

# FROM PASTORAL TO NON-PASTORAL – Quaker Experience in Japan –

Tetsuko TODA

## Abstract

A conflict between two kinds of Quakerism--pastoral and non-pastoral--distinguished Quaker history in Japan from those in other mission fields. This conflict originated from the peculiar conditions under which Philadelphia Friends started the foreign mission. It was through the hard experience during the Second World War that Japanese Friends were fully awakened to the importance of silent worship and accepted non-pastoral Quakerism. This paper examines Philadelphia Friends' attitudes toward the Japan mission, focusing on the question of worship.

key word: Quakers, Friends, Philadelphia Friends, foreign mission, Japan

## Introduction

Friends (Quakers) are famous for their observance of waiting worship in silence without a pastor. The Friends foreign mission, however, is said to have adopted a pastoral system in the mission fields at the sacrifice of the traditional Quaker way of worship. Japanese Friends encountered two kinds of Quakerism--pastoral and non-pastoral. They were first introduced to pastoral Quakerism and accepted it, but later made a choice to adopt non-pastoral Quakerism. It was through their painful experience during the Second World War that Japanese Friends were awakened to their denominational distinctiveness. This paper investigates the archives of the Japan Mission of Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends<sup>1)</sup> and follows Philadelphia Friends' attitudes toward the question of worship in Japan.

## Quakerism and Foreign Mission

Quakerism is distinguished from other Protestant denominations by several characteristics--the teaching of the Inner Light, the denial of professional ministry, the silent and unprogramed worship, the emphasis on equality of men, the peace testimony and the simple way of life. How were these characteristics reflected to the Friends foreign mission work? With their faith in equality of men, for example, did Friends missionaries respect non-Christian people and their ethnic cultures? While there were some reasons to believe that Friends had a better access to other peoples and cultures, the Friends missionaries faced problems peculiar to them. The most crucial question was what type of worship was to be introduced abroad. Some insisted that the waiting type of worship was the most precious part of Quaker practice without which Quakerism became meaningless. Others regarded it as one of Quaker "peculiarities" and doubted that it could be adopted by local Christians. In reality, the Friends missions did not care about introducing the Quaker way of silent worship to foreign lands. It evoked a comment such as: "Indeed Quaker missionaries have often been almost indistinguishable from other Christian missionaries..."<sup>2)</sup>

British Friends had been in the mission fields much earlier than American Friends and had already faced the problem of worship. Their solution was to adopt a pastoral system abroad. Henry T. Hodgkin, a British Friend who worked in

West China as a missionary, gave a survey of fifty years' foreign missionary work by the British Friends in his book, *Friends Beyond Seas*, written in 1916. In this book, Hodgkin's concern centered on the growth of "indigenous Christianity." After differentiating essentials of Christianity from non-essentials, he explained:

Is not much of the failure of missionary work due to the fact that we have overloaded the message with non-essentials? We have expected those to whom we go to receive the message just in the form in which we found it most suited for ourselves; and we have toiled and spent ourselves in trying to reproduce a fully-developed Western product in Eastern soil. The result has been that growth has been forced into certain artificial shapes, and that the free action of the Spirit of God has seldom been really trusted.

It was the native Christians that should apply the essentials of Christianity to their lives in their own way. It was they who should select and create the methods. Hodgkin continued that "Having, then, brought to our Animists, or Buddhists, the one central message that Christ can and will and does speak in their own souls, and having shown them how He has actually been speaking to them in some of their own customs and beliefs, had not the Quaker missionary better leave the method of application alone?" In a mission field, missionaries ought to engage themselves in "planting a seed" but not "setting up a system." This point of view--that the development of Christianity in faith and methods should depend on the local Christians and that missionaries should not interfere after giving the essentials of Christianity--was persuasive to Quakerism, which evaluated the spontaneity of the spirit and rejected outward forms.<sup>3)</sup>

In reality, however, the Friends missionaries succeeded neither in fostering "indigenous Christianity" nor in propagating Quakerism. Prior to considering the possibility of an indigenous church or another Society of Friends, Friends missionaries were first forced to accept a pastoral system to teach and propagate the essentials of Christianity. The Friends missionaries adopted the missionary methods of other denominations; they did not cling to their Quaker origin. As a result, British Friends, who rejected a professional ministry and a pastoral system at home, adopted these in their mission fields. Hodgkin did not make it clear whether British Friends missionaries' abandonment of Quaker distinctions and acceptance of a pastoral system in the mission fields was right or wrong. The only answer that he made was that "the methods chosen should, in all cases, be harmonious to the Quaker message."<sup>4)</sup>

The American Friends foreign mission was undertaken in a different context from that of the British Friends'. American Quakerdom had some variations about how to interpret Quakerism, as a result of the schisms in the 19th century.<sup>5)</sup> While there were those Friends who practiced the traditional silent and unprogrammed worship, some Friends accepted programmed worship and paid ministry. These pastoral Friends were mainly concentrated in the Midwest. They had much in common with other Protestant denominations.

Here some explanation of two forms of worship practiced by American Friends, "silent and unprogrammed" and "programmed" is to be given. First about "silent and unprogrammed" :

Some groups of Friends gather in silence and expectant waiting, without prearranged singing, Bible reading, prayers, or sermon. Their worship proceeds with mystical communion, individual meditation or prayer, with spoken ministry only as Friends may feel led to share their insights and message. Such unprogrammed worship is the usual practice in both the more liberal and the more traditionalist Friends meetings, and it continues in some measure the Quaker way of earlier times.

By the same token, about "programmed" :

Other congregations of Friends follow the form of worship practiced by Protestant and Evangelical churches generally, and adopted by many Friends meetings during the nineteenth century, a time of revival and renewal in American Protestantism. Such services for worship may include pastoral prayer and responsive reading, hymn singing and choral/organ music, Scripture and sermon. There may also be a significant open time of free worship based upon silent waiting, as among other and earlier Friends. Such programmed or semi-programmed worship is usual in Friends meetings or churches that

employ the services of a pastor.<sup>6)</sup>

The Friends missionary work in Japan had a rather complicated beginning. The Yearly Meetings that had accepted a pastoral system of programed worship were involved in the foreign mission. Any Yearly Meetings that adhered to a non-pastoral system of the traditional silent and unprogramed worship were not concerned about foreign mission except one, Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This Yearly Meeting was housed in the Arch Street Meeting House and did not accept a pastoral system.<sup>7)</sup> These Yearly Meetings which participated actively in foreign mission faced no contradiction in adopting a pastoral system abroad. But, to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which had not accepted a pastoral system, the adoption of a pastoral system in the mission field remained a serious problem.

### Introduction of Pastoral Quakerism into Japan

The “Women’s Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia” (WFMA) was formed in 1882. In 1899, the organization became the “Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia,” admitting men to membership. This Association was taken over by the “Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting” in 1923. The WFMA started as an organization completely dissociated from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.<sup>8)</sup> The WFMA as a women’s organization was set up to carry out “women’s work for women” in the foreign mission, and so its primary interest was in “heathen” women. The goal in founding the WFMA was “to promote more effectually than isolated individual effort could do the knowledge of the gospel among our down-trodden sisters” and “to assist in their Christian education.”<sup>9)</sup> The WFMA again and again articulated their concerns about their “sisters” in heathen countries. The maintenance of Friends Girls School in Tokyo remained the focus of Philadelphia Friends’ attention. For a few years, the work by the WFMA was limited to the support of the missions in Mexico, Syria and India carried out by British and Midwestern American Friends. During 1884-1885, the interest of the WFMA was directed to Japan. When the members of the WFMA opened their mission field in Japan, they insisted that they aimed simply for the introduction of Christian knowledge as a whole and that the propagation of Quakerism was not necessarily their goal. They did not, therefore, give a serious consideration to such provisions that Howard H. Brinton has raised: first dissemination of a knowledge of Christianity and then—only after this being done—propagation of a Quaker type of faith. Quakerism cannot be soundly accepted without a knowledge of Christianity and transition to a Quaker type of faith is to be achieved later.<sup>10)</sup> But their missionaries went further than they had expected; the missionaries tried to introduce pastoral Quakerism. There was revealed a growing difference of views about how missionary works to be done between the home missionary association in Philadelphia and its missionaries in Japan.

Because Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rejected professional ministry and because missionaries were considered as professional ministers, its members were not sent to Japan as missionaries. The missionaries were recruited from Midwestern Friends who held a pastoral system. The first officially designated missionary to Japan under the sponsorship of the WFMA was Joseph Cosand, a Kansas Friend. He came from Glen Elder Monthly, Walnut Creek Quarterly and Kansas Yearly Meetings. He was thirty years old at that time. While he worked as a Superintendent at a boarding house of the Grellet Academy, Cosand was a clerk of his meeting. He had been engaged in the instruction at the neighboring Sabbath School for two years. His wife, Sarah A. Cosand, five years his elder and hard of hearing, was a Matron at the boarding house. The WFMA required that its missionaries should have a good education as their work would be “among the upper classes, cultured people, who have requested that a missionary be sent them from the Society of Friends.” It believed that “Only a person of education and refinement would be acceptable to the Japanese of this class.”<sup>11)</sup> Despite the WFMA’s expectation, Cosand’s education was limited.<sup>12)</sup> He studied at public schools and at the Grellet Academy. He could claim his experience of teaching, for he took charge of its teaching while no teacher was available at the Grellet Academy. After a new teacher came and the boarding house was erected, he gave up teaching and became its Superintendent.

In his answer to the inquiry of the WFMA, Cosand showed his concern for “a class of persons uneducated” rather than “the upper classes, cultured people.” Moreover, he clearly expressed that he was more interested in “direct religious work” than in teaching.<sup>13)</sup> A difference of opinion between Cosand and the WFMA was already observable. It is not clear if the members of the WFMA discussed with Cosand to whom their missionary work would be mainly intended and to which missionary work they would assign priority. They seem not to have given serious consideration to these questions. The following minute was passed for embodying “a statement of our [the WFMA’s] plan for work.” Joseph Cosand as the representative missionary of the WFMA “will endeavor to teach, as way may open for it, the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ, as held by the Society of Friends, and by secular teaching and Christian living to influence for good such portions of the people as he may have access to.”<sup>14)</sup> This was a very vague plan. Both the members of the WFMA and their first missionary were inexperienced in foreign mission; neither the WFMA nor Cosand had made any specific plan for a work in Japan. Anyway, Cosand sailed for Japan on November 10 and arrived there on December 1, 1885. From 1885 to 1900, Cosand assumed the leading role. He accepted without hesitation a pastoral system to which many Philadelphia Friends were opposed. His and his colleagues’ methods of mission had a strong influence and were to remain in practice for a long time among Japanese Friends.<sup>15)</sup>

It was at the height of the movement to emulate the West that Joseph and Sarah A. Cosand embarked on their mission of Quakerism in Japan in 1885. The Cosands settled in Tokyo and began teaching English and the Bible. His wife taught knitting and sewing. A desire to build a Girls School was mentioned as early as in May, 1886. This plan was urged by Inazo Nitobe. Because the members of the WFMA felt it to be “particularly our work to labor for the instruction and elevation of our own sex,” the school was opened in October, 1887.<sup>16)</sup> The Boys School to train boys as ministers was started in 1888.

The Cosands had help. George Braithwaite was a British Friend who was son of J. Bevan Braithwaite and worked as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Dr. Whitney was an American who had lived in Japan since he was a boy; his wife, Mary C. Whitney, was a sister of Geroge Braithwaite. In the fall of 1887, these five people drew up the “Statement of Faith and the Disciplines” to establish the Society of Friends in Japan. Cosand sent it to the WFMA for recognition. The Association responded in the negative. It stated that it was not their purpose to build the Society of Friends in Japan. Even so, the WFMA accepted this plan. But the WFMA advised Cosand to adopt the “Richmond Declaration of Faith” instead of the proposed Statement of Faith. The Richmond Declaration was just adopted by the Five Years Meeting as an official statement of faith. Without joining the Five Years Meeting, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not recognize its legitimacy, but the WFMA accepted this declaration in its mission field. The first monthly meeting in Japan was held on July 28, 1888, with 22 members.<sup>17)</sup> This Tokyo Monthly Meeting was planned to operate as a mother meeting in Japan. The missionaries started their mission in Ibaraki Prefecture, too. They had meetings in Mito in 1888 and in Tsuchiura in 1891. These meetings were not considered “Monthly Meetings” but “Mission Stations,” which were subordinated to Tokyo Monthly Meeting.

In 1890, when a meeting house was built on the grounds of the Friends Girls School, the Monthly Meeting moved to Shiba, Tokyo. It was named the “Shiba Friends Church.” By the same year, the “Doctrine and Temporary Discipline for the Friends Church in Japan” was published in both English and Japanese. It included the Richmond Declaration of Faith of 1887. A “Statement of Faith” was provided for members to sign. The “Queries and Advices” were taken from the “Book of Discipline” of Kansas Yearly Meeting. The “Friends Church in Japan” was adopted and printed as the title.

William V. Wright, who was sent by the Women’s Foreign Missionary Association of Canada Yearly Meeting, arrived in September, 1888. This Association joined the mission in Japan by sending a missionary and sharing the financial support.<sup>18)</sup> Mary A. Gundry, a British Friend, was employed by the WFMA of Friends of Philadelphia and joined the missionary work in October, 1889. She served as teacher at the Friends Girls School. The “Friends Foreign Mission Committee” in Japan (FFMC) was organized in March, 1890. Joseph Cosand, “the representative of the W.F.M.A. of Philadelphia and head of the Friends’ Mission in Japan,” conferred with George Braithwaite and

William V. Wright so that they could constitute a mission committee. Cosand was appointed chairman, Wright secretary, and Braithwaite treasurer. The meeting was to be held every month. The committee invited Dr. and Mrs. Whitney, Sarah A. Cosand, Isabel C. Wright and Mary A. Gundry as members of the FFMC. The FFMC had no authority, however. The WFMA of Friends of Philadelphia represented itself only through Cosand and did not give the FFMC official recognition until 1899. So it remained simply an advisory committee for Cosand.<sup>19)</sup>

Wright failed in health and left Japan. Gurney Binford from Kansas replaced him under the auspices of the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Canada Yearly Meeting and arrived in Japan in November, 1893. Mary M. Haines, a member of the WFMA of Friends of Philadelphia, came to Japan in 1892. Her role was to supervise the Girls School. Another teacher, Minnie Pickett from Iowa, joined the mission in October, 1893. She was supported by the Philadelphia Association. By this time, six missionaries--five supported by the WFMA of Friends of Philadelphia and one by the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Canada Yearly Meeting--and three cooperating Friends were in Japan.

Although the WFMA was not interested in the establishment of the Society of Friends in Japan, it did not reject Cosand's proposal to realize it. Cosand was guiding Japanese Friends to his version of the Society of Friends. The Society of Friends was called the "Friends Church" which name was used mostly among Midwestern Friends and which title Philadelphia Friends considered as deviation from Quaker practice. The Society of Friends in Japan adopted the "Richmond Declaration of Faith," while Philadelphia Yearly Meeting did not affirm the legitimacy of this Declaration. Its "Queries and Advices" followed the "Book of Discipline" of Kansas Yearly Meeting. Cosand, furthermore, operated the Boys School as a training school of ministers, in spite of the opposition of the WFMA.

The Friends mission in Japan was going well until the end of 1893, when Cosand's methods of mission were publicly criticized. The clash over the mission methods originated from the different understanding of Quakerism--the difference between Philadelphia Friends' Quakerism and Midwestern missionaries'.

## Criticism from Hartshorne and Braithwaite

The methods of the Friends mission in Japan were criticized by Henry Hartshorne and George Braithwaite. Although these two Friends were strong supporters of foreign mission, they were not satisfied with Cosand's way of propagation.

In January, 1894, Henry Hartshorne protested against Cosand's use of paid evangelists and programed worship. He was a sympathizer with the foreign mission work and the honorary member of the WFMA.<sup>20)</sup> He was also the editor of a Quaker weekly, *Friends Review* and often inserted articles concerning the missionary works in his weekly for the sake of the WFMA. Hartshorne came to Japan for a visit in 1893.

After observing the realities of the Friends mission in Japan sponsored by Philadelphia Friends, Hartshorne sent a letter to both Cosand and the WFMA in order to censure Cosand's leadership and his methods of mission work. Hartshorne insisted that meetings for worship should be conducted without prearranging and singing hymns. He also asserted that the employment of paid evangelists was to be publicly declared exceptional and temporary.<sup>21)</sup> Receiving this letter, the Executive Committee of the WFMA informed Cosand of their desire that "the principle of free gospel ministry as held by the Society of Friends, should be carefully taught and maintained" and that "the support extended to evangelists be temporary." The Executive Committee requested him to send a statement about the methods which he adopted in meetings for worship.<sup>22)</sup>

Cosand answered this request and described how meetings for worship were held in Japan. In 1886, he started with what he called "Bible Instruction Meetings." Two Japanese Congregationalists joined these meetings. One of them acted as an interpreter when Cosand taught the Bible. These two Congregationalists would sing hymns and offer prayers. The meetings were closed with hymns and sometimes with prayers. As the converts' faith grew, these meetings became more like meetings for worship without any prearrangement. The custom to start and close meeting with hymns, however, continued in practice. Cosand explained that Japanese believers liked this and were accustomed

to it. There was no positive reason to stop it. Hymn singing was helpful to quiet the assembly to start worship. As Japanese did not shake hands, it would be awkward for someone to arise from the stillness and announce the end of worship. He also stressed that there was “more or less silence” in the meetings despite these frequent vocal exercises.<sup>23)</sup>

Cosand adopted various methods to attract the unconverted, and the “Bible Instruction Meetings” were one of them. The “Bible Instruction Meetings” were held on the First Day evenings, “sometimes prearranged and sometimes not prearranged.” Lectures on special subjects were offered, and the notices for such meetings were placed on the gate so that larger audiences could come. Magic lantern shows of Bible pictures would be held. Cosand did not forget to explain that “Last year while Dr. Hartshorne was here, nearly all the evening meetings were of the character here alluded to, that is they were prearranged for special purpose and were in no sense considered meetings for worship.” Because “these were held with the particular object in view of benefiting the unsaved,” Cosand insisted that these meetings were not “interfering in anyway with the priesthood of believers, or with the free exercise of Spiritual Gifts in our meetings for worship and weekday prayer meetings.”<sup>24)</sup>

Cosand enclosed a letter to him from Leonard Wigham, a British missionary in Chungking, China. The letter told that his meetings adopted prearranged worship and singing and made use of a harmonium. Cosand suggested that “the W.F.M.A. would get similar statement from the several Friends Missions, both American and English, to compare with the work done and the methods used in our mission,” because he thought that “it would be instructive to us all.” In his answer to the Executive Committee of the WFMA, Cosand stated that “I have done nothing in the dark” and that “nothing has been intentionally kept from you.”<sup>25)</sup>

The Executive Committee of the WFMA accepted Cosand’s explanation for Hartshorne’s criticism, expressing “their entire confidence in Joseph Cosand and his management of the Japan Mission” and assuring Cosand “their sincere sympathy with him in the trying position in which he has been placed.” The WFMA sent Cosand a letter, which conveyed that he should take his course as before.<sup>26)</sup> Hartshorne was much disappointed to find in Japan what was going on in the name of Friends mission. After his return to the United States, Hartshorne was invited to speak about the mission work in Japan by local gatherings of the WFMA. He confessed his embarrassment, mentioning “how much or little to say to these friends, who naturally wish to hear about everything.”<sup>27)</sup> He offered his withdrawal from honorary membership of the WFMA in May, 1895, owing to “circumstances, not requiring explanation at present.”<sup>28)</sup>

In July, 1894, the same year, another witness, George Braithwaite, a British Friend, followed Hartshorne in protest against Cosand. Unlike Hartshorne, Braithwaite seems to have restrained himself from accusing Cosand of his vigorous but autocratic leadership.<sup>29)</sup> His criticism of Cosand’s mission methods was more specific. At the FFMC meeting, missionaries debated each issue raised by Braithwaite.

The first of Braithwaite’s suggestions was to adopt a silent unprogramed meeting for worship. Singing hymns at the opening and end as well as praying at the close should be dropped. These rules seemed to Braithwaite “contrary to the spirit of liberty which Friends so prize.” The FFMC argued that it was not a “rule” to open and close meeting for worship with singing. Prayer at the end was voluntary. These practices were accepted simply for the sake of convenience for the present. Friends in Japan would continue the present custom until they find another way to signify the start and end of meetings. Second, Braithwaite asked why the name, the “Friends Church” was often used in the place of the “Society of Friends.” The “Friends Church” was printed on the cover of the “Book of Discipline” and at several places in it. The FFMC treated Braithwaite’s second question simply as a matter of translation. The use of the word, “society” would lead others to fail to regard the “Society of Friends” as a religious organization. Because of this, the word of “church” was preferred when the “Book of Discipline” was printed. Third, Braithwaite proposed making it public that paid ministry was only temporary and inserting a clause to that effect in the “Book of Discipline.” The second and third suggestions were to be taken into consideration at the time to revise the “Book of Discipline.” And thus, the decision was left uncertain until the time of revision. Fourth, Braithwaite raised a question about the appointment of a “head of the meeting” of each meeting. The appointment of this status seemed to him contrary to the practices of Friends. To this question, the FFMC answered that the position was not a formal office but adopted just for

the sake of convenience.<sup>30)</sup>

The minutes of the FFMC which contained a full account of Braithwaite's questions and the FFMC's--in fact Cosand's--replies to them were read and discussed at the Executive Committee of the WFMA meeting on September 22, 1894. The Executive Committee affirmed their confidence in Cosand again. Cosand, who stayed in Japan, understood "the need of the case better than we at this distance." The Executive Committee, however, was interested in Braithwaite's suggestions to follow the Friends' practices. It directed Cosand to modify his methods and make any proper changes when the right time came.<sup>31)</sup>

The faith in Quaker practices led Hartshorne and Braithwaite to criticize Cosand, but they were at the same time trying to disclose Cosand's autocratic leadership to the WFMA. It was no wonder that Cosand ignored the latter aspect of their criticism of the Friends mission in Japan. Thus, Cosand unfavorably described Hartshorne and Braithwaite as denominationalists and called them "teachers of forms." Cosand wrote to M.W. Haines in his personal letter in July, 1894 that "three or four persons outside of the mission--properly speaking--have made and are making strong efforts to reorganize every thing connected with our work on Philadelphia-English lines and I fear that I have not been as patient with what seems to me--teachers of forms rather than of the spirit."<sup>32)</sup> The WFMA cautiously accepted Cosand's explanation. Cosand wrote in November that "We are glad to know that our not carrying out Dr. Hartshorne's wishes, in reference to changes of methods in prosecuting the work of the mission, did not discourage Friends at home over much..."<sup>33)</sup> While Cosand succeeded in retaining the confidence of the WFMA, his relationship with Dr. Hartshorne grew almost into a personal antagonism.<sup>34)</sup>

It might be possible for Cosand to interpret that Hartshorne who was just a visitor criticized him without understanding subtle circumstances. But this interpretation could not be applied to Braithwaite, who had participated in the mission from the very beginning. He had lived in Japan as long as Cosand and was a big help to the Friends mission in Japan. The members of the WFMA stifled the protests from these Friends; they never failed to stand for Cosand and show their confidence in him. Even though it expressed that a silent and unprogramed type of worship was preferable, the WFMA did not force Cosand to put it into practice and left the judgement to him. Even if the WFMA did not intend to establish a Society of Friends in Japan, Cosand did. The Society of Friends that he schemed, moreover, was not what Philadelphia Friends thought it should be. The difference was made explicit by Hartshorne and Braithwaite, but the WFMA accepted Cosand's methods in mission. Nobody could deny the strong influence which pastoral Quakerism left in Quaker history in Japan at the earliest stage. What the first Friends missionaries to Japan accomplished was the propagation of pastoral Quakerism. Cosand trained Japanese Friends with a pastoral system.

## Acquiring Quaker Characteristics

In 1899, the "Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia" dropped "women's" from its name and changed itself to the "Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia" (FMA).<sup>35)</sup> The FMA proposed a change in the administration of the Japan mission. It attempted to decrease Cosand's leadership as the Superintendent of the Friends mission. Instead, the Friends Foreign Mission Committee in Japan (FFMC) was planned to assume full responsibilities for the Friends mission in Japan.<sup>36)</sup> This was nothing but a disgrace to Cosand, a pioneer Friends missionary to Japan. He fiercely resisted this innovation. Unsatisfied with consultation with the FMA by correspondence, Cosand and his wife sailed for the United States. The special meeting of the Executive Committee of the FMA was called at Cosand's request on August 24, 1900. He gave an account of the troubles for six years since 1894, when Hartshorne censured the methods of the Friends mission and the Society of Friends in Japan dissolved at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Cosand told that "confusion has arisen from the different point of view of Eastern and Western Friends, with regard to the conducting of the mission." He finally resigned from the Japan mission.<sup>37)</sup> Cosand's vacancy was filled by Gilbert Bowles.<sup>38)</sup>

The FMA and later the Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Mission Board) wanted Japanese Friends to

become familiar with Quakerism of non-pastoral type. The FMA did its best to recruit the missionaries to Japan from members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The appointment of Edith Sharpless, who was daughter of Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, was approved. The *Annual Report* of the FMA in 1909 announced that “our earnest desire that a member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting should feel the call to this field” was fulfilled. Sharpless was the first Philadelphia Friend to work as a regular professional missionary of the Japan Friends Mission.<sup>39)</sup> As a Philadelphia Friend, Sharpless was accustomed from childhood to “unprogrammed meetings for worship.” It was reported that “Her experience and her convictions and desires always gave support to Japanese Friends in maintaining their ‘watching-waiting’ meetings for worship.”<sup>40)</sup> The members of the FMA were not indifferent to the growth of Quaker practices among Japanese Friends. Their periodicals--*Annual Report* and *Quarterly*--were watching the growth and often commented on Japanese Friends’ appreciation of Quaker silent worship and principles.<sup>41)</sup> The Mission Board also tried to find its missionaries among Philadelphia Friends, to know that Japanese Friends preferred “someone from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, an interpreter of Philadelphia Quakerism.”<sup>42)</sup> In an article in the *Bulletin* of the Mission Board, Edith Sharpless gave her impression of the Japan Yearly Meeting of 1926 that “...here is an exhibition of Quaker character, developed in all stages. The response to the different subjects that came up was the Quaker response. One had the same feeling that one has in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It is certainly alive.”<sup>43)</sup>

Sharpless’ Quakerism was different from that of such a Midwestern Friend as Binford, however. Gurney Binford who came from Kansas, was sent as Canada’s representative. Binford and his wife, Elizabeth undertook rural evangelism in Ibaraki Prefecture in 1899. They started with tent meetings. Having had a meeting in Mito as headquarters, they traveled, offering tent meetings in villages during the off-season. At tent meetings equipped with brass instruments and an organ, hymns were sung, and simple exposition of the Gospel was given. The missionaries of other denominations like the Baptists joined these tent meetings. The Binfords also used evangelistic movies and sponsored Christmas parties to gather people. These methods of sowing seed offered the hard-working farmers good recreation.<sup>44)</sup> As a result of these efforts, new meetings were established in Ishioka, Minato and Shimotsuma, in addition to Mito and Tsuchiura.

Cosand’s comment at the time of his resignation in 1900 that “confusion has arisen from the different point of view of Eastern and Western Friends” was still valid. The Friends mission undertaken by the FMA and the Mission Board resulted in a conflict between two kinds of Quakerism. Though Philadelphia Friends wanted Japanese Friends to acquire Quaker characteristics of non-pastoral type, the influence of pastoral Quakerism was strong. Walter Haviland, who visited Japan as the delegation of the FMA in April, 1920, gained the impression that the Friends missionaries’ work was “too largely individualistic” and that there was “lack of unification in the results.”<sup>45)</sup> Japanese Friends were different in their belief largely depending on which missionary they were connected with. Ibaraki Friends, who were under Binford’s instruction, were most evangelistic.

Eleven years later, in April, 1931, J. Passmore Elkinton, a member of the Mission Board visited Japan Yearly Meeting. He was impressed with the variety of Quaker activities such as “city work, country work, efforts through worship, efforts through education.” Elkinton was, moreover, surprised to see the difference in quality of the membership of Japan Yearly Meeting from “the unskilled” to “the extreme scholarly and leadership elements.” Elkinton added that “They sometimes have as much trouble sympathizing with each other as we do at home.” About country Friends, he commented that “If their evangelical earnestness can be combined with Iwahashi San’s and Dr. Nitobe’s breadth of interpretation, Quakerism in Japan will be as perfect as we can make it anywhere.”<sup>46)</sup> Even though the FMA and later the Mission Board tried to make it more like Philadelphia Quakerism, Quakerism in Japan was under a profound influence of pastoral system. Japanese Friends themselves recognized a “conflict between two types of Quakerism.”<sup>47)</sup> Up to the Second World War, the difference of two types--pastoral and non-pastoral--of Quakerism was regarded as roughly corresponding to the difference of residence, Ibaraki and Tokyo.

Quaker history in Japan entered into a new phase in the 1930’s. The relationship between Japan and the United States was getting worse and worse during the 1920’s and 1930’s. The Mission Board confronted with the passage of

the Johnson Immigration Bill (later known as the Oriental Exclusion Act) in 1924. When the Manchurian Incident broke out in 1931, the Mission Board announced that “Let us not lose faith in the good will of the Japanese people, however much we must regret the resort of the military element to violent methods of China.”<sup>48)</sup> The necessity of cultural understanding and international goodwill was felt urgent. In these crucial times, Philadelphia Friends started the Young Friends Movement. This movement aimed “to develop fuller confidence among Young Friends in the validity of the religious approach to the ultimate solution of world problems.”<sup>49)</sup> As a part of its activities, Young Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting formed a project to offer a Japanese Young Friend an opportunity to study at Pendle Hill, a resident school for religious study of Quakerism. The first to come was Kikue Kurama. This project not only improved communication between Philadelphia Friends and Japanese Young Friends, but also gave Japanese Young Friends opportunities to acquaint themselves with Philadelphia Friends’ non-pastoral Quakerism. Young Friends in Japan grew so interested in the Quaker way of life as to request the Mission Board: “Send someone who can study with us and can lead us in the study we feel necessary. Give us a Pendle Hill for Japan.”<sup>50)</sup> Ryumei Yamano was one of those Young Friends who studied at Pendle Hill. He wrote to Robert Maris that “The Friends’ meetings in Japan are not like those of Philadelphia but nearer like the Friends’ churches in the West. Each meeting has its pastor and the members are apt to rely on him.” He regarded this dependence on a pastor as weakness and insisted that “each member must be trained to share his religious experience in the Meeting.”<sup>51)</sup> This way, Japanese Young Friends grew strongly inclined to non-pastoral Quakerism.

It was these Japanese Young Friends who took the lead in re-establishing Japan Yearly Meeting after the Second World War. As a result, Quakerism in Japan significantly transformed itself from pastoral to non-pastoral.

## Japanese Friends and Church Union

Japan Yearly Meeting was dissolved during the Second World War. It extinguished naturally by joining a national church organization, the United Church of Christ in Japan. Even though the union movement of Japanese Christians was not new, it was controlled by the government this time. The Religious Organization Act was put in effect in April, 1940. Under this law, Japanese government recognized Christianity as one of the three religions in Japan along with Shintoism and Buddhism. On the other hand, for better supervision, it pressed Protestant churches to abandon their denominational lines and unite into one organization, the United Church of Christ in Japan.<sup>52)</sup> The United Church of Christ in Japan was not very different from their former denominational churches for most Japanese Christians. Joining the United Church was crucial to Friends, for it meant that they had to officially accept the ecclesiastical program of ordained minister, creed, observance of sacraments and all the ceremonies attendant on them. These were against Quaker free ministry and rejection of forms. As it turned out, three Friends became the ordained ministers of the United Church of Christ in Japan and all the Friends meetings the components of this Church during the War.

It was at the fall session of Japan Yearly Meeting in 1940 that the representatives of local meetings agreed to join the United Church of Christ in Japan. The Ministry of Education had not yet formed the definite policy about the Church Union at that time. This meant that the agreement was made without understanding its full implication. The Friends Foreign Missionary Committee in Japan (FFMC) took no action, for it was Japanese Friends that should determine the course. The missionaries wished for “less hurried action.” Admitting “a sense of pressure from outside, amounting to necessity,” the missionaries also read that “the hearts of the majority turn toward union because of the sense of security and strength it gives.”<sup>53)</sup> The official decision was made at the 25th session of Japan Yearly Meeting held in June, 1941. The observance of sacraments was the minimum requirement for membership in the United Church. As a result of discussion at the “Representative Meeting,” Japan Yearly Meeting decided to belong to Block No.3 of the United Church, in which the Congregationalists were the largest denomination. Japanese Friends hoped to retain the special characteristics of Quaker faith and practice. The “block system” was understood as the means to preserve the denominational characteristics of each group. Japanese Friends expected that they could continue their spiritual

interpretation of Baptism and Lord's Supper. It was assumed that each denomination would perform its own activities "for the time being." Japanese Friends, therefore, understood that they could continue to hold their Yearly Meeting, committees and budget.<sup>54)</sup>

The Representative Meeting appointed the "Administrative Committee" of smaller membership, and left it the authority to give the final decision on the Church Union. The Administrative Committee received from the "Central Committee of Block No.3" an answer that Friends' interpretation of Baptism and Lord's Supper was insufficient and that Baptism was baptism with water and Lord's Supper was an outward act. Japanese Friends' optimistic expectation for generous understanding of the sacraments was denied.<sup>55)</sup> Even though the freedom to maintain Friends' position was rejected, the Administrative Committee did not overrule the previous decision to enter into the United Church of Christ. Gilbert Bowles, one of the members of the Administrative Committee, excused himself from participating in the final decision. Seiju Hirakawa, General Secretary of Japan Yearly Meeting, on the other hand, stated that he could not obey the decision to join the United Church and that he would rather be a part of the "remnant" in order to adhere to Quaker faith and practice.<sup>56)</sup> It was the strong supporters of the United Church Movement in the Administrative Committee that led to make the decision. Bowles mentioned that there had been much hesitation among Japanese Friends to reach this final decision. He recognized at the same time the existence of a group of Friends who would adhere to the historic Friends' position despite the official decision of Japan Yearly Meeting to join the United Church.<sup>57)</sup>

The FFMC sent a letter to inform the Mission Board of Japanese Friends' joining the United Church. In this letter, missionaries wished that Quakerism would work "as a leaven in the union church" and conveyed that "We are not closing the book now, but only beginning a new chapter." In another letter, Edith Sharpless wrote that "Please don't anyone think that Friends' work in Japan is done."<sup>58)</sup>

The contention of Japanese Friends over the Church Union revealed the division between those who adhered to Quaker faith and practice and those who acknowledged little significance of Quaker characteristics. Local meetings in Ibaraki were not very hesitant about accepting the decision of Japan Yearly Meeting to join the United Church. They merged into the United Church with little difficulty. Members of Hijirizaka Monthly Meeting were divided into two over the Union.<sup>59)</sup> In Tokyo, Young Friends under the leadership of those who had studied at Pendle Hill, stood against the Church Union. They met regularly at private homes during the War. In addition to these Young Friends, there were a few older Friends. The older Friends were those who associated themselves in the maintenance of the Tokyo Friends Center, which was not a part of Japan Yearly Meeting and was still an independent enterprise. Young Friends and a few older Friends--twenty or twenty-five in all--found the Church Union originated from a temporary political need and did not join the United Church of Christ. They were, therefore, without any church affiliation. For them, Quakerism was not so much a matter of organization. They could not accept the requirement of taking the sacraments, which were uncongenial to Quaker principles; they did not want to lose the Quaker way of worship.

The Mission Board knew the existence of those Japanese adherers to Quaker faith and practice. Harry Silcock, an English Friend, who visited Japan for two weeks in 1941, informed of this group and wrote that "We have yet to learn what sort of fellowship will be worked out by this small 'remnant.'" In 1944, the Mission Board raised a question whether it should dissolve itself. As far as denominations were disbanded in Japan, there seemed no room for a Friends mission. But the Friends Girls School and the Friends Center continued to operate under Japanese administration. Philadelphia Friends, moreover, remembered the Quaker "remnant" with favor and believed in their friendship with individual Japanese. The Mission Board concluded to maintain itself, finding the prospect of Quaker work after the Second World War.<sup>60)</sup>

## Re-Establishment of Japan Yearly Meeting

Correspondence between Japanese Friends and Philadelphia Friends resumed soon after the end of the Second World War. The first letter dated in October, 1945 was addressed vaguely to “our Friends in Japan.” It was carried by a deputation representing the Protestant Christian Church of America who was going to Japan. The letter read:

We do not know into whose hands this letter may come; we do not know who among our friends in Japan are left after the great baptism of suffering through which you have passed. We hope that you know that we have been suffering with you, and in certain sense above you, because it is our country (and therefore we) who are responsible for our suffering.

We long to hear from you, - to know of your state, physical and spiritual, to know that even though you may have lost faith in the unchristian “Christianity” that bombed and killed, you have not lost faith in the goodness and love of God, and in the Christ way of life.<sup>61)</sup>

Thus, the Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting re-opened relations with Japanese Friends. It set up the “Japanese Reconstruction Funds.” There seems to have been a consensus from the very beginning that the Mission Board would support the Quaker “remnant.” The Mission Board declined to become a “full-supporting member” of the “Japan Committee” of the Foreign Mission Conference, because it was formed for cooperation with the United Church of Christ in Japan as a channel through which it would perform missionary works. The Mission Board, first of all, pointed out that the existing United Church of Christ in Japan was legalistic and ritualistic as to threat Friends’ spiritual testimony. While the Mission Board referred to its limited fund, it stated that “As long as there are a few Friends in Japan for whom these Quaker principles are essential, the Board wishes to support them in every way possible” and that “Friends can make a more effective contribution outside of the union church.”<sup>62)</sup>

Gordon T. Bowles, son of Gilbert and Minnie Bowles arrived in Japan in March, 1946. He was officially a member of the American government’s Education Mission. But he worked as a messenger to Japanese Friends from the Mission Board. The Mission Board asked Japanese Friends about their immediate needs and about their hopes and plans for the future. The Board recognized well that the question of a Quaker movement in the new Japan would demand serious consideration. It first asked Japanese Friends: “Is there a call for such movement? If so, of what nature should it be? Can we help?”<sup>63)</sup>

Gordon Bowles’ letter to the Mission Board revealed a significant fact that Japanese Friends did not meet each other often during the Second World War. This lack of communication, Bowles explained, was not so much due to that Japanese Friends were absorbed into the United Church as to “a mutual fear that their known pacifistic leanings might get them into difficulties if they were seen visiting each other.” Gordon Bowles also reported that Japanese Friends--both those who had joined the United Church and those who had not--answered affirmatively to the re-establishment of their Yearly Meeting. While Japanese Friends were interested in forming their organization, Bowles fully noticed that this question would be delicate and difficult owing to Japanese Friends’ affiliation with the United Church, which was still valid.<sup>64)</sup>

It was the Quaker “remnant” whom Harry Silcock had mentioned that led in the re-establishment of Japanese Friends’ organization. At this stage, the place where people could get together and have a meeting for worship seemed most necessary. Young Friends and some experienced older Friends started meeting in silent worship regularly in the former Bowles’ house on Daimachi, Mita. American Friends, who came to Japan after the War, also joined this meeting. Their meetings of worship fostered “the spiritual growth and assurance” and “the growing sense of fellowship” among the participants. By degrees, graduates of the Friends’ Girls School and former members of Japan Yearly Meeting discovered the meeting for worship held by the “remnant” and joined it. Those who attended the Quaker worship shared, as Gilbert Bowles pointed out, “the consciousness that the seeds of past Friendly teaching and influence were bearing fruit for these days of spiritual hunger” and “the steadying sense of forgiveness for the measure of failure to bear the Friendly witness in the dark years of war.”<sup>65)</sup> This way, the meeting for worship held by the

“remnant” prepared the way to heal over the division among Japanese Friends.

Although Friends missionaries and Philadelphia Friends were anxious about what went on in Japan, they realized quite well that “decisions as to the future of the Society of Friends in Japan rest with concerned Japanese themselves.”<sup>66)</sup> Young Friends were in fact determined to promote the reorganization of Japanese Friends; they wrote to the Mission Board that “We feel that the future of Friends in Japan rests upon our shoulders.”<sup>67)</sup> While they gave an explanation that Japanese Friends joined the United Church because of their position as a religious minority, Young Friends were neither satisfied with the former Japan Yearly Meeting nor wished to reproduce it. What they had in mind was an organization of “‘true’ Friends.” So they wrote to the Mission Board that “we cannot help hoping that we who have been separated during the past years of the war may come to be one and stand up in the strong Quaker faith.”<sup>68)</sup> Young Friends were not ignorant about the difficulties that would come with the re-establishment of Japan Yearly Meeting, especially the difficulties concerning the qualifications for Friends. Some of them felt that “all the old members are not necessarily qualified to be the members of the future Yearly Meeting because of the nationalistic views expressed by them at times.” But Young Friends decided not to be “an exclusive group,” and were willing to invite “those who had joined the united Church because of the pressure and who are looking forward to re-establish the new real Quaker Fellowship.”<sup>69)</sup> A number of those Japanese Friends who had belonged to the United Church of Christ in Japan joined the new group of Friends. In time, local meetings were formed in Tokyo, Mito and Osaka, “based upon prayerful, individual thought and upon group experience in worship, fellowship and study.”<sup>70)</sup>

For re-establishment of Japan Yearly Meeting, a conference was held at Okurayama on July 11, 1947. Friends from Tokyo, Mito and Osaka, and two American Friends attended. They decided that Japan Yearly Meeting should be organized after Monthly Meetings were formed in Tokyo, Mito and Osaka, and appointed a committee for the establishment of Japan Yearly Meeting. On November 22 and 23, Japan Yearly Meeting was held for the first time after the Second World War.<sup>71)</sup>

## Conclusion

The Friends Mission in Japan that Philadelphia Friends carried out had distinct features compared with foreign missions by other American Friends. Philadelphia Friends faced the inconsistency that they had to adopt a pastoral system in the mission field in order to introduce Christianity. Moreover, they recruited missionaries to Japan from Midwestern Friends who were strong supporters of a pastoral system. Subsequently there arose an argument over the methods of mission between the supporters of foreign mission at home and the missionaries in the field. Despite their preference for waiting worship in silence, Philadelphia Friends, who valued the spontaneity of the spirit, did not openly force Japanese Friends to accept a non-pastoral system. The Friends meetings in Japan had retained a pastoral system. Philadelphia Friends allowed Japanese Friends to choose their way of worship and left the situation as they liked, while they tried to demonstrate their Quaker faith by actions and intervisitations.

When they reorganized their meeting system after the Second World War, Japanese Friends were deliberate. They regarded their decision to join the United Church of Christ in Japan as defeat and started a different kind of Quakerism by their own judgement. Moreover, the autonomy and independence of the Society of Friends from foreign mission seemed indispensable part of Quaker practice to Japanese Friends. The re-born Society of Friends in Japan was, at least at the beginning, distinguished from the previous one in three points. The new organization adopted worship in silence; it did not rely on paid ministers; and it was financially independent of the foreign mission. These innovations, which were more congenial to Philadelphia Friends’ Quakerism, had hardly been made before the War.<sup>72)</sup>

## Notes

- 1) The archives of the Japan Mission of Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting are available at the Quaker Collection of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
- 2) D. Elton Trueblood, *Theory and Practice of Quaker Missions* (published by Friends' Mission Board, Philadelphia, 1935), p.43.
- 3) Henry T. Hodgkin, *Friends Beyond Seas* (London: Headley Bros. Publishers, 1916), pp.216-41.
- 4) *Ibid.*, p.236.
- 5) About the diversity of Quakerism in the 19th century America: Edwin B. Bronner, ed., *American Quakers Today* (Philadelphia: Friends World Committee, American Section and Fellowship Council, 1972), pp.5-31; Edwin B. Bronner, "*The Other Branch*" (London: Friends Historical Society, 1975) ; Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp.435-540; Elbert Russel, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), pp.280-356, 482-509.
- 6) "Friendly Answers to Questions about American Quakers," Leaflet (published by Friends General Conference, Philadelphia, n.d.).
- 7) There were two Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia. One was Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street); the other was Hicksite Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Race Street). Hereafter, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting mentioned in this paper exclusively indicates Orthodox one and Philadelphia Friends the members of Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.
- 8) Philadelphia Friends did not entirely welcome the foreign missionary movement. In fact, it was a minority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that supported the foreign mission. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting itself had stayed indifferent to it. Tetsuko Toda, "From Foreign Mission to International Goodwill," *Bulletin of Yamanashi Women's Junior College* [山梨県立女子短期大学紀要], vol. 22 (1989), pp. 3-4.
- 9) *First Annual Report of the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia* (WFMA), 1883, p.3.
- 10) Howard H. Brinton, "Japan and Quakerism," *The Friend*, vol.110, no.6 (9/10/1936), p.8.
- 11) Margaret W. Haines (Correspondence Secretary of the WFMA), letter to Joseph Cosand, 5/1/1885.
- 12) One of Cosand's references when he applied to the missionary to Japan expressed doubts as to his adaptability to the work. It mentioned "his limited education, limited acquaintance with the world, & limited experience in public speaking." S. Ella Hartley, letter to M.W. Haines, 6/3/1885.
- 13) J. Cosand, letter to M.W. Haines, 5/14/1885.
- 14) Minutes of the WFMA, 7/6/1885.
- 15) Seiju Hirakawa, ed., *Fifty Years of Quakerism in Japan* [基督友会五十年史] (Tokyo: Japan Yearly Meeting, 1937), p.98.
- 16) Minutes of the WFMA, 5/28/1886, and 3/25, 4/23, 10/28,1887.
- 17) Minutes of the WFMA, 11/27, 12/2, 1887 and 9/28/1888. About the contents of "the Richmond Declaration of Faith": Russel, *The History of Quakerism*, pp. 490-91.
- 18) The relationship between Cosand and Wright was negotiated between two associations after Wright's arrival in Japan. As a result, the Canada Association agreed that the Friends mission in Japan was to be regarded as the work of Philadelphia Friends'. Minutes of the WFMA, 2/22, 9/13, 1889.
- 19) Minutes of the Friends Foreign Mission Committee in Japan (FFMC), 3/13/1890; Gurney Binford, *As I Remember It: Forty-three Years in Japan* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends Book Store. 1950), p.97.
- 20) Minutes of the WFMA, 1/24/1890.
- 21) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the WFMA, 1/7/1895.
- 22) *Ibid.*

- 24) J. Cosand, "A Statement of the Methods Used in Meeting of the Japan Mission," report to the WFMA, 2/11/1895.
- 25) Leonard Wigham, letter to J. Cosand, 8/28/1894; J. Cosand, report to the WFMA, 2/13/1895.
- 26) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the WFMA, 3/21/1895; M.W. Haines, letter to J. Cosand, 3/28/1895.
- 27) Henry Hartshorne, letter to M.W. Haines, 12/11/1894.
- 28) H. Hartshorne, letter to M.W. Haines, 5/2/1895.
- 29) Dr. Whitney and his wife were not in sympathy with Cosand, either. Sarah A. Cosand, letter to M.W. Haines, 1/11/1894.
- 30) Minutes of the FPMC, 7/5,7/12,1894.
- 31) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the WFMA, 9/22/1894. Later, George Braithwaite also proposed to the WFMA his resignation from the FPMC. It was accepted by the WFMA in June, 1895. G. Braithwaite, letter to M.W. Haines, 5/31/1895; M.W. Haines, letter to G. Braithwaite, 6/29/1895.
- 32) J. Cosand, personal letter to M.W. Haines, 7/10/1894.
- 33) J. Cosand, personal letter to M.W. Haines, 11/15/1894.
- 34) H. Hartshorne, letter to M.W. Haines, 12/14/1894; J. Cosand, letter to H. Hartshorne, 2/14/1895.
- 35) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the WFMA, 11/18/1898; *Seventeenth Annual Report of the WFMA*, 1899, pp.7-8.
- 36) "Plan of Work," to Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Friends Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia (FMA), 10/20/1899.
- 37) Minutes of the FPMC, 2/24, 7/3, 7/4, 11/3, 1900; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the FMA, 8/24, 8/27, 9/21, 1900. The Society of Friends in Japan was dissolved at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in October, 1894.
- 38) Bowles came from Kansas Yearly Meeting as Cosand did. They were different in two points, however. Bowles studied at William Penn College and was a college graduate. He became more involved in peace movement rather than concentrated his interest in direct evangelism. Bowles' biographical account is available: Errol T. Elliot, *Quaker Profiles from the American West* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1972), pp.47-90.
- 39) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the FMA, 11/12/1901; *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the FMA*, 1909, p.9. The WFMA and the FMA seldom recruited missionaries from their own kind. In the first 25 years of the Friends mission in Japan, they offered only two women Friends who served mainly as teachers at the Friends Girls School but did not stay there long. They were Mary M. Haines(1892-95) and Sarah M. Longstreth (1903-05). Hirakawa, *Fifty Years of Quakerism in Japan*, footnote to p.3 of the summary in English; Edith F. Sharpless, *Quakerism in Japan* (Philadelphia: The Friends World Committee for Consultation, n.d. ), p.45.
- 40) Gilbert and Minnie P. Bowles, "In Appreciation of the Life and Service of Edith F. Sharpless," Japan Committee Archives, Edith F. Sharpless (Box 21, Folder 2-A, Item 42-B).
- 41) *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the FMA*, 1909, p.10; *Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the FMA*, 1916, p.18; *Quarterly of the FMA*, vol.4, no.4 (10th mon., 1910) and vol.5, no.3 (6th mon., 1911); Minutes of the Executive Committee of the FMA, 5/13/1921.
- 42) Minutes of the Executive Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 4/14/1933.
- 43) *Bulletin of the Mission Board of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, vol.3, no.1(6th mon., 1926).
- 44) The Binfords, having been sent by the Missionary Association of Canada Yearly Meeting, seem to have had little hesitation to adopt these very propagandistic means: Binford, *As I Remember It*, pp.183-91.
- 45) Minutes of the Executive Committee of the FMA, 5/27, 6/14, 1920.
- 46) J. Passmore Elkinton, "A Visiting Friend at Japan Yearly Meeting," *The Friend*, vol.104, no.47 (5/21/1931), pp.554-55.
- 47) Hirakawa, *Fifty Years of Quakerism in Japan*, p.2 of the summary in English.

- 48) “Report of the Mission Board,” *Extracts of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting*, 1932, p.99.
- 49) John M. Moore, ed., *Friends in the Delaware Valley* (Haverford, Pennsylvania: Friends Historical Association, 1981), p.163.
- 50) Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 11/10/1933, 12/11/1936. The concern about social problems and their solutions were much emphasized at Pendle Hill. The school formed a community where people could engage themselves in their study while realizing Quaker way of life.
- 51) Ryumei Yamano, letter to Robert Maris; quoted in Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 9/15/1939.
- 52) Arimichi Ebisawa and Saburo Ouchi, *A History of Christianity in Japan [日本キリスト教史]* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppan Kyokai, 1970), pp.561-69. The reason that the government included Christianity in this category was not entirely positive. As Sharpless pointed out at that time, the Japanese government acknowledged Christianity not as faith but as “a stabilizing and beneficent factor in society.” Therefore, the danger to Christianity came not necessarily from “being suppressed by the government” but from “being too much regulated and used by its own purposes.” Edith F. Sharpless, “Thirty Years in Japan,” *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin*, December, 1944, p.19.
- 53) Sharpless, letter to J. Passmore Elkinton, 9/19/1940; Sharpless, unofficial report to the Mission Board, 1/25/1941; Minutes of the FFMC, 10/18/1940 in Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 12/13/1940.
- 54) The report of the 25th session of Japan Yearly Meeting, held, 6/14-6/15, 1941 in Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 10/10/1941.
- 55) Gilbert Bowles, notes on Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends and the New United Church, 10/16/1941.
- 56) *Ibid.*
- 57) Gilbert Bowles, notes on the final decision of Japanese Friends to join the United Christian Church, 6/27/1941 in Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 10/10/1941.
- 58) Two letters, quoted in J. Passmore Elkinton’s letter to the Local Mission Board, 10/22/1941.
- 59) Kikue Kurama, letter to Sarah A.C. Smith, quoted in Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 12/13/1940; Kiyoshi Ukaji, letter to Esther Rhoads, 5/12/1946.
- 60) Moore, *Friends in the Delaware Valley*, pp.225-6.
- 61) J. Passmore Elkinton (Chairman, Pacific Area Subcommittee, American Section, Friends World Committee), Clarence E. Pickett (Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee) and William W. Cadbury (Chairman, Friends Mission Board of Philadelphia), letter to Friends in Japan, 10/11/1945.
- 62) Minutes of the Executive Mission Board, 10/10, 12/13, 1946.
- 63) Anna B. Yarnall (Chairman of the Mission Board), letter to Friends in Japan, 2/11/1946.
- 64) Gordon T. Bowles, letter to the Mission Board, 4/14/1946.
- 65) Gilbert Bowles, *The Friend*, vol.121, no.16 (1/29/1948), pp.246-7.
- 66) *Ibid.*
- 67) Moore, *Friends in the Delaware Valley*, p.227.
- 68) Kiyoshi Ukaji, letter to Esther Rhoads, 5/12/1946.
- 69) Tane Takahashi, letter written in behalf of the Young Friends in Tokyo to the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, 5/26/1946.
- 70) Gilbert Bowles, *The Friend*, vol.121, no.16 (1/29/1948), pp.246-7.
- 71) Ichiro Koizumi and Kiyoshi Ukaji, ed., *History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan [基督友会七十年史]* (Tokyo: Japan Yearly Meeting, 1957), pp.58-63.
- 72) *Ibid.*, pp.78-80. It was in 1953 that Japan Yearly Meeting started accepting financial support from Philadelphia Friends. But this was decided after great debate and hesitation.

