論文

American and Canadian missionaries and Japanese Studies in Pre-War Japan, 1858-1941

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Introduction

As well as bringing Christianity to Japan, missionaries served as interpreters and cultural bridges between Japan and their home countries, and were a major conduit through which knowledge of things Japanese was transmitted to North America. The Christian presses and missionary society journals and magazines in the United States and Canada ensured that missionary views reached a large audience. One of the results of this activity is the accumulated records of the work of American and Canadian missionary societies in Japan and the papers of individual missionaries held in North American archives, university libraries and church organizations as well as the enormous canon of published literature about Japan by missionaries represents a research resource for the study of Japan perhaps only rivalled by formal government State Department and military materials. This canon of material in which can be found reference to virtually all aspects of Japan culture and society is only a part of the legacy that the missionary endeavour from North America to Japan has given to the development of Japanese studies

in the United States and Canada.

This paper grows out of my interest in the impact of the foreign missionary movement in Japan on its home base in the West and, particularly, on the search for understanding of Japan, its history, its religions, society and culture in those countries that sent missionaries to Japan which was the genesis of Japan studies.(1) In the years before 1941, American and Canadian missionaries made important contributions to the development of Japanese studies in a broad range of different areas from lexicography, language study, Japanese religions including Christianity, history and education. It is hoped through highlighting the contribution of individual missionaries in different areas that this study will further illuminate the role that missionaries played in helping to lay the foundations of Japanese studies and in doing so stimulate the interest of other scholars to make use of missionary materials in the exploration of things Japanese.

It is generally accepted that three groups of Europeans, Americans and Canadians were instrumental in laying the foundations of Japanese studies in the West by being trailblazers responsible for the first competent works on the language, history, and literature of Japan.(2) First among these were the scholar-diplomats, mainly British, including William George Aston (1841-1911), Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), Charles Eliot (1862-1933), George Bailey Sansom (1883-1965), who investigated many parts of Japanese culture from grammar and philology to geography, history, literature and religion. The second group were resident journalists and teachers that would include Frank Brinkley (1841-1912), Basil

Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), Ernest Francisco Fenellosa (1853-1908) and James Murdoch (1856-1921). The third group were missionaries including James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911), Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880), Guido F. Verbeck (1830-1898) and three British Anglican missionaries, John Batchelor (1854-1944), Walter Dening (1846-1913), and Arthur Lloyd (1852-1911) who were mainly active in the Meiji period. To these pioneer missionaries should be added others who were active in the early twentieth century prior to 1941 including Otis Cary (1852-1932), August Karl Reischauer (1869-1971), John Cooper Robinson (1858-1926), Sidney Lewis Gulick (1860-1945), Harper Havelock Coates (1865-1934), Robert Cornell Armstrong (1876-1929), Galen Merriam Fisher (1873-1955), and Daniel Clarence Holtom (1888-1962).

This paper focuses on Hepburn, Reischauer and Robinson not only because of their pioneering importance to the development of Japanese but also because their writings or other original attributions embody characteristics also found in the works of other American or Canadian missionaries or their contemporary secular Japanologists in the culture, history, religion and photography of Japan. Hepburn's dictionary laid the foundations for all modern lexicography, and the Hepburn system of romanization for Japanese has become the standard for all English-speaking countries. Reischauer made significant contributions in the post-First World War era with his studies on Japanese Buddhism and also to the development of Christian education in Japan because of his involvement in the creation of the Tokyo Woman's Christian College (Tokyo Joshidai). Both Hepburn and Reischauer were American Presbyterian North

missionaries, the former a lay medical missionary and the latter a clerical educational one, and both closely linked to Meiji Gakuin, albeit at different times. Robinson was a Canadian Anglican clerical missionary whose career was largely spent in pastoral work in Nagoya in the years between 1888 and 1926.

Of the three, Robinson is presently only known within the denominational confines of the history of the Nippon Seikôkai and the Canadian Anglican missionary movement to Japan. Moreover, Robinson's significance to Japanese studies lay not in his writings but in his photography, which captured changing Japan, especially provincial and rural Japan, during the transitional years from Meiji to Taishô. His photographs have only recently been deposited by his family in the library of the University of British Columbia(3) and their value as a historical resource for the study of Japanese life and society is only now being recognized. Robinson represents, therefore, a missionary figure whose significance to Japanese studies will only continue to increase in the future. His photography also underline the importance of photographs as a visual record of the missionary movement and of the Japanese people among whom missionaries and Japanese Christians were propagating the Gospel.

The bedrock, which allowed the development of Japanese studies, were the dictionaries, grammars and other aides to language learning in the creation of which Hepburn and Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880) played such an important part. To begin with Hepburn and the missionary contribution to language study and Bible translation in Bakumatsu and Meiji Japan will be investigated, and then to turn to Reischauer and the question of missionaries

as interpreters and cultural bridges between Japan and North America in Taishô and early Showa eras with special attention given to Japanese religions. Lastly, the issue of the positive image of Japan and of missionary contributions through photography with special emphasis on Robinson to the development of this image in North America will be investigated. By adopting this approach, the influence and importance of the pre-1941 missionary contribution to Japanese studies will be further illuminated.

It took the hostilities of the Pacific War to bring missionary scholarship back to the United States and Canada and begin serious Japanese studies in those countries. It is also should be remembered that the massive expansion of Japanese studies and academic research into things Japanese at the university level in the United States and Canada was profoundly influenced by children of Japan missionaries. As Cyril Powles (1919-2013) has pointed out about Canadian mish-kids of his generation that their growing up in Japan meant they "gained an early facility in the spoken language which propelled them naturally in the direction of more specialized training, This propensity was supported by their home atmosphere which encouraged serious study and respect for the local culture."(4) In studying the British missionary contribution to the development of Japanese studies in Britain, it was clear that the British missionaries were at their most productive at the apogee of the British missionary endeavour in Japan, which was the last years of the Meiji period. The First World War (1914-1919) had very serious consequences in terms of finances and missionary recruits for the British missionary movement in Japan leading to a reduction

of British missionary numbers. One of the results of this was there were very few British mish-kids who could make a contribution to post-1945 expansion of Japanese studies in British universities. The First World War did not have a similar negative impact on the American missionary movement or, indeed, for the Canadian one so consequently there were lots of missionary children born in Japan between 1910 and 1941 who were in a position to take advantage of the university expansion in Japanese studies in North America after 1945. As this was one of unanticipated consequences of the American and Canadian missionary endeavours to Japan and a part of their legacies to their home countries reference will be made to it in the conclusions.

The linguistic and literary studies of missionaries, if they did not have immediate impact, would prove to be fruitful sources for later more advanced studies. While the dictionaries and grammars of Hepburn and Brown, and the writings on Buddhism by A. K. Reischauer or those on Shintô by Holtom might not be used by today's students of Japanese studies, many of them will likely be familiar with the *New Nelson Japanese-English Character Dictionary*(5) and read books by Edwin O. Reischauer (1910-1990), F. G. Notehelfer and Mark R. Mullins who were or are children of missionaries who became academic Japan studies specialists.

Hepburn in Bakumatsu and Meiji Japan: Language Study and Bible Translation

The foundation of American missionary interest in Japan

studies lay in language study and Bible translation.[6] Hepburn's dictionary and Bible translations built on the foundations of the accumulated work of others which had begun three centuries before the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in Japan by Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries and their converts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[7] It had gained further impetus through the contact between Western Protestant missionaries in China and Japanese castaways in the early nineteenth century that led Karl Friederick August Gützlaff (1803-1851) and Wells Williams (1812-1884) to attempt the translation of the Gospel of St. Mark into Japanese,[8] and after them Bernard Jean Bettelheim (1811-1870), the pioneer missionary of the Loochoo Naval Mission resident in Naha between 1846 and 1854, who translated parts of New Testament into the Ryûkyûan language.[9] Most important, however, for it enabled those educated Japanese who were able to read Chinese was the publication in Shanghai in 1864 of the combined edition of the New and Old Testament in Chinese, which allowed the possibility for those Japanese familiar with Chinese to be able to read the Bible.

Hepburn and Brown after their arrival in Kanagawa in 1859 were the two early missionaries who were most involved with the first efforts at Bible translation in Japan. Both had previous experience as missionaries in the 1840s in China. Of the two, Hepburn, the lay Presbyterian medical missionary, would appear to be the more attractive and appealing individual. He was a man of broad interests including taking meteorological readings in Yokohama and participating in the life of the treaty port while all the

time carrying on his medical work, teaching and translation work. Hepburn was a man of prodigious energy, thoroughly organized in his studious habits and capable of sustained hard work. Brown, on the other hand, had clearly great natural intellectual and linguistic talents but lacked the energy and drive that was so characteristic of Hepburn. In Hepburn's case, his language experience in China was not so much knowledge of Chinese – which everything in his letters points to being modest - but, rather, the process of studying and acquiring a language. Hepburn's monumental achievements in creating a magnificent Japanese-English dictionary and later translating the New and Old Testaments into Japanese were the result of having excellent Japanese assistants and helpers such as Kishida Ginkô (1833-1905),[10] It was not Hepburn working alone that produced this enormous canon of work but a partnership between him and his Japanese assistants. A missionary was as good as those Japanese who helped him, and Hepburn had some outstanding helpers. Hepburn's China experience was also likely useful in helping him to discern the good Chinese scholars among those Japanese who were willing to help him. Further, his China experience had made him believe that to become an acceptable teacher to the Chinese (and later to the Japanese), the missionary had to study their standard books, that is the Confucian classics, and be able to use them as weapons of offence or defence in conversations.[11] This caused Hepburn to look to educated Japanese, those familiar with the Confucian classics, as potential converts. In contrast, the Baptist missionary Jonathan Goble, who was less educated than Hepburn and had no China experience, was

more than happy to look to the common folk.[12]

Unlike Hepburn's, Brown's China experience made him very sure of his ability to master Japanese, and he came to be proud of his Japanese ability, though possibly with less justification than in Hepburn's case. Brown had the advantage over Hepburn of knowing more Chinese, having lived there for nine years. Furthermore, Brown had been a teacher in early life to the deaf and mute and was perhaps more sensitive than Hepburn in interpreting body language and the physical aspects of learning a foreign language, including replicating the accent. In early 1860 he thought that Japanese was in some respects a more difficult language than Chinese but believed he could master it, and that he had begun to write a book of phrases to help other westerners to learn Japanese.[13] By 1862 Brown was in a position to be able to give language classes to Ernest Mason Satow, then a student interpreter at the British Legation in Yokohama and other British consular figures including his future son-in-law John Frederic Lowder (1843-1902).[14] This was important as it was an example of the indirect influence of missionaries for Satow became a truly important figure in the development of Japanese studies, and even Lowder became a significant British consular figure.

Past China experience had taught Brown to confine his attention at first to the study of the colloquial because it would allow him to speak Japanese sooner than if he divided his attention from the outset between the study of books and the colloquial. He had not completely neglected reading books as this helped him to remember a good deal of his forgotten Chinese. Brown insisted that a knowledge of Chinese was "essential to enable me to read most Japanese books

for Chinese characters are intermingled with words written in the Japanese syllabary to such an extent as to make it impossible to understand a large part of the literature of this country without a knowledge of both."[15] He considered Japanese more difficult to master than Chinese. Further, there were no Japanese-English dictionaries, or any English grammars of Japanese or, indeed, in any European language to help them. It was left to missionaries, Brown thought, to make the dictionaries, grammars and vocabularies that would allow them to accomplish the translation of the Scriptures and a Christian literature for Japan.[16] The efforts of Hepburn and Brown to translate the Bible were setback in May 1867 when Brown's Yokohama home burnt down which led Brown to return to the United States for some two years. With Brown's departure, Hepburn increasingly came to think that there was a need for closer collaboration between missionaries of different denominations in order to create a Bible translation that was acceptable to all.

This ultimately led to the establishment of the interdenominational Translation Committee for the publication of the New Testament in Yokohama in 1872.[17] This committee was led by Hepburn, Brown and the American Congregationalist missionary, Daniel Crosby Greene (1843-1911) but included representatives from other denominations including Robert Samuel Maclay (1824-1907), superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal mission, Nathan Brown (1807-1886), an American Baptist missionary, and the British Anglicans, William Ball Wright (1843-1912) of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and John Piper (1840-1932) of the CMS.[18] Nathan Brown left the Translation

Committee in 1876 to pursue his own independent translation.[19] Between 1876 and 1880 the major works of translation as the various parts of the New Testament were completed.

In 1878 a permanent translation committee was formed with representatives of all missionary denominations was formed for the translation of the Old Testament. Included among them was George Cochran (1834-1901), the pioneer missionary of the Canadian Methodist Mission, who was involved not for his Japanese ability but his knowledge of Hebrew and the Old Testament scholarship. Like the New Testament, the bulk of the translation work was carried out by relatively few people: among them Hepburn, Guido Verbeck (1830-1898), the Dutch Reformed missionary, David Thompson (1835-1915), the Presbyterian missionary, and Philip Kimball Fyson (1846-1928), of the British Anglican Church Missionary Society. Like the New Testament, the Old Testament was published in stages beginning in 1882 and continuing until 1888 when the complete Old Testament was finished. At the same time as this interdenominational effort was taking place, individual denominations were also concerned with their individual denominational needs for prayer books and hymnals.

What becomes clear is that the most of the missionaries involved in both translation committees did not have prior China experience and had learnt Japanese without the benefit of Chinese. In one sense this reflected the growing importance of Japan in American trans-Pacific relations and the decline of Chinese influence on Japan itself as Japan was transformed during the Meiji period. In April 1861 when he had started to translate the Gospel of Mark,

Hepburn used a Chinese Bible, which he believed meant that the labour of translating the Gospel into Japanese was "half done," as the Japanese translation could be written with Chinese characters arranged to indicate Japanese word order and with Japanese case and verb endings interposed.[20] As seventeen years intervened before the full New Testament was published, Hepburn was clearly mistaken to think that the work of translation into Japanese was "half done." During those years Japanese language knowledge among missionaries tasked with translation greatly improved, and a generation of Japanese Christians emerged whose skill in both Japanese and English allowed them to assist ably the missionaries in their translation efforts. Of these, Matsuyama Takayoshi (1847-1935) who had been baptized by Greene in Kobe in 1874 and Takahashi Gorô (1856-1935) who had been taught by S. R. Brown in Yokohama in the early 1870s were the most prominent.[21] Yet two figures, Ibuka Kajinosuke (1854-1940) and Uemura Masahisa (1858-1925) who would later become influential Christian figures and like Takahashi had been baptized in Yokohama in the early 1870s, also helped in the translations.[22] Without the assistance of these Japanese translators, the task of producing the New Testament, and, particularly, the Old Testament would have been much more difficult. Likewise, without Hepburn's dictionary and other grammar aids the translation process might well have taken even longer.

Reischauer in Early Meiji and Taishô Japan: Missionaries and the study of Japanese Religions

Many among the early American missionaries thought that revolutionary change in politics and in culture needed to happen before Christianity would be free to transform the Japanese. In July 1871 Orramel H. Gulick (1830-1923), an American Board missionary in Osaka blamed the fixed policy of the central government and not religious bigotry, prejudices or ignorance on the part of the people for preventing Christianity making headway among the Japanese.(23) Gulick believed that "the Government must be revolutionized in its views regarding religious toleration so that the people can be reached."(24) John Howes has argued that one of the chief characteristic of the American missionary movement in nineteenth century Japan was New England Puritanism, and this Puritanism came to dominate the religious ideas of the leading Japanese Christians.(25) In his study of the lay teacher, Captain Leroy L. Janes, (1838-1909) who was instrumental in leading the members of the so-called Kumamoto Christian band to Christianity in the mid-1870s, F. G. Notehelfer has contended that Janes "was filled with the revolutionary fervor of post-Civil War American Protestantism. Propelled by the ideas of America's 'manifest destiny,' proponents of this brand of Christianity hoped to export not only the Gospel, but the political and social ideas of the American Revolution to the farthest reaches of the globe."(26) The standard interpretation of American missionary attitudes to Asian

culture can be seen in Yukiko Koshiro's argument that American missionaries in nineteenth century Asia, "motivated by a sense of *noblesse oblige*, dismissed the importance of understanding Asia as equal to the West."[27] In investigating foreign missionaries and Japanese culture in the late nineteenth century, Cyril Powles has shown that there were a variety of different missionary approaches to Japanese culture including that of New England Puritanism.[28] Powles has also argued that only Canadian missionaries "citizens of a small country, relatively undriven by imperial interest, came with the freedom to accept Japan as it was, in all its rich, contradictory complexity."[29] It is clear, however, that Jerome Davis (1838-1910), the American Board missionary identified with the early days of Dôshisha University in Kyoto, was representative of a general American missionary feeling when, in December 1872, he reported enthusiastically that the list of changes which had taken place recently in Japan were "great and sudden enough to startle the sleep of a Rip Van Winkle."[30] American missionaries were republicans and came from a revolutionary tradition, and wanted political and social change in Japan so long as it benefitted Christianity.

There was little awe and much contempt among American missionaries for traditional Japanese religions. In his exuberant account of his life and adventures during a four-year sojourn in Japan, Edward Warren Clark (1849-1907), an *Oyatoi* teaching in Shizuoka and Tokyo in the early 1870s and a strong and open advocate for Christianity,[31] wrote "the religion we present to them is not a mere myth like Shinto, or a bewildering form of worship like Buddhism, nor yet a callous moral code like Confucianism,"

and added, "it [Christianity] is the very life of the soul; it breathes into men a new being, and warms the heart with a new glow of love to God the Father of all."(32) As well as showing a ringing commitment to Christianity, these remarks reveal a blunt dismissal of Shinto, a befuddlement about the complexities of Buddhism, and a rejection of the harshness of Confucianism that can be taken as typical of missionary views to traditional Japanese religions in the late 1870s. They also reveal that an enlightened Western Christian like Clark did not know very much about Japanese religions.

Unlike Korea or Taiwan where early missionaries such as bishop Mark Napier Trollope (1862-1930), the British Anglican missionary bishop of Korea, James Scarth Gale (1863-1937), the Canadian Presbyterian missionary and historian of he Korean people, and William Campbell (1841-1921), the English Presbyterian missionary in Taiwan, were very much in the forefront of Western scholarship about those societies, there was no comparable American scholar missionary. It is true, of course, American missionaries in Japan faced competitors as interpreters of Japan to Western audiences from the scholar-diplomats like Satow, Aston and Algernon Mitford (1837-1916). Among the sparkling galaxy of those Westerners who came out to Japan in the late nineteenth century to teach or to advise were Chamberlain, James Murdoch, Johann Justus Rein (1835-1918) and Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), and it was such people, rather than missionaries, who supplied the external world with expert knowledge of Japan outside the Christian sphere. In Korea and Taiwan where the same competition from other long-term Western residents was not as pronounced, missionaries came

to take a prominent role in studying the history, culture and society of their mission fields.

It was only at the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan held in Osaka in April 1883 that the first noteworthy discussion led by Marquis Lafayette Gordon (1843-1900), an American Board missionary, of Buddhism as an obstacle to Christian growth, took place. This was followed by a paper dealing with obstacles found in Chinese literature by Hugh Waddell (1840-1901), the Scottish Presbyterian missionary, and another by Daniel Crosby Greene on the topic of modern anti-Christian literature upon missionary work.[33]

While both Hepburn and Brown were officers of the Asiatic Society of Japan, the learned society, Alexander Croft Shaw (1846-1902), George Cochran (1834-1901) and Davidson McDonald (1837-1904), the pioneer Canadian missionaries in Japan were founder members. Indeed, both Cochran and McDonald became councillors of the Society, which underlined the fact that they believed in combining their active missionary life with serious study of Japan. Nevertheless, they and the American missionary members were observers and rarely presented papers. Early in the 1890s, Arthur Lloyd stands out as an example of a British Anglican missionary who made great use of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* to publish his views on Japanese Buddhism.[34] Robert Cornell Armstrong (1876-1929), the Canadian Methodist missionary, was one of the few Canadians who made a presentation to the Society. His short study "Ninomiya Sontoku, the Peasant Sage" appeared in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* in 1910, which

Armstrong later enlarged and published in book-form.(35) Two years later, August Karl Reischauer gave a paper titled "Buddhist Gold Nuggets" to the Society.(36) Edwin Reischauer does point out that his father August Karl Reischauer during his prime was active in Asiatic Society of Japan, and for some years served as one of the Society's three vice-presidents together with Anasaki Masaharu (1873-1949), an internationally famous authority on Japanese Buddhism and religious aesthetics and George Bailey Sansom, the British diplomat-scholar.(37)

During the Taisho and early Showa periods, American and Canadian missionaries would make important contributions to the study of Japanese religions. One of the most prominent among them was August Karl Reischauer who was born in 1871 to a farming family settled in Jonesboro, Union County, Illinois. He came out to Japan in 1905 after graduating from the McCormick Theological College in Chicago. Having decided to offer himself as a foreign missionary, his first choice for a foreign mission field was Brazil but as there was no opening there at the time and there was a teaching position at Meiji Gakuin in Tokyo, he went to Japan.(38) At Meiji Gakuin Reischauer taught theology and Greek in the Seminary and English in other parts of the school. Being an educational missionary, Edwin Reischauer wrote of his father that his role together with Nitobe Inazô and Yasui Tetsu in the creation of Tokyo Woman's Christian College "always gave my father his most gratifying sense of accomplishment."(39) It also gave him in the beautiful campus of Tokyo Joshidai in Nishi Ogikubo, Tokyo, a magnificent art deco style house in Reischauer Kan in which to

live. It was while he was teaching at Meiji Gakuin that Reischauer became interested in Buddhism. He felt there was no point trying to convert Japanese to Christianity unless one understood the religion that they already had.[40] His major tome on Buddhism, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, which he described in his author's preface as "a general, brief survey of the subject," was published in 1917.[41] Edwin Reischauer, by no means an unbiased commentator, wrote that book was "for many years was considered an authoritative source and won him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity at New York University."[42] Through the 1920s and into the 1930s, Reischauer continued to publish works on Buddhism and translations of Japanese treatises on Buddhism.[43]

Reischauer was not the only missionary to write about Buddhism, Robert Cornell Armstrong, the Canadian Methodist missionary, and his fellow Canadian Methodist Harper Havelock Coates (1865-1934), were significant in terms of Confucian and Buddhist studies. Powles has noted about Coates' translation and annotation of the official biography of Hônen that "Coates had been attending lectures at the Imperial University in Tokyo and was chosen as collaborator because of his unusual skill in the language, as well as his interest in Buddhism – The two men [Coates and Ishizuka] – Buddhist priest and Christian minister – spent eleven years of 'painstaking and meticulous work'on translation and commentary, interrupted by the Great Tokyo Earthquake, when it had been feared that the manuscript had been destroyed."[44] However, the work of Sir Charles Eliot (1862-1931) certainly overshadowed the work of Reischauer and Armstrong.[45] Daniel Clarence Holtom stands out

in terms of his studies of Shinto.[46]

Interest remained in modern Japan, Sidney Lewis Gulick (1860-1945), the American Board missionary and sometime professor of theology at Dôshisha in Kyoto, wrote in 1905, *Evolution of the Japanese* which looked at the characteristics of the Japanese. After he returned to the United States in 1913, Sidney Gulick spent the rest of his life promoting greater understanding between the United States and Japan, especially in relation to discrimination against Japanese as seen in 1924 Exclusion Act.[47] Galen Merriam Fisher (1873-1955), a YMCA missionary, wrote *Creative Forces in Japan* in 1923, which looked at Christian progress in Japan and the Christian influence on social movements there.[48] This was very much in keeping with American missionary support for progress and societal change. Like Gulick, Fisher after his return to the United States from Japan in 1921, Fisher worked for the Rockerfeller-funded Institute for Social and Religious Research. He was also active in writing about Japanese affairs in *Christian Century*, a leading national Christian journal, as an adviser to the Institute of Pacific Relations and as Chair of the board of the Pacific School of Religion. While, by 1941, he was critical of Japanese actions in China and South-East Asia, Fisher became an outspoken critic and opponent of the American government's internment policy for Japanese Americans.

John Cooper Robinson in Mid-Japan: Missionaries and the Photographic Image of Japan

Information about Japan available to the pioneer missionaries who arrived in Japan in 1859 was substantial.[49] The emergence of the missionary resident in Japan as a respected and trustworthy interpreter of an authentic Japan began with the reports and articles written by the naval chaplains who were aboard Commodore Matthew C. Perry's squadron when it visited Japan in 1853 and 1854 and by the first American missionaries resident in Japan after 1859. George Jones, the chaplain of Perry's flagship, wrote that he believed there would be no difficulty introducing Christianity into Japan except for the government influence and interference.[50] A glowing view of Japanese was also given as early as September 1856, by the American Consul, Townsend Harris (1804-1878), an active Christian, who wrote "the Japanese appear to me from the little I have seen of them, to be superior to any men, I have seen East of the Cape of Good Hope."[51] Most important was the report by Edward W. Syle (1817-1890), a Protestant Episcopal missionary then working in China who took advantage of the port call of USS *Powhatan* to visit Nagasaki in September 1858, described Nagasaki, the surrounding countrywide, and the Japanese in glowing terms and compared the Japanese very favourably to the Chinese.[52] These positive first impressions were important, and it was significant for the future of American-Japanese relations that Syle landed at Nagasaki. Later, for instance, missionary first

impressions of Osaka when it was opened as a treaty port in the late 1860s were much less positive: Osaka, when approached from the sea did not offer the verdant greenery and fiordlike features of Nagasaki, but, rather, gave off the dismal impression of dank tidal flats and low dingy buildings. From the beginning, then, Japan because of the scenic beauty of Nagasaki, the Inland Sea and sea approach into Tokyo Bay was viewed in an affirmative light and the Japanese, according to Syle, were "in regards to *naturalness* of manners, intelligence, readiness to learn, neatness, cleanliness, and quiet," superior to the Chinese.(53) It was this positive image of Japan and Japanese that missionaries sent back to their supporters in North America.

This missionary image of Japan was reinforced through photography. The first photographer of Japan was Eliphalet Brown Jr., who was the official photographer attached to Commodore Perry's squadron in 1853. In 1859 Duane B. Simmons (1832-1889), the Dutch Reformed medical missionary, arrived in Kanagawa with photographic equipment with him provided by the Dutch Reformed Church. So did S.R. Brown who was given his equipment and chemicals as a present from the Dutch Reformed churches at Owasco Outlet, Syracuse, Utica, Farmer and Ithaca. Simmons is reputed to have taken the famous photography of the Jôbutsuji temple where Brown and Hepburn lived.(54) Francis Hall (1822-1902) also possessed a camera and is also reputed to have taken a picture of Jôbutsuji with Japanese believed to be Sentarô, the famous Japanese castaway, in the foreground. Yet Simmons was not the only one who took photographs for Brown also did. His

daughter Julia Maria Brown Lowder (1840-1919), who served for a time as an assistant to John Wilson, one of the earliest commercial photographers in Yokohama, is recognized as the first female photographer in Japan. Thomas Gulick (1832-1923), a scion of the famous American Board missionary family in Hawaii, who stayed with the Browns in Kanagawa in 1862 on his way to China was also an amateur photographer.[55]

Gulick brought with him from San Francisco a stereopticon camera and some photographic chemicals. As he had no income while in Japan, Gulick saw tutoring Brown's children and photography as a way to earn his keep and make some money. As the American Civil War crimped Brown's income from the Dutch Reformed Missionary Society, he, like Gulick, also saw the possibility of earning money from photography. It was Gulick who taught Brown and his daughter Julia how to use the chemicals needed to develop properly photographs. Gulick's first portrait in Japan was of Frederic Lowder who became Julia's husband.[56] Both Gulick and Brown took some of the early photographs of Edo (later Tokyo) in the neighbourhood of the Zôjôji temple in Shiba, Tokyo in 1862. When Gulick left Japan in early 1863, he sold his camera equipment to Shimooka Renjo (1823-1914) who was one of the first Japanese to establish a commercial photography business in Yokohama.[57] As he had done with the Browns, Gulick helped Shimooka to learn how to develop photographs. Possibly Gulick and Brown might also have helped Shimooka by suggesting what types of portraits, buildings and scenes might appeal to American visitors and residents in Yokohama. Unfortunately, very few of Brown's own photographs have survived, some being lost in

passage to the United States during the American Civil War and others, undoubtedly, destroyed in Brown's Yokohama house fire in 1867. What is important is that the Browns and Gulick were among the early photographers in Japan and they helped, at least, one Japanese who became an important photographer. In doing so, they were helping to influence the photographic image of Japan that was being captured in the early 1860s.

It was some twenty-one years after the destruction of Brown's Yokohama house that John Cooper Robinson and his wife arrived in Japan. A new era in missionary photography was about to begin. Robinson had born in Blenheim in the south-western Ontario municipality of Chatham-Kent in 1859. Becoming a bank clerk after leaving school, he changed career to become an Anglican clergyman and a missionary in Japan. A graduate of Wycliffe College, University of Toronto, Robinson initially supported by his fellow students (the Wycliffe Missionary Society) became in 1888 the first Canadian Anglican missionary to come out to Japan under Canadian Anglican auspices.(58) Most of his missionary career was spent in Nagoya and the surrounding region except for a short period in Hiroshima. He wrote one book, *The Island Empire of the East*, which was published in 1912.(59) This was largely a history of the work of the Canadian Anglican mission in Japan from 1888 up to the time that the new Canadian diocese of Mid-Japan within the Nippon Seikôkai was created in 1911. As a book, *The Island Empire of the East*, was as accurate as any of its type and contains a good deal of detail not to be found in other histories.

Yet it is not his writings or even his pastoral work as a

missionary that is striking about Robinson, it is his massive collection of photographs, over 3000 of them, taken between 1888 and 1926 that sets him apart. These photographs now housed in the library of the University of British Columbia in Vancouver reveal much about missionary attitudes toward Japanese people, culture, religions and scenery.(60) The collection has been described by Marius Jansen (1922-2000), the Princeton University Japan specialist, as having laid "to rest many of the questions East Asian scholars have debated for years."(61) Such a large group of photographs contains a vast store of ethnographical, anthropological and missiological information about changing Japan fifty years on from the photographs of Brown and Gulick. The collection consists of photographs, prints, negatives, glass plates and postcards of Japan and Canada as well as of Britain, Korea, China, the Middle East and India which were taken during visits while on furlough from Japan.(62) Robinson built and customized his own cameras, managed colour, indoor and night photography and even early on did all his own developing. The value of this collection lies in its candid nature. Robinson travelled widely throughout Japan over nearly forty years and recorded much of what he saw from scenes of traditional living where seemingly everything necessary to support life was cleverly derived from rice to modern images of oil derricks from a time when Japan was attempting to become energy self-sufficient. Japan was in a flux of identity as it tried to draw on the lessons of modernity best suited for its needs. This was illustrated by one photograph of three men on a dock each wearing different hats either German, English or traditional. It is in his pictures of ordinary people and

ordinary places in provincial Japan – a different Japan from urban modernizing Tokyo or Yokohama familiar to Westerners – that Robinson was often at his best. This is captured, for instance, in a picture of a woman gold mine labourer by a narrow gauge ore truck on Sado Island; in a pair of men carrying loads of wood on an isolated gravel road near the infamous Ashio Copper Mine in September 1922; a hotel maid dusting in 1923; and a picture of Ei, a young nursemaid carrying Robinson's baby daughter, Lucy, on her back and taken in the early 1890s. Then there are the pictures of the countryside and mountains including spectacular photographs taken from the top of Mount Ontake in 1920.

In his photography, Robinson was revealing a trait common to many of his Anglican missionary contemporaries, which was a preference for what Walter Weston (1860-1940), British Anglican missionary and mountaineer, described as "uncivilized (i.e. un-Europeanized) Japan"[63] rather than modern urban industrialized cities and their Europeanized inhabitants of the coastal plains. It was his good fortune, of course, that he lived and worked in provincial Japan, which was not as well-known to Westerners than the coastal treaty ports. Yet, his photographs also show that even in changing Japan some things remain constant: the beauty of the Japan Alps and rural Japan and the importance of family. It is that positive image of Japan that Robinson brought back to audiences in Canada when he returned home on furlough from provincial Japan and undertook deputation work throughout Canada. Certainly, the need for illustrations to liven his presentations to church audiences in Canada does provide one explanation for why Robinson took

photographs. Yet, the fact that he made so many and kept the negatives and plates does show that he not only enjoyed taking pictures but also felt that his photographs also had artistic merit or lasting value and needed to be kept. This visual legacy of Canadian Anglican missionary work in Japan still remains to be fully exploited for what it can tell us about Meiji-Taishô Japan.

Missionaries often did not have to wait their return to North America to pass on their views about Japan to other foreigners. American and Canadian missionaries were an American or Canadian presence in metropolitan and provincial Japan. Many Westerners either visiting Japan from China or new to Japan would seek out the Hepburns or the Browns in Kanagawa or in Yokohama to help them start their first baby steps toward understanding what was Japan. They served as a form of cultural bridge across the Pacific. It is clear from Hepburn's letters that many American visitors to Yokohama in the 1860s armed with letters of introduction called at his home, and there never appeared to be a shortage of guests at their dinner table. Sixty years later, when he was a newcomer to Japan, George Cyril Allen (1900-1982), a British academic economist, stayed with Robinson when he first arrived in Nagoya in 1922. A seasoned missionary like Robinson could provide valuable initial assistance and advice by functioning as a cultural bridge between Japan and the Western world that the newcomer to Japan had just come from.(64)

Conclusions: The Legacy of the Missionary Movement on Japanese Studies in North America

This paper has investigated the American and Canadian missionary contribution to Japanese studies in pre-War Japan. In focussing on James Curtis Hepburn, it has underlined the crucial importance of his dictionary and also his translation efforts to the successful translation of the Bible into Japanese. While Hepburn was an outstanding missionary figure in the translation process, it has to be stressed is the monumental achievement that was completion of the translation of both the New and Old Testaments was built on the accumulated result of effort and work of many different individuals and translation committees. Knowledge of Chinese language, which Hepburn regarded as helpful when he and Brown began their first translations became less so when missionaries who learnt Japanese without the benefit of previous knowledge of Chinese proved themselves to be competent translators. What also should be acknowledged as vital to Hepburn's success as a lexicographer was his ability to find talented and competent Japanese assistants. The same, of course, was true of the work that was undertaken by the two interdenominational committees to translate the New and Old Testaments for without the aid of brilliant Japanese helpers those tasks would have been that much more difficult.

August Karl Reischauer arrived as an educational missionary in Japan some forty-six years after Hepburn. As has been seen,

some early American missionaries like Orramel Gulick or Jerome Davis in the 1870s had been advocates of political change in Japan so long as it benefitted Christianity and were contemptuous of Japanese religions. Reischauer represented a different outlook for he was much more open in his attitudes to Buddhism. There was a clear Christian evangelistic intent in his desire to learn about Buddhism for, as has been mentioned, Reischauer believed there was no point trying to convert Japanese to Christianity unless one understood the religion that they already had. As the examples of Armstrong and Coates attest Reischauer's view was shared by others of his missionary generation. The fact that both Armstrong and Reischauer gave lectures at the Asiatic Society of Japan, and in Reischauer's case became one of its vice-presidents does show that their ideas were acceptable to other scholars of Japan. Yet, it remains fair to say, the writings of Sir Charles Eliot, whose study of Japanese Buddhism was free of any underlying Christian motivation, overshadowed their work on Japanese Buddhism. In their studies of Japan, both Fisher and Sydney Gulick took advantage of new social science approaches to look at the evolution of Japanese society. Holtom is important for his investigation of national Shintô, not the least because of its emphasis on the significance of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo as second only in importance to Ise. The death of Karl Robert Reischauer (1907-1937), August Karl Reischauer's eldest son, in Shanghai during an air raid in 1937 served as a harbinger of war and change that would soon overwhelm the American and Canadian missionary endeavours in Japan.

It took the hostilities of the Pacific War to bring missionary

scholarship back to North America and begin serious Japanese studies in the United States and Canada. When the Canadian government established S-20, a Japanese language programme for army intelligence in Vancouver, it turned to Arthur P. McKenzie (d. 1960), a second- generation missionary teacher to head the school. McKenzie had served and been decorated during the First World War had been on the staff of the Kwansei Gakuin since 1932 and specialized in teaching language. After the War, McKenzie returned to the Kwansei Gakuin and in 1952 moved to the International Christian University at Mitaka outside Tokyo where he pioneered in the linguistic approaches to language training for which that institution has become famous, and where many American and Canadians who would later on specialize in Japanese studies studied Japanese language.(65) Among those who taught at S-20 under McKenzie was another second generation missionary, William Howard Heal Norman (1905-1987) who also taught at the Kwansei Gakuin as well as serving in pastoral charges both before and after the War. While Howard Norman spent his working life as a missionary in Japan, he did make translations during the Allied Occupation of Akutagawa Ryunosuke (1892-1927), a novelist who was untainted by any connection to Japanese ultra-nationalism.(66) In this Norman was following lead of the American missionary, Glenn W. Shaw (b. 1886, died in the Korean War) who had made a translation of Akutagawa in 1930.(67) Howard Norman was also one of the first scholars to write articles in English about Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930), the founder of Non-Church Christianity.

Other mish-kids played an enormous role in the expansion of Japanese studies in the United States from late 1940s onwards into the 2000s, and were responsible for the training of many of the next generation of Japanese Studies specialists. Among them were and are, for example, Edwin O. Reischauer (1910-1990, Harvard), John Whitney Hall (1916-1997, Michigan and Yale), Donald Shively (1921-2005, Berkeley), Otis Cary (1922-2006, Amherst and Dôshisha), Roger Hackett (1922-2017, Michigan), Fred G. Notehelfer (b. 1939, UCLA) and among the younger generation, Mark R. Mullins (Sophia and Auckland). In Canada, there are the examples of Egerton Herbert Norman (1909-1957, diplomat), Carlo Caldarola (Alberta) and Cyril Hamilton Powles (Rikkyô, Trinity College, University of Toronto). Some Canadian mish-kids after military service as translators and intelligence officers in the Canadian Army during Second World War, had outstanding academic careers outside of Japanese Studies like David Woodsworth (1918-2010, McGill), a pre-eminent social policy thinker of his time, and J. Ross Mackay (1915-2014, UBC and Taiwan born), a geographer of the Canadian Arctic. In most cases, both in the United States and Canada, these mish-kids, born and brought up in Japan, were of military age during the Second World War and were recruited and linguistically trained as translators and intelligence officers in the American or Canadian militaries. On demobilization, the educational opportunities open to ex-servicemen allowed them to go to university and to graduate in time to take advantage of the enormous expansion of American and Canadian universities beginning in the late 1950s and continuing through the 1960s, which included a demand for university-trained Japan

studies specialists.

American and Canadian missionaries and their missionary children made a vitally important contribution to the development of Japanese studies in North America. It is one of the great legacies of the American and Canadian missionary endeavour to Japan, and underlines the fact that missionary movement was as important, if not more so, to the sending country as it was to the receiving country.

Endnotes

（1） Andrew Hamish Ion, "American Missionaries and the Writing of Meiji Christian History," *Meiji Gakuin Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo Kiyo,* volume 34, December 2001, pp. 83-119; Hamish Ion, "British missionaries and Japanese Studies in Pre-war Japan," in Hugh Cortazzi and Peter Kornicki, eds., *Japanese Studies in Britain: A Survey and History* (Folkestone, Kent: Renaissance Books, 2016), 41-51.

（2） Cyril H. Powles, "The Missionary Background of Japan Studies in Canada," in The Japan Foundation, *Japan Studies in Canada: 1987* (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation 1988), 65-75, 55. See also Cyril Hamilton Powles, *Victorian Missionaries in Meiji Japan: The Shiba Sect, 1873-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto-York University Center on Modern East Asia, 1987), 47.

（3） John Cooper Robinson Collection. Fonds RBSC-ARC-1757, University of British Columbia Library Rare Book and Special Collections, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

（4） Powles, "The Missionary Background of Japanese Studies in Canada," 71.

（5） Andrew N. Nelson and John Haig, *The New Nelson Japanese-English Character Dictionary* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 1997).

（6） It was the Leiden University secular academic, Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805-1878) who made the most significant lexicographical contributions together with Hepburn in the nineteenth century and Andrew Nathaniel Nelson (1893-1975), the American Seventh Day Adventist missionary in the twentieth century. See Andrew Nathaniel Nelson, *The Modern Reader's Japanese*-English *Character Dictionary* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962). See also James Curtis Hepburn, *A Japanese and English Dictionary, with an English and Japanese Index* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867). Hoffmann published a grammar in Dutch and English in 1867 and a dictionary in 1875, see Cynthia Vialle, "Japanese Studies in the Netherlands", in Nanyan Guo, ed., *Japanese Studies Around the World 2013: New Trends in Japanese Studies* (Kyoto: International Center for Japanese Studies, 2013), 117-126. In early 1870 Christopher Carrothers, a new Presbyterian missionary, thought that Hoffmann's grammar was the best assistant for the written language, and that Brown's Grammar and Hepburn's Dictionary were more adapted to the Colloquial. See Carrothers to Lowrie, 17 February 1870, Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions Japan (microfilm) hereafter cited PCBFMJ, reel 104.

（7） See Bernardin Schneider, OFM, 'Bible Translations' in Mark R. Mullins, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 205-226, especially pp. 205-06.

（8） For a standard Japanese account of the effort to translate the Bible into Japan, see Ebisawa Arimichi, *Nihon no Seisho: Seisho wayaku no rekishi (The Bible of Japan: A History of the Japanese Translation of*

the Bible) (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Shuppan Kyoku, 2005 edition). For Gützlaff, 107-108.

(9) See Hamish Ion, "James Curtis Hepburn and the Translation of the New Testament into Japanese: A Case Study of the Impact of China on Missions beyond Its Borders," in *Social Sciences and Missions [Brill, Leiden]*, volume 27 (2014), 56-85, 25-54.

(10) See Mochizuki Yôko, *Hebon no shôgai to Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shinchô Sensho, 1987), 122.

(11) See Hepburn to Lowrie, 5 June 1845, Meiji Gakuin Collection, hereafter cited as MGC, China Letters.

(12) F. Calvin Parker, *Jonathan Goble of Japan: Marine, Missionary Maverick* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 109.

(13) William Elliot Griffis Collection (microfilm), Correspondence A-B, reel 27, Brown to Bartlett, 4 April 1860. Samuel Robbins Brown, *A Colloquial Japanese or Conversational Sentences and Dialogues in English and Japanese* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission, 1863). This book had its basis in a Chinese book of idioms and English sentences that Brown had in 1841 assisted James Legge at the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca in putting into colloquial Cantonese. Brown pointed out that the finished product would not only be a collection of sentences such as are in common use but also a vocabulary in English and Japanese of all the words it contained. John Liggins (1829-1912), the Protestant Episcopal missionary who arrived in Nagasaki in 1859 published in Shanghai in 1860 *Familiar Phrases in English and Romanized Japanese*.

(14) See J. E. Hoare, "British Consular and Military Officers in Japan before 1941," in Cortazzi and Kornicki, ed., *Japanese Studies in Britain*,

52-69, 54.

(15) Brown to Peltz, 31 December 1860. MGC, Brown Letters 1859–1880.

(16) Ibid..

(17) Hamish Ion, "British Bible Societies and the translation of the Bible into Japanese in the 19th Century," in Sir Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: Bibliographical Portraits, vol. 1X* (Leiden: Global Oriental/ Brill, 2014), 185-196.

(18) For Greene, see *NKRD*, 466; for Maclay, see 1313, for Nathan Brown, see 1230; for Wright, see 1482.

(19) Brown had disagreed with the Translation Committee over the use of terms especially relating to baptism. He had completed his own translation by 1879. See Ebisawa, 286-294. His Baptist colleague, Jonathan Goble (1827-1896) had as early as 1871 begun to publish parts of the New Testament, see *NKRD*, 536-537.

(20) Hepburn to Lowrie, 17 April 1861, PCBFMJ, reel 104.

(21) For Matsuyama, see *NKRD*, 1333, and Takahashi, 827. See Ebisawa, Nihon no Seisho, 212-220.

(22) For Ibuka, see *NKRD*, p. 130, for Uemura, see *NKRD*, p. 165. See also Ebisawa, pp. 274-277.

(23) Orramel H. Gulick to Worcester, 31 July 1871 in American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Japan Mission hereafter cited ABCJM (microfilm), reel 331.

(24) Gulick to Luther Halsey Gulick, 8 September 1871, ABCJM, reel 331.

(25) See John F. Howes, "Japanese Christians and American Missionaries," in Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965), 337–368, especially, 340–2. Howes further expanded his ideas in

John F. Howes, "Japanese Protestant Stereotypes and the Role of the Missionary," in *Japan Christian Quarterly*, vol. XXXIII, 3 (Summer 1962), 151–160. See also Dohi Akio, *Nihon Purotesutanto Kirisutokyo Shi* (Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1982), 30–33. The importance of the religious influences in New England in early Congregationalist missionary work in Japan is underlined in the biography of D. C. Greene, see Evarts B. Greene, *A New-Englander in Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927). See also Shigeru Yoshiki, *Meiji Shoki Kobe Dendô to D. C. Gurin* (Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1986), especially, 1–27.

(26) F. G. Notehelfer, *American Samurai: Captain L. L. Janes and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 271.

(27) Koshiro Yukiko, "Introduction—Bridging an Ocean: American Missionaries and Asian Converts Reexamined," in *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, vol. 6, nos. 3-4, (1996), 217-226, 218.

(28) See Cyril Hamilton Powles, "Foreign Missionaries and Japanese Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century: Four Patterns," *The Northeast Asia Journal of Theology* (1969), 14–28.

(29) Powles, "The Missionary Background to Japanese Studies in Canada," 71.

(30) Davis to Clark, 23 December 1872, ABCJM, reel 329.

(31) See A. H. Ion, "Edward Warren Clark and Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of Cultural Contact," *Modern Asian Studies,* Volume 11, no. 4, 1977.

(32) Edward Warren Clark, *Life and Adventures in Japan* (London: James Nisbet. 1878), 223.

(33) See Hugh Waddell, "The Influence of Chinese Literature as an

Obstacle to the Reception of Christianity in Japan," in *Proceedings of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan, held at Osaka, Japan, April 1883* (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn & Co, 1883), 106-117; Marquis Lafayette Gordon, "The Religious Influence of Buddhism as an Obstacle to the Reception of the Gospel in Japan," in *Proceedings of the Osaka Conference*, 90-105; Daniel Crosby Greene, "The Influence of Modern Anti-Christian Literature upon the Missionary Work in Japan," in *Proceedings of the Osaka Conference*, 118-135.

(34) See Hamish Ion, "Arthur Lloyd (1852-1911) and Japan: Dancing with Amida," in Sir Hugh Cortazzi, compiler and editor, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume 7* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2010), 402-419.

(35) See *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Volume XXXVIII, 1910, 1-21. See also Robert Cornell Armstrong, *Just Before the Dawn* (New York: Macmillan, 1912); Robert Cornell Armstrong, *Light From the East* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1914).

(36) See *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Volume XL, 1912, 1-44.

(37) Edwin O. Reischauer, *My Life Between Japan and America* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1986), 19.

(38) Ibid., 13.

(39) Ibid., 20.

(40) Ibid., 19.

(41) August Karl Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), xi.

(42) Reischauer, *My Life Between Japan and America*, 19.

(43) Among these were August Karl Reischauer and R. Nishimoto, *A*

Catechism of the Shin Sect (Buddhism) (Honolulu: Pub. Bureau of the Hongwanji Mission, 1921); August Karl Reischauer, *Christianity and northern Buddhism* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1920); August Karl Reischauer, translator, *Genshin's Ojo Yoshi: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise* (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1931).

(44) Powles, "The Missionary Background to Japan Studies in Canada, '69.

(45) Robert Cornell Armstrong, *Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1927 edition); Harper Havelock Coates and Ryugaku Ishizuka, *Hônen, the Buddhist Saint: His Life and Teaching* (Kyoto: Chionin, 1925); Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London: E. Arnold and Company, 1935).

(46) D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto* (London: Routledge, 2012, originally published in 1938).

(47) Sidney Lewis Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese: A Study of Their Charcteristics in Relation to the Principles of Social and Psychic Development* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1905). For a biographical study of Gulick, see Sandra C. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding: Sidney Gulick and the Search for Peace with Japan* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1984).

(48) Galen Merriam Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan* (New York: The Missionary Education Movement, 1923).

(49) See Ion, *American Missionaries*, 20.

(50) Ibid., 21.

(51) U. S. State Department. Despatches U S Ministers Japan, microfilm roll 1. No. 15 Harris to Marcy, September 3 1856.

(52) Ibid., 22.

(53) Ibid., 22.

(54) For reference to Dr. Simmon's photography and the famous picture of the Jôbutsuji temple see *Japan Through American Eyes*, Hall's diary entry Thursday, 3 May 1860, 102; see also footnote 34, 184, and picture, 103.

(55) See Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912* (North Clarendon, Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2006).

(56) Terry Bennett, "John Thomas Gulick (1832-1923) Pioneer Photographer in Japan," *Trans Asia Photography Review*, vol. 1, issue 2, Spring 2011, accessed at http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0001.203.

(57) Terry Bennett and Rob Oechsle, "Shimooka Renjo and the Mystery G.A.B. Stereoview Series," at www.oldasiaphotography.com/pdf/researches/article-shimooka-renjo.pdf

(58) For a survey of the Canadian Anglican missionary work in Japan, see A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990).

(59) J. Cooper Robinson, *The Island Empire of the East: Being a Short History of Japan and Missionary Work therein with special reference to the Mission of the M.S. C. C.* (Toronto: The Prayer and Study Union of he Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1912).

(60) Some indication of the collection can be garnered from the small selection of photographs in a short explanation of the collection. Jill Cooper Robinson, *John Cooper Robinson: Photographs from Meiji-Taisho Japan* (privately printed, 2012).

(61) Quoted in "From Wycliffe to Japan: John Cooper Robinson," Wycliffe

College (University of Toronto), *Insight* (Winter 2012). See also Benjamin Bryce, "J. Cooper Robinson: A Canadian Missionary and Photographer in Japan 1888-1925," accessible at meijiat150dtr.arts.ubc.ca/essays/bryce.

(62) Robinson was widely travelled. He was on furlough in Canada in 1894, 1902, and 1911. He was resident in Canada for the duration of the First World War 1914-1918 during which time his wife died in 1915. In 1894 Robinson did deputation work across Canada, and in 1902 he toured the United States as well as Canada doing deputation work. In 1912 returning to Japan, he toured Europe and China. In 1925 he returned to Canada from Nagoya via India and the Middle East. He died in Canada in 1926 en route to Ontario. He served in Nagoya, 1888-1894, 1895-1902, 1919-1925; Hiroshima, 1906-1911; Niigata, 1912-1914.

(63) Walter Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London: John Murray, 1896), 237.

(64) G.C. Allen, *Appointment with Japan: Memories of Sixty Years* (London: Athlone Press, 1983), 10.

(65) Powles, "The Missionary Background of Japan Studies in Canada," 70.

(66) See Akutagawa Ryunosuke, *Hell Screen* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1948).

(67) Glenn W. Shaw translator, Akutagawa Ryunosuke, *Tales Grotesque and Curious* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1930).