

The Influence of the Social Gospel in Modern Rural Japan: A Case Study of Howard and Herbert Norman and Their Work in Nagano

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In this article I will present research about the influences of the social gospel from Canada to Japan through Howard and Herbert Norman and their activities towards the democratization of Japan after World War II. Most previous research about the Normans has focussed on the life and death of Herbert Norman, speculating on whether he was an agent of the Soviet Union while he was a Canadian diplomat. However, I will not discuss whether he was an agent of the Soviet Union because most of the important materials about the death of Herbert Norman and the spy-related materials kept by Canada and United States have not been made public.¹ Another reason why I will not discuss this issue is that I do not have much interest in the matter. This was a hot issue during the latter half of the Cold War era. Herbert Norman was one of the important international political figures during the 1950s. At the time, the question of whether Herbert Norman was an agent of the Soviet Union was important for the security of the western World. One could likely find more evidence of these issues if we learned Russian and accessed declassified files of the Soviet Union. Because the Cold War ended in 1991, their involvement in international politics is less important now.

Instead, I would like to discuss Howard and Herbert's thinking and experiences in their lifetimes. I will introduce one important document that has not been known to researchers both in North America and in Japan for over 60 years even though it surely influenced the Japanese democratization of religion. Finally, I would like to discuss why Howard and Herbert

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Norman became leftist and how their ideas changed Japan into the democratic country. It is time to reconsider their roles in Japan and North America again.

First, I would like to discuss their backgrounds, then discuss Howard Norman's thesis about the Japanese situation in the 1930s, and finally discuss Howard and Herbert's role in the democratization of Japan after World War II.

Background: Nagano Prefecture before the World War II

Nagano, located in central Japan, became famous as the host city of the 1998 winter Olympics. A bullet train connects Tokyo to Nagano, a trip that takes only one and a half hours. The area is flourishing due to year-round resorts, the information technology industry, and commercial vegetable farming.

When Howard and Herbert Norman were children, Nagano was remote from Tokyo;² it was a mountainous area where it was difficult to grow rice. The silk industry was flourishing in central Nagano; some rich people and foreigners in eastern Japan made their summer residences in Karuizawa. Compared to today, its development was still limited. Nagano at that time was one of the rural and poor areas of Japan. However, Nagano had other characteristics. People in Nagano were enthusiastic about education. Labour and peasant movements flourished in Nagano, and the local newspaper, *Shinano Mainichi Shimbun (Shinano Daily)*, which was established in 1873, was one of the most liberal newspapers before World War II.³ Nagano has a famous Buddhist temple, *Zenkoji*, established in 642.⁴ Almost all the people in Nagano were believers of *Zenkoji* except for a small number of Christians and new religions. Nagano's atmosphere was naturally fit for the social gospel movement.

Daniel Norman, father of Howard and Herbert, served on the Northern Nagano Circuit (Afterwards District) for over thirty years as a missionary from the Methodist Church of Canada. He was born in Aurora Ontario; he studied Karl Marx and joined the Socialist Club at Victoria College.⁵ He was not a communist, but had a passion for social justice. When he came to Japan in 1897, he was appointed to the Central Tabernacle in Tokyo, situated in front of the Imperial University of Tokyo. He disliked urban missions that targeted mainly intellectual people, and asked mission board for permission to relocate to a rural location such as his birthplace. In 1903, the mission board fulfilled his request and assigned

him to Nagano. He served there until his retirement in 1937. Most of his life he devoted his mission to the railway workers, peasants and young people in the Northern Nagano District. He established many churches and mission stations there. His influence was felt throughout most of northern Nagano and was not limited to Christian community. Howard Norman notes that people still remember the life and activities of Daniel Norman, but have forgotten his teachings about Christianity.⁶

It was an age for Japanese democracy before World War II when Howard and Herbert were boys. Japanese call this era the “*Taisho Democracy (1912-25)*” because that was the imperial era. In 1916, Yoshino Sakuzo (1878-1933),⁷ Professor of Political Science at the Imperial University of Tokyo and a member of the Congregational Church, wrote several articles about democracy in the monthly periodical, “*Chuo Koron*.”⁸ He translated democracy as “*Minpon Shugi (People First Policy)*” to escape the constitutional debate about sovereignty.⁹ His introduction of democracy gradually affected Japanese society. Several social gospellers, such as Suzuki Bunji (1885-1946)¹⁰ and Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960)¹¹ entered the Labour movement during 1910s and 1920s. The Japanese opted for universal male suffrage in 1925; under the influence of Suzuki and Yoshino the Social Democratic Party (*Shakai Minshu To*) was established. They elected Abe Iso-o (1865-1949),¹² a member of the Unitarian Church, as the party chair and Katayama Tetsu (1887-1978),¹³ a member of the Presbyterian Church, as the chief secretary. They won three seats in the general election of the diet in 1928. Therefore, the Japanese social gospellers, with the cooperation of missionaries in Japan, led the Democracy and Labour movements before World War II.

In addition, from the end of the 1920s, Alfred R. Stone (1902-1954)¹⁴ joined a mission in the Nagano District. Stone was a strong social gospeller, and he established rural improvement groups in Northern Nagano in the 1930s. Stone discussed the Bible with participants, as well as ways to improve the lives of peasants through social reform.

Howard and Herbert Norman grew up in such climate. Their environment as youths in Japan was similar to Anglican missionary children such as Cyril Powles, who grew up in Takada, Niigata. Because Niigata Prefecture was a poor and oppressed area before World War II, Edwin Reischauer, who was also the son of a Presbyterian missionary from the United States, and who later became a Japanologist, had somewhat different experiences as a youth. The Reischauer family resided

in Tokyo and Edwin's father, August K. Reishauer was a professor at Tokyo Women's College.¹⁵ The Reischauer families associated with well-known Japanese of that era. Though Herbert Norman and Edwin Reischauer had different views about Japanese modern history, they had friendships from their youth at Karuizawa, and both of them conducted their Ph.D. research at Harvard University at the same time. They were close friends until Herbert's suicide in 1957. Howard also had a strong relationship with Edwin Reischauer. Howard conducted the wedding of Edwin and Haru Matsukata¹⁶ in 1956.

The Influence of Rural Japan on Howard and Herbert Norman

Howard Norman was born in 1905 and Herbert was born in 1909. Both of them were born and raised in Nagano, and were strongly influenced by the attitudes of Nagano. Their mother taught Howard and Herbert at home until grade six and afterwards they went to the Canadian Academy at Kobe, a school established by the Canadian Methodist Church. Howard resided in Canada when he went to Victoria College at the University of Toronto in 1923, and Herbert resided in Canada when he suffered tuberculosis and entered the Calgary Sanitarium in 1925. Herbert was shocked to meet non-believers in Calgary and wrote his feelings about it in a letter to his parents.

He turned from being a social dospeller to a Trotskyist during the early 1930s and then converted to Stalinism during his Cambridge days. Before 1925, Herbert lived in a very religious atmosphere, so his letter of 1924 did not mean "Conversion from Christianity to Communism," but meant real surprise. In Nagano, most people, except Christians were believers in Buddhism and frequented the *Zenkoji* Temple. In Kobe, the Methodist Church of Canada established the Canadian Academy, so it had a strong Christian atmosphere. Therefore, 1925 was the first time that Herbert met non-believers. Such experience was quite different from Edwin Reischauer, who resided in Tokyo. Tokyo was already one of the biggest metropolitan centres of the world and it had people with various ideas, including nonbelievers and communists. Reishauer was exposed to communist ideas during his Tokyo time. The Normans did not.

Herbert gradually felt the imperfectness of Christianity and was seeking for real salvation via the social gospel, Trotskyism and Stalinism.¹⁷ However, he never found the answer until his death. After the recovery of his disease, Herbert entered Albert College where Howard

taught and graduated in 1929, he went to Victoria College in the University of Toronto and got a B.A. in Classics, studied at Trinity College in the Cambridge University between 1933-34 and earned a B.A. in history. He earned an M.A. from Harvard University in 1936, and a Ph.D. in history in 1940. His Ph.D. dissertation was called "Japan's Emergence as a Modern State," and was published in North America the same year. Many people read it during the 1940s, and it influenced the postwar policy toward Japan. In 1947, this book was translated into Japanese and published by Iwanami Shoten,¹⁸ an influential publisher for intellectuals in Japan. Many Japanese intellectuals read this book and felt hope for the democratization of Japan under the influence of Herbert Norman.

He also appointed fellow of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York between 1938-39, and wrote several articles about modern Japan. In 1939, he entered the Department of External Affairs and was sent to Tokyo Legation in the same year. After the Pacific War broke out, he was detained several months and returned to Canada via an exchange boat. He met Tsuru Shigeto in Hawaii and learned that Tsuru had left his books related to communism at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He went there and was accused by the FBI.¹⁹

Howard had no such encounter in his college days. He followed his father's passion for mission work and social justice. When he was in Victoria, he already become a social gospeller, which had strongly influenced his brother Herbert. In addition, he continued to attend church in Toronto. After graduating from Victoria College, he taught at Albert College until 1929. Afterwards he went to Emmanuel College, studied theology, and became an ordained minister of the United Church of Canada in 1931. He then got a scholarship and went to Westminster College in the Cambridge University between 1931-1932. Howard had already asked Arnup to become a missionary to Japan as early as 1928.

In the summer of 1932, with his new wife Gwen R.P., they sailed to Japan and were appointed to the Kanazawa Orphanage until 1941. He thought Japan was becoming a democratic country and was satisfied where he worked. In 1931 Japan started to invade Manchuria, following the ideas of Ishihara Kanji.²⁰ The League of Nations strongly protested the actions of Japan. Japan withdrew in 1932. A military revolt occurred and Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated in May 1932,²¹ and the representative government collapsed. Suddenly the political situation in Japan was very different from the time Howard was a boy. He was eager

to become a missionary, but gradually he became depressed and sometimes wanted to resign from the mission.

In 1938, he got a furlough and went to Union Theological Seminary for his S.T.M. research. At first, Howard wanted to research “Christianity and Marxism,” but he finally wrote about “Japanism” in his S.T.M. thesis. I will introduce his thesis and his influence on post-war religious policy in Japan. Both Howard and Herbert lived in New York City at the end of 1930s. After finishing his work at Union, Howard returned to Kanazawa and continued his work. Nevertheless, his depression continued and finally he resigned his position as a minister. Howard sailed back to Canada in April 1941 and officially resigned from the Japanese Mission in June 1941.

I could point out several reasons why Howard became depressed during the 1930s. First, the Japanese situation in the 1930s had dramatically changed. Japan gradually became a Fascist country; Militarism flourished. Revolts and assassinations of politicians and business executives happened often. Representative government, which started in 1924, ended in 1932 through military revolts and the assassination of the Prime Minister. The atmosphere created by the “*Taisho* Democracy” disappeared. War between Japan and China broke out in 1931 and gradually became a total war. The Japanese Ministry of Education published *Kokutai no Hongi* (The Real Meanings of National Polity) in 1937 in order to introduce young Japanese to the ideology of total war. At last, his father Daniel, who had never been a social gospeller, was put under secret police surveillance from mid-1930s because he was a foreigner and the police thought he must be a secret agent of the United States and the United Kingdom because he could speak Japanese well. Howard and Herbert were shocked by such situations.

The second reason was the situation of Kanazawa. Maedas, the biggest Feudal Governor of Japan, ruled the Province of Kaga (Kanazawa was a capital city) during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868). After the Meiji Restoration, Maeda became a marquis and resided in Tokyo, but still had a strong influence on the people in Ishikawa Prefecture (which was a merger of Provinces of Kaga and Noto, and Kanazawa is a capital) by sending scholarships to the students in Tokyo. The Nagano Prefecture was formed by several small provinces, run by feudal governors and the lands were under the direct control of Tokugawa government. In Nagano, there was no influential former feudal governor such as Kanazawa. In addition, Kanazawa was one of the centres of militant Buddhism, *Jodo Shinshu*,

which Shinran had established. Members of Johdo Shinshu, led by Ren'nyo, governed the Kanazawa area from 1471 to 1580.²² The influence of *Jodo Shinshu* remained strong in Kanazawa and it is still one of the most difficult areas for Christian mission in Japan. Howard felt challenged by his mission in Kanazawa. These two reasons depressed Howard, and he decided to resign from the Japan Mission.

Howard Norman's view to Japanese situation of Shinto and State

In Japan, Howard communicated with several Japanese labour movement leaders and discussed the matter of Japan in the 1930s. Howard gradually became confident that the social gospel must be adopted in Japan, and that emperor worship, which was mandatory for all Japanese people, prevented the Christianization and democratization of Japan.

At Union Theological Seminary, Howard wrote his S.T.M. thesis about "Japanism." Herbert lived very close at that time and was writing his famous Ph.D. dissertation about "Japan's Emergence." In this dissertation, Herbert wrote about the Meiji Restoration and the establishment of the constitution in 1889; Howard's thesis wrote about the contemporary situation in Japan. They discussed their ideas about Japan in New York, and influenced each other. Mutual influences are apparent when the two theses are compared. Moreover, these theses influenced Japanese democratization after World War II.

Howard's thesis was more practical than academic. It pointed out that Japan became worse through militarism, the emphasis on *Nihon Seishin* (Japanese Spirit),²³ *Bushido* (Japanese Samurai Spirit),²⁴ and the practice of emperor worship.²⁵ These features made lives difficult for Japanese Christians and for labour movements. He argued that Japanese Christians must adapt Christianity and "Japanize"²⁶ it to suit the belief in emperor worship.

Chapters 1-5 were adapted for the "*Shinto Shirei* (Ban of State Shintoism and strict separation of Shintoism and State in Japan)"²⁷ in December 1945. The thesis was a practical analysis for the Japanese situation. In Chapter 1,²⁸ Howard defined "Japanism." It include *Kokutai* (National Polity), State Shintoism, *Bushido* (Japanese Samurai Spirit), and Confucianism.

In Chapter 2, "The Setting," he described Japanese modern history from the Tokugawa era to the establishment of the Meiji constitutional system (around 1890s), which mostly came from the analysis of Herbert

Norman. In addition, he described various Japanese lifestyle indicators such as a continuing high birth-rate, the decline of average income, increase of working hours per worker, increase in the number of industrial accidents, increase of death by tuberculosis, increase of exports because of the decline in exchange rates, and the militarization of the Japanese economy. Howard also pointed out that the Japanese could manage to live self-sufficiently if they kept their country peaceful and used their resources without militarization.

In Chapter 3, "Shinto," Howard described Shintoism. He emphasized why state Shinto emerged, and it was defined by the Japanese government not as a religion, "but as a Japanese national ritual." He pointed out that it came from purely political matters. The definition of state Shintoism governed and controlled people's minds in Japan.

In Chapter 4, "Kokutai no Hongi: The Real Meaning of National Polity," Howard introduced the book *Kokutai no Hongi*. It was read by all the primary and secondary school students in 1936 in order to teach them the meaning of national polity. Howard pointed out the real meaning of *Kokutai* related to emperor worship, ancestor worship and Confucianism. Moreover, *Kokutai no Hongi* also pointed out how the Japanese government had adopted and protected Buddhism since the seventh century. The Japanese government wanted Buddhists and other religious believers to cease peace movements and other protests. Alternatively, the Government would not persecute them.

Chapter 5, "Values of Japanism" described the historical change in Japanese values since 1889. Howard pointed out that Japan had her own experience of democracy in history, so if Japan could abolish their militarism and state Shintoism, they could restore their democratic way.

Chapter 6, "The Cultural Psychology of the Japanese," described how the Japanese adopted everything in a Japanized way, such as Buddhism, Confucianism and western culture. In addition, revolts and assassinations for Japanese political and economic high profile officials made them obey the Japanese military. Howard pointed out that these actions came from Japanese chauvinism. Yet, Howard pointed out that the Japanese love beauty, and had religious feelings. Chapter 7, "Utopia in Japan," summarized Chapters 1-6 and described the kind of utopia created by Japanese militarism.

Chapter 8, "The Japanese Church Faces Crisis," talked about the Japanese government's questions to the leaders of Japanese churches inquiring whether Japanese Christians, who officially believe there is only

one God, could still endorse emperor worship. If Japanese Christians denied emperor worship, the Japanese government would persecute churches. Howard predicted persecution for new religions that denied emperor worship. It came true in 1942 for the Holiness Church Groups in United Church of Christ.²⁹

Chapter 9, "A New Dynamic Japanese Church," described the Protestant Church Union. Church union was a strong goal among Protestant church leaders during the Meiji Era (1868-1912). Several Church union movements were initiated, but were not accomplished because of the interests of individual denominations and missions. However, it rapidly became true when the Japanese government asked church leaders to cut their ties with their missions. Church leaders had to seek a Church union for the sake of survival without the aid of the mission organizations.

He attached an appendix to explain the Japanese views of *Kami* (God) and deity. As a missionary, the emphasis Howard laid on the latter while the former was difficult for the Japanese churches to explain. Policymakers in Canada and the United States used Chapters 1-5 for drafting religious policies for Japan.

After he finished his S.T.M. work in June 1939, Howard returned to Japan and was reappointed to the Kanazawa Orphanage. His work in Japan, however, continued for only one and half years. Howard became depressed again, and he asked mission board to resign from the ministry, and returned in April 1941 without permission. The mission board finally accepted his resignation from the Japanese mission in June 1941.³⁰

It was half a year before the outbreak of the Pacific War and his parents and brother Herbert were still in Japan. Afterwards, Howard was appointed as minister in St. George United Church in Vancouver, which has long been a gateway to Asia. In December 1941, the Pacific War broke out and the Canadian Government decided that Japanese Canadians were suspects as agents of the Japanese army. Thus, the Canadian government confiscated the property of Japanese Canadians. Moreover, the Canadian government sent Japanese Canadians to internment camps in inland British Columbia.

Howard became angry at this decision, and he felt it was a threat to Canadian citizenship and freedom. Therefore, he became a Vice-chairman of the Vancouver Consultive Council for the Study of the Problems of Citizenship.³¹ He actively supported the Japanese Canadians and worked on their behalf until 1947.

In addition he became a supporter of the CCF Party. Howard sent a letter to Arnup suggesting that the United Church of Canada officially support the CCF. Arnup refused this idea because he was a supporter of Conservative Party.³² Under the difficult situation of having his two mother countries, Canada and Japan, at war, Howard became an “active radical.” His efforts influenced his next decision after World War II.

Reconsidering Howard and Herbert Norman’s Role in Japanese Democratization after World War II.

Just after the end of World War II, Herbert became an advisor to Douglas McArthur, Chief of the General Headquarters (GHQ) of Occupied Japan. He released political criminals including communists in Japan and conducted a leading role in the political and economic democratization of Japan with American New Dealers such as “*Zaibatsu Kaitai* (Disband of Conglomerates).”³³ Afterwards he went to Washington D.C. and seconded Lester B. Pearson, who at the time was an ambassador to the United States. In August 1946, Herbert became head of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo. Howard was still in Vancouver as a minister and involved in the human rights movement for Japanese Canadians. In 1947, the mission board sent Howard to Japan as a professor at Kwansei Gakuin University, Hyogo. He arrived in Japan on September 1947.³⁴

Howard and Herbert felt happy days in 1947. A new constitution was implemented in Japan that May, which officially declared that Japanese sovereignty rests with the people, not the emperor. It specified that Japan should not be a military power, and that Japan abandon the aristocratic system. GHQ ordered freedom of speech, labour movements, social rights and strict separation of religion and state. In April 1947, United Churchman Katayama Tetsu became the first socialist prime minister in Japan under the new constitution; he lasted eight months.

Howard might have felt happy for this situation and he frequently went to Tokyo to visit Herbert. They enjoyed their lives (especially playing tennis) and talks³⁵ even though travel between Hyogo and Tokyo took thirteen hours.

However, these happy days did not last long. By the end of 1948, GHQ changed its policy toward Japan. “Reverse course” started. It was a backlash by the conservative groups in the United States and Japan for the rapid democratization of Japan. At that time, the coalition government with socialists collapsed due to political scandals,³⁶ and conservative

coalitions got power again and continued until 1993.³⁷ The government banned the Japanese Communist Party and the government conducted a “red purge.” Japanese leaders of labour movements wanted to do a general strike, but the GHQ banned it.

Japanese left-wingers felt hopeful that Herbert could ask McArthur to change this policy. However, Herbert himself felt lonely and even had difficulty protecting himself at that time. Howard’s visits to the Tokyo Legation gradually diminished in 1948. He returned to Ottawa in December 1950 having said farewell to his birthplace. Afterwards, the RCMP accused Herbert about his ties to communism.

Under such circumstances, Herbert wrote a book about a philosopher who lived during the Edo period. The title was *Ando Shoeki: A Forgotten Philosopher* (1950).³⁸ Iwanami Shoten published the Japanese version of this book in two paperback editions, which sold over a million copies. Herbert described Ando as a pioneer for democracy in Japan who denied feudalism and emphasized Japan as a country for farmers and peasants as a first priority. This book became a bestseller in Japan and encouraged further democratization in Japan, and encouraged Japan to be a light for the future as a peaceful, rural country after a devastating war.

Ando Shoeki was the last book for Herbert about Japanese studies. Recent Japanese researchers criticize Herbert’s book for being too idealized, as if Ando was a pioneer of Japanese democracy. It was still the middle of the feudal era and Ando lived in the rural area of northeast Japan, so he had little information about democracy at that time. They described Ando as an ecologist,³⁹ rather than a democrat. These criticisms are accurate, but one should consider the conditions why Herbert saw Ando as a pioneer of democracy.

One answer is Herbert’s difficult situation at that time. Japanese left-wing intellectuals saw Herbert as a guardian for Japanese rapid democratization. Herbert received letters asking him to encourage McArthur to continue the policy for democratization. Herbert therefore wanted to find some Japanese who had their own idea about democracy. In addition, he wanted the Japanese to seek Japanese democratization by themselves.

The other answer is related to Christianity. Herbert did not go to church often. Still Christianity influenced his ideas, especially social gospel ideas. He tried to be a Japanese saviour who could save the Japan as a democratic state. Ando Shoeki was a person who fit Herbert’s ideals for the Japanese.

Herbert left Japan in December 1950, and he did not again write books about Japan. In addition, Howard again felt depressed because of the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. Both wanted peace, but the situation worsened and they felt like they had entered another dark age.

Howard rarely mentioned social concerns after 1950, and pretended to be a “good missionary with a moderate view.” Such pretension might protect him from purges and allowed him to continue his mission work in Japan. This became apparent in the Japanese version of Daniel Norman’s biography, *Nagano no Norman*;⁴⁰ Howard did not mention that Daniel studied Karl Marx and had joined a socialist club in his Victoria years. Howard experienced the horrible years of McCarthyism and his beloved young brother Herbert committed suicide in April 1957, which made Howard more cautious in his activities toward social justice in Japan.

In contrast, in Canada, Howard wrote and acted freely and openly confessed he was a social gospeller. Howard wrote “Uchimura Kanzo’s Quest for Salvation,” as his D.D. dissertation (1960)⁴¹ at Emmanuel College, Toronto School of Theology. He described Uchimura’s life, theology and influences on the Japanese. Uchimura lost his professorship from No. 1 Collegiate (now College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Tokyo). He did not conduct emperor worship and he was finally expelled from the established church in Japan. Recent researchers in Japan have pointed out that such images of Uchimura must have had some exaggerations. However, Howard wanted to describe the importance of freedom of speech and belief in Japan by describing the life of Uchimura in this dissertation. In addition, he wrote the English version of his father’s biography, “Norman of Nagano,” without any consideration of the Japanese situation. I think he wrote and acted upon his real feelings and his continuing social concern in Canada, and he carefully controlled his loneliness and dissatisfaction in Japan without his brother.

Conclusion

In the conclusion of his biography, *Innocence Is Not Enough*, Roger Bowen, the official biographer of Herbert Norman, focussed on Herbert’s suicide and controversy. I agree with his views in some ways, but I cannot determine whether Herbert was innocent or not. In addition, I added information about people born in Japan, as Howard and Herbert Norman and Edwin Reishauer were influenced by Japanese culture. One could compare missionary sons in China such as James G. Endicott, Robert

McClure and Chester Ronning, who felt like Chinese. Their attitudes and feelings were very sophisticated. Japan's culture influenced Normans and Reishauer, which made them sensitive in their attitudes. Such sensitive feelings made it easier for them to understand the feelings of the Japanese people and they proved to be good informants for North Americans about Japan. In addition, the atmosphere of the *Taisho* Democracy strongly influenced them.

In the 1930s, westerners saw Japan as a militant ultranationalistic and fanatic country under the emperor and they believed that Japan must be taught democracy during the time of occupation in order to change. Information about Japan was very limited; the Japanese war policy was against the law, and they saw massacres, harsh treatment of their prisoners of war, and *Kamikaze*. Under such circumstances, Normans and Reishauer mentioned in their dissertations and their articles that Japan had democracy movements, and they also said that the ultranationalism, fanatic Shintoism and emperor worship in 1930s and 1940s was not a typical attitude for the Japanese. They said that even during such ultranationalistic times some Japanese wanted peace, democracy, and protested extremist ideas. Moreover, they wanted westerners to understand Japanese nature and customs. It might have looked like a defense of the Japanese old system to most westerners. Occupied forces in Japan adopted their suggestions. GHQ banned the Japanese military and navy, state Shintoism and emperor worship, but they maintained Shintoism and the emperor system itself. It was a very mild occupation policy compared to Germany.

If the Normans and Reischauer had not become Japanologists or had not influenced North American policies concerning Japan after World War II, the Japanese occupation policy might have been very different. I think it would have been harsher for high profile Japanese officials at the time of World War II, and occupied forces might have abolished both the emperor system and Shintoism. One cannot measure the influence of the lives and scholarship of the Normans and Reishauer right now, and the young people of Japan did not know their names and their great scholarship. I think it was very critical situation for Japan. Some extreme right-wing Japanese again want to change Japan into an ultra-nationalistic, militant country. They want to re-establish state Shintoism and emperor worship. And the Japanese government and some media are gradually turning this way. The Japanese Ministry of Education and Science made a booklet for students for primary and junior high schools to protect the Japanese spirit and ancestor worships, and their hidden curriculum again

made Japanese people worship the emperor. It was a destruction of the Japanese post-war policy. If Japan turned again to the pre-war situation, Asians and westerners will regret that the Japanese post-war policy was too mild for making Japan a peaceful and democratic country. Therefore, this is a turning point in Japan.

Under such difficult times, one must cooperate to conduct research about the post-war Japanese reforms and their manifestations. In addition, one should consider why knowledgeable Japanologists suggested a mild policy for the occupied forces, and occupied forces adopted this against the public opinions of the world.

One should also consider that the mixture of Canadian Methodist tradition of social concern and the *Taisho* Democracy movements in Japan influenced Howard and Herbert Norman. Both of them had childhood to teenage influences that were carried by Christians in North America and Japan. So I conclude that the dream of complete democratization in Japan, which was carried by the Normans, was under the notion of the “Establishment of the True Kingdom of God in Japan.”

Endnotes

1. “Death of Herbert Norman in Cairo--Unofficial Letters from Individuals,” RG 25, Vol. 3176, File 27-3-12, Vols 1 & 2, National Archives of Canada. Researchers cannot access many of the important letters related to the death of Herbert Norman, or important phrases have been deleted because of the privacy policies of Canadian law.
2. In 1925 a train between Tokyo and Nagano took eight hours and the telephone system was not reliable. This made it difficult for missionaries and Japanese Christians to communicate regularly. Instead, they gathered in Karuizawa or Nojiri Lake (Northern Nagano) during the summers to discuss important issues.
3. This newspaper played a leading role in the Nagano Prefecture (63% occupancy in 2,200,000 population). Before World War II, Kiryu Yuyu (1873-1941) was a chief editor; he strongly opposed militarism in Japan.
4. *Zenkoji* was one of the oldest Buddhist temples in Japan. They admire *Amida Nyorai*, which came from Korea in 552. This temple has suffered many wars and disasters, however, Edo Shogunate protected and re-established it in 1707 and it became one of the leading Buddhist temples in Japan.

5. W.H.H. Norman, "Norman of Nagano, A Biography of the Rev. Daniel and Mrs. Katherine Norman," unpublished manuscript, 48-49. United Church Archives at the University of Toronto (hereafter UCA).
6. W.H.H. Norman, "Norman of Nagano," 39-40.
7. Sakuzo was born in Miyagi Prefecture in Northeastern Japan. He graduated from the School of Law at the Imperial University of Tokyo with a Ph.D. in Law and Political Science. He taught political history as a faculty member at the Imperial University of Tokyo beginning in 1909. In 1924, he became an advisor for *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, a leading liberal newspaper in Japan. He was baptized in the Congregational Church in Sendai in his collegiate days and a member of the Hongo Congregational Church near the university. Moreover, he was a president of Student Christian Movement at the Imperial University of Tokyo and the president of Imperial University Newspaper (the most distinguished student newspaper in Japan). He made *Shinjinkai* (a student body for democracy movements) in 1918.
8. The paper was established in 1887 by the *Nishi Honganji* (Denomination of the Johdo Shinshu, Buddhism) and remains the oldest monthly in Japan. Before World War II, this magazine and "*Kaizo*" were competitive journals that advocated democracy. The title of the Yoshino's famous article was "*Kensei no Hongi wo Toite sono Yushu no Bi wo Nasu no Michi wo Ronzu* (Discussion of the Real Meaning of Constitution towards the Way to its Final Answer)," January 1916.
9. The constitution of the Great Japan Empire installed in 1889 clearly stated that the emperor had sovereignty. Therefore, if someone uses "Minshu Shugi," right-wing people claim it means people had sovereignty.
10. He was born in Miyagi and taught Yoshino Sakuzo at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He was a member of the Unitarian Church in Japan. He made *Yu-Ai Kai* (Group of Friendship) for the self-improvement of labourers in 1912, which became the first Japanese labour union in 1921. He served as president of this labour groups until 1930. He became a Member of Parliament in 1928 as one of the first Social Democratic Party member and served until 1942.
11. He was born in Kobe, Western Japan. In 1919 he received a Ph.D. in Theology from Princeton University. He was a Presbyterian minister and social worker. In 1920, he wrote "*Shisen wo Koete* (Crossed the Fear of Death)," which became a bestseller in Japan. He was a labour movement leader whose works were translated into English. He became one of the most influential Japanese in the world. After World War II, he became an advisor of the Prince Higashikuni's cabinet in 1945 and an advisor to the Japan Socialist Party in 1945.

12. He was born in Fukuoka, Japan, and was baptized and ordained in the Congregational Church in Kyoto. He graduated from Hartford Theological Seminary and University of Berlin. In 1895, he became a professor at Doshisha College and moved to Tokyo College (later Waseda University) in 1899. He transferred to the Unitarian Church when he moved to Tokyo. He was committed to many labour movements and socialist clubs. In 1932, he became a Member of Parliament with the Social Democratic Party.
13. He was born in Wakayama, Japan, and graduated from the School of Law and Politics at the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1912. He was a member of the Student Christian Movement at the Imperial university of Tokyo, and a member of the Presbyterian Church (later United Church of Christ) in Japan. He became a lawyer and started a lawyers group for poor people. He became a Member of Parliament in 1930. After World War II, he became a party chair and Prime Minister from April 1947 until February 1948.
14. He was a minister of the United Church of Canada. He graduated from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in agriculture and theology. He was sent to Nagano in 1928 and served there until 1941. At that time, he organized rural improvement groups in Northern Nagano. After returning to Japan in 1946, he became president of the Institute for Rural Christianization (later Rural Theological College, Tokyo). He was killed in a shipwreck in Hokkaido during a huge typhoon.
15. The school was established in 1918 by the co-operation of six denominations in United States and Canada (including the Canadian Methodist Church). Nitobe Inazo was the first president and August K. Reischauer was invited as a professor from Meiji Gakuin.
16. Matsutaka Haru is a granddaughter of Matsukata Masayoshi (second Prime Minister of Japan). She went to an American school in Japan because her mother was a member of the Presbyterian Church in Japan. She received a B.A. in United States and returned to Japan in 1937. After World War II, she became a Japan correspondent for the Christian Science *Monitor*. Her autobiography is *Silk and Bushido* (1987).
17. Roger Bowen, *Innocence Is Not Enough* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986), 38.
18. The company was established by Iwanami Shigeo in 1913 as a second-hand bookstore in Tokyo. Next year, Iwanami published *Kokoro* (Soul) by Natsume Soseki, a Japanese novelist, and became a distinguished publisher. Iwanami Shoten published a series of books about philosophy beginning in 1915, and a variety of paperback world classics from 1927. These series supported young Japanese intellectuals studying liberal arts until 1960s.

19. Bowen, *Innocence Is Not Enough*, 172.
20. He was born in Yamagata, northeastern Japan, and graduated from the University for the Military. In 1928, he sent to Manchuria as an advisor for the commander. Under his beliefs of *Hokkekyo* (Denomination of militant Buddhism established by Nichiren) and his knowledge about the history of war in Europe, he advocated a theory of final war. Under this theory, he started to invade Manchuria in 1931. However, in 1937, when the Japanese military started war with China, he was strongly opposed. This prompted him to move from Manchuria back to Japan. Afterwards he insisted on co-operation between Japan and China. After World War II, he was not accused of being a war criminal; therefore, he went back to Yamagata and opened up farmlands until his death.
21. This was a revolt by the Navy under the influence of militant *Hokkekyo* beliefs. On the evening of 15 May they forced entry into the Prime Minister's Office and assassinated Inukai Tsuyoshi. While the revolt itself was small, its influence was huge. The Japanese military made their commander Saito Makoto the Prime Minister, and a Military court sentenced the people who committed the assassination to five-year imprisonment.
22. In 1471 Ren'nyo formed a mission station at Yoshizaki, Echizen, next door to Kaga. From this mission station Johdo Shinshu established a mission in the Kaga area. At that time, the feudal governor Togashi and other Buddhist denominations resisted this mission. In 1480, farmers and peasants led by Ren'nyo killed the governor and declared self-governance. In 1580, they defeated Odo Nobunaga and their independence ceased.
23. Counter ideology for eesternization in Japan after the Meiji Restoration (1868). They highly emphasized the values and philosophy of eastern cultures, but ignored Asian nationalism. It was strongly influenced by the idea of western nationalism and the monarchy system. During the 1880s, Miyake Setsurei and Shiga Shigetaka advocated such ideology. Based on emperor worship, they idealized Japanese people as a "one legitimate ethnic group from the start of the history." In 1930, it emerged again as a counter ideology of the socialism and nationalism in other Asian countries and territories.
24. *Bushido* started in the seventeenth century after the ceasefire during a civil war in Japan. In Tokugawa Shogunate, it advocated the "meaning of death for their master." *Hagakure* (Hidden by the Leaf) (1716) was one of the best examples of *Bushido* in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration, *Bushido* was neglected, but emerged again during the 1930s to encourage soldiers to die for the emperor.

25. From ancient times, people in Japan have seen the emperor as a “god.” However, original Japanese Shintoism admires almost all the supernatural creatures as “gods,” with the emperor as a “god” among many “gods.” After the establishment of state Shintoism in the late nineteenth century, the emperor became a “superior god” and ruled other gods because he was a successor of the creator of Japan (*Amaterasu* [goddess of the Sun]).
26. The idea of “Japanized Christianity” originally started in the late nineteenth century. Most Japanese Christian leaders were descendants of Bushi; they saw Christianity as a new *Bushido* in Japan. Nevertheless, this current had little influence in the Japanese Christian world because of the strong influence of missionaries. In the 1930s, under the current of Japanism and the expulsion of missionaries, Japanese Christian leaders once more adapted “Japanized Christianity” in order to help their institutions survive. The meaning of “Japanized” was more suitable than during the nineteenth century. It adopted emperor worship in its order of worship.
27. GHQ ordered *Shinto Shirei* in 20 December 1945. This order strictly banned State Shintoism, and every religion was separated from the state. However, Shinto itself was permitted to remain as one of the religions in Japan.
28. W.H.H. Norman, “Introduction,” in “Japanism and Christianity” (S.T.M. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1939). A copy can be found in 86.007C, Box 3, File 79 & 80, UCA.
29. The United Church of Christ in Japan was established in June 1941 under pressure from the Japanese Government. It included all the Protestant denominations except Jehovah’s Witnesses and some Anglican churches. They adopted 11 divisions depending on the denominations. In February 1942, Japanese secret police arrested and imprisoned most of the ministers of the Holiness groups (divisions 6 and 9) because of their denial of emperor worship. In addition, other Christian leaders in the United Church of Christ in Japan ignored this situation. Some ministers died in prisons. In 1990, executives of the United Church of Christ in Japan officially apologized for their attitude towards the Holiness groups during World War II.
30. Letter from W. H.H. Norman to Jesse Arnup, 23 April 1941; Letter from Jesse Arnup to W.H.H. Norman, 29 April 1941; and Resolution adopted by Board of Foreign Missions, April 1941, 83.014C Box 6 File 118, UCA.
31. “Japanese Canadian Interludes of Evacuation,” 1942, 86.007C, Box 3, File 87; “The Japanese Canadian Situation Today,” January 1947, 86.007C, Box 3, File 89, UCA.
32. Letter from Howard Norman to Jesse Arnup, 13 October 1943; Letter from Jesse Arnup to Howard Norman, 29 October, 83.014C, Box 6, File 136, UCA.

33. Bowen, *Innocence Is Not Enough*, 145-156.
34. Letter from Howard Norman to A.E. Armstrong, 21 August 1947; Letter from Jesse H. Arnup to W.H.H. Norman, 30 September 1947, 83.014C, Box 7, File 160, UCA.
35. Letters from Howard Norman to friends at the Canadian Legation, Tokyo. Dated 17 September, 28 November, 29 November, and 26 December 1947, 86.007C, Box 1, File 20, UCA.
36. Showa Denko sent bribes to Ashida Hitoshi's cabinet in 1947. Ashida and some other cabinet members were later found guilty.
37. Yoshida Shigeru (Democratic Liberal Party) became prime minister in December 1948, and Hatoyama Ichiro (Democratic Party) succeeded him in 1954. Both parties had conservative policies, but competed with each other. In 1955, two conservative parties merged and formed the Liberal Democratic Party, and were in power until July 1993.
38. E. Herbert Norman, trans. Okubo Genji, *Ando Shoeki--Wasurerareta Shishoka* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten [Shinsho]), 1950).
39. Nishimura Shunichi, "Nihon Ecologism no Genryu--Ando Shoeki kara Ewatari Shurei made (The beginnings of the Japanese Ecologists--From Ando Shoeki to Ewatari Shurei) (Tokyo: Nousangyoson Bunka Kyokai, 1992).
40. Norman, *Nagano no Norman* (Tokyo: Fukuinkan Shoten, 1965).
41. See copy at N6S, UCA.

