of crucifixion. In Christianity I find the true way of service and the true way to have the eternal state. The thing that I asked your attention to last evening is that the way of Christianity is to have a social unit. Whether Lenin or Stahlin arrive with their theories, we must first of all have a social unit. Unless we have that kind of love-system of society of which we have been talking, no genuine society will be achieved. You know there are many kinds of social groups: - first, physical; second, psychological, and third, moral society, based on voluntary unification. In physical society we do not like people who do not belong to our blood family. In psychological society people who are not beautiful are not loved. Ignorant people are despised in this state of society. But in moral society, all, whether ugly, wicked or ignorant, are beloved. It is that state or stage of society which we call redemption. But without the ethical mysticism of this moral social ideal, we shall never be able to complete true society.

In both Japan and China the family system is very strongly established, and so we have the first stage, or physical society. We are also developing the second stage, of psychological society. But we have not yet developed the third, or moral stage of society.

Jesus Christ pointed to this highest standard of the state. Therefore he refused to be called a king. And this is what we need today – this highest standard of idealism. Therefore when we preach, we must preach the highest standard of morality. No compromise is permissible. And when we enter into the activities of ordinary social living, we must live up the top of the idealism which Christ preached.

#### How to Live up to this Standard

It is very difficult to climb up to this point. But when the power of God enters your heart it is very easy. Then, how can we get power of God? Only through prayer. When we pray, it is sure that the power of the Holy Spirit is given to us. People doubt this, but I do not. When summer comes, winter is forgotten, and plants bud out and blossom. It is the same when the time comes that the Holy Spirit moves, and sin and evil are destroyed. I believe the day that the Holy Spirit moves. Therefore when we want to begin to have the Kingdom of God Movement, we ask our friends to have prayer meetings. Some think it absurd to have prayer meetings, but we are very serious. You know that when Abraham Lincoln made his emancipation proclamation, he prayed all the previous night. Our work in Japan must be all the time prepared for in prayers. If it were simply a secular work, we might prepare for it by secular preparation. But when we want eternal aspiration, we must prepare by prayer.

#### The Witness of the Bible

You may doubt it, but I believe the history of the Old and New Testaments. You know that these records give us the long, long experience of human beings. There are wars, and turmoils, and sins in the records, but each time the Grace of God rejuvenates the human spirit. And then when we have just a little joyful time of civilization, we sink down again. And then the Grace of God lifts us up; and again we sink down; and so on. We see these things in the Old and New Testaments. Therefore I interpret history as the History of Grace.

#### REPENTANCE RATHER THAN REVOLUTION

The Modern Application: The Kingdom of God is at Hand: Repent: Believe in the Gospels!

Now the future of this great nation may look to you very dismal, but our faith in God still holds. But unless you

have prayer, you cannot get the Kingdom of God to approach. Unless we ourselves repent, the Kingdom of God will not come near. Therefore Christ said: The Kingdom of God is near; repent ye; believe in the Gospel. (Mark 1:15) Repentance rather than revolution is necessary. Repentance from egoism, from immoral living, from easy going! We must repent, to enter the State of God. That is the point to which we must awaken. In this great nation we can have no compromise with worldliness. We must be servants to all. We are servants of Christ, who was servant to all. We must live as simply as possible, because we are servants. We do not need much money. Brethren, let' be servants!

#### Gamblers for God

Let us cast off everything for Christ's sake! I am following in the steps of St. Francis of Assisi. But I have learned many lessons also from the gamblers of the slums. I know a family of these gamblers, who, when they lose, send one of their sons to run to the pawn shop and pawn his coat to get more money. This boy becomes naked, and loses everything for gambling. Because I lived in the slums many, many years, I became a gambler for God. I wanted to pawn everything for Christ. I was not anxious about the morrow. I am a gambler for God. I don't care about food, books, honor, money, wife, or anything. I want to gamble for God. I don't care for my life, if God be glorified.

We are looking for the eternal society. We are live revolutionists. But we do not use violence and force. We are meek as sheep. The social application of the gospel of Christ is simply crucifixion of our ego.

#### Love one another

You know the strength of the small republics scatters over northern Italy. At the time of the Barbarian Invasion, these small republics had great strength, because they loved one another. And at this time of great turmoil in China, what Christians need to do is to love others. Many robbers come, to be sure, and generals pass along. But must love each other, and all the time work for the eternal society, only looking for the Kingdom of God to come. This is what they are doing in Japan; and so though here and there one sees big generals passing by, we Christians are small people, and are praying for purity. If we love each other, and maintain the highest standard of morality, who would venture to kill us?

#### The Weakness of Nestorian Christianity

In the sixteenth century Nestorian Christianity came to China, to the old capital of the 'Tang Period'. And after existing in China for a long while it disappeared. In Japan, on the other hand, Jesuit Christianity was received three hundred years ago, and it remained! Why did Nestorian Christianity disappear? If we study the traces of Nestorian religion in Japanese Buddhism, we can find out why. One of the reason why Nestorian Christianity disappeared was that its priests preached doctrines and did nothing. They were mystical. They kept ancestor worship; but they did not practice love. They hesitated to realize Christ's teaching.

There are two branches of historic Christianity, the one which came to the East, and the one which went West. The latter put the love of Christ in practice. And it is living today. The Christianity which came to the East in the Nestorian form of merely individualistic mysticism, disappeared.

What we need today is to realize love, supported by the Breath of God. Nestorian Christianity failed because it compromised with the standard of morality. What we need today is no compromise, but Christ above all. When the

warlords persecute us, let us honor Christ first and foremost. Let us die for Christ before warlords persuade us to compromise.

#### Christianity among the Religions

In Japan we have many kinds of religion and preserve them all. We have Confucian doctrines and respect them; and Buddhist doctrines and respect them also. We have the great system of chivalry of Bushido. So unless we Christians maintain a standard that is higher than them all, Christianity has no place for existence. Christ told the disciples in the Sermon on the Mount; "Your righteousness must be purer than that of the Pharisees." Otherwise there is no use for Christians to be called Christians. We pray that the Lord will lead us to purer living, and more meek and loving hearts; and that we might die for Christ's sake.

#### Crucifixion Rather than Politics

I am very sorry that many friends of mine in this great nation want to enter into politics even more than to be disciples of Christ. I beg you, let us conquer such temptation! Let us be humble before Christ. Let us count as small people. Let us be servants. Let us be small local organizer of Co-operatives. But let us preach the Crucifixion of our Lord.

May the Lord lead us, so that we may step along the same road which Jesus Christ experienced in the past, - that Christ may be glorified in the Orient, and that this nation may prove to have been glorified in the name of Christ.

### THE GENERAL WORKERS CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN CHINA

Hangchow Christian College, July 26-August 4, 1930 (Extracts for the article in the Chinese Recorder, September, 1930, by Dr. A. R. Kepler)

As a part of the Five Year Movement, the General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China has projected seven or eight regional Conference and on National General Workers Conference, for the present year (1930)...

It was planned that the latter, the Hangchow Conference, should consist of five or six outstanding leaders from each of the widely scattered synods... In spite of warfare, banditry and communist pillaging which prevented some from attending, there was only one synod unrepresented. The Conference numbered sixty-six, with representatives from as far north as Manchuria, as far south as Hainan, and as far west as Ichang...

The announcement that Dr. Kagawa was coming from Japan to participate in the Conference had created high expectations among the delegates, and their expectations were more than realized. One of those who attended the Conference writes, - "We have met a saint, but we have met much more than a saint. Here is a man who combines the mind of the sage with the mysticism of the saint. He is keenly alive, takes an interest in all that is living, is familiar with all ancient and modern movements for the uplift of man. His faith is a simple one, but he is capable of squaring it with the philosophical, sociological and psychological theories of the present day schools and of expressing it in their language. Toyohiko Kagawa is one of the greatest men who have visited China. The effects of his visit will persist..."

"After sitting at the feet of Kagawa for all too brief a season, I am ...convinced that he holds the answer to the quest of the world today.

There is the problem of international goodwill. Said Kagawa: "I stand all the time for Christian internationalism, for the Christian internationale. I love Japan very much, and for that reason I am serving the nation. But I never forget that I am a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven first. I belong to God first, and then I belong to Japan." In his first address he sought the first opportunity to express his regrets for his country's treatment of China. Then the barriers were down. Kagawa refuses to visit Korea as long as she is denied her freedom or home rule, as he feels his message would be hopelessly compromised by his country's treatment of Chosen. I am quite sure that the Conference members will in the future have a kindlier feeling for Japan because of their contact with him – and that they will visualize their island neighbor through his personality and think of Japanese in terms of Kagawa.

The Russian Communist menace can be successfully met only as we square our lives and attitudes with the life and gospel of Jesus. "There (281) are so-called Christian everywhere who are not living clean enough as good citizens; they are compromising with existing economic conditions. They are not living up to the declaration of Jesus made at Nazareth. If they would live up to the true meaning of the Gospel, there would be no room left for Communism to come in ... If we could have managed the great industrial revolution according to Christian motivation, this world catastrophe would not have taken place. The reason why the Church... lost the chance to mould the great industrial revolution is because it laid too much emphasis on doctrinal preaching. If we had laid emphasis more on ethical mysticism or on socialized individuality it would have been better."...

Kagawa told the conference that while living in the slums he learned much from the gambler. Gambling he discovered to be such a compelling passion that the devotee stakes his money, his clothes, his home on the game.

Said Kagawa, "I determined to be a gambler for God, staking my possessions, my home, my wife, my children, my life, my all in my gamble for God." Gamblers for God! What a Church! What a China! What a world, if missionary, Chinese pastor and educator and our three hundred thousand Christians, with a holy, unrestrained abandon would determine to become "Gambler for God!"

#### ADDRESS AT THE SHANGHAI FOREIGN Y.M.C.A.

By Dr. T. Kagawa. Shanghai, 7/25/30

Dr. Kepler, in introducing Dr. Kagawa: "Our world has progressed because it had two types of men, (1) Men of vision, and (2) Men with the power to accomplish. But Dr. Kagawa is a synthesis of both these types. He is a writer, a poet, a social worker, a political leader, a scientist, a philosopher, an economist, an evangelist and pastor. He has also written sixty books."

Dr. Kagawa:

Shanghai is very hot, and to speak about slum life in a hot place makes one feel all the hotter. If I were a master of English I could describe slum life in a more joyful way, but because I am poor in English I doubt if you can understand me very well.

Don't think the slums are all the time sorrowful. We have laughs and jokes in the slums. I enjoyed them. I lived for fourteen years and eight months in a six feet square house in the slums of Kobe. My wife and I lived there nine years and eight months. It was a joy. There was no use to employ others to sweep out our tiny house. We could do

it ourselves. And my bell boy was the postman from the government. Because I wrote many books, letters came, and telegrams. I could reach out from where I was lying down, without moving, and receive the telegrams, and open them still lying down. We enjoyed our life in the slums.

But it was quite dangerous. The first house we occupied had many traditions. It was empty because of being tormented by a ghost. I am a man who loves adventures and ghosts, so I went there. I was reading Dickens' Christmas Carol, and wanted to try the experiment recorded in it. It was on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1909. I was suffering from tuberculosis, and thought I was going to die. Before I died I wanted to do some good thing. I carried all my things on a small cart and went alone down to the slums.

My friend who has helped me rent that house was characteristic of the neighborhood. He was an ex-convict. At twenty-four years of age he had set fire to a house in the hope of stealing from it; and as a result six hundred houses had burned down. He had been in prison fifteen years. Then he had come out, and become my friend. (See the story of this man in 'Across the Death Line,' pp. 112-114, where he appears under the name of Ueki.)

#### My Statue

The next day a chief gambler came and said to me, "Kagawa, aren't you a kind man? Will you take a man, a drunkard, who has no job and nothing to eat? And make him your disciple?"

"How a disciple?" I asked.

"Give him rice," was the reply.

That man thought I was like a Buddhist priest who usually cares for such cases. The man came. He was called 'Copper Statue' because he would stand still all day long. I had to care for that statue. I had to give food to that statue. I pitied myself. I hadn't money so I asked Dr. Myers to let me clean his chimneys for him. I cleaned chimneys also for the theological seminary where I was studying, and got five yen a month for each of these jobs. So I could feel my friend 'Statue.'

#### Mr. Fujita

Then another man came, Mr. Fujita, a peddler of bean cakes. He had been in prison one and one-half years for killing a man. A drunken man had hit him and upset his whole day's lot of bean cakes, that he was carrying in baskets slung from a pole over his shoulder. Fujita got angry and hit the man on the head. By mistake he killed him instantly. Fujita was put in a prison but later pardoned. Then the ghost of the man began to haunt him and he couldn't sleep at all. When he came to me his hair stood on end, his face was swelled up, and his hands trembled. "Teacher," he said, "I can't sleep, but I have heard that God is with you, so please let me sleep with you." He believed God was with me and would drive away the ghost. So he slept with me; but he could sleep only while he grasped my hand firmly. When he fell into a deeper sleep, he would drop my hand; and then begin to see the ghost and have a terrible nightmare. I would have to waken him. When I had got him broad awake, I would reassure him. Then he would grasp my hand again and go to sleep. For four and a half years he was in that condition!

#### Mr. Izu

Then another men came because I had cared for that second person. That year of 1909, after the Russo-Japanese War, we had a great panic. There was terrible business depression. There was no work, nothing to do. This Mr. Izu

came to me and said, "Teacher, I haven't filled my stomach for a long, long time."

"What do you eat?" I asked him.

"Nothing but water," was the reply.

(This man was called Mr. Izu, from Izu, the name of his native district. Among the downtrodden fellows of the labor class, men are often called merely by the name of the place from which they have come.)

I took in Mr. Izu, and now had four men to care for, Statue, the ghost-haunted man, Izu of the empty stomach and myself! My resources were ten yen a month for sweeping chimneys, and eleven yen as a scholarship. But with the combined sum I couldn't support them, so one day when I came home from the theological seminary and found Mr. Statue lying down as usual and doing nothing, I remonstrated with him for his laziness.

"Why don't you move?" I said to him.

"I don't eat much," he replied, "So I don't like to move. In the slums when we haven't enough to eat, we are accustomed not to move. The best is to keep quiet. When people feel hunger they don't like to move. Then one bowl of rice will sustain that person for three days."

Definitely that is true. In the lodging houses and slums people do not move when they are hungry.

"Give us this day our Dally Breed"

But we had to eat. I had to eat, because I had to work. So Statue said to me, "Let's make okai." Okai is watered rice, boiled thin as gruel with much water, to make it last longer. But even with watering our rice, we hadn't enough for three meals a day. So we decided to omit the midday meal and eat in the morning much watered rice, and in the evening the same thing. We continued for fifty days of that twice a day meal. After fifty days, a nurse, a beautiful character, gave me five yen. And for the first time in fifty days we had a solid meal. On that day for the first time I realized the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." When I had hard rice and ate it I thanked God.

One Shirt at a Time

Then there was the matter of clothing. Seeing the sufferings of the poor I promised my Lord that I would not have more than one suit at a time. (Matt 10:10) I went with only one suit for many years. But one day a beggar come to me and said, "Give me your shirt. If you oppose me you are not a Christian."

So I gave him my shirt. The next day he came and demanded my coat and trousers, I gave them to him also. Then all I had left to put on was a woman's kimono which a destitute old lady had given me. I put on this kimono. It was very pretty, it had a lining which was very red. (And only women wear red linings in their kimono.) I didn't take it off before any person! A Japanese woman's kimono is quite different from a man's, but in slum life it is common for a man to wear a woman's kimono. So I put it on.

But then I had to appear in that fashion at the theological seminary! I forgot I had put on a woman's kimono when I went to the bath house. There we had to leave our clothes in the ante room. You may be sure, I was well ragged by the other students for my feminine kimono, with its red lining!

But gradually my friends found out that I was trying to do reform work in the slums, and the number of those who helped me to care for such people increased.



### Burying Babies

Early in the next year, a man came to me on the street with a dead baby and said, "Please give me five yen to bury this baby." I was surprised that he was carrying around a dead baby. I got five yen and he bought a box and put the baby in it and carried it to the cemetery. That year I had to bury fourteen babies. In 1911 I had to bury nineteen.

At first I was horrified, but after a time I was glad I was not afraid of ghosts, nor of haunted houses. Why do we have so many dead babies in the slums of Kobe and in all the slums of Japan? Because too many are born and slum mothers kill them. Then there are baby brokers. They take a baby to be cared for. The fee is thirty yen, but by the time it reaches the slums that baby has only five or ten yen with it, and it is killed, by underfeeding. Because the women had no money I had to care for such babies. Now in Tokyo after the panic we have hundreds of such cases.

### Gambler and Money

After a while I was given some money to use for the poor in the slums. Then the gamblers wanted this money. The chief gambler, Mr. Koderu, came with a pistol to shoot me if I didn't give it to him. He asked me for thirty yen, I didn't want to meet him, so I just fled. He left five bullets in my wall, and told Mr. Statue, "When Kagawa comes back, show them to him and tell him these five bullets mean something!" I gave him fifteen yen, as I succeeded in getting his first price of thirty yen reduced one-half!

Then the ex-convict who burned six hundred houses came to me and said,

"Kagawa, I want a job. For many months I have been suffering. Now I am selling rice-cakes, but in these days so many hungry coolies come by and say, 'I want borrow this cake,' and take one from my basket, without paying – Now I'm mad."

And he got drunk. When he came back it was one o'clock in the morning. The moon was shining. I was lying awake, I thought he might be coming. I feared he would be violent because he knew about Koderu's five bullets and the fifteen yen he had forced me to give him. I was praying God to keep me safe, for in the slums a person can kill you in an instant. Then the drunkard came and banged and said,

"Kagawa, are you there?"

"Yes," I answered, in a small voice.

Then "Open the door,"

I did, and he said,

"Kagawa, do you think I am a worthy person?"

I hesitated, - but I said,

"Yes, yes, you are a worthy person in the sight of God."

"Then you are going to give me some money?"

"Oh! That's a different matter!" I replied.

He persisted, "If I am a worthy person, you must give me money,"

I said, "Anyhow, let's sleep tonight."

And he said, "If you'll let me sleep in your bed with you, I'll repent."

And I said, "Yes, come in!"

“Is it true? Do you really mean it?” He said. “Then I’ll go and wash my feet, and my face and hands. He came back, marching like a soldier, saying in a loud voice as he passed through the slum-alley, ...

(FRIENDS OF JESUS, Vol. IV. No. 1., January 1931)

## **10. Japan’s Prophet, Kagawa, Speaks-Reported Verbatim by Helen F. Topping, Executive, Kagawa Co-operators of Japan**

At forty-one the most famous novelist and poet in Japan; head of Tokio’s social bureau; founder of a cooperative American style suits for \$1.25; well versed in German philosophy, statistics, history, economic theory, modern psychology – Kagawa’s greatest interest is the teaching of a new way of life, his primary objective the winning of one million souls for Christ. He brings a message of practical Christianity for Japan, and will not rest until it is put into effect – but let him speak for himself.

I want to tell you about the recent movement we have started uplift Japan in the name of Christ. I work as a messenger of Christ in three ways – teaching, healing and organizing. Teaching includes preaching, healing is interpreted to mean physical, mental and moral healing; and organizing explain itself. Many people consider that I am a social leader, but I am simply a servant of Christ, a minister.

### THE MILLION SOULS MOVEMENT

I started the Million Souls Movement for three reasons:

1. Because Japan is changing so rapidly that unless we go right away to preach the gospel, the evangelization of Japan will become more difficult. Marxism is flowing into Japan through Russia and China and, if Marxism captures the laborers in Japan at this time, it will be very difficult for us to capture them later. Their Christianization will be delayed by half a century.
2. Because the Foreign Missions in Japan are decreasing their forces year by year, and if such decreases come suddenly, the small churches in Japan will be weakened.
3. If we could have a million Christians they would be able to support an independent Christian civilization in Japan, as the French Protestants have their own culture in France. The French Huguenots in Paris told me that the French Protestants have just about one million; so I thought that if we could have a million, we could maintain Christianity as a progressive and central movement this country. If the missionaries go away before that goal is attained, Christian culture here will suffer.

### A WANDERING JAPANESE

Two years ago there were nine thousand converts in my meetings, and last year, as I had no money, I stayed home and wrote a book to emancipate the prostitute; but I started traveling in June, and since October, 1928, I have been wandering in Hokkaido, Hokuriku (north and west Japan), and Manchuria. I am a wandering Japanese! I am

following in the steps of John Wesley, having services at five or six o'clock in the mornings, as he did, Bible studies, meetings in the schools, and not less than five meetings a day, sometimes as many as eight, and usually with large attendance. Every day I am busy with these meetings from five in the morning till ten at night.; and since last June, in about seven months, there have been seven thousand six hundred converts (signers of cards expressing decision to follow Christ).

#### UNEXPECTED COOPERATION

The Vice Minister of Education is helping our job in the background. In Morioka I was surprised to see one thousand seven hundred girls file into the meeting. I heard they had been told to come by their teachers, who had received the order to "send all the girls so that they will not become Marxists." So I did not ask them to become Christians, for I felt that in some way they had been forced to come, because their teachers led them. I hate any approach to state Christianity. In Hokuriku all the Buddhists came out; so I spoke as a lay person, just an ordinary speech; but the third time I asked them to decide, and many of them did decide for Christ.

#### TO REACH THE MASSES

We are asking our friends to organize prayer meetings everywhere for this movement. "Ask and ye shall receive!" I have three settlements which cost thirteen hundred yen monthly. I have to write to support them.

Our objective is to reach the masses. The samurai and middle class have been reached hitherto, but the ten million new proletarian voters are not Christian, and of eleven thousand villages, less than ten are evangelized, and less than ten have churches. We need, therefore, to go to those villages to preach the gospel to the one million seven hundred thousand fishermen, the thirty-five thousand miners, and the ten million manual laborers.

#### ORGANIZE BY INDUSTRIES

My idea is to organize missions separately by industries, as in the middle ages, having guilds for the stone masons and for the carpenters. We have already organized a nurses' mission to capture the hospitals. As you know, hospitals were originally started by the churches, but now are divorced from religion. We want to capture them back for Christ. The patients are longing for religion. We cannot go hospital by hospital; but if we reach the nurses for Christ, they will win their patients, and through them their families.

I cannot reach the eleven thousand villages of Japan in my lifetime, so I ask them to come to us! I have a peasants' gospel school in my home, and I select out of many applicants twelve boys to come and live for a month in my home; and we have a most enthusiastic time for Christ. We interpret the history of the Church, not with dogma, but showing how the love of Christ worked through the Church, and how the Christian Brotherhood movement, the beginning of which is recorded in the second and fourth chapters of The Acts, developed through the centuries, down to the Moravians and the Christian Social Movement in England. We study agricultural science and village reform, village sociology and psychology. And later we receive the most enthusiastic reports of what the young men have accomplished on returning to their villages.

### HEALING SOCIAL EVILS

I take the healing work of the Christian worker to include healing social evils, securing the prohibition of drink (liquor) and the abolition of the system of licensed prostitution. I was asked to write a novel against licensed prostitution. This I did last year, and meanwhile laws are being passed in four prefectures of Japan – Fukui, Fukushima, Yamagata and Akita – to provide for the gradual abolition of the system itself. I am so thankful to our Lord that the day is coming when prostitution in the most degraded form in the Orient is going to be abolished and prohibition is also coming on. National public opinion is for these reforms.

### THE KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT

Take Luke 4:18, Christ's manifesto in the synagogue at Nazareth, "The Spirit of the Lord is come upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives; recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised." With these five points – economically erect, psychological emancipation, social emancipation, physical emancipation, political emancipation – the gospel of Christ reaches every point of human lives. The love of Christ is through and through for the hearts of men to be uplifted toward God. So I want to carry the gospel of Christ into ordinary living. As you know, I was once arrested and once in prison. But if we want the true gospel of Christ we must move to establish the Kingdom of God, and so I organized the Peasant Movement, the Labor Movement, etc.

Recently the government has arrested six hundred communists of whom one hundred and sixty-seven were college students. The government added two million five hundred yen to its budget and employed one thousand seven hundred extra police, new detectives, in the effort to suppress the tendency toward revolution. But these repressive measures could not relieve the economic panic, which still continues. We still have internal turmoil, and trouble with the Chinese. Business is very bad, and thievery and murders and suicide increase year by year. So I thought it necessary to carry on the Kingdom of God Movement actively.

Unless we work now, the work will be delayed. Even outside the Church of Christ, even the Buddhists take the million souls movement as necessary. The principal of a medical college told me that he has an image of Christ and an image of Buddha, side by side. Though he is not a Christian, he is depending on Christ. Unless we receive Christ, Japan has no hope.

As it is written in the "Christ of the Indian Road," we don't discuss what we believe, but Whom. I know Christ is the Master, the Individual God, because he gave us Love, and Love is Eternal, Love is everything. I really confess that I have cast away the new theology of the nineteenth century type of the German new theologians. It is nothing but dogmas and imaginary conceptions. I take the gospel of Christ as the Bloody Cross, the Prayer of Love, the Adventure of Love, the Victory of Love... We must get rid of coldness as the church of Ephesus. We must have earnestness in Christ. May our Lord bless us and bless you to win Japan for Christ!

(THE PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE, March, 1930)

## 11. THE KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT IN MANY COUNTRIES

### BURUMA

1930, July 14

Here letters from Paul Braisted (see his earlier 1930, issue):

I have recently proposed to our Evangelistic Committee a Plan for a comprehensive sustained and effective program of evangelism for the entire province. It is in Committee now. I am hoping that we may start a truly adventurous and worthy work in this field.

We have felt a very gratifying response, and the real Guidance of God in all this has so far been done. We are grateful for every word of the Kingdom of God Campaign, and find it a great help and inspiration to us. I am one leading a ( ) of the Call;

“The Burma Christian Council through its Evangelistic Committee, calls the church of Christ in Burma to a vision of God’s purpose for our country, .. a move to take Burma Christian. The Council feels that the preparation of ourselves is the vital factor, and the call is therefore primarily to prayer and penitence, so that through communion with God we may realize the greatness of His Love, and the magnificence of His Purpose. This realization should express itself in a deepening spiritual life, a growing Christlikeness, a radiant joy, and a passion for bringing others to Christ. Not the least important part of our movement should be a searching examination of our social and industrial conditions, to see how far they are consistent with Christian principles... For the next six months, the need is to catch the vision of God’s Purpose, to notify ourselves to be the agents of that Purpose, and by believing prayer, create an atmosphere in which great forward movement may be born and set going with such momentum that no power can step the coming of the Kingdom of God in Burma.

### INDIA

From Dr. J. B. Ogden, of The United Church Review, of the United Church of Northern India:

I am hoping that the work of the Kingdom of God Movement is going to result in great blessing and quickening of life all over the Orient. God has raised up Kagawa for just such an hour as this and He will use him in ways that we little dream of.

Please tell Mr. Kagawa that I am using his book, Love the Law of Life, to pass about among Hindu and Mohammedan men here, in the hope that they will catch something of what he has found. India needs Christ so much in these days of stress and strain. In the midst of it all men’s hearts are hungry and they are wistful feeling out for something that only Christ can give. We are praying for the first to catch here and being to burn

in the hearts of men. I have used two different articles by Dr. Kagawa for printing in our United Church Review.

#### POLAND

From Edmund Chambers, Editorial Secretary, M. E. Church in Poland:

I have just been reading Love the Law of Life by Toyohiko Kagawa. A great and constructive Christian thinker has appeared who has a message of today. Especially useful will his message be in those parts of the world where the materialist evolutionary theory is received widely and where the economic message of Karl Marx is regarded as Gospel. Poland is one of these places. I am writing therefore to ask permission to publish this book in Polish.

From the Polish Labor Library:

As the Polish Labor Library we ask you if you can give us the authorization right in the Polish of your novel, "Shisen wo Koete" (Before the Dawn).

#### CANADA

From a Pacific Great Christian Worker

For ever a year now I have been receiving copies of the "Friends of Jesus". For longer than that I have been interested. I pray regularly for in the success of the great work Dr. Kagawa has undertaken, and for its extension in our own land. Thursday is my day for that. I am delighted to learn through a mutual friend that Dr. Bates has come to Canada and that he is undertaking work in connection with the Kingdom of God Movement here. I work a great deal among the logging camps and for years have been praying for some definitely Christian movement which would appeal to such men, who are usually out of touch with the Church, and are inclined toward Socialism. Only last week I was able to form a small group in a logging camp, the last place where I would have thought of even trying, but now that I think carefully back, a place where the spirit of God has been at work on one or two hearts at least. It is very small beginning but I am everjoyed about it for it came spontaneously and entirely without direct effort on my part. Let us all pray for one another. Nothing since the beginning of this chast work has so greatly encouraged me and no movement has appealed to me as has yours in Japan, and no praise God, it is on in Canada.

Praying for your continued progress and for the Glory of God once were to shine out through committed hearts and lives, among you and in all the world, I am.

Yours sincerely,

R. C. Scitts.

#### HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Jan 15, 1931

From Theodore Richards, pastor, Central ( ) Union Church, Honolulu:

Your material "Friends of Jesus" came to hand and I have seldom been as deeply impressed with a need for a new movement in the churches. My whole attention has been given to personal evangelism, and I thank God for the evidence of his approval during the years. But I have never seen the two forms, namely the personal and the social, bridged together as in the person of Kagawa and in his Message.

Feb, 17, 1931

I want to be a cooperator. I am confessing quite generally that I have not been so moved for years as by this combination of evangelism and what is frequently called "the Social Message." The two have been so apparently contrasted, and the lifetime has there been such a beautiful illustration of the blending of the two as in the Kingdom of God Movement illustrated in the life of Kagawa San, I have been fairly aglow with it.

#### WORLD'S OFFICES AT GENEVA

From Mary Dingman, world's YWCA Industrial Secretary:

I have many things for which to thank you. I am delighted to have that 1930 Japan Mission Year Book. It is quite thrilling to see how the emphasis on social Christianity in Japan is interesting in recent years.

From the world's YMCA information Service: (About China) At the national conference Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan outlines in a most persuasive way a comprehensive plan for the realization of a Christian world.

From Merle Davis, Department of Social and Industrial Research and Council. International Missionary Council:

"We naturally look to you, in connection with these problems, as a counselor who can speak from unique and invaluable experience and insight. We believe that the Kingdom of God Movement in Japan is a demonstration to the Churches of the world of the necessity and practicability of the application of the social gospel and that the spiritual and social message of Jesus are not only not in conflict with one another, but that neither is complete without the other. Thus we find in your work and your leadership in Japan a profound significance and universal significances and a source of hope and inspiration as we endeavor to begin our service.

From M. Senadd, World's YMCA Literary Secretary:

I am very grateful indeed for the collection of reports and interviews of Dr. Kagawa. As always, I have read the whole with eagerness.

#### CHINA

From Newton Y. C. Liu:

Having the happy and challenging occasion with Dr. Kagawa in January at Shanghai College, I am very much

interested in his ideas and plans. May I have a copy of the working program for the Kingdom of God Movement in Japan? I wish to know more about the mutual aid, nurses' guild, teachers' guild, consumers and producers cooperative, and so on, to put some of them in practice here in China if possible.

#### HOLLAND

From a State Housing Inspector, Dr. Ir. H. G. Van Beusekon.

October 25, 1930.

To Rev. Michio Kozaki:

In the International Review of Missions you wrote an outlook building articles on Kagawa and his work. I should like to know more of this brilliant person, as the Dutch Council for Missionary Education has asked me to write a small volume on his life for our Christian readers in Holland.

December 10, 1930.

To my great joy I received your letter and two covers with very important paper. Indeed Dr. Kagawa is a brilliant person, but there are so many brilliant persons in the world, who shine in all their glory for a time, reach and then disappear. But we in the West see that Kagawa is more. We have seen that his work is not ordinary missionary work, which brings a believer here and there to the Christian faith, but that he is the man who can make Christ indigenous in Japan, and can bring the whole Japanese people to the foot of the Cross.

We pray for Kagawa and his cooperators. We can learn a great many things from Japan. We see Kagawa is living the Gospel of Christ, we are only believing it. You are applying Christ's teaching to every day life, to social relations, to industrial conditions.

We are unable to do so. Indeed Holland has a very good social legislation, not only on paper, but our laws are effectuated. But our Christian social movement is very feeble, and the mighty Socialist Party (25% of our population) is an enemy of the Church and of Christ Himself. It is decidedly anti-Christian.

So far it has gone with us and the cause of all these troubles in that the Church has lost the spirit of Christ. Happily there are signs of hope. Our youth asks for religion and is turning to Christ. Our young men are interested in everything that happens on the world's mission fields. The books of Stanley Jones have found thousands of readers here. So I hope I shall succeed in putting Kagawa and his brilliant example before the conscience of our people.

Only a few people in Holland have as yet heard of him, and some of these fear that he will lose the sight of the Cross and arrive at the Social Gospel of our American friends. I have not yet studied the papers you have sent me but my first glimpse of them has given me the conviction that this will not be the case.

There are many people who begin their Christianity and end it with the Sermon the Mount, but I read new that Kagawa does not agree with them and that Christianity surpassed Buddhism and other religions, because it has the Cross. What we need in the Social Movement" says Kagawa, "is the man who can bear the Cross."

For us, the people of Western Europe, the great cause of all social evils is in, and the way out leads on Calvary.



So we are happy that Japan unites with us in the belief in the efficacy of the Cross.

With all my heart I adhere to what a pastor writes in the September, 1930, number: "Our Christianity needs a breath of new life. We are so much given to promotion and are so weak on interpretation and especially on the practice of the Gospel. It must be continually refreshing to be in the presence of such a life-living spirit as Kagawa. We need such an one here."

I am finishing my letter now by thanking you again for your great kindness in giving me so much good information. I hope to use it for inspiring Holland or your great campaign. Though I am not a pastor now a missionary but a State Housing Inspector, I want to reach our Christian with my writings. And I am praying for Kagawa and his work.

March 7, 1931.

My biography of Dr. Kagawa is being continued regularly. I can only spend for in my leisure hours during the evening. Yet I hope it will be published within two or three months. I received from Geneva three big parcels of periodnewspapers and manuscript in short, a storehouse of information, from which the

## 12. Topping to Tayler

12. 51 Demma Cho 1-chome

Yotsuya Tokyo Japan

September 19, 1930

Dr. J. B. Tayler  
23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road  
Shanghai China

Dear Dr. Tayler:

Your letter to Dr. Kagawa of July 12<sup>th</sup> has not been neglected, though I have waited until a definite answer might be formulated.

You may know by this time that he is expecting to return to China in January. At that time you may be able to get a fuller list of suggested materials from him. I shall say only what he would not say himself, that his own books may afford you some of the material needed, as he has written on a wide variety of subjects, sixty books, and many of them for popular reading.

Mr. Y. T. Wu of the National YMCA, 29 Museum Road, has been asking for Dr. Kagawa's books for translation purposes. Apparently he has in mind something similar to what you have written of, simple books for fairly elementary reading. I may be mistaken in this surmise. And he may want religious books while you want secular subjects, economics, etc. At any rate, at his request, I have ordered the full set of Dr. Kagawa's books collected to be sent to China. A second letter has just come from him saying that he will not want more than four or five. I am

replying that I have sent him a list with descriptions of the books such as he has asked; and that the National Christian Council or the Christian Literature Society might want the set if he does not feel he can use it at the YMCA. These are samples; but from the demand voiced at the conferences this summer at Shanghai and Hangchow, I surmise it would be a good thing to have asset somewhere in your national Christian headquarters in Shanghai.

At Hangchow I talked with Mr. Chang, your rural secretary, about this. And Dr. Lobenstein might have thoughts on the subject. I should be grateful to know whether this suggestion would in any way meet your wishes, and hope you will see the list of titles and descriptions which I have sent to Mr. Wu.

Cordially yours

### 13. Topping to Kepler

51 Demma Cho 1-chome  
Yotsuya Tokyo  
January 2, 1931

Dr. A. R. Kepler  
United Church of China

Dear Dr. Kepler:

Your letter of December 15<sup>th</sup> should have been answered sooner; but Dr. Kagawa, at first away in Osaka, later said that he had cabled direct to the National Christian Council from Osaka his acceptance of their plan to have the last two days at Putu, and therefore he said it was only two days each, and he was not ready to send you a plan or outline such as you have asked. I think he has not yet had time to put his mind on it. You remember it was so when he went to China in the summer. You asked for such an outline in advance, and he was able to give it only on the spot, after reaching Hangchow. I hope this will not inconvenience you, and that the change to the National Christian Auspices for the last two days will be agreeable.

Immediately upon receipt of your letter my Father sent a hundred copies of the January number of Friends of Jesus to the address you give in North China. And I hope you have received the thousand copies in Shanghai, as you ordered for the missionaries. I do apologize for not putting in the social economic, or 'Application' lectures. But they come to over fifty pages altogether, and though I have worked them over carefully, I felt unready to print them. Also, from England Dr. Kenneth McLennon has requested Dr. Kagawa to write a 20,000-word pamphlet on the Kingdom of God Movement, and the latter has said to compile all these things he has said about it in such a manuscript. This will afford an opportunity for working over again, and combining with all other utterances on each subject, which will, I think be desirable, to clarify points of such technical importance before publication. The religious addresses or 'Foundations' were much more complete and finished as delivered. They made as large an

issue – 32 pages – as we find people will read ordinarily. The others I hope to consult with you about before putting into their form for publication.

Now I have a great request. Dr. and Mrs. Johnson – Mr. J. is business manager of the Methodist Board, 150 Fifth Ave., and Mrs. J. president of the Federation of 44 women's foreign missionary boards of North America – want to come to Putu! They have been with Dr. Kagawa here and have his spirit more than any others I have seen, and I believe they will really be a help. Please let them come. They will apply to you. They leave here the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> I think, for Shanghai. And may I bring with me (lest I be again as at Hangchow so much alone) Miss Erskine, another genuine disciple of Kagawa, a YWCA secretary and Board woman from Philadelphia? Both will apply to you. A Happy New Year to you!

#### 14. Kepler to Topping

Jan. 5, 1931

Miss Helen F. Topping,  
101 Haramachi,  
Koishikawa Tokyo, Japan.

Dear Miss Topping:

I have just received the enclosed letter from Miss Sparkes. Will you kindly note the change of her address? Her original address was London Mission, Siaokan, Hupeh, China. If there are any further payments to be made on her subscription to the Friends of Jesus, kindly let me know and I will see that you get reimbursed for the same.

I have just received a single copy of the Friends of Jesus, Tsinan Number. It only arrived yesterday and it stirs up very many blessed memories.

With regard to the number to be sent to me, I think 500 will be ample. In fact, 400 will be nearly adequate. I still have about 500 on hand of the Shanghai Number. I can make one of two uses of these remaining Shanghai Number – either I can return them to you in Japan, or else I can send them to all of the missionaries in the Church of Christ in China who have not yet received copies. I will be very glad to be guided by your suggestion in this matter.

I am intending to write you an additional letter to reach you by the same mail; but I want you to have my response at once to your question with regard to the number of copies of the Tsinan Number to send me. I am leaving for Canton tomorrow and will be absent until the 15<sup>th</sup>.

Just when I am dictating this letter, I get your letter of Dec. 28<sup>th</sup>, giving me the information with regard to Dr. Tomi Wada Kora and the other young emissary. I will try to get our group in touch with the latter party through the Uchiyama Book Store. I am so glad that they are coming here.

I just wish to add one more paragraph to this letter. I think that I am in a position to know whether 20,000 Koreans were in Manchuria or not. Our Manchuria Synod is spread all over Manchuria. We have Scotch and Irish

missionaries working in the very region where these massacres were supposed to have taken place, and none of us have ever heard of such wholesale massacre. There were a very small number of course massacred last summer which brought on the massacring of the Chinese in Korea; but I am pretty sure take that the number never came up to a hundred, and the Koreans in revenge killed a great many more Chinese. I am sure that Dr. Kagawa will be glad to know that this reported wholesale massacring of the Koreans is absolutely a myth. The amazing fact is that during these last five months, so few Japanese have been killed, apart from in Manchuria. Until yesterday I do not recall any Japanese to have been killed by Chinese, except in the British colony of Hong Kong. Within the last few days, of course, believe two or three Japanese lost their lives in Foochow, and that was only after the Japanese Consul and Naval officers – so the Chinese report says, (the truthfulness of which I cannot vouch) – tore down in the street of Foochow anti-Japanese posters. If these two Japanese officers did actually tear down these posters, then of course it is not surprising that the students got uncontrollably inflamed and killed entirely innocent Japanese subjects. It is just another indication of how hopeless the situation becomes when we once let force and hatred displace cooperation and love.

Very cordially yours,

A. R. Kepler

## 15. Topping to Johnson

Demma Cho 1-chome

Yotsuya Tokyo

January 5, 1931

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

After you left yesterday the remainder of us sat in the spot in front of the fire, and talked some more about ways and means, compared dates, and meanwhile Mrs. Nitobe invited us to supper for our next meeting, which I am glad to say is to be another small one, probably the fifteenth of February. She is to let me know after asking Dr. Nitobe. I think your conquest of her was very wonderful!

If I don't get the tea table notes written up in time I'll bring them to you in China.

The last paragraph on the first page of the stuff in our hands yesterday you will recognize as your wording on (3), in the Aims, which I had preserved to very carefully that I didn't find it till after writing up the matter as best I could without it!

Dear Mrs. Johnson – the Christian Literature Society is a most terrific problem to us, and if you have given it, would you be willing to try to help change it? The enclosed from Dr. Warnhuis will help explain, and I can give you much more. It is retarding the indigenous movement terribly. And yet can be made very helpful, wisely guided. (Can't find the Warnhuis letter just now, but you can get it from him directly in China.)

Now I shall rush this to you, with deep thankfulness for the Guidance of the Holy Spirit in these wonderful contacts and in the work you have been doing with us, and with anticipation of seeing you again soon, -

#### 16. PRSPECTS AND RESULTS (January 13, 1931)

Times are changing. Thousands of young men are seeking Christianity. I receive many letters daily from young men seeking Christ. My wife and other helpers are busy answering them. And I take it as an omen of the revival of faith.

The time is ripe for us to stand up for the task! And the Church as a whole is now preparing for it. The church authorities of all denominations, and the executive committee of the National Christian Council, are uniting their forces. The prospect is very bright indeed.

On June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1928, I set out upon the campaign, and did not remain at home more than two weeks after that except during January and February when I had the Peasants Gospel School in my house. The rest of the time was spent mostly in travel. Two hundred and fifty thousand attended the meetings in the first year, and fourteen thousand signed decision cards. When we Christians express on, the Japanese public is not cold.

#### THE KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT – ITS MESSAGE

The united committee of all the Christian denominations has named itself the ‘Kingdom of God Movement’. I take Luke 4:18, Christ’s manifesto in the synagogue at Nazareth as the standard: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives; and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; - “those five points:

1. ECONOMIC
2. PSYCHOLOGICAL EMANCIPATION
3. SOCIAL EMANCIPATION
4. PHYSICAL EMANCIPATION
5. POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

As it is written in the ‘Christ of the Indian Road.’, we don’t discuss what we believe, but Whom. I know Christ is the Master, the Individual God, because He gave us Love, and Love is Eternal, Love is all-sufficient. I take the Gospel of Christ as the Cross of Blood, the Prayer of Love, the Adventure of Love, the Victory of Love. We must get rid of coldness. We must have earnestness in Christ. May our Lord bless us and bless you to win Japan for Christ!

Toyohiko Kagawa

#### 17. Topping to Friends

Goto Islands  
January 13, 1931

Dear Friends:

The above map will indicate our present situation. Three and a half hour of Nagasaki, the captain decided the storm was too heavy to attempt the crossing in it, and turned into Tomie Wan, a harbor in the Goto Islands. Right ahead of us is the big volcano of the islands, to the right is a smaller volcanic 'bubble' they call the Goto Whale, both because it looks like one, and because whales are caught here. The little tufts of green along the shore are something like tropical foliage. It was from these islands that Amakusa came, and overthrew the – no, led the Shimabara rebellion of the Catholic Christians, that ended in their annihilation.

The captain thinks we shall be only twelve hours delayed, and shall reach Shanghai early Thursday morning. Dr. Kagawa is delighted, and came up on deck with all the glee of an adolescent to enjoy the fun of it. And it is a providence for him to have this extra moment of rest, for he has a cough again after the stormy weather he encountered in Shizuoka country districts, January 4-9, speaking in small towns, in theatres and all sorts of places. Nevertheless he reached the boat this morning before she decked, and came on board at the earliest possible moment, full of genki, which is Japanese for pep.

Several Nagasaki friends whom I surmised to be pastors and newspaper reporters, were there to see him off, taking notes on his plans for China:

"As a result partly of the Revolution" (he said) the United Church of China came into being, embracing 200,000 out of the 350,000 protestant Christians and fourteen missionary bodies. At Putu this Church will have a leaders conference, and then we shall go north to Cheloo University where five years ago the faculty was forced out and the Christian character of the school somewhat lost. They want to revive it. And then to Weishien, to a conference on Rural work for Shantung. As Denmark and Switzerland were revived through applying Christian principles to industry, we want to revive China, through three principles: (1) The Cooperatives; (2) Peasant Gospel Schools, like the Danish Folk High Schools; and (3) Direct evangelism.

When we arrive in Shanghai we are to first drop down to Putu, near Ningpo, for a conference till the 19<sup>th</sup>; then back to Shanghai for the 20<sup>th</sup> (NCC); then to Tsingtao – no – the latest is to go from Shanghai to Tsinan by train and visit the tomb by the way – the tomb of Confucius. At Tsinan is Cheloo University, and thence we go inland to the Rural Conference. Then back to Tsinan by train, and to Tsingtao; thence by boat to Kobe, arriving there on Feb. 9.

5 a.m. January 15<sup>th</sup>, nearing Shanghai.

Yesterday morning very early we faced the storm again, and ploughed and pitched through it all day long, being uncertain what progress could be made and when we could reach Shanghai, until afternoon. The dining room was the lonemesr place on the boat. I had been praying the night before, in the calm of the Goto Islands, that in some way Dr. Kagawa might be persuaded to take the day for complete rest. He did!

I stayed on deck from about seven in the morning till nearly nine at night wrapped up like a white cocoon in four blankets. My one or two sallies into the dining room were not entirely successful, so by tea time they were bringing it to me on deck, and dinner was gorgeously alone there. In fact all day I had the rear deck entirely myself, stretched out it a comfortable steamer chair. During the night the boat has entered the River, so I rose at 2:30 a.m. to make up

for lost time on the typewriter. We are to get in at seven, and have breakfast half an hour earlier.

At Osaka Dr. Kagawa had a mass meeting in the auditorium of the largest newspaper in Japan, the Osaka Mainichi. This, and other Japanese newspapers, have a program of community service on a high plane, (including the fostering of expression of women's opinion through mass meetings, delegated from hundreds of women's organizations all over the Southwest Region). They like to fill their auditorium and so asked Dr. Kagawa to speak on the most popular subject, -religion.

Incidental to his speech came an addition to his party for touring America next summer. His friend and disciple, Mr. Murashima, one of the editors of the Mainichi and an earnest Christian, will be sent by the newspaper with partial payment of expenses, to report on Dr. Kagawa's experiences in America.

"So far we have been reporting only the dark side of America, for sometimes the good side doesn't make good news. Bad news makes good news, good stimuli. So Murashima is to go to report back to Japan the good side of America. It is necessary. He can visit around in Japanese Christian homes in America and report back."(said Dr. Kagawa)

"And another man is going in the party, - the proprietor of a cinema, and a talkie inventor, - the inventor of a simple form of talkie. He is going to study the talkie in America. He is a rich man but wants to go with me. He is a friend of Mr. Osaki, the editor of the Kingdom of God Movement newspaper. He has register his invention in America -- and you can buy it for only \$17.00...

"He made my fairy tale. The Horses Heaven (Uma no Tengoku) into a film by this time."

"While in Osaka, we had a talk with Mr. Kobayashi, the vice-president of one of the biggest electric companies, the Hanshin Kyuko (Osaka-Kobe Fast Inter Urban). He is in charge of the Takarazuka theatres.

"We are going to dramatize Japanese and European fairy tales for the children opera on Saturday and Sunday, to cut off the bad influence of bad cinemas and bad theatre productions. I promised I would write more fairy tales to be dramatized to put in the opera to entertain the children.

"Murashima San was with us, and became our testimony, and we three promised that I would write Mr. Kobayashi would put on the stage Murashima San would do the newspaper publicity."

(Then did Mr. Kobayashi have an idea of uplifting the stage when he began that Takarazuka girls opera?)

"Kobayashi San has good sense. He may not have had a special idea of a high standard in the beginning. But it became so. It became better."

(You influenced him to make it better?)

"Last time I did not make any definite proposal, but this time I proposed. We must get rid of the bad influence of chambara (fighting), etc., on the stage."

Dr. Kagawa would be very grateful to receive the fairy tale books that are most attractive, with the genuine old folk tales, for this new program.

....

The friends in Nagasaki were asking Dr. Kagawa how many times he had been to China and he would not remember -- six or seven times, he said. This is now the third time I have been with him, to take the English notes

which are so precious as he rarely speaks in English in Japan and always does so in China, unless speaking to a Japanese audience. The first time I went to China it was at the suggestion of Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, then national Christian council secretary in China. It would hardly have occurred to me to go, otherwise, but since then I have taken it for granted, and have found each trip increasingly valuable.

...

While campaigning in Shizuoka country districts, Dr. Kagawa ran across a site of a Peasant Gospel School for that Province, at Mikatagahara, near the Lakeside of Hamanako, in Totomi, Shizuoka Ken. At this place a "Mr. Ono, who was two years in that good school of Mr. Uemura, is now engaged in pioneering settlement work on that plateau of Mikatagahara. He has seven boys with him and is influencing seven villages around about. He is a friend of Mr. Horii, the first graduate of our Kawaragi School, and because I told Mr. Horii that we are considering starting a school in Gotemba, he told Mr. Ono. Mr. Ono is not only good for the faculty for the school – he is a pillar. The boys will come and learn from him."

"The land is cheap. One cho, or two and one-half acres, is only \$400."

More later,

H. F. T.

## 18. THE INDIVIDUAL ASPECT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

By Toyohiko Kagawa

Shanghai Fellowship  
Conference,

January 17, 1931

"He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is Love."

Yesterday afternoon I touched the social side of Christ and last evening the ethical side. This morning I want to take up the problem of religious education, especially of individual religious education; and today in the afternoon, the social side of religious education. To finish ethical training we need religious education, especially in order to give a full training in Christian ethics. But so far as I understand it, the present system of religious education of the Protestant Church is not enough. We have a full course of biblical training, but this biblical training is only one-seventh of what I consider to be religious education.

Religious education has seven phases:

1. Bible History.



2. Nature Study.
3. Fine Arts.
4. Conscience.
5. Work.
6. Love.
7. Personal Piety.

Our present system is too much concerned with the past – with the Bible history. So the young people after middle school grade, after the age of fifteen, stop coming to Sunday School, and when they meet Marxian principles in college they discard the religious education they have received in Sunday School. Why? Because we are teaching only the past and not touching the present or future.

As I have said, we have a good system of biblical training and I know it is the revelation of God. But the revelation of God is not only in history. It is in nature, and in fine arts, especially religious fine arts, and also in conscience. But the young men looking forward the future are not satisfied even with nature, fine arts and conscience. They want to have some kind of work; and they want to love – to love the poor, the proletariat. However, when we simply work, we become tired; when we do nothing but love our neighbors, we get worn out! So we must have piety, personal piety, imbued with the Holy Spirit. Thus I have enumerated the seven means of religious education.

Religious psychology develops from lower to higher stages. In the beginning, in childhood, there is more or less of a natural inclination to nature study, which predominates up to about the age of twelve. Then the children develop a social side. Then later, from about seventeen years old onward, comes the period of rapid psychological development. Still later, from perhaps the age of twenty-four comes the fully developed conscience, and moral or ethical religion.

We must supply these seven points of religious education at the appropriate stages of this psychological development. For instance children who cannot read cannot understand the Bible, so we must begin from nature study, and then fine arts, and then when the children can read we must begin to teach the Bible. And when the germ of conscience starts we must teach meditation. And we must teach work, loving kindness, and the last requisite, personal piety. Nowadays in our religious education we have graded our Bible teaching according to the ages of the pupils, but we haven't sufficiently worked out these other six points according to the different stages of development.

From the Oriental point of view, Prof. Coe of Union Seminary lays too much emphasis on the social side, and for the Oriental his Social Theory of Religious Education stresses too much the social and psychological creative side, to the exclusion of the others. Jesus Christ was inclined to mediation, and so are Orientals in general. We have also a strong tendency to love nature, and to appreciate the blessing we receive from nature. That kind of appreciation is lacking in the religious education of Coe. We must have the seven points in all round balanced way. I appreciated the great effort of Dewey and Coe, but we Orientals must have our own

theory of religious education. We must complement the Occidental proposals in regard to religious education. For instance in Japan where we have much appreciation for meditation and for nature, if you teach only the social theory, it will not be understood at all. Even in Great Britain, the Boy Scouts are more popular than the Sunday Schools with the children, because the Scouts have all these seven points in a wonderful program. It is not as well developed as it might be, I think, but it is the beginnings of a good religious education and we must develop it more fully.

Then in regard to mission schools; our boys' mission schools in Japan are a failure, I am very sorry to say. We have about seventeen boys' mission schools which are of secondary and junior college grade and eighteen secondary mission schools for girls. These girls schools are all successful while those for the boys fail. Why? Probably in China you have a similar condition. Probably you are spending thousands of dollars on these schools and yet find them a failure. Why? Because though in the Bible department you have a good teacher, in the science department you have not a good one. For science you have to employ some Ph. D. man who is not religious. He says in his classes that there is no God and the boys respect his words, and mock at the Bible teacher. That destroys the atmosphere of the school completely.

" I visited one of the famous 'Christian' cities of Japan, about two months ago. It is in the northern part of the main island, and is a city of about fifty thousand. From it about two hundred pastors have come, including the first Japanese bishop, of a certain Church. It is a wonderful city, the maker of one denomination in Japan. But when I visited the boys' mission school there, I was shocked to find that with seven hundred students, only seven of the twenty-eight teachers were earnest Christians, - though about sixteen bore the name of faculty are not Christians at all and they are the best professors! So when I preached a good sermon (it was a good sermon! - Laughter), only one boy decided to be a Christian - one out of seven hundred. When I preached the same sermon in Osaka, four hundred and eighty decided for Christ? But in this place when the workers passed the pencils and decision cards, the boys threw them on the floor and crushed them under their heels. I reported that condition in this school to the bishop, and he said he knew that school is very bad. Why? Because though the Bible teacher is good, the teachers of science, mathematics, etc., are all non-Christians. We find the same mistake in America, Great Britain and Germany and other parts of Europe. " ( " Deleted)

The best school is the small school. I do not say that a great institution is foolish. We need large institutions. But if we organize a big school, we must have an exceptionally good staff. We must show personal kindness to the students. I confess that in the Doshisha, our Christian University in Kyoto, with its five thousand students, though it is a Christian institution, it has strikes all the time. It is a sort of a volcanic institution, with periodical eruptions!

Now taking up the seven points in order, let us consider:

1. How to teach Nature. In the fourth chapter of Mark and the thirteenth of Matthew are the answers to this question of teaching religious education through nature. In the parables of Christ in these chapters we find life, power, change, growth, selections. Law and aim or purposes. We must teach these seven universals through Nature - Nature not as a material thing, but as a living thing.

I was told that last year in London there were scientist lectures by such professors as Jeans, Eddington, Thomson, Whitehead and Huxley – even Huxley now is inclining to religion – and these English scientists are religious as compared to those of the nineteenth century. We must find such professors, who will teach religion through science. Unless we find that kind of good professors, religious education in a big institution is a failure.

We have not yet worked out schedules for teaching nature to infants and children, but I am studying carefully how to work out this nature study for Sunday Schools. (See Dr. Kagawa's book, *The Sculpture of the Soul*). I have visited many good Sunday School buildings in America, costing a hundred thousand dollars or so, but going inside they have nothing, - nothing but some religious pictures. They consider religious education depends on buildings, but it is foolish!

Nature study for children starts with the common things, - soil, grasses, leaves, e.g., I tell the child at four years of age to go out and pick up ten kinds of leaves and come back and compare them. Thus I teach how wonderful is the scheme of God woven on the designs of the leaves. I do the same with rocks and pebbles. In Japan we have two hundred and fifty kinds of rocks. I wish that in this Kiangsu Province you would find the rocks and teach the children the design of God through these rocks.

As Paul teaches in the first chapter of Romans, through nature we can find God sufficiently. But because our conscience is dulled we ignore this revelation of God through nature. We must learn how mysterious is the law of life in nature as the revelation of God.

In Japan we have very noted biologists, professors, and at the same time earnest Christians. such a one is Prof. Kimura, who spent two weeks in prayer before writing a book on biology, which is a most wonderful story of nature. He wrote in this book about evolution, but in evolution he sees God. Some friends in the southern part of America do not like evolution. They attack me for teaching it. I say 'Yes. I teach it because I see the revelation of God in evolution.' The more I study evolution, the more I see the wonderful revelation of God. Therefore I teach, not the Darwinian theory, but the theistic theory of evolution.

The revelation of God in nature is very great. Probably Japanese people do not themselves look beautiful, yet we do have beautiful nature in Japan; that may be one reason why we emphasize the teaching of nature! Probably Western peoples have more beautiful girls and so teach the social side (Laughter). But unless we teach the ethical and moral side, the Japanese people do not consider it religion.

2. How to teach Fine Arts. We have many kinds of Fine Arts. To begin with we have music, painting, architecture, and then also dancing, drama, poetry, novels, etc., but in the Protestant Church we have only architecture. In this the Anglican Church is very fine; but I am sorry to say in Japan we have none, and probably in China the Protestants have as yet very little. So we omit this part, but show pictures of beautiful church architecture to the children. (cf. all the issues of the Kingdom of God Movement newspaper, showing a rather full collection of the best church architecture of the world in successive weekly issues.)

Music: We have ignored the teaching of music. Well, you say, we have hymn-singing. Yes, the most terrible singing (Laughter)! So I am asking friends and especially missionaries to teach religious music, through

Victoria records. Thus we can give great music to the children. If you have to listen to my terrible voice you do not think it is music! But very often I shed tears listening to the Victoria records produced in Dr. Fosdick's church as the music was given just before the period for silent prayer in the morning service.

I want to classify the records into ten or twelve grades and have every class in the Sunday School have its own machine to play for the children. While they are silent, we shall play for them. From the infants up to seventeen years of age, all these most difficult ages, - they can appreciate the highest religious music - the Messiah of Handel, or the Crucifixion by Stainer. Very few of us can play well, but buying the records and putting these into the Sunday School - that we can do.

Painting: For pictures we should buy and put into the Sunday School the classic pictures, such as those of Fra Angelico. We have many Buddhist paintings, but none to compare with those of Fra Angelico, - his beautiful angels with their personal piety. We are missing these things in the Protestant Churches. We should grade these pictures as well as the types of music according to the age of the pupil. We should arrange them also by their greatness. Millet's pictures are considered only second or third grade, compared with those of Fra Angelico, and yet the Protestant Church seems to appreciate Millet's more than those of Fra Angelico who prayed while painting. We must study more carefully the great religious painters. (See files of Kingdom of God Movement Newspaper for these materials also.)

In Japan we have some kind of painting in every house in the tokonoma, the alcove of honor in the reception or main room of the house. The Japanese house, you know, is built in imitation of the Buddhist temple. So our entrance to the house is called the genkwan. This word came from the Zen sect. The influence of this sect of the Northern Vessel of Buddhism is very strong in Japan. And in the most ordinary house there is the tokonoma, the decorative very frequently, a picture of the saint of the Zen sect, Bodhidharma or Daruma as the Japanese children pronounce his name. The children love to play with the armless and legless doll effigies of him which, by being weighted at the bottom, however they fall will always right themselves head up, thus symbolizing the poise he gained by meditating in one position as tradition says, till his arms and legs actually rotted off. We must drive out this Daruma in the Japanese home and rotted off. We must drive out this Daruma in the Japanese home and put Christ there instead to inspire the Japanese children. We must produce more Christian art in Japan and in China. Unless our children are taught how our ancestors were longing for immortality and longing for the Cross, they will not grow up into the full rounded character-development which Christ can give them. (See Dr. Kagawa's own contributions to Christian art in Japan, and those he is inspiring in young painters. Samples will be mailed on request.)

The materialistic influence in Japan is largely the result of the educational policies of forty year ago. And now in Russia they are manufacturing many atheists and probably also in this country. So we must build now for the next generation.

You may think, however, that fine arts will cost too much. The best fine arts do not cost much. Luxurious fine arts are the amusement of the bourgeois. We need the fine arts of Jesus the Carpenter! (Illustrated by the Kingdom of God Movement newspaper, which costs out one sen a copy, has a circulation of 30,000 and more

weekly, and brings these arts of painting and architecture of all the ages to its readers.)

To go back a moment to architecture, I do not know what kind of architecture we shall produce in Japan. It is almost impossible to reproduce the Gothic type. We might produce a special type in the Orient, but we do not yet know what form our architectural genius will take.

3. How to teach Meditation. I ask your attention here to the meditation of the Zen sect. As I understand it, there are two kinds of Buddhism in China today, that of the Pure Land, and that of this Meditative sect. In Japan we have preserved eleven more sects. Buddhism in Japan has preserved all the types which formerly existed but now have died out in China. You have destroyed the Buddhist temples but we have preserved them, especially the Zen sect, which is not idolatrous and is very generous.

Their way of meditation is wonderful. They get up at two thirty in the morning and meditate about half an hour, and then about nine in the morning they do so again, and again in the afternoon. But we find the same thing in the mediaeval monastery discipline of the Catholic church, such as we have in Japan in the Trappist monastery in Hokkaido. It is wonderful. I think we must employ this meditative discipline in some form.

The Protestant Church, especially as it has come to us from America, has laid too much emphasis on mere activity and neglected the part of meditation.

In former days, in Wesley's time, the spirit of prayers was emphasized in the training of little children, and Wesley prayed four hours a day. Prayer is rest and meditation is a blessing. After I lost my eyesight I found the truth of meditation and prayer. It revived me. It is the source of rest. I delight to indulge in prayer and meditation. When I learned how to meditate and pray, I lost the sentiment of fear. Formerly in the slums, no matter who attacked me, I had a strong sentiment of fear, but now I don't care. There is a strong sentiment inside my mind, strong enough to eliminate fear.

So then I began to teach meditation to children. One of my friends is the teacher of the Peers School kindergarten. She undertook to use my method. In the beginning the children did not like it, but later they did. At first they could be still only two or three minutes, but now they can be silent, to love to pray and to meditate. In America they are too active. In New York people 'speed' with their motors and kill others! Thus in the day time they are too active and in the evening they dance. We should plan to lessen the activity period in the daytime and cut out the dancing in the evening.

Dr. Harry Myers, my spiritual father, taught me not to hurry so much. He said, 'Take the next train' and then you will never be late. But we hurry and so have collisions with other cars. Take the next train and you will always be in advance of time! Even in this great Kingdom of God Movement we must have some steadfast purpose. This is not be in a hurry, but take steadfast steps toward God.

In the Japanese Holiness Church, and in the Free Methodist Church, they have a peculiar psychology. They say that now Christ is coming to the top of Mt. Fuji, and they are preparing white robes to wear when they shall meet him there. They have fixed the month, year, and even the day of his appearance, calculating it from the Book of Daniel. They are too much in a hurry.

We must have more silent hours in the early morning. We must have joy in life, joy in meditation, joy in

silence, joy even in a sick bed! We must teach that. And probably if you teach meditation, the children will recover their self-control.

4. We must also give them Bible lessons. These I have not stressed because we have laid plenty of emphasis on them elsewhere.

5. How to teach Work. This we can learn from the social side of religious education as developed by Professor Coe. But also Pestalozzi taught us many good things on how to give work to children. We must teach them from their childhood. I have asked your attention to the Seventh Day Adventist School. It is the best school in the world for a work-program. (The three H School training Heart, Head, Hand) We must have that kind of school as an experimental station. It is one of the model schools for our Peasant Gospel Schools. In Peking, too, the Salvation Army has a wonderful program of industrial education mostly for city boys. But we must have that kind of school in the rural districts.

6. How to teach Love. This morning we were blessed by reading that wonderful incident of the Rich Young Man, in the tenth of Mark. We know the lesson very well, but we must teach it. Present day primary and middle schools have been teaching on love. We must scheme out programs teaching love. I wish that you would work out a love program. Miss Hutchins' love program for Sunday Schools is very good, as issued by the Chicago University Press. We must practice it with our own children. On this point I want to dwell in the next hour.

7. Personal Piety. But this social side is not enough, we must also give them personal piety, embodied in outward action. Each one must be a devoted person and must have personal piety in his or her own heart, - devoted to accept the Cross of Jesus. All the time we must be devoted to the Savior. We must practice also all the time the other six points along with personal piety in training our children in religious education.

That, so far, is my program for religious education only for the individual. The social side of religious education I want to take up in the next session.

## **19. Dear Friends**

En Route, January 22, 1931.

Dear Friends;

We are fast getting colder and colder as we speed up the coast of China from Shanghai to Tsinan. The first few days have been spent in Shanghai, as this region had been visited by the coldest spell it had had in 38 years, just before our arrival, and it seemed wiser not to risk going to Putu for the Retreat but to stay at Shanghai College, a friendly place with which we are familiar, as it was the place of the YMCA-YWCA Student Conference of last summer.

About thirty or forty attended, and by the end of the four days were welded together in a very living unity. Dr. Kagawa began with the Cross and stayed with it all the way through, speaking three times a day, and applying it to

social, ethical, and religious phases of life, in an unity which was particularly grateful to the many who have been troubled by the dualism between the 'Social' and the 'individual' gospel. Bishop Roots, of Hankow, the region which has been some much visited by communists, presided throughout, and continually contributed the support of his deep interest and telling interpretation. All the friends in China, suffering as they are with the Marxian encroachments, and facing them more directly and daily, seem ready and eager to take Dr. Kagawa's message. Their receptivity is an inspiration to him and he says he actually is rested by the China program. Friends of Jesus will carry the addresses he has been giving, to you, as soon as possible.

On Shanghai College campus he stayed with the Huizingas, old friend by this time. Dr. Huizinga's literary work, dramatics, and books for Chinese students of English, had Dr. Kagawa's high appreciation.

I stayed with the Kelhofers, formerly Evangelical missionaries, now happily joined to the Baptists and very indispensable. Mr. Kelhofer is business manager and Mrs. Kelhofer is a physician who has done much medical work in the early days, before other medical help was available. After the conference closed on the 13<sup>th</sup> I came up to Shanghai City and stayed with the YMCA secretaries, Miss Steel-brooke, Miss Gerlach, Miss Perkins at the National YWCA apartment, at 15 Young Allen Court, and was reminded of the Hodgkins who used to live in one of these apartments. It was pleasant to renew YWCA associations. Lina Willis, who has charge of the Foreign Association, was a Denison University senior in 1906 and we went to the Nashville Student Volunteer Convention together.

Dr. Kagawa gave addresses to the NCC Committee on evangelism, to the International Club of the Community Church, to the Japanese, etc. 24 Japanese women decided in the women's meeting, and fifty in the general meeting on Monday evening for the Japanese community. The International Club meeting was arranged by our old friends the Inuis of the League of Nations, and the Sakamotos were also very helpful.

Of new friends, Bishop Roots is outstanding, and we are praying, and ask your prayers, that he may be sent by the NCC of China to Japan on a mission of international Christian fellowship and inquiry into the Kingdoms of God Movement in Japan, next January, and then may help with a conference similar to the one at Shanghai College. This small group conference generated a fellowship that will continue in an international prayer movement, not only for Japan and China, but to spread elsewhere. Dr. Ida Belle Lewis, erstwhile president of Foochow Woman's College, now secretary in the China Christian Educational Association, is another very fundamental friend of this new movement and of ourselves. There are many others, among whom Mrs. March of Hangchow, temporarily in Shanghai because of the broken arm of her little son, stands out especially. She did not attend the conference, but is deeply interested in the new movement on the side especially of foreign mission re-adjustment, and helped fundamentally.

Dr. Kepler and Dr. Kagawa will leave it some hours earlier, at Chufu, the stop for the tomb of Confucius, which they will see, and reach Tsinan a day later. They also left Shanghai a day earlier, stopping at Soochow for some wonderful Chinese meetings which I did not try to take in. They boarded the same train on which I started this morning at nine from Shanghai, which reached Soochow about noon. With them are Dr. Esshleman of Teintsin, and Mr. Hugh Hubbard who is famous for his rural work in China. They are minus one seat in the train, and take turns

standing. Fortunately for me I have a good seat and a table before it, and as Dr. Tsang insists she does not mind it, I keep on typing and catch up a bit on correspondence.\* The first thing I did this morning was type off seven pages of Dr. Kagawa's address yesterday at the NCC Committee on Evangelism, in which he took up the problem of Fundamentalism vs Modernism as it exists in China, and gave a most interesting psychological analysis of Fundamentalists doctrines, justifying them from human longings and human experience and history, and saying that both Fundamentalists and Modernists believe in the Love of Christ, only that the latter do it in an abbreviated form, while the latter like to describe the minute details of the love of Christ, e.g. the doctrines. The main point is not how we believe, but is that we shall be to practice this love.

Dr. Kepler has been re-working the English of this speech and I have also, and Dr. Kagawa has helped and heard it read, and so we have spent some hours. Now it is almost time to change trains, so I must stop.

More later,

## 20. Ida Belle Lewis to Friends

23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road

Shanghai

January 22, 1931

Dear Friends,

I want to share with you a bit of the Kagawa retreat held last week at Shanghai College, under the auspices of the Church of Christ in China.

About 30 people were present, representatives from many missions and Christian organizations. Among the group were Bishop Roots, Dr. Cheng Ching Yi, President Wu Yi Fang, and many other Christian leaders of China. There were present Chinese, Japanese, British and American. Before the days of study, prayer and conference were over, we felt one in the fellowship of Christ. Truly, "In Him there is no East nor West, In Him no North nor South; but one great fellowship of love, throughout the whole, wide earth."

I wish it were possible to give you all that Dr. Kagawa said, but he talked to us three times a day for about two hours each time, so if you wish his full addresses, they will occupy a small booklet. I think, however, it will be possible to get them, if you wish to write me especially for them. I had never before seen Dr. Kagawa, although I have been reading everything I could find about him for some years. He is a small man, typically Japanese in stature, although a Chinese leader remarked as a compliment that "He seemed more Chinese than Japanese", a tribute to the way one who is dedicated utterly to Christ transcends racial and national barriers and reaches the hearts of all humankind. Dr. Kagawa's face is radiant with love. During the hymns and prayers his face shone, reflecting the light within his soul, as he realized the presence of God.

In order to give as closely as possible the message to you, I preserved many things in his own words. He said, in part, "Dear brothers and sisters in Christ, as a Japanese you probably hate me. I wish you would take me as a small



servant of Christ in Japan. If my little talk has some suggestions, it is not my talk, but the Holy Spirit working in us. "The Principle of Christianity is one: The Cross. The fundamental revolution is apply the cross to the social order of the world, to economics, to education, to all human life. When we prepare for God, the Spirit of God will change our hearts with more than temporary transformation. It is permanent. Many want to reform society from without. Christ's way is from the innermost shrine of our soul. There must be a true reconstruction of society with the principle of the cross at the center. The revolution of Communism includes blood. The revolution of the cross includes blood. Our revolution is not to kill others but to sacrifice ourselves."

This is the keynote of Kagawa's message. All other messages are an outgrowth of this. He has at hand a remarkable series of facts, which he uses in his scientific lectures. He has studied Marx and all economists, and is able to give a constructive program for the social order, based on Christ's teachings. In his address on "The Principle of the Cross in the Reconstruction of Society" he gave the seven central phases of the framework of his thinking Life, Power, Change, Growth, Selection, Law, Aim or purpose. He refuses to believe that all is matter. "Behind matter," he says, "there is life and purpose Take, for instance the food supply. In Japan the land is 85% mountains, 15% valley. If we develop the tree crop we can support 100,000 people on figs, chestnuts (Corsica lives on chestnuts), walnuts, acorns. Japan wants to eat white rice which grows only in the valleys. Therefore the food problem is psychological.

"My suit cost 6 Yen. It wears five years. My summer suit costs G.\$ 1.35. Cost comes if you want to wear stylish clothes. We sold 500,000 of these cooperative suits in Japan last year. Therefore the clothes problem is psychological."

He told of the cooperatives in Japan, of the Society of 10 that saved a town 36 years ago; of the student cooperatives where those profited financially shared with those who lost. He felt that mere loss of money did not mean it was a failure. The point is in sharing as a brotherhood. If the center is the cross, if desires are controlled, Christian cooperatives will solve most of the economic problems of the social order.

He is working at the Peasant Gospel Schools, where pastors are trained for one month, studying the Bible, Agriculture, History of the Christian Brotherhood movement, Sociology, Handcraft. He believes that we should make books, buildings, butter and cheese with praying hands – not for the sake of money but to the Kingdom of God.

In teaching religion to children he would use nature study, painting, architecture, meditation, love, personal piety. He said, "The Protestant Church lays too much emphasis upon activity. Wesley prayed 4 hours a day. For some, prayer is a rest, meditation a blessing. I lost fear. I have a strong, firm foundation inside of my heart. Teach the silent hour to children. In the beginning they do not like it. Use at first 2 minutes, 3 minutes, 5 minutes. They will learn to love to meditate and pray. In the U.S. you are too active. When you teach meditation, the children will learn self-control and love. We must have a silent hour in the morning when we speak to the stars. There will come joy in meditation, joy in silence, joy in sickness.

"Love is a most important thing to teach. Present day colleges teach too little of love. We must work out a program of love.

“Personal piety is embodied in the teacher’s character. The teacher must accept the cross of Jesus, and must be devoted to the task of saving others.

“Work is a part of religious education. Children should be taught to work with their hands. They should be taught that a trade is not degrading.”

In Japan are organized many Christian guilds. In these the trades and professions are purified. He has organized these guilds for nurses, sailors, miners, carpenters, teachers. “We must make Christian the professions and occupations, else we cannot conquer the industrial world,” he said. He told of a group of women in a factory, two hundred of whom are meeting every morning at 5.30 for prayer. Last year a great revival came to that factory. An actor was converted by reading and dramatizing his novel. A Christian actor’s guild was formed, which often gives Christian plays, and thus brings many to Christ. When questioned about this, he said, “We must Christianize every corner for Him. All society must be made Christian.

In his last talks, he spoke more definitely of the Cross, and its meaning. He said, “To a Japanese, to suffer for others means something interesting. Japan has many difficulties; earthquakes, storms, fires. The Japanese are accustomed to calamities the people have to suffer. When we are happy in the midst of comfort, that is only 50% joy. When we can conquer death and pain, that is 100% joy. American joy is only 50%. Sorrow for our own sake is sorrow. Sorrow for others is joy. I learned this in the slums and later in prison. I lost my eyesight.

When I remember it was for Christ, it is a good thing. I suffered last year a good deal. Communist are strong. I spit blood 9 times. If I die on the train or in the pulpit, it is all right. We must offer our body and heart and soul to God. It is a joy to suffer for God’s sake. Wealth, honor, reputation means nothing. Somebody must die. To bear the cross and to live the simple life is a joy to me.

“The disciples could not understand the secret of the Cross. Probably to this day we do not understand the cross. Only smooth sailing will not prevail. Unless we dare to give our lives, unless we are willing to take up the cross of Jesus, Communist and other people will laugh at us. We are not Christian until we die for others. People ask, “Are you a Christian?” I answer, ‘Yes, I am going to become a Christian.’ All nations are seeking their own benefit even unto this day. Christ, the carpenter dared to die for others and laid the foundations for the eternal revolution.” Then he gave the high sentence of the Conference, “THE MORE WE SUFFER FOR OTHERS, THE MORE WE UNDERSTAND THE SECRET OF THE CROSS.”

And the final prayer was the prayer of our hearts, as we felt convicted of our comfortable way of bearing the cross, “Lord, teach us how to forgive others, to save others. Bless all Christians. Create us into new beings and push us forward to die for Christ’s sake.”

In Shanghai are several prayer groups of Japanese. The day after Conference Dr. Kagawa spoke to 200 Japanese women, where 24 signed cards to become Christian. In the evening, 900 paid 20 cents to hear him and 50 signed cards. These will be taken into the prayer groups.

May the Kingdom of God come in our own hearts, may it come to all missionaries, to all Japan, China, England and America. We are praying that all Christians throughout the world will pray until the Spirit of God will bring in a new social order, where poverty, ignorance and sin will be done away, and all people will become one

brotherhood in Christ.

Yours in His service,

Ida Belle Lewis