

# Seeding the Wheat among the Tares: James Ballagh and Protestant Beginnings in the Hakone, Mishima and Numazu Regions

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## Regions

This paper looks at the expansion of Christianity into the Hakone, Mishima and Numazu regions in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The networks of friends, family, economic and social ties as well as educational interests along which Christian and Western ideas permeated from the treaty ports into the uplands and lowlands of central Honshû during the early Meiji period has always been an abiding fascination to me. This is particularly true in regards to the role of the Yokohama Band in the expansion of Christianity into the interior of Honshû in the 1870s and early 1880s. The development of Christianity in Gunma prefecture with the reciprocal flow of pedestrians, goods and machinery along the western silk road that tied the mulberry groves of Jôshû to the wharves of Yokohama that brought new ideas including Christian ones to Kiryû, Annaka and Takasaki is well-known.<sup>(1)</sup> But Christianity also travelled south along the Tôkaidô that linked Yokohama to the highland lake at the hot springs resort of Hakone (whose environs were quickly patronized by Westerners looking to improve their health) and beyond to

where all the tea of Shizuoka was grown and where the adherents of the former Tokugawa shogun settled in large numbers after the Meiji Restoration. Certainly, this southward progress of Christianity has attracted the attention of some Japanese Christian scholars such as the Ôta Aito but it has received much less attention from Western ones. In part the reason for this is the lack of a distinct theological or ideological contribution to the development of Japanese Protestantism coming out of the Christian groups formed in Shizuoka and Numazu in comparison to the Yokohama, Kumamoto and Sapporo Christian bands. There is scholarly interest in Yamaji Aizan (1865-1917)<sup>(2)</sup> who was a member of the second Shizuoka Christian Band formed in the mid-1880s but this interest is not related to his Christian views. Likewise, while there is interest in the educational work of Ebara Soroku but a recent book has downplayed his Christian beliefs.<sup>(3)</sup>

In a previous article, I have investigated the strong links between the Yokohama Band and Shizuoka Band that formed in the mid-1870s around Davidson McDonald as well as with the Koishikawa Band formed at Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891)'s Dôjinsha (同人社) school in Tokyo where George Cochran (1834-1901) taught between 1874 and 1878.<sup>(4)</sup> During the 1870s Shizuoka Christians came to play a significant role in Tokyo evangelism. This present article aims at investigating the reverse to the previous paper by investigating the influence of Yokohama Band members on the expansion of Christianity into Kanagawa and Shizuoka prefectures in the decade after 1873, and specifically in Hakone, Mishima and Numazu. It stresses the importance of Western Studies education as a conduit

through which the Protestant message was helped spread.

The paper also focuses on James Hamilton Ballagh (1832-1920)<sup>(5)</sup>, the Reformed Church missionary, who achieved fame early with the formation of the Yokohama Band in 1872, but whose career also appears to fall into eclipse after that date. Ballagh never achieved the high reputation that others like James Curtis Hepburn, Samuel Robbins Brown and Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck attained, and this makes him perhaps more interesting to study because he did not seemingly live up to his early promise. There are technical reasons for this especially the restrictions on the travel of foreigners outside the treaty ports. Under the provisions of the 1858 treaties, Westerners required passports to travel outside the confines of the treaty ports. Temporary travel documents could be obtained for health reasons with relative ease and accounts for the popularity of Hakone and its high surrounding area in the summer time for foreigners wanting to escape the oppressive heat of Yokohama and Tsukiji. Yet, it becomes an ethical issue for missionaries if they utilize their passes for other things than the restoration of their health. A major problem for Ballagh and for all other foreign missionaries who wanted to go into the interior of Japan was the need for a passport. In early February 1881 he noted that he felt uneasy about applying for a passport too often because the official reason was always given for health, which was simply not true. By 1881 there was a certain relaxing in the examination of passports, which was now only done at hotels. Ballagh thought that if he only stayed at Christian homes, then there would be no need for a passport. Yet he felt that it would be dishonest to travel without

one, especially as the consequences of being caught without one would probably do great damage to the Christian name.<sup>(6)</sup> Never one to miss an opportunity to attack Roman Catholics, Ballagh pointed out that he had read in Reverend John Ross' history of Korea that the Jesuits had given themselves patents of nobility so that they might be considered, like all nobles, above examination when it came to passports. He hoped that it soon the missionaries might be able to go wherever they wished in Japan in order to do God's work.<sup>(7)</sup> While Ballagh helped to initiate evangelistic work in Kanagawa and Shizuoka prefectures, the restrictions of the Treaty system with its passport requirements helps to explain in part why he was unable to achieve again the same degree of personal success that he had gained by 1872.

For a foreign to reside on a more permanent basis outside the treaty ports required employment at recognized school or government institution. In Numazu during the 1870s, there were three Westerners, Goodman, W. E. L. Keeling and George Meacham<sup>(8)</sup> who taught in succession at the private school run by Ebara Soroku.<sup>(9)</sup> The success of Westerners as teachers of English also depended on their Japanese assistants who during Keeling's time included Mano Hajime (真野肇), Okada Tadashi (岡田正), Suyeyoshi Takurô (末吉沢郎).<sup>(10)</sup> While Goodman proved unsatisfactory and quickly left, the careers of both Keeling and Meacham there show the unpredictable nature of taking employment in a provincial school for Keeling had to leave abruptly for financial reasons and Meacham unexpectedly when the school burnt down and with it his teaching post. The expansion of

Christianity in Hakone, Mishima and Numazu had to rely on the efforts of Japanese evangelists with the occasional support of missionaries. Yet, even then financial constraints and lack of manpower made it very difficult for the Reformed mission to grow. In October 1876 Samuel Robbins Brown warned that the Reformed mission was fast falling behind both the American Presbyterians and American Board missions in numbers of missionaries and while “it was no doubt an advantage to have our mission so early on the ground but we shall lose that advantage unless we either be reinforced or enabled to perpetuate our influence in the future.”<sup>(11)</sup> The solution for Brown was the creation of a first class school in which to train Japanese evangelists. Ballagh would repeatedly echo Brown in the need for more Reformed missionaries and for an educational institution to train Japanese in theology.

In Ballagh's letters about evangelistic work in Kanagawa and Shizuoka prefectures in the 1870s there is an edge of bitterness because other missionaries, newcomers like the Canadian Methodists whose pioneer missionaries had only arrived in Japan in 1873, were able to exploit the Christian beachheads that emerged out of his efforts and those of the Yokohama Band members. Tantalizing opportunities for Christian expansion were lost because the Reformed mission was too weak financially and numerically to take them up. In July 1880 the Methodist Episcopal mission defended the actions of their missionary, Irvin Henry Correll (1851-1926) against the Reformed charge that he had baptized converts in Ieda to the detriment of Reformed work there.<sup>(12)</sup> Protestant Episcopal missionaries, conscious that American Church

missionaries were the first Protestant missionaries in Japan, voiced similar complaints. In comparison to the impoverished Dutch Reformed and Protestant Episcopalian missions, the Methodist Episcopal and American Board missions seemed flush with money and their evangelists aggressively expanding their footholds in Jōshū and in Hirosaki. Mention of the activities of Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox evangelists can be taken as short hand warning for the need for more money and more missionary reinforcements from America. While Ballagh's criticisms of Roman Catholics and Russian Orthodox adherents are not surprising from a late 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant pastor, they show him to be much less cosmopolitan in his outlook than Hepburn, Brown and Verbeck who are much more at ease with their Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox counterparts.

The tensions with American Methodist Episcopal missionaries over Ieda makes Numazu as a mission field an especially interesting case because it was on the borderline between territory evangelized by Reformed mission evangelists and that evangelized by Canadian Methodist ones, although both groups owed their origins to the influence of the Yokohama Band. Further, Christian activity in Numazu is closely associated with Ebara Soroku whose educational, business and later political endeavours marked him out as a prominent figure within the city. Without Ebara's commitment to continue Western studies education in Numazu after the closure of the Numazu Heigakkō, there would have been no missionary teacher in Numazu. It was the need for a native English speaker to teach at Ebara's school that gave Meacham and the Canadian

Methodist mission the opportunity to live in Numazu and to teach Christian ideas along with English vocabulary and grammar.

## Hakone and Mishima

The Reformed mission's connection to the Mishima area came from Shinozaki Keinosuke,<sup>(13)</sup> an adherent of the former Tokugawa shogun from Shizuoka prefecture who had studied at Ballagh's English school. In March 1872 Shinozaki had been baptized and joined the Yokohama Band. Also important was another Yokohama Band member, Sugiyama Magoroku<sup>(14)</sup>, also baptized by Ballagh in 1872, who was associated with the beginnings of the Canadian Methodist work in Shizuoka. In the summer of 1874 the Nippon Kirisuto Kôkai had the first meeting of its Missionary Society, which formed three groups of two people to undertake evangelistic work.<sup>(15)</sup> This opportunity came about in part because Brown had closed his school for some two months during the summer. The problem was that even though twelve people offered to undertake evangelistic work, the Japanese had only enough money to finance five of them, the rest were free to do evangelistic work but at their own expense.<sup>(16)</sup> The first group made up of Oshikawa Masayoshi<sup>(17)</sup> and Shinozaki was to evangelize along the Tôkaidô in the direction of Shizuoka, the second group led by Honda Yôichi looked to door-to-door evangelism and the third group led by Ibuka Kajinosuke engaged in rural evangelism.<sup>(18)</sup>

In the summer of 1874 Oshikawa and Shinozaki together with Kumano Yûashichi,<sup>(19)</sup> went to Lake Hakone where Miss Louise

Henrietta Pierson (1832-1899)<sup>(20)</sup> from the Yokohama Kyoritsu School was vacationing. In January 1875 Ballagh mentioned that he and two “brethren” had visited from time to time the little group of eight believers at Hakone and Yamanaka.<sup>(21)</sup> In the same letter Ballagh also mentioned that the Woman’s Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands (WUMS) missionaries had been very effective in missionary work among females. Already Hakone was a popular place for Westerners to come during the summer, and Hepburn, Brown and Verbeck had been among the first to popularize it as a healthy and beautiful place for holidaying.<sup>(22)</sup> Indeed, so popular did it become among Americans that one locale outside the main town became known as the so-called *Amerika Mura* (American Village). In the summer of 1874, the American Protestant Episcopalian missionary, William Cooper (d. 1885)<sup>(23)</sup> had gone to Hakone from Tokyo and found that it was already popular among vacationing Westerners for much to his surprise and perhaps disappointment he found that more than thirty-five of them were summering in Hakone village.<sup>(24)</sup> Apart from Lake Hakone itself, Cooper thought the next place of interest was the nearby Gotenba Shrine, a Shintō shrine, built on the brow of one of the mountains that formed the banks of Lake. Cooper also had been struck by the vast number of Buddhist temples in a state of decay that he had seen in every village and town on his way to Hakone. This made him believe “the religion of Japan [Buddhism] is fast losing its hold upon the hearts of the people.”<sup>(25)</sup> Certainly, this reinforced in Cooper the belief that the future possibilities for Christian growth in Japan were very good. It is clear that Ballagh



had similar hopes for Christian work there.

Evangelistic work and baptisms took place in the summer coinciding with missionary holidays by the Lake, as Ballagh and other missionaries required a doctor's certificate of ill health to visit as the Hakone region was outside the treaty limits. Mishima, which was a staging post on the Tōkaidō, was not a long walk from Hakone, and within walking distance beyond that was the port of Numazu. For a month in 1874 the three Japanese, Oshikawa, Shinozaki and Kumano evangelized often going some distance from their centre in Hakone. They were later joined by Ballagh and Itō Tōkichi.<sup>(26)</sup> The result of a month's evangelistic work was that seven people were baptized including Shirai Sanshirō from Hakone and Tsuda Masaemon from Yamanakashuku (now inside of Mishima City).<sup>(27)</sup> These people formed the foundation of what would develop into the Mishima Kyōkai. Ballagh had actually stayed in Mishima in the course of his evangelistic tour at the Matsuba Ryokan, close to the Mishima Jinja, where he preached with Itō translating.<sup>(28)</sup> Unfortunately, although the Christians wanted to have an evangelist permanently with them, there was not a Japanese competent enough to fulfill this role except for the theological class that was being trained by Ballagh and the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian missionaries in Yokohama. Ballagh, at this junction, did not want to spare any of them from their theological studies. This left only Ballagh but the converts could not expect to see him until the next summer because of the treaty regulations that restricted travel by foreigners.<sup>(29)</sup> However, in the three years from 1874 to 1877, Ballagh and his American missionary colleagues were able to

baptize some 26 Japanese in the Hakone and Yamanaka region.<sup>(30)</sup>

While Tsuda Masaemon had walked up to Hakone in the summer of 1874 to be baptized, in the summer of 1875 Ballagh and Brown began to use the Tsuda home in Yamanakashuku as a preaching place.<sup>(31)</sup> Between 1875 and 1878 six members of the Tsuda family are baptized. One member of the family, Tsuda Tsurukichi, later claimed that Hepburn had baptized him.<sup>(32)</sup> This would not be strictly true as Hepburn was a layman but is an indication that the man obviously did have contact with Hepburn and was influenced by him. In 1877 five members of the Ômura family became Christian.<sup>(33)</sup> The filling out of the church by the family members clearly played an important role in its early expansion in the 1870s and 1880s.

In May 1878 the Reformed mission sanctioned Itô to spend three months evangelizing in the Hakone-Yamanaka region, and he established a preaching station in Mishima. In July Brown visited Itô in Mishima in order to baptize the Christian enquirers.<sup>(34)</sup> In April 1878 it was noted that eleven converts from Numazu and ten converts from Yamanaka region had participated in the conference about the formation of the Nihon Kirisuto Ichi Kyôkai that had taken place at the Tsukiji Shin Sakai Kyôkai.<sup>(35)</sup>

In January 1877 Ballagh wrote that he had made with Yoshida Nobuyoshi<sup>(36)</sup>, one of the elders of the Yokohama Kôkai, a ten-day trip to Hakone and Numazu in answer to a request for baptism by several people. On the way back he stayed in Odawara, the famous castle town that was the gateway into the Kantô plain and also gateway into the mountainous Hakone region. There were three

men of influence in Odawara who wanted Ballagh to preach the Gospel there. One of them had previously heard about the Gospel from Ballagh himself and two others who had heard it from Okuno Masatsuna.<sup>(37)</sup> Ballagh's description of the conditions in Odawara are worth quoting in some length because it does show the dire straits in which those *shizoku* who had formerly supported the Tokugawa family found themselves in. Ballagh wrote that the families of the three men were very anxious to be hospitable to him but were very poor "being of the Official Class, formerly Retainers of the Prince of Odawara, whose great Castle is now dismantled and almost a ruin, & the retainers salaries reduced to almost nothing, so they find it very hard getting along. There are some 1400 families, living in their once pretty grand homes but now sadly dilapidated from their reduced incomes."<sup>(38)</sup> Ballagh saw a real opportunity for Christianity with this group, especially among their fifteen hundred children who were attending common schools, and might be influenced if an English school was begun. Education was the key for Ballagh. He wrote that he had been much impressed "by what can be done by the agency of a School for English both by what I have seen at Hirosaki & Numazu. At the latter place visited by me only 11/2 years ago, & where there had never before been heard the Gospel message, now on 6 months occupancy of a Foreign Missionary [the Canadian Methodist George Meacham], nominally as a Teacher, he baptized 16 persons several of whom were teachers in the School & one its Director, a man of some influence. At Odawara greater results I feel sure would follow a like movement."<sup>(39)</sup> One problem, of course, was to get qualified teachers to come out from the United

States. Unfortunately, an American teacher was not forthcoming and the opportunity in Odawara was lost.

In January 1878 Brown wrote that Ballagh had received a call to come to Numazu to baptize a number of people, and expected him to go there soon. In late February 1878 Ballagh himself mentioned that Okuno had undertaken an evangelistic visit to Ioshire half way between Tokyo and Ueda and that Yoshida had visited Numazu.<sup>(40)</sup> A month later Ballagh wrote from Yamanaka that he had been on an evangelistic trip together with two Japanese Christians from Numazu that had taken him to Mishima and to Hakone. His contacts at Mishima were with the doctors at the Mishima Hospital to whom he explained the differences between the three great Christian sects, assumingly Protestant, Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox. It was on a street in Mishima that Ballagh made contact with the first leper that he had ever got close enough to speak to. This man was begging for alms and repeating a Buddhist prayer. Ballagh gave him ten cents and told him that his prayer to Buddha was of no avail. If he prayed, however, to the true God, Jesus “would heal the leprosy of the Soul if he asked him to.”<sup>(41)</sup>

In Idzumiya (Izumiya) for an evening service, Ballagh thought that “it was cheering to hear the Cripple Daiske & the old man once a cripple but recovered by prayer discoursing of their indebtedness to their calamities bringing them to God “& being translated into blessings. Oh that it might be so with the leper this day met!”<sup>(42)</sup> It was obviously not uncommon for those with disabilities to become Christian converts, perhaps in the hope that they would be cured. The next day Ballagh attended a morning service at which two

women, wives of Christians, were baptized. This took place in a family home. The simple but respectful fashion in which was carried out deserves some mention, Ballagh reported that “the women nicely dressed with well put up hair sat on their knees before a little table with a bowl of water, while the administrator of the sacred ordinance was kneeling on the other side of the table. All others were on their knees. The children were present and very quiet.”<sup>(43)</sup> The baptism of the children was delayed to the next visit. It was sometime, however, before Ballagh could get back to Hakone-Shizuoka region in part because he was on furlough in the United States in 1879.

One of the issues close to Ballagh’s heart was temperance. He wrote in February 1881 that a Christian Temperance Society had held its second meeting in Yokohama with good results for Ballagh believed that “intemperance & licentiousness are the twin evils that oppose & disgrace our Christianity in all the East.”<sup>(44)</sup> He suggested that in India it was taken as a sign that a person was going to become a Christian when he had learnt to drink brandy and water, and further that a good recommendation for a servant there was that “he can damn, curse, swear and drink brandy like an Englishman.” Indeed, Ballagh thought that it would not be too long before it would be the same in Japan and added “the apologists for liquors in any form ought to be thoroughly ashamed.” In August 1881 Guido Verbeck reported that Ballagh was “enjoying a blessed season at a place called Gotemba, in the vicinity of Hakone.”<sup>(45)</sup>

In early February 1883 Ballagh reported that he, Verbeck, Okuno and Dr. Scudder (who had broken his journey to Shanghai by

stopping in Yokohama) had attended the organization of church in Mishima, and from there they had proceeded to Numazu and Ishiwara and returned to Yokohama via Hakone. Yet the success that the Reformed mission enjoyed in its work in Mishima was not matched in Numazu.

## Numazu

In Numazu the Canadian Methodist mission had been able to take advantage of the earlier work of Reformed evangelists with the appointment of George Meacham, a clerical missionary, as an English teacher at the private successor to the Numazu Shogakkô, which had been the junior school associated with the Numazu Heigakkô (Numazu Military School). The Tokugawa family had founded both these schools for the education of their adherents after the Restoration.<sup>(46)</sup> While the Military School had been quickly transferred to Tokyo by the Meiji government, the Numazu Shogakkô had continued on as a private school under Ebara Soroku.<sup>(47)</sup> The hopes of the Tokugawa authorities to rebuild their military power and to develop Western Studies, which manifested itself in the Numazu Heigakkô and the Shizuoka Gakumonjo that they created in the traditional Tokugawa stronghold in Shizuoka prefecture in the years immediately following the Meiji Restoration, were quickly dashed by the new Meiji government. Understandably, the Meiji government wanted to keep military education under its sole control and to centralize Western Studies education in Tokyo.<sup>(48)</sup> Even after the closure of the Numazu Heigakkô and the

Shizuoka Gakumonjo, however, there remained a desire in Numazu and Shizuoka to provide some sort of Western Studies education for the sons of *shizoku* (士族) without the direct sponsorship of the Tokugawa authorities or the Meiji government. This led to the creation of private schools, much more modest in size but still eager to hold out the possibility of providing a Western Studies education as seen in Shūseisha (集成舎) in Numazu<sup>(49)</sup> and the Shizuhataishiya (賤機舎) in Shizuoka. Like his fellow Canadian Methodist in Shizuoka, Davidson McDonald, who was responsible for arranging Meacham's appointment in Numazu,<sup>(50)</sup> Meacham could support himself with his missionary salary so that the school did not have pay him. The simple truth was that the Numazu school could not afford the salary of a foreign teacher but Meacham already had a salary from the Canadian Methodist missionary society.

There had been other foreign teachers before Meacham teaching in Numazu. The first teacher had been named Goodman, and apparently he was a merchant seaman hired in Yokohama.<sup>(51)</sup> In December 1873 W. E. L. Keeling who was English and had been trained as a medical doctor began teaching in Numazu.<sup>(52)</sup> Although he had no theological training, Keeling was interested in Christianity, and was in contact with Ballagh. Among the interpreters that Keeling had at the Numazu Shogakkō were a number who had close connections to students of McDonald or his predecessor, Edward Warren Clark, in Shizuoka.<sup>(53)</sup> In early October 1875 Keeling wrote to Ballagh that he had read a part of a letter Ballagh had written to him to Suyeyoshi, Nakagawa and Kurokawa Tadashi<sup>(54)</sup> who had been acting as his interpreters. He reported

that “any fear which they, previously entertained of interpreting for me the Word of God, is I may say entirely removed.”<sup>(55)</sup> Having said that Keeling noted “the enemies of Christianity have been very busy of late. Notices have been posted in several parts of this town, prohibiting the people from becoming Christians! Many, if not all, the citizens have been summoned before some petty officials; and required to affix their signatures and stamps to papers in which they promise not to become Christians.”<sup>(56)</sup> He did not know how many of his own students had been called before the officers but thought that perhaps many of them had. Indeed, one of those in his first class called Takeda had confessed to him that he had signed the paper. Keeling had also learnt that the people of Numazu had been told by town officials not to have any contact with him.

Nonetheless, on Sunday October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1875 Keeling had a meeting attended by sixty pupils but only one townsman came. The meeting was not a success because the interpreter, Kowabara [Kurokawa?], had been extremely nervous with the result Keeling had to repeat over and over again what he was saying and so “my words lost the little emphasis and interest that I tried so hard to infuse into them.”<sup>(57)</sup> All he could say though was that his fellow teachers at the Shôgakkô had not lost any of their ardour for “the good work.” On Sunday October 10<sup>th</sup> Keeling got on rather better in front of a group that were pupils only. This time Keeling’s interpreter was Nakagawa, a man who came all the way from his house near Mishima to interpret for him, and he was able to interpret very well and without hesitation. Keeling insisted that those who came to hear him came freely and of their own accord, and he never



influenced his students against their own inclinations. Keeling's knowledge of Japanese was limited for he admitted that one day when he was out for a walk along the sea shore, he had been approached by a Japanese who had attended one of his Christian meetings and now asked him questions about Christianity but Keeling's Japanese was not good enough to allow him to enter freely into a conversation. He was dependent on interpreters.

In November 1875 Oshikawa and Yoshida visited Keeling in Numazu. As Keeling was holding a Christian meeting that day attended by some fifty students but also a few townspeople including Dr. Sugimura, he asked Oshikawa to speak to the meeting, which he did with great success. Writing about these two, Keeling agreed with Ballagh's opinion that they were sincere and true Christians and would do much good. He thought "Oshikawa has, certainly, great talent, and seems to understand thoroughly what he speaks about."<sup>(58)</sup> Unfortunately, Oshikawa and Yoshida only stayed a short time in Numazu because they found that they were unable to rent premises in which to hold their own Christian meetings because of the opposition of town officials to their activities. They, therefore, left the town to go into the countryside where there were many waiting to hear their message. In early December 1875 Ballagh reported that Oshikawa and Yoshida had returned to Yokohama from a seventeen-day evangelistic trip to Numazu and Idzu. As Keeling had also pointed out they had met with difficulty getting a place where they could preach in Numazu but had been able to instruct a number of interested inquirers there. They had been more successful in attracting people in the countryside where

they were encouraged in seeing all classes of people including Buddhist priests ready to listen to them. This led Ballagh to suggest that the experience of Oshikawa and Yoshida “affirm it to be the general impression on the minds of all that the time has come when the religion of Jesus must become dominant.”<sup>(59)</sup>

While Keeling seemed to be able to draw his students to Christian meetings, he was faced with another problem that would cut short his work in Numazu. This was simply that the Shōgakkō could no longer afford to pay him. When he arrived in December 1873 he had received 80 yen a month on the understanding that it would quickly rise to 150 yen. In November 1875 he was receiving 100 yen a month. The authorities in Shizuoka dispensed 20000 yen a month on schools in the region, of which 1000 yen came to the Numazu Shōgakkō, which was enough to pay the salaries of eighteen to twenty Japanese teachers. Until lately the pupils had been paying fifty cents each per month, but the poverty of the parents had forced the school to drop its fees to twenty cents. The salary of the foreign teacher had been until recently derived from private contributions which could no longer be depended upon. Ebara Soroku, the principal of the Shōgakkō, had asked the government for an increase of a thousand yen, but this had been denied as the authorities were economizing. However, Ebara had gone off, according to Keeling, on a money-hunting expedition to Omiya and other places.

If Ebara was successful, Keeling would be able to stay in Numazu. If he was not, Keeling would be without a job as his only income came from his teacher's salary. At the very end of November 1875

Keeling reported that Ebara had been unsuccessful and that he would leave Numazu at the end of the year.<sup>(60)</sup> While Ebara and the teachers at the school wanted him to continue to teach, they could not afford to pay him. Keeling had a Japanese wife whom he had known for three years during which time she had gone from being an active Buddhist to converting to Christianity. She took the Christian name Blanche. Keeling intended to go to Tokyo where his mother-in-law lived in the Yotsuya district when he left Numazu. He hoped to find a teaching job, and he looked to Ballagh to help him find one anywhere in Japan, or as a stop-gap measure he might open a small business. Ballagh was certainly very supportive, and he had written to “the clergymen teachers in the Gov’t University at Yedo, hoping they may be disposed to sustain him there as their missionary. In case of failure in this, I know of no alternative for the continuation of the important work of resisting the Romish encroachment there, & extending the Knowledge of the Truth.”<sup>(61)</sup> It was expecting a great deal of Verbeck, Syle and Veeder at the Kaisei Gakkô to give up part of their salary in order to continue to support Keeling in Numazu (although Keeling was only being paid \$100 a month).

Keeling’s departure meant that there was no foreigner in Numazu to teach the pupils at the Shôgakkô, and no one to continue the Christian meetings. Ballagh had told Keeling in November about the Christian success that was happening in Hirosaki, and clearly the implication of this was that he hoped that something similar would happen at the Shôgakkô in Numazu. Yet he was also clearly concerned that the Roman Catholics should not get a foothold in the

city. All hopes were temporarily dashed when Keeling was forced to leave.

Before Keeling had left Numazu, he mentioned that Roman Catholics had been evangelizing there, and that some of his students had gone to listen to them. This had led to some confusion about which was the right form of Christianity.<sup>(62)</sup> To Keeling, this meant that the Protestants had to try their hardest to gain ascendancy in Numazu. The Roman Catholics were not the only danger. In 1877 Ballagh told Ferris that the Russian Orthodox mission (which he referred to as the Greek Church) posed another danger to Reformed missionary work. He warned “the Greek Ch. Converts are very active & zealous. They find their way into the Common Schools as Teachers & some 50 or more are paid evangelists & very zealous. They have already made an effort at Odawara & I feel quite sure that if we do not get the ground occupied by a Protestant denomination the Greeks will soon be at work there.”<sup>(63)</sup> Ballagh was utterly intolerant when it came to Russian Orthodox activity. But he did think that a Buddhist priest from one of the temples in Odawara who had become a “Greek convert” and started to hold meetings would not meet with success there (perhaps because Ballagh warned off potential converts). Overall, however, despite the zealous activity of Russian Orthodox evangelists, Ballagh “felt impressed with the wonderful advance in the years previous of my first & second tours over the Hakone range.”<sup>(64)</sup>

Writing in late October 1876 Ballagh mentioned that he had contact with some blind Christians in Yokohama who had gone that summer to Hakone and Numazu where he had been the previous

year, “and did good service in confirming & encouraging the Christians & inquirers there.”<sup>(65)</sup> He also wrote that the blind men had visited other places “boldly sought out & disputed with the priests, some of whom had been making inquiries about the Christian religion. And what is best of all, did it in the Apostolic Style, supporting themselves “by their own hands” – in night labor, “mo-mo-ing” people, while they travelled & preached day times.”<sup>(66)</sup> The emphasis here, although it was not quite clear what “mo-mo-ing” might mean to Ferris, undoubtedly they were receiving alms from their listeners, was that this evangelistic activity was not costing the Dutch Reformed Mission any money. Ballagh certainly left the impression that there was still a good interest in Christianity in the Hakone-Numazu area despite the fact that he had not been able to visit it that past summer. He also learnt that the Canadian Wesleyan Mission had sent out “a Missionary Clergyman to act as teacher in the Numazu School, the one I visited last Summer in which at that time Mr. Keeling was teaching. The results of Mr. Keeling’s active efforts to introduce Christianity into the School and City has led to the Directors getting the present Missionary Teacher who has already begun to preach through an interpreter, as Mr. Keeling did, & with very encouraging results.”<sup>(67)</sup> Ballagh was very glad that George Meacham was teaching in Numazu and building on the Christian foundations that Keeling had laid.

During 1875 Ebara Soroku had approached Davidson McDonald in Shizuoka to see if a missionary could come and teach in Numazu.<sup>(68)</sup> In writing to the Canadian Methodist missionary authorities in Toronto in support of this, McDonald stressed that he

firmly believed that missionaries as far as possible should bring the schools of Japan under their influence and he warned “you can easily imagine the ruinous effect which a teacher of infidel principles could have upon a school like that of Numazu.”<sup>(69)</sup> For his part, Ebara wanted to hire a foreigner who was both morally upright and did not need a large salary. In September 1876 George Meacham, a Canadian Methodist clerical missionary, his wife and his sister-in-law, Martha Moulton<sup>(70)</sup>, arrived in Numazu.<sup>(71)</sup>

Meacham’s reception in Numazu was extremely friendly, particularly because the Meachams would have been one of the first Western families that the students and townspeople would have seen up close. The school was a two-story house built of cut stone and in a style that Meacham thought would have done credit to any Canadian town. The school had a faculty of eight, two of whom—apart from Meacham himself—taught English. Meacham noted that “Mr. Yebara [Ebara], the Principal, is a fine man deeply interested in the study of Christianity: but his knowledge of English language is so very limited, that he cannot acquire very rapidly that acquaintance with it which he desires.”<sup>(72)</sup> Two of the teachers were also greatly interested in studying the Bible.

With one of the teachers acting as interpreter, Meacham began to hold services in the Buddhist temple, which also served as his home. Initially, some eighty to ninety people attended these meetings, which prompted Meacham to report “I never felt more at home in Canada in preaching than here, and never had I better attention though the poor creatures, many of them, know not a word I say.”<sup>(73)</sup> Clearly, curiosity at watching a Westerner preaching in a

Buddhist temple was a powerful attraction to many people. And despite the ludicrousness of the situation—speaking to an audience that did not understand a word that he was saying—Meacham was obviously enjoying himself. By the end of January 1877, Meacham had managed to convert six people. Ebara Soroku was the first, and the others were the two English teachers in the school and three of the students.<sup>(74)</sup>

The crucial figure baptized here at this time was Ebara Soroku who was the principal of the school. Prior to his conversion, Ebara had been strongly influenced by Confucianism and remained so, but he had not been unusually religious. As a young man, he had developed a strong dislike for Christianity because its doctrines seemed to him unworthy of intelligent men. This notion was greatly modified by what he had learnt during a government-sponsored trip to Europe and the United States that he had taken in 1871. When he first introduced Meacham to his students, Ebara had told them that Meacham was a minister of the best religion in the world.<sup>(75)</sup> Ebara's acceptance of Christianity was in tune with his progressive ideas about education and the need for his students to learn from the West. However, in the light that he did not speak English very well, his decision to become a Christian was influenced more by Tsuchiya Hikoroku<sup>(76)</sup> and Asagawa Kôko<sup>(77)</sup> (Hashimoto Mutsushi) than by Meacham himself.<sup>(78)</sup> Respect for Ebara and his ideas also must be taken into account in explaining why a number of Meacham's students became Christians. As far as the Methodist Church in Canada was concerned, however, it was Meacham who received the credit for the Christian developments in Numazu,

which were all the more remarkable because he had only been in Japan a few months. Very possibly, Meacham himself was not aware of the importance of his Japanese helpers or the work undertaken by Ballagh, Keeling and Oshikawa, Yoshida and the Reformed evangelists.

After the conversion of Ebara, interest in Christianity in Numazu increased; in late January 1877, Meacham addressed an enthusiastic congregation of over 200 people. Christian work was expanded into the rural district outside of Numazu, with a preaching place established in Niita village ten kilometers away. Shortly afterwards, a second location was established at Yoshiwari, sixteen kilometers outside the city. McDonald in Shizuoka sent one of his converts, Henry Satoh,<sup>(79)</sup> to help Meacham in Yoshiwari.<sup>(80)</sup> At first the turn out at Yoshiwari was very good, but it suddenly dropped off because an officer in the local government had banned the services. This was one of the few instances of opposition to Christianity in the Numazu area. At the school, there was some protest against Meacham's Christian activities from one of the teachers, but the protest was in vain because Ebara was the principal.

After eighteen months in Numazu, Meacham had gathered around him a group of thirty-seven converts, and Ebara and one of the English teachers were conducting Bible classes. By that time, plans had been laid for building a permanent chapel. In the early summer of 1878, however, the Shihan Gakkô burned down. Since this was a time of financial depression following the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, there was no immediate prospect of the school being rebuilt. Because he could not remain outside the treaty



concessions without employment, Meacham was forced to leave Numazu and retire to Tsukiji. His departure meant that there was no Canadian missionary in Shizuoka Prefecture because McDonald had already left Shizuoka to go back to Canada on furlough.

Meacham's place was taken by Asagawa Hiromi. The church in Numazu, like that in Shizuoka, was developed during the early 1880s through the work of Japanese Methodist evangelists. In 1881 Miyagawa Minori, who was then in charge in Numazu, reported having forty-eight people in his congregation, which meant that, though the increase in church members in the three years since Meacham had left was not great, membership had remained constant. Also during this period, Ebara Soroku's interest in Christianity had declined, which removed an important figure from church activities. In 1884 Ebara was stricken with tuberculosis but miraculously survived. His Christian faith was rekindled by this illness, and from then on his loyalty to the church never wavered. Ebara remained a committed Christian and a key lay figure in the Japan Methodist Church until his death in 1922.

In April 1880 Ballagh was able to make an extensive evangelistic tour in company with Itô Tōkichi<sup>(81)</sup> going as far south as Nagoya where Yamamoto Hideteru<sup>(82)</sup> had been working alone as an evangelist for the past year. This was not altogether a happy tour because at Shizuoka on their return journey from Nagoya they learnt that all was not well in Numazu. Ballagh heard that "a number of our Church members had gone in a body to the Greek's [sic]. This was under the leadership of a former schoolteacher whom Tokichi employed to teach him Chinese characters & to assist in

visiting the flock. This man had been a convert of the Romanists it seems, & his labors here now appear to have him able to draw away believers to him.”<sup>(83)</sup> Ballagh thought that the man had been seduced by money, which the Russian Orthodox mission received from the Russian government and used to buy converts. Going to Numazu to search out the “lost sheep, ” Ballagh came upon on a street a “young man with a string around his neck and a cross attached with Russian letters on it.”<sup>(84)</sup> The man had run away when Ballagh had accosted him but he was able to find where the Japanese Russian Orthodox priest lived and was holding his Christian meetings. Ballagh confronted him and also the former schoolteacher who he knew as Kôké.<sup>(85)</sup> Ballagh was annoyed with the latter because not only had he led Ballagh’s Numazu Christians over to another Church but also had continued to receive for ten months pay as well as house rent from the Reformed mission as he was doing this. Kôké, not surprisingly, would not admit that he had done anything wrong. As far as the Japanese Russian Orthodox priest was concerned, he was not pleased with being harangued by Ballagh and made the point with all the negative implications that it implied that he was a Japanese priest who lived among his followers while Ballagh was a foreign missionary. Nevertheless, Ballagh was able to draw back to the fold most of his “lost sheep.” Further, he was able to lend his Numazu Christians enough money to allow them to erect a Church building. His actions against the Greek priest had also gained him the gratitude of the Methodist Christians in Numazu for his help in stopping “the plague.”

Yet, clearly, Ballagh was shaken by what happened in Numazu.

He had hoped to get the work there on a better footing than obviously had been the case before he had left to go to the United States. Indeed, he only went back home on the understanding that the care of the Christian group in Numazu had been guaranteed and that they were to be looked after. This had not really happened beyond a flying visit or two from his missionary colleagues. Itô Tōkichi had spent time in Numazu but Itô, according to Ballagh, “tho’most faithful is too timid to deal with designing men.”<sup>(86)</sup> Yet, as was also very true with Yamamoto Hideteru who had been alone in Nagoya for a year, a great deal was demanded of Japanese evangelists who were thrown into the deep end with very little outside help available to them. Unlike supposedly the Russians, the Reformed mission as Ballagh knew well had neither the resources nor the manpower to maintain its work let alone take full advantage of the opportunities for Christianity in Numazu or elsewhere. Yet it was not just the Dutch Reformed mission that was remiss in its support but all Protestant missions in Japan. Ballagh saw the opposition: Shintoism, Buddhism, Romanism (Roman Catholics), the Greek Church (Russian Orthodox Church) as one united force. Protestantism, on the other hand, lacked solidarity and effectiveness because “we are looked upon as so many separate religions.”<sup>(87)</sup> Union missionary effort was Ballagh’s hobby horse, but it ran counter to the aspirations of many of those in America who gave money only because it supported their own denomination’s efforts in Japan.

In late February 1886 Verbeck together with Miura Tooru and Hayashi Taketarō,<sup>(88)</sup> then serving as the temporary pastor of the

Mishima Kyôkai, went to Numazu to meet and to speak to the evangelist and Christians there. Their reception had none of the drama that greeted Ballagh in 1880. Verbeck noted that Numazu was an important out-station of the Canadian Methodist Mission, four miles west of Mishima, and that there had “always been more or less of fraternal co-operation between that Mission and ours in contiguous rural districts” and that they received a warm reception. From Numazu Verbeck and Miura had gone to Gotemba (some twenty miles from Numazu at the foot of Mount Fuji), which had been visited on other occasions by Ballagh and where two Christian families lived. There, Ebara Soroku joined them. Verbeck described Ebara as “a lay christian of Numadzu and very able speaker.” While they were in Gotemba, Ebara gave a speech on the topic of “the Importance of a Sincere Acceptance of Christianity.”<sup>(89)</sup> It was a subject that Ebara through his brush with tuberculosis had come to believe in. It would seem that Japanese Methodists and Reformed converts were happily co-operating with each other in the task of evangelizing Numazu region.

### Ballagh's Hopes for Educational Work

In October 1876 Ballagh pointed out that he would be happy “if a work begun by us could have been carried on by a timely recruit from America.”<sup>(90)</sup> This was a theme in Ballagh's writing at the time that the Reformed mission that had done so much to begin evangelistic work in Japan was now falling behind for want of Reformed men, and he only asked for two or three, coming forward

willing to teach in the provinces. He pointed to Captain Leroy Janes' work in Kumamoto as an indication of what was possible for twenty young men from Kumamoto had recently gone to the American Board school in Kyoto in preparation to become Ministers.<sup>(91)</sup> He also mentioned that the work begun by Charles H. H. Wolff, Verbeck's cousin, in Hirosaki two years before was now in the hands of a teacher who was a Methodist (John Ing), and the Hirosaki Church though organized by Honda Yōichi, who had been one of the elders of the Yokohama Kirisuto Kōkai, might be lost to the Reformed mission. Worst of all, however, was the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox missions were making inroads and drawing off students that would have happily joined the Reformed mission had they received the same level of support for the studies. This was very much in line with what Brown had said from Hakone that the Reformed mission was falling behind.<sup>(92)</sup> Ballagh argued "let our Reformed Church stand up to her advanced position at home in educational matters here."<sup>(93)</sup> Again this was what Brown had argued.

In November 1876 Ballagh returned to the same theme arguing that the Reformed mission had lost ground by restricting its work to Yokohama and needed to extend its work to Tokyo at the very least. Ballagh estimated that upwards of thirty of the Yokohama converts had gone to Tokyo where they had joined David Thompson's Presbyterian Church. Thompson and the Japanese Christians in Tokyo had repeatedly asked Ballagh to come to Tokyo to take part in the work there. Indeed, Ballagh felt that the citizens of Tokyo were much more respectable and influential than those in

Yokohama that he was in contact with. Furthermore Tokyo was the capital of Japan and the centre of Japanese education.<sup>(94)</sup> It was not only in taking care of its own converts who moved to Tokyo that the Reformed mission was losing out but also in the educational field. Ballagh argued that Tokyo was “also the Seat of learning. There is the Imperial College & its English Preparatory School. The Civil Engineering College & its English Preparatory School & the Normal male & female Colleges in Japanese, the Military & Naval Academies. All these have immense piles of buildings. Then there are Medical Colleges, private & Common Schools almost without number.”<sup>(95)</sup> Ballagh was describing a burgeoning educational scene, which also does indicate the enormous changes in Western-style education that had taken place in Tokyo since the Meiji Restoration. Yet it was not only in the creation of new educational institutions that made Tokyo now so important but also that the “great departments of manufactures all under Gov’t, the arsensals, Soldiers & Cadets; the Legations of all the Foreign powers, & the Missionaries of all Denominations except our own at work, and many making surprising headway.”<sup>(96)</sup> The Russian Orthodox mission, which Ballagh called the Greek Church “has its magnificent College, commanding one of the finest views in Yedo, & Pere Nicolai is preaching all over the city. The daily papers contain statements of the nos [sic, numbers] attending his services.”<sup>(97)</sup> Ballagh missed very few opportunities to condemn the work of the Russian Orthodox mission, and their success in Tokyo stood against his feeling of disappointment with the effort of the Reformed mission.

Ballagh pointed to the Kaisei Gakkô in Tokyo where Verbeck and

others were sympathetic to the Reformed mission were teaching. Ballagh saw the Reformed mission had “a special work which I feel we have a special right to engage in is passing hopeless out of our hands. It is the utilization of the educated mind of Japan. Dr. Verbeck’s long interest in educational matters, ought not to be let go unimproved. Dr. Brown’s and my own pupils are found in nos. in the College [Kaisei Gakkô] as Teachers or pupils. Several of them have been abroad & been in our Institution at New Brunswick. We have a Representative in the Educational Dept. Several of the Professors are exceedingly friendly to our making efforts to interest the pupils & would assist. Two owe their positions to my interest on their behalf & they are anxious to repay it.”<sup>(98)</sup> Yet Ballagh complained that “the educated mind holds aloof from Christianity entirely, or falls to strangers who have done nothing as yet for Japan in instruction, translation or otherwise.”<sup>(99)</sup> He pointed to the case of George Cochran, the Canadian Methodist missionary, who “through Prof. Clark’s [E. W. Clark] interest got into employment with a private school of Nakamura, a Chinese savant, who owed no little of his instruction in Xty to friends at Yokohama, & who applied several times to us for baptism. Mr. C. baptized him & has probably 20 other converts. Mr. C. has carried on his work in English & has drawn many of the students & through Nakamura’s position as head of the Female College in Yedo is drawing the teachers & lady pupils of that institution. This is all very well and a matter for rejoicing. And yet I cannot but feel the Reformed Church in America has a better right to do his work in view of what we have done in the line of education in Japan both in America & in

this country.”<sup>(100)</sup> Ballagh advocated that the Reformed mission should at once try to establish a good preparatory school, a theological college and a chapel all in one in Tokyo. This was similar to the argument that Brown had made about the need for a first class Western studies school run by the Reformed mission to prepare students for later theological courses.

Ballagh also thought that the best location for the three in one institution that he envisaged was important. He thought it should be placed on a healthy and high part of Tokyo, in the Surugadai district near both Dr. Verbeck’s house and the Russian Orthodox College and half way between the Imperial and the Normal Colleges. A few years ago Ballagh had had the opportunity to buy a very desirable lot for a cheap price next to Dr. Verbeck’s house but because he thought that Verbeck himself wanted to purchase it, Ballagh and the Japanese Elders working on his behalf had not bought it. The result was that it passed into the hands of Mori Arinori who proceeded to build a house and school there for the American Baptists. Although there was still a lot available close by, the price of land had gone up very considerably in the interim and especially in that particular desirable district. Ballagh argued “if the Ref’d Ch. is to distinguish herself in Japan this I believe to be her golden opportunity. Infinitely more important that the course of female education important as that is.”<sup>(101)</sup> This reference to female education perhaps was a reflection of his feelings toward the Ferris school for girls in Yokohama. He hoped that philanthropists like those who had founded Queens College and the New Brunswick Theological Seminary would step forward to fund an institution in



Tokyo. If that came to fruition, Ballagh would happily leave his work in Yokohama, which could be left to a Japanese pastor or Brown and Miller as acting pastors and go to Tokyo to teach at the new school. Ultimately, the demand from Ballagh and Brown for a first rate school to provide general Western studies education as well as theological training would be met with the union effort that would go into developing of Meiji Gakuin into a major educational institution in the 1880s.

## Conclusions

There is an unavoidable feeling in Ballagh's writings that the Reformed mission was falling behind. Certainly, there were educational and Christian opportunities in Odawara, for example, that were missed by the Reformed mission. The Canadian Methodist mission was in a better position to capitalize on the opportunity to place missionaries as English language teachers in Shizuoka and Numazu. Yet clearly Ballagh was being perhaps overly pessimistic about what the Reformed mission was able to achieve in this region. The activities of Yokohama Band evangelists led to the formation of the Mishima Kyôkai and to the expansion of Christian work in Numazu and Hakone. The opportunities for Christianity in this region stemmed out of a broader desire among the adherents of the former Tokugawa shogun for Western studies education. Shinozaki Keinosuke and Sugiyama Magoroku had gone to Yokohama to study things Western and as a result of learning English from Brown and Ballagh had been influenced to become

Christians. The Tokugawa authorities invested in the Numazu Heigakkō after the Meiji Restoration because they saw it as the one of the means by which Tokugawa military power could be restored. Just as clearly to prevent this from happening, the Meiji government closed it and moved to Tokyo so as to be fully under their control. Western studies in general were seen also as a way by which the young could take advantage of the need for Western studies specialists in the new Meiji Japan. So the determination of Ebara Soroku and others to continue to provide some form of private Western studies education after the closure of the Heigakkō in Numazu. Mastery of English offered a way out of the poverty that so many of the young *shizoku* in Shizuoka prefecture suffered as a result of being on the losing side in the Restoration. The Yokohama Band members who at Ballagh's behest began to evangelize in Hakone, Mishima and Numazu were among the first masters of English with connections that led to Yokohama and Tokyo and even beyond that to the United States. English language knowledge and Christianity offered to the young students a way out of the provinces into a broader and more prosperous world. While some like Henry Satoh later found fame in journalism, a fair number of these first Christians made significant contributions to the English language education in Shizuoka prefecture and elsewhere in Japan. Still others became pastors and dedicated their lives to the betterment of the Japanese people through their Christian work.

While churches were grown in Mishima, Hakone and Numazu, the centrifugal forces that drew away many of the brightest and best of those who studied English in those places to Tokyo and

Yokohama meant that churches there also benefitted from Christian developments in Kanagawa and Shizuoka prefectures. Yet it is also clear from the case of the Mishima Kyôkai that those who became Christian were linked together by family, by economic, social and educational ties. It was a close and intimate world that Christians were entering into when they joined the church. Yet it was from the small groups of Christians that provincial movements for Temperance, for the Jiyûminkendô and political careers such as that of Ebara Soroku were launched.

#### Endnotes

- (1) For a recent study of the early evangelization of Annaka see Hamish Ion, "Japanese Evangelists, American Board Missionaries and Protestant Growth in Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of the Annaka Kyôkai," in Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, eds., *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010* (Portland, Oregon: WIPF and Stock, 2012).
- (2) For Yamaji Aizan (山路愛山, 1865-1917) see Nihon Kirisutokyô rekishi dai jiten henshû iinkai, *Nihon Kirisutokyô rekishi dai jiten* [A Dictionary of the History of Christianity in Japan] (Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1988), hereafter cited as *NKRDJ*, p.1436. For a recent English language study of Yamaji, see Yushi Ito, *Yamaji Aizan and His Time: Nationalism and Debating Japanese History* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2007).
- (3) See Kawamata Kazuhide, *Azabu Chûgaku to Ebara Soroku (Ebara Soroku and Azabu Middle School)* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2003).
- (4) A. Hamish Ion, "Shizuoka Christians and Tokyo Evangelism in the early 1870s," in *Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo Kiyô* [hereafter cited as *Kiyô*] vol.37 (March, 2005), pp.251-297. For Nakamura

- Masanao (中村正直), the Dōjinsha school, and George Cochran, see *NKRDJ*, p. 998, p. 935 and p. 518 respectively.
- (5) For James Hamilton Ballagh, see *NKRDJ*, pp.1134-1135.
- (6) Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan [Yokohama Archives of History] hereafter cited as YKS, Papers of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church of the United States of America hereafter cited as JMRCAs, volume 54, Ballagh to Ferris, 10 February 1881.
- (7) Ibid.. See John Ross, *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern: With Description of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography* (Paisley: J. and R. Parlane, 1879).
- (8) For a brief biographical note on George Meacham (1833-1919), see *NKRDJ*, p.1359.
- (9) For a brief biographical note on Ebara Soroku (1842-1922, 江原素六) see *NKRDJ*, p.194.
- (10) Ieda Hiroshi, *Shizuoka Ken Eigakushi (A History of English Studies in Shizuoka Prefecture)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968), p.95.
- (11) Meiji Gakuin Library, S. R. Brown Papers, hereafter cited as MG Brown Papers, Brown to Ferris, 18 October 1876. For Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880), see *NKRDJ*, pp.1230-1231.
- (12) YKS, JMRCAs, volume 124, Maclay et alia to Amerman, 7 July 1880. For I. R. Correll, see *NKRDJ*, p.544.
- (13) For Shinozaki Keinosuke (1852-1876, 篠崎桂之助), see *NKRDJ*, p.620. See also Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi henshū iinkai, *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi* (Mishima: Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Mishima Kyōkai, 1985), p.7.
- (14) For Sugiyama Magoroku (1856-1876, 杉山孫六), see *NKRDJ*, p.717.
- (15) Saba Wateru, *Uemura Masahisa to sonno jidai [The Life and Times of Uemura Masahisa]* (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1972 edition), 6 volumes, volume 3, pp.5-6.
- (16) YKS, JMRCAs, volume 46, Ballagh to Ferris, 18 July 1874.
- (17) For Oshikawa Masayoshi (1850-1928, 押川方義), see *NKRDJ*, p.257.
- (18) *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi*, pp.7-8.

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- (19) For Kumano Yūshichi (1852-1921, 熊野雄七), see *NKRDJ*, p.454.
- (20) For Louise Henrietta Pierson, see Yokohama Kyōritsu Gakuen 120 nen no ayumi henshū iinkai, *Yokohama Kyōritsu Gakuen 120 nen no ayumi* [The Yokohama Kyōritsu Gakuen: The Course of 120 Years] (Yokohama: Yokohama Kyōritsu Gakuen, 1991), pp.24-25. See also *NKRDJ*, p.1152.
- (21) YKS, JMRC, volume 47, Ballagh to Ferris, 29 January 1875.
- (22) In early August 1876, for instance, Brown wrote that he was summering in Hakone, which he described as “our usual summer retreat” and its cool climate was attracting foreigners from as far away as Shanghai and Nanking. See MG Brown Papers, Brown to Ferris, 7 August 1876.
- (23) For a recent article on William B. Cooper see, Hamish Ion, “William B. Cooper and the Beginning of the American Church Mission’s Work in Tokyo, 1873-1882,” in *Anglican and Episcopal History*, volume 81, no. 3, September 2012, pp.1030.
- (24) Nippon Seikōkai Senta [Nippon Seikōkai Provincial Headquarters] Yaraichō, Tokyo. Episcopal Church Japan Records, microfilm roll 1, Cooper to Duane, 1 November 1874.
- (25) *Ibid.*
- (26) For Itō Tōkichi (dates unknown, 伊藤籐吉), see *NKRDJ*, p. 121. Itō was baptized by Ballagh on 30 August 1873, and was a student at Brown’s Juku in Yokohama.
- (27) *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi*, p.8. Shirai Sanshirō (白井三四郎), Tsuda Masaemon (津田政右衛門).
- (28) *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi*, p.14.
- (29) YKS, JMRC, volume 47, Ballagh to Ferris, 29 January 1875.
- (30) *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi*, p.14.
- (31) *Ibid.*, p.13.
- (32) *Ibid.*
- (33) *Mishima Kyōkai hyakunenshi*, p.500. There is a complete list of all those who were baptized or transferred into the church between 1874

and 1985, pp.500-507.

- (34) Ibid., p.14.
- (35) Ibid., p.15.
- (36) For Yoshida Nobuyoshi (吉田信好), see *NKRDJ*, p.1474.
- (37) For Okuno Masatsuna (1823-1910, 奥野昌綱), see *NKRDJ*, p.253.
- (38) YKS, JMRCA, volume 47, Ballagh to Ferris, 22 January 1877.
- (39) Ibid..
- (40) YKS, JMRCA, volume 51, Ballagh to Ferris, 28 February 1878.
- (41) YKS, JMRCA, volume 51, Ballagh to Ferris, 23 March 1878.
- (42) Ibid..
- (43) Ibid..
- (44) This and the following two quotations come from YKS, JMRCA, volume 54, Ballagh to Ferris, 10 February 1881.
- (45) Verbeck to Ferris, 25 August 1881.
- (46) See Yoneyama Umekichi Sensei Denkai Kankokai. *Yoneyama Umekichi Senshū* [*Selected Works of Yoneyama Umekichi*], (Tokyo: Yoneyama Umekichi Sensei Denkai Kankokai, 2 vols., vol.1, pp.205-217. Yoneyama Umekichi (1868-1946, 米山梅吉) was educated at the Numazu Middle School, the Tokyo Eiwa Gakkō (forerunner of Aoyama Gakuin) and then Wesleyan University in the United States. He was a successful businessman and associated with Mitsui Bank. In 1920 he helped found the Tokyo Rotary Club. See Ueda Masaaki et alia, *Konseisu jinkaku jiten: Nihonshū* (Tokyo: Sanshodō, 1980), p.1196. His selected works include his translation into Japanese of W.E. Griffis' *Townsend Harris* as well as detailed study of the Numazu Heigakkō, and its affiliated Chūgakkō and Tokugawa educational efforts there and in Shizuoka prefecture after the Restoration.
- (47) Ibid., vol. 1, pp.218-225.
- (48) Ieda, *Shizuoka Ken Eigakushi*, pp.71-91.
- (49) The name of the school underwent a number of changes. It started out as the Numazu Heigakkō (Fuzoku) Shōgakkō [Numazu Military Academy [Attached] Junior School]. When it became a private school, it

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was called Shuseisha, which was the immediate predecessor of the Shihan Gakkô that, in turn, was the predecessor of the Numazu Chûgakkô [Numazu Middle School].

- (50) Ieda, *Shizuoka Ken no Eigakushi*, pp.121-122.
- (51) *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.219.
- (52) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Keeling to Ballagh, dated Nov.1875.
- (53) For the history of Davidson MacDonald's activity in Shizuoka from 1874, Nippon Mesojisuto Shizuoka Kyôkai, *Nippon Mesojisuto Shizuoka Kyôkai Rokujûnenshi [Sixty Year History of the Japan Methodist Shizuoka Church]* (Shizuoka: Nippon Mesojisuto Shizuoka Kyôkai, 1935) remains an invaluable source.
- (54) For Kurokawa Tadashi (1856-1916, 黒川正), see Ieda, *Shizuoka Ken no Eigakushi*, pp.61-62.
- (55) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Keeling to Ballagh, 11 October 1875.
- (56) *Ibid.*
- (57) *Ibid.*
- (58) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Keeling to Ballagh, November 1875.
- (59) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Ballagh to Ferris, 9 December 1875.
- (60) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Keeling to Ballagh, 30 November 1875.
- (61) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Ballagh to Ferris, 9 December 1875.
- (62) YKS, JMRCA, volume 48, Keeling to Ballagh, November 1875.
- (63) YKS, JMRCA, volume 47, Ballagh to Ferris, 22 January 1877.
- (64) *Ibid.*
- (65) YKS, JMRCA, volume 49, Ballagh to Ferris, 26 October 1876.
- (66) *Ibid.*
- (67) *Ibid.*
- (68) Ebara Sensei Den Hensan Iinkai, *Ebara Soroku Den [The Life of Ebara Soroku Sensei]*(Tokyo: Ebara Sensei Den Hensan Iinkai, 1924), p.203. Numazu Chûgakkô is given as the place where Meacham taught.
- (69) United Church of Canada Archives [hereafter cited as UCCA], Toronto, Canada, *Fifty-Second Annual Report of the Methodist Church of Canada*, p. xxxviii.

- (70) *NKRDJ* calls her Julia A. Moulton (1852-1922) who became a music teacher at the Ferris School in Yokohama when Meacham became the pastor of the Yokohama Union Church in 18887. See *NKRDJ*, p.1404. See also Ferisu Jo Gakuin Hyakunenshi Henshū Iinkai, *Ferisu Jo Gakuin Hyakunenshi [A Centennial History of Ferris Jo Gakuin]*, (Yokohama: Ferisu Jo Gakuin, 1970), pp.174-178.
- (71) Kuranaga Takashi, *Kanada Mesojisuto Nihon dendō gaishi [Unofficial History of the Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada]* (Tokyo: Kanada Gôdô Kyôkai Senkyôshikai, 1937), p.108. Kuranaga notes that Meacham signed a contract to teach at the Shihan Gakkô.
- (72) UCCA, Meacham letter, 19, 1876, in *Missionary Notices*, third series, no. 1(January 1877), p.171.
- (73) *Ibid.*, p.192.
- (74) UCCA, Meacham letter, 20 January, 1877, in *Missionary Notices*, third series, no. 4 (April 1877), p.195.
- (75) John Scott, "Hon. Soroku Ebara, M. P.," in *Japan Evangelist*, volume 9, no.2 (1902), pp.42-46, p.45.
- (76) For Tsuchiya Hikoroku (土屋彦六) (1856-1930) was the brother of Sugiyama Magoroku, and was a student of Davidson McDonald at the Shizuhatahiya school in Shizuoka. He was baptized on 27 September 1874 by McDonald and would become an influential Canadian Methodist pastor in later life. He was adopted into the Tsuchiya family in 1885. He changed his name to Tsuchiya in 1886. See *NKRDJ*, p.887. See also Ôta Aito, *Meiji Kirisutokyô no Ryûiki*, especially pages 82-89.
- (77) For Asakawa Kôko (浅川公湖) (b.1858). Asakawa had studied in Numazu prior to going to Yokohama where he learnt English from George Cochran from 1873. He followed Cochran to Tokyo to the Dôjinsha school where he was baptized together with Nakamura Masanao's wife by Cochran in March 1875. He would become a Canadian Methodist pastor but in the early 1890s would give up being a pastor in order to concentrate his efforts on teaching in government schools. See *NKRDJ*, p.36.
- (78) Ebara Sensei Den Hensan Iinkai, *Ebara Soroku Den*, p.205.



Seeding the Wheat among the Tares

- (79) For Henri Satoh (Satô Kenri, 1859-1926, 佐藤顕理), see *NKRDJ*, p.579.  
See also Ieda, *Shizuoka Ken no Eigakushi*, pp.53-57, especially p.54.
- (80) Kuranaga, *Kanada Mesojisuto Nihon dendô gaishi*, p.108.
- (81) Itô had been baptized by Ballagh on 30 August 1873 and had been a member of the Yokohama Nihon Kirisuto Kôkai. In 1878 he had begun evangelistic work in both Numazu and in Mishima. For Itô contribution to the Mishima Kyôkai, see *Mishima Kyôkai hyakunenshi*, pp.339-347.
- (82) For Yamamoto Hideteru (1857-1943, 山本秀惶), see *NKRDJ*, p.1448.  
Ballagh had baptized Yamamoto at the Kaigan Kyôkai in Yokohama in October 1874.
- (83) YKS, JMRCA, volume 53, Ballagh to Ferris, 3 April 1880.
- (84) *Ibid.*.
- (85) At other places in the letter Ballagh referred to the teacher as Kimura.
- (86) *Ibid.*.
- (87) *Ibid.*.
- (88) For Miura Tooru (1850-1925, 三浦徹) and Hayashi Taketarô (1860-1924, 林竹太郎), see *NKRDJ*, p.1348 and p.1134 respectively.
- (89) Meiji Gakuin, Verbeck Papers, Verbeck to Cobb, 11 March 1886.
- (90) YKS, JMRCA, volume 49, Ballagh to Ferris, 26 October 1876.
- (91) In December Ballagh reported that he had heard from Okada, a former member of the Yokohama Church, who had gone that spring to Nishima's school as one of a very few to study for the Ministry had now been joined by "some 30, most of these from Kumamoto and Cap't Janes' pupils, who have some scores of preaching places, & have 60 converts and three churches formed, or to be formed soon. This is very good news from the Sacred City of the Mikados." YKS, JMRCA, volume 49, Ballagh to Ferris, 12 December 1876.
- (92) See footnote 20.
- (93) YKS, JMRCA, volume 49, Ballagh to Ferris, 26 October 1876.
- (94) YKS, JMRCA, volume 49, Ballagh to Ferris, 14 November 1876.
- (95) *Ibid.*

- (96) Ibid.
- (97) Ibid.
- (98) Ibid.
- (99) Ibid.
- (100) Ibid.
- (101) Ibid.