

THE TREK EAST

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モルモン教と日本

MORMONISM MEETS JAPAN, 1901–1968

SHINJI TAKAGI

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To my fellow travelers on the Trek East:

Sue L.

Kenta B.

Emi R.

Naomi E.

Koji M.

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Preface

The Trek East presents a historical analysis of the Mormon experience in Japan from 1901 to 1968. The book chronicles major events and ecclesiastical developments, recounts notable personalities, and discusses the historical contexts of key decisions regarding early Mormon history in Japan. To be sure, this is a topic upon which various accounts have already been written.¹ Unfortunately, what is written relies almost exclusively on missionary journals and other English-language sources. Also, much misinformation and misunderstanding has been perpetuated, and the quality of scholarship has been uneven. Reflecting the predominantly *descriptive* (as opposed to *analytical*) approach of the existing literature, moreover, few studies attempt to explain why certain things happened the way they did and to place the Mormon experience in a broader historical context; most give exclusive attention to what happened with little regard to the societal context that gives meaning. In writing this book, I have tried to elucidate important historical episodes against Japan's evolving economic, legal, political, religious, and social backgrounds by utilizing primary and secondary sources in the English and Japanese languages. The outcome is not the type of devotional history some Mormon readers may expect. From time to time, our story involves individuals whose judgments and decisions were conditioned by external circumstances and who took actions that turned out to be imperfect *ex post*. As always, it requires an eye of faith to see divine guidance in human affairs.

An event of nearly twenty-five years ago made me an accidental historian. A mutual friend, Ryuichi Inoue, introduced me to Bill McIntyre, who had a manuscript that needed to be translated from English to Japanese. I met Bill at a Tokyo café in May 1993 and agreed to offer help in translating his work in progress. Bill had the noble desire to tell the history of their church in their own country to Japanese Mormons, who had limited access to writings on Japanese Mormon history, which were available exclusively in English. Having some previous experience with translation work (though admittedly not in history), I assumed that I could complete the task rather quickly. How different the outcome has turned out to be! Not only did it take nearly three years to publish what became our joint

1. The most comprehensive of these are Murray L. Nichols, "History of the Japan Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1901–1924" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957) and Reid L. Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010). The former is a distinctively ecclesiastical treatment of the prewar mission while the latter focuses on missiology.

work,² but it has ultimately taken me the next quarter of a century to be able to free myself from the spell cast on that occasion.

I learned quickly that there was no such thing as translating an English text on Japanese history into Japanese (unless only well-known events and names are involved). Transliteration from English of Japanese proper nouns, such as geographical and personal names, requires knowing the actual places and people because there are multiple combinations of Chinese characters that would sound identical in Japanese. The scholar in me, moreover, kept questioning what was written in English and raising additional questions. Thus began a long process of research in order to identify the Chinese characters, solve puzzles to my satisfaction, and discover new facts hitherto unknown. Not only did I have access to the library of a major national research university as a professor of economics, but I also happened to have privileged access to a small library with a large collection of prewar reference works at the Ministry of Finance. From 1992 to 1994, I was commuting weekly from my university in Osaka to Tokyo, where I had an appointment at the government to direct a team of researchers. The library was just across the hall from my office. Ready access to the vintage materials certainly came in handy for my new Mormon history project at the opportune time.

The reader will note, from the personal interviews and correspondence that are cited herein, that most of the primary research for this book was conducted in the final years of the last century. I can only remember with gratitude the kindness and generosity of so many people who responded to my inquiries, by granting me interviews, replying to my letters, sending me copies of their treasured documents and photographs, and sharing their own personal histories (both diaries and biographical accounts) or those of their parents and grandparents. I have worked sporadically to complete this project by, at the suggestion of Armand Mauss, writing chapters as articles for publication in scholarly journals. Five of the eleven main chapters (Chapters 2, 3, 6, 9, 10) were previously published in *BYU Studies* (2000, 2001), the *Journal of Mormon History* (2002, 2003), and the *Journal of the Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture* (2009). In preparing these for inclusion, however, I have suitably edited them, corrected any errors, and added new material in a number of places (most appendices were not part of the original articles). Another chapter (Chapter 4) was written in 2013 as I was preparing a short chapter for a collected volume edited by Patrick Mason and published by the University of Utah Press in 2016. In order to complete the book by writing the remaining five chapters, however, I needed to wait until the fall of 2014, when my life finally became free of pressing commitments in economics. Pleasantly, leaving academia has allowed me to claim my own personal time when I am not paid to work.

I owe heavy debts of gratitude to a number of people. I am especially grateful to Bill McIntyre, the coauthor of joint work whose content, including some photographs, I have liberally used as if my own; Armand Mauss, without whose

2. *Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi* (Kobe: Beehive Shuppan, 1996).

Preface

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constant encouragement and professional advice this book probably would not have been written;³ and the late Wade Fillmore, who shared his insights and findings and whose passing in the summer of 2015 coincided with the beginning of an urge to complete the book. Ronald Barney, Randall Dixon, and Ronald Watt, formerly of the LDS church historical department, showed flexibility and sympathy for a foreign researcher making sporadic visits to Salt Lake City for at most two days at a time; Susan Thompson assisted me in July 1996 during my visit to the special collections library at Brigham Young University (and an unnamed student assistant made a photocopy of virtually the entire Alma O. Taylor journal); Greg Gubler, formerly of Brigham Young University–Hawaii, likewise facilitated my archival research during a one-day visit to Laie in February 1997; and Eric Walz of Brigham Young University–Idaho shared some of the findings from his research on Japanese immigrants in the United States. Conan Grames helped with last-minute research at the Church Historical Library in Salt Lake City, as did my nephew Seiji Funakoshi at libraries in Tokyo. Former Mormon leaders and missionaries, their descendants and families, and friends who provided valuable information and assistance in the course of this research are too numerous to mention by name.

In preparing the manuscript for publication, the late Wade Fillmore, Chris Fuller, Van Gessel, Conan Grames, Armand Mauss, and Norm Shumway provided comment and feedback at various stages. Anonymous peer reviewers provided critical comments on five chapters of the book when they were originally published as stand-alone pieces. Jonathan Giles read the first draft of the entire manuscript to provide critical comment and suggestions for improvement. Austin Smith read the final draft to catch any remaining errors and improve the clarity of exposition, and suggested additional material for inclusion from his repertoire of knowledge. Last but not least, I must express deep gratitude to my wife and our four children, who saw her husband and their father work intermittently on this project for so many years. A household full of jovial voices when the work started is now as still as a Zen temple. Aptly, the famed poet Basho said of the passing of time: “Days and months are transient guests for countless generations, and the years too are travelers that come and go.”⁴ Rightly, it is to them that this book should belong.

Shinji Takagi
Arlington, Virginia
February 2016

3. I contacted Armand for the first time in July 1998 concerning his father Vinal G. Mauss, a prewar missionary to Japan and one of the first postwar mission presidents in Japan. It was later learned that he was a long-time family friend of my daughter-in-law. Armand was a guest at my son’s wedding in the summer of 2005.

4. My own translation of the opening passage of Matsuo Basho, *Oku no Hosomichi*, 1702: “Tsukihi wa hakutai no kakaku ni shite, yukikau toshi mo mata tabibito nari.” This has been translated by a number of highly competent people, but I am yet to find a translation that accurately captures the beauty and the “sound” of the original.

A Note on Japanese Words

Names: Except for historical figures (who died before the Meiji era), Japanese names are rendered in the Western style, with given name first and family name second. This appears to be a well-established practice in the literature on Japanese immigration to Hawaii, for example, where those with Japanese names cross national borders. In this book, moreover, those born in the United States occasionally have Japanese given and family names (e.g., Kenji Akagi, Kimiaki Sakata, and Tomiko Shirota). Confusion is best avoided by adopting the Western naming convention for all.

Macrons: A macron, indicating a long vowel, is used when a Japanese word is used as a foreign word. For example, Shinto and Showa are English words when they appear by themselves, so no macrons are used. When they appear in a Japanese sentence, for example as a reference in the bibliography, they are italicized in most cases and spelled as *Shintō* and *Shōwa*. Likewise, personal names and most geographical names (e.g., Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo) are considered to be English words. No macrons are used. Other proper nouns are generally treated as Japanese words but may not be italicized.

Chapter 5

Planting the Apple Tree: People, Places, and Publications, 1901–24

5.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the achievements of the Japan Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,¹ from its opening in 1901 to its suspension in 1924. The chapter, after discussing early decisions and events, focuses on three dimensions of Mormon missionary work: (1) people, including collaborators, friends, investigators, and converts; (2) geographical areas where work was carried out; and (3) Japanese-language books and tracts produced to disseminate the Mormon message. Among other things, the chapter reviews the notable individuals the missionaries befriended (including their place in Japanese history), offers an analysis of the type of people they attracted, attempts to explain why and how certain areas were selected for proselytizing work, and discusses how uniquely Mormon terms were translated from English to the Japanese language.

The LDS Japan Mission was presided over by eight men: Heber J. Grant (August 1901–September 1903); Horace S. Ensign (September 1903–July 1905); Alma O. Taylor (July 1905–January 1910); Elbert D. Thomas (January 1910–October 1912); Heber Grant Ivins (October 1912–March 1915); Joseph H. Stimpson (March 1915–February 1921); Lloyd O. Ivie (February 1921–January 1924); and Hilton A. Robertson (January–August 1924). Except for Grant, who was forty-six years old when he first arrived in Japan, the rest were relatively young men. Three of them were in their twenties and four of them in their early thirties when they served as mission president. Except for Taylor and Ivins, they were married men and accompanied by their wives during at least part of their service in Japan.

1. The formal name of the Mormon mission established in Japan in 1901 was the Japan Mission, although it was frequently referred to as the Japanese Mission. The missions established later in Hawaii (in 1937) and in postwar Japan (in 1948) were both officially called the Japanese Mission.

Over the twenty-three-year existence of the mission, eighty-eight missionaries converted 174 Japanese men and women to Mormonism.² While it would be of interest to explore the personal experiences, religious or otherwise, of these missionaries and converts, this is not the approach we take in this chapter. Rather, we take an explicitly “macro” approach, focusing on the tangible achievements of the mission collectively, in the three areas noted above. What is arguably the most notable achievement of the mission, the 1909 publication of a Japanese translation of the Book of Mormon, will receive only cursory coverage in the chapter, as it is the dedicated topic of a separate chapter (see Chapter 6). A detailed analysis of how and why the mission was closed is also presented in a separate chapter (see Chapter 7).

5.2. Early Decisions and Events

On 12 August 1901, Heber J. Grant and three associates, Horace S. Ensign, Louis A. Kelsch, and Alma O. Taylor, arrived in Japan to open the first permanent Mormon mission in Asia. They sojourned in Yokohama’s foreign settlement for nearly two months; on 1 September, Grant dedicated the land of Japan for the preaching of the gospel. It was then formally decided, on 30 September 1901, that they should relocate to Tokyo, the capital of Japan, just twenty-five miles north. With arrangements at the Metropole Hotel having been made (for ¥80 per month per person), on 18 October 1901, the four elders moved to the Tsukiji district of Tokyo. Tsukiji had been Tokyo’s foreign settlement (Tokyo, along with Osaka, had been one of the two “open cities”), but few foreign merchants had actually lived there. Instead, Tsukiji had become a center of Christian activity (as had Osaka’s Kawaguchi district).³ The Metropole Hotel, the former residence of a United States minister to Japan, had opened for business in 1890.⁴

The wisdom of moving to Tokyo had been debated among the Mormon missionaries for some time. Taylor’s journal entry of 28 August gives as benefits of moving to Tokyo “fewer foreigners, a higher class of natives, a more religious sentiment, and by far better instructors in the language and much cheaper living.”⁵ Their intention was to study the language for about a year while observing the

2. This number includes five member children who were baptized at the age of eight or (in one instance) nine. See Annex 7 for a list of all prewar Mormon missionaries sent to Japan, and Annex 8 for a list of all prewar Mormon converts in Japan.

3. The area of the former Tsukiji foreign settlement changed its name to Akashi-cho, and is now part of the Chuo ward of Tokyo. St. Luke’s International Hospital stands nearby. Tōkyō-to Chūō Kuyakusho, ed., *Chūō-ku Shi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Chūō Kuyakusho, 1958), 107–11, 124.

4. In January 1907, the Metropole Hotel merged with the Imperial Hotel to become its Tsukiji branch. Teikoku Hōteru, *Teikoku Hōteru Hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Teikoku Hōteru, 1990), 132–34.

5. Alma O. Taylor, Journal, 28 August 1901, BYU Archives.

conditions to see if it would be appropriate to send for their wives (in the case of three married men) and to request more missionaries.⁶ In Yokohama, the elders did find a Japanese teacher, whom they called “a laborer,” but one wonders how a laborer could be a Japanese language teacher. It is possible that, in Yokohama with a sizable foreign population, many whose work catered toward foreigners had some command of English regardless of their occupation. Clearly the missionaries thought what they could find in Yokohama inadequate. Finding it nearly impossible to find a suitable house in Tokyo, they decided to live in a hotel as the only practical option. Grant and Kelsch remained in Tsukiji (except for a temporary relocation to the “Central Hotel”),⁷ while on 5 December 1901 Ensign and Taylor moved into a Japanese hotel or boarding house in the Surugadai area of Kanda (for ¥40 per month per person).⁸

During the early months the Mormon missionaries benefited from the publicity they had received in the press (see Chapter 3). The curiosity the press had aroused led a number of people, including some prominent ones, to visit them. Among their early visitors was Hajime Nakazawa, a professed Shinto priest, who would become one of the first two converts the missionaries made within a few short months. On 8 March 1902, on the shore of Omori in Tokyo Bay, Nakazawa was baptized, confirmed, and ordained an elder. This event was symbolic indeed. Nakazawa was presumably affiliated with a religious sect whose roots went back to the ancient indigenous religion of Japan,⁹ and the name *Hajime* signifies “beginning” or “first.” Two days later, on 10 March 1902, Saburo Kikuchi was likewise baptized, confirmed, and ordained an elder. Kikuchi was a Christian preacher who was holding street meetings in Ueno Park and other locations.¹⁰ The timing of these baptisms was in part dictated by the impending departure of Grant for the United States, ostensibly to attend the April 1902 general conference and to bring additional missionaries, along with his wife and daughter, from Utah.

6. Ronald W. Walker, “Strangers in a Stranger Land: Heber J. Grant and the Opening of the Japanese Mission,” *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986–87): 25.

7. The Central Hotel must refer to the Chūōkan, which was located at 20 Gorobeicho. Tōkyō-shi, ed., *Tōkyō Annai*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shōkabō, 1907), 259. This is now part of or in the vicinity of the Yaesu-guchi section of Tokyo’s central railroad station.

8. Andrew Jenson, comp., “History of the Japan Mission,” 1934, Japan Mission, “Historical Records and Minutes,” LDS Church Archives. Taylor, *Journal*, 9 October 1906. Taylor’s journal indicates that he spent at least part of his stay in Kanda at the Kirinkan, which was located at 9 Fukurocho. Tokyo-shi, *Tōkyō Annai*, 257. It is just south of the current Ochanomizu station on the Japan Railway Chuo Line.

9. Judging from the circumstances surrounding his contact with the LDS Church, it does not seem appropriate to consider him a ceremonial priest of a Shinto shrine. More likely, he held a pastoral office in a religious organization based in part on Shinto principles. In Japanese religious terminology, such Shinto offshoot groups are collectively called Sect Shinto (of which there were thirteen sects during the Meiji period), as opposed to Shrine Shinto.

10. It appears that after his conversion to Mormonism he started supporting himself by selling medicine. He never became an active participant in Mormon activities.

Despite these two early baptisms, the Mormon missionaries arrived in Japan ill prepared. The first years were especially challenging. Unlike the experience of Mormon missionaries in the British Isles in the nineteenth century, they experienced no mass conversion of local people.¹¹ As will be shown below in the choice of geographical areas for missionary work (see Section 5.4), many decisions appeared haphazard. Taylor, writing in 1936, remembered Grant once telling him in Japan that “he never once felt sure . . . that any given decision or plan was right,” and noted that the missionaries “were left to the painful course of proof by trial.”¹² Grant was discouraged after two years, feeling that he “was not accomplishing anything.” He then “went out into the woods and got down on [his] knees, and told the Lord that whenever He was through with [him in Japan] . . . [he] would be very glad and thankful if He would call [him] home and send [him] to Europe to preside over the European missions.” A few days after that a cable arrived: “Come home on the first boat.”¹³ On 8 September 1903, he left Yokohama, with wife Augusta and daughter Mary, for San Francisco. After spending four months at home, he left to preside over the European Mission from 1 January 1904 to 5 December 1906.

While Grant was an accomplished businessman and an apostle who saw himself as equal to the best in Japan, he had no previous experience with missionary work. This appeared to be a source of tension with the younger missionaries, who were eager to go out among the people to learn their language and customs in the long-established Mormon tradition. In the middle of November 1901, Grant finally yielded as Ensign and Taylor became increasingly restive and even demanding.¹⁴ But it was only after the response to an inquiry was received from the First Presidency (encouraging them to work among the people) that, in December 1901, Ensign and Taylor finally moved out of their Western surroundings into Japanese life.

With the benefit of hindsight, Taylor accepted in 1936 that lack of prior missionary experience had in fact uniquely qualified Grant, as the Japan Mission “needed a man unhampered by the precedents and prejudices of remote experience.” As a result, the way Grant first organized work was different from “what first missionaries had done and current missionaries were doing in other lands,” in that he used

11. The first seven Mormon missionaries arrived in the British Isles in July 1837. More than 1,500 converts were made within two years; there were 8,245 Mormons by June 1842. Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992): “British Isles, the Church in.”

12. Alma O. Taylor, “Memories of Far-off Japan: President Grant’s First Foreign Mission 1901 to 1903,” *Improvement Era* 39 (1936): 691.

13. Heber J. Grant, “Greetings across the Sea,” *Improvement Era* 40 (1937): 405. In early May, Grant had written a letter to Anthon H. Lund, a newly called counselor in the First Presidency, hinting of his availability to succeed Francis M. Lyman as head of the European Mission. Walker, “Strangers,” 35–36.

14. *Ibid.*, 28.

“the best hostelries” as his early headquarters. “This gave harmonious background to his towering personality and impressive address. . . . He and his companion did not realize it at the time, but this . . . policy discredited those who had glibly prophesied that the ‘Mormon’ Elders would promptly become mendicant priests among the lower classes. Their fine quarters and gentlemanly position made it compatible for the editors of the leading newspapers and magazines to come clamoring for interviews with the ‘Mormon’ Apostle.” Taylor “who stayed on in Japan longer after President Grant came home, discovered through the years so many benefits of President Grant’s policies and activities in the early months of the mission.”¹⁵

5.3. Early Friends and Converts

The Mormon missionaries found friends and collaborators among the people who responded to the publicity about Mormonism, and sought out the best talent to help their work. The early fruits of this effort were found among Japanese Christians and young students. Among the converts, men outnumbered women by two to one throughout the period, reflecting their higher level of education and greater social participation in prewar Japan. Additional persons of prominence the Mormon missionaries befriended are discussed in Appendix 5.1.

5.3.1. Tatsutaro Hiroi (1875–1952)

Tatsutaro Hiroi was the Mormon missionaries’ Japanese language teacher and also acted as the LDS Church’s first translator in Japan.¹⁶ Not yet a prominent man when the missionaries met him, Hiroi was well-connected in Japan’s intellectual circles and would claim some prominence as a professor of English and comparative religion at Toyo University. Hiroi is now known in Japan as the father of the animal welfare movement, particularly credited for being instrumental in the founding in 1902 of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (*Dōbutsu Gyakutai Bōshi Kai*).¹⁷

Hiroi’s association with the Mormons lasted a long time. In late 1903, the missionaries went to “the Law School at Kanda to speak before the English Society,” of which Hiroi was the president. In late 1909, Mormon missionaries went to a lecture on Mormonism held at a Unitarian hall and met Hiroi after

15. Taylor, “Memories of Far-off Japan,” 690–91.

16. Much of the biographical information on Hiroi in this section comes from Shinichi Yoshinaga, comp., “Kindai Nihon ni okeru Chishikijin Shūkyō Undō no Gensetsu Kūkan” (Maizuru, Kyoto: Maizuru Kōtō Senmon Gakkō, 2012), 371–72.

17. In 1899 he contributed articles advocating animal welfare to two of the leading national magazines *Taiyō* and *Chūō Kōron*. Tatsutaro Hiroi, “Dare ka Gyūba no tame ni Namida wo Sosogu mono zo,” *Taiyō* 5 (1899): no. 17, 174–76 and no. 18, 171–75; Tatsutaro Hiroi, “Dōbutsu Hogo Ron,” *Chūō Kōron* 14 (December 1899): 7–14.

the meeting.¹⁸ In 1919, he visited Grant during a visit to the United States. In November 1949, he wrote a postcard to Murray Nichols, then a full-time missionary in Osaka, about this meeting:

I am 75 but healthy and ambitious still. When I was in Washington, D.C. in 1919 . . . President Grant called at my hotel twice. He was a guest of Senator Smoot of Utah. He was a splendid gentleman, estimated me more than I was worth.¹⁹

Hiroi then commented on his friendship with Mormon servicemen and urged Nichols to fill the vacuum created by the war with “your gospel.”

Tatsutaro Hiroi was born in Yanagawa, Fukuoka Prefecture. He studied at a Methodist academy and was baptized as a Christian in 1892. As he came to question the divinity of Christ, he transferred to the German Protestant Seminary (*Doitsu Shinkyō Shingakkō*) of the Evangelical Church (*Fukyū Fukuin Kyōkai*). Founded by the German Evangelical Protestant Mission in 1885, the church introduced higher criticism to Japan; it recognized the Bible not as the word of God but as a religious record of men. Upon graduation in 1897, Hiroi became an ordained minister in the church. In 1899, however, he criticized the Evangelical Church for racial prejudice, resigned from the ministry, and left Tokyo for Fukui Prefecture to teach school.²⁰ Through his involvement in the animal rights movement, he became acquainted with prominent liberal Christians and “New Buddhists” who associated themselves with the Unitarian Association. Undoubtedly, it was through this connection that, in 1903, he obtained a teaching position in English and comparative religion at Tetsugakukan, a Buddhist academy (renamed as Toyo University in 1906). He also held teaching positions at other schools.

Hiroi’s desire to help the Mormons may have come out of his increasing affinity with the Unitarian Association, which he would formally join in 1904.²¹ The Unitarians in Japan, consisting of liberal Christians and progressive Buddhists, espoused ecumenicalism and met to discuss religion in a socializing setting; the Unitarian Association was more like a club for intellectuals than a church. It is also possible that, given his interest in promoting the animal welfare movement, he considered being a secondary school teacher in Fukui as inconvenient. Work as a Japanese teacher for the newly arrived Mormon missionaries was a way to relocate to Tokyo.²² Hiroi visited the Mormon missionaries at least twice in late

18. Taylor, Journal, 13 December 1903; 7 November 1909.

19. As quoted in Murray L. Nichols, “History of the Japan Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1901–1924” (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957), 18; Alma O. Taylor, letter to Heber J. Grant, 27 January 1920, LDS Church Archives. Nichols does not recall how Hiroi learned of his address. Murray L. Nichols, letter to author, 18 January 1996.

20. Tetsuji Iseda, “Meijiki Dōbutsu Aigo Undō no Dōkizuke wa Ikanaru Mono de atta ka,” *Shakai to Rinri* 20 (2006): 142.

21. How he was converted to Unitarianism is explained in Tatsutaro Hiroi, “Nyūkai no Ji,” *Rikugō Zasshi* 284 (1904): 120–31.

22. Iseda, “Meijiki Dōbutsu Aigo Undō,” 139–53.

August 1901 while they were still in Yokohama. Taylor called him “undoubtedly a well educated man” who spoke English well and a school teacher in “a little town in the southern [*sic*] part of the country.”²³

Whatever the reason, in mid-September, Hiroi agreed to become a language teacher. When Grant returned from his week-long trip in the interior, a letter from Hiroi was waiting for him, expressing his interest in working as a Japanese language teacher and a translator. Grant noted in his diary for 16–17 September:

We all prayed very earnestly for the Lord to send us some man who could aid us in our work. When I got home and found that Mr. Hiroi was willing to come I felt that he was just the man.²⁴

On 4 October 1901, Grant wrote to Hiroi at Fukui Secondary School:

You may rest assured that we will employ you for at least four or five months. If we wish to employ you for a longer period we will notify you, and if not, we will give you the sixty days requested in which to look for another position.²⁵

His teaching obligations kept him from relocating to Tokyo until mid-November 1901,²⁶ so in the meantime he introduced Rev. Aoki, his former associate in the German Evangelical Protestant ministry, to serve as an interim teacher.²⁷ Hiroi came to teach the language to the Mormon missionaries nearly every day from mid-November to mid-May 1902.

His association with the Mormons did not change his religious views. In the January 1903 issue of the *Rikugō Zasshi*, Hiroi discussed the divinity of Christ and the nature of God from a progressive Christian perspective and referred to the Mormon belief in a personal God as bigotry.²⁸ Hiroi remained on the faculty of Toyo University until his retirement in 1945. From 1899 to 1912, he contributed thirty-two articles to the *Rikugō Zasshi*, a Unitarian magazine, on such topics as Christianity, protection of animals, socialism, and religion in general. In 1917, his treatise on the history and doctrines of Christianity was included in a major volume on three major religions, Buddhism, Christianity, and Shinto, compiled by a Buddhist scholar.²⁹ In 1920, in a letter address to Grant, Taylor

23. Taylor, Journal, 25 August 1901; 28 August 1901.

24. Heber J. Grant, “A Japanese Journal,” not dated, Americana Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

25. Heber J. Grant, letter to Tatsutaro Hirai, 4 October 1901, Japan Mission, “Letterpress Copybooks, 1901–1923,” LDS Church Archives.

26. Taylor, Journal, 30 October 1901; 16 November 1901.

27. Taylor, Journal, 30 October 1901.

28. Tatsutaro Hiroi, “Shingaku jō no Miketsu Mondai,” *Rikugō Zasshi* 265 (1903): 17–29.

29. Tatsutaro Hiroi, “Kirisutokyō Kōyō,” in *San Dai Shūkyō*, ed. Beiho Takashima (Tokyo: Heigo Shuppansha, 1917), part 2: 1–58. The piece on Buddhism was written by Mokurai Shimaji, a *Jōdo Shinshū* priest who was one of the foremost leaders of Meiji Buddhism.

called Hiroi “a grafter . . . [but] bright in the use of English,” to which Grant replied: “I agree with your opinion of Hiroi.”³⁰

5.3.2. Goro Takahashi (1856–1935)

Goro Takahashi, perhaps one of the greatest minds of prewar Japan, was a language and religious scholar,³¹ who in December 1901 published an article in the *Taiyō*, a leading national magazine, entitled “Morumonyō to Ramakyō (Mormonism and Lamaism),” to defend Mormonism (see Section 3.10 in Chapter 3).³² The Mormon missionaries learned of the article when it was translated into Japanese by their teacher and interpreter Tatsutaro Hiroi. On this occasion, Taylor described Takahashi as “the man who fought strongly for the Christians some years ago and who is looked upon as one of the strongest minds in the kingdom.” Upon receiving an invitation from Grant, Takahashi came to see the missionaries at the Metropole Hotel on 11 December 1901. Two days later, a letter was received from him, proposing to write a book in defense of Mormonism, which would be entitled *Morumonyō to Morumonyōto* (Mormonism and Mormons) and published in late August or early September 1902. This was not the first time Takahashi offered to help the missionaries. Takahashi had earlier written to them while they were still in Yokohama, inquiring whether they needed any literature translated into Japanese and offering his services.³³

Goro Takahashi was born in 1856 in Echigo (present-day Niigata Prefecture) into the family of a village official. In 1868, Takahashi left home to pursue education in Buddhist theology, Chinese classics, and National Learning. He moved to Tokyo to pursue Western studies, became a student of Dutch Reformed missionary Samuel Robbins Brown, and mastered the English, German, and French languages. When the joint Protestant translation of the Bible began in 1874, Takahashi participated in the efforts as assistant to Brown. It was during this time that Takahashi developed additional proficiency in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. This was not to be his last work of translating the Bible. Befriended by Catholic missionary Michel Steichen, Takahashi helped him translate the four Gospels

30. Taylor, letter to Grant; and Heber J. Grant, letter to Alma O. Taylor, 14 March 1920. LDS Church Archives.

31. Much of the biographical information on Takahashi in this section comes from Shōwa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyū Shitsu, *Kindai Bungaku Kenkyū Sōsho*, vol. 39 (Tokyo: Shōwa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bungaku Kenkyū Shitsu, 1975), 247–315; Susumu Odagiri, ed., *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Daijiten*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 279–80.

32. Goro Takahashi, “Morumonyō to Ramakyō,” *Taiyō* 7 (October 1901): 21–25.

33. Taylor, Journal, 11 December 1901.

into Japanese from the Vulgate, which were published in two volumes in 1895 (Matthew and Mark) and 1897 (Luke and John).³⁴

Following the Uchimura Incident (see Section 4.4.2 in Chapter 4), when Imperial University professor Tetsujiro Inoue published his scathing criticism of Christianity “Kyōiku to Shūkyō to no Shōtotsu” (Conflict between Education and Religion) in 1893 from the standpoint of nationalism, Takahashi attacked Inoue’s logic and character by publishing “Nise Tetsugakusha no Daibenron” (Pompous Argument of a False Philosopher) in an issue of the *Kokumin no Tomo*. Takahashi provided the harshest rebuttal of the nationalist attack on Christianity during the national debate that ensued. Takahashi attacked Inoue’s every display of learning with his own display of masterful scholarship in Western and Oriental thought. He asked Inoue, for example, if Christianity was inconsistent with the imperial rescript, what about Buddhism? Was not Buddhist an otherworldly religion that advocates forsaking parental and filial duties? To claim that Christianity is anarchism was to confuse morality, religion, and politics. The series of articles Takahashi wrote from March to June 1893 were compiled as a book.³⁵

Takahashi was a prolific writer of religious, philosophical, and literary topics, authoring over 600 books and articles during his lifetime. His first books were *Shintō Shinron* (New Theory of Shinto) and *Bukkyō Shinron* (New Theory of Buddhism), both published in 1880. When the Christian monthly *Rikugō Zasshi* (the Cosmos) was inaugurated in 1880, Takahashi became a frequent and regular contributor.³⁶ He shifted his writings primarily to the national magazine *Kokumin no Tomo*, when it started in 1887, and contributed articles on literature and philosophy. He taught languages and literature at a number of secondary and tertiary schools throughout his life. He devoted his later years to translating Western classics, while teaching English literature at Komazawa University. His many translations include Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1898), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Faust* (the first part only, 1904), and Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* (four volumes, 1914 and 1915), as well as various writings of Francis Bacon, Thomas Carlyle, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Michel de Montaigne, and Lucius Seneca.

Takahashi has frequently been referred to as a Christian writer, but this appellation should be carefully considered. He was baptized as a Christian while he

34. Goro Takahashi, trans., *Sei Fukuinsho, Jō* (Tokyo: Tenshu Kōkyōkai, 1895); Goro Takahashi, trans., *Sei Fukuinsho, Ge* (Tokyo: Tenshu Kōkyōkai, 1897).

35. Goro Takahashi, *Hai Gīketsugaku Ron* (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1893).

36. Takahashi contributed eighty-nine articles to the *Rikugō Zasshi* between 1880 and 1899. The *Rikugō Zasshi* (1880–1921), though a Christian magazine, exerted strong intellectual influence on Japanese society. From around 1890, the magazine was edited by a group of Unitarians (it absorbed the Unitarian periodical *Shūkyō* in 1898). Norihisa Suzuki, “Kaisetsu,” *Fukkokuban Rikugō Zasshi*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1988), 9–12.

was studying English with Brown.³⁷ He frequently wrote articles for a Christian magazine. As noted, during the trial decade of the 1890s for Christianity, Takahashi defended the Christian cause against the onslaught of criticism from Buddhists and nationalists. Certainly, he held a strong interest in Christianity, but it is probably safe to say that he was habitually interested in all religions. His later years were devoted to a study of spiritualism. He frequently wrote on non-Christian religious topics and at the end of his life started translating the Quran into Japanese, but was not able to complete before he died. Soon after he finished writing the promised book on Mormonism, he began writing a book on three holy men—Confucius, Gotama Buddha, and Jesus Christ, which was published in 1903.³⁸ So his commitment to Christianity was equivocal.

Takahashi became a frequent visitor, making a weekly visit typically on Sundays, and developing close friendship with the Mormon missionaries. To assist Takahashi in the preparation of the book, Grant provided him with Mormon sources of information, including: *Autobiography* by Parley P. Pratt; *The Bible and Polygamy* by Orson Pratt; *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* by Lucy Mack Smith; *Key to the Science of Theology* by Parley P. Pratt; *Missouri Persecution* by B. H. Roberts; *My Reasons for Leaving the Church of England and Joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* by Robert Moseley Bryce Thomas; *A New Witness for God* by B. H. Roberts; and *Voice of Warning* by Parley P. Pratt. It is evident from the book he published, *Morumonkyō to Morumonkyōto*, that Takahashi had read at least a significant portion of the Book of Mormon. Grant advanced Takahashi about ¥400 (\$200) for a hundred copies of the proposed book. Takahashi's relationship with the Mormons suffered in December 1903 when he learned that the first convert Hajime Nakazawa, caught in an act of theft at the mission home, had been excommunicated.³⁹ Takahashi wrote the missionaries a letter accusing them of lack of charity toward someone who had lost his job in the Shinto priesthood as a result of becoming a Mormon.

5.3.3. Kinzo Hirai (1859–1916)

Kinzo Hirai was a language scholar and an ordained Zen priest, who helped with translating early Mormon tracts into Japanese.⁴⁰ He was also helpful in assisting the Mormon missionaries during the translation of the Book of

37. Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppan Kyoku, *Kirisutokyō Jinmei Jiten* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppan Kyoku, 1986), 844.

38. Goro Takahashi, *Sekai Sansei Ron* (Tokyo: Maekawa Bun-ei-kaku, 1903).

39. This incident was reported in the 19 December 1903 issue of the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, 5.

40. Much of the biographical information on Hirai in this section comes from Shinichi Yoshinaga, comp., “Hirai Kinzo ni okeru Meiji Bukkyō no Kokusaika ni kansuru Shūkyōshi-Bunkashi-teki Kenkyū” (Maizuru, Kyoto: Maizuru Kōtō Senmon Gakkō, 2007), 7–26.

Mormon.⁴¹ The first critic of Taylor's draft translation of the Book of Mormon was his younger brother, Hirogoro Hirai. In April 1903, when the Japan Mission was about to send missionaries to the interior of the country, the missionaries wanted to mark the event by holding a large public meeting in Tokyo, in part to "remind the public that the 'Mormons' were still in Japan."⁴² The YMCA initially agreed to allow the Mormons to use its hall but withdrew the offer the next day.⁴³ The missionaries, then, turned to Hirai for help:

Through the assistance of Mr. Hirai we were able to procure the hall known as the "Kinkikwan" located in the Nishikimachi district of Kanda for the purpose of holding a meeting there on the night of the 18th.⁴⁴

Grant reported that about 500 persons were present and sat on the floor listening to Frederick A. Caine and Taylor speak in Japanese and Ensign and Grant in English for over two hours.⁴⁵ Copies of an English tract prepared for this occasion (of which Taylor's speech was a translation) were distributed after the meeting;⁴⁶ five thousand copies of the Japanese translation were delivered to the mission home on 14 May 1903.

Kinzo Hirai was born in Kyoto in 1859. He pursued his early studies at German and English language schools. Outraged by the way he saw foreigners treating Japanese people, he became a nationalist and an advocate of Buddhism and, from 1877, made his name as an eloquent critic of Christianity. In 1885, he established a private academy called Oriental Hall in Kyoto; this was meant to be the Buddhist counterpart to Christianity's *Dōshisha*, also located in Kyoto. In 1889, he was ordained a priest in the *Rinzai* Zen School of Buddhism. In 1892, he left for the United States to preach Buddhism and, in the following year, joined the Japanese Buddhist delegation attending the World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition,

41. Taylor spelled Hirai's given name Kinza, as did Hirai himself. This follows the historical convention of using phonetic Japanese letters on the basis of how words were presumably pronounced during the Heian period. Consistency in the use of phonetic Japanese letters requires that the name be spelled Kinzo in this volume.

42. Horace S. Ensign, "The Japanese Mission," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 66 (1904): 337–40.

43. Upon receiving a letter withdrawing the offer, Grant sent a letter asking them to state the reasons. Heber J. Grant, letter to N. Sumi, 9 April 1903, Japan Mission, "Letterpress Copybooks, 1901–1923," LDS Church Archives.

44. Taylor, Journal, 9–22 April 1903. The Kinkikan would become the principal venue of Japan's labor movement activity from the latter part of the 1900s. Tōkyō-to Chiyoda Kuyakusho, ed., *Chiyoda-ku Shi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to Chiyoda Kuyakusho, 1960).

45. Joseph and Marie Featherstone recorded that about six hundred people had been present, most of whom were English-speaking students. Joseph F. and Marie S. Featherstone, Journal, 18 April 1903, in possession of Dean R. Featherstone, Bountiful, Utah.

46. "Introducing the Gospel in Japan," *Improvement Era* 6, (1903): 708–14; "Activity in Japan Mission," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1903), 363–66.

where he spoke criticizing the hypocrisy of Christianity as seen in the actions of the Western powers toward Japan.⁴⁷ It was during his two-year stay in the United States that his religious outlook became more ecumenical.

An ecumenical speech Hirai delivered at a Unitarian gathering in Kyoto in August 1899 incited an outrage from the Buddhist establishment. This prompted him to move to Tokyo, where he actively participated in the activities of the Unitarian movement. Through this connection, he obtained a teaching position at the secondary division of Tokyo Higher Normal School. In 1901 he became an English teacher at Tokyo Senmon Gakkō (renamed Waseda University in 1902) and a year later assumed a faculty position at Tokyo Language School (present-day Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) where he would remain as a professor until 1910.⁴⁸

Somehow the Mormon missionaries became aware of his speech in Chicago while they were still in Salt Lake City. At the urging of Heber J. Grant, Hirai's speech at the World's Parliament of Religions was reprinted in the 29 June 1901 issue of the *Deseret Evening News*.⁴⁹ They must have contacted Hirai soon after their arrival in Tokyo. Recalling Hirai in a letter to Grant in 1920, Taylor said of him: "Mr. Hirai was one of the most splendid characters I have ever met. He was a good and unselfish friend to me when in Japan. He was of noble spirit and the personification of simplicity in living. He was a polished scholar and a true knight of Yamato. Since coming home I have had a letter from his daughter announcing his death."⁵⁰ Hirai's relationship with the Mormons continued even after Elbert D. Thomas took over as mission president.⁵¹ Following his death, mission president Joseph H. Stimpson visited the family on behalf of Alma O. Taylor.⁵²

5.3.4. *Literary Figures Who Aided the Work*

The LDS Church sought the best talent to assist the translation of hymns and the Book of Mormon, which were published, respectively, in 1905 and 1909. Two noted poets were hired to arrange thirteen hymns: Kosaburo (or Suimei) Kawai (1874–1965) and Takeki Owada (1857–1910). Kawai, a native of Osaka, began publishing poetry at the age of eighteen; he was elected to the Japan Arts Academy

47. John H. Barrows, ed., *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Parliament, 1893).

48. Konen Tsunemitsu, *Nihon Bukkyō Tobei Shi* (Tokyo: Bukkyō Shuppankyoku, 1964), 368–75; Yoshinaga, "Hirai Kinzo ni okeru Meiji Bukkyō," 19–20.

49. Grant read the speech on 20 June 1901 before the missionaries' departure from Utah. Impressed, he used his influence to have it printed "in the *Deseret News*." Japan Mission, "Historical Records and Minutes," 20 June 1901, LDS Church Archives.

50. Taylor, letter to Grant.

51. Thomas had attended the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, where he was impressed by Hirai's speech. Elbert D. Thomas, "Elbert D. Thomas," in *Thirteen Americans: Their Spiritual Autobiographies*, ed. Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 133.

52. Joseph H. Stimpson, Journal, 3 August 1916, BYU Archives.

in 1937 for his contribution to the development in Japan of colloquial, prosaic poetry. Owada, born in Uwajima in present-day Ehime Prefecture, taught literature at the University of Tokyo and Tokyo Higher Normal School before becoming a full-time poet in 1891; he is remembered in Japan as the author of many railroad and military songs.⁵³ In the translation of the Book of Mormon, the church was successful in securing the services of Choko Ikuta (1882–1936), a rising star in the literary circles who was destined to become a prolific critic, novelist, playwright, and translator, including Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (see Section 6.3 in Chapter 6 for more biographical information on Ikuta).

5.3.5. Early Investigators and Converts

The Mormon missionaries in prewar Japan predominantly attracted students who were pursuing upper secondary or higher education, employees of the public sector, and, among the less educated, those who were already Christians. For example, the second convert, Saburo Kikuchi, was a street preacher of Christianity. The third convert, Yoshiro Oyama, was employed in the foreign department of the post office, which was part of the Teishinshō (Ministry of Communications), a government agency. Tatsusaburo Nanbu, the only person baptized in Morioka (in August 1911), was employed by the Iwate prefectural government.⁵⁴ The first female convert, Tsune Nachie, who was baptized while employed as a maid and cook at the mission home, was a member of the Church of England (*Seikō Kai* or the Anglican–Episcopal Church of Japan). Outside Tokyo, the first convert in Kofu (in July 1908), Muraji Yoneyama, was a Methodist.⁵⁵

These characteristics of early Mormon converts are consistent with what has been observed in other cultural contexts among various religious traditions. The empirical literature on the economics and sociology of religion has found, for example, that those who switch religions tend to choose religions similar to theirs and that religious switching tends to occur early in their life cycles. In terms of rational choice theory, these tendencies can broadly be explained in terms of religious human capital.⁵⁶ To enjoy the benefits of a particular religion requires human capital

53. The railroad songs (*testudō shōka*), numbering more than three hundred, were written from the perspective of a traveler who visits every part of Japan by train.

54. Ivins, Journal, 12 February 1913.

55. Takeo Fujiwara, "The Official Report from the Japan Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1 January–30 April 1935," 28 April 1935, LDS Church Archives.

56. The basic framework of analysis is to postulate an individual (or a household) who maximizes an intertemporal utility function defined in terms of secular and expected afterlife consumption, where secular consumption is a standard household commodity that depends on time inputs and purchased goods, and afterlife consumption depends on religious activities that in turn depend on time inputs, purchased goods, and religious human capital. See Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Introduction to the Economics of Religion," *Journal of Economic Literature* 36 (1998): 1479–82.

specific to that religion, such as knowledge of doctrines and rituals or attachment to that religious culture. Thus, the cost of conversion to Mormonism is expected to be lower for someone who is already a Christian and can therefore use part of the same religious human capital; and a younger person is likely to possess a smaller stock of capital (which is acquired through “on-the-job training”), so the return from the existing stock of capital, or the cost of giving up the current religion, is smaller. In the case of a younger person, moreover, the benefit of switching to a new religion will be enjoyed over a longer period, making its expected net present value greater.⁵⁷

In prewar Japan, education appeared to play a particularly important role in enabling conversion to Mormonism. The intellectual life of Japan at the turn of the twentieth century reflected the influences of two opposing forces: rising nationalism in the form of a state-sponsored cult and advancing modernization (see Section 4.5 in Chapter 4). With the Imperial Rescript on Education, national indoctrination in State Shinto had begun in the 1890s for those receiving compulsory education. The sociologist Peter Berger argued, in the context of Western Christian history, that the “secularization” driven by the “dynamic of industrial capitalism” freed modern man from the “domination of religious institutions and symbols.” While such secularization promoted general irreligiosity, it also allowed “individualization” of religion. In a secularized sphere, religion thus became a matter of the choice or preference of the individual.⁵⁸ In this Bergerian framework, one can consider the role of post-compulsory education in prewar Japan as that of liberalizing individuals from the legitimizing requirements of society in religious choice. Those receiving secondary and higher education were more likely to regard switching to a Christian sect as socially acceptable behavior (Section 7.2.2 in Chapter 7 further discusses the role of advanced education in the conversion process). Berger observed that secularization affected different groups of society differently, with the impact stronger on classes directly connected with the modern sector.⁵⁹ This observation correlates well with the role of education in the secularization of prewar Japan.

Indeed, by far the largest share of the early investigators and converts came from Tokyo’s sizable student population. Kenzo Kato (baptized on 11 October 1903) was a student of law. In July 1905, the missionaries met Katsumi Tokoyo,⁶⁰ who would become a friend and helper. He was then a student at the Imperial University and later became an employee of the Bank of Formosa (Taiwan), a government institution.⁶¹ Yasubeiye Chiba (baptized on 29 August 1906), who helped with copy-

57. Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 114–25; also Iannaccone, “Economics of Religion,” 1479–82.

58. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967), 105–53 (especially 107–9, 131–34).

59. *Ibid.*, 108.

60. Taylor, *Journal*, 10 July 1905.

61. Kōyūchōsakai, ed., *Teikoku Daigaku Shushin Meikan* (Tokyo: Kōyūchōsakai, 1932).

ing the Book of Mormon translation, was a student at a normal school.⁶² Hachiro Mori, who was the “private secretary of the minister of finance,” was Tokoyo’s friend and later became a scribe for the Book of Mormon translation.⁶³ He was baptized on 23 November 1907. Takeshiro Sakuraba (baptized on 24 February 1910), who also became a scribe for the Book of Mormon translation, was a student at “the Methodist College” and later became a secondary school teacher.⁶⁴

Japan’s prewar system of education was a complex, multi-track system; it also frequently changed over time. For those wishing to go beyond primary education, however, its essential features can be summarized as follows.⁶⁵ The first six years of primary education were followed by (1) two or three years of higher primary school (*kōtō shōgakkō*), (2) five years of secondary education (*chūgakkō*) for boys, or (3) four or five years of secondary education (*kōtō jogakkō*) for girls.⁶⁶ Higher education was available for graduates of *chūgakkō* (and *kōtō jogakkō* in exceptional cases) in the form of higher school (*kōtō gakkō*) or *senmon gakkō*.⁶⁷ In prewar Japan, those who received secondary education were considered educated. As the number of schools was limited, many left homes at the age of twelve or thirteen to attend secondary school in larger cities; by graduation, they had turned seventeen. Those in higher schools or *senmon gakkō*, often living away from home, were elites already in their late teens. Students thus matured and became independent earlier than would be the case today, as they progressed through the educational system rather quickly. This is the segment of the population among which the Mormon missionaries had greater success.⁶⁸

62. Chiba later became an elementary school teacher.

63. Taylor, Journal, 3 September 1906; 20 October 1906. He later became a secondary school teacher and relocated to Korea in early 1908 after becoming employed with “a tobacco company,” which was a government-owned enterprise. Taylor, Journal, 20 September 1907; 15 February 1908.

64. Daniel P. Woodland, Journal, 1 May 1908, in possession of John W. Welch, Provo, Utah; Alma O. Taylor, “Japan, the Ideal Mission Field,” *Improvement Era* 13 (1910): 781. Sakuraba was a 1909 graduate of Aoyama Gakuin and later changed his surname to Takahashi. Aoyama Gakuin, *Aoyama Gakuin Ichiran* (Tokyo: Aoyama Gakuin, 1926), 133.

65. Hiroshi Imai, “Meiji Ishin to Kyōiku,” in *Kyōiku no Seido to Rekishi*, ed. Yoshiyuki Hirooka (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2007), 120–31; Hiroshi Imai, “Kindai Kokka no Seiritsu to Kyōiku,” in *Kyōiku no Seido*, 132–42.

66. The length of compulsory education was raised from three or four years to six years in 1907.

67. In 1903 the Ministry of Education allowed *senmon gakkō* to be called universities (*daigaku*) although private universities could not legally exist until 1919. At the top of the educational hierarchy were imperial universities (*teikoku daigaku*).

68. At the time of baptism, about 70 percent of the converts were between sixteen and twenty-five years of age; the average age was 22.9. The number of those forty-one years old or above was in the single digits (about 5 percent).



This large semi-Western house in Yoyogi, Tokyo served as the LDS mission home from 1902 to 1908. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

In his journal, Alma Taylor often mentions his contacts as attending a *senmon gakkō* or “the normal school.”⁶⁹ Taylor’s frequent encounters with normal school students reflected the locations of his living quarters. Tokyo had two normal schools at that time. One of them, Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō (Tokyo Higher Normal School, a predecessor of the present-day University of Tsukuba), was located in Kanda, where Taylor was staying temporarily in 1902. This school offered four-year advanced teacher’s education to graduates of secondary schools ages seventeen or above. The other school, Tōkyō-fu Shihan Gakkō (Tokyo Prefectural Normal School, a predecessor, along with other units, of present-day Tokyo Gakugei University), was in Aoyama near the mission home when it was in Sendagaya. This school offered four-year teacher’s education to graduates of higher primary schools or equivalents ages fifteen or above. It was parallel to the upper secondary and lower higher school grades.

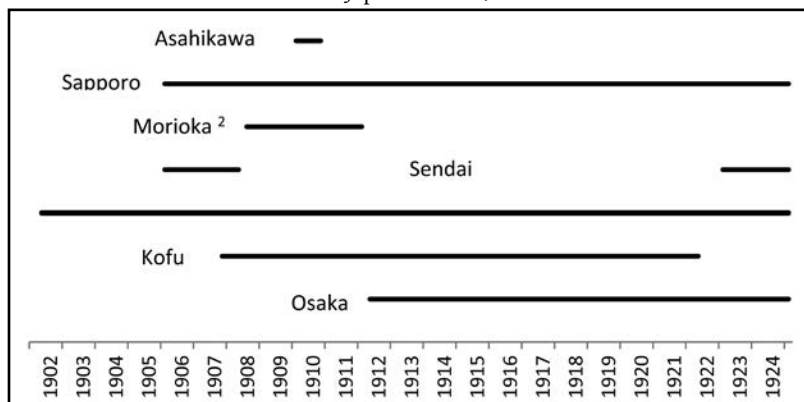
5.4. Defining the Geographical Scope of Missionary Work

5.4.1. Overview

For the Mormon missionaries, the first eighteen months in Japan was a period of preparation. The missionaries remained as boarders in hotels or boarding houses, first in Yokohama and then in Tokyo, to study the language. Missionary

69. In May 1902, Taylor met T. Matsuda, a student “at the Senmon Gakkō.”

Figure 5.1. Principal Proselytizing Areas
 in the LDS Japan Mission, 1902–24¹



¹ Includes only those areas where at least one convert was made. ² Excludes several months of proselytizing work that resumed for a few months in 1913 and between 1922 and 1923. Author's estimates based on Jenson, "History of the Japan Mission."

work, if any, was confined to a small area in or around Tokyo. A mission home was located only in anticipation of Grant's return from the United States, with wife Augusta, daughter Mary, Horace Ensign's wife, and six additional missionaries, on 17 July 1902. The arrival of women made it imperative that a house should be secured to maintain family life. On 24 July 1902, the main group of missionaries moved into a large house they located in Yoyogi (16 Kasumigaoka Machi) in the then western outskirts of Tokyo.⁷⁰ It was of semi-Western construction, consisting of Western and Japanese rooms.⁷¹ After a temporary relocation to a "strictly Japanese house" in Sendagaya from November 1908 to May 1909,⁷² the mission found a large Western house with servant quarters in Ichigaya (81 Yakuojimae Machi).⁷³ The mission home would remain there until July 1922, when it moved, for the last time, to Yodobashi (87 Tsunohazu) just west of Shinjuku station.⁷⁴

During the twenty-three-year period of the mission's existence, a total of eighty-eight American missionaries labored in Japan, but for a country of 45–55

70. The location is near the past and future site of the National Stadium.

71. A proposed major renovation of the house by the landlord necessitated the move. Taylor, Journal, 1 November 1908.

72. It appears that this was intended to be a temporary move, pending the completion of an innovation of a more permanent facility. Taylor, Journal, 19 November 1908.

73. Taylor, Journal, 24 March 1909; 26 March 1909; 29 April 1909; 1 May 1909. The features of this house are described in Alma O. Taylor, "A Few Words from Japan," *Improvement Era* 12 (1909): 782–88.

74. Jenson, "History of the Japan Mission." This was outside the Tokyo city limit at that time.

million people (about half the population of the United States), the number only averaged 12.5 at any given time. The small workforce permitted the mission to proselytize only in a handful of locations; the missionaries stayed long enough to produce one or more baptisms only in seven cities (Figure 5.1). Generally, the church had only enough resources to maintain four areas for activity. From May 1912 (when the structure became more or less stable) to its close in July/August 1924, the mission consisted of four conferences: Kofu (which in 1922 was replaced by Sendai), Osaka, Sapporo, and Tokyo.

Tokyo was the only area where missionary work was performed continually until the close of the mission. Occasionally, multiple preaching stations were maintained in Tokyo and its surrounding cities and towns. In early 1902, for example, Ensign and Taylor lived in Kanda, while Grant and Kelsch remained in Tsukiji. After the first mission home was located, single elders lived elsewhere in the city. Taylor, for quite some time, worked in the city of Chiba east of Tokyo;⁷⁵ he then worked in Negishi in northern Tokyo. He would typically return to the headquarters for the Sabbath or as circumstances required. Missionary work was also carried out in Asagaya and Nakano, which are now busy residential cities in western Tokyo but were back then relatively unspoiled farming communities.⁷⁶ From November 1907 to September 1908, the Japan Mission maintained another house in Yochomachi, Okubo in Tokyo's Ushigome district. Located not far from the mission home, this was generally referred to in mission records as the Yochomachi Branch (but sometimes was called "field house").

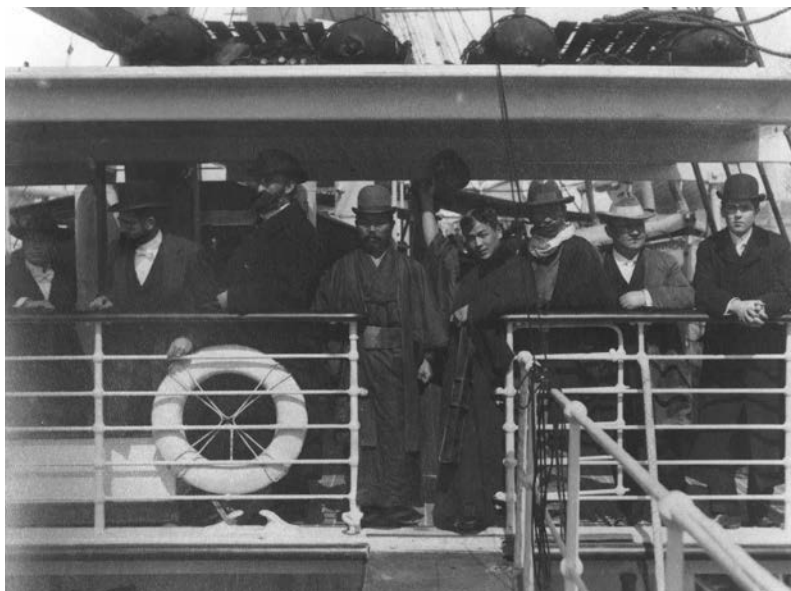
5.4.2. Opening the First Areas for Missionary Work

Work outside Tokyo began in April 1903 when Joseph Featherstone and Sandford Hedges were sent to Chiba (22 April): Frederick Caine and Horace Ensign to Nagano (23 April); and Erastus Jarvis and John Stoker to Naoetsu (also 23 April). Here, Chiba referred to, not the city, but the Boso Peninsula in Chiba Prefecture. The Chiba elders initially went to Nago but found living quarters in Funakata. Missionary work was carried out in Boso, including in such little towns and villages as Funakata, Hojo, and Nago, which are now subdivisions of the city of Tateyama. On 2 May, Featherstone and Hedges returned to the headquarters and gave a "very favorable" report of their work in Boso. On the basis of this report, on 9 June, Featherstone returned to Boso accompanied by wife Marie. They arrived in Nago and stayed at the Yamadaya (a Japanese-style hotel) until they found and moved into a house in Hojo on 9 July.⁷⁷ The Featherstones'

75. Taylor began his work in Chiba on 14 September 1903.

76. Jarvis was first sent to Nakano in January 1904, when work in Nagano and Naoetsu was terminated (see below). Work spread from there to Asagaya.

77. Featherstone, Journal, 2 May, 9 June, and 9 July 1903.



Mormon missionaries and friends on a ferry in Tokyo Bay, circa 1902. From right to left: Taylor, Ensign, Nakazawa, Hiroi, Kikuchi, Grant, and Kelsch. Courtesy BYU Archives.

made good friends and were successful in attracting a relatively large number of people to their meetings.⁷⁸

One can only speculate why mission president Grant opened the small fishing communities of Boso, of all places, for missionary work. Two reasons can be offered. First, there was a convenient ferry service from Tokyo to Hojo, on the other side of Tokyo Bay. Second, Grant evidently liked the rustic atmosphere of the area as a retreat from the suffocating noise and pollution of Tokyo. The special collections library of Brigham Young University has a picture of Grant, his three Mormon associates, Japanese interpreter Tatsutaro Hiroi, and the first two Japanese converts Hajime Nakazawa and Saburo Kikuchi on a boat, presumably bound for or returning from Boso. Grant had known the area from early in his mission and thought of it as a special place, judging from the fact that his family spent part of the early summer of 1903 there.⁷⁹ On 14 September 1903, Caine

78. An evening meeting on 2 August 1903 was attended by about a hundred people; they had about 150 people on 5 August and about 200 on 9 August. On 22 July 1903, they went to a lecture by a Japanese missionary of the Church of England. At the close of the meeting, Joseph was invited to speak. Marie records: "He arose and talked for ten minutes with great ease." Featherstone, Journal, 22 July, 2 August, 5 August, and 9 August 1903.

79. It appears that Boso remained a summer retreat for the mission president's family. Joseph Stimpson's wife and child spent part of the summer months there in 1917. Stimpson, Journal, 23 June 1917.

Figure 5.2. Areas in Japan where Mormon Missionaries Labored,
1902–24



and Jarvis were sent to Hojo, which the mission president thought would provide a place of convalescence for Jarvis.⁸⁰

To understand why the first sets of missionaries were sent to Naoetsu on the Sea of Japan coast and Nagano in the interior, one must know the trip Grant had made in September 1901 (when the missionaries were still in Yokohama) with an American businessman by the name of Walter S. Stone and “his Japanese man Mr. Sato.” Grant describes this trip as a tour of “about one thousand miles” in west central Japan.⁸¹ Leaving in the evening of 6 September 1901, the company traveled west to Nagoya, then headed north from Maibara to Tsuruga Bay on the Sea of Japan coast, and arrived at Kanazawa in the afternoon of the next

80. Jarvis was suffering from a mental illness at this time. Jensen, “History of the Japan Mission,” 21 December 1904.

81. Grant, “A Japanese Journal.”

day. Grant was in Toyama on 9 September, Niigata on 11 September, Naoetsu on 12 September, Karuizawa on 13 September, and back in Tokyo and Yokohama on 15 September. The American businessman's purpose for the trip was to purchase silk from the silk producing regions of the country,⁸² so Grant did not stop at any of the major cities along the more developed Pacific coast. This likely explains why Grant selected the first areas of missionary work from among the cities on the Sea of Japan and in the interior (see Figure 5.2).

While traveling the Shinano region of the country, which reminded him of Cache and Utah Valleys (except that “the mountains were green to their summits in place of being rugged and barren as is generally the case with ours”), Grant remarked:

I would sooner live in this valley and do our missionary work from here than in any place that I have yet seen and if I am not impressed to remain in Tokyo shall be tempted to make some place in it our headquarters . . . I would give almost anything within my power if I could go through this valley and preach to the people in their own language. I have been delighted and pleased with all that I have seen today and someday I hope and pray that I can come to this place and preach the Gospel of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ to the people residing in it.⁸³

Naoetsu (pop. about 11,000) was the terminus on a train line coming out of Tokyo. At the turn of the twentieth century, it took about twelve hours to travel from Tokyo's Ueno station to Naoetsu. A separate line was completed in 1900 connecting Naoetsu and Niigata. Although there was another line coming from Osaka on the west to Toyama on the Sea of Japan coast, however, the construction of a rail link between Naoetsu and Toyama was not yet complete. The northern tip of the Japan Alps reaches that part of the coastal area, with steep cliffs lining the coast for several miles, especially near Itoigawa. Civil engineering techniques were not sufficiently developed to allow the construction of a tunnel until after 1911 (the rail link was completed in 1913). Because it was the terminus for five



The three-story Matsubakan was a popular inn located near Naoetsu station. It went out of business during the depression years of the early 1930s. Courtesy BYU Archives.

[End of Chapter 5 preview]

82. Alma O. Taylor journal, 6 September 1901.

83. Grant, “A Japanese Journal.”

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Abbreviations:

- LDS Church Archives: Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City
BYU Archives: Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
BYU–Hawaii Archives: University Archives, Brigham Young University–Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii

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