

**GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS**

Civil Information and Education Section

3 December, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO : Chief of Staff

I. THE PROBLEM PRESENTED

State Shinto has been used by militarists and ultra-nationalists in Japan to engender and foster a military spirit among the people and to justify a war of expansion. While the defeat, surrender, and subsequent occupation of Japan have undoubtedly done much to destroy the potency of Shintoism as a political force, until Shinto is separated from the state and instruction in Shinto is eliminated from the education system, there will always be the danger that Shinto will be used as an agency for disseminating militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology. In order to obviate this danger, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers has been directed¹ to accomplish the separation of Shinto from the state and the elimination of Shinto from the education system.

1. SWNCC Paper 150/4, dated 21 September, 1945; State Serial 23 (Byrnes), dated 13 October, 1945.

II. FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

1. Nature of Shinto

- a. *A primitive religion put to modern uses.* Legends analogous to those which have become a vital force in the political and religious life of Japan are common to the early life of many peoples. No other modern nation, however, has attempted to secure social and political cohesion through the strength of a ceremonial nexus that was normal in occidental culture 2,000 to 4,000 years ago. Nor has any other modern religion attempted to utilize such ritualistic agencies for vivifying and achieving the primary ends of national life.²
- b. *Shinto variously interpreted.* The fact that Shinto has no clear-cut or precisely stated theology, dogma, or philosophy has led to diversity of interpretation and definition. It has been called the racial spirit of the Japanese people, the essence of the principles of imperial rule, a system of correct social and political etiquette, the ideal national morality, a system of patriotism and loyalty centering in emperor worship ("mikadoism"), a nature worship, an intermixture of the worship of nature and of ancestors.³
- c. *Close relation of Shinto to the Imperial Family.* In spite of the fact that Shinto has been variously interpreted and defined, there is wide agreement that the

2. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*, p. 3.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6, citing many Japanese writers.

“fundamental and characteristic emphasis has always been ancestral and nationalistic.”⁴ The whole history of Shinto has been intimated with members of the Imperial Family, real and mythological. In recent years Japanese political philosophy has become so closely involved with the Shinto cult that today it can hardly be understood apart from its interconnection with Shinto.⁵

- d. *Military elements.* Even though so conservative a scholar as Anesaki has referred to the militaristic aspects of Shinto and its emphasis on the moral virtue of submission,⁶ the militaristic elements in early Shinto did not loom large by comparison with other primitive religions. Sir George Sansom has testified to the absence of menacing elements in early Shintoism.⁷ Many of the more oppressive aspects of Japanese society, sometimes loosely attributed to Shinto and indeed somewhat intermingled with modern State Shinto, have their origin in other sources. The five human relationships specifically enumerated in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education were of Confucian origin. The Shushi Confucian heritage of rigorous morality, the subordination of everyone to a superior, and the assignment to every man and woman of a fixed place in the hierarchy of social and family life has dominated Japanese society. Introduced into

4. Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*, p. 6; Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, pp. 2, 4; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (1898 ed.), p. 358; Asakawa, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, pp. 31-34.

5. Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*, p. 6.

6. *History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 36-39.

7. *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, p. 46 ff.

Japan by Zen Buddhists, it was adopted as the orthodoxy of the ruling samurai class during the Tokugawa period and has served as an important factor in the development of what the Japanese since 1900 have glorified under the name of *bushidō*, "the way of the warrior."⁸ The Buddhist sect of Nichiren also has introduced militaristic elements into Japanese life, furnishing Japan with some of its most rabid nationalists.⁹

2. Evolution of State Shinto

- a. *Recent origin.* As late as 1895 so keen a scholar as Aston believed that the ancient Shinto cult which the government had been so industriously cultivating for two decades was doomed to play only a small part in the life of the nation. "It has little vitality," he said. "As a national religion, Shinto is almost extinct. But it will continue to survive in folklore and custom, and in that livelier sensibility to the divine in its simpler and more material aspects which characterises the people of Japan."¹⁰ B. H. Chamberlain also attests to the newness of Shrine Shinto as a national religion. He refers to it as a manufactured religion "still (1912) in the process of being consciously or semi-consciously put together by the official class, in order to serve the interests of that

8. Anesaki, *The Religious Life of the Japanese People*, pp. 37-40.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

10. *Shinto, The Way of the Gods*, pp. 376-377.

class, and, the interests of the nation at large.”¹¹

b. *Factors utilized by the Government to make Shinto a vital force.* By what methods was this relatively unimportant religion — seemingly more in keeping with the needs of a primitive society than with the demands of a modern state — built up into the central force binding the Japanese people into a cohesive political and social unit?

(1) *The schools* By far the most important of the factors working to condition the people to an acceptance of a Shinto-centered state was the education system. From the time he first entered the schoolyard gate until he finished his formal schooling, all the techniques of modern education were utilized to weave into the student's mind the whole warp and woof of Shinto nationalist theory. Through the medium of textbooks, highly indoctrinated teachers, and deeply impressive ceremonies, Shinto was made the principal instrument for inculcating submissiveness, loyalty to the state, and unquestioning acceptance of the official views as to the proper nature of society and of political and social morality. The Shrine became the foremost agency for the promotion of “national morality” (*kokumin dōtoku*). Good citizenship was identified with the acceptance of Shinto mythology.

11. *Things Japanese* (1927 reprint of 1907 ed.), p. 560. Appendix I of this work was first published in 1912 as a pamphlet entitled “*The Invention of a New Religion.*”

(2) *Success in war* Success in war has been attributed by everyone from the Emperor down to his most lowly subject as resulting from the intercession of the Imperial deities. The rescript issued at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War refers to Japan's victory as being "due in large measure to the benign spirits of our ancestors."¹² The Japanese were taught that their invincibility in war was due to their status as a "God-sent race."¹³ This idea has played a central part in Japanese military education.

(3) *Nationalism* Devolving from and solidifying the hold of Shinto on the public mind was the growing spirit of Japanese nationalism. Nationalists sought and found in Shinto a purely Japanese religion which could be utilized to stabilize and to protect native institutions against the destructive force of foreign ideologies. Soon passing to the offensive, extremists discovered that Shinto could provide justification for the "place in the sun" they were seeking. Shinto theorists were thus able to add sufficient ideological weight to the military side of the scales to tip it against the more peacefully inclined elements in Japanese society and to make the militarist the dominant force in the state.

(4) *Repression* Not necessarily the most effective, but

12. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 21 October, 1905, p. 443, cited in Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*, p. 293.

13. Papers by Ryōichi Toaka, Professor of International Law, Kyoto Imperial University, and Professor T. Ariga, Doshisha University. Both men feel that these teachings must be wiped out completely.

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certainly the most pernicious of the influences working to make State Shinto doctrine all pervasive was the negative policy of trying to black out every expression of opinion and every thought which might cast doubt upon its validity. For more than twenty years much effort has been spent in enforcing the official Shinto as a weapon against “dangerous thought.”¹⁴ It has been used to prevent criticism of some of the least worthy Japanese officials and civilians who achieved a certain untouchability by invoking the blessing of the “Imperial Way.” To deny the official mythology was to invite the attention of the thought police and, in some cases, the assassin. By the most carefully calculated effort, Japanese officialdom created out of the primitive religion, believed by Aston in 1895 to be on the road to extinction, a way of thinking and acting which all Japanese were compelled outwardly to profess and believe.

3. State Shinto Doctrine

- a. State Shinto doctrine, in spite of the persistent efforts of the government to overcome its diversities and integrate its various parts, does not present a unified and consistent whole.
- b. State Shinto doctrine differs from that of other animistic religions chiefly in that its beliefs, narratives, traditions, and practices have been intimately linked up with the national history.

14. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 407.

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- (1) It does not, like a universal religion such as Christianity or Buddhism, center on the individual and thus transcend national boundaries. Of necessity, it is racialistic and nationalistic.
 - (2) This relationship begins with the origin and foundation of the Japanese nation under the ruling family and continues, it is alleged, from time immemorial right down through the ages.
 - (3) Shinto traditions are thus expressions of faith in the life and mission of the nation centered in the throne and shown in the loyalty of the people.
- c. State Shinto supports a polytheism of great multitude and complexity.
- (1) According to its doctrines, the universe is inhabited by innumerable spirits (some 8,000,000 deities) in the air, the forests, and mountains, as well as in human homes and hearts.
 - (2) There is one supreme deity, Amaterasu Ō-mikami, the “Heavenly-Shining August Goddess.”
 - (a) Born from the left eye of a sky-father, Izanagi, and sister of the moon and the storm, Amaterasu Ō-mikami is at one and the same time the world-soul, the racial head of the nation, the founder of the state, and the ancestress of the Imperial family.
 - (b) This divine ancestress is the chief of the contemporary politically-inspired pantheon of Shinto deities, and her great shrine at Ise is the center of the devo-

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tion and worship of the entire nation.

- (c) The existence of the increasingly dominant sun goddess aspect of Shinto has been explained as the development of a primitive sun worship cult of probable southern origin.
- (3) Nearly all the Japanese claim to be descended from one of the deities.
 - (a) The worship of these deities is, at one and the same time, a genuine nature worship and also the worship of ancestors and heroes, centering in the sovereign deity.
 - (4) It is not improbable that some of these deities actually existed as real persons, around whom myths have developed.
 - (a) Thus, according to one Japanese historian who tried to rationalize the traditional mythology, Amaterasu Ō-mikami was in reality a Mongolian princess.
- d. Local rites and ceremonies present a wholly varied picture, depending upon diverse manners and customs, stages of development, needs, and characteristics of different geographical areas.
 - (1) Within the vast diversity of the Shinto complex exist such rites and ceremonies as those which
 - (a) Summon ancient storm-gods to mountaintops.
 - (b) Induce god possession.
 - (c) Drive away defilement from individuals and groups.
 - (d) Exorcise evil spirits.
 - (e) Expel insects from crops or protect them from wind and storm.

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- (f) Accompany the presentation of first-fruits.
 - (g) Dedicate children.
- e. The government has made persistent efforts to resolve the problem of diversity of Shinto observance and practice by centering the prescribed rituals about the mythology of the Emperor's descent from the sun goddess Amaterasu Ō-mikami and by making belief in that mythology a test of good citizenship.
- (1) As a direct lineal descendant of the sun goddess, the Emperor is to many Japanese an actual living god. As such, he is by divine right entitled to rule all lands and all peoples.

4. Distinction between State Shinto and Sect Shinto

a. Background of Distinction

(1) The Japanese Government carefully distinguishes between State Shinto (*Kokka Shintō*), National Shinto (*Kokutai Shintō*), or Shrine Shinto (*Jinja Shintō*), on the one hand, and Sect Shinto (*Shūha Shintō*) or Church Shinto (*Kyōha Shintō*) on the other. While Sect Shinto is recognized as a religion, the government has been unwavering in its declaration that State Shinto is not a religion — an obvious contradiction in fact. The reasons for the government's position are easily perceived.

(2) Early in the Meiji period, when Japan was being flooded by disintegrating foreign ideas, certain government officials saw in Shinto a purely native institution

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whose intimate connection with the Imperial Family made it a heaven-sent medium for binding the Japanese people into a group sufficiently united to withstand any destructive influence.

(3) But in order to appear well in the eyes of occidentals as well as satisfy some of the treaty requirements of western nations, Japan had proclaimed freedom of religion, even writing the doctrine into the Constitution. This proclamation of religious freedom precluded special favors to any one religion. Yet to promote official policy the government desired to teach Shinto doctrines in the schools while excluding all instruction in other religions. It also desired to compel people to attend observances at shrines, a further violation of freedom of religion. The solution adopted was to declare that State Shinto was not a religion — only a civic institution. (See Appendix, Sec. 1 and 2.)

(4) The situation is clearly stated by a Buddhist writer : “ If we ask why the Meiji governments declared that shrines, which were clearly the objects of religious faith, were not the objects of religious faith . . . , then we must say in answer, that, if Shrine Shinto were a religion, both Buddhists and Christians, under the guarantee of freedom of religious faith as set forth in the Constitution, need not do reverence at the shrines, and a very serious problem would arise.”¹⁵

15. *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, 3 Feb. 1930, quoted in Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*, p. 295. See also *Japan Christian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 5, July 1931, p. 276, and Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 297. See Appendix, Sec. 2, this study, for an inquiry into the basis of the official position.

(5) Despite the official and some unofficial views, there is no doubt that State Shinto, though it is mixed with some purely secular elements, is a religion.

- b. *State Shinto and Sect Shinto Distinguished* The main features that distinguish State Shinto from Sect Shinto should be carefully noted, since the two are often confused, particularly in matters of doctrine. It must be frankly recognized, however, that some of the confusion exists in actual fact and could only be resolved by a more rigorous delineation of function that now exists.

(1) Both branches of Shinto have received influences from the parent stream of an ancient and indigenous religion, State Shinto more directly and on the whole in more unmixed character than Sect Shinto. Interpreters of State Shinto are generally quick to assert that the ceremonies and beliefs connected with the shrines represent the true and uncontaminated line of pure Shinto; Sect Shinto has been more or less modified through foreign influences and the contributions of the founders and other teachers, though some of the sects maintain that they alone preserve the true and original Shinto.

(2) Taken as a whole and recognizing the dangers of overgeneralization, the dominant characteristics of Sect Shinto are: popular folklore and magic; colorful imaginings of simple peasant-minded founders mixed with many wholesome ethical precepts and spiritual insights; elaborate regard for purification ceremonies, ranging

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from magic rituals that drive away demonic defilement to inner prayer that cleanses the heart; mountain worship and faith healing — all intermingled with and supported by the beliefs and ceremonies of the traditional Shinto sanctuaries. The sects carry on definite religious propaganda, publish a vast amount of literature, and employ religious teachers and preachers.

State Shinto has as its chief function the celebration of rites considered appropriate to the deepening of national sentiment, though it, too, involves religious elements such as ancestor worship, the selling of charms and talismans, and the conduct of marriage and funeral ceremonies. Its priests, however, are forbidden by law to “preach” to the people or to carry on missionary activities.

(3) Sect Shinto exists in the form of 13 sects and numerous subsects and is accorded the status of a religion. (See Appendix, Sec. 6.)

State Shinto, because of its value to the state, enjoys a special status as a civic institution or cult.

(4) State Shinto in the matter of legal control and coordination of activities is placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Shrines in the Home Ministry. Special enactments and administrative orders issued in this ministry regulate the affairs of the shrines in matters of organization, priesthood, and ceremonies.

The affairs of Sect Shinto, until the occupation, were under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Religions in the

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Education Ministry. Thus, Sect Shinto is afforded the same legal treatment as Buddhism and Christianity and is completely on its own resources in matters of places of worship, finances, internal management, doctrines, etc.

(5) The acceptance of the doctrines of State Shinto is required by national authority as the essence of loyalty. The acceptance of the doctrines of Sect Shinto is left to voluntary choice.

(6) Shinto shrines receive supervision and a measure of financial support from village, municipal, prefectural, or national governments, depending on the grade of the particular shrine concerned.

Shinto sects, like all recognized religious bodies, maintain their own independent organizations and possess legal properties that are almost exclusively distinct from those of the shrines.

(7) All State Shinto institutions, whether national or local, large or small, are given the title of *jinja*, meaning "God-house", or "dwelling-place of the *kami* (deity)." The institutions of Sect Shinto are legally classified as *kyōka*, or "churches"; they cannot use shrines as meeting places and, except in special cases, are not permitted to use the *torii*, the distinctive gateway that stands outside of shrines.

4. Conclusions

a. Overall Problem

(1) State Shinto is composed of both secular and religious

elements, the latter predominating to such a great extent that there is no doubt that State Shinto is a religion. Indeed, the Professor of Comparative Religion at Tokyo Imperial University estimates that State Shinto is about 80 percent religious and 20 percent secular.

(2) Shinto cannot be abolished as a religion: that possibility is precluded both by the doctrine of religious freedom and by the nature of religion itself. Actually, there is no need to attempt to abolish Shinto as a religion or to attempt to separate Shinto from the Emperor, which is to say practically the same thing. The danger in State Shinto lies (a) in its sponsorship, support, and propagation by the State, (b) in the uses to which Japanese governments and Shinto nationalists have put its more or less vague mythology of divine origin of land, emperor, and people, and (c) in the rigid compulsion enforced upon all Japanese to observe its rituals and outwardly to accept its premises as actual fact.

(3) The danger lies not in the interconnection between the Emperor and Shinto; it lies in the peculiar nature of the political system which nominally places all civil and military power in the hands of a priest-king but actually allows that power to be exercised by any powerful group that gets control of the machinery of government.

(4) The solution is (a) to bring about as complete a separation of church and state as is consistent with our recent policy of permitting the Emperor to retain his

throne and (b) to secure such a revision of the Japanese Constitution and laws as will place actual control of the state directly in the hands of representatives elected by the people. The second part of the solution is, of course, beyond the scope of this study.

b. *Abolition of State Support and Control*

(1) All government support, direction, or control over the shrines, their priests, ceremonies, or rituals should be abolished so as to place State Shinto on exactly the same footing as other religions, permitting it to continue as a religion of individuals. (See Appendix, Sec. 5, for itemization of revenue of Shinto shrines.)

(2) There is evidence that many Japanese who visit shrines should welcome the removal of state control and the recognition of the religious nature of shrines.

(3) Those shrines having a real religious following would be able to exist on voluntary contributions. Those least important in the religious life of the people would perhaps deteriorate or even cease to exist. However, Professor Anesaki believes that many of the weaker shrines would be saved by voluntary unions. This view is supported by Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, Secretary General of the *Kōtenkōkyūsho* (The Institute for the Study of Shrine Doctrines) and sometime head of the Shrine Board, who says that many of the 200 odd *Kampeisha* and *Kokuheisha* class shrines (the most important shrines) are quite well off financially and that the loss of state funds

would affect them very little.¹⁶ (See Appendix, Sec. 3, for classification of Shrines.) Those important shrines unable to exist on the voluntary contributions of their devotees could be helped by a national shrine association representing all of the shrines in Japan. Most of the 11,000 classified shrines of prefectural rank and under receive very little money from the government and would not be adversely affected at all. In fact, there is reason to believe that the majority of Shinto priests favor separation of Shrine Shinto from the state and feel that the shrines would profit rather than suffer by the separation. This feeling has apparently been growing among the *Jingi-kai* (a national association of the shrine priests with some lay members), the *Kōtenkōkyūsho* (whose president is Prince Nashimoto, the Chief Priest of the Grand Shrine of Ise), and the *Jingū Hōsankai* (Association of Devotees of the Grand Shrine of Ise).¹⁷

(4) Certain liberal Japanese, who favor complete separation in principle but who fear that the financial burden resulting from the severance of state support would be too great for some important shrines to bear, feel that a few shrines which are special sanctuaries of the Imperial House should be permitted special treatment. The Grand Shrine of Ise, especially, holds a position of such

16. Mr. K. Iinuma, Vice-President of the Shrine Board, declares, however, that several shrines in the Kyoto-Nara area would suffer heavily from loss of state funds. These are not important shrines.

17. These observations are based largely on the authority of Shigeru Yoshida, Secretary General of the *Kōtenkōkyūsho*.

significance that any action which would force it to close for lack of financial support would undoubtedly come as a great shock to the Japanese people and cause deep resentment. They have suggested that, in the case of a few such shrines, the Imperial Household should be permitted to make financial grants to supplement the voluntary contributions of the general public. The Secretary General of the *Kōtenkōkyūsho*, however, believes that even the shrines most intimately connected with the Imperial Family should be treated no differently from other shrines — a judgment in which, he says, most Shinto priests concur. The one exception to the above rule, he says, is that the government should be permitted to furnish the remaining 8,000,000 Yen needed to complete the reconstruction of the Inner Shrine of the Grand Shrine of Ise which is by custom rebuilt every 20 years.

(5) There are in Japan certain monuments, structures, gardens, or parks whose artistic and cultural value to Japan and the world transcends their significance as shrines or as the location of shrines. The most notable of these is the Tokugawa sanctuary at Nikko (Tōshōgū) which was originally established by Buddhists (Buddhist priests are still at Nikko) and was made a Shinto shrine only after the beginning of the Meiji period. However, most of these shrines — and particularly the Tokugawa sanctuary at Nikko — are in good financial position and would not suffer from the withdrawal of state funds. It seems obvious, of course, that the with-

drawal of financial support from shrines located on public reservations or parks should not preclude the Japanese Government from continuing to support the areas on which such shrines are located.

c. *Elimination of Shinto from the Education System*

(1) *Instruction* As the schools, particularly those of the elementary grade, have been the primary instruments for the inculcation of Shintoistic and ultra-nationalistic ideology, the dissemination of Shinto ideology, in any form and by any means in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds should be prohibited. This is perhaps the most important single step in the separation of church and state. The teaching of Shinto in connection with elective courses in comparative religion at the university or college (*daigaku* and *semmon gakkō*) level should be permitted

(2) *The Imperial Rescript on Education*

(a) The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education is one of the most significant and influential documents ever issued in Japan. It has become the most important single instrument for inculcating filial piety (a Confucianist touch) and loyalty to the Emperor. It is treated with an extreme degree of reverence bordering on sacrosanctity, and its reading in all schools on the Emperor Meiji's birthday is a deeply impressive ceremony. Its influence upon impressionable youth is enormous. Through official interpretation in works like *Kokutai*

no Hongi, it has been used in recent years to proclaim the superiority of Japan over other nations and to assert a divine mission for the Japanese state.

- (b) It should either be superseded, amended, or reinterpreted by a new imperial rescript expressly repudiating the ultra-nationalistic interpretation or be banished from the schools. If the latter course were followed, the banishment should be accompanied by the widest possible publicity explaining that such a move was dictated by the ultra-nationalistic uses to which the rescript had been put by Shinto theorists and militarists. This careful explanation would be required, according to several liberal Japanese, because of the great shock its banishment would otherwise bring to the mass of the Japanese people, who, it is asserted, are for the most part unaware of any ultra-nationalistic interpretation of the rescript and would consider its banishment a direct attack upon the position of the Emperor. An attempt to secure an authoritative statement from Japanese sources expressly repudiating the ultra-nationalistic interpretation seems the better policy for the present. All persons who were in any way responsible for writing the ultra-nationalistic interpretation into texts, teachers' manuals, or other books, papers, or pamphlets should be excluded from public office.

(3) *The Imperial Portrait*

- (a) An extremely delicate question perhaps involving

some Shinto elements is the matter of the Imperial portrait. Dr. Holtom believes that the ceremony of obeisance before the Imperial portrait should be abolished and that the special room or building in which the portrait is sheltered should be closed or turned to other uses. He would have the portrait hung in an easily accessible place where it would be brought into contact with the normal life of the school and thus gradually be divested of its sacrosanctity.¹⁸ Another view is expressed by Dr. Shafer who thinks that school principals should have the right to refuse to accept the portrait.

(b) There is no doubt that many school principals would like to relieve themselves of the present heavy responsibility of caring for the Imperial portrait. The whole system of obeisance appears repugnant to a person of democratic sympathies who has not long been accustomed to it. Any directive at this time changing the system would be considered an attack upon the position of the Emperor. The problem is more closely connected with the revision of the Constitution and the whole governmental system than it is with the separation of Shinto and the state, and changes might more properly follow developments in that field.

(4) *Kamidana* All *kamidana* (Shinto god-shelves) should be removed from all public schools and from all public buildings.

18. Letter to R. K. Hall, dated 22 September, 1945.

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(5) *Compulsory attendance at shrines* Compulsory attendance at shrines, previously required of all students and teachers, should be expressly prohibited, and no discrimination against any person for his views on Shinto will be allowed.

(6) *Shinto schools*

(a) The Kokugakuin Daigaku of Tokyo and the Jingū Kōgakkān of Ise are the principal Shinto schools. The former is primarily engaged in research in ancient literature, Japanese folklore, and Shinto. Both have been sources of ultra-nationalistic Shinto theory. The Kokugakuin is a private school but has received 30,000 Yen each year from the government. Some three years ago the property of the Kōgakkān was transferred to the Japanese Government by the Grand Shrine and it was made a college by the Ministry of Education. To the Kōgakkān of Ise is attached a Shinto preparatory school of middle school grade. There are 25 other minor Shinto schools.

(b) The Kōgakkān and all other institutions which are wholly or in part supported by public funds and whose primary function is the investigation in and dissemination of Shinto or in the training of a priesthood should be abolished as Shinto schools

(c) Private educational institutions for the investigation of Shinto and the training of a Shinto priesthood should be permitted to exist and operate on exactly the same basis as educational institutions engaged in

the propagation of other religions. Obviously the dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic doctrine will be forbidden in all schools, public or private.

d. *Abolition of the Shrine board*

The Shrine Board (*Jingi-in*) of the Home Ministry, the central agency of the Japanese Government for the support, administration, control, and promotion of State Shinto, should be abolished as one of the first steps in the elimination of the connection between the government and Shinto. There is little defense of the position of the Shrine Board nor support for its retention except among members of the Board itself. Indeed, many Japanese interested in the problem have recommended that it be abolished.

c. *Accomplishments and Remaining Problems*

(1) If Japan is to assume a position of self-direction and a place among the family of nations, it is necessary to break completely not only the Shinto-inspired ultra-nationalistic beliefs of the Japanese people but also the whole complex machinery by which the Japanese Government has succeeded in propagating those beliefs.

(2) Much has already been accomplished. Defeat, surrender, and the subsequent occupation have unquestionably gone far to remove the scales from the eyes of many of the Japanese who previously never seriously questioned the official views.

(3) The new freedom of thought and expression has already relieved the more enlightened Japanese of the necessity for professing belief in theories which they always knew to be fantastic. It has done much and, if continued inviolate, will do still more to free the minds of the less enlightened of the more irrational interpretations of the old mythology which may in time revert to the status of harmless folk tales. To speed this change, however, certain action is needed.

III. ACTION RECOMMENDED

1. In view of the authority which any declaration of the Emperor holds over the minds and actions of the Japanese people and in view of the perverted interpretations given to the Imperial Rescript on Education handed down in 1890, it is recommended that pressure be brought on the Imperial Government to secure a rescript from the Emperor, declaring, in effect, that :
 - a. It is not an evidence of patriotism, nor is it a service to the Emperor or to the Japanese nation for any Japanese subject or citizen to believe, to profess to believe, or to advocate that others should believe that Japan has a mission to extend, or is in any way justified in attempting to extend, its rule over other nations or peoples by reason of :
 - (1) Superiority of the Emperor of Japan over the heads of other states because of ancestry, descent, or special origin ;

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- (2) Superiority of the people of Japan over the people of other lands because of ancestry, descent, or special origin ;
 - (3) Superiority of the islands of Japan over other lands because of divine or special creation.
- b. All Persons who have declared, on the basis of Shinto theory, doctrine, writings, or teachings, that Japan is or ever was justified in seeking to rule over or has a mission to rule over other nations or peoples, or who have interpreted any imperial rescript of previous emperors, especially the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, as an expression of Imperial sanction for such a mission, have done a grave disservice to the Emperor and to the nation.
 - c. The Emperor definitely and expressly repudiates all such interpretations of imperial rescripts.
 - d. It is the duty of good Japanese subjects to attempt to extend harmonious and peaceful relations between the Japanese and other peoples as fellow members of one great family of nations, working together, each in his own way, in a spirit of absolute racial equality, for the common and equal interests of humanity.
2. Since an imperial rescript would not of itself clear up the situation and since it is desirable to make our own official position clear beyond the possibility of misinterpretation, it is further recommended that a directive ordering the separation of Shinto from the state and the elimination of

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Shinto from the education system be handed to the Imperial Government.

- a. A copy of such a directive accompanies this study.

Ken R. Dyke
Brigadier General, AUS
Chief, CI & E Section

APPENDIX

To Staff Study on Shinto

1. *Steps in the Evolution of State Shinto*

1871 (a) Priesthood of shrines brought under national, prefectural, and local government for appointment, support, discipline, and dismissal.

(b) A systematic gradation of shrines on pyramidal principle reaching from the local shrines up to the Grand Shrine of Ise established.

(*Hōrei Zensho*, 1871, p. 187.)

1875 New rituals and ceremonies drawn up by the national government for use in officially recognized shrines. These were revised in 1914. They provide minute directions, including texts, which can be varied from only by special permit.

(*Hōrei Zensho*, 1875, p. 827 ff.)

1882 All Shinto organizations divided by law into two classes:

(a) All shrines to be called *jinja* (state institutions).

(b) All sects to be called *kyōkai* or *kyōha* (churches).

(*Hōrei Zensho*, 1882, under entry for May 15.)

1891 Priests placed under disciplinary regulations of ordinary civil officials of the state.

(*Hōtei Zensho*, 1891, p. 206; *Genkō Jinja Hōrei Ruisan*, p. 2.)

1899 Order issued forbidding teaching of religion in the schools, public or private. Not strictly enforced in private schools above primary level.

(Order No. 12 of Dept. of Education, *Genkō Tokyo Fu Gakurei Ruisan*, *Ippan Hō no Bu* [Collected Contemporary School Regulations of Tokyo Fu, Section on General Matters], p. 33).

1900 Bureau of Shrines (*Jinja Kyoku*) and Bureau of Religions

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(*Shūkyō Kyoku*) created in the Home Ministry. Shrines and their management were put under the former and sects and “all matters pertaining to religion” under the latter.

(*Hōrei Zensho*, 1900 *Chokurei* [Imperial Ordinance Section], pp. 197—198)

1911 Attendance of school children at Shrines ordered. *Mombu-shō Kunrei Fu Reiki no Bu* (Regulations of Department of Education Section on Prefectural Ordinances), ch. 3, Ordinary Education, Primary Schools, p. 32 (2).

1913 Bureau of Religions transferred to Department of Education.

2. *Legal Basis for the Japanese Government's Position that State Shinto is not a Religion*

There is no law which says in so many words that State Shinto is not a religion. There are, however, ordinances which establish a legal basis for the pronouncements to that effect by ministers of Home Affairs and Education. The most important of these is the Imperial Ordinance (*Chokurei*) No. 163, 26 April 1900, which places shrines and everything concerning them under a Shrine Bureau in the Home Ministry and “all affairs pertaining to religion” under a Bureau of Religions in the same Ministry. The ordinance says:

“ARTICLE IV. Sect. 2. The Bureau of Shrines takes charge of the following matters:

- a. Grand Shrines, Government Shrines, National Shrines, Prefectural Shrines, District Shrines, Village Shrines, *Shōkonsha* and all affairs pertaining to shrines.”

“ARTICLE IX. The Bureau of Religions takes charge of the following matters:

- a. All sects of Buddhism and Shinto, Buddhist temples, *buildings used for religious purposes and also all affairs pertaining to religion.*

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- b. *All business relating to priests of Buddhism and to religious teachers.*" (Italics ours.)

Hōrei Zensho, 1900, *Chokurei* Section, pp. 197—198; *Kampō* (Official Gazette), April 27, 1900.

This wording is repeated in Imperial Ordinance No. 173 (*Hōrei Zensho*, 1913, *Chokurei* Section, pp. 255—256) which entirely removed what was termed "religious affairs" from the Home Ministry and placed them under a Religions Bureau in the Ministry of Education. A pertinent section of the ordinance reads:

"ARTICLE I. The Minister of Education shall take charge of matters relating to education, science and arts, and religion."

"ARTICLE IV. The Bureau of Religions takes charge of the following matters:

1. Shinto Sects, Buddhist temples, *buildings used for religious purposes, and all affairs relating to religion.*" (Italics ours.)

All matters relating to shrines, their management, support, and personnel remain with the Shrine Bureau of the Home Ministry.

This separation gave legal basis for the pronouncement that "the administrative policy affecting the Shinto shrines is quite independent of the policy that concerns itself with religions." (*A General View of the Present Religious Situation in Japan*, p. 2, publ. by the Bureau of Religions, Japanese Department of Education, 1920.)

Mr. Seiji Tsukamoto, writing in 1918 in his capacity as Chief of the Shrine Bureau of the Department of Home Affairs, gave a clear-cut statement of the government position:

"In discussing the matter of shrine institutions it is necessary first of all to state that the shrines are not organs of religion.

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It appears well-nigh impossible for foreigners, who do not understand the organization of our nation, to comprehend this point. This misunderstanding is not confined to foreigners. Even among Japanese there are those who needlessly confuse the shrines with religion.... It may be asserted without the least hesitancy, however, that from the standpoint of national law the shrines are not organs of religion. Attestation of this fact may be found both in national management and in law" (Seiji Tsukamoto, *Jinja Gyōsei ni Kansuru Chūi Jikō*, "Matters to be Heeded Regarding the Administration of Shrines", *Jinja ni Kansuru Kōen*, pp. 19—22).

3. Classification of State Shinto Sanctuaries

a. State Rank

(1) *Kampeisha* (Imperial shrines)

(a) *Kampe Taisha* (major grade)

(b) *Kampe Chūsha* (middle grade)

(c) *Kampe Shōsha* (lesser grade)

(d) *Bekkaku Kampeisha* (shrines of special grade dedicated without exception to the spirits of loyalists who have been outstanding in their devotion to the Emperor and the State)

(2) *Kokuheisha* (National or State shrines)

(a) *Kokuhei Taisha* (major grade)

(b) *Kokuhei Chūsha* (middle grade)

(c) *Kokuhei Shōsha* (lesser grade)

b. *Fukensha* (Prefectural shrines)

(1) *Fusha* (urban prefectural shrines)

(2) *Kensha* (prefectural shrines)

c. *Gōsha* (District shrines. Funds furnished by districts [*gun*] and cities)

d. *Sonsha* (Village rank)

e. *Mukakusha* (Unranked or ungraded shrines)

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f. There are two special classes of shrines of great importance :

- (1) The Grand Shrine of Ise which is considered outside of and above the shrine system proper, corresponding to the position of the Emperor in the political life of the nation.
- (2) *Shōkonsha*, a special class of shrines outside of the above gradation, in which are enshrined the spirits of those who have died in military service of the state. The *Yasukuni Jinja* the greatest of the *shōkonsha*, is an exception in that it is classified as a Government Shrine of the Special Grade, that is *Bekkaku Kampeisha*. It has been under the supervision of the Army and Navy.

4. *Number of Classified Shrines (1941):*

a. National and Imperial	221
b. Prefectural	1,148
c. District	3,633
d. Village	44,934
e. Ungraded	59,997
Total	<hr/> 109,933

There are in addition many small roadside or village shrines not classified by the state.

5. *Revenue of the Shinto Shrines :*

a. Revenues of the Ise Shrine for 1943

- (1) ¥ 4,050.00 from the Imperial Household
- (2) ¥ 230,000.00 from the Government out of the national treasury
- (3) ¥ 705,710.00 voluntary contributions
- (4) ¥ 35,944.00 revenue raised from the forests and other properties

Total ¥988,324.00 (This figure is 12,680 yen more than the total of the items)

- (5) In addition to the above, ¥4,689,790.00 was paid from the national treasury in 1943 to cover part of the construction

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cost of the new Inner Shrine building which is regularly re-built every twenty years.

- b. Revenues of all the *Kampeisha* and *Kokuheisha* class shrines for 1942. Statistics vary widely concerning the exact number of shrines of each grade, depending on the source.

(1) ¥	45,755.00	from the Imperial Household
(2) ¥	824,000.00	from the national treasury
(3) ¥	7,543,206.00	from voluntary contributions
(4) ¥	2,490,093.00	from properties owned by shrines
Total ¥		10,903,054.00

It will be noticed that revenues from the Government amount to less than one-tenth of the total.

- c. Revenues of other shrines :

The prefectural governments, municipalities, town, and village offices make offerings ranging from 20 to 100 yen to shrines within the areas under their jurisdiction. Public monies are not important to the maintenance of these shrines.

- d. State budget for shrines (1945—46) — National Treasury.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Expense for Ise Grand Shrine	230,000	Personnel and Maintenance
Reconstruction Ise	1,119,565	Outlay for 1945 (Part of the reconstruction program extending from 1941—1949)
Restoration of war damage, Ise	472,000	
Office of Reconstruction of the Grand Shrine.	244,760	Office and Personnel
The Shrine Board (<i>Jingi-in</i>), Home Ministry	262,760	Office and Personnel

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Expenses for Shrines of National rank	1,082,435	Maintenance and personnel allotment to shrines of <i>Kampeishu</i> and <i>Kokuheishu</i> class
Building and Repair	868,648	
Restoration, war damage		
(first period)	677,800	
(second period)	1,828,000	
<hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/>		
Total	¥6,785,693	

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

AG 000.3 (15 Dec 45) CIE

15 December 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR :

IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

THROUGH : Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.

SUBJECT : Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support,
Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State
Shinto (*Kokka Shintō, Jinja Shintō*).

1. In order to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, and

In order to lift from the Japanese people the burden of compulsory financial support of an ideology which has contributed to their war guilt, defeat, suffering, privation, and present deplorable condition, and

In order to prevent a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression, and

In order to assist the Japanese people in a rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon ideals of perpetual peace and democracy,

It is hereby directed that :

a. The sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shinto by the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments, or by public officials, subordinates, and employees acting in their official capacity are prohibited and will cease immediately.

b. All financial support from public funds and all official affiliation with Shinto and Shinto shrines are prohibited and will cease immediately.

- (1) While no financial support from public funds will be extended to shrines located on public reservations or parks, this prohibition will not be construed to preclude the Japanese Government from continuing to support the areas on which such shrines are located
- (2) Private financial support of all Shinto shrines which have been previously supported in whole or in part by public funds will be permitted, provided such private support is entirely voluntary and is in no way derived from forced or involuntary contributions.

c. All propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology in Shinto doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, or observances, as well as in the doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, and observances of any other religion, faith, sect, creed, or philosophy, are prohibited and will cease immediately.

d. The Religious Functions Order relating to the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Religious Functions Order relating to

State and other Shrines will be annulled.

e. The Shrine Board (*Jingi-in*) of the Ministry of Home Affairs will be abolished, and its present functions, duties, and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.

f. All public educational institutions whose primary function is either the investigation and dissemination of Shinto or the training of a Shinto priesthood will be abolished and their physical properties diverted to other uses. Their present functions, duties and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.

g. Private educational institutions for the investigation and dissemination of Shinto and for the training of priesthood for Shinto will be permitted and will operate with the same privileges and be subject to the same controls and restrictions as any other private educational institution having no affiliation with the government; in no case, however, will they receive support from public funds, and in no case will they propagate and disseminate militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology.

h. The dissemination of Shinto doctrines in any form and by any means in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds is prohibited and will cease immediately.

- (1) All teachers' manuals and textbooks now in use in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds will be censored, and all Shinto doctrine will be deleted. No teachers' manual or text-

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book which is published in the future for use in such institutions will contain any Shinto doctrine.

- (2) No visits to Shinto shrines and no rites, practices or ceremonies associated with Shinto will be conducted or sponsored by any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds.

- i. Circulation by the government of “ The Fundamental Principles of the National Structure ” (*Kokutai no Hongi*), “ The Way of the Subject ” (*Shinmin no Michi*), and all similar official volumes, commentaries, interpretations, or instructions on Shinto is prohibited.

- j. The use in official writings of the terms “ Greater East Asia War ” (*Dai Tōa Sensō*), “ The Whole World under One Roof ” (*Hakkō Ichi-u*), and all other terms whose connotation in Japanese is inextricably connected with State Shinto, militarism, and ultra-nationalism is prohibited and will cease immediately.

- k. God-shelves (*Kamidana*) and all other physical symbols of State Shinto in any office, school, institution, organization, or structure supported wholly or in part by public funds are prohibited and will be removed immediately.

- l. No official, subordinate, employee, student, citizen, or resident of Japan will be discriminated against because of his failure to profess and believe in or participate in any practice, rite, ceremony, or observance of State Shinto or of any other religion.

- m. No official of the national, prefectural, or local govern-

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ment, acting in his public capacity, will visit any shrine to report his assumption of office, to report on conditions of government or to participate as a representative of government in any ceremony or observance.

2. a. The purpose of this directive is to separate religion from the state, to prevent misuse of religion for political ends, and to put all religions, faiths, and creeds upon exactly the same basis, entitled to precisely the same opportunities and protection. It forbids affiliation with the government and the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shinto but to the followers of all religions, faiths, sects creeds, or philosophies.

b. The provisions of this directive will apply with equal force to all rites, practices, ceremonies, observances, beliefs, teachings, mythology, legends, philosophy, shrines, and physical symbols associated with Shinto.

c. The term State Shinto within the meaning of this directive will refer to that branch of Shinto (*Kokka Shintō* or *Jinja Shintō*) which by official acts of the Japanese Government has been differentiated from the religion of Sect Shinto (*Shūha Shintō* or *Kyōha Shintō*) and has been classified a non-religious cult commonly known as State Shinto, National Shinto, or Shrine Shinto.

d. The term Sect Shinto (*Shūha Shintō* or *Kyōha Shintō*) will refer to that branch of Shinto (composed of 13 recognized sects) which by popular belief, legal commentary, and the official acts of the Japanese Government has been recognized

to be a religion.

e. Pursuant to the terms of Article I of the Basic Directive on "Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil, and Religious Liberties" issued on 4 October 1945 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in which the Japanese people were assured complete religious freedom,

- (1) Sect Shinto will enjoy the same protection as any other religion.
- (2) Shrine Shinto, after having been divorced from the state and divested of its militaristic and ultra-nationalistic elements, will be recognized as a religion if its adherents so desire and will be granted the same protection as any other religion in so far as it may in fact be the philosophy or religion of Japanese individuals.

f. Militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology, as used in this directive, embraces those teachings, beliefs, and theories which advocate or justify a mission on the part of Japan to extend its rule over other nations and peoples by reason of :

- (1) The doctrine that the Emperor of Japan is superior to the heads of other states because of ancestry, descent, or special origin.
- (2) The doctrine that the people of Japan are superior to the people of other lands because of ancestry, descent, or special origin.
- (3) The doctrine that the islands of Japan are superior to other lands because of divine or special origin.

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- (4) Any other doctrine which tends to delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or to glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other peoples.

3. The Imperial Japanese Government will submit a comprehensive report to this Headquarters not later than 15 March 1946 describing in detail all action taken to comply with all provisions of this directive.

4. All officials, subordinates, and employees of the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments, all teachers and education officials, and all citizens and residents of Japan will be held personally accountable for compliance with the spirit as well as the letter of all provisions of this directive.

FOR THE SUPREME COMMANDER :

/s/H. W. Allen
H. W. ALLEN
Colonel, A. G. D.,
Asst Adjutant General