

PART III

STATISTICAL TRENDS

1919—1959

(Note: Page references are to Vol. II No. 4.)

Introduction

Having examined religious statistics for 1959, we now turn our attention to some trends of the past four decades, that is, from 1919 to 1959.

Normally a survey of this sort would be for a half-century, and such a period would be especially appropriate because it would cover approximately the years since the end of the Meiji era (1912). However, in this study we must limit our review to the period for which most of the data needed is readily available and concerning which there is some firsthand knowledge.

Quite apart from the question of convenience, however, there are sound reasons for choosing these four decades. The first half of the period (1919—1939) covered a decade of relative tranquility, which was followed by one of severe and increasing tensions that culminated in the regimentation of religion under the Religious Organizations Law of 1939.

The second half followed a reverse pattern: a decade of tension and confusion followed by one of relative calm. During the first decade, in view of the conditions then prevailing, growth was generally normal. In the second, there was a gradual slowing down as the international situation became more serious, and government control was tightened.

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In the first half of the third decade (1940—1945) there was very serious personnel dislocation and religious stagnation as the people concentrated all their energy on the war effort. From 1946 to 1949 this dislocation became accentuated as a result of the destruction caused by air raids and the confusion was compounded by the sudden establishment of complete religious freedom for which neither religious leaders nor government officials were adequately prepared.

The last decade (1949—1959) could hardly be described from any point of view as one of tranquility, but at least it was one of freedom, during which the religious world was able to achieve considerable stability and in some respects remarkable growth.

Problems and Limitations

In making this review of trends a number of problems have arisen to which the attention of the reader must be directed. In the first place, although much was said in the introduction about the doubtful reliability of religious statistics in general, this point must be emphasized here, because it has been necessary to use data from various sources that were prepared by different people under dissimilar circumstances. Moreover, it has not been possible to establish either the reliability of the data nor to determine with any degree of certainty whether the categories used are, in fact, comparable. The juxtaposition of certain figures, therefore, does not necessarily imply that a comparison is intended.

This statement applies to some extent to each of the categories of the major religious groups. However, whenever

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possible some evaluation has been given to the data as it is presented. To really understand the actual situation a very careful survey of one or two somewhat typical sects would be very helpful.

In the second place, since this is only a brief survey, no attempt has been made to do more than comment on a few relevant historical matters. Detailed comment in one area would necessitate the same treatment throughout and thus lengthen the study beyond prescribed limits.

In the third place, it has not been possible to get all the sources needed. In some cases it has been necessary to use data for different years. Consequently, there is some variation in the periods covered.

In the fourth place, where the situation is not fully understood, and, therefore, cannot be explained, the available data has been given in the hope that it may be of use to someone who may be able to make a thorough study of the subject.

Sources

In order to eliminate the necessity for detailed footnotes to document the data, a list of the sources is given at the end of this study with an explanation as to what specific data has been taken from each source.

BUDDHISM

The most significant developments for Buddhism from a statistical point of view, were (1) the large number of mergers under the Religious Organizations Law (1939), (2) the large

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number of secessions which followed the abrogation of that Law and the removal of government control in 1945, and (3) the phenomenal development of new movements other than secessions, within the Buddhist tradition.

Sectarian Divisions

From 1919 to 1939 there were very few changes in the sectarian systems, and the net result of what took place was a reduction in the number of sects from fifty-eight to fifty-six. In 1940 government pressure began to be exerted until the total was reduced to twenty-eight. Then from 1945 the number suddenly rose under the Religious Corporations Ordinance until in 1951 it reached 260, after which, under the Religious Juridical Persons Law of 1951, it decreased until in 1959 there were 170. (*See* pp. 52, 54)

These changes did not affect all thirteen schools of Buddhism alike. In fact, only five of the thirteen experienced any mergers at all under the Religious Organizations Law and even three sects in these five schools were not affected. In other words, between 1940 and 1943 twenty-one of the fifty-six officially recognized Buddhist sects were successful in resisting government pressure to merge. Thirty-five were not successful. Consequently they were reduced to seven.

The five schools in which mergers did take place were: Jōdo, Nichiren, Rinzai, Shingon, and Tendai; and it was precisely these schools that were most seriously affected later by the wave of secessions. (In the five schools that were affected by mergers, the three sects that did not merge were: Jōdo-shū, Shingon Ritsu-shū, and Rinzai-shū Kokutaiji-ha.) How-

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ever, the merger of the thirteen Rinzai sects of Zen Buddhism was hardly more than nominal.

In 1959 there were *eleven* instead of four Jōdo sects, *forty* instead of nine Nichiren sects, *eighteen* instead of fourteen Rinzai sects, *forty-nine* instead of nine Shingon sects, and *twenty* instead of three Tendai sects. Thus, the postwar increase in sects was primarily in Nichiren, Shingon, and Tendai Buddhism, the first two accounting for nearly eighty percent of total number.

In the nine schools that were unaffected by wartime mergers, the total number of new sects in the postwar period was only thirteen. (Two postwar Buddhist sects, Fukuden Kai and Gedatsu Kō, appear to have no historical relation with any of the traditional schools.)

Whether this tells the whole story in regard to secessions in Buddhism is a difficult question. For example, it is frequently said that, because a number of temples seceded and became incorporated on a prefectural level, the seriousness of Buddhist secessions does not appear in the statistics. But the number of such temples does not seem to be as large as has been supposed.

According to the Ministry of Education's 1961 *Religions Year Book*, 1,199 temples having some 4,700 religious workers and 3,702,000 adherents were incorporated on a prefectural level. (Cf. tables VIII and IX; See footnote p. 60) Percentage-wise this is not large, although it could be significant, or even disastrous, if the temples concerned were financially or otherwise very strong, Shōtoku-shū, which has the Asakusa Kannon

TABLE XX
Changes in Buddhist Sectarian Divisions

1919	1943	1959
JI		
Ji-shū	Ji-shū	Ji-shū
JŌDO		
Jōdo-shū	Jōdo-shū	Jōdo-shū and 3 new sects
Jōdo-shū Seizan Fukakusa-ha	Jōdo Seizan-ha	Jōdo-shū Seizan Fukakusa-ha
Jōdo-shū Seizan Kōmyōji-ha		and 3 new sects
Jōdo-shū Seizan Zenrinji-ha		Seizan Jōdo-shū
		Jōdo-shū Seizan Zenrinji-ha
		Jōdo-shū Seizan Mandaraji-ha
JŌDO SHIN		
Shin-shū Bukkōji-ha	Shin-shū Bukkōji-ha	Shin-shū Bukkōji-ha and 1 new sect
Shin-shū Honganji-ha	Shin-shū Honganji-ha	Jōdo-Shin-shū Honganji-ha and 1 new sect
Shin-shū Izumoji-ha	Shin-shū Izumoji-ha	Shin-shū Izumoji-ha
Shin-shū Jōshōji-ha	Shin-shū Jōshōji-ha	Shin-shū Jōshōji-ha
Shin-shū Kibe-ha	Shin-shū Kibe-ha	Shin-shū Kibe-ha
Shin-shū Kōshō-ha	Shin-shū Kōshō-ha	Shin-shū Kōshō-ha and 1 new sect
Shin-shū Ōtani-ha	Shin-shū Ōtani-ha	Shin-shū Ōtani-ha and 3 new sects
Shin-shū Sanmonto-ha	Shin-shū Sanmonto-ha	Shin-shū Sanmonto-ha
Shin-shū Takada-ha	Shin-shū Takada-ha	Shin-shū Takada-ha and 1 new sect
Shin-shū Yamamoto-ha	Shin-shū Yamamoto-ha	Shin-shū Yamamoto-ha

NARA

Hossō-shū	Hossō-shū
Kegon-shū	Kegon-shū
Ritsu-shū	Ritsu-shū

NICHIREN

Hokke-shū	}	Hokke-shū
Honmon Hokke-shū		
Honmyō Hokke-shū		
Nichiren Shō-shū		Nichiren Shō-shū
Honmon-shū	}	Nichiren-shū
Kenpon Hokke-shū		
Nichiren-shū		
Nichiren-shū Fujufuse-ha	}	Honge Shō-shū
Nichiren-shū Fujufuse Kōmon-ha		

Hossō-shū and 3 new sects

Kegon-shū

Ritsu-shū

{ Hokke-shū Jinmon-ryū
{ Hokke-shū Honmon-ryū and 7 new sects
{ Hokke-shū Shinmon-ryū

{ Nichiren Shō-shū

{ Sōka Gakkai

{ Nichiren Hon-shū
{ Kenpon Hokke-shū
{ Nichiren-shū and 13 new sects

{ Nichiren-shū Fujufuse-ha and 1 new sect

{ Nichiren Kōmon-shū

Reiyū-kai Kyōdan and 8 other sects

Table XX Changes in Buddhist Sectarian Divisions—Continued

1919

1943

1959

SHINGON

Shingi Shingon-shū Buzan-ha
 Shingi Shingon-shū Chisan-ha
 Shingon-shū Daigo-ha
 Shingon-shū Daikakuji-ha
 Shingon-shū Kōya-ha
 Shingon-shū Omuro-ha
 Shingon-shū Ono-ha
 Shingon-syū Sennyuji-ha
 Shingon-shū Tōji-ha
 Shingon-shū Yamashina-ha
 Shingon Ritsu-shū (Risshū)

Shingon-shū

Same as 1919, except that
 Ono-ha changed its name to
 Shingon-shū and Shingon-shū
 Kōya-ha to Kōyasan Shingon-
 shū, and 38 new sects.

Shingon Ritsu-shū (Risshū) Shingon Ritsu-shū (Risshū)

TENDAI

Tendai-shū
 Tendai-shū Jimon-ha
 Tendai-shū Shinzei-ha

Tendai-shū

Tendai-shū and 11 new sects
 Tendai Jimon-shū and 5 new sects
 Tendai Shinzei-shū and 1 new sect

YŪZŪ NENBUTSU

Yūzū Nenbutsu-shū

Yūzū Nenbutsu-shū

Yūzū Nenbutsu-shū

ZEN

Ōbaku-shū

Ōbaku-shū

Ōbaku-shū

RINZAI

Butsūji-ha
 Daitokuji-ha
 Eigenji-ha
 Engakuji-ha
 Iōkōji-ha
 Kenchōji-ha
 Ken'ninji-ha
 Kōgakuji-ha
 Myōshinji-ha
 Nanzenji-ha
 Sōkokuji-ha
 Tenryūji-ha
 Tōfukuji-ha
 Kokutaiji-ha

Rinzai-shū

Same as 1919 and 3 new sects

Rinzai-shū Kokutaiji-ha

Rinzai-shū Kokutaiji-ha and 1 new sect

SŌTŌ

Sōtō-shū

Sōtō-shū

Sōtō-shū and 3 new sects

UNCLASSIFIED

Fukuden Kai
 Gedatsu Kō

58 Sects

28 Sects

170 Sects

(Sensōji) in Tokyo as its head temple, is a case in point. Formerly this temple was affiliated with the Tendai Sect, and its loss must have been a severe blow.

Will the present situation with its many small sects continue indefinitely? Perhaps so. It is still too early to predict what may happen as the situation becomes more settled and the uniqueness of independence has worn off.

In the late forties, at the height of the rash of secessions, it was thought that, once the assertion of independence on the part of many priests and leaders had run its course, the sense of isolation would cause many to reconsider their actions and either resume their former affiliations or establish new ones. Moreover, it was believed that with the passage of time, as both temple and sectarian leadership changed, many temples might resume their prewar affiliations.

Whether this will occur generally is not known, but there are some indications that it may. In recent years four small Jōdo Seizan sects were dissolved as legal bodies and merged with their former head temple. (*See* footnote on p. 69.) Moreover, in 1961 the Jōdo sect, of which Zōjōji in Tokyo was the head temple, and the Jōdo Honpa Sect, of which Chion'in in Kyoto was the head temple, resolved their differences and instituted legal procedures for reunion. These may, or may not, be straws in the wind.

Local Temples

In 1920, with a total of 70,012 temples,* the government

* In 1920 there were also 5,457 churches, 33,824 Buddha Halls (Butsu-dō) and 1,375 shrines (shiu).

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TABLE XXI
 BUDDHISM
 Local Organizations, Religious
 Workers, and Adherents
 (1919, 1943, 1959)

	1919	1943	1959
Sects	56	28	167
<i>Local Organizations</i> †			
Shrines	1,375	—	4
Temples	70,012	61,829	76,260
Buddha Halls (Butsu-dō ^a)	33,824	—	—
Churches	5,457	6,874	13,635
Propaganda centers (fukyō sho ^b)	—	—	11,084
<i>Religious Workers</i>			
Priests (<i>jūshoku</i> ^c)	53,736	—	—
Teachers (<i>kyōshi</i> ^d)	—	96,327	129,124
<i>Adherents</i>	45,528,296	45,397,053	60,923,856
<i>Population</i>	56 million	73 million	94 million

a. 仏堂 b. 布教所 c. 住職 d. 教師

* Shrines within temple compounds were called *shiu* 祠宇. The term *jinja* 神社 was reserved by law for the government shrines.

The Buddha Halls, of course, continued to exist but were not included in the Ministry of Education's statistical tables for 1943. Subsequently they have either become churches or propaganda centers.

apparently thought that the country was well supplied with Buddhist sanctuaries. At any rate up to 1936 they had only increased to 71,326* and with increased restrictions under the Religious Organizations Law (1939) the total became 61,829† in 1943. This was probably a result of a reclassification of

* In 1936 there were also 35,308 "minor temples" and 7,753 churches.

Presumably the "minor temples" were Buddha Halls (Butsu-dō),

† Also 6,874 churches.

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the institutions and not an actual reduction in the facilities themselves.

After 1945, with government control removed, the number increased until in 1959 there were 76,260 temples,* or a gain of about six thousand temples in four decades.

TABLE XXII
Buddhist Workers : Priests, Monks, Nuns
1919—1959

	Priests (<i>Jūshokua</i>)	Priests (<i>Sōryob</i>)	Teachers (<i>Kyōshic</i>)	Unlicensed Teachers (<i>Hi-kyōshid</i>)	Total
1919	53,736	—	—	—	53,736
1929	—	155,810	—	—	155,810
1939	55,930	—	—	—	55,930
1943	—	—	96,327	73,261	169,588
1949	—	—	101,497	69,940	169,437
1959	—	—	126,928	—	126,928

Religious Workers

Comparative data on the number of Buddhist priests, monks, nuns, etc., is not available. All that can be done is to explain the meaning of the terms in tables XXI and XXII.

The 1919 figure of 53,736 is for *jūshoku*, that is, “resident priests.” This includes 1,096 nuns, but not the subordinate grades of the priesthood, the number of which is not given.

The 1929 category is *sōryo*, which is a general term covering all grades of priests, monks, and nuns. The source gives the total for that year as 155,810.

In 1946 the number of “resident priests” was reported as

a. 住職 b. 僧侶 c. 教師 d. 非教師

‡ Also 13,635 churches and 11,084 propaganda centers.

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being 55,930.

The term *kyōshi* (teacher), which is used from 1943 to the present, is broader than *jūshoku*. "resident priest," but not as broad as *sōryo*. There were 96,327 "teachers" and 73,261 "uncertified teachers" (*hi-kyōshi*), or a total of 169,588 in 1943.

The last two categories, *kyōshi* and *hi-kyōshi*, which were used by the government in connection with the enforcement of the Religious Organizations Law, were carried over in the 1949 report by the Ministry of Education, although the Law had been abrogated in 1945.

By 1959, however, the definition of *kyōshi* had been broadened to include all who considered their primary work to be in the field of religion.

Even though the categories are not the same, it can be seen from Table XXII that from 1929 or 1943, whichever year may be preferred, to 1959 there was a serious decrease in the number of those who devoted themselves as priests or nuns to Buddhism. It is a well-known fact that there is a scarcity of "resident priests" in present-day Japan.

Adherents

The data on Buddhist adherents is noteworthy because apparently there has been very little change in the total number during the past forty years (See Table XXI). Those informed in this area say that the number of households (*danka*), which constitutes the basis for computing the number of believers (see p. 46), has remained relatively unchanged during the past half-century. While the elder sons in the rural areas have

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remained at home, the younger sons have gone to urban centers and become lost to the temples.

No explanation can be given for the drop in adherents between 1919 and 1943. The decrease in 1949 was presumably due to disruption caused by the war, while the increase in 1959 appears to have been largely attributable to the modern postwar movements within Buddhism. A study of Table XI indicates that such movements have approximately twelve million followers. If this is correct, and this sum is subtracted from the total of some 60 million adherents it leaves a balance of about 48 million, or only three million more than the total for 1919, although the population increased by forty million during that period.

The reason for subtracting the twelve million is that the adherents of the newer movements undoubtedly are still counted as adherents of their respective temples. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that they are counted twice even within Buddhism.

CHRISTIANITY

In spite of considerable difficulty in some periods, Christianity increased numerically in the three categories of churches, religious workers, and members.

In the four decades the number of churches increased from 1,495 to 3,958, church workers from 2,235 to 10,602 and the membership from 223,641 to 692,694. In other words, the churches more than doubled in number and the workers and membership trebled.

However, the rate of increase was by no means even. For

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example in the first two decades the membership increased by 160,000. In the last decade by 300,000.

TABLE XXIII
Christian Churches and Japanese Church Workers
 (1919—1959)

	Churches			Japanese Workers		
	1919	1942—3	1959	1919	1942—3	1959
Catholic	198	269	795	179	1,242	3,762
Orthodox	124		102	225		68
Protestant	1,173	1,507	3,061	1,831	2,830	6,772
Total	1,495		3,958	2,235		10,602

* The statistics for church workers in 1959 do not agree with those in Table XXII because here only the number of Japanese workers is given. For details on foreign missionaries see the appendix.

TABLE XXIV
Church Membership*

	Catholic	Orthodox	Protestant	Total
1919	75,983	36,618	121,040	233,641
1929	91,167	13,564	192,658	—
1939	117,178	41,251	232,463	390,890
1942—3	109,567	—	200,118	—
1949	129,850	14,349	224,854	—
1959	262,963	35,346	394,385	692,694

* The totals for 1929, 1942—3, and 1949 are omitted because the statistics for the Japan Orthodox Church are for communicants and not for the total membership. The official statistics of the Catholic Church give the membership for 1959 as 266,608 but for consistency with Table XII the Ministry of Education figure is used here.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic Church increased the number of its churches from 198 to 795 during the four decades. This was a four-fold increase, most of which occurred in the post-World War II period. Japanese religious workers during this period increased from 179 to 3,762, the latter figure including nuns. The membership, or the Catholic population, as the Church prefers, grew from 75,983 to 262,963.

Prior to 1945 about one-half of the Catholic population was in the island of Kyūshū, mainly in the Nagasaki area. In the postwar era the Church increased its strength throughout the country and the membership became much more evenly distributed than formerly.

TABLE XXV
The Catholic Church

	1919	1943	1959
Churches	198	269	795
Japanese workers	179	1,244	3,762
Population (Member)	75,983	109,567	262,963

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Japan Orthodox Church should be relatively easy to discuss, but because it was not officially recognized under the Religious Organizations Law, and hence not allowed to continue to function as a denomination, the statistics for that period are not available. Moreover, due to its historic affiliation with the Russian Orthodox Church, it has been plagued by internal

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problems since 1945 and a normal program has been all but impossible. It seems best, therefore, to give the available statistics and withhold all comment.

TABLE XXVI
Japan Orthodox Church

	1919	1929	1939	1943	1949	1959
Churches	124*	104	184*		167*	102
Japanese workers	225	151	61		50	68
Members	36,618	13,564†	41,251		14,623	35,293

* It is not clear whether these figures also include preaching centers (*Dendō-sho*), but presumably they do.

† The data for 1929 and 1949 are evidently for communicants rather than the total membership.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Sectarian Divisions

Sectarian divisions, which are so pronounced a characteristic of Protestantism in the West, are almost equally prevalent in Japan. However, because the number of denominations was relatively small, this was not very evident in the first two decades under review. After 1945, however, and particularly between 1949 and 1959, sectarianism became very pronounced. There are 91 different "denominations" listed in the 1962 *Christian Year Book*. The question is, of course, whether these are actually denominations.

This is not always clear. *The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire* for 1920, for example listed twenty-nine organizations, including some foreign mission societies, as

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having “communicants (full members),” but only twenty-five of them appear to qualify as denominations in the customary sense of the term. The YMCA, for example, was listed but it definitely is not one.

The reports of the Federation of Christian Churches for that period are not available, but the 1925 *Christian Year Book* of the National Christian Council list eighteen denominations, not including the Seventh Day Adventists.

By 1934 the total, including the Adventists, had reached twenty-three.

From 1941 to 1946 there was only one Protestant church, the United Church of Christ in Japan (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan); but with the removal of government control eleven denominations were almost immediately re-constituted, making a total of twelve in 1946. By 1949 there were fifty-three and a decade later the total was eighty-three. However, some of the eighty-three were small groups sponsored by foreign missionary societies and were not fully organized denominations.

As noted in Part II (Table XII) only thirty-eight of eighty-three were incorporated with the government in 1959 and it is only these that appear in the statistics of the Ministry of Education. In the following tables, however, the statistics for all eighty-three groups are included.

Organized Churches and Workers

The number of local Protestant churches increased from 1,173 in 1919 to 1,507 in 1942. In 1959 the total was 3,061. Japanese religious workers increased from 1,831 in 1919 to 6,772 in 1959. Unfortunately it is next to impossible to break the

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figures down for purposes of comparison.

Membership

The growth of the membership in the forty years reflects somewhat more accurately the general social situation that prevailed in Japan during this period. During the first decade the average annual increase was approximately 7,100, in the second it was 4,000. From 1940 to 1945 there was a loss. Then from 1946 to 1950 it increased at the rate of 2,500 annually, and between 1950 and 1959 the average increase was 16,000.

It may be argued that the total membership for the prewar and postwar years should not be compared because the former included the membership of Japanese churches in Korea, Manchuria, Taiwan and China. But according to the statistics of the United Church for 1942 the membership of the 159 over-

TABLE XXVII
Protestantism

	1919	1929	1939	1942	1949	1959
Denominations	23	23	29	1	53	83
Churches	1,173	1,578	1,931	1,507	2,479	3,061
Japanese workers	1,831*	1,952	2,759	2,830	5,733	6,772
Membership	121,040	192,658	232,463	200,118	224,854	394,385
Baptisms**	9,006	14,326	9,062	6,794	25,828	28,125

* Source: An undated statistical table in the 1925 N.C.C. Year Book.

** The figures for baptisms, including children, are for the years designated. The number of children included in the above are as follows: 1921—1,317; 1929—2,011; 1939—1,329; 1943—869, the 1950 and 1959—60 figures are not known.

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seas churches was only 15,949, including 1,461 children. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that a relatively large proportion of these were repatriated and are now in this country. Therefore, it would seem that a comparison is valid.

SHINTO

SHRINE SHINTO

Several interesting developments relevant to this review occurred in Shrine Shinto. Some of these were clearly the result of disestablishment. Others were not. For example, from 1919 to 1945 there was, on the one hand, a continual and noticeable decrease in the number of lower grade shrines, that is, district (go-sha), village (son-sha), and ungraded (mukaku-sha) shrines, and, on the other hand, a small increase in those of higher grade, that is, prefectural (ken-sha), and national and government (kankokuhei-sha) shrines. This was in accordance with a well-established government policy.

Shrines and Shrine Priests

From 1900 to 1919 the total number of shrines was reduced by approximately 80,000, that is, from 196,357 in 1900, the peak figure in shrine history, to 116,197. In the following years this process continued until at the end of World War II there were only 109,846.

After disestablishment in 1945, although the government was no longer concerned with the administration of shrines, the number continued to decrease, at least as far as official

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reports were concerned. The total in 1959 was approximately 80,000 but, as has already been pointed out (p. 90), this reduction of some 20,000 may not mean that these shrines actually ceased to exist. Some of the former ungraded shrines were relatively small, and it may be that they have been considered too insignificant either to be treated as separate units or to be combined with larger shrines.

In contrast with this the number of shrine priests, although reduced from 16,408 in 1900 to 14,698 in 1919, later increased until the total reached 17,140 in 1959.

TABLE XXVIII
Shrines and Shrine Priests

<i>Year</i>	<i>Shrines</i>	<i>Shrine Priests</i>
1900	196,357	16,408
1919	116,197	14,698
1937	110,535	15,283
1959	80,674	17,140

Worshippers

Prior to 1945 no overall statistics were published as to the number of shrine worshippers, so no comparable data is available. There are, however, statistics for some of the large shrines, which perhaps may give some indication of trends in the shrine world.

The Grand Shrine of Ise, for example, reports the annual statistics for worshippers and shrine talismans (*taima*). Of course, in view of the large number of people involved, and the fact that there are no wickets at these shrines to count the worshippers, the total can only be an approximation of the

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actual number, but the number of talismans may be regarded as reasonably accurate.

TABLE XXIX
**Distribution of the Talisman of the
 Grand Shrine of Ise**

	Number Distributed	Percentage of Households
1912	3,818,466	412
1921	5,415,383	504
1931	6,134,014	500
1941	11,522,510	814
1944	13,408,496	910
1948	5,042,213	
1951	5,928,546	355
1958	5,596,110	
1959	6,549,000	
1960	6,180,295	327

According to Table XXIX the number of households receiving the talisman increased from 5,415,383 in 1921 to a peak of 13,408,496 in 1944, after which it dropped to 5,042,213 in 1948, or below the 1921 figure. Subsequently, there was an increase until in 1959 the total was 6,549,000.

The significant figure, however, is not the absolute total but the percentage of households in relation the total population. For example, in 1921, out of 1,000 households, 504 received the talisman, but in 1944 the figure was 910, that is, practically all the households in the country that were able to properly care for it. Then, following the war, while the absolute number first declined and then increased, the population increased so

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much faster that the ratio continued to drop. In 1959 it was about the same as it was at the beginning of the century.

The same general phenomenon can be observed in respect to the number of Ise Shrine worshippers. It must be noted, however, that, while most people go to both the Inner and Outer shrines, because the Outer Shrine is more convenient to the railway and bus stations, the number that worship there is slightly larger. Therefore, in order to determine roughly the total number of individual worshippers at Ise, the Outer Shrine figure is used.

In 1919 Outer Shrine worshippers totaled only 2,007,815, but the wartime peak in 1942 was 4,292,288. Then, five years later in 1947, the number was down to about 466,336, the lowest in a half-century. Subsequently it rose to 2,129,861 in 1959.

TABLE XXX
Number of Worshippers of the Grand Shrine of Ise

	Outer Shrine	Total (Outer and Inner)
1899	771,972	1,452,060
1912	854,946	1,614,781
1919	2,007,815	3,642,386
1929	2,080,834	3,846,120
1939	3,893,375	7,326,623
1940	4,162,003	7,982,533
1942	4,292,288	7,778,193
1947	466,336	835,636
1949	605,431	1,240,039
1959	2,129,861	4,303,058
1961	2,434,460	4,914,491

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(The 1961 total was about 2,435,000.) In other words, the 1959 figure was approximately the same as 1931; but in terms of percentages, the proportion of the people who went to the shrine was about the same as it was a half-century ago at the end of the Meiji era, that is, in 1912.

If the Grand Shrine of Ise can be regarded as typical of general trends, it would seem that in proportion to the population the much-discussed revival of Shrine Shinto worship has not been as great as has been generally supposed.

Associations or Sects Based on Shrines

A second postwar development in Shrine Shinto is the appearance of associations or sects based on shrines. There were fifteen such organizations in 1959, (*see* p. 89). In a sense, however, these were not entirely new developments. Some of the sects of Sectarian Shinto, such as Fusō-kyō and Mitake-kyō, for example, which arose about a century ago, were also of this nature. Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō, which has the kami of the Grand Shrine of Izumo as its central object of worship, is also one of this group. And until it was dissolved and reorganized by the government in 1899 there was a separate sect based on Ise, called Jingū-kyō. However, in the absence of comparable data for the period under review further comment on these must be omitted.

SECT SHINTO

From a statistical point of view the prewar thirteen officially recognized sects of Shinto remained relatively stable during

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the first two decades of the period under review (1919—1939), and even to the end of World War II. On the one hand, there was considerable growth; on the other, there were no wartime mergers. As a matter of fact, the thirteen original sects have very little, if anything, in common in their teachings and it would have been very difficult for any one to find any natural religious basis for a union.

(It should be noted that when these sects became independent in the latter half of the nineteenth century their regulations and doctrinal statements, including even those about their objects of worship, were drafted under government guidance in order to secure government recognition. Consequently, such statements, have little validity unless they have been verified by data published subsequent to the establishment of complete religious freedom in 1945. When questioned in 1946 regarding certain discrepancies in doctrine, one prominent sectarian leader said quite frankly, "We added that in order to get government approval".

OVERALL STATISTICS

Sectarian Divisions and Secessions In 1959, in addition to the fifteen associations based on shrines, which have been discussed above, 129 sects were classified as Sect Shinto. Fifty-nine of these were formed by secessions from the original thirteen, making a total of seventy-two sects belonging to this group. Fifty-seven were new sects which apparently had no historic connection with the original thirteen.

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Five sects (Taisha-kyō^a, Konkō-kyō^b, Kurozumi-kyō^c, Misogi-kyō^d, and Shintō Shūsei-ha^e) apparently were unaffected by postwar secessions, although there may have been some secessions on a local prefectural level which do not appear in the available data. There are 461 Shinto churches incorporated on a prefectural level, and it would be strange if some of these were not from one or more of these five schools.

Shinshū-kyō^f, and Shintō Taisei-kyō^g each had two secessions Jikkō-kyō^h had three, Shinri-kyōⁱ five and Tenri-kyō^j seven.

Forty-two of the fifty-nine secessions occurred in three schools:* Fusō-kyō^k (16), Mitake-kyō^l (14), and Shintō Tai-kyō^m (12).

However, the large number of secessions should not be regarded as strange in view of the manner in which some of these sects arose. Shintō Tai-kyō, the last of the original group to separate from the government in 1885, was a catch-all for a number of groups that remained after the larger and more homogenous groups had become independent. Tenri-kyō was affiliated with this sect until 1908, when it became independent. Fusō-kyō was somewhat different from this. It was inclined to allow miscellaneous groups to operate within its sectarian framework as sort of sub-sects in order that they might benefit by the official recognition that it enjoyed. Prewar Hito-nomichiⁿ, the present day PL Kyōdan^o, was one such.

As far as the original thirteen sects themselves are concerned, there can be no question but that, because of sessions, several

a. 大社教 *b.* 金光教 *c.* 黒住教 *d.* 禊教 *e.* 神道修成派 *f.* 神習教
g. 神道大成教 *h.* 実行教 *i.* 神理教 *j.* 天理教 *k.* 扶桑教 *l.* 御嶽教
m. 神道大教 *n.* ひとのみち *o.* PL 教団

* The figures in parenthesis after the sect names indicate the number of secessions.

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of them are very much weaker than in prewar years. Fusō-kyō, for example, has only 220,000, adherents whereas it reported some 500,000 in 1943. However, the sects in the Fusō-kyō group report a total of 780,000, so that in terms of the faith of the people, assuming that the figures are relatively reliable, there has been an actual increase.

Local Organizations—Churches and Propaganda Centers In respect to the total number of churches and propaganda centers, there were 6,906 of these in 1922. By 1929 there were 9,059, and in 1936 they had increased to 16,257. The total in 1943 was 16,467. (Except for the 1920 figure, which definitely includes propaganda centers, it is not clear whether some of these figures include preaching centers (*fukyō sho*^a), but it is thought that they may.)

By 1959 the grand total for the traditional schools and new sects was 35,423, including 23,904 churches, 11,419 propaganda centers, and 98 shrines. One explanation of the postwar increase is said to be the relative ease with which new churches can be established now, in comparison with the restrictions of the prewar years.

(The appearance of shrines (*jinja*^b) in this list is, of course, a postwar phenomenon. Presumably the difference between these sects that have shrines, and the fifteen associations based on shrines, is that in the latter shrine worship is central while in the former, it is generally secondary. It should be noted, however, that in 1920 twenty shrines were attached to six of the thirteen sects, but they were called *shi'u*^c and not *jinja*.

a. 布教所 b. 神社 c. 祠宇

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Religious Workers The earliest figures available on the number of religious workers in these sects are for 1929, when the total was 101,597. By 1936 it had reached 124,877 and in 1943 it was 126,017. After 1945 it increased to 169,468 in 1959, or a net increase of nearly 70,000 in forty years.

Adherents The figures for the number of adherents are especially unreliable. One is inclined to disregard them entirely. On the surface it would appear Table XXXI that in first decade these sects gained nine million followers; and the after 1936 lost more than six million. This is nonsense. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that there were any such gains or losses. The only explanation is that the methods of counting and reporting adherents varied from time to time but, as will be shown below on page 96, the reported number of adherents was very largely a matter of caprice or opportunism. There is some reason to believe that, since the government is not concerned, current statistics are somewhat more reliable; but this is only a conjecture.

Unclassified Sects

In regard to the fifty-seven unclassified sects mentioned above, it should be noted that, although they have only 6% (1,626) of the churches and 5% (8,909) of the workers, they have more than half of the total number of propaganda centers (3,846) and some 2 million, or 16%, of the total number of adherents in the entire group of 129 sects. Therefore, in proportion to the number of their local churches, the new Shinto sects appear to have acquired a relatively large following some

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of whom perhaps may have been drawn from the traditional schools.

The Traditional Thirteen Schools of Shinto

The traditional thirteen schools of Sect Shinto, at least in their institutional aspects, appear to have thrived. In the four decades the total number of churches trebled, and there was an increase of some 60,000 in the number of workers. But, as already noted, the number of adherents appears to have decreased, in this case, by some six million. (see paragraph on *adherents* on p. 94 above.)

What does this mean? In one sense there is no answer

TABLE XXXI
Thirteen Traditional Schools of Sect Shinto

	<i>Churches*</i>	<i>Teachers**</i>	<i>Adherents</i>
1922	6,906		8,710,627
1929	9,059	101,597	17,485,622
1936	16,257	124,877	16,525,840
1943	16,467	126,017	10,407,207
1959†	22,278	160,549	10,226,891

* The sources are somewhat confusing as to the exact nature of this category, but it is assumed that they refer only to *churches* (*kyōkai*). For 1922 the term *kyōkai sekkyō sho*, that is, "church preaching center," is used, but whether this indicates one or two types of installations is not clear. The 1929 term is only *kyōkai*, that is, "church". The 1936 source uses the English term "preaching halls". Only in 1959 is there a clear division. That year, in addition to 22,278 *kyōkai*, there are 7,573 *fukyō sho*, that is "propaganda centers".

** The sources for the category "teacher," use two terms. For 1929, 1943, and 1959 the term is *kyōshi*, which generally has a very broad meaning but can be used in a more restricted sense of one "qualified to preach." The 1936 source uses the English term "preacher".

† Tables include supplementary figures in Table XVI.

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except unreliable data, but the situation becomes a little more clear if we make a breakdown of the constituent groups into smaller sub-groups.

Tenri-kyō and Konkō-kyō As indicated in the introduction, the classification of Tenri-kyō and Konkō-kyō as Shinto sects is regarded as arbitrary. Many scholars are inclined to regard them as completely separate religions, and this position seems to be a sound one. But whether this is correct or not, they certainly belong in a category by themselves.

In 1922 Tenri-kyō and Konkō-kyō accounted for more than half (4,617) of the 6,906 churches and in 1929 for nearly sixty percent (59,295) of the 101,597 workers of the group. These two also had more than one-third of the nearly nine million adherents, with Tenri-kyō having more than the lion's share of the three categories.

Forty years later the proportion had not greatly changed, except that the number of their churches was more than two thirds of the total.

According to informed sources, up to the beginning of World War II, both Konkō-kyō and Tenri-kyō were especially loose in their methods of computation. Both appear to have been interested in making a good impression, and padded their reports accordingly. But, when government regimentation tightened, their reactions were exactly opposite.

Konkō-kyō, on the one hand, possibly with some apprehension that it might not be permitted to continue as an independent body if it were too small, went all out to build its figures up. Everyone who came to a church, even if only

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once, was automatically counted as an adherent. If he went to a different church later, he was counted twice. Thus, Konkō-kyō reported more than million adherents in 1943.

Tenri-kyō, on the other hand, in the pre-war period followed the practice of regarding entire families as members, whenever one member joined. With closer government supervision, however, it changed its system and reported only the actual number of households, with the result that the number of its adherents was reduced from about five million to less than one. In this connection it may be surmised that, since Tenri-kyō was under some suspicion from ultra-nationalist sources, sect officials may have been disposed to let their faith appear less successful than it really was, lest it be subject to greater pressure. Be this as it may, it is reasonable to assume that the present figures of both Konkō-kyō and Tenri-kyō are somewhat more accurate than previously.

The Other Eleven Traditional Schools of Sect Shinto Turning now to the remaining eleven groups of Sect Shinto, which we may for convenience designate as more truly Shinto sects, we find that as a group, the number of adherents of the mountain worshipping sects and what Dr. Holtom calls the purification sects, increased noticeably. Mountain climbing, like sightseeing in general, has become very popular in recent years, and presumably these sects count many of the mountaineers as adherents, just as the shrines sometimes count the sightseers as worshippers.

Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō^a, (formerly called Taisha-kyō^a) is unquestionably the strongest sect of the entire eleven. The sect and

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the shrine together regard practically the entire surrounding population as within their parish, so this is not surprising.

TABLE XXXII
**Churches of the
 Traditional Schools of Sectarian Shinto**
 1922—1943—1959

Pure Shinto Sects*			
	1922	1943	1959
Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō	135	184	280
Shinri-kyō	189	409	688
Shintō Tai-kyō	333	464	638
Confucian Sects*			
Shūsei-ha	231	182	221
Taisei-ha	90	145	78
Mountain Worshipping Sects*			
Fusō-kyō	206	475	790
Jikkō-kyō	96	211	446
Mitake-kyō	410	956	961
Purification Sects*			
Misogi-kyō	30	26	36
Shinshū-kyō	160	277	464
Others			
Kurozumi-kyō	409	410	378
Sub-total	2,289	3,739	4,980
Konkō-kyō	673	1,436	1,621
Tenri-kyō	3,944	11,292	15,368
Sub-total	4,617	12,728	16,989
Grand total	6,906	16,467	21,969

a. 出雲大社教

* These classifications follow those of Dr. D.C. Holtom in *Shinto, The National Faith of Japan*, pp. 189 ff.

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TABLE XXXIII

**Adherents of the
Traditional Schools of Sectarian Shinto***

1922—1943—1959

Pure Shinto Sects*			
	1922	1943	1959
Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō	1,409,965	3,403,434	2,277,652
Shiri-kyō	1,210,158	603,539	226,507
Shintō Tai-kyō	1,499,984	458,578	983,228
Confucian Sects*			
Shūsei-ha	42,465	66,447	52,205
Taisei-ha	90,532	296,874	67,686
Mountain Worshipping Sects*			
Fusō-kyō	205,170	502,200	805,590
Jikkō-kyō	91,692	230,328	582,247
Mitake-kyō	149,135	1,728,496	802,131
Purification Sects*			
Misogi-kyō	62,263	101,918	113,725
Shinshū-kyō	80,396	401,592	567,447
Others			
Kurozumi-kyō	676,711	589,099	751,670
Sub-total	5,518,471	8,382,505	7,230,088
Konkō-kyō	549,114	1,027,586	605,572
Tenri-kyō	2,643,942	997,116	2,391,231
Sub-total	3,193,056	2,024,702	2,996,803
Grand Total	8,710,627	10,407,207	10,226,891

— To be concluded —

* The totals for 1959 include the supplementary data in Table XVI.