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## Nitobe Inazō and the Sapporo Band Reflections on the Dawn of Protestant Christianity in Early Meiji Japan

This paper focuses on the famous prewar internationalist Nitobe Inazō, and inquires into the origins of his Christian faith. Born in 1862 in Morioka in the last years of the Tokugawa period, he imbibed Christianity while attending the Sapporo Agricultural College. That institution's unique historical environment, and the spiritual legacy implanted there by its charismatic founding president, William S. Clark, is described, and it is demonstrated how Inazō and his classmates were profoundly influenced by New England puritan values in their early exposure to Protestant Christianity. It follows Inazō on his six-and-a-half years of study abroad, and traces his inward struggles to attain a genuine Christian faith free from the taint of foreign culture. His academic studies in the United States and Germany is described in detail. Special attention is paid to his Quaker religious experiences, since these left indelible marks upon his later life and career. Peculiar tenets of his faith and mentioned, and one in particular—the doctrine of pacifism—is highlighted; one which many people who have studied Nitobe's career feel he failed to resolve adequately. Finally, there are some remarks about the legacy of the Sapporo Band, of whom Satō Shōsuke, Ōshima Masatake, Uchimura Kanzō, Miyabe Kingo, and Nitobe stand out most notably today.

KEYWORDS: Nitobe Inazō — Meiji Protestant Christianity — Uchimura Kanzō — Sapporo Agricultural School — Japanese Quakers

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**N**ITOBE INAZŌ 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933) has been the subject of much attention in Japan over the last two decades. Though one of the best internationally known Japanese in his day, he had been largely forgotten in the years after his death. This dramatically changed in the 1980s when Nitobe was “rediscovered.” The renewed interest in Nitobe resulted mainly from his portrait appearing on the five thousand yen bill from 1984 until the end of 2005, when it was replaced by a new bill that featured the Meiji novelist Higuchi Ichiyō. Two years ago, symposiums were held in Tokyo (at the United Nations University) and in Hokkaido, to ensure that Nitobe’s legacy not be forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

Nitobe is remembered today as the author of *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, which has been a long-seller since its publication in 1900. Two years ago, *Bushido* made the bestseller, top-ten list at a Tokyo bookstore, thanks in large part to the Hollywood movie, *The Last Samurai*, starring Tom Cruise. The movie was but one factor that contributed to the resurgence of *Bushido*. The moral lessons embedded in the concept of *bushidō* continue to fascinate people today. Perhaps because this conception is an intrinsic part of—indeed many feel that it is what gives backbone to—a unique Japanese identity; an identity which some feel is increasingly threatened by globalization. Thus, nostalgia and romanticism go far to explain the lingering popularity of *Bushidō* images in contemporary Japan.<sup>2</sup>

Perceptive readers of *Bushido* quickly realize that Nitobe’s depiction of the *bushi* mentality and lifestyle are uniquely his own. Since the appearance of the book over a hundred years ago, many critics have attacked his portrait of the samurai as being overly idealistic and too tinged with Christian virtues. Tessa Morris-Suzuki has remarked that “In his writings, the samurai...is above all a gentleman, and *Bushido* itself is not so much an esoteric philosophy as a mildly exoticised version of the British public school ethos” (MORRIS-SUZUKI 1998, 68).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in perusing the book, one immediately senses that Nitobe’s intended audience were educated readers in the West. It was his aim to show “in

1. Symposium titled “Why Nitobe Now?,” organized by the Nitobe *kai*, the National Federation of UNESCO Association in Japan, the United Nations University, and the Asia Foundation. Among the seven speakers that day was John Howes, the foremost researcher in English on the Sapporo Band. Since the first draft of this paper was written, Howes’s excellent biography of Uchimura (2005) has appeared.

2. Numerous new books have appeared on *bushidō* in the last few years. Among them is one by Lee Teng-hui, former President of Taiwan, who highly praises Nitobe’s book, and mentions the influence that it had on his own life. See LI Tō Ki 2003.

3. I thank Colin Tyner, formerly my MA student at J. F. Oberlin, for bringing this work to my attention.

a comparative light” the commonalities that traditional Japanese culture possessed with occidental cultures. Nitobe’s Christian biases are plainly evident in the book, for which he did not apologize. The aim of this paper is to explore the roots and development of Nitobe’s Christian faith, beginning with his early experiences in Sapporo, followed by a consideration of how it was shaped through study overseas in the United States and Europe. Particular attention will be given to encounter and religious experiences with the Quakers and his struggle with their distinctive teaching regarding pacifism.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Sapporo Agricultural School and Its Christian Beginnings*

The Sapporo Agricultural College (SAC) was the brainchild of Kuroda Kiyotaka, a Satsuma samurai who had led imperial forces to defeat remnants of Tokugawa resistance at Hakodate in 1869. After the restoration, Kuroda was made vice director for the newly-established *Kaitakushi* 開拓使 (Colonization Office) whose mission was the development of the island of Hokkaido. To carry out this task, Horace Capron, an agricultural official in the United States government, was hired as an advisor to draw up the island’s future plans. Capron visited Hokkaido and worked for three years, from 1870 to 1873, and laid the blueprint for this daunting task. It was determined that American-style farming, as practiced in the New England States, would be the best model to follow. An integral part of the overall plans included the building of an agricultural college in the town of Sapporo which would be modelled after the Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC), an institution recently started on public lands obtained through provisions in the Morrill Act, that was passed by the US Congress in 1862 (HOKKAIDO PREFECTURAL GOVERNMENT 1968, 3–5).

To lay the foundation for this new school, the Colonization Office hired William S. Clark, then serving as President of the MAC, to a one-year contract to serve as Headmaster of the new School for the princely sum of seven thousand two hundred yen. Clark arrived in Sapporo in August 1876, with two recent graduates of MAC, William Wheeler and James Penhallow, who were to serve as teaching assistants. In his short stay, Clark set up the rules governing the school, created the school’s curriculum, and recruited the first group of students, which included twenty-four in the college and twenty-six in the preparatory class. In his short time there, Clark became extremely close to the students whom he treated firmly, but kindly and with respect. He taught them agriculture and went hiking with them into the forests to collect specimens, and he told them war stories of his days as a union officer in the civil war. And, perhaps most important of all, he taught them how to pray. John Maki, in his insightful biography of W. S. Clark, includes a long passage from Ōshima Masatake, a member of the first class, which detailed Clark’s method of teaching Christian doctrines in the

4. One strong critic of Nitobe on this point is ŌTA Yūzō (1986) at McGill University.

classroom. “In Clark-like fashion, he...pour[ed] a very considerable amount of effort into tending to the spiritual needs of his students” (MAKI 2002, 176). In only eight months, Clark was able to lay a solid foundation for the academic side of the institution. In addition, he also left behind a spiritual atmosphere that lay heavy emphasis on Christian morality that was not unlike his New England college that was shaped by strict Calvinist precepts. From this environment would spring powerful personalities who would embody the words that he bequeathed to his students. The first year students, whom he had personally taught, and the second year students whom he indirectly influenced, became known as the “Sapporo Band” of Christians. Their accomplishments, more than anything else, have immortalized the words known to every generation of Japanese children, which were attributed to Clark when he left Sapporo: “Boys Be Ambitious!” Because of William S. Clark’s great contribution to the history of Protestant Christianity and higher education in Japan, we need to consider in more detail the nature of his charismatic personality and explain why he was so successful in his labors, despite the brevity of his visit.<sup>5</sup>

William S. Clark is grouped by historians of modern Japan in the category of foreign employees (*oyatoi gaikokujin* 御雇外国人) who were hired by the new Meiji government for short-term contracts at high salaries to teach Japanese the latest scientific knowledge to help modernize the country.<sup>6</sup> Clark, who served as the President of the recently-founded Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC), celebrated his fiftieth birthday shortly after coming to Hokkaido. He had taken a one-year leave from this position in order to establish a similar kind of institution in Japan. His invitation had come through the mediation of the Japanese consul based in Washington D. C., Kuroda Kiyotaka, mentioned earlier as the visionary behind the plans to develop Hokkaido. Kuroda had travelled to America to study its agriculture. Convinced that the American model would fit his idea of what was best for Hokkaido, he approved plans to employ Clark.<sup>7</sup>

In retrospect it is apparent that Christianity in Sapporo was a by-product—unplanned and probably unwanted—of a larger national scheme to incorporate Hokkaido into the national polity. SAC was conceived within this framework. Needless to say, religious instruction, especially from a foreign source, was not part of the plan. Where, then, did Christianity come in? Through what means did it enter this government-funded school? We now know that W. C. Clark, as

5. In 1976, on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Hokkaido University, a flurry of activities pertaining to W. S. Clark took place. Included among these was an interesting video documentary narrated by Professor Takaku, now Emeritus Professor at Hokkaido University. I am grateful to Nagao Teruhiko, my colleague in Nitobe studies at Hokkaido University, who made this video available to me.

6. For a background of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* see JONES 1980.

7. An early academic work in English that mentions Kuroda’s work in Hokkaido is HARRISON 1954.

Headmaster of the SAC, was the person responsible for its introduction. But what were his reasons for pursuing evangelical work in the name of Jesus Christ?

To answer this puzzling yet basic question, we must look at Clark's background. His letters from Sapporo, now in deposit at the library archives at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, indicate that he did not have Christian evangelistic activities in mind when he signed his contract with the *kai-takushi*.<sup>8</sup> Rather he conceived his task as a purely secular one: namely, to start an American-style agricultural school in Japan's northern frontier, and to train its students in the latest scientific agricultural techniques. His main interests at that time were academic; he himself had received advanced training in Chemistry in Germany, where he obtained a PhD. In his private life, Clark shared the conventions of the typical Christian layman of that day. He was outwardly respectable, attended church services without fail on Sundays, and subscribed unquestioningly to the faith and morals he had acquired as a birthright. John Maki's biography does not portray Clark as an overzealous Christian anxious to win souls for Christ.<sup>9</sup>

Clark came from a family of New England Congregationalists. His father, a country doctor, had a practice in the western part of Massachusetts. In his family were a number of pastors who had attended Amherst College where he also graduated in 1848. Amherst was already famous for producing men of the cloth. Among Japanese Christians of the Meiji period, Amherst had a particularly rich legacy. Nijijima Jō, founder of Dōshisha, was an Amherst graduate; so was Naruse Jinzō, founder of the Japan Women's University; Uchimura Kanzō, too, graduated from Amherst in 1888. But Clark's academic interest was not in religion or philosophy, but in the natural sciences, in which he distinguished himself. In one incident mentioned in a letter to his mother, dated 16 March 1846, while still a sophomore at Amherst, he writes of a deep personal religious experience. In it, he described vividly his conversion and his submission to "my Redeemer." Maki quotes this long letter in full, and adds that "[T]his event and his missionary work in Sapporo thirty years later are the only indications that Clark was ever more than routinely interested in religion, routinely, that is, as measured by the customs of the time."<sup>10</sup>

What then explains Clark's impelling motive to propagate Christianity in Sapporo after his arrival there in July 1876? One possible explanation is offered by Ōsaka Shingo, a disciple of Uchimura, and a long-time professor at Hokkaido

8. Some of these letters have been printed in KAWABATA, OHNISHI, and NISHIDE 1987.

9. MAKI's (2002) Chapter One, "The Man and the Families," and Chapter Two, "The Making of an Academician," are particularly illuminating in this regard.

10. On recent scholarship by Japanese scholars on Nijijima Jō, see GAKKŌ HŌJIN DŌSHISHA 1993. For a study of Naruse Jinzō's educational thought, particularly his influence from President Julius Seeley at Amherst, see KAGEYAMA 1994. On Uchimura Kanzō, in addition to his published *Collected Works*, numerous secondary studies are available. While there are comparatively few studies in English, John HOWES's new biography (2004) is a welcome addition.

University. In his detailed study of Clark's life, Ōsaka points to the crucial fact that, in his trip across the Pacific on his way to Japan, Clark and his two students had stopped in Hawai'i for a short stay before disembarking at Yokohama. The visit to Hawai'i must have kindled a missionary spark in Clark. Harriet, Clark's wife, was the daughter of William Richardson, a pioneer New England missionary who had come to Hawai'i in 1821 as part of the evangelical missionary force sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to spread the gospel to heathen peoples.<sup>11</sup> Richardson later served the Hawai'ian government in an important role in its diplomatic affairs. Seeing for himself the concrete legacy of missionaries, such as his own father-in-law who laid the foundation for the Westernization and Christianization of the islands, says ŌSAKA (1956), may have motivated Clark to do the same in Hokkaido.

But the direct impetus to carry out this decision to teach Christianity did not come until another incident, verified by Ōshima Masatake, a member of the first class who travelled with Clark and Kuroda to Hokkaido to open the agricultural school. The story goes as follows: on the two-day trip from Tokyo to Otaru on the steamship *Genbu*, which was commissioned to carry Clark, Kuroda, and the students who were recruited in Tokyo to the northern island, a commotion broke out on the ship. Some students had misbehaved, and their rude manners infuriated Kuroda, who threatened to return the boys to Tokyo. However, he calmed down enough to discuss this problem of the apparent lack of morality among the youth they had recruited. Clark replied that it was indispensable to teach morals through Christianity. As he saw it, and according to his own experiences growing up in early nineteenth century New England, moral behaviour was inseparable from Christianity: you could not have one without the other. Thus, when Kuroda asked him to take charge of the education of the youth at the new agricultural school, Clark retorted that he must teach Christianity too (MAKI 2002, 143–44).

To instill moral values in the youth under his care, Clark drafted a document entitled "Covenant of Believers in Jesus" as a means of transmitting moral teachings to the students. He required all first year students to sign this, which they all did. Since this document had a profound role in shaping the subsequent development of the Sapporo Christians, I will reproduce this remarkable document in its entirety here.

#### *Covenant of Believers in Jesus*

The undersigned members of S.A. College, desiring to confess Christ according to his command, and to perform with true fidelity every Christian duty

11. For an interpretative treatment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which touches on the work of William Richardson and other missionaries to Hawai'i, see William R. HUTCHISON's erudite *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (1987).

in order to show our love and gratitude to that blessed Savior who has made atonement for our sins by his death on the cross; and earnestly wishing to advance his Kingdom among men for the promotion of his glory and the salvation of those for whom he died, do solemnly covenant with God and with each other from this time forth to be his faithful disciples, and to live in strict compliance with the letter and spirit of his teachings; and whenever a suitable opportunity offers we promise to present ourselves for examination, baptism and admission to some evangelical church.

We believe the Bible to be the only direct revelation in language from God to man, and the only perfect and infallible guide to a glorious future life.

We believe in one everlasting God who is our Merciful Father, our just and sovereign Ruler, and who is to be our final Judge.

We believe that all who sincerely repent and by faith in the Son of God obtain the forgiveness of their sins, will be graciously guided through this life by the Holy Spirit and protected by the watchful providence of the Heavenly Father, and so at length prepared for the enjoyments and pursuits of the redeemed and holy ones; but that all who refuse to accept the invitation of the Gospel must perish in their sins, and be forever punished from the Presence of the Lord.

The following commandments we promise to remember and obey through all the vicissitudes of our earthly lives.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself.

Thou shalt not worship any graven image or any likeness of any created being or thing.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, avoiding all unnecessary labor, and devoting it as far as possible to the study of the Bible and the preparation of thyself and others for a holy life.

Thou shalt obey and honor thy parents and rulers.

Thou shalt not commit murder, adultery, or other impurity, theft or deception.

Thou shalt do no evil to thy neighbor.

Pray without ceasing.

For mutual assistance and encouragement we hereby constitute ourselves an association under the name "Believers in Jesus," and we promise faithfully to attend one or more meetings each week while living together, for the reading of the Bible or other religious books or papers, for conference and for social prayer; and we sincerely desire the manifest presence in our hearts of

the Holy Spirit to quicken our love, to strengthen our faith, and to guide us into a saving knowledge of the truth. Sapporo, 5 March 1877<sup>12</sup>

Every member of the first year class of the agricultural school signed the above covenant, and this act defined their spiritual lives for the duration of their college years. Of the eight in this group whom Uchimura colorfully nicknames are: Satō Shōsuke, “the Eldest”; Ōshima Masatake, “the Missionary Monk”; Watase Torajirō, “Crocodile”; Itō Kazutaka, “John the Episcopalian”; Uchida, “the Good-Natured”; K, the “Patagonian”; T, the “Pterodactyl”; and Y, the “Square-Faced.” We all know who these individuals are today, thanks to the labors of Yamamoto Taijirō and Mutō Yōichi, Uchimura Kanzō researchers who have painfully annotated his work. Three of these first-year Sapporo Band members deserve special mention here for they later became prominent persons in their respective lines of work. The first is Satō Shōsuke 佐藤昌介 (1856–1936), later President of Hokkaido University. Satō, like Nitobe, was born into a samurai family of the Nanbu clan. Six years Inazō’s senior, he too was sent to Tokyo in 1871 to study English. There he became an older guardian to the younger Inazō, and he, as we shall see below, played a pivotal role in helping Inazō during his graduate student years. The second major figure of the first-year group is Ōshima Masatake 大島正健 (1859–1938), “the Missionary Monk” who, as his nickname shows, played the key part in the religious meetings of the group. After graduation from SAC he became an instructor there and served as the pastor for the newly established Sapporo Christian Church, which the band members founded in 1882. After departing from the Sapporo Agricultural School, Ōshima taught at Dōshisha in Kyoto; later he served as headmaster at several different middle schools while pursuing his study of Chinese linguistics. The third prominent person is Itō Kazutaka 伊藤一隆 (1859–1929), who became a well-established Hokkaido businessman.

Apparently, Kuroda was initially opposed to allowing Clark to teach Christianity at the SAC. It was, after all, a government-sponsored institution, and Christianity was still a despised religion that, until only three years earlier, had been proscribed. Only after the return of the Iwakura Mission from abroad did the Meiji government take down the notice boards forbidding Christian practices in the country.<sup>13</sup> Kuroda himself did not seem to have had any strong prejudices against the religion; but as an official in the government, he could not give Clark his open approval. Finally, however, Clark’s persistence and his personal integrity won Kuroda over to his views. The latter quietly let Clark teach the Bible in

12. MAKI (2002, 294), says that the original of the “Covenant of the Believers of Jesus Christ” is possessed by the Sapporo Independent Christian Church. UCHIMURA reprints it in full in his *How I Became a Christian* (1971, 26–28).

13. ŌSHIMA 1993 is the standard work relied by scholars who study the Sapporo Band. Ōshima published this book shortly before his death in 1938. Two subsequent editions, by his son and grandson, have appeared.



class, as well as conduct prayers before starting the classes. Clark also handed out to each student—writing in his own hand their names on the inside flap—a personalized copy of the Bible. According to correspondence with his wife, he had obtained thirty copies of the holy book in Yokohama from Luther Gulick, an early missionary stationed there.<sup>14</sup>

While Clark was planting the first seeds of New England-centered, puritan-based Christianity in Sapporo, other missionary-based efforts to evangelize the Japanese were also transpiring elsewhere in the country. As the literature on the history of Protestant Christianity in Japan reveals, enormous amounts of time and money were used in the missionary efforts to Christianize Japan since the opening of the country to the international world in 1854. In the early Meiji period, three geographical areas stand out for having produced a number of strong personalities and the first generation of Japanese Christian leaders. The prominent names linked with these groups are the American missionaries: James Hepburn and Samuel Brown, who are both associated with the Yokohama Band; from this group came Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 (1858–1925) and Honda Yōitsu 本多庸一 (1848–1912). The second group, called the Kumamoto Band, is associated with the name of Leroy Lansing James; from this group came men such as Ebina Danjō 海老名弾正 (1856–1937), Kozaki Hiromichi 小崎弘道 (1856–1938), and Miyagawa Tsuneteru 宮川経輝 (1857–1936). After disbanding, these young men moved on to Kyoto and enrolled in Dōshisha, which Nijima Jō had founded in 1876. The third group of Meiji Protestant Christians is known as the Sapporo Band, which is the subject of this paper.<sup>15</sup>

Charles INGLEHART (1959) points to the isolation of the Sapporo group as one of its unique features. Located in far off Hokkaido, away from the metropolitan areas where the majority of the Christian activities occurred, the Sapporo group, took hold and evolved in relative isolation and without much influence from the larger community or from the foreign missionaries. In fact, the nearest foreign missionary station was in Hakodate, which at that time was several days away on horseback. This early isolation would bear its mark upon the type of Christianity that would characterize three young friends: Uchimura, who in later years would become a noted Christian thinker and initiator of the Japanese *mukyōkai* 無教会 movement; Miyabe Kingo 宮部金五 (1860–1951), who—while attaining academic fame as a leading botanist in the country—would help found the Sapporo Independent Church, a group he would associate with until his death in 1951; and lastly, Nitobe Inazō, who would eventually affiliate himself with the Society of Friends, the Quakers.

14. On this point about Clark giving students a copy of the Bible, see MAKI 2002, 142.

15. An excellent reference source to consult regarding the individuals mentioned here is KIRISUTOKYŌ REKISHI DAIJITEN HENSHŪ IINKAI 1988. Much of my background information comes from this reference work.

*The Young Inazō and Christianity: 1873–1881*

We turn now to focus our attention specifically on Ōta (Nitobe) Inazō, and examine the formative Christian influences that he received as a member of the second class of the Sapporo college. Inazō's conversion to Christianity did not happen with any dramatic suddenness. Rather it entailed a slow process of maturation, which included a false start, years of dark skepticism, and a great deal of trepidation. Indeed, a full ten years would pass before he was able to dispel his lingering doubts on the genuineness of his beliefs and commit himself to Christ by confidently taking membership in the Quakers; a membership, we should note, that he faithfully retained till the end of his life, forty-six years later.

According to *Reminiscences of Childhood*, an autobiographical sketch published after Nitobe's death, Inazō first encountered Christianity in Tokyo as a child (NITOBE 1984, vol. 13). Together with an elder brother, Michirō, he had been sent by their strict mother to the capital from their home in Morioka to study English. An uncle, Ōta Tokitoshi, a younger brother of Inazō's father and former Nanbu clan *bushi*, adopted Inazō into his family as a *yōshi* 養子 and sent him to a suitable school. Like many other Japanese at that time, Tokitoshi despised Christianity as a wicked religion, calling it *yasokyō* 耶蘇教—a term of derision—and would not allow them to study English at a nearby school run by a foreign missionary. Instead Inazō was enrolled first at the Nanbu clan's school, the *Kyōkan gijuku* 共慣義塾; then after a few years he was transferred to the government-operated Tokyo English School. Though he does not mention having direct contact with anyone who taught him the rudiments of Christian doctrines, at this early stage he had already acquired a curious attraction to its teachings. One of his English essays, entitled "Introduction to Christianity in Japan," was chosen by his instructor J. J. Scott, a young American who was his composition teacher, to be included in the articles sent to the Japanese exhibition in the 1876 World Exposition held in Philadelphia (NITOBE 1984, vol. 13, 542).

Another sketchy episode from this period in Inazō's boyhood gives irrefutable evidence of his leanings toward the new religion and his urge to learn more about it. In the summer of 1876, the Meiji Emperor made a historical visit to the Tohoku area, and spent a night at the Nitobe home in Towada. To commemorate the Nitobe family's accomplishments of leadership in land reclamation in the area—Inazō's grandfather had engineered a feat to irrigate the dry uplands of the Towada region making settlement possible—the Emperor bequeathed a monetary gift to the family.<sup>16</sup> Reading about the event in the Tokyo papers, Inazō recalled the "pride he felt at that time." Also, as the youngest member of the Nitobe family, he was given one yen as his share of the money. He tells us that he used the money to purchase a copy of the Bible (NITOBE 1984, vol. 13, 549).

16. On the land reclamation work of Nitobe's grandfather Tsutō, see HOWES 1995, 27–53.

Inazō had thus been exposed to Christian teachings when he applied for a place in the second class of the SAC in the summer of 1877. At the time of his application he probably had no inkling yet of the pervasive Christian atmosphere of the school or the propagandizing zeal of the members of the first class who were carrying on the legacy left by W. S. Clark. Inazō's reason for choosing the SAC was purely vocational; he wanted to continue in the family tradition of agriculture and maintain the honour that was accorded his family by recognition of the Emperor. On their arrival at the SAC in September, no members of the first year class were on hand to greet them, as they had expected. Rather the upperclassmen were having a prayer meeting—they had all been baptized the day before—and were laying plans to convert the newcomers to Christianity (UCHIMURA 1971, 25–26).

The sophomores immediately put enormous pressure upon the new freshmen to sign Clark's "Covenant of Believers in Jesus Christ." Uchimura Kanzō wrote cogently of his feelings: of the humiliation he felt at the violation of his religious freedom. Nitobe, for his part, left no testimony about the high-handed tactics of the upper classmen. But we can surmise that he probably resisted less than Uchimura. Of the seven members of the second class who eventually signed the covenant (out of a total of twenty-one students), we find Ōta Inazō's signature at the very top of the list. His earlier exposure to Christianity, and the fact that he already owned a copy of the Bible, had probably inclined him to accept the new faith without resistance.

Their Christian allegiance bound them together for the next four years until their graduation in July 1881. They became inseparable friends. Together, they studied in the classroom, laboured on the college farm, ate wild berries in the forests, and swam and fished together in the nearby rivers. And on Wednesday evenings, they met for Christian fellowship in one of the student's dormitory rooms where they knelt and prayed together. We are able to glean information about their companionship and youthful activities through Uchimura's eyes from his literary classic, *How I Became a Christian*, written in English in 1895. Through this book, we come to know the personalities of the individual members of this little Christian band very well. At their baptism on 2 June 1878, Uchimura writes that each had pored through a Webster's dictionary to find a suitable Christian name for himself.

Ota (Ōta Inazō) called himself Paul: he was literary in his inclination, and he thought the name of a pupil of Gamaliel would go very well with him. F. (Fujita Kyūzaburō) adopted Hugh for his Christian name for no other reason than that it sounded very much like his nickname "Nu" meaning "bald-headed." T. (Takagi Tomitarō) was called Frederick, A. (Adachi), Edwin, H. (Hiroi Isamu) Charles, M. (Miyabe Kingo) Francis, and I named myself Jonathan, because I was a strong advocate of the virtue of friendship, and Jonathan's love for David pleased me well.

(UCHIMURA 1971, 32)

Uchimura continues on poetically: “the Rubicon was crossed for ever. We vowed our allegiance to our new Master, and the sign of the Cross was made upon our brows. Let us serve Him with the loyalty we have been taught to show toward our earthly lord and master, and go on conquering kingdom after kingdom” (UCHIMURA 1971, 32–33).

From an illuminating passage in Uchimura’s book, we get a glimpse of the seventeen-year-old Ōta Inazō who was then undergoing a difficult period in his life; his religious skepticism, as depicted in the incident below, his eye problems, and the death of his mother—whom had not seen for over seven years—apparently triggered a deep depression.

Paul was a “scholar.” He often suffered from neuralgia, and was near-sighted. He could doubt all things, could manufacture new doubts, and must test and prove everything before he could accept it. Thomas he ought to have surnamed himself. But with his spectacles and all his assumed scholarly airs, he was a guileless boy at heart; and he could join with his comrades in a *fête champêtre* under cherry-blossoms in a Sabbath afternoon, after in that very morning he cooled the enthusiasm of the “church” with his gloomy and intricate doubts about Providence and Predestination. (UCHIMURA 1971, 36)

The above passage refers to an episode in the book which he described at some length. This incident, which apparently took place in their third year at the college in the autumn of 1879, is invaluable for the clues it gives on Inazō’s state of mind at that time. Tired of their usual “talks” at their Sunday worship service, they decided to try a novel experiment by holding a debating session. They divided into two groups, four members on each side, to debate the “Existence of God.” On one side were the “Christian apologists” who were to argue for the existence of the Christian God; on the opposing side, the “infidels” were to bring counter-arguments refuting such views. We let Uchimura entertainingly explain the rest:

it was Paul’s (Inazō) turn to make an assault, and Frederick (Takagi) was to meet him.... We have already seen that the scholarly Paul had more doubts than he could answer; and the present occasion gave him the first-rate opportunity to pour out the stiffest doubt he manufacture in his neuralgic head. “I grant,” he began, “that this Universe is a created Universe, that God is All-wise and Almighty, and that nothing is impossible with God. But how can you prove to me that this God, after He created this Universe and set it in motion so that it can grow and develop by itself with the potential energy imparted by Him,—that this Creator hath not put an end to His own existence and annihilated Him-self. If He can do *all* things, why cannot He commit suicide!”

How can the practical Frederick dispose of this question? Our eyes were fixed upon the perplexed apologist, and even the infidel side was solicitous

of Fred's answer. For a moment he was silent, but the triumphant Paul still pressed on with his attack. Frederick must say something. Mustering his courage, he said in a scornful way, "Well, only *fools* will ask such questions." "Why, fools? You call me a fool then?" retorted the exasperated Paul. "Yes, I should say so," was Frederick's determined answer. Paul could hold himself no longer. "Brethren," he said, as he rose and beat his breast, "I can bear this company no longer." Away he rushed out of the room, the door violently shut after him, and we heard him groaning till he reached his own room....

(UCHIMURA 1971, 50–52)

Allowing for the literary license that Uchimura takes to compose the above passage and the humorous caricature he draws of Paul (Inazō), we see that he at least captured one essential truth about his intimate friend. The college years at SAC had indeed transformed Inazō—who as a child was a vigorous and active lad not afraid of getting into fights—into an avid bookworm who had nearly ruined his eyes by his voluminous readings; he was especially attracted to works on religion, philosophy, and morality. He had developed, moreover, the habit of deeply reflecting on the problems of human frailty, of evil and sin, and this turned him from a simple, trusting Christian believer into a skeptic, plagued with persistent doubts. He writes of this in a letter to Miyabe Kingo, dated 4 October 1881: "I am not settled about my ideas about the Ultimate object of man, & how true happiness can be obtained...it has been my mortification to see men doing wrong. I was shocked at the corruptions of my own & the man-in-general's morals. I used to meditate by the side of the Kairakuen pond every morning & the more I examined myself the more ashamed was I, & the more disgust I felt for the world at large" (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 687).

This last quote reveals quite starkly the overpowering influence that New England puritanism—with its exhortations on clean and healthy living, as exemplified in the "Covenant of Believers in Jesus Christ"—had in sensitizing the moral conscience of Inazō and his classmates in their years at SAC. Being a sinner was an unbearable experiential condition, and he was now entrapped in this condition. However, being the religious skeptic that he had turned into, he could not, to be intellectually honest, believe in the grace of an all-loving Savior. Thus, redemption from sin—a religious idea that he accepted unquestioningly—was impossible. He was caught in a vicious existentialist trap.

It was in this period of desperate melancholy that Inazō discovered the Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle. In this "Sage of Chelsea," he discovered a philosophical viewpoint which helped to lift him from his gloom. Of Carlyle's many volumes, *Sartor Resartus* was the one that attracted Inazō most and, he says, he read its purple pages "over forty times." This book became "his patron for life." It was also from Carlyle that Nitobe imbibed the concept of "Doing the Duty

that Lies Nearest,” a moral maxim that he would teach to his students in later years.<sup>17</sup>

*Inazō's Graduate Student Years: Search for a Career and a Faith to Live By*

Inazō and his thirteen classmates of the second-year class graduated in July 1881. Like members of the first year class, the second year graduates were also obligated to serve for a period of five years as officials in the Colonization Office to repay their college tuition and board. But many changes were taking place in the administration of Hokkaido. The Colonization Office was being dismantled and its functions transferred to the *Nōrinshō* 農林省 (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry). Because of this streamlining, there was little to do in the Sapporo office, and Inazō spent most of his work hours reading his own books. Realizing that his career was not going anywhere, he petitioned for, and received, approval to be released from his contract (MATSUKUMA 1969, 114).

Nearing his twenty-first birthday, Ōta Inazō left Hokkaido in the summer of 1883 to continue his education at Tokyo University in the fall. From this time until his return from Graduate School studies in the United States and Germany, Inazō would prepare for the tasks he had conceived for himself while living in Sapporo. Firstly, to attain spiritual maturity, and to connect himself to a transcendental reality that he desperately sought; and, secondly, to acquire the academic training that would provide him with the skills and knowledge to be a useful and productive member of his country's elite.

Though Inazō still kept close contact with his Sapporo friends who the year before had established the Sapporo Christian Church in town, he did not join them in this venture. He was well aware, nevertheless, of the sectarian strife that had occurred there. One group had wanted to maintain allegiance to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which had loaned them a huge sum of money to purchase the land and building on the condition that they submit to the tenets of the foreign church. The other group included those who wanted complete independence from foreign interference and control. Uchimura Kanzō and Ōshima Masatake led the latter group, and as Uchimura documents in his book, they had enormous difficulties in repaying their four hundred dollar debt. It is interesting and pertinent to note here that at this time of pressing need the Sapporo group received an unexpected gift of one hundred dollars from William S. Clark, who was now back at the MAC.<sup>18</sup> From this bitter experience of dealing with the politics of control with missionary-based Christianity, Uchimura developed his

17. MATSUKUMA Toshiko (1969) has written on Nitobe's reading of Carlyle while at Sapporo. See also MIWA 1967, 71.

18. On the problems of sectarianism that the Sapporo Band faced in building their church, see UCHIMURA 1971, Chapter Four, "A New Church and Lay-Preaching," 70–89. For Clark's gift of one hundred dollars to the band members, see GOFF 1988, 96.

own ideas on the establishment of sect-free, Japanese-style Christianity, which some years later developed into his *mukyōkai* movement.

Inazō had withdrawn his membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1881 which he had joined en masse with his classmates while a junior at SAC. But he refused to cooperate with Uchimura, Ōshima, and Miyabe in their “incipient church” activity in Sapporo. He confessed to Miyabe that: “I feel I have a sphere of work which demands my perfect freedom from any set form of spiritual concern.” He adds, however, in his enigmatic way that “But I belong to the Catholic Church as before. I will be a Christian. Hope to be one more in deed than by my connection with any visible Church” (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 686).

Inazō studied at Tokyo University’s Faculty of Literature for eight months, until the end of the spring semester in 1884. In addition to the course in Agricultural Economics, which he had chosen as his specialty, he took classes in Statistics, English Literature, and English Composition. He was not happy with the instruction there.

I am getting disgustful [sic] of instruction in the university. I thought I can learn very much in it [sic]; but no! There are plenty of books, but not plenty of good teachers [sic]. Toyama can’t teach English very well. We are studying Hamlet: he jumps over many places as too difficult. Cox is simply a old fashioned true-to-rules-of-syntax grammarian. I don’t think very highly of his corrections of our essays. He is a man of not much idea. [sic] Toyama’s history is also very poor. He knows scarcely anything besides what is contained in the textbook itself; he may know better of philosophy [sic] but that is not my subject of study. I like Mr. Tajiri’s Economy; but [the] hours for Economy are too little and self-study alone can supply what [the] class-room lectures lack.

(NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 411)

With his stepfather’s permission and financial aid to study abroad, Inazō departed from Yokohama Harbor for the United States on 1 September 1884. Two of his Sapporo friends were already there. Satō Shōsuke (The “Elder”), who had become an instructor at SAC after his graduation, went abroad for advanced training. He had enrolled at Johns Hopkins University where he was later instrumental in getting Inazō to also study. Hiroi Isamu, too, was in the United States. He had gone there to study civil engineering, and was in St. Louis, researching the finer points of river docking along the Mississippi. Like Inazō, he went abroad using his own funds without government sponsorship. Others would follow. A few months after Inazō, Uchimura also set sail for America. He states that his reasons were twofold: first, “to fill a vacuum in my soul;” and second, “that I might be a faithful son of my soil, I needed experience, knowledge, and observations extending beyond the limits of my country. To be a MAN first, and then a PATRIOT, was my aim in going abroad” (UCHIMURA 1971, 102). He does not mention that he might have been fleeing from the anguish and shame of a

broken marriage. His marriage to Asada Taki, a Dōshisha Girls School graduate, had lasted only a few months. Inazō had attended the wedding which was officiated by Merriman Harris. Tsuda Umeko, who had returned from a ten-years sojourn in America the year before, was also there with a friend, Clara Whitney.<sup>19</sup> And in 1886, Miyabe Kingo, who was teaching at SAC, enrolled at Harvard University to study botany.

It is difficult to know exactly when Inazō made definite plans to study in America, but in his letter to Miyabe, dated 4 August 1884, and written from Fukuroda village in Ibaraki, we see that he had already made up his mind. “I am here alone, with none to converse save the sage of Chelsea.... I am pondering upon the remembrances of friends, contemplating the schemes of life.... And, he adds, “I shall leave Tokio for America” (NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 414). In his study plans, Inazō most likely sought out the advice of Merriman Harris and his wife, Flora, since he chose their alma mater, Allegheny College, in Western Pennsylvania, as the institution in which to enrol. Meadville, the location of the school, was Flora’s hometown. Her family, the Bests, still resided there when Inazō with another Japanese lad, Oka Yoshiharu arrived on 30 October 1884 (NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 418).

Allegheny College was a four-year liberal arts college with an excellent local reputation. But its backwood location, eighty miles north of Pittsburgh in the Allegheny foothills amidst small farms and pastures, foredoomed any prospects of it developing into a major research university. It was too isolated from the cultural stimulus of the Atlantic seaboard to attract top faculty and students. Despite its geographical disadvantage, the people of the college and town still maintained an active interest in the affairs of the wider world. Meadville’s population of ten thousand supported three newspapers and several weekly and monthly journals that served the readership of the town and surrounding county. The *Crawford Journal* carried the following item a few days after Ōta and Okami arrived:

Japanese Students’ Two students, Messrs. Ota and Akami [sic], from the most progressive empire of the Orient, have come to Allegheny College direct from Japan. If everything is satisfactory they will be matriculated.

(“Japanese Students,” *Crawford Journal*, 3 October 1884, 24)

Inazō was in a hurry to get started with his studies. He visited President Wheeler on his second day in town for an interview; and, on the next day, began his classes. He was admitted to the Freshman class, and registered for German, History of Philosophy and the Art of Discourse. And for extracurricular

19. NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 408. In a letter to Miyabe dated 29 March, Inazō mentions Uchimura’s wedding. In a book on Clara Whitney’s diary (WHITNEY 1979), William Steele mentions that she attended the wedding too with her friend, Tsuda Umeko. TSUDA (1991), however, does not make any mention of this.



activities, the following letter, dated 5 October 1884, gives proof that he was still in search for a secure religious faith:

Last Thursday, I attended a Student Prayer Meeting. And, oh! The sweet recollection of our Wednesday meeting have swelled my bosom with inexpressible feelings...surrounded by religious folks, the very physical conditions being religious, I hope to shuffle off the doubts, but to do so, I need the prayers of the fervent. Pray for me as oft as you remember me. (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 418)

Inazō's stay at Allegheny College lasted for only two weeks. Shortly after arriving, he received a letter from his old friend, Satō, which urged him to enrol at Johns Hopkins University. Study there, the latter wrote, would be more in line with Inazō's aspirations. Moreover, unlike Allegheny, the Johns Hopkins program was a graduate school. The latter too, required that Inazō start his undergraduate program again. Inazō concurred with Satō's suggestion and left Meadville for Baltimore. He arrived there in mid-October and moved into an apartment with Satō, who introduced him to President Daniel Coit Gilman and to Professor Herbert B. Adams, Head of the Department of Politics and History. Satō had entered Johns Hopkins University the year before, and had won the admiration and respect of the faculty. His recommendation of Inazō to the same department, thus, probably carried much weight. On his application form, Inazō wrote as his purpose of study at the university "to complete my education and to qualify myself for teaching on my return to Japan."<sup>20</sup>

For the next twenty-nine months—from October 1884 until May 1887—when he left for America to study in Germany, the environs around Baltimore and northwards to Philadelphia would be Inazō's home. At Johns Hopkins University, Inazō immersed himself in his course work. He was closest to Herbert Adams, whose classes he attended regularly for six straight semesters. He took Adams's courses in History of Politics, Church History, the Renaissance, International Law, Germanic Institutions, and the Seminary in History and Politics. Inazō also studied with two young instructors who were just beginning their illustrious careers: Richard Ely and J. Franklin Jameson. He took nine of Ely's courses, including Finance and Administration, History of Political Economy, Studies in Administration, and Advanced Political Economy. He also first became acquainted with socialism in Ely's class. Inazō took Jameson's classes on Historical Criticism for two years.<sup>21</sup>

For his own research topic, Inazō concentrated on agrarian problems, but in the winter of his second year, at the suggestion of Adams, he switched his thesis

20. Application form of Inazo Ota dated 17 October 1884. This document is housed in the University Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

21. Compiled by going through the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for the years 1884–1887. I am grateful to Ms. Lisa Minklei, Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, who did this work for me on 6 May 1983.

topic to US-Japan relations. This topic had considerable contemporary interest since many Americans were now closely following the activities of the Japanese government, which was then adopting Western institutions like the cabinet system and constitutional law. Japan's strident attempts to revise the unequal treaties was also a subject frequently discussed in the newspapers. Inazō plunged into his new topic with great zeal, and utilizing the historical seminary's mode of discovering new knowledge by a reliance upon primary documents, he collected his data from many sources. In addition to books, newspapers, and journals, he sent queries to various people who had played some role in shaping US-Japan relations, including men such as Kimura Settsu-no kami, captain of the *Kanrin Maru*, the first Japanese ship to cross the Pacific, which was sent by the Japanese government to ratify the Treaty of Friendship and Amity between the two countries. He also contacted the first writers of books about Japan in the United States, such as William Griffis and Charles Lanman.<sup>22</sup>

Inazō's correspondence with Miyabe and Adams from the late spring through the summer of 1886, mentions that he had again fallen ill. It may have been the same kind of depression that had plagued him as an undergraduate student at SAC. In a meticulously researched article, Furuya attributes this to Inazō's poor performance at the graduate seminar and his disappointment with his lack of accomplishments, particularly in comparison to Satō; also, he points to the fact that he "lacked a close connection with his nation" (FURUYA 1995, 64). His eyes, again, began to trouble him; and in seeking treatment, he was shocked at the enormous medical bill he had to pay. He was running out of funds, and this down-to-earth fact appears to have been a major contributing factor in his depression. Luckily, he was given a part-time job editing papers for the newly-created American Historical Association, of which Adams was a founding member. Inazō also had a number of Quaker friends in and around Philadelphia to whom he could turn for help, and he lodged with them for the summer months while he recuperated.

During this time, he also wrote frequent letters back home to Japan. These letters indicate that his mind was constantly turning to religious topics and to a higher call to engage later in social welfare work. In a letter to Miyabe, written on 13 November 1885 amidst a hectic schedule, he confesses the following wish, which reveals his deep emotional attachment to his beloved Sapporo:

when I attend the seminary...and the lectures affect me strongly, I whisper to my own ears, can't I make such an institution in Sapporo? The other day, Dr. Adams lectured on Dr. Thomas Arnold (for we are studying Roman Institutions at present and Dr. Arnold is a authority) a strong feeling came over me. "Ah, can't I be a doctor [sic] Arnold of Sapporo?" You see that my thoughts are

22. For Inazō's correspondence with Griffis in this period, see NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 519–25. Inazō mentions Lanman in his letter to Miyabe, dated 7 August 1887, also in NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 433.

invariably associated with Sapporo. It is, indeed, my earnest desire and sincere prayer that I may one day be able to do something for my God & my country in Sapporo. (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 422)

Associating with the Quakers provided Inazō with the key to resolving his spiritual malaise and his longing for certainty. His first contact with the Quakers took place while he was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University. In an article, dated 21 March 1887, “Why I Became a Friend,” Inazō mentioned how, walking along a street with a friend, they passed a “plain building [from which] we saw several people coming out. I asked my friend what the building was. “This is a Friends’ Meeting House. The Quakers are nice people.” His thoughts flashed back to his student days at the SAC where he spent a great deal of time reading in the library. He read there an article in *Harpers Monthly* magazine about the Quakers, and recollected William Penn’s treaty with the Indians. Also, from his intellectual hero Thomas Carlyle, he tells that he had learnt about George Fox, the sect’s founder. He knew too the names Elizabeth Fry and John Bright. His curiosity thus whetted, he attended their next meeting. “What the first impressions of Quakerism were,” he writes, “it is needless for me to say. That I still attend it speaks for itself” (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 422–45). He liked the plain and simple clothing, without adornment or gaudiness, that the worshippers wore; he felt comfortable in the quiet atmosphere devoid of priest, sacraments, or rituals. Here, Inazō felt, were the only essentials needed to mingle with the spiritual realm. Earlier, from Thomas Carlyle, he had intellectually embraced the metaphysics of the invisible, transcendent world; now the Quakers had shown him the practical, emotional dimension of spiritual communion. In the January issue of the Friends journal, *The Interchange*, he contributed a short essay, “Worship of Reality and Reality of Worship,” which strongly suggests that he had at last resolved the problem of belief:

It was reserved for the Christian to know what and how to worship. What do we worship? Not an abstract idea, nor its concrete symbol, but a Being with all the care of a father, and the tenderness of a mother—a Reality whose attributes our vocabularies cannot exhaust...

As to how we shall worship, is it not our gracious privilege that we can come direct to the throne of the Almighty? No need of lavations, nor of priests, of fees, of gowns. The only condition for effectual worship, is to pray in spirit and truth. “When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father, which is in secret.” A closet is not a temple, but the silence within its four walls is a temple...

Thus worship becomes a reality, not a sham, not an illusion. If the enemies against which we wrestle are principalities, powers, rulers of the darkness of this world, spiritual wickedness in high places—in one word, all the hard

realities of life—how much more should be and is our worship, which is our weapon, a reality!<sup>23</sup>

Though theologically convinced of Quaker doctrines, Inazō initially refused to join the group. His strong sense of nationalism, and an impelling need to stress his Japanese identity, apparently made him hesitant about commitment. Through the requests of his many Quaker friends and acquaintances in and around Philadelphia, he made numerous speeches to Quaker groups around Philadelphia on contemporary topics dealing with Japan and Japanese. A close friend of Inazō, Saeki Riichi, who was studying medicine in the United States at that time, later recollected about Inazō's activities:

Before leaving America for Germany, Nitobe started an energetic propaganda campaign for treaty revision. Although the question is now [1936] forgotten, in those years it was Japan's most exasperating problem in foreign relations. Even though we said that Japan was an independent country, the independence was incomplete [because of the existence of unequal treaties].... Nitobe therefore, made numerous speeches advocating revision for almost three months. As he spoke, tears sometimes interfered with his words. Quakers so sympathized that many meeting houses asked him to present his appeal to them. In reply to these requests he made about thirty speeches.<sup>24</sup>

Inazō was frequently consulted for advice by the Quakers Women's Foreign Missionary Association. In 1885, they had decided to send their first missionary, Joseph Cosand, to Japan. Cosand, a Kansas native, arrived in Tokyo with his wife in 1885; they settled down in a house provided for by Tsuda Sen, and began the groundwork for the Friends Meetings in Tokyo, and the Friends Girls School located in Mita.<sup>25</sup>

We now address the crucial question: why did it take Inazō nearly two years to make his decision to join the Quakers? He explained the reason to a group of Quaker women on 27 May 1887, a few days before he left Philadelphia by ship for England. Among the listeners that day was a young lady, Mary Patterson Elkin-ton—the future Mrs. Nitobe—whom he would marry three years later. Margaret Haines, the recording secretary for the group and a close friend of Inazō, published a summary of his talk in the 27 July 1887 issue of the *Friends Review*. Inazō had accepted Friends doctrines from his earliest meetings; only one point stumped him and caused him to hesitate in joining them: this was the item of war. Reading Jonathan Dymond's essay, "War: Its Causes, Consequences, Lawfulness, Etc." and other publications on the topic dispelled his doubts and he stepped forward to commit himself to the group. He applied for membership to

23. See "Worship of Reality and Reality of Worship," originally printed in the *Interchange* 2/2 (15 January 1886), is reprinted in NITOBE 1984, vol. 23, 239–41.

24. See SAEKI 1987. I have used Jun FURUYA's translation (1995, 68).

25. On Nitobe's role in the beginnings of the Friends mission in Japan, see FURENDO GAKUEN HYAKUNEN SHI HENSHŪ IINKAI (1987), 5. This school history also explains Cosand's work in Mita.

the Baltimore Friends Meeting Group on 27 October, and, after a deliberation by the group, they approved his application in December (FURUYA 1995, 69–70). Looking now at Nitobe Inazō's life as a whole, we notice how remarkably prescience he was on this matter of war and pacifism. In the last years of his life, Nitobe publicly supported the Japanese in their claim to territory taken after the Manchurian Incident of 1931. Many people have accused him of turning his back on Quaker principles at that time.<sup>26</sup>

Inazō left unfinished his Johns Hopkins University research to proceed to Germany. In March 1887, a few months after he had joined the Quakers, he had received stunning news from Japan. “Kabo,” he wrote Miyabe at that time, “rejoice with me!” He had been appointed, in absentia, Assistant Professor to the Sapporo Agricultural College (NITOBÉ 1984, vol. 23, 429). This was a God-given blessing beyond his most optimistic dreams; at one stroke, this appointment resolved his major sources of anxieties. Firstly—and most important of all—it solved his financial need by assuring him a regular income. Secondly, it meant success and honor to his family. Thirdly, it ironically put him back upon his original academic course to study agriculture. And lastly, it assured him of a place among the faculty of his alma mater, and a return to his beloved Sapporo. Among his old Sapporo classmates who were studying in the United States at that time, Hiroi Isamu, too received an appointment as Assistant Professor of Engineering. Miyabe Kingo—who was completing his doctoral dissertation at Harvard—was already a faculty member. Only Uchimura Kanzō, studying Theology at Amherst, did not get an appointment. This by-passing of Uchimura, who had graduated first in his class, and was acclaimed by all as the most brilliant of the entire Sapporo Band, was not an accident. It reflected the policy changes that the SAC was undergoing at that time.

Inazō's thirty-eight months of study in Germany—from May 1887 until June 1890—were productive ones. He was given wide freedom to choose his university and develop his own course of study. The only condition imposed upon him by SAC was that he must return to Hokkaido after three years to commence teaching Agricultural Economics and resume other duties. With a clear sense of purpose, Inazō decided to study at different institutions with the best professors. Since the German university system allowed for easy movement between universities, Inazō decided to study first at Bonn University. Professor Rein, who was working on a project dealing with Japan, had urged him to come. He spent two semesters there studying with Rein and Max Sering, a leading scholar in Political Economy. His seminar paper on agricultural conditions in Japan for Sering was published in a journal, *Export*. Inazō, filled with pride at his first academic publication, sent two copies to Herbert Adams saying “I can't write German well, but I am glad to say it has been well-received.” In *Kigan no Ashi*

26. See OSHIRO 2003 for a discussion of Nitobe's defense of Japan in the 1930s.

[A wild duck's reeds], he recounted the thrill he felt when a postman stopped by his apartment to present him with a check for the article from the publishing company (NITUBE 1984, vol. 23, 481).

After fourteen months in Bonn, Inazō transferred to the prestigious Berlin University in August 1888. There he studied with some of the most famous professors in Europe. He attended the lectures on Finance and Socialism by Adolph Wagner; also, the lectures on Agrarian History by Gustov Schmoller. He also took a Statistics seminar with Professor Meitzen. Although his relationship with his German professors at Bonn and Berlin were not as close as that with Adams, he wrote that "Schmoller and Meitzen are very kind to me." In the latter's seminar, he worked hard, and "read four times." He enjoyed Schmoller's course in Agrarian History, and after his return to Sapporo, he would lecture on the same subject, and published his first books in Japanese on themes Schmoller had discussed (NITUBE 1984, vol. 23, 476).

For his PhD degree, Inazō chose Halle University. Unlike Berlin, with its tradition of abstruse scholarship, Halle had a reputation for its pragmatic orientation. To "advance the worldly practical purposes of men and the benefits of society," as one Halle leader had put it, was its mission. Many Prussian officials had passed through its gate. Its agricultural faculty, moreover, was considered one of the best in the country. Inazō studied with Professors Conrad and Kuhn. After presenting his dissertation *Über den Japanischen Grundbesitz, dessen Verteilung und landwirtschaftlich Verwertung: Eine historische und statsische Studie* [Land ownership in Japan, Its distribution and agricultural use: A historical and statistical study] he took an oral examination. It was, he says, a "simple affair, tho...I did not do as well as I had expected." For his major subject, he was tested in national economy in the following fields: (a) *theorie*, (b) *wirtschaftspolitick*, (c) *finanzwissenschaft*, and (d) *statistik*. In two minors, he qualified in *philosophie* and *politik*. In the former, he chose "general history of philosophy and logic" and "Spencer, Hume and Socrates"; and for the latter he was quizzed on "States rights." He passed in all areas and wrote Adams of his achievements (NITUBE 1984, vol. 23, 489).

After returning to the United States, Inazō met with his former professor, Herbert Adams, who encouraged him complete his work on United States-Japan relations that he had begun at Johns Hopkins University. Inazō did so, and sent the manuscript to Adams who included it as an extra volume in The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Sciences. The book, Inazō's first in English, appeared with the title: *The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan: A Historical Sketch*. In the Preface, he thanked "my friend, Mary P. Elkinton, of Philadelphia," who gave "valuable assistance" in the proof-reading of the book (NITUBE 1984, vol. 23, 306).

It will be recalled that Inazō met Mary at his last talk given to the Quaker Women's Foreign Missionary Association that was held at the home of Wistar

Morris. Inazō met her briefly during the serving of tea and cookies after his talk; and they chatted about Japan, a subject in which she showed great interest. They parted after this initial meeting, and he shortly thereafter boarded his ship for Europe. In spite of this one brief encounter, and now separated by great physical distance, Inazō wanted to start some kind of relationship with her. But uncertain of the proprieties involved, he wrote to Mrs. Morris asking her permission to correspond with Mary. Mrs. Morris, greatly surprised at his straight-laced formality, advised him to write directly to Mary herself. Inazō did, and their correspondence commenced.<sup>27</sup>

From Germany, he told her of his studies, his travels, and his aspirations; she, for her part, kept him posted on subjects pertaining to current Japanese-American relations. And when Inazō's friend, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who published the *Jogaku zasshi* [Women's journal], asked him for an article on American women, Mary wrote the piece for him. Over the next three years, a love-affair bloomed, which was forged and sustained entirely by letters sent across the Atlantic. They did not meet even once in these years. But sometime around 1888, he had proposed, and she had accepted.<sup>28</sup>

But an international marriage in those days was not easy—especially between a Japanese man and an American woman. Family members on both sides opposed the union. The matter was finally taken to the Philadelphia Friends Meeting where Mary's family were members. The Meeting hesitated to give its approval without a family reconciliation and counselled delay. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported on the deliberations—in what we today would think as very private affairs—in the following way:

After considerable discussion, Mr. Elkinton, father of the prospective bride, arose in the meeting and emphatically declared his opposition to the marriage taking place. He declared that he had no objection whatever to Mr. Nitobe as man, and considered him to be a gentleman of intelligence and culture. But he did object to his daughter being carried away to Japan, where she would be virtually cut-off from her family and friends and surroundings with which she has been familiar all her life.

As a result of Mr. Elkinton's arguments, the affianced lovers did not "pass meeting." ... This left the couple in a predicament, Mr. Nitobe having arranged to return to his native country...

(*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 November 1890, quoted in ELKINTON 1983, 6)

27. See David C. ELKINTON (1983), 1–2. This privately printed paper was presented as a public lecture at the Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, 7 October 1983. The author (now deceased) was the great grandnephew of Mary Elkinton Nitobe. Many of his details are based upon family research.

28. An account of the courtship of Inazō and Mary is found in Dorothy Gilbert, "Inazo and Mary Nitobe" (printed for private circulation by Passmore Elkinton, 1957). For information on Nitobe's connection to the *Jogaku zasshi*, see AOYAMA 1969, 205–45.

They persisted. Finally, on Christmas 1890, the Meeting Group gave their approval. The wedding was held on New Years Day at the Friends Meeting House on Fourth and Arch Streets in downtown Philadelphia. Mary's parents did not attend, and she was given away by an uncle and aunt. Professor J. Rendell Harris from Haverford College, a Quaker whom Inazō had met while at the Johns Hopkins, and his wife, represented his parents. On the morning of the 12th, Inazō and Mary visited her father and mother, who still had not given their blessings, to say goodbye. Mary's father's diary for that day reads in part:

This day our daughter left us for Japan. On parting, the only expression to which I could give utterance was "Thou art my daughter, and I love thee..."

(ELKINTON 1983, 8)

The couple crossed the country by railway and took a steamship from San Francisco on 17 January for the long journey across the Pacific to Japan. After arrival in Yokohama, they spent three weeks in Tokyo visiting family members and friends. Then, in mid-February, they left for their new home in Hokkaido.

Inazō's graduate studies abroad had come to a dramatic end. He had been away for six years and four months; and in this period he had accomplished a remarkable amount. He had received the training he sought; he had won his academic honors; he had acquired the speech and mannerisms of a sophisticated gentleman; and he had married into a respectable Philadelphia family. And, he had finally resolved the problem of the Christian legacy of the Sapporo Band: it had led him to embrace Quakerism.

### *Conclusion*

The original ethos of Sapporo Agricultural had undergone considerable change by the time Inazō returned home from his decade of study abroad. The highly-charged atmosphere—with its emphasis on Christian morality—had disappeared. Since the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education the following year, fostering nationalism in students became the highest priority in educational policy. This change is reflected in a pamphlet, *The Sapporo Agricultural College*, that Inazō had written for the Chicago World Exposition in 1893. In it, he does not mention anywhere the Christian influences in the school's early history. It is not known if he himself had consciously left out such an important detail or if these had been edited out by another's hand. The pamphlet must have been read carefully by Satō Shōsuke, who was then the Director of SAC. Satō—some people claim—had turned his back on his earlier Christian principles, and became a stooge for the Japanese government in its drive to create a nationalistic spirit in the institution.

If this charge is true, Satō's reasons were probably not unrelated to the fact that tremendous political pressures were being applied from Tokyo on the



school. The Diet was threatening to cut its operating budget. It is around this time that Ōshima Masatake, the “Missionary Monk” mentioned earlier in this article, leaves SAC under mysterious circumstances. In a recent revelation, “Why Ōshima Masatake Left Sapporo,” his grandson suggests that it was Satō’s doing—that the latter had succumbed to the political atmosphere of the time (GOTŌ 2005, 9–10).

In an article on the “Sapporo Band” in *Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten*, the contributor writes that “the band disbanded around 1893 due to the dispersion of the members.” This statement is misleading for a number of reasons. The first is that, as this paper has shown, the “band” was not a formally organized group, but rather a collection of individuals who shared a common legacy—that left behind by W. S. Clark. Individual members of the original group were still around at that date in Sapporo, but they were all engaged in different pursuits.

Satō, as mentioned above, was now mostly concerned with the administration of SAC. In the early 1890s, he worked to keep the institution alive; later, he guided the growth of the school—in 1907 to become the Faculty of Agriculture for Tohoku Imperial University; then, in 1918 to become an imperial university in its own right. Miyabe Kingo, the intimate friend of both Nitobe and Uchimura, carved out a distinguished academic record as a leading researcher in Botanical studies. All the while, he continued his affiliation with the Sapporo Christian Church until his death in 1951 at the ripe old age of ninety-one. This church—renamed the Sapporo Independent Church—continues to this day. Ōshima, as seen above, left for Dōshisha; he later held a number of headmaster-ships in middle schools across the country. Hiroi Isamu, after returning from Germany with his Engineering Degree, taught at SAC until 1899; but he does not appear to have continued in his Christian activities; he later moved to the Imperial University of Tokyo, where became famous in teaching the engineering of harbor construction. Uchimura Kanzō, who returned from his studies in the US in 1888, did not return to Sapporo. After a period of wandering, he settled down, finally, in Tokyo where he founded his highly successful *mukyōkai* movement.

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