

Uchimura Kanzō on Jews and Zionism

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UCHIMURA KANZŌ WAS AN ardent Christian. His faith in salvation through Jesus Christ was the focal point of his life, and according to him everything—from personal conduct to national politics, from international relations to literary merit—had to be viewed through, and judged by, firm Christian standards. At the same time Uchimura was, in his own unique way, an ardent Japanese nationalist. In opposition to the Japanese government most of his life as a firm liberal and an unwavering pacifist, he was much different from how we usually portray a Japanese nationalist. But Uchimura strongly believed that the combination of *Yamato damashii* (Japanese spirit) and Christianity would save the world. Only the Japanese were equipped to combine the best of the West and of the East; only they were tuned to the fine spirituality of Christianity.

As such a believer in Christianity and Japan, how did Uchimura regard other religions and peoples? This is a broad subject, and this paper will cover only some aspects of it. After looking briefly into Uchimura's attitude towards Japanese religions, we will look more closely into what he had to say on

the Jewish people and on their revival movement—Zionism.

UCHIMURA AND RELIGIONS OTHER THAN CHRISTIANITY

According to his own testimony, Uchimura regarded religion very seriously from early childhood. In his English autobiography he tells of his respect for, and fear of, the many gods of Japan, a fear that made his conversion to Christianity an intimidating, guilt-filled experience.¹ But the conversion was also a liberating experience, and as his Christian faith grew firmer he felt free to disregard the local deities. Nevertheless, he seems to always have regarded Buddhism with much respect, as a part of the Japanese heritage as well as for its own merits. While it is probably true that "Uchimura made surprisingly few references to traditional Japanese beliefs,"² it is also true that some of those references were very meaningful. In an article entitled "Christianity and Buddhism," he says that there were no essential differences between the fundamental teachings of Jesus and Buddha.³ Uchimura also had a particularly strong regard for Nichiren about which he often wrote with admiration. Still, Uchimura says that while both religions offer salvation by faith, Christianity's faith is grounded upon firmer ethical bases and is therefore preferable.⁴ At the same time he bitterly attacked foreign missionaries for their disrespect for local traditions and their insistence on total conversion. His references to Shinto are less frequent and he

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seems to respect it far less than he did Buddhism, especially since it became a state religion.⁵ The best in Japanese tradition he found in Bushido, which he, like his friend Nitobe Inazō, depicted as a form of chivalry.

Buddhism should naturally have attracted Uchimura's attention, but what about religions outside Japan, such as Judaism? Uchimura probably had no opportunity to experience Judaism as a living faith, or even to encounter many Jews. There were hardly any Jews in Japan at that time, and although he spent a few years in America, most of the time he was secluded in Amherst College (where he also stayed during school vacations), so it is doubtful whether he could meet Jews there. If he had such encounters, he did not mention them (unlike encounters with Unitarians, for example, which he did mention).⁶ But since a great part of his life revolved around the Bible, he had to ask himself questions concerning the Jews and their faith. The Hebrew Bible (particularly the writings of Paul) was his main source on this subject.

He also read material other than the Bible, as we can learn by examining his private library now kept in Sapporo University. This collection includes mainly books owned by Uchimura in languages other than Japanese. Uchimura often wrote inside the books the date on which he read them, and he would underline paragraphs and jot down remarks on points that interested him. Thus it is possible to verify that Uchimura indeed read several books on Judaism by Jewish and Christian authors.

As we shall see below, 1918 was the year in which Uchimura wrote most extensively about the Jews; early that year he read at least two books on the subject. First he read Israel Abrahams' *Judaism* on the last page of which he wrote: "Read through in one reading. Feb. 8. 1918. A very useful and suggestive book." On February 22 he read a book by

Ephraim Levine with the same title *Judaism*. Both books, typical of their time, are somewhat apologetic, striving to draw an appealing picture—Judaism as a spiritual religion with a mission of hope—for the sake of non-Jewish readers. Uchimura was clearly impressed by parts of those books, and he used some of the information contained in them in his later writings, but he also ignored large parts that did not suit his purpose or his beliefs. Another book Uchimura read was Madison C. Peters' *Justice to the Jew: The Story of What He Has Done for the World* (New York: 1908). This is another type of apologetic in which the author specifies the contribution of the Jews—generally and individually—to society (mostly American). As he did in other cases, Uchimura seems to have used some information given here (about the achievements of the Jews in science, for example), while ignoring other information that was contradictory to what he believed (e.g. Jews as soldiers, since Uchimura exalted the Jews as pacifists).

There are a few more books on Judaism in Uchimura's library, some of which he read much later after he had already written what he had to say on the subject.⁷ No doubt he also read other material, which is not in the library, as well as Japanese books and articles. By the 1920s there were already several such publications on Judaism and Zionism in Japanese, including some anti-Semitic material.⁸

Geographic-cultural writings

In a series of articles entitled "*Kōkoku shidan*" (History of nations), published from September 1899 to June 1900 in the magazine *Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi*, Uchimura wrote at length about the Jews. Chapters 13 to 15 of the series were entitled "*Yudaya*" (Judea).⁹ Uchimura's view expressed in this series is in accord with his views in other publications of the same nature, such as his

book *Chijinron* (Earth and Man), published during the same decade. In these works Uchimura expounded world history from a geographical-teleological point of view, relying heavily on the work of Karl Ritter and Arnold Guyot.¹⁰ The gist of the theory is that physical characteristics of the earth influenced the development of civilizations, and that through this knowledge it is possible to predict their future course.

Uchimura's chapters on Judea also rely on Ritter. The first of the three chapters concerns geography; Judea lies between three continents and receives some of its natural features from all three. It is a small but unique country whose climate and shape are extremely diverse. Knowing that, it is easier to understand the history of the Jews. The second chapter is about the people; they were Semites, and therefore emotional and also simple (unlike the more complex Greeks). For the Semites, only one God and one nation were possible. The nature and climate were effective in shaping the people; the prophets would not have been the same if not for the desert. The combined influence of three continents was a lucky one; it made them cosmopolitan, enabling them to succeed wherever they went. The third chapter deals mainly with faith. Other nations had also believed in one national god, but the Jews were the first to believe in one exclusive God. Further, their God was a righteous one, and His promise to Abraham, which gave hope to them and to the rest of the world, sustained them through generations of misfortune. Uchimura concludes his short historical survey with Jesus, whom the Jews rejected. The reason for the existence of Judea, in fact, was to bring forth Jesus who would open the road of salvation for humanity. Because they rejected him, the Jews lost their country, but hope was born for the whole world.

There is no need to argue with Uchi-

mura's historical methodology, which was acceptable during his time. A few points should be highlighted, however: Uchimura's firm belief in what to him were clear-cut historical facts, and to which he would cling for the rest of his life; his way of viewing history through traditional Christian beliefs and literal understanding of the Bible; and his basically positive view of the Jewish people, in spite of their rejection of Jesus, as an instrument and vehicle in carrying out God's purposes, not as people living by their own right.

It should be remembered, though, that according to Uchimura every nation, including the Japanese, had its place in God's plan. Still, his way of thinking was not really deterministic, because he believed people should live up to the role designated to them by God. If man was too weak or stubborn, plans could go wrong and not materialize. That said, one still feels that Uchimura's depiction of the Jews as an unwitting instrument in God's plan is more consistent than in the case of other nations.

Patriotism and pacifism

Biblical interpretation occupies a great part of Uchimura's writings. In 1901 he published, in his newly founded magazine, *Seisho no Kenkyū* (Biblical Studies), a commentary on Psalm 137 entitled "*Yudayajin no aikokka*" (The patriotic songs of the Jews).¹¹ This was an important subject for Uchimura, since he considered patriotism to be one of the greatest values in human life. He writes that for the Jews, country, God, and hope were combined. Although God is present everywhere, living detached from one's own country is impossible. Uchimura refers here to ancient Israel, but we should bear in mind that to him there was no significant difference between the ancient and the modern Jews.

An important article was published by

Uchimura in 1910 under the title "*Yudayajin toshite no Iesu*" (Jesus as a Jew), which refers to the first chapter of Matthew.¹² Here Uchimura gives a detailed exposition of his view of the Jews. Not having a country of their own, the Jews regard the whole world as their home and they succeed wherever they go as the only true cosmopolitan people. They are the most ancient people, unchanged for 4,000 years while many other peoples perished. Considering their size, no other people had so many great personalities; not only in religion (Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Paul), but in all other important fields—philosophy, music, social reform, politics, business, and, most of all, pacifism. They didn't take part in wars and they were the pioneers of systematic pacifism. Jesus was a Jew and inherited his people's characteristics as an idealist, revolutionary, pacifist, and cosmopolitan. In character he was like Spinoza—he lived in poverty, was persecuted, but did not give up his belief. Other nations had great personalities too, but the real savior could only have been born a Jew. In other nations he would have been a national savior; only as a Jew could he be a world savior. Since the Jews don't have a country or an army, he who calls for world peace in the name of the God of love was born among them.

A prominent subject in the article is pacifism. Uchimura's pacifism evolved gradually, after a long inner struggle between his natural patriotism and his Christian belief, which he often interpreted literally. Still supportive of war in 1894, he was advocating peace at all cost by 1903. The Jews provided him with a good example of a people who apparently succeed without waging war (even if it meant ignoring much historical fact). Another conspicuous point in the article is Uchimura's listing of the many great personalities among the Jews, a theme he will repeat many times.

The Messiah and the second coming

In 1918 Uchimura published several articles concerning the Jews, some of which were first given as lectures during his preaching campaign on behalf of the Second Coming Movement. He joined this "crusade" in 1917 when he became infused with a sense of urgency flamed by the horrors of World War I. Uchimura underwent a new "conversion" to the belief that there will be no real salvation before Jesus Christ returns to the world.¹³ The effect was so strong that Uchimura was ready to compromise his principles and to collaborate with church people far removed from his usual way of thinking, such as Nakada Jūji and Kimura Seimitsu.

Uchimura's adoption of the second coming belief was partially due to the influence of an American friend, David C. Bell, who had sent him millenarian literature for years.¹⁴ One issue that had been connected for centuries with the belief in the second coming in the West was the conviction that the return of the Jews to their land was a necessary first step.¹⁵ The idea can be traced back to seventeenth century England, and it later contributed to the development of American fundamentalism. Millenarian enthusiasm rose high during World War I, particularly in 1918 following the British occupation of the Holy Land. Some aspects common to this belief are: literal interpretation of the Bible; identifying the prophecies concerning ancient Israel with the fate of contemporary Jews; and believing that the return of the Jews to Zion is a preliminary step toward the return of Jesus Christ to rule over the earth.

Uchimura wrote on the relation of the Jews to the second coming in a short piece published in the March 1918 issue of his magazine, *Seisho no Kenkyū*, under the title "*Isuraeru to kyōkai*" (Israel and the church).¹⁶ Here he says that Israel fulfilled its mission by bringing Jesus to the world,

but Israel's role is not over yet. Israel was not lost; on the contrary, it remained healthy and strong (he repeated the arguments of the 1910 article). But when Jesus becomes king of the world, Israel too would be his servant, and will be saved (according to Rom. 11:26). God did not forget his promise to the chosen people. The fact of their continued existence is proof of the validity of Biblical prophecies, and it has a clear relation to the coming of Jesus.

In another short piece published in June and entitled "*Yudayateki shisōnari to no setsu*" (The argument about a Jewish way of thinking), Uchimura defends his belief in the second coming.¹⁷ At that time Uchimura came under some fierce attacks for preaching this belief. For example, Ebina Danjō published an article in the magazine *Shinjin* that was clearly directed against Uchimura, concluding that "the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ is an importation from Judaism, and should be rejected by all who have the Spirit. Those who look forward eagerly [to it] . . . fall into pessimism, discouragement, and neglect of duty toward the development of human beings and the upbuilding of the world."¹⁸ Uchimura responded by saying that the most valuable truths concerning God and the Messiah were supplied by the Jews. The law that Jesus upheld was the Jewish law. Further, it was Jesus himself who believed in his own second coming, as told by the gospels. He who denies that will have to deny the authenticity of the New Testament.

In the same issue of his monthly magazine for June, Uchimura also published the text of a lecture he gave on May 5 in front of a large audience in Tokyo entitled "*Kirisuto sairin no shōmei toshite no Yudayajin*" (The Jews as witnesses for the second coming of Christ).¹⁹ Here he blamed those who reject biblical proofs of the second coming for having a superficial religion. This belief is the

heart of the Bible, not something marginal. In presenting the Jews as witnesses he is aware that it might seem strange to some people. After all, the Jews are blamed for rejecting Jesus and crucifying him; they have a past but not a future, and so on. Still, their history is crucial to world salvation. Uchimura now repeats (with changes) what he wrote earlier about the Jews being a strong people with many great figures. He goes on to say that the Jews control most of the German press, that the Communist revolution in Russia was carried out by them, and that their economic power is immense.²⁰ What is the explanation for the fact that they remain strong in spite of the long persecutions? Some say that they keep their health by observing circumcision, which is hygienic, and by avoiding pork. But if you ask the Jews themselves they will say that belief in the Bible and waiting for the Messiah is what sustained them.²¹ The Christians also wait, and they are all waiting for the one and the same person — Jesus Christ, for there is no Messiah but him. Uchimura also responds to Ebina's argument (and similarly does not refer to his adversary) that waiting for Christ's return leads to inaction and neglect of responsibility to the world. The history of the Jews is the best example to the contrary.

Trying to drive home his point about the Jews being strong and successful, Uchimura got carried away, indiscriminately mixing praise with the worst kind of anti-Semitic propaganda common throughout Europe and America during his time. In his view, Jews were not so important for their own sake, but as witnesses to something far more important. For Uchimura the fact that the Jews are consistently waiting for the Messiah while remaining strong and successful is one proof that Jesus will indeed return.

A week after the previous lecture, on May 12, Uchimura gave another lecture entitled

"*Seisho no yogen to Paresuchina no kaifuku*" (Biblical prophecies and the restoration of Palestine)²², which he published in the July issue of his magazine. Uchimura goes one step farther by stating that not only are the Jews witnesses for the second coming, but their impending return to their land strongly proves it. The existence of the Jews is a miracle, as is their return to their land, and this is deeply connected with Christian belief.²³ The Jews have two interpretations for the biblical prophecies—a spiritual one and an actual one. So do the Christians concerning Jesus' return, but whoever believes in the actuality of the prophecies will not weaken, even if they suffer much. The Jews had many disappointments (Uchimura accurately lists seven false Messiahs in Jewish history, from Bar-Kokhba to Shabbetai Zevi), but they kept their hope and their prayer "for next year in Jerusalem." European leaders in the past, including Oliver Cromwell (one of Uchimura's heroes), believed in the second coming and sought to help the Jews' return to their land as a first step towards that purpose. The hope of the Jews was reawakened in 1896 by Theodor Herzl and the Zionist movement, whose activity Uchimura elaborates at length.²⁴ The last obstacle was lifted with the liberation of Palestine by the British and the Balfour Declaration. The prophecies concerning the return of the Jews are being fulfilled, therefore the prophecies of the second coming are certain to be fulfilled as well. The believers in the second coming were disappointed in the past too, but seeing the restoration of Palestine strengthened their faith.

Uchimura returned to the same subject enthusiastically in the article "*Erusaremu daigaku no setchi*" (Establishment of Jerusalem University), which he published in September.²⁵ First citing a news agency cable describing the cornerstone laying ceremony for Hebrew University in Jerusalem,²⁶ and

then Jeremiah's and Isaiah's prophecies, Uchimura elaborates on the same themes; namely, the Jews as witnesses for the faith, and their power and success. The Jews will build the Kingdom of Glory from which Jesus will reign over the whole world. Uchimura is overwhelmed by the news of the establishment of the university, which he believes will become the greatest in the world, thanks to the great Jewish scholars who will gather in it. Describing the scenery he had never seen with his own eyes, but seems to feel with all his senses, Uchimura wrote:

All those who seek knowledge will carry their books and go to study in this land. When they arrive at the Holy Land and disembark at Jaffa's harbor, they'll be perplexed by the sight of destitution smeared with camel's excrement—can anyone imagine coming to study in such a place?—but the day approaches when the prophet's words: "Bowing before you shall come the children of those who tormented you" [Isa. 60:14] will be fulfilled.²⁷

An event such as this, says Uchimura, cannot be easily ignored. As the faith in the second coming gathers momentum all over the world, concrete historical evidence is given to the impending realization of God's plan.

Mention should also be made of an article published in January 1919, "*Chirigakuteki chūshin toshite no Erusaremu*" (Jerusalem as the geographical center of the world).²⁸ Uchimura distinguishes between the geographical center, where a capital should be located, and the geometrical one, which is not necessarily the same. He argues that the world's capital was shifted as history unfolded. Now London seems to occupy this place, but the world is still evolving and changing. The final capital will be Jerusalem

when Jesus returns and reigns over the world; it will then be the true center of the world.

More biblical interpretation

By 1920 Uchimura had cut off his involvement in preaching the second coming, although he did not forsake his belief in its realization. He continued his systematic lectures on the Bible, and during the early 1920s he focused his attention on the interpretation of Romans, which he later believed to be his best work. He published two long series in his magazine. The first, "*Romasho no kenkyū*" (Study of Romans), was published in 1921–1922, parts 13–15 of which carry the title "*Yudayajin no fushin to jinrui no sukui*" (The unbelief of the Jews and the salvation of humankind).²⁹ The second, "*Romasho kōen yakusetsu*" (Summary of lectures on Romans), was published in 1922–1923, part 44 of which is entitled "*Isuraeru no fushin*" (The unbelief of Israel), and part 45, "*Kami no setsuri*" (God's providence).³⁰ Both versions deal with similar theological questions.

In the second version Uchimura asks, why weren't the Jews saved? He answers that God chooses whom to save. It was the will of God that they will reject Jesus so that the gentiles will adopt him and the whole of humankind will be saved. But it is their responsibility, too; the Jews followed their own righteousness instead of God's. While the gentiles chose the path of faith, they mastered the law but failed to understand righteousness. In this Uchimura follows closely in Paul's footsteps by asserting that the Jews are still to be saved.

Finally, in an interpretation of Obadiah 1:19–21 entitled "*Isuraeru no sukui to yo no shūmatsu*" (Israel's salvation and the world's end) and published in November 1928 (a year and a half before his death), Uchimura repeats his familiar text about the

success of the Jews.³¹ He does not write about the restoration of Palestine, but rather about the salvation of the whole world. For this to happen the world must wait for the return of Jesus Christ, when all suffering will end.

UCHIMURA - A ZIONIST?

Uchimura's idea of the Jews was, to a great extent, the traditional Christian one, with the additional influence of modern fundamentalism. Original in many other ways, he did not show much originality in this subject, although he formulated it in his own distinct style. He adhered to the Hebrew prophets and to the New Testament; what Paul had to say of the Jews was relevant as ever, and what the prophets had promised was soon to be fulfilled.

As mentioned above, Uchimura had no true experience of living Judaism. Although he read much about the tradition, it seems that he hardly recognized it as an independent religion. He usually writes about "*Yudayajin*" (Jews) not "*Yudayakyō*" (Judaism), as if Christianity was the true Jewish (or "Hebrew," as he called it when writing in English) religion. Similarly, he did not recognize Jewish messianic expectations as an independent possibility, something the Jews had the right to expect for their own sake; the Jews are really waiting for Jesus, who is the only Messiah, even if they don't say so themselves. Uchimura was indeed "an intolerant believer," as Kamei Katsuichirū called him.³² He firmly believed in the exclusivity of Christian salvation.

Facts mattered to Uchimura less than faith did. Although he was constantly looking for information he could use to prove his case, he probably didn't ask himself whether, for example, the information about the Jews' success was really correct. He ignored the fact that during his time the great majority of the Jews lived under pov-

erty and oppression. Uchimura places much emphasis on his claim that Asians are suited to understand Christianity better than Westerners, but he still endorses much of the erroneous notions of the West concerning the Jews. To speak of anti-Semitism in the context of East Asia is problematic. Without the experience of living with the Jews, anti-Semitism could not have been developed or even well understood there. However, Japanese, including Uchimura, could still unwittingly adopt anti-Semitic allegations as if they were solid facts. Uchimura was certainly not an anti-Semite, but he nevertheless failed to obtain a correct understanding of Judaism and of Jewish aspirations.

Was Uchimura a Zionist? According to some of his followers, at least, he certainly was. Teshima Ikurō, founder of the Makuya movement, was not, admittedly, a direct disciple of Uchimura's, but of Uchimura's disciple Tsukamoto Toraji. Teshima was a leader of a Mukyōkai group in Kyushu before creating his own brand of evangelical Christianity with a Pentecostal bent.³³ Teshima called his movement "The New Zionists of Japan" and showed an unwavering support for the state of Israel. In an English booklet published by the Makuya, Uchimura's picture appears with the text: "Kanzō Uchimura, teacher and founder of the Non-Church Movement, was an ardent supporter of Zionism."³⁴ There follows a short citation from Uchimura's article on the Hebrew University.

The answer to the question of whether Uchimura was really a Zionist might depend on the definition of Zionism, or at least of Christian Zionism, a definition very difficult to achieve.³⁵ If supporting the revival of Jewish independence in the ancient land of Israel is what makes a Zionist, then Uchimura was one. But if we inquire after the reasons for such support and the expectations involved in it, the answer might be more com-

plicated, since at least two distinct types would evolve. On the one hand there is the type of Christian who thinks that Jews have the right to "return into history" by renewing their independent life; this may or may not hold a religious meaning as well, but the main point is to view it within the framework of human history. On the other hand, there is the Christian to whom this revival would hold—first and foremost—not only a religious meaning, but the belief that the Jews are but an instrument in ushering in the return of Jesus Christ. This second type of Christian Zionism (which is still common in different variations) is problematic, and from a Jewish point of view might not qualify as Zionism. But there is certainly no "dogma" on this issue, and different opinions are possible.

IMPORTANT INFLUENCES

Why is all this important? For one thing, Uchimura was one of the greatest intellectual figures of Japan in the last hundred years, and what he had to say deserves careful examination. Although it is difficult to measure his influence, it is clear that many listened to him with great respect and that his writings are still highly regarded. Furthermore, Uchimura's response, both as a Christian and as a Japanese, was typical in several ways, and there is much we can learn from it that is still applicable today. This became apparent when a new wave of Japanese anti-Semitic books gained popularity during the 1980s.³⁶ And last but not least, Uchimura was a fascinating figure, and studying his life and work is an intriguing and rewarding experience.

Uchimura no doubt had felt close to the ancient Hebrews, or rather to the early Christians among them, such as Paul. It is perhaps best to conclude by citing one of his short paragraphs, written in English, in which he summarized his belief. It is from

an article entitled "Hebrews and Japanese," published September 1929.³⁷ Like so much of Uchimura's writings it is characteristic, poignant, and problematic:

Christianity is a Hebrew religion, or a universal religion born through Hebrew spirit, and can only be understood by Hebrews and the Hebrew-minded, as Bushido is a Japanese way, and can only be understood by Japanese and the Japanese-minded. Greeks, and Romans, and Britishers, and Americans cannot understand Christianity just as they cannot understand the Spirit of Yamato. Much of the perplexity into which we were thrown by the Christian teachers of the West must be due to the lack of Hebrew-mindedness in these teachers. They tried to teach us things which are foreign to their mental and spiritual natures. Mere fact of our being Orientals places us in nearer relations to Hebrews—hence to Christianity—than these Western teachers. We are not of them who doubt and speculate, but of them who trust and "believe all things." [I Cor. 13:7] St. Paul may pass for a genuine samurai. I Cor. 9:25."

NOTES

¹ Uchimura Kanzō, *The Complete Works of Kanzō Uchimura* vol. 1 [English works], (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1971–1972), pp. 18–23, 25–26.

² John F. Howes, "Uchimura Kanzō and traditional Japanese religions," *Japanese Religions* vol. 2 (1960), p. 26.

³ Uchimura, *Complete Works* vol. 4, pp. 57–61 (written 1926). See also vol. 3, p. 54.

⁴ Uchimura, *Complete Works* vol. 4, pp. 144f. Here he was probably being "diplomatic," since he believed real salvation was possible only through Christian faith.

⁵ See his short remarks in *Complete Works* vol. 7, pp. 220ff.

⁶ Uchimura, *Complete Works* vol. 1, pp. 128–30; see also pp. 134–35.

⁷ In Uchimura's library there are also several books on Buddhism, and a few on Shinto, Hinduism, and Islam; see [N.N.] *The Catalogue of Uchimura Library*, (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Library, 1955), pp. 58–61.

⁸ See some of the books listed in Miyazawa Masahori, *Nihon ni okeru Yudaya, Isuraeru rongi bunken mokuroku 1877–1988*, (Tokyo: 1990), pp. 11–20.

⁹ In *Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū* vol. 7 (Iwanami Shoten: 1981–1984), pp. 343–63.

¹⁰ See Carlo Calderola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way*, (Leiden: 1979), pp. 79–80.

¹¹ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 9, pp. 259–66.

¹² Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 17, pp. 153–55.

¹³ See his article "Three great moments," written February 1918, in *The Complete Works of Kanzō Uchimura* vol. 3, pp. 86ff.

¹⁴ Several books of this nature can be found in Uchimura's library; for example, F. M. Thomas' *The Coming Presence*, in which Uchimura inscribed: "Read for the first time on Jan. 17. 1918. with immense profit and consolation."

¹⁵ See Carlo Calderola, "Fundamentalist Christianity: Israel and the second coming," Baha Abu-Laban, ed. *Arabs in America: Myths and Realities*, (Wilmette: 1975), pp. 129–41.

¹⁶ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 108–9.

¹⁷ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 193–4.

¹⁸ See S. H. Wainright, "Department of the Christian Literature Society of Japan: 1. The Second Coming of our Lord," *The Japan Evangelist* vol. 25 (1918), p. 220.

¹⁹ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 218–224.

²⁰ Here Uchimura mentions among other Jewish financiers, Jacob Schiff, who helped Japan receive desperately needed loans during the Russo-Japanese war. The admiration for Schiff in Japan contributed to the myth of Jewish control of world finance. See Ben-Ami Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders*, (Rutland & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1991), pp. 147–49.

²¹ Uchimura refers here to the Jews as "dreamers," probably influenced by a paragraph he underlined in Abrahams' *Judaism*, p. 22. Other points he appreciated in this book are the depiction of the Jews as witnesses to God and as fulfilling God's purposes, and the emphasis on

hope. Some points he ignored, such as the distinction between Zionism and Messianism on which Abrahams insisted (p. 92f.).

²² Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 242-48.

²³ See also the article entitled "Zetsudai no kiseki" (A great miracle) in *Zenshū*, vol. 24, pp. 323-26, where Uchimura interprets Joshua 10:1-15, and argues that a religion without faith in miracles is a weak one.

²⁴ According to the editors of Uchimura's *Zenshū* (vol. 24, p. 646), his information was based on M. J. Landa's article "The restoration of Palestine" in *The Hibbet Journal* vol. xvi, no. 2 (January 1918).

²⁵ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 314-17.

²⁶ This took place on August 4, 1918; the university's inauguration was on April 1, 1925.

²⁷ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 24, pp. 316f. [my translation].

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 437-39; based on his talk of November 9, 1918, and written down by Fujii Takeshi.

²⁹ Uchimura, *Zenshū* vol. 26, pp. 332-52.

³⁰ *Ibid*, vol. 27, pp. 55-61.

³¹ *Ibid*, vol. 31, pp. 334-36.

³² In his fine article, "Uchimura Kanzō, intolerant believer," *The Japan Interpreter*, vol. 10 (1975), pp. 16-43.

³³ See Carlo Caldarola, "The Makuya Christianity movement," *Japanese Religions*, vol. 7 (1972), pp. 18-34.

³⁴ [N.N.] *Makuya and Israel: in Memory of Abraham I. Teshima*, (Tokyo: Makuya Bible Seminary, 1976), p. 20.

³⁵ For a detailed discussion of this question see Halvor Ronning, "The land of Israel: a Christian Zionist view," *Immanuel*, no. 22/23 (1989), pp. 120-132.

³⁶ See Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese*, pp. 216-222. These books revived the old myth about Jewish world-control; some of their writers were Christians.

³⁷ Uchimura, *The Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 250ff.